The Mage's Images: Heinrich Khunrath in His Oratory and Laboratory

Volume 1

Prologue: Bio-Bibliography & Introduction to Khunrath's Images

Peter J. Forshaw



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Volume 1

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By

Peter J. Forshaw



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For Wendy, Cecil, Hilda, and May



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Peter Forshaw
Amsterdam, 23 January 2023

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Introductory Note

This is the first volume of a four-volume monograph on the life and works of the German alchemist, magus, and Christian-Cabalist Heinrich Khunrath of Leipzig (1560–1605), 'doctor of both medicines and faithful lover of Theosophy.' It explores his diverse interests in medieval and early modern occult philosophy with a particular focus on the complex 'hieroglyphic' and 'theosophical' figures in his magnum opus the *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* (Amphitheatre of Eternal Wisdom, 1595/1609).

This initial volume contains two chapters. Chapter 1: Prologue is a bio-bibliographic survey of what little is known about Khunrath's life and a chronological introduction to his works, those published and those which remained in manuscript. From Khunrath's birth and early education in Leipzig, his apprenticeship in alchemy and medical education at the University of Basel, to his period of working as personal physician of the Bohemian aristocrat Vilém Rožmberk, and subsequent life in Hamburg and Magdeburg. Chapter 2 introduces and provides preliminary analysis of the elaborate engravings in the two editions of Khunrath's *Amphitheatre*, first published in Hamburg in 1595, followed by an expanded posthumously published edition in Hanau in 1609. The engravings are considered in the context of the early modern fascination with emblem books and hieroglyphica, the chapter concluding with an initial consideration of their roles in his work.

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CHAPTER 1

Prologue: a Bio-Bibliographical Introduction

> Cabalistically, Magically and Physico-Chemically strengthen me with the Principal Spirit.[1]

∴

Heinrich Khunrath of Leipzig (1560–1605), 'doctor of both medicines and faithful lover of theosophy'[2] (Fig. 1.1), has been described as 'among the most extraordinary characters of his time,'[3] 'one of the most remarkable theosophists and alchemists of the late 16th century,'[4] 'unique in his genre,'[5] and 'one of the

1 Heinrich Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum sapientiae aeternae solius verae: Christiano-Kabalisticum, divino-magicum, nec non physico-chymicum, tertriunum, catholicon* (Hanau: Wilhelm Anton, 1609). As there are two parts to this edition of the *Amphitheatre*, with separate pagination, page references to the 1609 edition shall be to either *Amph.*I or *Amph.*II; here *Amph.*II, 123 'Spiritu Principali confirma me, Cabalisticè, Magicè & Physicochemicè'. Khunrath's quote is a borrowing from Psalm 50:14 'Redde mihi laetitiam salutaris tui, et spiritu principali confirma me' (Douay: Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation, and strengthen me with a perfect spirit). On the 'Spiritus Principalis', see Jerome, 'De Tribus Virtutibus', in *Divi Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis Opera Omnia*, with annotations by Erasmus, 4 vols. (Paris, 1546), Vol. 4, 27^{v}, 'Nam & David in psalmo confessionis tres spiritus postulat, dicens: Spiritu principali confirma me: spiritum rectum innova in visceribus meis: spiritum sanctum ne auferas à me. Qui sunt isti tres spiritus? Principalis spiritus, pater est: rectus spiritus, Christus est: spiritus sanctus, spiritus sanctus est.' (For David in the psalm of confession asks for three spirits, saying: Strengthen me with the Principal Spirit: renew a right spirit in my bowels: do not take the holy spirit from me. Who are these three spirits? The Principal Spirit is the Father: the Right Spirit is Christ: the Holy Spirit is the Holy Spirit.)

2 *Amphitheatre* (1609) title page: 'Theosophiae amatore fideli, et Medicinae utriusque Doct[ore]'. See also *Amph.*I, 8. See also Khunrath, *Warhafftiger Bericht von Philosophischen Athanore* (1603), title page: 'Henrici Khunrath Lips: Göttlicher Weißheit trewen Liebhabers/und beyder Artzney Doctoris'. See also Gottfried Arnold, *Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie*, Vol. 2 (Frankfurt, 1700), Th.III. Cap. II, 11–21 'Von D. Henrico Cunrado, Julio Sperbern/und Matthaeo Weier'.

3 R.J.W. Evans, *Rudolf II and his World: A Study in Intellectual History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1973), 214.

4 Emile Grillot de Givry, *Witchcraft, Magic & Alchemy* (New York: Dover Publications, 1971), 209.

5 Stanislas de Guaita, *Au Seuil du Mystère* (Paris: Georges Carré, 1890), 99–100 'Unique en son genre, inestimable surtout pour les chercheurs curieux d'approfondir ces troublantes questions …'. See also Vinci Verginelli, *Bibliotheca Hermetica* (Firenze: Nardini, 1986), 177.

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FIGURE 1.1 Portrait of Heinrich Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* (1609), Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977

great Hermetic philosophers.'[6] He is the author of a series of esoteric works on alchemy, magic and cabala published during the 1590s and 1600s, whose *magnum opus*, the *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* (Amphitheatre of Eternal Wisdom) has been praised as 'a true Wonder-Book',[7] 'the Theosophical Bible,'[8] an 'extraordinary work,'[9] 'worthy of eternal remembrance and praise,'[10] one of 'the best-loved and most sought-after books of alchemical literature',[11] 'one of the most elaborate alchemical texts ever printed',[12] 'one of the most beautiful books ever produced in the cause of alchemy';[13] indeed 'one of the most important books in the whole literature of theosophical alchemy and the occult sciences'.[14]

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6 Heinrich Khunrath, *De Igne Magorum* (Leipzig: Adam Friedrich Böhme, 1783), Vorbericht des Herausgebers, 2: 'eines der großen hermetischen Philosophen.'

7 Quirinus Kühlmann, *Neubegeisterter Böhme* (Leiden, 1674), 73 'so erbaute er den Schauplatz der ewigen allein wahren Weißheit … ein rechtes Wunderbuch.' See also Johann Moller, *Cimbria Literata* (Copenhagen, 1744), Vol. II, 440 'ein rechtes Wunder-Buch'. On the Protestant 'wonder books' tradition, see Philip M. Soergel, *Miracles and the Protestant Imagination: The Evangelical Wonder Book in Reformation Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). For examples, see Michael Babst, *Artzney-Kunst und Wunder-Buch* (Leipzig, 1590); Andreas Angelus, *Wider Natur und Wunderbuch* (Frankfurt, 1597); Johann Georg Schenck von Grafenberg, *Wunder-Buch, Von Menschlichen/unerhörten Wunder* (Frankfurt, 1610); and Johannes Trithemius, *Wunder-Buch von der göttlichen Magie* (1506; repr. Stuttgart: Scheible, 1850).

8 Heinrich Khunrath, *Warhafftiger Bericht von Philosophischen Athanore, und dessen Gebrauch und Nutzen* (Leipzig: Adam Friedrich Böhme, 1783), Vorbericht des Herausgebers, 3–19, at 12: '*Amphitheatrum*: Dieses Werk, das einige die Theosophische Bibel nennen.'

9 Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge, 1972; repr. Boulder, CO: Shambhala, 1978), 38.

10 Oswald Croll, *Basilica Chymica* (Frankfurt, 1609), Praefatio admonitoria, 33 'Vide Amphitheatrum Khunradi cedro dignissimum'. See François Secret, *Les Kabbalistes Chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Dunod 1964), 299 'digne d'éternelle mémoire et louange.'

11 Carlos Gilly and Marina Afanasyeva (eds.), *500 Years of Gnosis in Europe: Exhibition of Printed Books and Manuscripts from the Gnostic Tradition* (Amsterdam: In de Pelikaan, 1993), 129.

12 James Elkins, *What Painting Is: How to Think about Oil Painting, Using the Language of Alchemy* (New York/London: Routledge 2000), 180.

13 Katherine Eggert, *Disknowledge: Literature, Alchemy and the End of Humanism in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 110.

14 Denis I. Duveen, *Bibliotheca Alchemica et Chemica* (London: E. Weil, 1949), 319; idem, 'Notes on Some Alchemical Books', *The Library*, 5th series, 1 (1946): 56–58.

On the other hand, Khunrath has been condemned as an 'unbalanced',[15] 'muddle-headed lunatic',[16] an 'example of alchemy's spiritual extremists',[17] accused of 'making war on nature',[18] of writing 'not from the Spirit of God but from the ignorant devil of pride,'[19] and proclaimed a heretic in his lifetime.[20] His writings have been accused of a 'laboured and often hysterical verbosity',[21] criticised as consisting 'largely of a fevered sequence of mystical pronouncements and adjurations, interlarded with bizarre exclamations in various tongues',[22] with his *Amphitheatre* in particular being dismissed as an 'erratic work,'[23] a 'theosophical-magical and astrological frenzy,' 'full of cabalistic dreams,'[24] 'written in a ranting tone of turgid rhetoric with much theosophic pretence

15 John Read, *Prelude to Chemistry, An Outline of Alchemy, Its Literature and Relationships* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1936), 82; Allison Coudert, *Alchemy: The Philosopher's Stone* (London: Wildwood House Ltd., 1980), 92; Urszula Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light: Geometry and Optics in Late Renaissance Alchemical Illustration* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 86.

16 Johann Christoph Adelung, *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit* (Leipzig, 1787), Vol. 5, 91–105 'Heinrich Khunrath, ein Theosoph und Goldkoch,' at 95 'Was für ein verworrener und verrückter kopf er war.'

17 Coudert, *Alchemy: The Philosopher's Stone*, 91.

18 Jacques Gaffarel, *Curiositez inouyes, sur la sculpture talismanique des Persans, Horoscope des Patriarches, et Lecture des Estoilles* (Paris, 1629), 595–596.

19 [Söldner?], *Fegfeuer*, quoted in John Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica: A Catalogue of the Alchemical, Chemical and Pharmaceutical Books in the Collection of the Late James Young of Kelly and Durris*, 2 Vols. (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1906), Vol. 1, 464. See also Claude K. Deischer and Joseph L. Rabinowitz, 'The Owl of Heinrich Khunrath: Its Origin and Significance', *Chymia: Annual Studies in the History of Chemistry*, Vol. 3 (1950): 243–250, at 244.

20 Hermann Fictuld, *Der längst gewünschte und versprochene Chymisch-Philosophische Probier-Stein* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1740), 69.

21 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 151.

22 Read, *Prelude to Chemistry*, 82.

23 Joachim Telle, 'Jakob Böhme unter deutschen Alchemikern der frühen Neuzeit', in Wilhelm Kühlmann and Friedrich Vollhardt (eds.), *Offenbarung und Episteme: Zur europäischen Wirkung Jakob Böhmes im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 165–182, at 167 'das erratische Werk des Theoalchemikers Heinrich Khunrath (1560/1605) lässet an der Virulenz physikotheologischer Entwürfe aus Alchemikerfedern zur Zeit Böhmes keine Zweifel.'

24 Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, *Über den wahren Ursprung der Rosenkreuzer und des Freymaurerordens* (Sulzbach: Johann Esaias Seidel, 1803), 9 'voll kabbalistischer Träume'; 10 'Diese theosophisch-magische und astrologische Raserey'.

and religious patter,'[25] 'a mixture of Paracelsian and Cabalistic nonsense,'[26] and a 'crazy book with pictures, anticipating, if anything, James Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake*,'[27] being damned by the Sorbonne in 1625 as riddled with impieties, errors, heresies and a sacrilegious profanation of Holy Scripture.[28]

Relatively little detailed work has been done on Khunrath. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries mainly saw enthusiasm from occultist practitioners, such as the American-born English Grand Master of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, Arthur Edward Waite (1857–1942), the French ceremonial magician Alphonse Louis Constant, alias Eliphas Lévi (1810–1875), the Baudelairean poet and practising magician, Count Marie Victor Stanislas de Guaita (1861–1897), co-founder of the Ordre Kabbalistique de la Rose-Croix, and the founder of a new Martinist Order Gérard Encausse (1865–1916), known in esoteric circles as Papus. There was also some interest among the early Theosophists, Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831–1891) and William Quan Judge (1851–1896), as well as from the psychoanalyst Herbert Silberer (1882–1923) and the psychiatrist Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961).[29]

Whiggish historians of science like John Read (1884–1963) and Lynn Thorndike (1882–1965), finding Khunrath's esoteric interests not to their liking, provided superficial and unconstructive criticism, and even potentially sympathetic scholars like the Warburg historian Frances Yates (1899–1981) display only the most rudimentary knowledge about him. This is partly due to the lack of reliable translated material: the historian of Christian Cabala, François Secret (1911–2003) pointed out embarrassing errors in occultist Émile-Jules Grillot de Givry's French translation of the *Amphitheatre* (1898–1900),[30] and Patricia Tahil's more recent translations of *The Amphitheatre Engravings of Heinrich Khunrath* (1981) are guilty of similar lapses.[31] The Reverend James

25 Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 8 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1923–58), Vol. VII The Seventeenth Century, Chap. X 'Natural Magic', 273–75, at 273.

26 Frederic Adolphus Ebert, *A General Bibliographical Dictionary, from the German*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1837), Vol. 2, 890.

27 Ronald Pearsall, *The Alchemists* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976), 125.

28 Carolus Duplessis d'Argentré, *Collectio iudiciorum de novis erroribus* (Paris, 1728–36), Vol. 2, 162. See also Jacques Van Lennep, Introduction to *Chymica Vannus, dell'Alchimia o la scienza sognata*, edited by Donatino Domini (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1985), 21–22.

29 For more on these figures and the later reception of Khunrath, see Chapter 7, Epilogue.

30 Secret, *Les Kabbalistes Chrétiens*, 250.

31 *The Amphitheatre Engravings of Heinrich Khunrath*, edited by Adam McLean and translated by Patricia Tahil (Edinburgh: Magnum Opus 7, 1981).

Brown Craven, Archdeacon of Orkney (1850–1924), who also wrote works on Khunrath's slightly younger contemporaries, the German physician and mytho-alchemist Michael Maier (1568–1622) and the English Paracelsian physician and occult philosopher Robert Fludd (1574–1637), and was, together with Waite, one of the vice-presidents of the Alchemical Society in London, wrote a short monograph, *Doctor Heinrich Khunrath, A Study in Mystical Alchemy* (1919) which does include some useful material, in particular the extensive translated extracts from Khunrath's 1597 *On Primaterial Chaos*.[32]

The only academic works dealing with Khunrath in any depth are Umberto Eco's discussion of the *Amphitheatre*'s printing history and sequence of engravings in *Lo Strano Caso della Hanau 1609* (1989),[33] Ralf Töllner's *Der unendliche Kommentar* (1991),[34] the four chapters in Urszula Szulakowska's *The Alchemy of Light: Geometry and Optics in Late Renaissance Alchemical Illustration* (2000),[35] Carlos Gilly's insightful essay in *Magic, Alchemy and Science 15th–18th Centuries* (2002),[36] and Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann's consideration of Khunrath's Christian Cabala in *Geschichte der christlichen Kabbala* (2013).[37] The 2014 publication of an eighteenth-century manuscript translation of the *Amphitheatrum* into German as the *Schauplatz der ewigen allein wahren Weisheit*, edited by Carlos Gilly, accompanied by learned essays by Gilly, Schmidt-Biggemann, Anja Hallacker, and Hanns-Peter Neumann added new dimensions to Khunrath studies. Last, but by no means least, should be mentioned recent articles by Hereward Tilton, Corinna Gannon, Vladimir Karpenko, Ivo Purš, and Martin

32 James Brown Craven, *Doctor Heinrich Khunrath, A Study in Mystical Alchemy* (Kirkwall: William Peace & Son 1910; reissued by Adam McLean, Glasgow: Hermetic Studies No. 1., 1997).

33 Umberto Eco, *Lo Strano Caso della Hanau 1609* (Milan: Bompiani, 1989). This first appeared in *L'Esopo. Rivista Trimestrale di Bibliofilia* 40 (December 1988): 9–36.

34 Ralf Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar* (Hamburg: Peter Jensen Verlag an der Lottbek, 1991).

35 A work that includes thought-provoking and provocative speculations but is flawed by a lack of attention to detail.

36 Carlos Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', in Carlos Gilly and Cis van Heertum (eds.), *Magia, Alchimia, Scienza dal '400 al '700. L'influsso di Ermete Trismegisto/Magic, Alchemy and Science 15th–18th Centuries: The Influence of Hermes Trismegistus*, 2 vols. (Florence: Centro Di, 2002), Vol. 1, 325–350.

37 Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, *Geschichte der christlichen Kabbala*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: frommann-holzboog Verlag, 2013), Vol. 2: *1600–1660*, 1–60.

Žemla;[38] together with the recent publication of a new Czech translation of the *Amphitheatre* by Jakub Hlaváček.[39]

1 1560 Birth in Leipzig

The 'remarkable man, Heinrich Khunrath, a highly respectable ornament of his city of Leipzig'[40] was born the fourth of at least eleven brothers and sisters in the Saxon city of Leipzig in 1560.[41] Although we do not know Heinrich's birthdate, Oliver Humberg suggests a possible baptism date on 13 July.[42] His father Sebastian Conrad (or Kunrat), had acquired citizenship there as a

38 Hereward Tilton, 'Of Electrum and the Armour of Achilles: Myth and Magic in a Manuscript of Heinrich Khunrath (1560–1605),' *Aries* 6:2 (2006): 117–157; idem, 'Of Ether, Entheogens & Colloidal Gold: Heinrich Khunrath and the Making of a Philosophers' Stone,' in Aaron Cheak (ed.), *Alchemical Traditions: From Antiquity to the Avant-Garde* (Melbourne: Numen Books, 2013), 355–420; Corinna Gannon, 'The Alchemical Handbell of Rudolf II. A Touchstone of Art and Alchemy', *Studia Rudolphina* 19 (2019): 81–98; Vladimir Karpenko, 'Heinrich Khunraths *Vom Hylealischen Chaos*: Chemische Askpekte', *Studia Rudolphina. Bulletin of the Research Center for Visual Arts and Culture in the Age of Rudolf II*, 15 (2015), 88–107; Ivo Purš, 'Perspective, vision and dream: notes on the plate "Oratory-Laboratory" in Heinrich Khunrath's *Amphitheatrum sapientiae aeternae*', in Tomás Nejeschleba and Jirí Michalík (eds.), *Latin Alchemical Literature of Czech Provenance* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2015), 50–89; Martin Žemla, 'Heinrich Khunrath and His Theosophical Reform', *Acta Comeniana* 31 (2017): 43–62.

39 Heinrich Khunrath, *Divadlo věčné Moudrosti a teosofická alchymie* (Amphitheatre of Eternal Wisdom and Theosophical Alchemy), translated by Jakub Hlaváček (Prague: Trigon, 2017), which contains three essays in Czech, with English summary: Ivo Purš, 'Heinrich Khunrath in the Mirror of his Theatre'; Martin Žemla, 'Heinrich Khunrath: Theosopher between Renaissance and Reformation'; and Vladimir Karpenko, 'Alchemical and chemical aspects of the work by Heinrich Khunrath'. A recent Spanish translation, with beautifully coloured engravings, also exists: *Anfiteatro de la sabiduría eterna*, translated by Juan Carlos Avilés Morrondo (Madrid: Editorial Tritemio, 2016).

40 Quirinus Kuhlmann, *Neubegeisterter Böhme* (1674), 72 'der verwunderungswerthe mann, Heinrich Kunrath, eine hochansehnliche Zirath seines Leipzigs'. On Kuhlmann, see Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, 'Salvation Through Philology: The Poetical Messianism of Quirinus Kuhlmann (1651–1689)', in Peter Schäfer and Mark R. Cohen (eds.), *Toward the Millennium: Messianic Expectations from the Bible to Waco* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1998), 259–98; Eugene Kuzmin, *Alchemical Imagery in the Works of Quirinus Kuhlmann* (Wilsonville, OR: Sirius Academic Press, 2013).

41 Oliver Humberg, 'Kaufmann, Schriftsteller, Münzprüfer, Arzt und Alchemist', in Hans Gerhard Lenz (ed.), *Der Alchemist Conrad Khunrath. Texte. Dokumente. Studien* (Elberfeld: Buchverlag Oliver Humberg, 2006), 12–32, at 25.

42 Humberg, 'Kaufmann, Schriftsteller, Münzprüfer, Arzt und Alchemist', 19.

merchant in 1555 and in the same year had married Anna Meier, daughter of the shoemaker Wilhelm Meier.[43]

By the time of Heinrich's birth, Leipzig had been in the control of the Reformers for two decades and it is generally assumed that he professed some form of Protestantism,[44] although, as shall be seen, his idiosyncratic readings of scripture led him into conflict with more orthodox followers of most religious persuasions.

Heinrich had an elder brother, Conrad Khunrath (*c*.1555–1613) who was like him a doctor, alchemist, and follower of the revolutionary Swiss iatro-chemist and medical reformer Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, better known as Paracelsus (1493–1541), although Conrad does not seem to have shared his younger sibling's enthusiasm for occult philosophy.[45] Conrad spent some time in England in 1573,[46] practised medicine in Leipzig,[47] and lived in the duchy of Holstein for several years, in the mid 1590s in Danish Schleswig-Holstein.[48] After the death of their father, he took charge of the family's involvement in the lucrative vitriol trade.[49] His best-known work is the two-volume *Medulla*

43 Humberg, 'Kaufmann, Schriftsteller, Münzprüfer, Arzt und Alchemist', 25.

44 Adam McLean, 'Heinrich Khunrath', in Adam McLean (ed.), *The Hermetic Journal*, Issues 11–14 (1981) (London: The Hermetic Research Trust, 1989), Issue 12: 35–39, at 36.

45 See the 1708 preface in Heinrich Khunrath, *Vom hylealischen, das ist pri-materialischen catholischen oder allgemeinen natürlichen Chaos*; facsimile reprint with an introduction by Elmar R. Gruber (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1990), sig.)(2^{v}; Hans Kangro, 'Heinrich Khunrath (or Kunrath)', in Charles Coulston Gillispie (ed.), *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), Vol. VII, 355–56; Heinrich Khunrath, *Warhafftiger Bericht von Philosophischen Athanore* (Leipzig: Adam Friedrich Böhme, 1783), Vorbericht des Herausgebers, 19 'der bekannte Conrad Khunradt sein bruder sein soll … ein medikus aber kein hermetischer Philosoph, viel weniger ein adept gewesen ist.' For more on Conrad, see Lenz (ed.), *Der Alchemist Conrad Khunrath*; Wilhelm Kühlmann and Joachim Telle (eds.), *Der Frühparacelsismus* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2013), Part 3:1, 967–983.

46 Jürgen Strein, *Wissenstransfer und Popularkultur in der Frühaufklärung: Leben und Werk des Arztschriftstellers Christoph von Hellwig (1663–1721)* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2017), 56.

47 Jost Weyer, *Graf Wolfgang II. von Hohenlohe und die Alchemie: Alchemistische Studien in Schloß Weikersheim 1587–1610* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1992), 225.

48 Georgius Matthiae, *Conspectus Historiae Medicorum Chronologicus* (Göttingen, 1761), 364 § 545 '*Cunradus Kunrath*, Lipsiensis, Chemiater, Schlesvigæ circa a. 1594 degens. a. 1607. adhuc in vivis'. See Tilton, 'Of Electrum and the Armour of Achilles', 121.

49 On Heinrich's father, Sebastian Khunrath and the Vitriol trade, see Humberg, 'Kaufmann, Schriftsteller, Münzprüfer, Arzt und Alchemist', 13; on Conrad as his successor, 19. For some indication of the profitability of this trade, see Richard Hellie, *The Economy and Material Culture of Russia, 1600–1725* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1999), 160–61 on the relative prices of Turkish, Green, White, Blue, and Persian vitriols, the first two being particularly expensive.

Destillatoria et Medica (The Distillatory and Medical Marrow, 1594), 'a masterpiece of clear, practical prescriptions', containing descriptions of many illnesses, recipes for their cures, information on the process of distillation and instructions for constructing suitable apparatus. It enjoyed many re-editions and receives favourable citations in Johann Daniel Mylius's *Anatomia Auri* (Anatomy of Gold, 1628) and Matthias Untzer's *Opus Chymico-Medicum* (Chymico-Medical Work, 1634), which also favourably mentions Conrad's younger brother Heinrich.[50] Benedictus Figulus (1567–*c*.1619), editor of one of Heinrich's works, mentions 'Cunradus Chunradi' in his *Thesaurinella olympica aurea tripartita* (Threefold Heavenly Golden Little Treasury, 1682).[51] The fact that the family name is written with so many variants (Kunrath, Kuhnrat, Khunrad, Kunrad, Kunwrath, Kumrath, Chunradt, Cunraht, Cunrad, Churad, Conrad, Cunrath, Cunradius, Conrathus) sometimes leads to uncertainty as to which of the brothers is being cited,[52] to outright misattribution of texts,[53] and even of

50 Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, Vol. 1, 461–62; Duveen, *Bibliotheca Alchemica et Chemica*, 318. There is also a German edition, the *Edelstes Kleinod menschlicher Gesundheit* (Halberstadt, 1680). Conrad is also the author of *Mystica et chymica quaedam arcana* (Hamburg, 1600), *Zween schöne Tractate, Oration welche Jacobus König von Groß Britannien gehalten* (Magdeburg: Johann Francken, 1606), as well as editor of Paracelsus, *Chirurgia vulnerum* (Schleswig, 1595). For contemporary references, see Johann Daniel Mylius, *Anatomia Auri sive Tyrocinium Medico-Chymicum* (Frankfurt, 1628), 131 'Electuarium laudatu dignum, Conradi Khunrath Lipsensis [...] Pilulae Cunradinae adversus choleram & arthritidem'; Matthias Untzerus, *Opus Chymico-Medicum* (Halle, 1634), 886 '*Affirmativa* 1. Si dentur medicamenta coagulantia, utique & dabuntur coagulata dissolventia. 10. *Spiritus Vitrioli* quoque in momento quasi coagulatur, additione proprii sui salis volatilis, teste *D. Henrico Kunrado* ex propriâ experientiâ'; 1003 '*Raphanus* Cunr. Kunradus in 2. Parte Medul destill. Tract.19'. See also pp. 1011, 1083, 1084, 1090, 1091, 1094, 1096, 1101, 1106, 1150, 1151, 1154.

51 Benedictus Figulus, *Thesaurinella Olympica aurea tripartita* (Frankfurt, 1608), Epistola Dedicatoria, 4 'Cunradus Chunradi, P.M. unnd Ioachimus Tanckius, beyde Leyptzische D.D. Medicinæ, gantz wol sich umb diese edle kunst verdient'. Karl Christoph Schmieder, *Geschichte der Alchemie* (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1832), 349 identifies Figulus as the alchemical author Benedikt Töpfer. See also Charles D. Gunnoe, Jr., *Thomas Erastus and the Palatinate: A Renaissance Physician in the Second Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 263.

52 Khunrath's surname appears in many forms: Kunraht, Kunrath, Khuenrath, Khuradt, Cunradus, Conradus, Cunrath. See, for example, Hanns H.F. Schmidt, 'Im Lande der Alchemie: Anmerkungen zu den Streifzügen von Johann Gottfried Schnabel durch "Geheime" Wissenschaften,' in Gerd Schubert (ed.), *Schnabeliana 7: Jahrbuch der Johann-Gottfried-Schnabel-Gesellschaft* (2002–2003): 85–98, at 85. Sometimes the brothers' names appear simply as their initials: C.K.L. and H.K.L.

53 For example, see Petrus Borellius, *Bibliotheca Chimica seu Catalogus Librorum Philosophicorum Hermeticorum* (Heidelberg, 1656), 62 'Conradi Lipsensis, *Medulla distillatoria*. Henrici Conradi, vel Cunrath, *Symbolum Physicochimicum*, etc.'; 124 'Conradi Kunrath

domiciles and deaths.[54] This problem is compounded by the erroneous conflation of their names, which happens as early as 1621, with references to Heinricus Conradt Conrader;[55] nor is this helped by blatant errors in some works where Heinrich is misnamed Caspar, or given the surname Klinrath.[56]

2 1570 Immatriculation at the University of Leipzig

What is clear is that both a Conrad and a Heinrich Khunrad are listed in the *Matrikeln Register* (1559–1634) of the University of Leipzig, the former having enrolled there in the winter semester of 1562, the latter in the winter of 1570. Heinrich had to pay a tuition fee of 10 and a half Groschen but was not asked to swear an oath due to his young age.[57] Save for this fact of his registration at the University of Leipzig at the age of 10, little is known of Khunrath's early life. In his *Unpartheyische Kirchen-und Ketzer-historie* (Impartial History of

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Lipsensis, *Medulla distillatoria*, Rostoch, in 4. Apud Laur. Albert. Ejusdem, *Urim, & Thummim Christiano cabalistica, ex Macrocosmo & S.S. Scriptura Biblica desumpta*, Magdeburg, apud Leuin Breun; Ejusdem, *Symbolum Phisicomedicum*, Magdeburg, 1599. In 8.; Ejusdem, *Confessio de Chao Phisico Chimicorum* … 1599; Ejusdem *Amphitheatrum*. … 1608.' (The *Urim, & Thummim*, *Confessio*, and *Amphitheatrum* are Heinrich's works.)

54 Georg Schwedt, *Chemie Zwischen Magie und Wissenschaft: Ex Bibliotheca Chymica 1500–1800* (Weinheim: VCH, Acta Humaniora, 1991), 56 'Heinrich Khunrath, Chymicus von Leipzig, lebte in Holstein (Lübeck), gestorben 1614.'

55 Wilhelm Eon Neuheuser, *Coronae Gemma Nobilissima* (n.p., 1621), 2 'Paracelsus, Quercetanus, Heinricus Conradt Conrader/und dann Oswaldus Crollius'; 163 '… der Medulla des Henrici Conraders Conradi'. See Heide Klinkhammer, *Schatzgräber, Weisheitssucher und Dämonenbeschwörer, Die motivische und thematische Rezeption des Topos der Schatzsuche in der Kunst vom 15. bis 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1993), 401 'Findung der Tabula Smaragdina als Pyramide, Heinrich Conrad Khunrath … 1604'; Elkins, *What Painting Is*, 198.

56 For the former, see Peter Cersowsky, *Magie und Dichtung: Zur deutschen und englischen Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1990), 244–245; for the latter, Lewis Spence, *The Encyclopedia of the Occult* (London: Bracken Books, 1988), 244.

57 Georg Erler (ed.), *Die jüngere Matrikel der Universität Leipzig 1559–1809* (Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1909), Vol. 1. *Die Immatrikulationen vom Wintersemester 1559 bis zum Sommersemester 1634*, 65. My thanks to Petra Hesse, Archivist at the University of Leipzig for this information. The entry reads 'Conrad, -dus, -thus, Cunradi, -dus, Khunrad, Kunradus … Hnr. Lips. n. 10½ *gr.* i W 1570 M26', which translates as n. = non iuravit = didn't swear the oath; '10½ gr.' = paid for the immatriculation; 'i W 1570' = immatriculated in Winter semester; 'M 26' = immatriculated 26th place in the Meissen Nation. See also Lothar Beyer and Rainer Behrends, *De Artes Chemiae: Chemiker und Chemie an der Alma mater Lipsiensis: Kunstschätze, Buchbestände und Archivdokumente der Universität Leipzig und anderer Sammlungen* (Leipzig: Passage-Verlag, 2003), 52 'ein Alchemisten-Bruderpaar aus Leipzig'; see also 52, 55–6, 59 'Die Matrikel der Universität Leipzig'.

the Church and Heretics, 1699–1700), the pietist theologian Gottfried Arnold (1666–1714) claims to have found an old manuscript recording him as a professor at Leipzig,[58] and Johann Jacob Brucker (1696–1770), author of the influential *Historia Critica Philosophiae* (Critical History of Philosophy, 1742–44), lists him there as public professor of medicine.[59] The far less sympathetic philologist Johann Christoph Adelung (1732–1806), who includes Khunrath in his *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit* (History of Human Folly, 1787) claims, however, to have found no such record in the lists of academic teachers of the city of Leipzig, nor in a manuscript record he possesses of its medical faculty.[60]

3 1575 Apprenticeship in Alchemy

According to Khunrath, by the time he published the first edition of the *Amphitheatre* in 1595, at the age of 35, he had already been practising alchemy for 20 years.[61] In *Vom hylealischen Chaos* (On Primaterial Chaos), published two years later, he tells us that he had by then been involved theoretically and practically for 23 years.[62] From these accounts, then, he must have started reading about alchemy around the age of 14 and have been working in the laboratory by the age of 15.[63] It has been suggested, though without any evidence, that Khunrath was taught the secret of transmutation by Henri de Linthaut (*c.*1570–*c.*1620), author of *L'Aurore* (Dawn) and *Commentaire sur le Trésor des Trésors de Christofle de Gamon* (Commentary on Christofle de Gamon's Treasure of Treasures, 1610), which itself cites Khunrath as one who affirms the truth of the art of *Chrysopoeia* or gold-making.[64] Nothing specific can be said

58 Arnold, *Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie von Anfang des Neuen Testaments biss auff das Jahr Christi 1688*. 4 vols. (Frankfurt, 1699–1700), Part III, Chapter II, 11. See also Moller, *Cimbria Literata* (1744), Vol. II, 440.

59 Johann Jacob Brucker, *Historia Critica Philosophiae* (Leipzig, 1743), Vol. IV, Part 1, Chapter III, 675 'Crollio ex academia Lipsiensi iungimus Henricum Kunrath, in ea professorem medicinæ publicum, qui ineunte seculo XVII floruit, et a G. Arnoldo inter celeberrimos Theosophicos numeratus est.'

60 Adelung, *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit*, 93. For more, see Chapter 7: Epilogue.

61 *Amph.*II, 148.

62 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), Avj^{r}.

63 Arnold, *Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie* (1700), Vol. 2, Part III. Chapter II, 11.

64 C. Coulet and A. Faure, *Bibliotheca Esoterica* (Paris, 1988), 237; Henri de Linthaut, *Commentaire de Henri de Linthaut* (Lyon, 1610), 67 'Henry Conrad, & autres innombrables afirment tous d'une voix, la verité de l'art de faire de l'Or.' See Telle, 'Die "hand der Philosophen" zu einem Lehrbild der Frühneuzeitlichen Alchimia-Picta-Tradition', in Richard Caron, Joscelyn Godwin, Wouter J. Hanegraaff and Jean-Louis Vieillard-Baron (eds.),

about Khunrath for the next decade, except that the years 1576–1587 must have been years of experiment, observation, reading, writing, and the traditional academic perigrination between centres of study.

4 1588 Immatriculation at the University of Basel

The next we know of Khunrath is that he matriculated at the University of Basel in May 1588. The Matriculation Register of the Basel Rectorate records a 'Heinricus Conrad Lipsiensis' matriculating in M.D.XIIC., with the Saxon alchemist Andreas Libavius of Halle (1555–1616) and the famous Westphalian Hebraist, Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629) listed on the following page (Fig. 1.2).[65]

Until the last quarter of the sixteenth century Basel's Medical School only had a small faculty with very few students, but by the time Khunrath enrolled there it was enjoying an increase in popularity, in part due to an influx of Calvinists and Philippists from Germany, having been a Protestant city since 1529. While not necessarily a centre of religious toleration, it was a city with a more pluralist religious culture than its Reformed neighbours, one whose authorities were 'inclined to treat heterodoxy more leniently than their counterparts elsewhere.'[66] Stategically located at the point where the Swiss, German and French borders meet, Basel was a popular destination for scholars visiting different universities on their *Peregrinatio medica* and had a significant international student body, having especially strong links with Tübingen, Leiden, and Altdorf.[67]

Some of Basel's fame was undoubtedly due to it being the place where Paracelsus, the 'Luther of Medicine', had taught in the years 1527–28, a fact particularly attractive at a time when his iconoclastic iatro-chemical ideas and insistence on the unitary nature of medicine and theology where generating

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Esotérisme, Gnoses & Imaginaire Symbolique: Mélanges offerts à Antoine Faivre (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 165–198.

65 Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, AN II 4 Rektoratsmatrikel der Universität Basel, Band 2 (1568–1653), 45^{v} added in a different hand: 'scripsit *Amphitheatrum sapientiae aeternae* fol. 1609. Hanov. Editum'; 46^{r} 'Andreas Libavius Helensis Saxo; Ioannes Buxstorfius Vuestphalus.'

66 Mark Taplin, 'Switzerland', in Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *The Reformation World* (London: Routledge, 2000), 183–184.

67 Charles H. Lohr, 'Metaphysics,' in Charles B. Schmitt and Quentin Skinner (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988; repr. 1996), 537–638, at 621. On links between universities see Ian Maclean, *Logic, Signs and Nature in the Renaissance: The Case of Learned Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 33, 42.

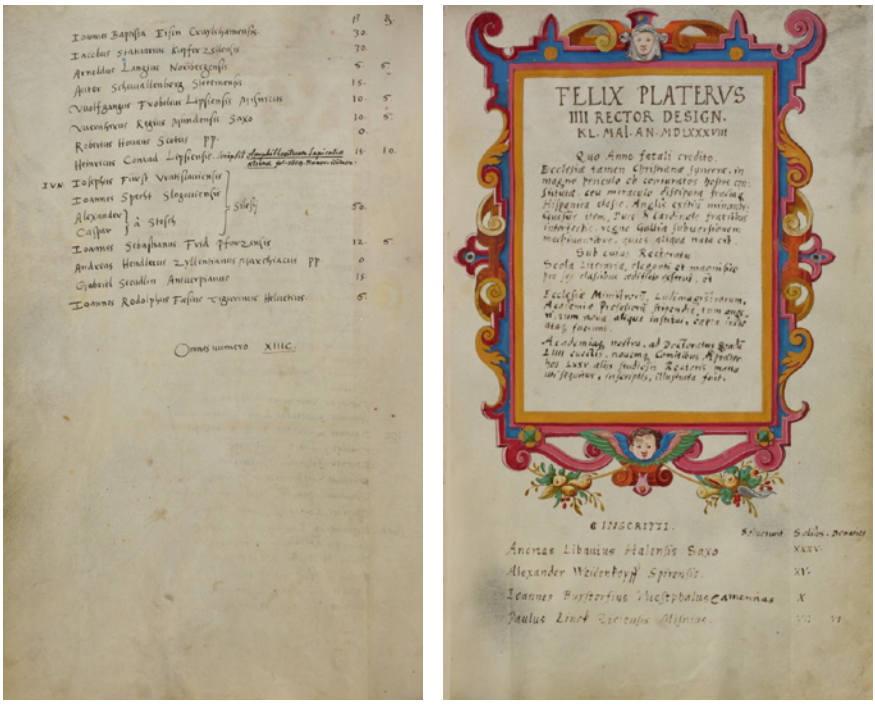


FIGURE 1.2 Matriculation Register of the Rectorate of the University of Basel, Volume 2 (1586–1653), Basel Universitätsbibliothek AN II 4, sigs. 45^{v}–46^{r} entries for Khunrath, Libavius and Buxtorf. Universitätsbibliothek Basel

so much interest.[68] The upsurge of interest in Paracelsus was very much due to the activities of Basel's other claim to fame, its active publishing industry. The Swiss physician Adam von Bodenstein (1528–1577), son of the radical reformer Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt (1486–1541), had been instrumental since 1560, with the publication of *Libri quatuor de vita longa* (Four Books on Long Life), in getting many of Paracelsus's writings published, in either German or Latin.[69] Paracelsus's assertion of the benefits of alchemy for medicine, his emphasis on the importance of the Doctrine of Signatures for the identification of useful herbs, as well as on the utility of physiognomy, chiromancy and metoposcopy for diagnosis and prognosis, together with continuing

68 Maclean, *Logic, Signs and Nature in the Renaissance*, 31, 78, 90.

69 Maclean, *Logic, Signs and Nature*, 38. On Bodenstein, see Alfredo Perifano, 'Les deux dédicaces d'Adam von Bodenstein au *De vita longa* de Paracelse', *Chrysopoeia* 5 (1992–1996): 471–491; Thomas Willard, 'Living the Long Life: Physical and Spiritual Health in Two Early Paracelsian Tracts', in Albrecht Classen (ed.), *Religion und Gesundheit: der heilkundliche Diskurs im 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 347–380.

interest in the related study of astrology, popularised by the works of the French astrologer-physician Antoine Mizauld (*c*.1512–1578), encouraged an increasing openness in some to the philosophy of natural magic.[70]

The years preceding Khunrath's time in Basel saw the publication of many works which would have attracted his interest, including the *Arbatel de Magia veterum* (Arbatel on the Magic of the Ancients, 1575), Girolamo Cardano's *De rerum, varietate* (On the Variety of Things, 1581), *De subtilitate* (On Subtlety, 1582), and *Somniorum Synesiorum omnis generis insomnia explicantes, Libri IIII* (Four Books of Synesian Dreams, explaining dreams of all kinds, 1585); the *Archidoxa* or *Chief Teachings* of Paracelsus (1582), Gérard Dorn's translation of Paracelsus's *De summis naturae mysteriis* (On the Highest Mysteries of Nature, 1584), Arnald of Villanova's *Opera Omnia* (1585), and Johann Pistorius's *Artis Cabalisticae; hoc est, Reconditae Theologiae et Philosophiae Scriptorum Liber* (Book of the Cabalistic Art, that is, of the Writers of Recondite Philosophy and Theology, 1587).[71]

Discussing the case of learned medicine, Ian Maclean notes that Basel evinced a strong bias towards practical medicine, teaching being closely allied with practical work, be that the collecting of herbs on fieldtrips organised by the Swiss botanist Caspar Bauhin (1560–1624), to avoid over-reliance on unreliable apothecaries, or anatomical dissections.[72] Since 1534 instruction had been assigned to two chairs, the first professor teaching *Medicina theoretica*, general pathology and physiology, the second professor teaching *Medicina practica*, in particular pathology, therapy and surgery,[73] and from 1589, year of the construction of the anatomy theatre,[74] a third professor was appointed to teach Anatomy and Botany.[75]

During the period of Khunrath's studies, Felix Platter (1536–1614), author of *De Corporis Structura et Usu* (On the Structure and Use of the Body, 1583) illustrated with plates similar to those of Andreas Vesalius,[76] was Professor

70 Maclean, *Logic, Signs and Nature*, 40. See Hiro Hirai, 'The New Astral Medicine', in Brendan Dooley (ed.), *A Companion to Astrology in the Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 267–286, at 275f.

71 Johannes Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae; hoc est, Reconditae Theologiae et Philosophiae Scriptorum* (Basel, 1587).

72 Maclean, *Logic, Signs and Nature*, 31–32.

73 Rudolf Thommen, *Geschichte der Universität Basel* 1532–1632 (Basel: C. Detloffs Buchhandlung, 1889), Chapter 5: Die medizinische Fakultät (207–257), 212.

74 Thommen, *Geschichte der Universität Basel*, 228.

75 Edgar Bonjour, *Die Universität Basel, von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* 1460–1960 (Basel: Verlag Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1960), Chapter 12: Mediziner (168–187), 168.

76 Felix Platter, *De Corporis Structura et Usu Libri III*, Tabulis methodicè explicati, Iconibus accuratè illustrati (Basel, 1583).

of Practical Medicine and is recorded as supervising a 'Sektion' performed by Bauhin which lasted a full six days in August 1588, the month Khunrath defended his theses.[77] Platter's friend, Theodor Zwinger (1533–1588), a disciple of the anti-Aristotelian Huguenot humanist and educational reformer Petrus Ramus (1515–1572), was, until his death in March that year, his counterpart, the Professor of Theoretical Medicine.[78] Zwinger, 'Philosophus, Theologus, Medicus, Polyhistor',[79] learned in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Syriac, was the author of many influential writings, the best-known probably being his *Theatrum Vitae Humanae* (Theatre of Human Life), first published in 1565, an encyclopaedic work encompassing the fields of physics, metaphysics, medicine, theology and mathematics, though he also published commentaries on Galen's *Ars medicinalis* (Medicinal Art, 1565),[80] on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (1566),[81] and on the works of Hippocrates (1579), the last being cited by Khunrath.[82] Like Ramus, Zwinger was in favour of Paracelsus and promoted many of his ideas,[83] writing in his defence against the denunciations of the Zwinglian theologian and physician Thomas Erastus (1524–1583), Professor of Ethics at Basel, who had condemned Paracelsus as 'an evil magician, atheist, and pig', and was a vociferous opponent of alchemy and natural magic, which were increasingly making their presence felt in the field of medical studies.[84]

Although Khunrath's works do not include abundant references to medical literature, the traditional classical authorities, the Greek physician Hippocrates

77 Thommen, *Geschichte der Universität Basel*, 225–28.

78 Thommen, *Geschichte der Universität Basel*, 242–245. On Zwinger's death in March 1588, see Hanns-Peter Neumann, *Natura sagax – Die geistige Natur: Zum Zusammenhang von Naturphilosophie und Mystik in der frühen Neuzeit am Beispiel Johann Arndts* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2004), 143.

79 Nicolaus Reusner, *Icones sive Imagines vivae, literis Clarorum Virorum, Italiae, Græciae, Germaniae, Galliae, Angliae, Ungariae* (Basel, 1589), 294.

80 Theodor Zwinger, *In artem medicinalem Galeni Tabulae et Commentarii; Theatrum Vitae humanae* (Basel, 1565).

81 Theodor Zwinger, *Aristotelis Stagiritae de moribus ad Nicomachum libri decem tabulis perpetuis* (Basel, 1566).

82 Theodor Zwinger, *Hippocratis viginti duo commentarii tabulis illustrati* (Basel, 1579). See *Amph.*II, 101.

83 Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (1951), Vol. VII: The Sixteenth Century, 642.

84 Theodor Zwinger, *Physiologia medica, eleganti ordine conscripta rebusque scitu dignissimis, Theophrasti item Paracelsi totius fere medicinae dogmatibus illustrata* (Basel, 1610). See J.R. Partington, *A History of Chemistry*, 4 vols. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1961–1962), Vol. 2, 158 on Erastus's *Disputatio de Auro potabile, in qua accurate admodum disquiritur, num ex metallis, opera Chemiae* (1578 and 1580). See also William R. Newman, *Atoms and Alchemy: Chymistry and the Experimental Origins of the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), Chapter 2.

of Cos (*c.*460–*c.*370 BCE) and the Roman physician Galen of Pergamum (*c.*129–*c.*216 CE) are mentioned,[85] including the former's famous aphorism 'ars longa, vita brevis' (art is long, life is short).[86] The Persian physician and philosopher Avicenna (980–1037), whose *Canon of Medicine* was a foundational text at many universities, is also mentioned several times, for example in a reference in the *Pharmacopoeia Augustina* to one of his powders made from ashes for bladder or kidney stones, and Khunrath's 1588 graduation theses also cite Aristotle's *De partibus animalium* (On the Parts of Animals).[87] The majority of Khunrath's medical citations, however, are from sixteenth-century authors. He displays a great interest in the medical properties of plants, mentioning the herbal and botanical works of the Lutheran Professor of Medicine at the University of Tübingen, Leonhart Fuchs (1501–1577);[88] the *Commentarii in sex libros Pedacii Dioscorides* (Commentaries on the Six Books of Pedacius Dioscorides, 1544), an influential commentary on the botanical writings of the first-century Greek surgeon Dioscorides, by the Italian humanist and physician Pietro Andrea Mattioli (1501–1577);[89] and Conrad Gesner's (1516–1565) *De Raris et Admirandis Herbis* (On Rare and Wonderful Herbs, 1555), together with the *Liber de Remediis secretis* (Book of Secret Remedies, 1555) ascribed to Euonymus Gesner Philatrus.[90]

The Dutch physician Johann Weyer's (1515–1588) *Von newen Kranckheiten* (On New Diseases), i.e., *Von etlichen biß anher unbekandten und unbeschriebenen Kranckheiten* (On Several heretofore unknown and undescribed Diseases,

85 *Amph.*II, 7, 154. See also Khunrath's graduation theses *De Signatura Rerum Naturalium* (Basel: Typis Oporinianis, 1588), sig. Aiv^{r} Thesis XVIII for a reference to Galen's *Lib. 8. De simplicibus medicinis* (On medical simples) and Khunrath, *De Igne Magorum*, 64 for further reference to Hippocrates.

86 *Chaos* (1597), Vorrede, sig Avj^{v}. See also *De Igne Magorum*, 70 'Ertzen/ Ja aller derer Dinge/ so in dem Bauch der Erden Natürlich gezeuget werden/ erster Materia kräfftiglich Operiren oder würcken können; sunt enim tàm in Mundo majori, quàm (juxta Hippocratis doctrinam) in Minori, h.e. homine, OMNIA suo modo conspirabilia, confluxibilia, consentientia.'

87 For references to Avicenna, see *Chaos* (1597), 186, 250; *Magnesia*, 94, 100; *Amph.*II, 150; *Quaestiones Tres*, Bvii^{r}; for Aristotle, see *Theses* (1588), sig. Aij^{r}, Thesis 1.

88 *Quaestiones Tres*, sig. B6^{v}.

89 *Theses*, sig. Aiiij^{r}, Thesis XVI and *Quaestiones Tres*, sig. Cij^{v}.

90 Conrad Gesner, *De Raris et Admirandis Herbis, qvae sive qvod noctu luceant, siue alias ob causas,* LUNARIAE *nominantur* (Zurich, 1555), 5 '*Plutoni sacrum munus*,' etc. as quoted in *Amph.*II, 129. In Gesner, see for example, 15 'De Aliis Herbis Magicis quarum mentionem facit Plinius, lib.24, cap.17', which includes several engravings of Lunaria; idem, *Thesaurus Evonymi Philiatri, De Remediis secretis* (1557).

1580) is cited concerning syphilis (*de Erysipelate*).[91] It is recommended in the context of practical medicine for Khunrath's assertion that its two central axioms, 'Similia similibus & contraria contrarijs, curantur,' ('Like cures like' and 'Contraries cure') in no way contradict each other, the former representing the homoeopathic approach often associated with Paracelsians, the latter the allopathic approach of Galenists.[92] In asserting the compatibility of the two systems, Khunrath sounds like the French physician Joseph DuChesne (1544–1609) and the German physician Daniel Sennert (1572–1637) who both promoted an irenic form of medicine aimed at combining and reconciling Galenic and Paracelsian practices.[93]

In a similar fashion, Walter Bruel's *Praxis Medicinae* (Practice of Medicine, 1579),[94] the *De Concordia Medicorum, Disputatio Exoterica* (Exoteric Disputation on the Concord of Physicians, 1585) of Claude Aubery (*c.*1545–1596), Professor of Philosophy at the University of Lausanne,[95] and the *Methodus Medendi*, presumably the *Therapeutices Universalis, seu Medendi Rationis, libri septem* (Seven Books of Universal Therapeutic, or Method of Healing, 1574), of the French physician Jean Fernel (1497–1558) receive citations, as well as the annotations by his friend and biographer, the physician Guillaume Plancy (1514–*c.*1568).[96] As with the case of Avicenna above, certain doctors are cited for specific medications, such as the diuretic electuary of Barthélémy de Montagnana (d. *c.*1460), Professor of Medicine at Bologna,[97] and Alessandro Benedetti's cordial, or D. Angelberg's alexipharmac electuary; while Johann Lange (1485–1565) is cited with reference to Melancholia.[98] The fifteenth-century Portuguese physician Valescus de Taranta's *Medicina Practica* is cited, too, on the subject of

91 Johann Weyer, *Artzney-Buch von etlichen biss anher unbekannten unnd unbeschriebenen Kranckheyten* (Frankfurt, 1580).

92 *Quaestiones Tres*, sig. B1^{r}.

93 Allen G. Debus, *The French Paracelsians: The Chemical Challenge to Medical and Scientific Tradition in Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 57 on Duchesne; Maclean, *Logic, Signs and Nature*, 34 on Sennert.

94 *Chaos* (1597), Vorrede, sig. Avii^{r} 'Gualterus Bruel'; [margin] 'Alias Brant', 'Epistola dedicatoria Praxeos Medicinae Theoricae & Empiricae [1579].'

95 See *Chaos* (1597), Vorrede, sig. Aiii^{r} [margin] 'Claudi Alberi Triuncuriane (pag. 80. de Concordia Medicorum).'

96 *Quaestiones Tres*, sigs. B7^{v}, C7^{r}, C7^{v}; (sig Bvii^{v}) 'vti & annotationes doctissimi Plantij, ad Electuarium λιθων θρυπτικον appellatum, lib.vij. Methodi Medendi FERNELII.'

97 *Quaestiones Tres*, B7$^{r–v}$ 'Electuarium diureticum Montagnanae, in *Antidotario Medico Norimbergensium*.'

98 *Quaestiones Tres*, Cij^{v}. See Langius, *Epistolae medicinalis* (1556); idem, *Democritus ridens, sive campus recreationum honestarum. Cum exorcismo melancoliae* (1649). On Lange, see Nancy G. Siraisi, *Communities of Learned Experience: Epistolary Medicine in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), Chapter 2.

stones and strangury.[99] It is also possible that Khunrath was familiar with the medical works of Arnald of Villanova (1235–1311), for he cites him frequently on the related subject of alchemy.[100]

With his readiness for the manual labours of the alchemical laboratory it is unlikely that Khunrath would have disparaged the physical work of a surgeon, and his references to 'autopsia' and Vesalius's rival Realdo Colombo (*c.*1515–59), as well, perhaps, as his choice of the word 'amphitheatre' as the title for his major work, suggests some familiarity with the increasingly fashionable subject of anatomy,[101] the 'ancient medical doctrine' praised by the Protestant reformer Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560) as one of the finest products of Greek science.[102] From the title that Khunrath adopts in later works, 'Medicinae Utriusque Doctor' (Doctor of Both Medicines), it appears that he was qualified in both theoretical and practical medicine, although Walter Pagel, discussing Paracelsus's similar title of 'Doctor in utraque medicina', points out that this degree was not awarded at Basel until 1594.[103] Perhaps it was awarded retroactively, for in his early publications Khunrath simply refers to himself as 'Medicinae Doctor'.[104] It seems likely, though, that Khunrath would have worked with both Platter and Zwinger during the course of his studies and would have been influenced by both the former's interest in the cutting-edge

99 *Quaestiones Tres*, sig. Bvii^{v} 'Lib 5. cap.20. Mihi Pag. 253.folio secundâ. Curâ stranguriæ.' This must be the 1501 edition *Practica Valesci de Tharanta que alias philonium dicitur*, published in Lyon. For additional references to Valescus de Taranta, see Khunrath, *Athanor* (1615), 16–17.

100 For references to Villanova, see *Amph.*II, 154; *Athanor* (1603), 29, 31; *Lux in Tenebris* (1614), 22; *Magnesia* (1599), 83; *Chaos* (1597), 11 (Arnoldus), 112 margin: 'In der Epistel an den Neapolitanischen König'; 191 margin: 'Arnoldus de villa nova in flore florum'.

101 *Amph.*II, 11.

102 Eckhard Kessler, 'The Intellective Soul', in Schmitt and Skinner (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, 485–534, at 482.

103 Kangro, 'Heinrich Khunrath', 355; Walter Pagel, *Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine in the Era of the Renaissance* (Basel: S. Karger, 1958), 10, n. 26. See Khunrath, *Confessio* (1596), 56 'Henricvs Khvnrath Lips. utriusque Med: Doct.'; *Chaos* (1597), 1 'Beider Artzney-Doctor'; *Magnesia* (1599) title page; *Athanor* title page: 'Henrici Khunrath Lips: Göttlicher Weißheit trewen Liebhabers/ und beyder Artzney Doctoris'; Arnold, *Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie* (1700), 11 'beyder artzeney Doctorem'. See Albrecht Burckhardt, *Geschichte der Medizinischen Fakultät zu Basel 1460–1900* (Basel: Reinhardt, 1917), 160 on the decision of the Basel medical faculty in 1594 that the title 'Doctor utriusque Medicinae' meant 'Doctor Medicinae theoreticae et practicae' (Doctor of theoretical and practical Medicine).

104 *Zebel* and *Amphitheatrum* (1595) title pages. The first instance of him using the full title appears on the title page of *Chaos* (1597) 'Beider Artzney Doctor'.

medical research of anatomy and the latter's compendious learning which embraced the new Paracelsian philosophy.[105]

Given the university's research focus, it is perhaps hardly surprising that some of the best-known Paracelsian doctors were graduates of the Basel Medical Academy, such as Bernard Georges Penot (1519–1617),[106] and the Calvinist physician to Henri IV of France, Joseph DuChesne (1544–1609), who graduated there around the year 1573,[107] presumably under the tutelage of Zwinger, whom he cites in his works.[108] Not all Basel alumni, however, were equally enthusiastic about Paracelsus. The orthodox Lutheran Andreas Libavius (1560–1616), who graduated the same year as Khunrath, defending his 32 *Theses de summo et generali in medendo scopo, quòd nimirum in omni θεραπεύσει contraria contrarijs sint remedia* (Theses on the Pre-eminent and General View in Healing, namely that in all Therapy, Contraries are the Remedies of Contrary Things) on 15 July, 1588 is one such instance.[109] Libavius, who is sometimes regarded as the author of the 'first definitive text-book' on chemistry,[110] was a conservative upholder of the old medicine, defending the Aristotelians against the Ramists and condemning the contamination of the sciences and medicine by mysticism and occult philosophy, as found, for example, in John Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica* (1564) and the writings of the Rosicrucians.[111]

105 Carlos Gilly (ed.), *Das Erbe des Christian Rosenkreuz. Johann Valentin Andreae 1586–1986 und die Manifeste der Rosenkreuzerbruderschaft 1614–1616* (Amsterdam: In de Pelikaan, 1988), 33.

106 Partington, *A History of Chemistry*, Vol. 2, 161; Debus, *The French Paracelsians*, 36.

107 Partington, *A History of Chemistry*, Vol. 2, 167; Debus, *The French Paracelsians*, 33.

108 Debus, *The French Paracelsians*, 52 'In his notes on the elements Duchesne described chemistry as the true natural philosophy, a viewpoint that he ascribed to Theodor Zwinger: "I call chemists those who by virtue of the fire know how to separate heterogeneous or dissimilar bodies, and to join the homogeneous or similar ones"' [*Le Grande Miroir de Monde*, 2nd edn. 1593, 529].

109 Manuel Bachmann and Thomas Hofmeier (eds.), *Geheimnisse der Alchemie* (Basel: Schwabe & Co. AG. Verlag, 1999), 156, 158. Khunrath's dissertation is the third entry after Libavius's in the *Matricula facultatis medicinae* 2, fol. 11v. as is the notice of his payment of fees in the Universitätsarchiv Q 6: *Rationarium medicum* 1559–1618 (Staatsarchiv) for the time of the Deanship of Heinrich Pantaleone (17 June 1588 to 16 June 1589).

110 Read, *Prelude to Chemistry* (1966), 80; Henry Marshall Leicester and Herbert Klickstein, *A Source Book in Chemistry, 1400–1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press 1968), 21; Bruce T. Moran, *Distilling Knowledge: Alchemy, Chemistry, and the Scientific Revolution*, 100.

111 On Libavius, see, in particular, Bruce T. Moran, *Andreas Libavius and the Transformation of Alchemy: Separating Chemical Cultures with Polemical Fire* (Sagamore Beach, MA: Science History Publications, 2007). On Libavius's antiparacelsianism, see Carlos Gilly, 'The "fifth column" within Hermetism: Andreas Libavius,' in Carlos Gilly and Cis Van Heertum (eds.), *Magia, Alchimia, Scienza dal '400 al '700. L'influsso di Ermete Trismegisto/Magic, Alchemy*

Libavius considered the works of the Paracelsians, in particular, to be founded on 'paradoxes, absurdities and madness'.[112]

5 Khunrath's Portrait Engraving

The rest of this chapter shall concentrate, for the most part, on brief introductions to Khunrath's publications, from his pro-Paracelsian graduation theses at the university of Basel in 1588 to the posthumous publications in the early years after his death. Before we begin, however, let us preface these works with the portrait engraved for Khunrath in 1602, where he stands surrounded by various tokens of his life and work.

In Khunrath's portrait (Fig. 1.3), engraved three years before his death, we see the various attributes of his industrious life. On the left is a stack of six books, a small *Bibliotheca philosophica* (Philosophical Library), with the largest and thickest upright volume labelled *Alchymia*, followed in decreasing size by *Magia*, *Kabala*, representing the *Amphitheatre*'s concern, respectively, with knowledge of the three terrestrial, celestial and supercelestial worlds,[113] and then *Medicina*, for Khunrath's training as a physician. Balanced on top of the *Alchymia* volume is a book labelled *Historia*, wittily placed next to an hour-glass for the passing of time;[114] a large volume of the eternal truth of the Bible symbolically serving as the foundation to them all. On the right we find a *Laboratorium philosophicum* (Philosophical Laboratory) with its collection of predominantly alchemical equipment: crucibles, retorts, a mineral hammer, and weighing scale, a pair of dividers or compasses, along with other attributes

and Science 15th–18th Centuries: The Influence of Hermes Trismegistus, 2 vols. (Florence: Centro Di, 2002), Vol. 1, 409–415.

112 Andreas Libavius, *Commentariorum Alchymiae* (Frankfurt, 1606), sigs. Aa2^{v}–Aa5^{v}. See Debus, *The French Paracelsians*, 60–61; Bachmann and Hofmeier (eds.), *Geheimnisse der Alchemie*, 156. See also Peter J. Forshaw, '"Paradoxes, Absurdities, and Madness": Conflict over Alchemy, Magic and Medicine in the Works of Andreas Libavius and Heinrich Khunrath', *Early Science and Medicine* 13 (2008): 53–81.

113 Noted, for example, by Thomas Willard, *Thomas Vaughan and the Rosicrucian Revival in Britain, 1648–1666* (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 83.

114 On the sense of 'Historia' as the 'report' of others, be that the record of human experience or the description of nature including specific cases, see Maclean, *Logic, Signs and Nature*, 198. Thomas Willard, 'How Magical was Renaissance Magic?', in Albrecht Classen (ed.), *Magic and Magicians in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Time: The Occult in Pre-Modern Sciences, Medicine, Literature, Religion, and Astrology* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2017), 637–656, at 646 describes one as a *Dictionarium Medicum* and suggests that the three upright books correspond to Agrippa's three books of 'Occult Philosophy', with magic as the centrepiece.



FIGURE 1.3 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Portrait*, detail: Library and Laboratory. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977

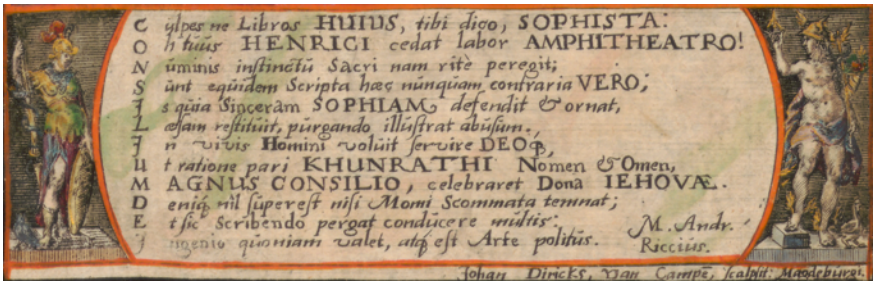


FIGURE 1.4 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Portrait*, detail: 'Consilium Dei' acrostic. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977

of a physically active life, including a rapier, dagger, powder-horn and musket. It is Khunrath's involvement with the interconnected realms of *Alchymia*, *Magia* and *Kabala* in particular that forms the basis of this book.[115]

Beneath Khunrath's portrait stands a 12-line poem (Fig. 1.4) incorporating the acrostic Consilium Dei (God's Counsel), which as well as emphasising Khunrath's religiosity is also most likely an allusion to his pseudonym, 'Thrasybulus'. Some humanists, like the famous German scholar of Hebrew and Greek, Johann Reuchlin (1455–1522), adopted classical pseudonyms, Reuchlin's being the Greek sobriquet 'Capnion' (Little Smoke), a punning translation of the

115 The terms *Bibliotheca philosophica* and *Laboratorium philosophicum* are taken from seventeenth-century marginal notes in a copy of the *Amphitheatre* in the Wellcome Library, London shelfmark 3560/d/3, marginalia to the *Portrait* engraving.

similarity of his surname to the German word 'Rauch' (Smoke);[116] his even more famous young relative Philip Schwarzerdt (1497–1560) hellenized his German surname, meaning 'black earth', into 'Melanchthon'.[117] One of Khunrath's friends, the French alchemist and physician Joseph DuChesne, Latinised his name as 'Quercetanus' (Oaky). Khunrath translated the German play on his own surname as 'Bold' (Kühn) in 'Counsel' (Rat) into the Greek 'Thrasybulus' (from Θρασυ [Thrasy], *Bold* and βουλη [Boulé], *Counsel*), adopting it as his pseudonym along with the anagram 'Ricenus' for his first name, [H]enricus.[118] The first to figure this out seems to have been Khunrath's long-time critic, the professor of literature, alchemist and vitriolic polemicist Andreas Libavius,[119] with others later explaining that the name Khunrath can signify 'a man of vigorous and bold counsel',[120] or 'clever [and] witty in counsel'.[121] Hence the

116 See David H. Price, *Johannes Reuchlin and the Campaign to Destroy Jewish Books* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 31 who explains that it was the Venetian scholar Ermolao Barbaro who gave Reuchlin this name. Cf. Elizabeth See Watson, *Achille Bocchi and the Emblem Book as Symbolic Form* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 108 citing the example of Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484–1558) who composed a logogryph on his name: 'Quo scandas tu, quoque uoles, gerit unus et idem' (One and the same person bears you; with him you may ascend and with him you may fly) based on the fact that the name Scaliger yields *scala* (stairs), *ala* (wing), and *gero* (bear or assume).

117 Michael Mullett, *Historical Dictionary of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation* (Plymouth: The Scarecrow Press, 2010), 325.

118 *Chaos* (1597), 440 margin: 'Riceni Thrasibuli'. See Vincent Placcius, *De Scriptoribus Pseudonymis detectis liber*, in Johann Albert Fabricius, *Theatrum anonymorum et pseudonymorum* (Hamburg, 1708), 591 '*Riceni* Thrasibuli … Auctorem esse Henricum Kunrath … vera nomina, prius quidem anagrammate, alterius vero Significationem Germanicam Graeca voce occultari.'

119 See Gilly, 'Das *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* von Heinrich Khunrath', 154. Libavius was followed soon after by Johannes Franke, *Discursus de Chemicorum quorundam non modo Nova Medicina et medendi ratione* (Lübeck, 1617), 19. See also Moran, *Andreas Libavius and the Transformation of Alchemy*, 79 'Henricus Thrasybulus'. Having triumphantly cracked this myself, much to my chagrin I then discovered that Töllner had already figured it out years before, in *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 25–6. See also Joachim Telle, 'Khunrath, *Heinrich* (Pseudonym: *Ricenus Thrasibulus*),' in Claus Priesner and Karin Figala (eds.), *Alchemie: Lexikon einer hermetischen Wissenschaft* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1998), 194–196.

120 Vincent Placcius, Christoph Augustus Heumann and Johann Christoph Mylius, *Bibliotheca anonymorum et pseudonimorum*, Part 1 (Hamburg, 1711), no pagination: 'Conrath idem significat ac Kan rathen, uel Kühnrath, vir strenui & audacis consilii'. See also Andreas Sutor, *Latinum Chaos de, ex et pro omni* (Augsburg, 1716), 134 'Wohl-Rath/Voll-Rath/ und Kühn-Rath. Stehen selten in einem Grad und Statt'; Friedrich Rassmann and Johann Wilhelm Sigismund Lindner, *Kurzgefaßtes Lexicon deutscher pseudonymer Schriftsteller* (Leipzig: Wilhelm Naud, 1830), 184 'Thrasybulus (Ricen): Heinr. Kunrath oder Khunrath.'

121 Christian August Vulpius, *Curiositäten der physisch- literarisch- artistisch- historischen Vor- und Mitwelt*, Vol. 6 (Weimar, 1817), 232–233 'Kömmt Kunz hin, kömmt Heinz wieder. …



FIGURE 1.5 *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Portrait*, detail: Coat of Arms. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977



FIGURE 1.6 *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Title Page*, detail: Coat of Arms. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977

presence of the classical gods Athena and Hermes, respectively symbolic of wise counsel and, eloquence, wit, and mercantile shrewdness.

In the upper left corner of the portrait stands the Khunrath family's coat of arms (Fig. 1.5), with a cockerel *vigilant*, dexter talon bearing an erect sickle,[122] surmounted on a helmet, above a shield *pendant* or *accouche* (tilted), this case to the right, but to the left on the *Amphitheatre*'s title page (Fig. 1.6),[123] bearing a six-pointed star dexter chief (at the top left) on a pale, silver or white background, and a six-pointed star sinister base (bottom right) on a dark background, divided by two sickles fesswise, blade to chief (horizontal, points to top of shield), a quarterstaff and a seven-tined ragged staff, forming as it were a bend sinister, from top right to bottom left, placed on a mantle.

In the top-right corner of the portrait, a blaze of light contains the Hebrew Tetragrammaton or four-letter name of God, יהוה [YHVH] with the words 'sufficiat tibi GRATIA mea' (let my grace be sufficient for you), a slight modification

Kunz oder Konrad ist so viel als Kühn-Rath, welcher klug, witzig im Rathen ist. Heinz oder Heinrich aber ist so viel als heimlich. Davon hat das Sprichwort seinen Ursprung, nämlich: Stirbt ein kühner, geschickter Rath, so kömmt ein anderer, erfahrener an seine Stelle.'

122 Lenz (ed.), *Der Alchemist Conrad Khunrath*, 28. Heinrich's brother Conrad used the pseudonym 'Galliculus' (Little Rooster).

123 See also the coat of arms above the mantelpiece in Khunrath's *Oratory-Laboratory* engraving.

of 2 Corinthians 12:9.[124] As José Bouman and Cis van Heertum explain, here the apostle Paul gives an account of how God sent him a messenger of Satan to torment him, in order to warn him against undue pride at receiving visions and revelations. As a response to Paul's pleading for the tormenter to be removed, he received the reply, 'My grace is sufficient for thee; for power is made perfect in infirmity. Gladly therefore will I glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may dwell in me.'[125] As shall be seen in the following chapters, this phrase must have been particularly poignant for Khunrath, who believed himself to be the recipient of divine and angelic revelations and at the same time the target of human and demonic attack. Such an emphasis on divine grace and human infirmity, furthermore, seems highly appropriate for a theosophical physician dealing with the physical, psychological and spiritual frailties of himself and his fellow men on a daily basis.

Demand for engraved portraits 'increased at enormous bounds' at the end of the sixteenth century,[126] and Khunrath's appears to be relatively sophisticated for the period. It is certainly not simply a view of the author in profile, such as that found on the title page of Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533, Fig. 1.7),[127] or the various portraits of Paracelsus, such as in *Astronomica et astrologica opuscula* (Little Astronomical and Astrological Works, 1567, Fig. 1.8), but compares favourably with Frans Hogenberg's 1574 portrait of the cartographer Gerard Mercator measuring a globe with his compass, printed in *Atlas sive cosmographicae meditationes de fabrica mundi et fabricati figura* (Atlas or Cosmographic Meditations on the Fabric of the World and the Figure of the Fabrick'd, 1595, Fig. 1.9), or Hendrik Goltzius's 1581–1585 engraved portrait of the humanist printer Christophe Plantin (*c.*1520–1589, Fig. 1.10), if not at the level of Giacomo Lauro's impressive portrait of Giovanni Battista della Porta surrounded by the objects of his study, in *De Distillatione Libri IX* (Nine Books on Distillation, 1608, Fig. 1.11),[128] which has been described as a *musaeum sui*

124 Khunrath may have adopted this variant from Chrysostom. See Chrysostom, *Opera Omnia* (Amsterdam, 1687), Vol. 4, 717.

125 José Bouman and Cis Van Heertum (eds.), *Divine Wisdom – Divine Nature: The Message of the Rosicrucian Manifestoes in the Visual Language of the Seventeenth Century* (Amsterdam: In de Pelikaan, 2014), 82–83.

126 Arthur M. Hind, *A History of Engraving and Etching: From the 15th Century to the Year 1914* (New York: Dover Publications, 1963), 141.

127 A far more elegant version can be found in Theodor de Bry's engraving in Jean-Jacques Boissard and Theodore de Bry, *Bibliotheca chalcographica* (Heidelberg, 1669).

128 Giovanni Battista Della Porta, *De Distillatione Libri IX* (Rome, 1608); see also Zetzner's edition, *De Distillationibus* (Strasbourg, 1609).



FIGURE 1.7 Agrippa's Portrait, *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533), title page. Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division



FIGURE 1.8 Paracelsus's 'Rosicrucian' Portrait, *Astronomica et astrologica opuscula* (1567). Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH1768 C



FIGURE 1.9 Mercator's Portrait, *Atlas sive Cosmographicae Meditationes* (1595). Library of Congress, Rosenwald Collection



FIGURE 1.10 Plantin's Portrait. National Gallery of Art, Washington



FIGURE 1.11 Della Porta's Portrait, *De Distillatione* (1608). National Central Library of Rome

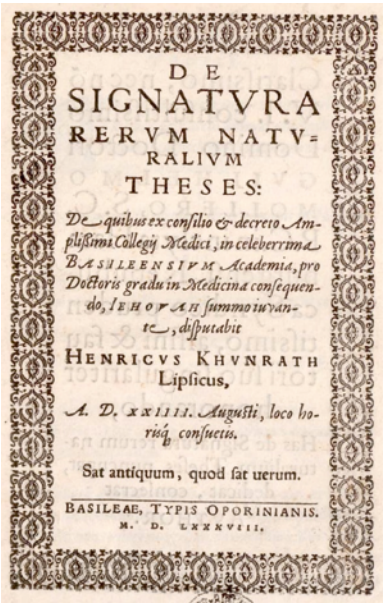


FIGURE 1.12 Khunrath, *De Signatura rerum naturalium theses* (1588), title page. Universitätsbibliothek Basel

ipsius (museum of himself), the depiction of a master with 'control over all forms of knowledge'.[129]

6 1588 On the Signatures of Natural Things, Graduation in Basel

Khunrath's *De Signatura Rerum Naturalium Theses* (Theses on the Signatures of Natural Things, Fig. 1.12),[130] dedicated to his relative and patron, the lawyer Doctor Wilhelm Moller of Hamburg (1558–1601),[131] chancellor to the Lutheran

129 Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 322.

130 Universitätsbibliothek, Diss. 148, Nº 52. Heinrich Khunrath, *De Signatura Rerum Naturalium Theses* (Basileæ, Typis Oporinianis, 1588).

131 'Clarissimo, necnon V.I. consultissimo Domino Doctori GVILHELMO MOLLERO, S.C.P.C. in inclyta Hamburgensi Republica Syndico prudentissimo, affini & fautori suo singulariter honorando, Has de Signatura rerum naturalium Theses nuncupat, dedicat, consecrat Author.' See too Adelung, *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit* (1787), Vol. 5, 93. For dates, see Gregor Rohmann, 'Joachim Moller gründet ein Geschlecht. Erinnerungsräume

Edzard II Cirksena, Count of East Frisia (1532–1599),[132] were printed at the Typis Oporinianis, established by Zwinger's uncle and Paracelsus's erstwhile amanuensis, the humanist printer Johannes Oporinus (1507–1568). Zwinger was never to see the theses defended, however, as he died in March, five months before their publication.[133] Manuel Bachmann and Thomas Hofmeier suggest that in his place the newly arrived Swiss-Italian physician Johann Nikolaus Stupanus (1542–1621) probably acted as Khunrath's 'Doktorvater', his promoter or doctoral advisor.

Bachmann and Hofmeier consider Khunrath's theses to be the direct antithesis of those of Andreas Libavius and a precious document of the academic recognition of the Paracelsian-alchemical interpretation of nature in the Basel Medical Faculty, arguing that their title refers to a pseudo-Paracelsian work, *De natura rerum* (On the Nature of Things, Basel 1572), whose ninth chapter bears the same title 'De signatura rerum naturalium'.[134]

Khunrath's 28 *Theses on the Signatures of Natural Things* are a clear application of the new Paracelsian principles for the identification of suitable herbs and minerals for treatment. They represent a philosophy of nature that sees connections in all things and the belief that the outward appearance of a thing reveals its inner qualities, a knowledge and practice that Khunrath praises Paracelsus for rescuing 'from the shadows of oblivion'.[135] There is no doubt that Khunrath saw his research as up-to-the-minute, for later, in the *Amphitheatre*, he expresses the pride he felt at being the first in Germany to have promulgated the Doctrine of Signatures, just before the publication of Giovanni Battista Della Porta's influential *Phytognomonica* (1588) on the signatures of plants.[136] Khunrath clearly saw himself as a promoter of this influential new, or

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im Hamburg des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts', in Mark Hengerer (ed.), *Macht und Memoria: Begräbniskultur europäischer Oberschichten in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2005), 91–130, at 111. According to the *Sammlung der hamburgischen Gesetze und Verfassungen* (Hamburg, 1772), Volume 11, 192 Moller was 'Rechten Doctor und syndicus'.

132 Bernhard Hagedorn, *Ostfrieslands Handel und Schiffahrt vom Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts bis zum Westfälischen Frieden (1580–1648)* (Berlin: K. Curtius, 1912), 43.

133 Thommen, *Geschichte der Universität Basel*, 245.

134 Bachmann and Hofmeier (eds.), *Geheimnisse der Alchemie*, 157–158. On Stupanus, see Bonjour, *Die Universität Basel*, 168ff.

135 *Amph.*II, 152 'Hoc Philippus Theophrastus Paracelsus (revera *Germanicus Asclepiades*, uti verissimè de eo testatur *Petrus Ramus*) à tenebris obliuionis in lucem fructuosissimè revocavit' (It is this which Philippus Theophrastus Paracelsus [who is truly the *German Asclepiad* as *Petrus Ramus* really bears witness] rescued from the shadows of oblivion and replaced most fruitfully into the light).

136 Della Porta, *Phytognomonica Io. Baptistae Portae Neap. Octo Libris Contenta. In quibus nova, facillimaqve affertur methodus, qua plantarum, animalium, metallorum, rerum denique omnium …* (Naples, 1588). For references to Della Porta's *Phytognomonica*, see *Amph.*II,

revived, doctrine, which was soon to be adopted by iatrochemical thinkers like Joseph DuChesne (1544–1609),[137] Oswald Croll (1563–1609),[138] and Pierre Paulmier (1568–1610).[139] In the context of signatures and hieroglyphic signs Khunrath Christianises Aristotle's dictum from *On the Heavens*, declaring that 'God and Nature do nothing in vain,'[140] arguing that 'nothing is found that does not contain in itself something worthy of admiration',[141] and 'everything has been made for a certain end'.[142] He cites a wide variety of sources in support, from the classical authorities Aristotle, Galen, and Pliny and orthodox moderns like Leonhart Fuchs (1501–1566), Tycho Brahe's friend the Czech Tadeáš Hájek (1525–1600), personal physician to Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II in Prague, and DuChesne's *Sclopetarius* (1576) on poisoning from gunshot wounds, to the less mainstream works of the thirteenth-century philosopher Michael Scot (1175–*c*.1232), author of the *Liber Physiognomiae* (Book of Physiognomy) and *De Alchimia* (On Alchemy), the German astrologer Johannes de Indagine's 1522 work on palmistry, the Dutch physician Levinus Lemnius's *Occulta Naturae Miracula* (Occult Miracles of Nature, 1567), as well as to a commentary on Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*, the *Physiognomicos syllogismos* (Physiognomic Syllogisms, 1584) of the French physician and philosopher Claude Aubery (*c*.1545–1596), on serpentaria and serpents. From these works Khunrath defends

152 and for *Magiae Naturalis* (Naples, 1558/1589), see *De Igne Magorum*, 94, 103 'Was von praeparatione eines Ewigen oder immerbrennendes Feuers und Liechts/ auß dem Beschluß deß 12. Buchs Natürlicher Magiæ, Johannis Baptistæ Portæ deß Neapolitaners.'

137 Quercetanus [Joseph DuChesne], *De Priscorum Philosophorum veræ medicinæ materia* (Saint Gervais, 1603), 88 for reference to Della Porta.

138 Croll, *Basilica Chymica* (1609), 14; *Tractatus de Signaturis internis rerum* (1609), 8 with references to Della Porta; 7, 15, 52 to Chiromancy and Physiognomy.

139 Petrus Palmarius, *Lapis Philosophicus Dogmaticorum* (Paris, 1609), 4–5: 'Simeotice etiam a medicamento est. Signaturæ sunt rerum externæ & internæ quibus medicamenta, quasi quadam chiromantia doceant, quibus conveniant naturis, aetatibus, temperamentis. Internam signaturam volunt, ab essentialibus principijs: patere experimento, ad quod duces sunt saepe externae. Paracelsus rerum praedestinationem solet appellare.' On DuChesne and Paulmier, see Peter Elmer and Ole Peter Grell (eds.), *Health, Disease and Society in Europe, 1500–1800: A Source Book* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 119–124.

140 Khunrath, Thesis 4. Aristotle, *On the Heavens*, 31. See also *Quaestiones Tres*, Sig. Bvii^{r} 'Natura enim nihil facit frustra.' Cf. Maclean, *Logic, Signs and Nature*, 325 concerning DuChesne. Cf. Richterova, 'Alchemical Manuscripts in the Collections of Rudolf II', 249ff, 265 diagram 'Deus et natura nihil faciunt frustra.'

141 Khunrath, *De Signatura rerum naturalium theses* (1588), sig. Aij^{r}, Thesis 1 'Cum in universo mundi theatro, vel Aristot. lib. 1. de Partibus animalium teste, nihil reperiatur, quod aliquid admiratione dignum in se non contineat'.

142 Khunrath, *De Signatura rerum naturalium theses* (1588), sig. Aij^{r}, Thesis 3 'omnia ad certum finem condita esse.'

the idea that physiognomy and the related chiromancy (palm-reading) and metoposcopy (forehead-reading) can identify the latent significations of men and argues that a knowledge of signatures can help recognise the properties of a wide variety of plants and mineral stones.[143] In so doing, the underlying message is that the Paracelsian doctor knowledgeable in the Doctrine of Signatures is practising a divine science, reading God's book of nature for the benefit of his fellow men.

Khunrath defended his Paracelsian-influenced theses on 24 August 1588, graduated with the highest honours, and received his M.D. from the Medical College on 3 September 1588.[144]

7 1589 Bremen: a Meeting of Maguses

Much has been made of the next incident we know from Khunrath's life, his encounter in the Protestant city of Bremen in north-west Germany with the English mathematician and occult philosopher John Dee (1527–1608/9), who was returning home after an eventful time in Prague and the South Bohemian town of Třeboň, on what has variously been reported as the 6 or 27 June 1589.[145] In a diary entry for 1589, Dee notes that 'June 6th, Dr. Kenrich Khanradt of Hamburgh visitted me'.[146] Although it is possible that the two could have

143 For more detail on these arts, see Chapter 5 on Khunrath's magic.

144 Kangro, 'Heinrich Khunrath', 355; Wackernagel et al. (eds.), *Die Matrikel der Universität Basel* (Basel: Verlag der Universitätsbibliothek, 1956), Vol. 2, 361, no. 79; Moller, *Cimbria literata*, 440 'Supremos artis Medicae honores Basileæ A. 1588'.

145 James Orchard Halliwell (ed.), *The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee* (London: Camden Society 1842), 31 'June 6th, Dr. Kenrich Khanradt of Hamburgh visitted me'; Elias Ashmole, *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (London, 1652), 483 'Here that famous *Hermetique Philosopher*, [Doctor *Henric Kunrath* of *Hamburgh*] came to visit him.' Ashmole gives the date as 27 June 1589, possibly due to calendar changes. Dee was possibly visiting the municipal secretary in Bremen Timann Koch or Coch, whose *Thesaurus Amicorum* contains a contribution dated Bremen, 14 November 1589. See *Catalogue of additions to the manuscripts in the British Museum in the years MDCCCXLVIII–MDCCCLIII* (London: Woodfall and Kinder, 1868), 194 'Thesaurus Amicorum Timanni Coccii [Cock] Bremensis,' containing inscriptions of professors, students, and others, dated at Bremen, Leyden, Helmstadt, and other places, in the years 1589–1595. Those of Dr. John Dee and Janus Dousa, father and son, occur at ff. 7, 15, and 15 b respectively. See British Library, Add. MS. 19065.

146 Evans, *Rudolf II and His World*, 214; Halliwell (ed.), *The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee*, 31; Ashmole, *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, A Reprint of the London Edition 1652* (New York and London: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1967), 483. Dee at least provides us with

met when Dee was in Leipzig in May 1586, Bremen was certainly their first recorded encounter.[147] Despite the fact that next to no work had been done until recently on the alchemical practices of either Dee or Khunrath, the opinion that the two of them were purely mystical, spiritual, symbolic alchemists took hold.[148] One of Dee's more rhapsodical biographers, Charlotte Fell Smith (1851–1937), grandiloquently writes that 'Khunrath was the chief writer of the advanced school of alchemists who passed from the pursuit of material gold to the discovery of incorruptible spiritual treasures hidden in the palaces of truth to which they provided a spiritual key; and it is a pregnant fact that all his books were published after this conference with Dee.'[149] Frances Yates (1899–1981) in the *Rosicrucian Enlightenment* likewise declares Khunrath's 'Alchemist,' to be 'expressive of the Dee kind of alchemy,' by which she means 'the alchemy of the Rosicrucian manifestos and of Dee's *Monas*.'[150] More recently, Urszula Szulakowska makes the exaggerated claim that 'the imagery and much of the text of the *Amphitheatre* and its generative inspiration on later occultists, as well as chemists, is due to Khunrath's meeting with Dee in Bremen.'[151] The question of Khunrath's alchemy forms the subject matter of Chapter 6. Suffice it here

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the information that Khunrath was residing in Hamburg, possibly at the house of the same relative Wilhelm Moller who had attended his graduation.

147 In his introduction to the facsimile edition of the 1708 edition of Khunrath's *Vom hylealischen … Chaos*, XIII Elmar R. Gruber points out that Khunrath could have met Dee earlier, when he was in Leipzig in May 1586. On Dee's move from Prague to Leipzig, on 6 May 1586, see Peter J. French, *John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus* (New York: Routledge, 1972, repr. 2002), 121.

148 See, for example, John Read, *From Alchemy to Chemistry* (New York: Dover Publications, 1995), 72, regarding Khunrath; Daniel Merkur, 'Drugs and the Occult', in Christopher Partridge (ed.), *The Occult World* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 672–680, at 677 describing Dee's *Monas Hierolgyphica* (1564) as 'the foundational text of spiritual alchemy'. Fortunately, work by Hereward Tilton and Jennifer Rampling takes serious consideration of the laboratory practices of Khunrath and Dee, and Vladimir Karpenko's article, 'Heinrich Khunraths *Vom Hylealischen Chaos*: Chemische Askpekte', gives a high estimation of Khunrath's theoretical and practical experience in the laboratory. For more, see Chapter 6 on Khunrath's alchemy.

149 Charlotte Fell Smith, *John Dee (1527–1609)* (London: Constable & Company, 1909), 217.

150 Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (repr. 1996), 83. Cf. Joseph Ennemoser, *The History of Magic*, translated by William Howitt (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), 272: 'To these must be added the theosophist Rosicrucians, Oswald Croll, Gerhard Dorn, Michael Toxites, Heinrich Kunnath [sic], Aegidius Guthmann, Julius Sperber, Valentine Weigel, etc., who may all be found in Brucker's *Critical History of Philosophy*, vol. iv., p. 644, 750.'

151 Urszula Szulakowska, *John Dee and European Alchemy* (The Durham Thomas Harriot Seminar, Occasional Paper no. 21, Durham: University of Durham, School of Education, 1996), 2.

to say that Dee's influence, though present, is only one of many sources used by Khunrath in the development of his ideas. What can be argued, as Robert Evans points out, is that it is likely that during his meeting with Dee, Khunrath 'forged the link [...] which was to take him to Bohemia,'[152] for it surely is 'a pregnant fact' that two years after their meeting we find Khunrath working as personal physician to the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II's second-in-command, Count Vilém Rožmberk (1535–1592), who had been Dee's patron from around 1586 until his return to England.[153]

8 1588–1589 Magical Manuscripts in Berlin

Both Dee and Khunrath were deeply engaged in questions of prophecy and divination at this time. Dee's records of his conversations with angels or actions with spirits in *Mysteriorum Libri Quinque* (Five Books of Mysteries, 1581–1583) and those published in the anti-enthusiast Meric Casaubon's *A True and Faithful Relation of What passed for many Yeers Between Dr. John Dee and some Spirits* (1659) date from around this period (1583–1587).[154] During the years 1588–89 Khunrath made his copies of manuscripts from the library of a scholar much admired by Dee, the magical abbot Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516): the *Liber Albedachi* (Book of Albedach), *Libellus Almachbale* (Booklet of Almachbal), and one of the best sources for knowledge of Renaissance magic, the *Antipalus Maleficiorum* (Adversary of Black Magic), from the collection of elector Joachim I of Brandenburg (1484–1535).[155]

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152 Evans, *Rudolf II and His World*, 214.

153 Deborah E. Harkness, *John Dee's Conversations with Angels: Cabala, Alchemy, and the End of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 54; Nicholas H. Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy: Between Science and Religion* (London: Routledge, 1988; reprint 2013), 228.

154 Joseph H. Peterson (ed.), *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery: Original Sourcebook of Enochian Magic* (Boston, MA/York Beach, ME: Weiser Books, 2003).

155 Paola Zambelli, *White Magic, Black Magic in the European Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 63 '"Henricus Khunrath utriusque Med. Doct": Ex Autographo Serenissimi Electoris Joachimi primi Brandenburgensis: of 1506: Nota: Transtuli praecedentes descriptiones ex codice pergamento Anno 1506 in quarto, ut vocant, modo, manuscripto, Serenissimi Principis Joachimi primi, Electoris Brandenburgici, effigie propria bis, Angeli sui Jaymyelis semel,' Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Ms. Witchcraft BF A 32, ff. 1–234. For a reference to Khunrath spending time in Berlin, see *De Igne Magorum* (1608), 38. On Dee's interest in the works of Trithemius, especially the *Steganographia*, see Stephen Clucas, 'John Dee's Angelic Conversations and the *Ars Notoria*: Renaissance Magic and Mediaeval Theurgy', in Stephen Clucas (ed.), *John Dee: Interdisciplinary Studies in English Renaissance Thought* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2006), 231–273.

9 1591 A Patent Application to the Emperor

In 1591 Khunrath sends a patent application for an imperial privilege for a technique intended to keep the precious metal content of gold and silver ores high (Fig. 1.13).[156]

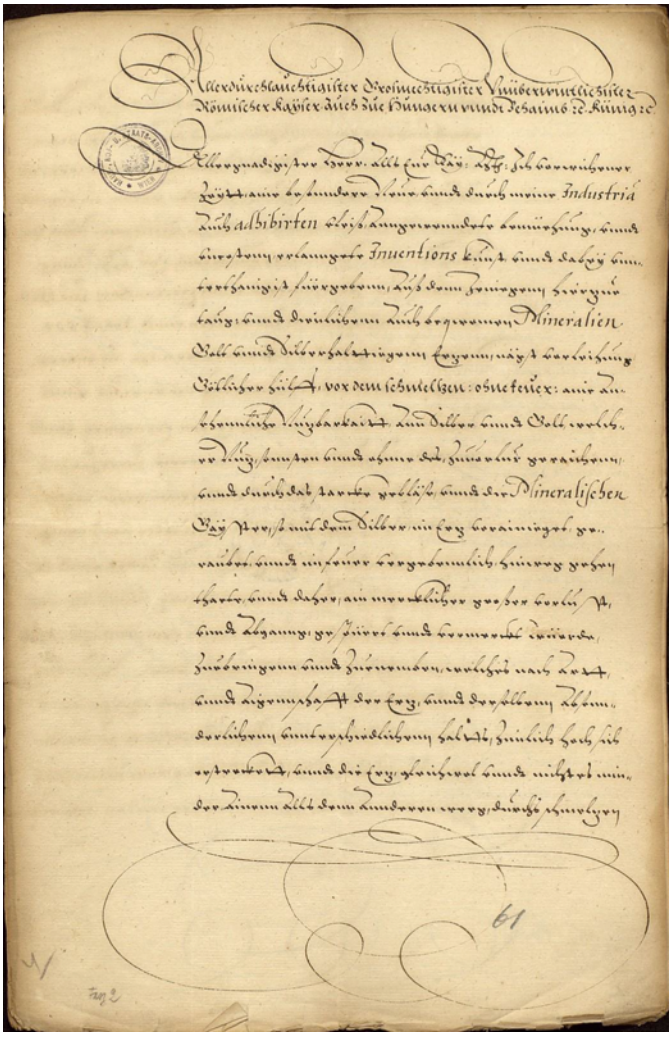


FIGURE 1.13 Khunrath's Patent Application, f. 61. Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Abteilung Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv RHR, Gewerbe-, Fabriks- und Handlungsprivilegien, Karton 2, Konv. 2, fol. 61–64

156 My thanks to Oliver Humberg for generously sharing this material with me.

10 1591 A Powerful Patron in Bohemia

Regularly visited in the capital of his domains at Český Krumlov in South Bohemia by the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II (1552–1612) and other heads of state,[157] Vilém Rožmberk (commonly Germanicised as Wilhelm von Rosenberg, 1535–1592), belonged to one of the oldest and most powerful noble families in Bohemia, with a court second only to that of Rudolf.[158] Appointed Supreme Burgrave at Prague Castle in 1576, he was Rudolf's trusted right-hand-man in all things Bohemian,[159] receiving the highest accolade of Habsburg chivalry, the order of the Golden Fleece, together with the Emperor in 1585.[160] Though a Catholic and supporter of the Jesuits, funding their new college completed in Český Krumlov in 1588, Vilém expressed great tolerance towards those of other religious persuasions, no less so than in the fact that two of his four wives were Protestant.[161] Like Rudolf, he was fascinated by occult philosophy and his court was a magnet for alchemists, with him employing over 50,[162] including the Bohemian nobleman Bavor Rodovský (1526–*c.*1592), Daniel Prandtner von Prandt, the Silesian Christoff von Hirschenberg (fl. 1574–92), Anton Michael von Ebersbach (d. 1593), the Italian Claudius Syrrus,[163] the

157 Evans, *Rudolf II and his World*, 66.

158 Gertrude von Schwarzenfeld, *Rudolf II: Der saturnische Kaiser* (Munich: Verlag Georg D.W. Callwey, 1961), 68; Benedek Láng, *Unlocked Books: Manuscripts of Learned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 278. On the vast territory of the Rožmberks, see Jaroslav Panek, Robert Simunek, and Vratislav Vanicek, 'The Lords of Rožmberk: An historical study', in *The Rožmberks: A Short Exhibition Guide* (Ceskych Budejovicich: Narodni pamatkovy ustav, 2011), 24–111, at 78.

159 Evans, *Rudolf II and his World*, 40.

160 Evans, *Rudolf II and his World*, 66. See also Rudolf Werner Soukup, '"Transforming the Whole Corpus Solis into Liquor Irreducibilis": Laboratory Alchemy at the Court of Emperor Rudolf II,' in Ivo Purš and Vladimir Karpenko (eds.), *Alchemy and Rudolf II: Exploring the Secrets of Nature in Central Europe in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Prague: Artefactum, 2016), 205–227, at 212.

161 Panek, Simunek, and Vanicek, 'The Lords of Rožmberk: An Historical Study', 80–81. For further references to Vilem's protestant wives, see Petr Mata, 'Constructing and Crossing Confessional Boundaries: The High Nobility and the Reformation of Bohemia', in Howard Louthan, Gary B. Cohen, and Franz A.J. Szabo (eds.), *Diversity and Dissent: Negotiating Religious Difference in Central Europe, 1500–1800* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 10–29, at 24. See also Peter H. Marshall, *The Theatre of the World: Alchemy, Astrology and Magic in Renaissance Prague* (London: Harvell Secker, 2006), 122.

162 Ivo Purš and Vladimir Karpenko, 'Alchemy at the Aristocratic Courts of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown', in Purš and Karpenko (eds.), *Alchemy and Rudolf II*, 47–92, at 59.

163 Tara Nummedal, *Alchemy and Authority in the Holy Roman Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 110.

Augsburg city physician and major collector and copyist of Paracelsus's manuscripts, Karl Widemann (1585/93–1638), the French alchemist Nicolas Barnaud (*c.*1539–1604), the English magus John Dee (1527–1608/9) and his scryer Edward Kelley (1555–*c.*1597), as well as Kelley's assistant Johann Grueber.[164] They were employed either in Vilém's palace adjoining the Emperor's on the Hradschin in Prague, or on his southern estates, in Krumlov, Třeboň, or at the castle of Złoty Stok.[165] An avid bibliophile with a library famous in its day, Vilém assembled a large collection of alchemical manuscripts with the assistance of Rodovský, the most important Czech writer on alchemy,[166] and maintained correspondence with others involved in alchemy and the occult arts.[167] It is to Rožmberk that Dee and Kelley fled for refuge following their banishment from Prague in 1586, staying at his estate in Třeboň until 1589,[168] and continuing their angelic conversations, at times with Vilém in attendance, as well as working on alchemy.[169]

In light of his interest in occult philosophy, it is understandable that Vilém would be amenable to meeting Khunrath and so it was that the Rožmberk librarian Václav Březan (1568–1618) recorded a certain 'Jindřich Kunrát z Lipska' becoming court physician on 15 December 1591,[170] with an annual salary of 200 thalers as well as the guarantee of three horses and four domestic

164 Kühlmann and Telle (eds.), *Der Frühparacelsismus*, Part 3:1, 790–91. According to 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, at 164 Widemann worked as Kelley's secretary.

165 Soukup, 'Transforming the Whole Corpus Solis into Liquor Irreducibilis', 212. C.J.S. Thompson, *The Lure and Romance of Alchemy* (London: George G. Harrap & Company, 1932), 151; Joachim Telle, *Alchemie und Poesie: Deutsche Alchemikerdichtungen des 15. bis 17 Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2013), Vol. 1, 559. For Rožmberk's contract with the Italian alchemist Claudius Syrrus Romanus, see Nummedal, *Alchemy and Authority in the Holy Roman Empire*, 109–111; for more on alchemists in the employ of Rožmberk, see Rudolf Werner Soukup, *Chemie in Österreich: Bergbau, Alchemie und frühe Chemie, Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2007), Vol. 1, 337.

166 Evans, *Rudolf II and his World*, 213.

167 Evans, *Rudolf II and his World*, 213; Eliska Fucikova, 'The Rožmberk cultural environment at the dawn of the modern period', in *The Rožmberks: A Short Exhibition Guide*, 144–175, at 156–157; Vladimir Karpenko, 'Bohemian Nobility and Alchemy in the Second Half of the 16th Century: Wilhelm of Rosenberg and Two Alchemists', *Cauda Pavonis* 15:2 (1994): 14–18, 27.

168 Evans, *Rudolf II and his World*, 222.

169 Meric Casaubon, *A True and Faithful Relation of What Passed for Many Years Between Dr. John Dee and Some Spirits* (London, 1659), 444ff.

170 Evans, *Rudolf II and his World*, 214 citing Václav Březan, *Poslední Rožmberkové* (*The Last Rožmberks*), 165.

servants.[171] His employment was, however, to be relatively brief as Vilém sickened and died in August the following year. It is likely, however, that Khunrath made some influential contacts during his stay. The French alchemist Barnaud, also employed by Rožmberk in 1591,[172] certainly seems to share similar interests to Khunrath and even a similar style of expression in *De Occulta Philosophia* (On Occult Philosophy, 1601) and *Tractatulus Chemicus, Theosophiae Palmarium dictus anonymi cuiusdam Philosophi antiqui* (A Short Chemical Treatise, called the Masterpiece of Theosophy, of a certain anonymous ancient Philosopher, 1601).[173] Though no evidence is provided, Szulakowska claims that Khunrath met the editor and putative author of the alchemical works of Basil Valentine, Johann Thölde (*c.*1566–1614) in Prague, as well as, possibly, Rudolf II's physician and alchemist Michael Maier (1568–1622).[174]

171 Bachmann and Hofmeier (eds.), *Geheimnisse der Alchemie*, 159. As a comparison, the artist Jan van Wijck was appointed court portrait painter of Christian IV on February 1, 1598, with a yearly salary of 60 talers and the "usual courtly garb". Hereward Tilton, *The Quest for the Phoenix: Spiritual Alchemy and Rosicrucianism in the Work of Count Michael Maier (1569–1622)* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 189 records that when Michael Maier was accepted as 'Medicus und Chymicus von Hauß' by Moritz of Hessen-Kassel in 1618 his income was settled at '150 rix-dollars (Reichstaler) per year and 75 rix-dollars extra to represent the court at each Frankfurt Book Fair'. According to Ivo Purš, 'The Habsburgs on the Bohemian Throne and Their Interest in Alchemy and the Occult Sciences', in Purš and Karpenko (eds.), *Alchemy and Rudolf II*, 93–127, at 99, the Christian Cabalist Guillaume Postel (1510–1581) received a salary of 200 florins – the highest among all professors at the University of Vienna – which demonstrates the high regard Emperor Ferdinand I held for him; idem, 'Rudolf II's Patronage of Alchemy and the Natural Sciences', in Purš and Karpenko (eds.), *Alchemy and Rudolf II*, 139–204, at 198–199 where he writes that Rudolf employed three alchemists in 1609 with accommodation, all necessary material and a salary of forty thalers a month. See also Rafał T. Prinke and Mike A. Zuber, 'Alchemical Patronage and the Making of an Adept: Letters of Michael Sendivogius to Emperor Rudolf II and His Chamberlain Hans Popp', *Ambix* 65:4 (2018): 324–355, at 328: 'At the age of twenty-eight Sendivogius formally became a member of Rudolf's court on 1 May 1594, listed as "serving with three horses," that is, receiving a salary to sustain himself and two men with horses'.

172 Evans, *Rudolf II and his World*, 213.

173 Barnaud, *De Occulta Philosophia, Epistola cuiusdam Patris ad Filium* (Leiden, 1601); idem (ed), *Tractatulus Chemicus, Theosophiae Palmarium dictus anonymi cuiusdam Philosophi antiqui* (Leiden, 1601). On Barnaud, see Didier Kahn, 'Between Alchemy and Antitrinitarianism: Nicolas Barnaud (*ca.* 1539–1604?)', in Martin Mulsow and Jan Rohls (eds.), *Socinianism and Arminianism: Antitrinitarians, Calvinists, and Cultural Exchange in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 81–96.

174 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 79; eadem, 'John Dee and European Alchemy,' 27 Thölde; 35 Maier. On Maier meeting Khunrath in 1601, see Nils Lenke, Nicolas Roudet and Hereward Tilton, 'Michael Maier – Nine Newly Discovered Letters', *Ambix* 61:1 (February, 2014): 1–47, at 16.

11 1592 The Ancient Arabian King and Sage Zebel, Prague

The next sign we have of Khunrath is the following year with the publication, at the 'will of great men, and the request of excellent and learned men',[175] of his personal copy of an astrological manuscript made by the historian and astronomer Johann Carion (1499–1537), which had been in the library of the Electors of Brandenburg until it was presented as a gift by the late Elector August of Saxony to a faithful minister, one of Khunrath's relatives.[176] Published as a parallel-text translation in Latin and German, it bears the title, *The Most Accurate Observations of the Ancient Arabian King and Sage Zebel on the Interpretations of Various Occurrences, both External and Internal, or Unexpected, Rare, and Unusual Events, according to the Movement of the Moon through the Twelve Signs of the Heavenly Zodiac*. From the title page (Fig. 1.14) and preface we discover that Khunrath was then residing in Prague and still acting as Vilém's *Medicus Ordinarius*; indeed, the preface is dated the 23 August 1592, just eight days before Vilém's death on the 31st.

Here Khunrath was moving in heady occult circles, for as Pierre Béhar remarks, 'around the Hradschin palace gravitated a universe of alchemists, occultists and cabalists', including the German alchemists Martin Ruland the

175 Khunrath, *Zebelis Regis et Sapientis Arabum vetustissimi. De interpraetatione quorundam accidentium, tam externorum quam internorum, sive eventuum innopinatorum, rarorum, & insolitorum, secundum Lunae motum, per duodecim Zodiaci celestis signa, observationes accuratissimae*. Zebelis *Deß Weisen und sehr Alten Arabischen Königs/ von Bedeutungen und Außlegungen/ etlicher zufälle/ welche den Menschen ungewönlich/ unverhofft oder unversehens zu widerfahren/ unnd geschwind zubegegnen pflegen/ nach unterschiedlichem lauff deß Monden/ durch die zwölff himlischen Zeichen/ sehr fleissige auffmerckungen*. Ex Bibliotheca Heinrich Khunrath Lips. Medici Doct. Illustrissimi Principis ac Domini, Domini Wilhelmi à Rosis, &c. Medici Ordinarij, Pragae, iam commorantis (Pragae, Typis Michaelis Peterle, 1592), (iij^{v} 'Et voluntas magnatum, & præstantium ac doctorum, propensæ in me benignitatis virorum, petitio.'

176 Khunrath, *Zebel*, sig.)(ii^{v}. For a reference to this *Zebel* manuscript, see Valentin Rose and Fritz Schillmann, *Verzeichnis der lateinischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin: Asher, 1893; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1976), Vol. 1, 1213–4 '965. lat. oct. 41 (Berlin) Neuere Astrologische (Fälscher-) Sammlung 1) f. 1: (r.) *Incipit zebelis sapientis arabum de interpretatione diversorum eventuum secundum lunam in 12 signis zodiaci*: – … im Besitz des Kurfürsten Joachim I. Nestor und seines Bruders Erzbischof Albrecht von Mainz befand, deren astrologischem Aberglauben (das Jahr 1525 spielt in ihm gerade eine grosse Rolle) es offenbar eben diese Herstellung verdankt: *o Nestor amice – domine Nestor amice* redet der an einen berühmten Astrologen-Namen (Zahel) anklingende Verfasser Zebel, der arab. Weise, seinen König-Freund an, auf den Kurfürsten in Vor- und Nachrede anspielend. Die Schrift ist sogar im Druck herausgegeben worden durch "Henricum Khunrath, Lips: Med: Doct:" (Prag 1592).' On Carion see Mark A. Lotito, 'Johann Carion of Bietigheim: The Berlin Court Astronomer', in Lotito, *The Reformation of Historical Thought* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), Chapter 3.


ZEBELIS
REGIS ET SA=
PIENTIS ARABVM
VETVSTISSIMI,
De interprætatione quorundam accidentium, tàm externorum quàm internorum, siuè euentuum innopinatorum, rarorum & insolitorum, secundum Lunæ motum, per duodecim Zodiaci cœlestis signa, obseruationes accuratissimæ.
ZEBELIS
Des Weisen vnd sehr Alten Arabischen Königs/von Bedeutungen vnd außlegungen/ etlicher zufälle/ welche den Menschen vngewönlich / vnuerhofft oder vnuersehens zu wiederfahren / vnd geschwind zubegegnen pflegen/nach vnterschiedlichem lauff des Monden/durch die zwölff himlischen Zeichen/ sehr fleissige auffmerckungen.
Ex Bibliotheca
HENRICI KHVNRATH LIPS:
MEDIC: DOCT: ILLVSTRISSIMI PRINcipis ac Domini, Domini VVILHELMI A ROSIS, &c. Medici ordinarij, PRAGAE iam commorantis.
PRAGÆ, Typis Michaelis Peterle.
Anno M. D. XCII.
Cum Gratia & Priuilegio, Sacræ Romanæ Cæsareæ Maiestatis

FIGURE 1.14
Khunrath, *Zebel* (1592), title page. National Library of the Czech Republic

Elder (1532–1602) and the Younger (1569–1611), Michael Maier (1568–1622), and Oswald Croll, the Czech physician and alchemist Václav Lavín (1550–1602), Anselmus Boëtius de Boodt (1550–1632), former physician to Vilém and then, during Khunrath's time in Prague, personal physician to the Emperor, and the Anglo-Irish alchemist and scryer Edward Kelley (1555–1597), who had returned there from Třeboň on Dee's departure for England.[177] Both Jost Weyer and Rafał Prinke suggest that Khunrath worked as Rudolf's physician for some time, the latter believing he may well have met the famous Polish alchemist Michał Sędziwój (Michael Sendivogius, 1566–1636) while in Prague.[178] Although there is no direct evidence for either of these suppositions, it is possible that

177 Pierre Béhar, *Les Langues Occultes de La Renaissance* (Paris: Éditions Desjonquères, 1996), 164. It should be pointed out that not all these figures were there during the early 1590s. The Rulands, Maier and Croll only arrived later.

178 Rafał T. Prinke, 'Michael Sendivogius and Christian Rosenkreutz: The Unexpected Possibilities', *The Hermetic Journal* (1990): 72–98. Weyer, *Graf Wolfgang II. von Hohenlohe und die Alchemie*, 282.

Khunrath met the emperor when accompanying his patron and it is arguable that he knew the court physician Tadeáš Hájek (1525–1600), who examined all adepts, for he was at least familiar with Hájek's work, having cited him in his Basel graduation theses.[179] It is worth noting that even *Zebel*, Khunrath's first, modest imprint, was published 'With the Grace and Privilege of His Majesty the Holy Roman Emperor', granting imperial protection against unauthorized reprinting.[180] *Zebel* was published by Michael Peterle the Younger, son of the German painter and printer Michael Peterle (d. 1588).[181]

The *Zebel* treatise itself is a fairly standard work listing the physical affects to be expected when the Moon progresses through the various signs of the zodiac. Being the mistress of moisture,[182] the Moon was considered important for medicine, particularly in connection with catarchic or elective astrology, as she is the planet with the swiftest motion, her changeability due to the fact that in one cycle she only spends about 2½ days in each zodiac sign, passing through them all in 28 days.[183] The work is attributed to the 'Arabic King and Sage' Zebel, who may tentatively be identified as the ninth-century Jewish astrologer and mathematician Sahl ibn Bishr (*c.*786–845), author of *Liber Zahel de judiciis* (Zahel's Book on Judgments), an astrological work that provides one of the earliest references to alchemy.[184]

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179 Von Schwarzenfeld, *Rudolf II: Der saturnische Kaiser*, 68–73 'Die Alchemie auf dem Hradschin', at 70.

180 See the foot of the *Zebel* title page: 'Cum Gratia & Privilegio, Sacrae Romanae Caesareae Majestatis'.

181 Sally Metzler, *Bartholomeus Spranger: Splendor and Eroticism in Imperial Prague* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2014), 122. DaCosta Kaufmann, *L'École de Prague: la peinture à la cour de Rodolph II* (Paris: Flammarion, 1985), 301. Michael Peterle the Elder was a friend of the Flemish imperial court painter Bartholomeus Spranger (1546–1611).

182 Jean-Jacques Manget, *Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa* (Geneva, 1702), Vol. 2, *Consilium Conjugii*, 236 'domina humiditatis'; 221; Senior, *De chemia*, 35f 'The full moon is the philosophical water and the root of the science, for she is the mistress of moisture …'; Mario Bignoni, *Encyclopaedia seu Scientia Universalis Concionatorum Pars Prima* (Cologne, 1676), 195 'Luna humiditatis dominatrix.'

183 Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life: A Critical Edition and Translation with Introduction and Notes*. Edited and translated by Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clark (Tempe, Arizona: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998), 36.

184 Charles Burnett, 'The Astrologer's Assay of the Alchemist: Early References to Alchemy in Arabic and Latin Texts,' *Ambix* 39, Part 3 (1992), 103–109. In his online list of 'Manuscripts of Astrological Image Magic', Frank Klaassen identifies Ibn Bishr with Zebel, from manuscript copies of *De imaginibus*, in Erfurt, Ampion. quarto 361; London, British Library MS Sloane 2030 and London, British Library MS Sloane 3827 *Liber imaginum*. http://homepage.usask.ca/~frk302/MSS/images.html For more, see Sahl ibn Bishr, *The Introduction to the Science of the Judgments of the Stars*, Translated by James Herschel Holden (Tempe, AZ: American Federation of Astrologers, 2008).

Zebel discusses how God speaks with man in various ways, through the stars, as well as through his animal, vegetable and mineral sublunar creations as letters and voices from which to form sermons to speak with whom he pleases,[185] in order to communicate future events.[186] As in his graduation *Theses* we find Khunrath asserting the same notion of natural signs revealing knowledge to the wise, combined with the effort to show the Christian orthodoxy of occult studies. We also find the strong political statement that God not only communicates with princes but also with men of lesser status, a frank assertion of equal worth in the eyes of God which was to be a repeated refrain in later works.[187] Even in this first publication there is already the sense that Khunrath's occult and egalitarian religio-political beliefs roused stiff opposition, with references to calumniators and carping critics at the end of the preface.[188]

Although the Lutheran theologian Johann Conrad Dieterich (1612–1667) advises that Khunrath's 'old wives tales and silly superstitions' be burned publicly before all,[189] and even James Brown Craven is inclined to dismiss *Zebel* as 'merely a fortune telling compilation unworthy of such a person as Khunrath',[190] it should be remembered that astrology had long been an ancillary, even an indispensable part of medical practice.[191] In the preface Khunrath promotes his own knowledge and includes himself among the cognoscenti,

185 Khunrath, *Zebel*, sig.)(iiij^{v}–v^{r} 'Utitur Deus [...] & creaturis suis sublunaribus, vegetabilibus, nimirum Animalibus ac Mineralibus, pro literis ac vocibus, ex quibus, secundum voluntatem suam divinam, format & fingit sermones, quando & quomodo ei placet, ad finem prædictum, cum universis, omnibus, cunctis & singulis, ut loquatur & sermocinetur.'

186 Khunrath, *Zebel*, sig.)(iiij^{r} 'Quòd nimirum Deus per omnes suas creaturas, tanquam per ABC, per literas quasdam, aut per verba quædam, cum hominibus loquatur, voluntatem suam eis affluenter revelet, ad bonum eos adhortetur, de malis avocet, & futura, quæ sunt ac imminet, eis ostendat atque prænunciat, prædicet, & quasi antè dicat.'

187 Khunrath, *Zebel*, sig.)(v^{v} 'Deum non solummodò cum Principibus personis, verum etiam cum inferiorum statuum seu conditionum hominibus, & sic consequenter cum quovis (nemine excluso, modo se quis non excludat, Deus enim non est personarum acceptor) more prædicto, loqui & conversari.'

188 Khunrath, *Zebel*, sig.)(vi^{r}.

189 Johann Conrad Dieterich, *Antiquitates Biblicae* (Giessen, 1671), 132 'Nostro hoc tempore extat liber sub nomine Zebel, a D. Henrico Kunratho primum editus ... contineat aniles & mire superstitiosas ineptias ... conferrent vetitos ejusmodi libros & comburerent coram omnibus!'

190 Craven, *Doctor Heinrich Khunrath, A Study in Mystical Alchemy*, 26.

191 On astrology and medicine, or iatromathesis/mathematics, see Roger French, 'Astrology in Medical Practice', in Luis Garcia Ballester, Roger French, Jon Arrizabalaga, and Andrew Cunningham (eds.), *Practical Medicine from Salerno to the Black Death* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 30–59. For primary texts, see Ficino, *Three Books on Life* (1489); Nicholas Culpeper, *Astrological Judgement of Diseases from the Decumbiture of the Sick* (London, 1655); Richard Saunders, *The Astrological Judgment and Practice of Physick* (London, 1677).

assuring his readers, the Great Princes of Germany, that the truth of Zebel's observations had been confirmed by the expertise of himself and other good men.[192] The fact that he referred to its preface in the *Amphitheatre*, three years later, suggests that he, at least, considered it worthy of publication.[193] So, too, did a seventeenth-century publisher, who in 1669 printed a German version, *A List and Interpretation of Zebel, of Various Occurences, which are wont unexpectedly to happen to men, according to the Movement of the Moon through the Twelve Heavenly Signs*.[194] While this edition includes Zebel's predictions and replaces the original simplistic engravings with more picturesque vignettes, it lacks Khunrath's original prefatory material. Ivo Purš points out that towards the end of his introduction to *Zebel*, Khunrath lets drop that he is working on 'something better' and suggests that this may well have been the *Amphitheatre*.[195]

12 1595 First Edition of the *Amphitheatre*, Hamburg

It would seem that at the end of his stay in Bohemia Khunrath returned to the Lutheran free imperial city of Hamburg, perhaps staying with his uncle, Wilhelm Moller, for that is where the first edition of his most famous work, the *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* appears to have been published.[196] Copies of the *Amphitheatre* can be found in many collections of rare books throughout Europe; these, however, are of the later enlarged edition and until a few years ago very few people knew of the extremely rare surviving copies of the first edition published in 1595. Only five full copies are known to exist, in the collections of the university libraries of Basel, Darmstadt, Rostock,

192 Khunrath, *Zebel*, sig.)(v^{r} 'Magni Germaniæ Principes, ego ipse, & alij boni homines, certitudine examinatam & multipliciter probatam Zebelicarum harum observationum, non prorsus vanam & fictam, sæpius vidimus ac experti sumus.'

193 *Amph*.II, 19 'Voces SAPIENTIÆ has, linguasvè varias, vide annotatas, figura Amphitheatri huius quarta: &, præfatione in *Zebelem*, à me publicatum' (See these voices or diverse languages of WISDOM annotated in the fourth figure of this Amphitheatre and in the preface to *Zebel*, published by me).

194 *Verzeichnis und Ausslegung Zebelis, etlicher Zufälle welche den Menschen unversehens zuwiederfahren pflegen, nach unterschiedlichen Lauff des Monden durch die zwölff himlischen Zeichen* (Braunschweig: Andreas Moltrecht, 1669).

195 Purš, 'Perspective, vision and dream: notes on the plate "Oratory-Laboratory",' 55.

196 Although no place or publisher is given on the title page, Hamburg is the most likely place of publication because all four engravings bear the inscription 'Henricus Khunrath Lips Theosophiae amator, et Medicinae Doctor, DEI gratia, inventor. Paullus von der Doort Antverpien scalpsit. Hamburgi. Anno a CHRISTO nato 1595 Mense Aprili (Maio, Iulio, Septembri)'; the fourth, the most famous of the Adept in his Laboratory-Oratory, also includes the words 'H.F. Vriese pinxit.'

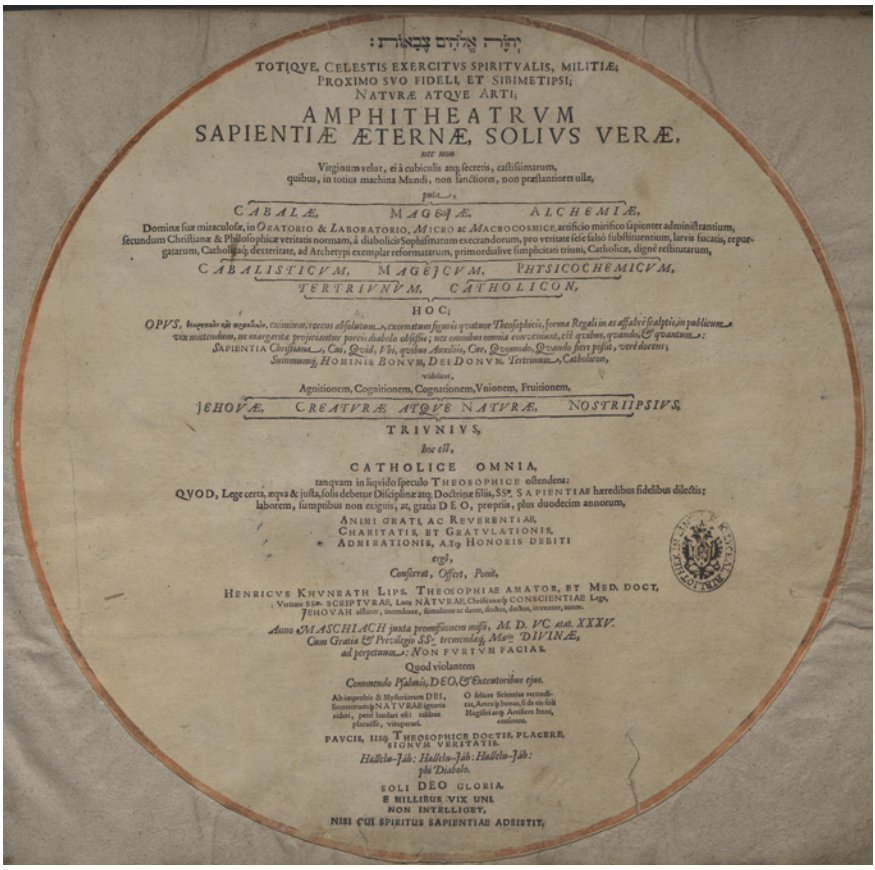


FIGURE 1.15 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Title Page*, Shelfmark 46 N. 11. Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, Linz

Linz and Wisconsin.[197] As Denis Duveen writes, the extreme rarity of the 1595 *Amphitheatre* 'lends colour to the suggestion that Khunrath issued the first

197 Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Shelfmark: JG 10; Universität Darmstadt, Hessische Landes und Hochschulbibliothek, Shelfmark: GrFol. 4/16. My thanks to Irmgard Broening for the information that this copy previously belonged to Ernst Gottfried Baldinger (1738–1804), a professor of medicine in Goettingen and Marburg; Universitätsbibliothek Rostock, Shelfmark: G VI-7; Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, Linz, Shelfmark: 46.N.11 Alt Prunk; University of Wisconsin-Madison, Special Collections, Shelfmark: Duveen D 897. See Volker Fritz Brüning, *Bibliographie der alchemistischen Literatur* (Munich: Saur, 2004), Vol. 1, 107–108 (Nr. 667). A single engraving of the circular figure of *Adam-Androgyne* from the 1595 edition exists in the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at The University of Texas at Austin, Item Number 436 [Box 21] Khunrath, Heinrich, 1560–1605: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/uthrc/graphics/Box_21/A_GEN_VARI_503(436).jpg.

edition privately to a few selected adepts or friends',[198] or as Purš suggests 'a readership of wealthy devotees of theosophic alchemy.'[199]

What is immediately apparent is the large format of this edition (42.5 cm tall × 48 cm wide).[200] Enclosed in a large circle banded in red, the title reads: יהוה אלהים צבאות [Yehovah Elohim Tsevaot] *Totique, celestis exercitus spiritualis, militiae; proximo suo fideli, et sibimetipsi; naturae atque arti; Amphitheatrum Sapientiae aeternae, solius verae … Cabalisticum, Magejcum, Physicochemicum, Tertriunum, Catholicon* (To Jehovah Elohim Zebaoth, and to all the militia of the spiritual heavenly host; to one's faithful neighbour, and to oneself; to Nature and to Art, … the Universal Ter-Tri-Une Cabalistic, Magical, Physico-Chemical Amphitheatre of the one true Eternal Wisdom).

On the title page (Fig. 1.15), the *Amphitheatre* is introduced as an '*opvs*, θεορητικὸν και πρακτικὸν' [*theorētikon kai praktikon*] a 'theoretical and practical Work […] adorned with four Theosophical figures skilfully engraved in copper in Regal Format'.[201] By 'Regal Format' is meant the size of the engravings, which are approximately 41.5 cm in diameter, 'Regal' being one of the larger formats.[202] The circularity of the title page anticipates the four large hand-coloured circular engravings (to be introduced in Chapter 2), embellished with silver and gold, each surrounded by text radiating out from a central image, possibly denoting the shape of an architectural amphitheatre.[203]

It is part of the 'Popular Imagery Collection', acquired from the House of El Dieff on 27 Nov. 1963. My thanks to Cristina Meisner at the Harry Ransom Center for this information.

198 Duveen, 'Notes on Some Alchemical Books', 57.

199 Purš, 'Perspective, vision and dream', 55.

200 Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 12 47 × 42, with the engravings 41.5 cm in diameter; Willem A.C. de Bruijn, *Book-Building: A Historical and Theoretical Investigation into Architecture and Alchemy* (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Bartleet School of Architecture, University College London, 2010), 84 gives the size of the Basel copy as 48 × 42.5 cm; Anja Hallacker, 'Das Bild-Text-Verhältnis in Heinrich Khunraths *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae*', in Carlos Gilly, Anja Hallacker, Hanns-Peter Neumann and Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann (eds.), Heinrich Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae – Schauplatz der ewigen allein wahren Weisheit* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: frommann-holzboog, 2014), 25–40, at 29 gives the 1595 measurements as approx. 47 × 42 cm, with the 1609 format as 34 × 30 cm.

201 *Amphitheatrum* (1595), title page: '*opvs*, θεορητικὸν και πρακτικὸν, eximium, recens absolutum, exornatum figuris quatuor Theosophicis, forma Regali in aes affabre scalptis …'

202 F.J.M. Wijnekus and E.F.P.H. Wijnekus, *Dictionary of the Printing and Allied Industries*, Second, Revised and Enlarged Edition (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1983), 969 'Paper size names in Germany': alt klein Regal, 40 × 50; extra Regal 56 × 66; gross Regal 51 × 68; klein Regal 47 × 60; Regal 49 × 64 cm. Definitely a 'folio of luxury', rather than one of economy or necessity, according to Francis X. Connor's categories in *Literary Folios and Ideas of the Book in Early Modern England* (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 9.

203 Bachmann and Hofmeier (eds.), *Geheimnisse der Alchemie*, 161.

The title page also shows the contents by way of titles and subtitles, after the manner of Ramist tables, though here vertically rather than horizontally. *Cabala*, *Mageja*, and *Alchemia* are introduced as the ladies-in-waiting of Wisdom, 'Micro and Macrocosmically in the Oratory and Laboratory [...] following the norm of Christian and Philosophical truth'.[204] While the 1592 edition of *Zebel* and many of Khunrath's subsequent works appear under imperial grace and privilege, this private edition is far more exalted, appearing 'With the Grace and Privilege of his Most Holy and Tremendous Divine Majesty'![205]

Although Khunrath's use of the Greek term *Catholicon* in the *Amphitheatre*'s title can be translated as *Catholic*, in the sense of 'universal', as, for example, 'the *Universal* Book of GOD in the ternary, which is Sacrosanct Scripture and both Worlds, the greater and the lesser',[206] it could also be an allusion to one of the first books ever printed, in 1460, the thirteenth-century *Summa grammaticalis quae vocatur Catholicon*, a combination of dictionary and encyclopedia aiming to cover all knowledge, compiled by the Italian Dominican friar and lexicographer Giovanni Balbi (d. 1298).[207] This work is mentioned, for example, as the *Vocabularium Catholicon* by Johannes Trithemius in the second volume of his *Hirsau Annals*.[208] It may at the same time be an allusion to the Philosophers' Stone, for Khunrath writes two years later in *On Primaterial Chaos* (1597), 'This is the Catholicon of the Wise! A Stone that is not a Stone.'[209]

The main text of the 1595 *Amphitheatre*, the 24-page ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ, i.e. Prologue (Fig. 1.16), followed by a 1-page Epilogue, consists of 306 scriptural extracts from the Solomonic sayings of the Old Testament Book of Proverbs and the Apocrypha's Book of Wisdom,[210] the latter absent from Luther's

204 *Amphitheatrum* (1595), title page: 'in ORATORIO & LABORATORIO, MICRO ac MACROCOSMICE, ... secundum Christianae & Philosophicae veritatis normam'.

205 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), title page: 'Cum Gratia & Privilegio Sacrosanctae tremendaeque Majestatis DIVINAE'.

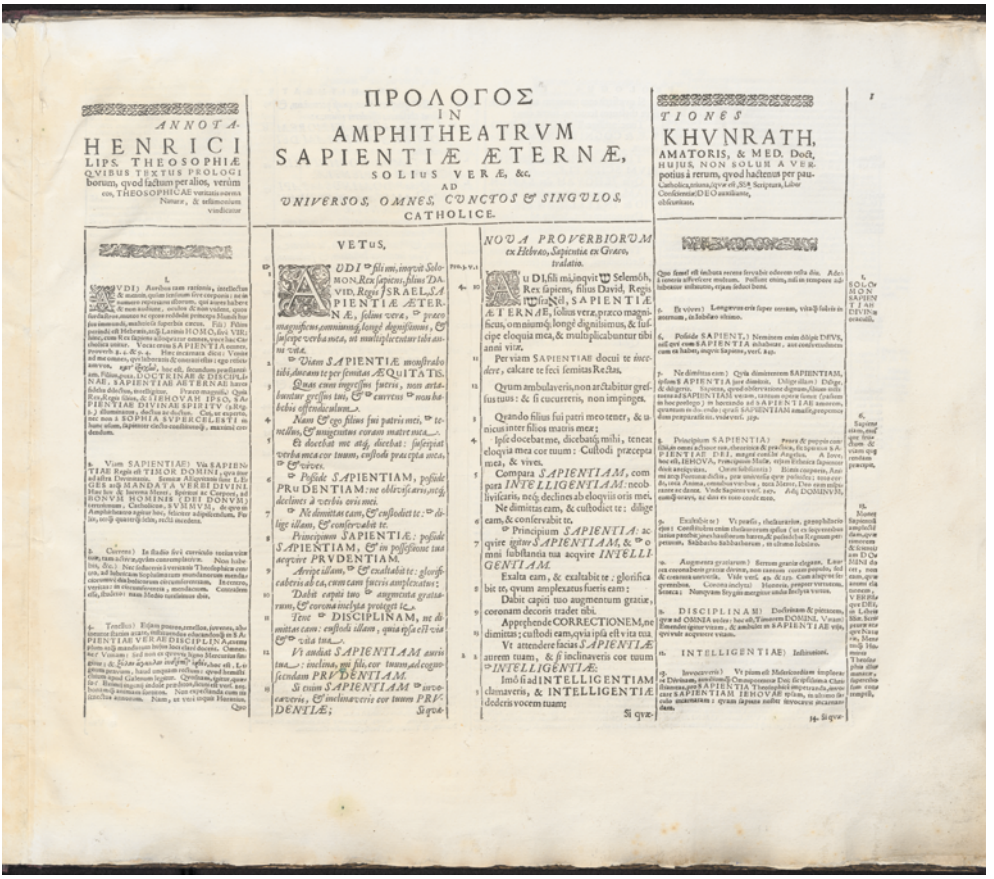
206 *Amph.*II, 148 (mispaginated as 146 [T2^{v}]): 'Librum DEI in ternario Catholicon, qui est, Sacrosancta Scriptura, & Mundus uterque, maior & minor'.

207 Ann Moss, *Renaissance Truth and the Latin Language Turn* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 15ff.

208 Johannes Trithemius, *Annalium Hirsaugiensium* (St. Gallen, 1690), Vol. II, 421.

209 *Chaos* (1597), 212 'Hoc CATHOLICON SAPIENTUM! DIS IST DAS UNIVERSAL DER WEISEN! LAPIS, non LAPIS, ein STEIN/ und kein STEIN/ vilis praetij, geringes werths unnd Kauffs; quia NIHIL & CHAOS Catholicon, attamen Synopticè Catholicè OMNIA' (This is the CATHOLICON OF THE WISE! THIS IS THE UNIVERSAL OF THE WISE! A STONE [that is] not a STONE, a Stone and not a Stone, of low price, of little worth and value; because NOTHING and a Universal CHAOS, but Synoptically Catholically EVERYTHING).

210 Not as Szulakowska claims in *The Alchemy of Light*, 105 that 'both the 1595 and 1609 editions are a commentary on three-hundred and sixty-five biblical verses taken from the Old Testament books of *Proverbs* and *Wisdom*.' As to the question of why 306 verses, perhaps


ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ
IN
AMPHITHEATRVM
SAPIENTIÆ ÆTERNÆ,
SOLIUS VERÆ, &c.
AD
VNIVERSOS, OMNES, CUNCTOS & SINGULOS,
CATHOLICE.

ANNOTA-
HENRICI
LIPS. THEOSOPHIÆ
QVIBUS TEXTUS PROLOGI
borum, qvod factum per alios, verùm
eo, THEOSOPHIÆ veritatis autoris
Notare, & strenuissim
vindicatur

TIONES
KHVNRATH,
AMATORIS, & MED. Doct.
HUJUS, NON SOLUM AVER-
potius à rerum, qvod hactenus per pau-
Catholica, minusqve eli.308. Scriptum, Liber
Confessionis DEO assistente,
obscuratum.

VETUS,

NOVA PROVERBIORUM
ex Hebræo, Sapientia ex Græco,
Italatio.

Figure 1.16 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), 1 prologue. Universitätsbibliothek Rostock, Shelfmark: G VI-7

German translation,[211] provided both in Saint Jerome's Vulgate, dating from 405 CE, and in a 1528 Latin translation from the Greek *Septuagint* and Hebrew

there is some relation to the account in John 21 of 'the third time that Jesus was manifested to his disciples, after he was risen from the dead' and the catching of the 153 fish in the net: 'Simon Peter went up, and drew the net to land, full of great fishes, one hundred and fifty-three. And although there were so many, the net was not broken' (John 21:11). 306 is double 153. Augustine of Hippo argued that the significance lay in the fact that 153 is the sum of the first 17 integers (i.e. 153 is the 17th triangular number), with 17 representing the combination of divine grace (the 7 gifts of the Spirit) and law (the Ten Commandments).

211 Antoine Faivre, 'Sensuous Relation with Sophia in Christian Theosophy,' in Wouter J. Hanegraaff and Jeffrey J. Kripal (eds.), *Hidden Intercourse: Eros and Sexuality in the History of Western Esotericism* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 281–307, at 282 n. 7.

Pentateuch by the Italian Dominican friar Sante Pagnini (1470–1536),[212] friend of the Christian Cabalist Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494).[213] These biblical verses are accompanied by an esoteric or hermetic commentary with quotes from occult and classical sources. It appears that the edition that Khunrath used was Robert Estienne's 1557 *Biblia utriusque Testamenti*, which contains not only Sante Pagnini's translation of the Old Testament and a translation of the New Testament by the French disciple of Calvin, Théodore de Bèze (1519–1605), but also scholia by the eminent French Hebraist François Vatable (*c*.1495–1547), first professor of Hebrew in the College de France, many of whose scholia are incorporated – though unacknowledged – into the *Amphitheatre*.[214] Vatable's knowledge of Greek, as well as Hebrew, was apparently invaluable to his older colleague, the theologian and humanist Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (*c*.1455–1536), well-known for his publication of the *Corpus Hermeticum* and Lodovico Lazzarelli's *Crater Hermetis* (1505), as well as editions of Ramon Lull, Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, and medieval mystics, including Hugh and Richard of Saint-Victor, Johannes Ruusbroec, and Hildegard of Bingen.[215]

In his *Amphitheatre*, Khunrath sets forth his notion of the divine wisdom to be found in the "Three Books" of God, Man and Nature, the importance of correctly understanding the signs written in them, the utility of Cabala, magic and alchemy for that purpose, and above all the joint necessity of both work and prayer for the lover of theosophy. As a Paracelsian physician, Khunrath would

212 Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', 142; Schmidt-Biggemann, *Geschichte der christlichen Kabbala*, Vol. 2, 9. On Sante Pagnini, see Anna Morisi Guerra, 'Sante Pagnini traducteur de la Bible', in Irena Backus and Francis Higman (eds.), *Théorie et pratique de l'exégèse* (Geneva: Droz, 1990), 191–198. Pagnini's is the earliest edition of the Latin Bible in modern times from early Hebrew and Greek manuscripts, and the earliest edition of the Bible in which the text is divided into numbered verses, although the New Testament and Deuterocanonical divisions are different from those introduced into later Bibles. According to Arjo Vanderjagt, '*Ad fontes*! The Early Humanist Concern for the *Hebraica veritas*,' in Magne Saebø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, Vol. 11: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 154–189, at 186, Pagnini's 'literal, even to the extreme' translation of the Bible is 'a milestone in humanist philology'. See *Biblia: Habes in hoc libro prudens lector utriusque instrumenti novam tranlationem aeditam à reverendo sacrae theologiae doctore Sancte Pagnino lucensi concionatore apostolico Praedicatorij ordinis* (Lyon, 1528).

213 Marvin J. Heller, *The Seventeenth-Century Hebrew Book* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 953.

214 *Biblia Utriusque Testamenti. De quorum nova interpretatione et copiosissimis in eam annotationibus lege quam in limine operis habes epistolam*. Oliva Rob. Stephani (Geneva, 1557).

215 Frans A. Janssen, 'Lefèvre d'Étaples, Jacques', in Hanegraaff et al (eds.), *Dictionary of Gnosis and Western Esotericism* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 687–689.

have been aware of Paracelsus's statement in the *Labyrinthus Medicorum Errantium* (Labyrinth of Erring Physicians, 1553) that the 'first and chief book of all medicine is called Wisdom, without which book no-one ever accomplishes anything fruitful and worthy of praise';[216] but his choice of '*Eternal Wisdom*' for the *Amphitheatre*'s title is most likely an allusion to his notion of Christ as *Hochmah-El*, the Wisdom of God.[217]

Although this first edition of the *Amphitheatre* supplies neither the name of its publisher nor place of publication, Carlos Gilly has convincingly argued that these should be identified as the publisher Jacob Lucius the Younger (*c.*1570–1616), then based in Hamburg.[218] If Khunrath was searching for a printer capable of working with high-quality, detailed engravings, together with elegant Greek and Hebrew type, the Lucius print-shop must have been extremely attractive. In 1580, for example, Jacob Lucius the Elder (*c.*1530–1597) had published a parallel-text Greek and Latin edition of *Ecclesiasticus seu sapientiae Jesu Siracidae* (Ecclesiasticus or the Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach) – its opening word ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ (Fig. 1.17) almost typographically identical to that in Khunrath's *Amphitheatre* (Fig. 1.16).

216 Paracelsus, *Labyrinthus Medicorum Errantium* (Nuremberg, 1553), Cap 1, sig. B^{v} 'Primus ac principalis liber omnis Medicinae, vocatur Sapientia, sine quo libro nemo unquam quicquam fructuosum ac laude dignum efficiet.' Khunrath mentions this work in *De Igne*, 67. Although many of the works attributed to Paracelsus have been identified as pseudonymous by scholars such as Karl Sudhoff, the works cited and quoted by Khunrath appear to have been accepted by him as genuine writings.

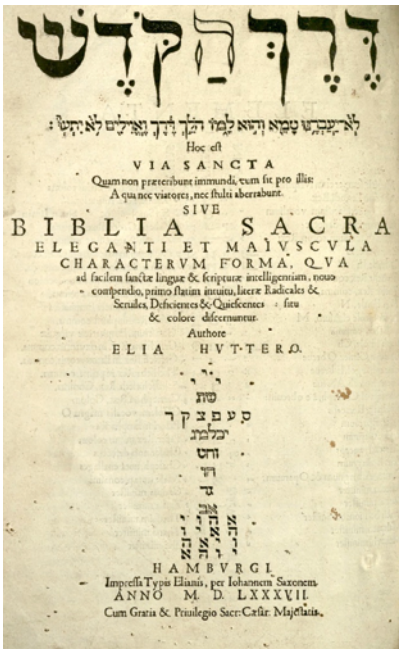
217 Cf. The fourteenth-century German Dominican friar and student of Meister Eckhart, Heinrich Seuse's *Das Büchlein der ewigen Weisheit* (Booklet of Eternal Wisdom, *c.*1328–1330). For Paracelsus referring to Christ as 'eternal wisdom', see Ute Gause, 'On Paracelsus's Epistemology in His Early Theological Writings and in His *Astronomia Magna*', in Ole Peter Grell (ed.), *Paracelsus: The Man and His Reputation, His Ideas and Their Transformation* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 207–221, at 216. Khunrath could also have been influenced in his choice of the term by Johann Reuchlin, who in *De arte cabalistica* writes that 'sanctifying understanding is the foundation of eternal wisdom, which is called faith, and is named the parent of faith …' (Intelligentia sanctificans, est fundamentum sapientiae aeternae, quae vocatur fides, & nominatur parens fidei). See Pistorius (ed.), *Artis Cabalisticae … Liber* (1587), 692. Michael Maier identifies 'eternal Wisdom' as Christ in *Arcana Arcanissima* (London, 1614), 26.

218 Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', 341. On Lucius, see Christoph Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet: auf der Grundlage des gleichnamigen Werkes von Josef Benzing* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015), 367 *Jakob Lucius II*. 1598–1616. On the Lucius printing family see Max J. Husung, 'Der Zeichner und Formschneider Jakob Lucius Erstdrucker von Helmstedt: Zugleich ein Beitrag zum Klischeewesen des ausgehenden 16. Jahrhundert und zur Frage um den Aviso von 1609', in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 15 (1940): 335–355.


ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ
ΣΟΦΙΑΣ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ
Σειράχ.

Πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἡμῖν διὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἓων κατ' αὐτὸς ἠκολουθηκότων, ὑπὲρ ὧν δεδιέναι ἐπουνεῖν τὸν Ισραὴλ, παιδείας καὶ σοφίας καὶ ὧν ὁ μόνον αὐτὸς τὸς ἀναγινώσκοντας δεῖν ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμονας γενέσθ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς ὠφελεῖς φιλομαθοῦντας χρησίμως εἶναι καὶ λέγοντας καὶ γράφοντας, ὁ πάππος μου Ιησοῦς ὑπὸ πλείονι ἑαυτὸν σχὼς εἰς τε τὴν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πατρίων βιβλίων ἀνάγνωσιν, καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἱκανὴν ἕξιν περιποιήσαμενος, προσῆλθε καὶ αὐτὸς συγγράμματός τῶν εἰς παιδείαν καὶ σοφίαν ἀνηκόντων, ὅπως οἱ φιλομαθεῖς καὶ τούτων ἔνοχοι γλιόμενοι, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐπιτροδῶσι, βιῶσαι κατὰ νόμον βιώσεως. προσακληθεὶς οὖν μετ'

FIGURE 1.17
Ecclesiasticus seu sapientiae Jesu Siracidae (1580), preface, sig. C3r. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna


דֶּרֶךְ הַקֹּדֶשׁ

לֹא־יַעְבְּרֶנּוּ טָמֵא וְהוּא לָמוֹ הֹלֵךְ דֶּרֶךְ וְאֱוִלִים לֹא יִתְעֶנּוּ׃

Hoc est

VIA SANCTA

Quam non præteribunt immundi, cum sit pro illis:
A qua nec viatores, nec stulti aberrabunt.

SIVE

BIBLIA SACRA

ELEGANTI ET MAIVSCVLA
CHARACTERVM FORMA. QVA
ad facilem sanctæ linguæ & scripturæ intelligentiam, nouo
compendio, primo statim intuitu, literæ Radicales &
Seriales, Deficientes & Quiescentes : situ
& colore discernuntur.

Authore

ELIA HVTTERO.

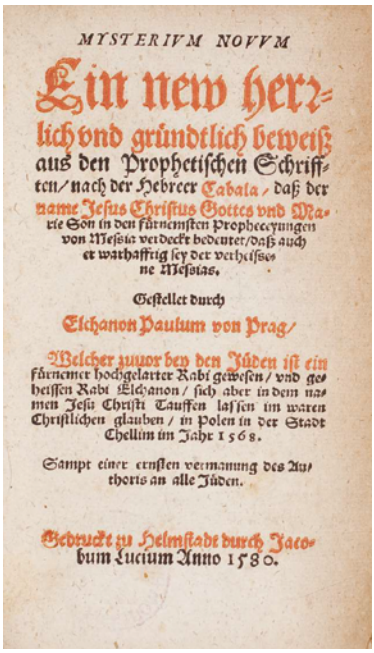
HAMBVRGI,
Impressa Typis Eliani, per Iohannem Saxonem.
ANNO M. D. LXXXVII.
Cum Gratia & Priuilegio Sacr: Cæsar: Majestatis.

FIGURE 1.18
Elias Hutter, *Derekh ha-kodesh* (1587), title page. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

In the very same year Lucius published a work that Khunrath cites in the *Amphitheatre*: Elchanon Paul of Prague's *Mysterium Novum* (New Mystery), which treats of the kabbalistic use of Hebrew letter permutation to prophesy the coming of the Messiah (Figs. 1.19 & 1.20). The latter may well have been the work that first drew Lucius to Khunrath's attention.[219] The firm promoted themselves as experts in non-Roman typesetting, in 1587 printing a folio edition of the *Derekh ha-kodesh* (Holy Way), also known as the *Biblia Ebraea* (Hebrew Bible) of Elias Hutter (1553–*c.*1605), Professor of Hebrew at the University of Leipzig, advertised as the 'first and only edition with a singular new form of characters' (Fig. 1.18).[220] A few years later in 1595, Lucius printed

219 *Amph.*II, 6. Elchanon Paulus von Prag, *Mysterium Novum: ein new herrlich und gründtlich beweiß aus den Prophetischen Schrifften/ nach der Hebreer Cabala/ daß der name Jesus Christus, Gottes und Marie Son in den fürnemsten Propheceyungen von Messia verdeckt bedeutet daß auch er warhafftig sey der verheissene Messias* (Helmstadt durch Jacobum Lucium Anno 1580). The work was reissued in 1582. See Walter Begley, *Biblia Cabalistica or the Cabalistic Bible* (London: David Nutt, 1903), 153.

220 Elias Hutter, *Derekh ha-kodesh, hoc est, Via sancta quam non praeteribunt immundi, cum sit pro illis: a qua nec viatores, nec stulti aberrabunt: sive Biblia sacra eleganti et maivscvla*


MYSTERIVM NOVVM

Ein new herꝛ-
lich vnd gründtlich beweiß
aus den Prophetischen Schrifft-
ten/nach der Hebreer Cabala/daß der
name Jesus Christus Gottes vnd Ma-
rie Son in den fürnemsten Prophecеyungen
von Messia verdeckt bedeutet/daß auch
er warhafftig sey der verheissе-
ne Messias.

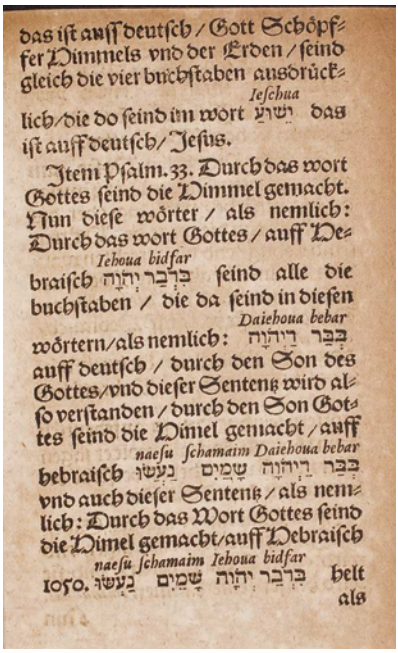
Gestellet durch
Elchanon Paulum von Prag/

Welcher zuuor bey den Jüden ist ein
fürnemer hochgelarter Rabi gewesen/vnd ge-
heissen Rabi Elchanon/sich aber in dem na-
men Jesu Christi Tauffen lassen im waren
Christlichen glauben/in Polen in der Stadt
Chellim im Jahr 1568.

Sampt einer ernsten vermanung des Au-
thoris an alle Jüden.

Gedruckt zu Helmstadt durch Jaco-
bum Lucium Anno 1580.

FIGURE 1.19
Paul of Prague, *Mysterium Novum* (1580), title page
© HERZOG AUGUST BIBLIOTHEK WOLFENBÜTTEL


das ist auff deutsch/Gott Schöpf-
fer Himmels vnd der Erden/seind
gleich die vier buchstaben ausdrück-
Jeſchua
lich/die do seind im wort ישוע das
ist auff deutsch/Jesus.

Item Psalm. 33. Durch das wort
Gottes seind die Himmel gemacht.
Nun diese wörter/als nemlich:
Durch das wort Gottes/auff He-
Jehoua bidfar
braisch בִּדְבַר יְהוָה seind alle die
buchstaben/die da seind in diesen
Daiehoua bebar
wörtern/als nemlich: בְּדְבַר יְהוָה
auff deutsch/durch den Son des
Gottes/vnd dieser Sententz wird al-
so verstanden/durch den Son Got-
tes seind die Himel gemacht/auff
naesu schamaim Daiehoua bebar
hebraisch בְּדְבַר יְהוָה שָׁמַיִם נַעֲשׂוּ
vnd auch dieser Sententz/als nem-
lich: Durch das Wort Gottes seind
die Himel gemacht/auff Hebraisch
naesu schamaim Jehoua bidfar
1050. בִּדְבַר יְהוָה שָׁמַיִם נַעֲשׂוּ helt
als

FIGURE 1.20
Paul of Prague, *Mysterium Novum* (1580), example of Hebrew type (sig. Dvij^{r})
© HERZOG AUGUST BIBLIOTHEK WOLFENBÜTTEL

Hutter's polyglot *Opus Quadripartitum Sacrae Scripturae* (Four Part Work of Holy Scripture), containing the Old and New Testaments in Hebrew, Greek, Latin and German.[221] Gilly suggests that the type from this work was reused for Khunrath's *Amphitheatre*.[222]

Jacob Lucius the Elder was not only successful in his creation of Hebrew and Greek type; early in his career he had also produced devotional woodcuts of the crucifixion, resurrection, and *Image of Christ the Redeemer* (*c*.1550) for

charactervm forma, qua ad facilem sanctae linguae & scripturae intelligentiam, nouo compendio, primo statim intuitu, literae radicales & seruiles, deficientes & quiescentes, situ & colore discernuntur (Hamburg: Impressa typis Elianis, per Iohannem Saxonem, 1587). See Heller, *The Seventeenth Century Hebrew Book*, xliii Derekh ha Kodesh … by Elias Hutter, … with Hebrew text in solid and hollow (outline) letters.

221 Hutter, *Opus Quadripartitum Sacrae Scripturae, Continens S. Biblia, sive Libros veteris et novi testamenti omnes, quadruplici lingua, Hebraica, Graeca, Latina & Germanica* (Hamburg, 1595).

222 Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', 341.



FIGURE 1.21 Bünting (1545–1606), *Itinerarium sacrae scripturae* (Helmstedt, 1581), Europe as a Virgin
COURTESY OF JIM SIEBOLD

the workshop of Lucas Cranach,[223] and images of the Creation of the World, Creation of Man, and Christ being nailed to the Cross for the Lutheran Nathan Chytraeus's *Imaginum et Meditationum Sacrarum Libri* III (Three Books of Sacred Images and Meditations, 1573).[224]

Closer in time to the publication of the 1595 *Amphitheatre*, in 1581 Lucius printed the first edition of the Protestant theologian Heinrich Bünting's (1545–1606) popular *Itinerarium sacrae scripturae* (Travel Book of Holy Scripture), with its memorable maps of Europe as a Virgin and Asia as Pegasus (Figs 1.21 & 1.22).[225]

223 Robert William Scribner, *Religion and Culture in Germany (1400–1800)*, edited by Lyndal Roper (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 126. Also known as 'Der Schmerzensmann mit den Leidenswerkzeugen' (The Man of Sorrows with instruments of the Passion).

224 Gyula Pápay, 'Jakob Lucius der Ältere. Bedeutender Drucker, Formschneider und Zeichner der Reformationszeit', *Der Festungskurier: Beiträge zur Mecklenburgischen Landes- und Regionalgeschichte vom Tag der Landesgeschichte im Oktober 2017 in Dömitz* 18 (2018): 39–76, at 47–48, 53–56. See also Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago: Chicago University Press; London: Reaktion Books, 2004), 76–77.

225 Barry Levy, *Planets, Potions, and Parchments: Scientifica Hebraica from the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Eighteenth Century* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 112.

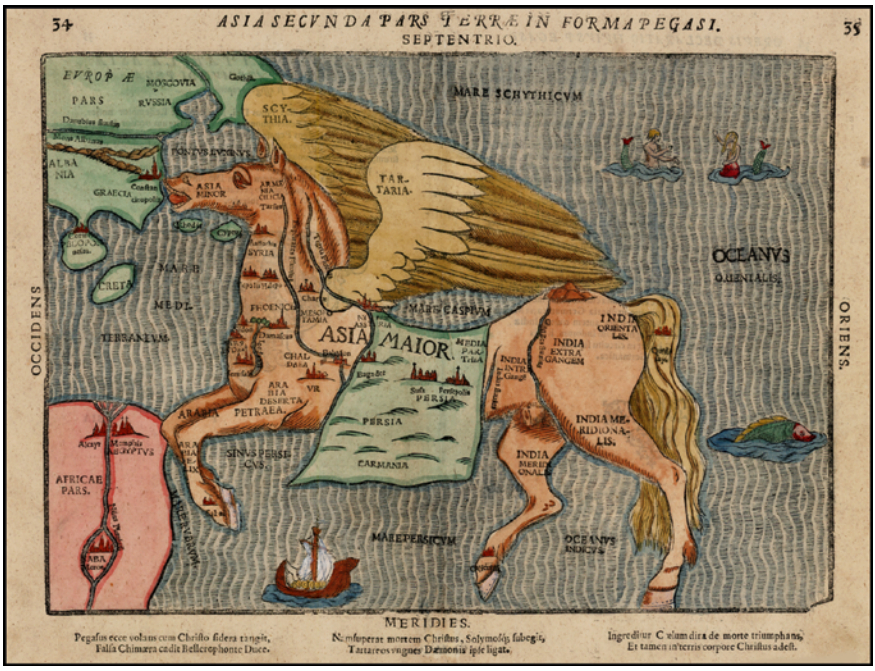


FIGURE 1.22 Bünting (1545–1606), *Itinerarium sacrae scripturae* (Helmstedt, 1581), Asia as Pegasus
COURTESY OF JIM SIEBOLD

Looking through the Lucius publications, Khunrath must surely have felt them sympathetic to his own project. In 1589 they had printed the funeral oration written by the Italian Dominican philosopher-magus Giordano Bruno (1548–1600) for his patron Duke Julius of Braunschweig-Lüneburg.[226] In 1590 they published ἀγαθου Δαίμονου *De Magicis Actionibus* ΕΧΕΤΑΣΙΣ *succincta* (A Succinct Examination of Agathodaimon's On Magical Actions) of Martin Biermann (1539–1595), Professor of Medicine at the Galenically-oriented medical faculty at the University of Helmstedt. The work was a response to Jean Bodin (1529–1596), in which Biermann refuted some of the French demonologist's more extreme claims, aiming at the '"naturalisation" of *physis* by ridding it of supernatural interpretations'.[227] Biermann argued that 'magical actions

226 Giordano Bruno, *Oratio consolatoria Iordani Bruni Nolani Itali* (Helmstadt, 1589). On Duke Julius and his son Heinrich Julius as Bruno's patrons and interest in Bruno's work from Paracelsians, see Susanna Åkermann, *Rose Cross over the Baltic: The Spread of Rosicrucianism in Northern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 232. See also Ingrid D. Rowland, *Giordano Bruno: Philosopher/Heretic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 212.

227 Laura Di Giammatteo, 'Liddel's *Ars medica* (1607): The Effective Method as Foundation of Medical Knowledge and of Ethics', in Pietro Daniel Omodeo (ed.), *Duncan Liddel*

and motions' must be 'reducible to considerations of physics,'[228] while at the same time maintaining the traditional belief 'in the possibility of limited demonic activity in the world and in the reality of pacts between demons and both magicians and witches.'[229]

Lucius Junior printed Khunrath's *Amphitheatre* in the same year that he began working on a complete edition of the Bible in four synoptic versions and three languages, the *Biblia Sacra Graece, Latine & Germanice opera Davidis Wolderi; in usum ecclesiarum Germanicarum*, the 'Holy Bible in Greek, Latin and German,' the work of the Lutheran theologian David Wolder (d. 1604) 'for the use of the German Churches,' to be published the following year.[230] The *Amphitheatre* would seem to be quite intimately connected with this famous, richly illustrated *Hamburger Polyglot*, for the latter included the Greek Septuagint, Saint Jerome's Latin Vulgate, and the same neo-Latin translations of Sante Pagnini and Théodore de Bèze, together with Luther's German.

At least some of the woodcuts for the 1596 *Hamburger Polyglot* were designed by the renowned Hamburg goldsmith Jacob Moers (1533–1609).[231] As shall be mentioned in the following chapter on the *Amphitheatre*'s images, the best-known of the 1595 circular figures was engraved by the famous Dutch artist Hans Vredeman de Vries (1527–1606), who was at the time working for Moers, who had commissioned him to paint a large *trompe l'oeil* mural in Hamburg's Saint Peter's Church, 'in which Christ treads the Devil, Death and Hell under foot'.[232]

(*1561–1613*): *Networks of Polymathy and the Northern European* (Leiden: Brill 2016), 130–147, at 133.

228 Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997; repr. 1999), 213.

229 Stuart Clark, 'The scientific status of demonology', in Brian Vickers (ed.) *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984; reprint 1986), 351–374, at 352.

230 *Biblia Sacra Graece, Latine & Germanice opera Davidis Wolderi; in usum ecclesiarum Germanicarum* (Hamburg: Jacobus Lucius Juni, 1596).

231 Rochelle Weinstein, 'The Storied Stones of Altona: Biblical Imagery on Sefardic Tombstones at the Jewish Cemetery of Altona-Königstrasse, Hamburg', in Michael Studemund-Halévy (ed.), *Die Sefarden in Hamburg. Zur Geschichte einer Minderheit* (Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 1997), Vol. 2, 551–660, at 570. See also *The Illustrated Book: Illuminated Manuscripts; Early Woodcut Books … Index of Illuminators, Illustrators, & Engravers* (New York: H.P. Kraus, 1964), 13.

232 Christopher Heuer, *The City Rehearsed: Object, Architecture, and Print in the Worlds of Hans Vredeman de Vries* (London: Routledge, 2009), 158, also 148, 253 with reference to Jacob Moor; Heiner Borggrefe and Vera Lüpkes (eds.), *Hans Vredeman de Vries und die Folgen* (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 2005), 209 Jacob Mores; Heiner Borggrefe, Vera Lüpkes,

13 1596 Confession concerning the Chaos of the Physico-Chemists, Magdeburg

While Khunrath was living in Hamburg he not only prepared the first edition of his *Amphitheatre*, but also found time to write a short Latin treatise, *The Confession of Heinrich Khunrath of Leipzig, Doctor of both Medicines, concerning the Universal Chaos of the Physico-Chemists, in which catholically dwells Azoth or the first matter of the World, that is, Mercury of the Wise, where the conditions of Magnesia* (*namely of the catholic subject of the Philosophers' Stone*) *are faithfully recounted* (Fig. 1.23).[233] Although it has a similar title to Khunrath's subsequent better-known work *On Primaterial Chaos* of the following year, this 58-page sextodecimo book, published in Magdeburg, with a short preface dated St Giles' Day 1596 (1 September), should not be confused with the following year's 494-page octavo.[234]

Citing the *Emerald Tablet* of Hermes Trismegistus and Genesis 1 as main textual sources, Khunrath underlines the importance of combining alchemy and cabala in order to attain the Philosophers' Stone, admitting that he himself has gleaned his knowledge partly from his (unnamed) master; partly from divine revelation.[235] The union of laboratory practice and virtue is expressed succinctly in the assertion that 'Alchemy is not good, unless [done] with a good heart.'[236] His emphasis is on identifying the true primal matter from which all things were formed during Creation, including 'Adam protoplast,' first formed Adam, whence the saying that 'Adam took the matter of the Stone with him from paradise'.[237] Khunrath's theory of matter is couched in a mixture of Hebrew scriptural and Greek philosophical terms, in which, for example, the *Ruach Elohim* or Spirit of the Lord of Genesis 1:2 is equated with the *Forma*

Paul Huvenne, and Ben van Beneden (eds.), *Hans Vredeman de Vries und die Renaissance im Norden* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2002), 345.

233 Khunrath, *Confessio Henrici Khunrath Lips: utriusque Medic: Doct: De Chao Physico-Chemicorum Catholico, in quo catholice habitat Azoth sive Materia prima Mundi, h.e. Mercurius sapientum: ubi Magnesiae* (*subiecti videlicet Lapidis Philosophorum catholici*) *conditiones fideliter recensentur* (Magdeburg, 1596), 56 Colophon: 'Hamburgi degens'. Reissued Magdeburg: Joachim Schmiedt, 1616; and with commentaries by George Derhling (1708).

234 Szulakowska does confuse the two in *The Alchemy of Light*, 89.

235 Khunrath, *Confessio*, 3–4 'Ego partim habeo a Magistro, cui in aeternum sit bene, amen: partim vero ex Revelatione divina.'

236 Khunrath, *Confessio*, 44 'Non Alchemia est bona, nisi cum corde bono.' I suspect that Khunrath borrowed this sentiment from Reuchlin's *De arte Cabalistica* (1517), XIIII^{r} where we read 'non sit Cabala bona nisi cum corde bono', words written by Rabbi Judah Levi.

237 Khunrath, *Confessio*, 19 'etiam Adam protoplastos ipse: Vnde vox illa, Adam Lapidis Materiam secum tulit ex paradiso.'

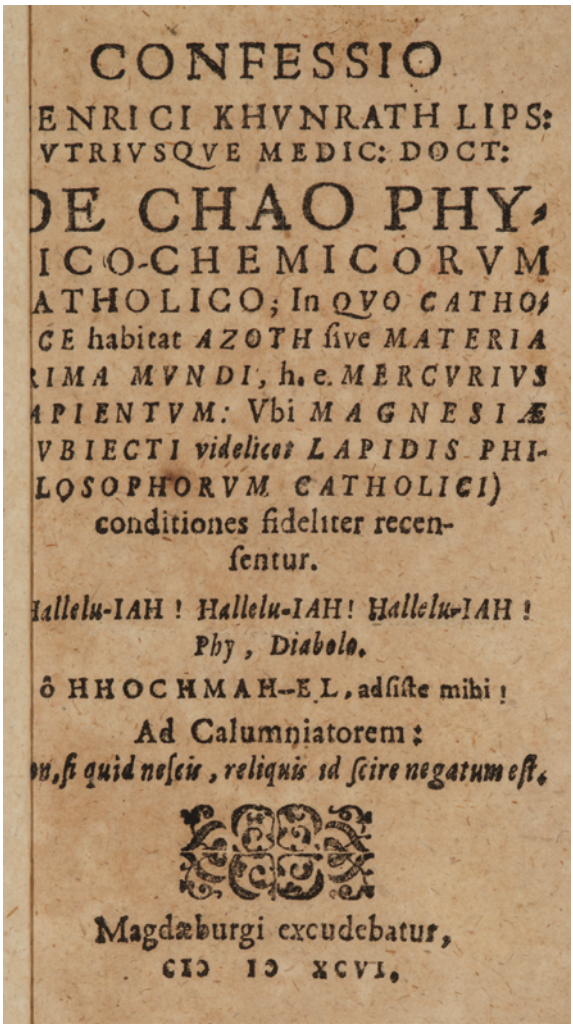

CONFESSIO
ENRICI KHVNRATH LIPS:
VTRIVSQVE MEDIC: DOCT:
DE CHAO PHY-
ICO-CHEMICORVM
ATHOLICO; In QVO CATHO-
CE habitat AZOTH ſive MATERIA
RIMA MVNDI, h. e. MERCVRIVS
APIENTVM: Vbi MAGNESIÆ
VBIECTI videlicet LAPIDIS PHI-
LOSOPHORVM CATHOLICI)
conditiones fideliter recen-
ſentur.
Hallelu-IAH! Hallelu-IAH! Hallelu-IAH!
Phy, Diabole.
ô HHOCHMAH--EL, adſiſte mihi!
Ad Calumniatorem:
on, ſi quid neſcis, reliquis id ſcire negatum eſt.
Magdæburgi excudebatur,
CIↃ IↃ XCVI.

FIGURE 1.23
Khunrath, *Confessio* (1596), title page. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam BH OG 185

and ENTEΛEXIA, i.e. entelechy, of Aristotle's *Physics*,[238] with the Stoic *Anima mundi* or Soul of the World, and the Neoplatonic notion of the emanation of things conceived in the divine Mind.[239] While relatively short, the *Confessio* is interesting for the evidence that it provides of Khunrath's humanist education, displaying a familiarity with Greek terminology, as when he describes

238 Aristotle, *Physics*, Book 3, 1 denoting 'the act through which any substance exercises its power'. See Aristotle, *Physics*, Books 1–4, translated by P.H. Wicksteed and F.M. Cornford, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957).

239 Khunrath, *Confessio*, 7–8.

the Philosophers' Stone as the θεοκοσμος, the *theocosmos* or 'divine world', as the *Typus* of the θεανθρωπος, the *theanthrōpos* or 'divine man',[240] or when he describes the *Ruach Elohim* as Nature or σπορα ἀφθαρτος, *spora aphthartos*, glossed as 'the immortal seed of mundane things'.[241]

Here, too, we find one of Khunrath's rare references to personal experience, when he speaks of his master showing him the 'Green Lion' in the laboratory, a substance that he equates with the Monad, Chaos or primal matter.[242] He also writes of the non-material benefits of work in the laboratory, of the analogous harmony of the Stone with Christ, and its utility for converting Jews, Turks pagans and atheists to Christianity.[243] He refers to his very recently published *Amphitheatre* and, interestingly, also to an unpublished work, 'Philosophical Advice on the secret, vivifying, Universal, external Fire of the Philosophers, not at all known or ever revealed to the sophists', which sounds suspiciously like an early version of his posthumously published work on magical and philosophical fire, *De Igne Magorum* (1608).[244]

The same year, December 1596, Khunrath sent a short text, the 'Sigillum Hermetis' (Seal of Hermes, Fig. 1.24) to his friend, the jurist, alchemist and medical advisor to Ernst, Archbishop-Elector of Cologne, Johann Grasshoff (*c*.1560–1623),[245] author of the *Aperta Arca arcani artificiosissimi* (Open Chest of the most Artful Secret, 1617), which discusses the Philosophers' Stone in the context of a Chymico-Cabalistic Vision, and whose name is often attached to another publication, *Ein Philosophischer und Chemischer Tractat, genannt Der kleine Baur* (A Philosophical and Chemical Tract, called the Little Farmer,

240 Khunrath, *Confessio*, 33.

241 Khunrath, *Confessio*, 10 'semen rerum mundanarum immortale'. The adjective ἀφθαρτος [*aphthartos*] 'not subject to decay or death *immortal*, *incorruptible*, *imperishable*', occurs in 1 Peter 3:4 'But the hidden man of the heart in the incorruptibility of a quiet and a meek spirit, which is rich in the sight of God' (Douay). See Timothy Friberg, Barbara Friberg, and Neva F. Miller, *Analytical Lexicon of the Greek New Testament* (Victoria, BC: Trafford Publishing, 2005).

242 Khunrath, *Confessio*, 10.

243 Khunrath, *Confessio*, 29, 34.

244 Khunrath, *Confessio*, 51–2 concerning the *Amphitheatre*; 25–6 '*Consilio Philosophico de Igne Philosophorum secreto, viuifico, Catholico, externo, sophistis haud cognito, nec unquam revelando*'.

245 Franz Schnorr von Carolsfeld (ed.), *Katalog der Handschriften der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek zu Dresden*, Band 2 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1883; repr. Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek 1981), 135–37: Bl. 854. 'Sigillum Hermetis, so D. Henricus Kunrath Lipsen. Med. Doct. Den Herren Johanni Chortolasso J.V.D. communicirt 11. Decembr. anni 1596. zu Hamburg.' See Dresden SLB, Ms. J. 345, sigs. 854$^{r–v}$. My grateful thanks to the late Joachim Telle for this information. Khunrath's 2-page letter is not a visual Seal of Hermes but instead a recipe involving oil of Tartar, Borax, and other ingredients.

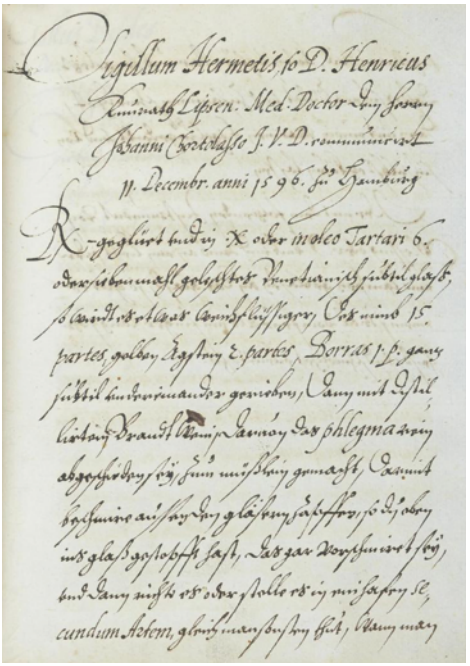


FIGURE 1.24
Khunrath's 'Sigillum Hermetis', sent to Johann Grasshoff on 11th December 1596. Dresden SLB, Ms. J. 345, sigs. 854r. Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden

1618). Grasshoff was author of another work that sounds akin to Khunrath's, the *Harmoniae inperscrutabilis chymico-philosophicae … Decas 1* (The Inscrutable Decad of Chymico-Philosophical Harmony, 1625), as well as the *Dyas chymica tripartita* (The Tripartite Chymical Dyad), published the same year.[246]

14 1597 On Primaterial Chaos, Magdeburg

The predominantly German text of *On the Hylic, that is, Pri-material Catholic or Universal Natural Chaos of Natural Alchemy and the Alchemists, reissued, updated and expanded, and the Orthodox Philosophical Confession or Testament*

246 For more on Grasshoff, who also wrote under the names Condeesyanus, Grasse, Grasseus, Crasseus, Grosseus and Chortolasseus, see Volker Fritz Brüning, *Bibliographie der alchemistischen Literatur* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2004), Vol. 1, 207. See also Thomas Lederer, 'Leben, Werk und Wirkung des Stralsunder Fachschriftstellers Johann Grasse (nach 1560–1618)', in Wilhelm Kühlmann and Horst Langer (eds.), *Pommern in der Frühen Neuzeit: Literatur und Kultur in Stadt und Region* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag 1994), 227–237, who names other figures in Grasshoff's circle, including Michael Maier and Joachim Morsius; and Claus Priesner's entry in Priesner und Figala (eds.), *Alchemie. Lexicon einer hermetischen Wissenschaft*, 165–66.

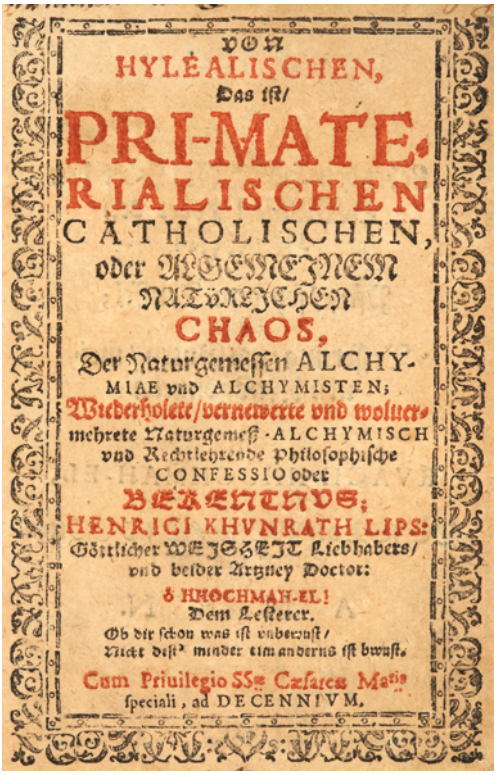

VOM
HYLEALISCHEN,
Das ist/
PRI-MATE-
RIALISCHEN
CATHOLISCHEN,
oder ALLGEMEINEM
NATVRLICHEN
CHAOS,
Der Naturgemessen ALCHY-
MIAE vnd ALCHYMISTEN;
Wiederholete/verneuerte vnd wolver-
mehrete Naturgemeß-ALCHYMISCH
vnd Rechtlehrende Philosophische
CONFESSIO oder
BEKENTNVS;
HENRICI KHVNRATH LIPS:
Göttlicher WEISHEIT Liebhabers/
vnd beider Artzney Doctor:
O KHOCHMAH-EL!
Dem Leserer.
Ob dir schon was ist unbewust/
Nicht dist minder im anderns ist bwust.
Cum Priuilegio SSae Caesareae Mtis
speciali, ad DECENNIVM.

FIGURE 1.25 Khunrath, *Vom Hylealischen Chaos* (1597), title page. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH2055 A


Was helffen Fackeln/Liecht oder
Brillen/
Wann die Leut nicht sehē wollen.
VOLENTI NON
FIT INIVRIA.

FIGURE 1.26 Khunrath, *Vom Hylealischen Chaos* (1597), Khunrath's Owl. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH2055 A

of Heinrich Khunrath of Leipzig, is without a doubt Khunrath's most comprehensive work on the laboratory art of *Alchymia*.[247] Khunrath was still living in Hamburg,[248] but *Chaos* was printed by the heirs of Andreas Gene (or Gehn, 1566–1593) in the autonomous Protestant city of Magdeburg,[249] through which Khunrath was passing, as he writes from the House of the Golden Helm at

247 Khunrath, *Vom hylealischen, Das ist/ Pri-materialischen Catholischen oder Algemeinem Natürlichen Chaos, Der Naturgemessen Alchymiae und Alchymisten, Wiederholete/ verneuerte und wolvermehrete Naturgemeß-Alchymisch und Rechtlehrende Philosophische Confessio oder Bekandtniß Henrici Khunrath Lips.* (Magdeburg: Andreas Genen Erben, 1597).

248 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), 439 'zu Hamburg wohnende'.

249 Johann Georg Theodor Gräße, *Lehrbuch einer allgemeinen Literärgeschichte aller bekannten Völker der Welt* (Leipzig: Arnoldische Buchhandlung, 1852), Vol. 3, 175.

the end of his preface dated 13 June 1597.[250] *Chaos* appears 'With the *Special* Privilege of his Sacrosanct Imperial Majesty for Ten Years.' (Fig. 1.25).[251]

Explaining that he has already sufficiently discussed *whether* the Philosophers' Stone exists in the third figure of his *Amphitheatre*, here the focus is on *what* it is.[252] Khunrath is not, however, dismissing the conclusions of his previous work, or giving any sense that they are now outdated; indeed the number of times that he recommends his reader to consult the figures in the *Amphitheatre* is noteworthy.[253] With an emphasis on manual work (Handarbeit),[254] and the physico-chemical school of Vulcan,[255] Khunrath's aim is to teach how to recognise and then profitably work in the laboratory with a substance that he calls the Magnesia of the Philosophers.[256] In ten chapters Khunrath discusses many substances and processes connected with the medieval tradition of transmutational alchemy, the endeavour to turn base metals into silver or gold. As is becoming his habit, he yet again emphasises the utility of a knowledge of Cabala for understanding alchemy, as well as engaging in neo-pythagorean arithmosophical speculations, and once more emphasising the harmony

250 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), Vorrede, sig. [Biv]^{r} 'Geben Magdeburgk im Güldenen Helme/ in meinem durchreisen/ den dreyzehenden Tag IVNII …'. According to Johann Baumgart's *Summarischer Begriff Der magdeburgischen Stadt Chronicken* (Magdeburg, 1587), sig. D^{v} the Golden Helm was the property of the Burgermeister Thomas Sultzen [Sulzen/or Sülte]: 'Das Rathaus der Stadt soll an dem ort/ da jetzundt des Herrn Bürgermeisters Thomas Sultzen hinter hauß/ zum gülden Helm genant/ am breiten wege leit/ …' On Magdeburg, 'citadel of irreconcilable Protestantism', city of the 'Magdeburg Confession, the first full-blooded Protestant justification of rebellion and resistance', see R.W. Scribner, 'Politics and the Institutionalisation of Reform in Germany', in G.R. Elton (ed.), *The New Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. 2: The Reformation, 1520–1559 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 172–197, at 191; Nathan Rein, *The Chancery of God: Protestant Propaganda against the Empire, Magdeburg 1546–1551* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), Chapter 5 'Religion and the "Magdeburg Worldview"'.

251 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), title page: 'Cum Privilegio Sacrosanctae Caesareae Majestatis speciali, ad Decennium'. My italics.

252 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), Vorrede, sigs. Aij^{v}–Aiij^{r}.

253 For other references to the *Amphitheatre*, see *Chaos* (1597), Vorrede, sig. Aij^{v} 'In der dritten Figura meines AMPHITHEATRI'; Vorrede, Aiij^{r}, Av$^{r–v}$ '*Ampitheatrum*'; 130 'Usum suum Catholicon, Triunum, videlicet, Divinum, Macro & Microcosmicum humanum: Als in der Dritten und Vierden Figuren meines Amphitheatri'; 209 'Jetzo betrachte die Andere FIGUR meines AMPHITHEATRI SAPIENTIÆ ÆTERNÆ …'; 210 'Ein Theosophus^{a}'; [margin] 'a Wie in secunda Amphitheatri. … figura, von mir abgemalet und beschrieben ward'; 251 'Vide fig. 2 & 3. Amphitheatri &c. mei. Ita & in Regeneratione hominis'; 288 'Vide fig. 4. Amphitheatri'; 397 'In Oratorio, Vide 4. fig. Amphitheatri'; 403–4 'Ut est Fig. Amphitheatri 3. … Reductionis methodum vide ibidem Fig. 2. & 4.'; etc.

254 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), 173, 395.

255 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), 104 'in Vulcani Naturgemesser Chymischen Schule'.

256 For a discussion of Khunrath's alchemical terms, see Chapter 6.

of Christ and the Stone, and the benefits of the latter for Christians.[257] In a somewhat new departure from his medieval sources, Khunrath also considers the differences between the *universal* Stone and *particular* stones and tinctures, together with appropriate tests to determine which has been made.[258] The final chapter stresses the importance of acting theosophically, leading a life of work and prayer.[259] As an appendix to this is added a 'Treuhertzige Warnungs-Vermahnung' (True-Hearted Warning-Admonition), addressed, it is interesting to note, to 'male and female friends, all who love their alchemy',[260] against 56 common mistaken assumptions (such as the misidentification of primal matter) and fraudulent practices of gold-making alchemists.[261] At the end of this admonitory essay, we discover that the signator is not 'Heinrich Khunrath,' but instead his humanist pseudonym, 'Thrasybulus Ricenus'.

As in the 1596 *Confessio*, where he laments the negative reception of the idea of the Philosophers' Stone by natural philosophers and physicians in the academies,[262] here too there is the sense that Khunrath's ideas were already encountering some opposition, for he caustically remarks on 'diverse and odd *judgements*' by 'a few slanderous, censurious dimwits'.[263] Neumann considers *Chaos* to be an apology for and explanation of the *Amphitheatre*.[264] We certainly already find Khunrath advertising a new edition of his

> *Universal, Christian Cabalist, Divinely Magical and Physical-Alchemical Amphitheatre of Eternal Wisdom*, etc, ... which has recently been produced by me (at great cost, and a lot of travelling, with much time, effort and work), and newly looked over with diligence, and increased and improved in many places.[265]

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257 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), Chapter 8, 279ff.

258 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), Chapter 9, 315ff.

259 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), Chapter 10, 374ff.

260 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), 463 'Freunde und Freundinne/ alle die jhr Alchymiam liebet'.

261 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), 440ff. Nummedal, *Alchemy and Authority*, 63, translates the title as 'Heartfelt warning and admonition from a faithful devotee of the truth to all true enthusiasts of the natural transmutational alchemy, which necessitates close attention because of the roguish tricks of wicked chymists'.

262 Khunrath, *Confessio*, 33.

263 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), sig. Aiiij^{r} 'Ich weis zwar wol/ das mancherley und viel seltzame iudicia von diesen jetzt gemeldeten meinen Operibus hin und wider gefallen'; Av^{r} 'Wie spöttisch-tadelhafftig etliche Witztölpel ...'.

264 Neumann, *Natura Sagax*, 146.

265 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), 424–425 'in meinem Christlich Cabalistischen/Göttlich-Magischen/ und Naturgemes-Alchymischen AMPHITHEAtro SAPIEntiae aeternae, &c. Catholico, das ist/ gantz Circulrunden und Vollkommenen Universal oder Algemeinen SCHAwBLATZ der EWIGEN allein wahren WEISHEIT: Welches unlangst (mit anwendung

Khunrath does not, however, appear to be under the 'considerable stress' suggested by Szulakowska, for he confidently responds that he can 'prove with many letters that good expert people also expertly correctly understand the same [writings], judge [them] well, and have also spoken and written well about them.'[266] Such, indeed, is Khunrath's self-assurance that rather than seeking to avoid criticism of being an 'Enthusiast', because of writing about theurgical revelations from Good Spirits in his as yet undiscovered *Buch von Visionibus oder Gesichten* (Book of Visions), he openly embraces the name.[267]

It is surely with the blindness of his opponents in mind that Khunrath includes for the first time, at the very end of *Chaos*, what was to become a popular engraving of a bespectacled owl flanked by candles and holding torches, above the plaintive comment 'What's the use of torches, light or glasses, if people don't want to see?' (Fig. 1.26).[268]

While Heinrich was preparing this his major alchemical work for press, it appears that his brother Conrad was busy offering copies of the magical manuscript, *Consilium de Vulcani magica fabrefactione armorum Achillis* (Counsel concerning Vulcan's Magical Fashioning of the Armour of Achilles) to both Landgrave Moritz of Hessen-Kassel (1572–1632) and Duke Karl of Södermanland (later King Karl IX of Sweden, 1550–1611), neglecting to mention, however, that it was one of his sibling's writings![269]

15 1597 Fashioning Magical Armour

Khunrath's *Consilium de Vulcani Magica Fabrefactione armorum Achillis, Graecorum omnium fortissimi, et cedere nescii* (Counsel concerning Vulcan's Magical

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grosser Kosten/ auch vieles Reisens/ langer Zeit/ Mühe und Arbeit) von mir … verfertiget; newlichst aber mit vleis wieder uber sehen/ und an vielen orten wol vermehret unnd verbessert.'

266 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 86. See Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), Aiiij^{r-v} 'kans auch (wo nötig) mit vielen Brieffen beweisen/ das Kunstverstendige gute Leute/ auch Kunstverstendig dieselben recht verstanden/ gut judiciret/ auch wol darvon geredet und geschrieben haben.'

267 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), [Aviij]$^{r-v}$ 'Höre du Lestermaul/ sprichstu spöttlich/ ich sey ein Enthusiast dieweil ich in kegenwertigen meinem Buch von Visionibus oder Gesichten/ und sonderlichen (iedoch Gut-Geistlichen) Offenbarungen sage. …'; [Aix^{v}] 'Du soltest GOTT bitten/ das er dich zu einem guten Enthusiasten machte.' Pagination for the latter is odd. It should be [B]^{v} but Sig. B appears several pages later as the opening page of Chapter 1.

268 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), [471] 'Was helffen Fackeln/ Liecht oder Brillen/ Wann die Leut nicht sehen wollen'. For more on Khunrath's owl, see Chapter 2.

269 Tilton, 'Of Electrum and the Armour of Achilles', 119–121, 147. For more on this manuscript, see Chapter 5 on Khunrath's magic.

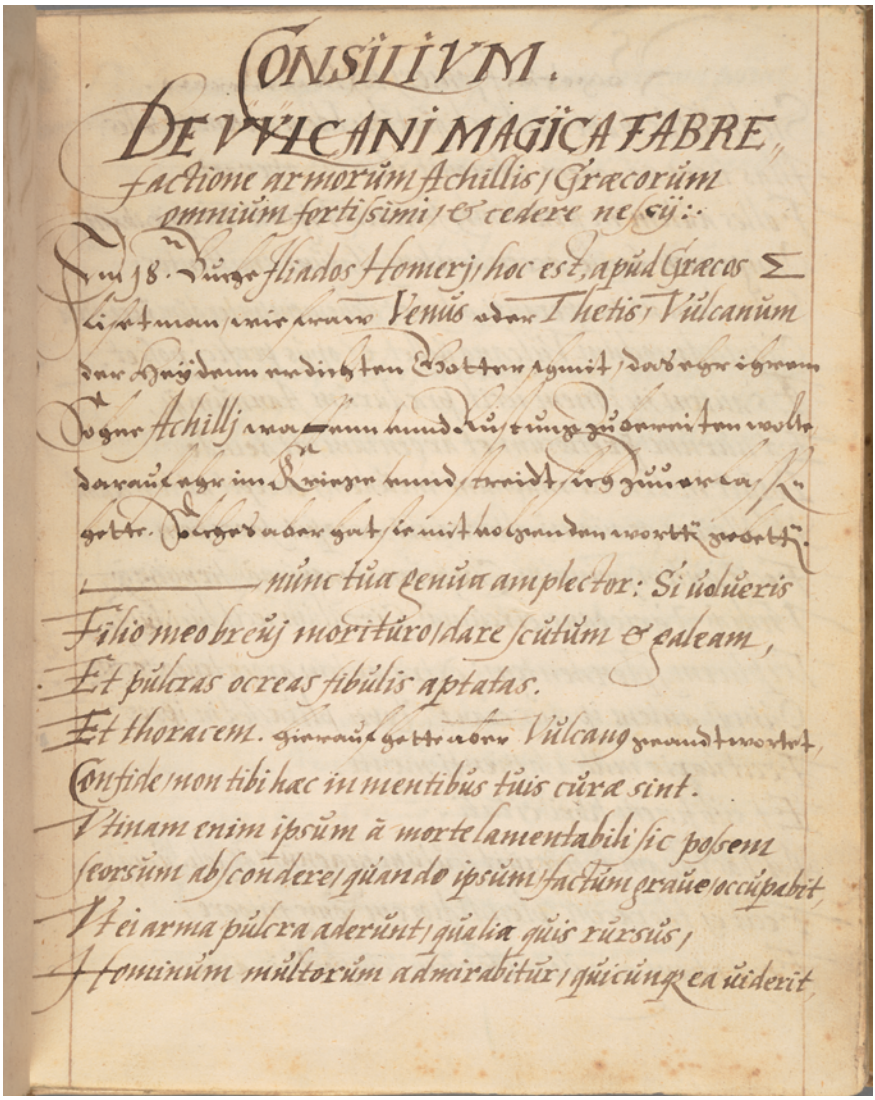


FIGURE 1.27 Khunrath, *Consilium de Vulcani magica fabrefactione armorum Achillis* (1597), MS Rål 4, f. 1 title page. Kungliga Biblioteket Stockholm

Forging of the Armour of Achilles, mightiest of all Greeks and not knowing to yield, Fig. 1.27),[270] is a work that was never published by him, although he

270 Khunrath, 'Consilium de Vulcani magica fabrefactione armorum Achillis Græcorum omnium fortissimi et cedere nescii', Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket MS Rål 4, 1597, 1–42. The phrase 'cedere nescii' is probably taken from Horace's Ode to Agrippa (Lib. 1, Ode 6): 'nec gravem/ Pelidae stomachum cedere nescii' (Nor the fell anger of Peleus' son

does briefly mention it in one of his later works.[271] It did, however, circulate in manuscript, being offered for sale on more than one occasion by his resourceful brother Conrad.[272] One copy survives with a dedication by Conrad, dated 1597, to 'the most enlightened and high-born prince and lord, Lord Karl, hereditary prince of the empire of Swedes, Goths and Slavs, Duke of Södermanland, Närke and Värmland'.[273] There is also a letter of the same year, in which Conrad offers to sell a copy of the manuscript to Landgrave Moritz of Hessen-Kassel.[274] This work shall be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5 on Khunrath's magic.

The following year, Conrad presented a copy of the first edition of his brother's *Amphitheatre* to Duke Johann Adolf von Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp (1575–1616), receiving 16 Reichsthaler in return.[275] While working as court physician for Vilém Rožmberk in 1591–2 Heinrich earned an annual salary of 200 thalers, which makes this sale approximately equivalent to one month's wages.

16 1598 A Physico-Chymical Testament, Hamburg

A work that appears to have been issued in Latin and German editions (Figs. 28 & 29), both of which are dated as having been completed on 12 December 1597 (at around eight o'clock in the evening no less!),[276] the short 22-page duo-

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[Achilles], who knew not how to yield). See Horace, *The Odes and Epodes*, with an English Translation by C.E. Bennett (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1912), 21.

271 Khunrath, *De Igne magorum* (1608), 37 margin: '*Consilium* oder Rathsames bedencken/ bey und über Vulcanischer auch Natürlich Magischer *Fabrefactione Armorum Achillis*'; 36–37 'Sein USUS oder brauch ist/ gleich wie deß vorigen in Martialischen Natürlich-Magischen sachen/ als in meinem Consilio de Physico-Magica Vulcani fabrefactione armorum Achillis, &c.'; 69 'Dabey bleibe es alhier. In meinem auch oben angezogenen Consilio oder Rhatsamen Bedencken/ bey und uber Vulcanischer auch Natürlich-Magischer fabrefactione Armorum Achillis, oder schmiedung der Rüstung und Waffen deß Griechischen Kriegshelden Achillis, findet man hievon etwas mehr.' See also Editor's Preface to Khunrath, *Magnesia Catholica Philosophorum* (1784), 17.

272 In 'The *Amphitheatrum sapientiae aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', 349 Gilly argues that it is composed by Conrad. Ms. Stockholm KB, Ms. Rål 4, *Consilium de Vulcani magna Fabrefactione Armorum Achillis* (1597), with a dedication to the King of Sweden.

273 Tilton, 'Of Electrum and the Armour of Achilles', 120–121 'Consilium de Vulcani magica fabrefactione armorum Achillis Græcorum omnium fortissimi et cedere nescii', Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket MS Rål 4, 1597.

274 Tilton, 'Of Electrum and the Armour of Achilles', 119.

275 My thanks, yet again, to Oliver Humberg who discovered this information in the account books of the Gottorf court, Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Abt. 7, Nr. 2252 (Rentekammerrechung Gottorf 1598), fol. 37a 'Ausgabe fur Monat Fauuario', Entry 77.

276 Checking an astrological ephemeris to see if this coincided with any particular astral event, David Origanus's *Annorum Priorum 30 Incipientum ab Anno Christi 1595, & desinentium in*

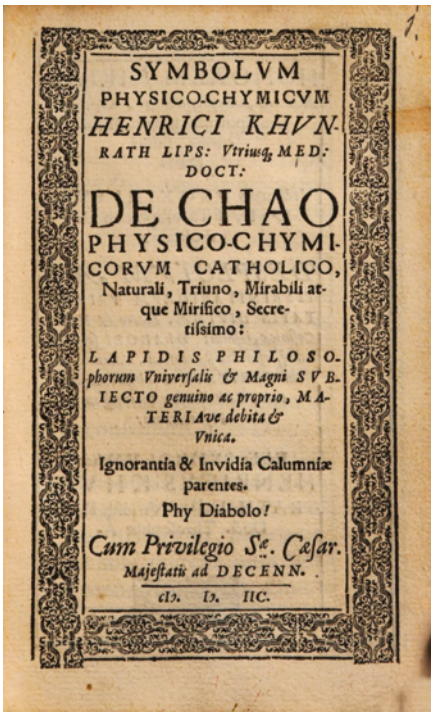

SYMBOLVM
PHYSICO-CHYMICVM
HENRICI KHVN-
RATH LIPS: Vtriusq; MED:
DOCT:
DE CHAO
PHYSICO-CHYMI-
CORVM CATHOLICO,
Naturali, Triuno, Mirabili at-
que Mirifico, Secre-
tiſsimo:
LAPIDIS PHILOSO-
phorum Vniverſalis & Magni SVB-
IECTO genuino ac proprio, MA-
TERIAve debita &
Vnica.
Ignorantia & Invidia Calumniæ
parentes.
Phy Diabolo!
Cum Privilegio Sæ. Cæſar.
Majeſtatis ad DECENN.
cIↃ. IↃ. IIC.

FIGURE 1.28
Khunrath, *Symbolum Physico-Chymicum* (1598), title page. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich


NATVRGEMES-
ALCHYMISCH
SYMBOLVM,
oder/gahr kurtze
BEKENTNUS,
HENRICI KHVN-
RATH LIPS: Beyder Artz-
ney Doct.
Von Allgemeinem/Natür-
lichen/Dreyeinigen/Wunderba-
ren vnd Wunderthätigen/Aller-
geheimbſten CHAO der
Naturgemeſſen Alchy-
miſten:
Deß Philoſophiſchen UNIVER-
SAL vnd GROSSEN STEINS
rechten Natürlichen vnnd eigenen
SVBIECTO, oder, wa-
ren vnd Einiger MA-
TERIA.
Auß Vnverſtandt vnnd Neyd ge-
ſchicht Verleumbdung.
Pfuy dem Leſterer!
Mit Röm. Kay. May. Priuile-
gio, vff zehen Jahr.

FIGURE 1.29
Khunrath, *Naturgemes-Alchymisch Symbolum* (1598), title page. Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle

decimo *Physico-chymical Testament* [...] *of the Natural, Triune, Wondrous and Wonder-Working, Most Secret Universal Chaos of Physico-Chymists: Genuine and Proper Subject of the Necessary and Unique Matter of the Universal and Great Philosophers' Stone*, while not identical to the similarly named *Confessio* of 1596, is very much in the same spirit.[277] The German edition was printed

annum 1624, Ephemerides Brandenburgicae Coelestium Motuum et Temporum (Szczecin, 1609) recorded for 12 December these planetary positions: Sun 20° Sagittarius; Moon 7° Aquarius; Saturn 3° Libra, Jupiter 9° Gemini; Mars 8° Cancer; Venus 25° Capricorn; and Mercury 0° Sagittarius. This gives a Grand Trine between the Moon, Saturn and Jupiter in the three air signs, which may have been considered intellectually auspicious by Khunrath.

277 Khunrath, *Symbolum Physico Chymicum ... De Chao Physico-Chymicorum Catholico, Naturali, Triuno, Mirabili atque Mirifico, Secretissimo: Lapidis Philosophorum Universalis & Magni Subiecto genuino ac proprio, Materia ve debita & Unica* (Hamburg: Heinrich Binders Erben, 1598) and *Naturgemes-alchymisch Symbolum, oder, gahr kurtze Bekentnus* [...] *von allgemeinem, naturlichen, dreyeinigen, wunderbaren, und wunderthätigen, allergeheimbsten Chao der naturgemessen Alchymisten: desz philosophischen universal und*

by Philipp von Ohr (active 1597–1608), who in the same year printed Tycho Brahe's famous description of his observatory at Uraniborg on the Danish island of Hven, *Astronomiae instauratae Mechanica* (Instruments for a Restored Astronomy);[278] the Latin edition was printed by the heirs of Heinrich Binder (active 1583–1597), who had gained notoriety for printing Johann Spies's *Historia von D. Johann Fausten, dem weitbeschreyten Zauberer unnd Schwartzkünstler* (History of Dr Johann Faust, the renowned sorcerer and black magician, 1587).[279]

Similar to *Chaos*, the *Symbolum* appears *Cum Privilegio Sacrae Caesareae Majestatis speciali, ad Decennium* (With the Special Privilege of his Holy Imperial Majesty for Ten Years), here dated 1 June 1598, and providing more information, granting imperial protection for 'whatever Works of Heinrich Khunrath of Leipzig, Doctor of Medicine, written or pictured, Medicinal, Chymical, Cabalistic and other more secret matters, in Latin and German, some collected from elsewhere, some composed and invented by himself … for ten years from the first day of any edition', on pain of confiscation of copies and a fine of ten marks of pure gold to the imperial treasury and to Khunrath or his heirs.[280]

In a mixture of alchemical and Christian-Cabalist language Khunrath declares that it is necessary to believe, know and acknowledge the Theosophical Philosophy of Truth,[281] that 'MAGNESIA is the SON of the Macrocosm, that is, RUACH ELOHIM, the SPIRIT OF THE LORD or BREATH OF GOD which,

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grossen Steins rechten naturlichen unnd eigenen Subjecto, oder, waren und einiger Materia (Gedruckt zu Hamburgk/ Bey Heinrich Binders Erben/ Durch Philip von Ohr/ Im Jahr/ 1598).

278 See Joseph C. Pitt, *Perspectives on Science: Historical, Philosophical, Social* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), Vol. 2, 13 for Von Ohr's printing of Brahe's *Astronomiae instauratae Mechanica* (Wandsbeck, 1598). Von Ohr printed Khunrath's *Naturgemes-alchymisch Symbolum* 'on behalf of the heirs of Heinrich Binder'. On Von Ohr, see Johann Martin Lappenberg, *Zur Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Hamburg* (Hamburg: Verlag von Johann August Meißner, 1840), xlvi; on Heinrich Binder, xliii; on Jacob Lucius the Younger, xlvi–xlvii. See also unpublished PhD Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 2009 by Criscuola de Laix, 'Cultures of Music Print in Hamburg, ca. 1550–1630', 132, where we learn that 'the first collections of polyphonic music produced in Hamburg came from the press of Philip von Ohr, who had made a name for himself in Hamburg with esoteric and scholarly prints in all genres.'

279 Frank Baron, *Faustus on Trial: The Origins of Johann Spies's 'Historia' in an Age of Witch Hunting* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1992), 57ff.

280 Khunrath, *Symbolum Physico Chymicum*, 3–4 'ne quis Opera Henrici Khunrath Lips. Med. Doct. tam scripta quam picta, Medicinalia, Chymica, Cabalistica, & pleraque alia secretiora, Latino ac Germano idiomate, partim a seipso conscripta & inventa … intra Decem Annos, etc.'

281 Khunrath, *Symbolum Physico Chymicum*, 14 '(Philosophia Veritatis Theosophica)'.

made corporeal, is the SALT OF WISDOM'. It is 'Naturally and Universally the MESSIAH, that is, the Natural CHRIST or ANOINTED ONE, Natural & (after the Passion of its Preparation) also Universal Physico-artificial SAVIOUR of the Macrocosm.'[282]

Khunrath is adamant that unless an alchemist 'faithfully believes, or rather knows and steadfastly heeds [this] he will neither be a true Physico-Chymical Philosopher, nor ever be able to attain the great and Universal STONE of the Philosophers.'[283] The interleaving of the spiritual and material is nowhere more apparent than in the short text appended to the *Symbolum* (likewise completed at eight in the evening, though this time on 23 December), Khunrath's *Philosophical Song on the Embodiment of the Spirit of the Lord in Salt, Which in Genesis 1:2 'moved upon the face of the waters'*,[284] each verse of which ends with the litany 'Kyrieleison' (Lord have mercy upon us), and sings of just this 'incarnation' of the Stone in language closely equating, though not identifying, it with Christ.[285]

17 1599 Universal Magnesia of the Philosophers, Magdeburg

An alchemical concern with identifying the correct primal matter continues in the 190-page octavo German and Latin text of the *Universal Magnesia of the Philosophers, that is, the Highest Necessity in Alchemy, and the Possible Transmission, Clear Instruction, and Sufficient Proof of the Hidden Universal Magnesia; Of the Correct and Only True Pri-material Subject of the Secret Wonder-Working*

282 Khunrath, *Symbolum Physico Chymicum*, 15 'MAGNESIA … Macrocosmi FILIUS, RUACH ELOHIM, hoc est, SPIRITUS DOMINI vel ANHELITUS DEI …'; 16 'quique facitus Corporeus, h.e. SAL SAPIENTIAE …'; 18 'Naturaliter & Catholicè MASCHIACH, hoc est, CHRISTUS sive UNCTUS Naturalis; Naturalis & (post Praeparationis suae Passionem) quoque Physico-artificialis SERVATOR $_a$ Mundi majoris Catholicus.'

283 Khunrath, *Symbolum Physico Chymicum*, 21–22 'quam nisi quisque Chymicorum fideliter crediderit, imò sciverit, firmiterque servaverit; nec Philosophus Physico-Chymicus verus esse, nec LAPIDEM Philosophorum Catholicon & magnum unquam adipisci potest.'

284 Khunrath, 'Ein Philosophisch Lied, Von Saltz-Leib Werdung deß Geists des Herrn: So Gen:1.2. auff dem Wasser schwebete.' Cf. MS. Ashmole 1459, ff. 99–106, *A Naturall Chymicall Symbolum Or a Short Confession of Henry Kunwrath of Lipsicke Doctor of Physick Concerning ye … misticall Naturale Chaos of Alchimie …* [including] *A Philosophicall short songe of the incorporating of the Spirit of the Lord in Salt*. A hand-written copy of this can also be found in the end papers of the British Library copy of *Vom Hylealischen Chaos*, Magdeburg, 1616, shelf mark 1033.d.4.(3), titled *Ein Philosophisch Lied, Von Saltz-Leib Werdung deß Geists des Herrn: So Gen:1.2. auff dem Wasser schwebete*. For more, see Chapter 6 on Khunrath's Alchemy.

285 Khunrath, *Ein Philosophisch Lied, Von Saltz-Leib Werdung deß Geists des Herrn*. For more on this, see Chapter 6 on Khunrath's alchemy.


MAGNESIA
CATHOLICA PHILOSOPHORVM;
Das ist/
Höheste Nothwendigkeit /
IN ALCHYMIA,
Auch
Mügliche vberkommung /
Augenscheinliche weisung /
vnd
Gnugsame Erweisung
CATHOLISCHER verborgener
MAGNESIAE;
Des geheimen wunderthetigen VNIVERSAL
STEINS Naturgemeß-Chymischer Phi-
losophorum Rechten vnd allein wahren
PRI-MATERIALISCHEN SVBIECTI.
Von
HENRICO KHVNRATH
LIPS: Theosophiæ amatore, & Medi-
cinæ Vtriusq. Doctore
Wolgegründet gestellet/ vnd herfür gegeben/
ANNO 1599.
Ließ; Verstehe es; Als dann vrtheile.
Seneca in Epist:
Nunquam melius torquebis inuidos, quàm
virtuti & gloriæ inseruiendo.
Cum Priuilegio Sæ Cæsareæ Maiis
ad DECENNIVM.



FIGURE 1.30 Khunrath, *Magnesia Catholica Philosophorum* (1599), title page. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH2055 B

FIGURE 1.31 Khunrath, *Magnesia Catholica Philosophorum* (1599), Khunrath's Owl. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH2055 B

Universal Stone of the Physical-Chemical Philosophers (Fig. 1.30),[286] printed in Magdeburg by Johann Bötcher (active 1598–1608),[287] for the 'opportunis-

286 Khunrath, *Magnesia Catholica Philosophorum; Das ist/ Höheste Nothwendigkeit/ In Alchymia, Auch Mügliche uberkommung/ Augenscheinliche weisung/ und Gnugsame Erweisung Catholischer verborgener Magnesiæ; Des geheimen wunderthetigen Universal Steins Naturgemeß-Chymischer Philosophorum Rechten und allein wahren Pri-Materialischen Subiecti* (Magdeburg: Johann Bötcher, 1599).

287 Khunrath, *Magnesia* (1599), Colophon: 'Bey Johan. Francken zu bekommen.' Johann Bötcher [also Böttcher/Boettcher/Bötger]. See Josef Benzing, *Buchdruckerlexikon des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Deutsches Sprachgebiet) (Frankfurt am Main: V. Klostermann, 1952), 117. For further references, see Maren Ballerstedt, Peter Petsch, and Matthias Puhle, *Magdeburger Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts: ein Bestandsverzeichnis* (Halle: Mitteldt. Verlag, 2009).

tic pirate publisher' Johann Francke (*c.*1547–1625).[288] This is the very same Francke who, under the pseudonym Johann Knuber published works of the non-conformist Lutheran theologian Valentin Weigel (1533–1588), the *Kabalisticae Precationes* (Kabbalistic Prayers, 1600) of the theosopher Julius Sperber (1540–1616), the 1610 reprint of *Von Wahrem Christentum* (On True Christianity) by the pietist Johann Arndt (1555–1621), and the pro-Rosicrucian *Ara foederis Theraphici* (Altar of the Healing Covenant, 1618) of the Swedish polymath and mystic Johannes Bureus (1568–1652).[289]

In *Magnesia* Khunrath discusses the universal primal matter, which he terms 'Magnesia', as distinct from 'Chaos', which he now uses as the term for the primal matter of metals.[290] Just as there is one universal God, world, Saviour, Christian faith and church, so too is there one universal primal matter and one Stone.[291] Taking the Book of Moses as primary source,[292] where God created the world from 'nothing' in his Universal Laboratory, the Macrocosm,[293] but quoting also from both Aristotle and Plato,[294] along with many medieval sources,[295] as well as referring back to the *Amphitheatre* and *Chaos*,[296] Khunrath distinguishes between universal and particular types of *prima materia* and philosophical stones, discussing such matters as the preparation of medicines from gold to cure both metals and man.[297] In the third chapter, Khunrath informs his reader that he is working on 'two large books of wonders', one an 'Apocalypse, that is, Revelation, of Hidden Universal Magnesia'; the other 'The Analogous Harmony of Universal Magnesia of the Philosophers with IHSVH Christ, and vice versa',

288 Leigh T.I. Penman, '*Paraluther*: Explaining an Unexpected Portrait of Paracelsus in Andreas Hartmann's *Curriculum Vitae Lutheri* (1601)', in Jennifer Spinks and Dagmar Eichberger (eds.), *Religion, the Supernatural and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe: An Album Amicorum for Charles Zika* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 161–184, at 176. See also Hermann Geyer, *Verborgene Weisheit: Johann Arndts "Vier Bücher vom Wahren Christentum" als Programm einer spiritualisch-hermetischen Theologie*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), vol. 1, 38.

289 On Bureus, see Åkerman, *Rose Cross over the Baltic*, Chapter One '"Adulruna Rediviva" – Johannes Bureus' Rosy Cross'; Håkan Håkansson, 'Alchemy of the Ancient Goths: Johannes Bureus' Search for the Lost Wisdom of Scandinavia', *Early Science and Medicine* 17 (2012): 500–522; Thomas Karlsson, 'Kabbalah in Sweden', in Henrik Bogdan (ed.), *Western Esotericism in Scandinavia* (Leiden: Brill 2016), 218–227.

290 Khunrath, *Magnesia*, 64.

291 Khunrath, *Magnesia*, 21–2.

292 Khunrath, *Magnesia*, 43–4.

293 Khunrath, *Magnesia*, 49, 62.

294 Khunrath, *Magnesia*, 36.

295 *Turba Philosophorum*, Avicenna, Bonus, Geber, Hamuel, Hermes, *Clangor Buccinae*, *Liber Saturni*, Lilius, Morienus, Rasis, Ripley, Trevisanus, Villanova, Zacharias.

296 Khunrath, *Magnesia*, 77, 88, 89 for references to *Chaos*; 6 to the *Amphitheatre*'s third circular figure, the *Alchemical Rebis*; 89 to the fourth circular figure, the *Oratory-Laboratory*.

297 Khunrath, *Magnesia*, 87–8.

grounded in the macrocosmic Book of Nature and in holy Biblical Scripture.[298] Although it is unlikely many would have noticed, this message is quietly intimated in the way the title of *Magnesia* echoes that of the *Amphitheatre*: while the 1595 publication proclaims the '*Only True*' Eternal Wisdom, i.e. Christ; here *Magnesia* concerns the '*Only True*' Subject of the Philosophers' Stone.

Like the 1597 *Chaos*, this book includes the engraving of the owl at the conclusion of the work (Fig. 1.31) and is published with imperial privilege.[299]

18 1599 Inventing an Alchemical Furnace, Magdeburg

The 34-page *Warhafftiger Bericht von Philosophischen Athanor ... Auch/ von Nützlichen Brauch desselben* (Truthful Report concerning the Philosophical Athanor ... and on the Effective Use of the same, Fig. 1.32), written in German while Khunrath was living temporarily in Magdeburg, and printed, like *Magnesia*, by Johan Bötcher, again with the ten-year imperial privilege, is a work of practical alchemical laboratory technology.[300] In it Khunrath proudly introduces the athanor or alchemical furnace that he himself has invented.[301] As with the majority of Khunrath's other works, the *Athanor* includes citations from medieval and modern authorities on laboratory alchemy, as well as a reference to his own recent publication *On Primaterial Chaos*.[302]

298 Khunrath, *Magnesia*, 57–58 'Davon können zwey grosse Wunder Bücher/ das eine Apocalypsis/ das ist/ Offenbarung der Catholischen verborgenen MAGNESIÆ; das andere Harmonia analogica MAGNESIÆ Philosophorum Catholicæ cum IHSVH CHRISTO, & contra; genandt/ (welche Ich unterhanden habe/ Gott lasse Mich dieselben vollenden/ Amen) in grossem Weldbuch der Natur zusampt in heiliger Biblischer Schrifft wolgegründet geschrieben.' In the margin these titles appear in Latin as 'Apocalypsis Magnesiæ Philosophorum Catholicæ secretæ' and 'Liber de Harmonia analogica Magnesiae ... Philosophorum Catholicae cum IHSVH Christo, &c. & contra.'

299 Khunrath, *Magnesia*, [189].

300 Khunrath, *Warhafftiger Bericht von Philosophischen Athanor, Henrici Khunrath Lips: Beyder Artzney Doctor: Auch/ von Nützlichen Brauch desselbigen*. ... Mit Röm: Kay: Maj: Privilegio uff zehen Jahr. The first edition, issued by the same publisher as *Magnesia*, Johan Bötcher (Magdeburg, 1599) is extremely rare, and is not even included in Brüning's *Die alchemistischen Druckwerke*. Brüning does list, however, p. 132 *Warhafftiger Bericht vom Philosophischen Athanore auch Brauch unnd Nütz desselbigen*. Editio secunda, & auctior, Magdeburg, 1603 and p. 192 the 1615 edition *Warhafftiger Bericht vom philosophischen Athanore auch Brauch und Nütz desselbigen*. Editio tertia et auctior. Magdeburg. I have worked from the British Library copy of the self-published 60-page 'editio secunda & auctior, Magdeburg, 1603'. A third and enlarged 61-page edition (Magdeburg 1615) can be found in the Ferguson Collection, Glasgow while a fourth edition by Adam Friedrich Böhme appeared in Leipzig 1783.

301 Khunrath, *Athanor* (1603), 9.

302 Khunrath, *Athanor* (1599), 32 marginal reference to 'in Meiner Confession von Hylealischen CHAO cap. 7. pag. 253' and then 'was cap. 10 Confessionis meae von hylealischen CHAO gesagt wird. pag. 395. usque 404.'

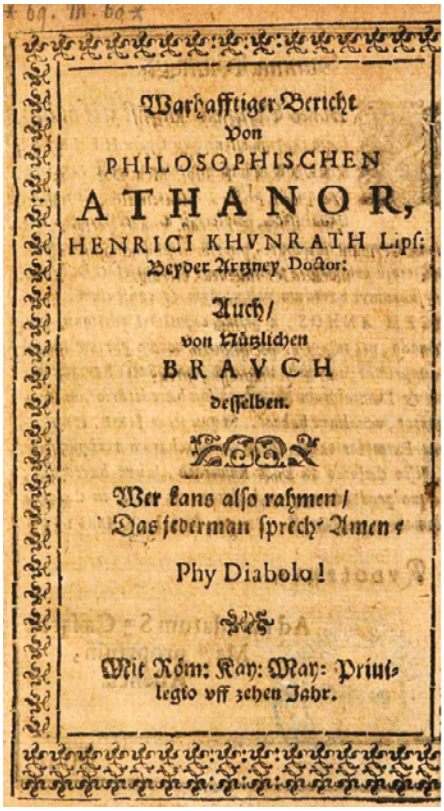

Warhafftiger Bericht
Von
PHILOSOPHISCHEN
ATHANOR,
HENRICI KHVNRATH Lipſ:
Beyder Artzney Doctor:
Auch/
von Nützlichen
BRAVCH
deſſelben.
Wer kans alſo rahmen/
Das jederman ſprech: Amen?
Phy Diabolo!
Mit Röm: Kay: May: Priuilegio vff zehen Jahr.

FIGURE 1.32
Khunrath, *Warhafftiger Bericht Von Philosophischen Athanor* (1599), title page. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Vienna

Szulakowska believes that the *Magnesia* and *Athanor* were both written before the first edition of the *Amphitheatre* and *Chaos*, arguing that the *Magnesia* is 'more archaic in its conceptual programme than the *Chaos*' and that neither text refers to 'Cabalism'.[303] Claiming this, however, she has failed to take into account *Magnesia*'s reference to the phrase 'VOARCH BETH ADAMOT', from the Venetian priest Giovanni Pantheo's *Voarchadumia contra alchimiam* (Voarchadumia against alchemy, 1530), where he promotes his 'Cabala of Metals',[304] nor has she noticed Khunrath's marginal reference to significant figures in the history of Christian Cabala: Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), Capnion (Johann Reuchlin, 1455–1522), Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535), and Paul Scalich (1534–1573).[305]

303 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 88–9.

304 Khunrath, *Magnesia*, 92. See Chapter 4 on Khunrath's Cabala and Chapter 6 on his alchemy. See also Peter J. Forshaw, '*Cabala Chymica* or *Chemia Cabalistica* – Early Modern Alchemists and Cabala', *Ambix* 60:4 (November, 2013): 361–389. The term also appears in Khunrath, *Lux in Tenebris* (n.p., 1614), 23.

305 Khunrath, *Magnesia*, 147.

The 1599 *Athanor* does not explicitly mention Cabala, but it does refer to natural and supernatural good magic, as well as to divine magic,[306] indeed, its final, concluding sentence is that the Philosophers' egg or vessel should be impressed with a Hermetical and Divinely-Magical Seal.[307] As Gilly points out, at the end of the *Athanor*, Khunrath announces two forthcoming works. The first of these, 'Von Geheimen des Lebens der Elementen' (On the Secrets of the Life of the Elements) was never published and is yet to be discovered in manuscript; the second is clearly an anticipation of what was to be Khunrath's posthumously published work on the fire of the mages and philosophers, *De Igne Magorum*.[308] Immediately before the colophon of the *Athanor*, we find familiar phrases from Khunrath's Christian Cabala: *Ruach Hhochmah-El* (Spirit of the Wisdom of God) and *Hallelu-IAH*! This becomes more explicit in the 1603 edition of the *Athanor*, which at the end refers to Christian Cabala, Divine Magic and the *Amphitheatre*.[309] I have found no evidence for Szulakowska's claim that Khunrath was 'distributing the *Athanor* publically in Magdeburg in 1597',[310] although the same information also appears in Priesner and Figala, again without any source.[311]

A letter dated 25 December 1599 from the Pietist Johann Arndt to Khunrath's friend Erasmus Wolfart, who was to edit the expanded 1609 edition of the *Amphitheatre*, reveals that Arndt and Khunrath were corresponding with one another.[312]

306 Khunrath, *Athanor* (1599), 22, 32.

307 Khunrath, *Athanor* (1599), 33.

308 Khunrath, *Athanor* (1599), 32 'Von natürlich unnd göttlich-magischer Ahnzundung [des] Fewer der uhralten Persischen/ Griechischen/ Römischen und anderer Völker Magorum, das ist [der] Weisen'.

309 Khunrath, *Athanor* (1603), 59–60 'nicht alleine in Naturgemesser Alchymia, sondern auch in Christlicher Kabala und Göttlicher Magia, … Wo von in Meinem Amphitheatro Sapientiæ Æternæ, solius veræ, Christiano-Kabalistico, Divino-Magico; nec non Physico-Chymico, (so Ich mit Gottes hülffe/ in offenen Druck heraus zu geben/ j[e]tzo unter Handen habe) geliebts Gott/ in specie sol catalogisiret werden.'

310 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 86.

311 Telle, 'Khunrath, *Heinrich*', 195 '*Bericht vom philosophischen Athanor*, ebd. 1597.'

312 On the Khunrath-Arndt-Wolfart correspondence, see Peter J. Forshaw, 'Unexpected in the Octagon: Heinrich Khunrath's Presentation Copy to Erasmus Wolfart', in Hans Thomas Hakl (ed.), *Octagon II. The Quest for Wholeness – Esoterische und religionswissenschaftliche Forschungen von akademischen Autorinnen und Autoren in englischer Sprache* (Gagenau: Scientia Nova, 2016), 71–89. On Arndt as a friend of Khunrath, see Douglas H. Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism: Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 25. For more, vide infra Chapter 3 on Khunrath's Theosophy. On Wolfart, about whom little is known, see Kühlmann and Telle (eds.), *Der Frühparacelsismus*, Part 3, 547. Telle mentions the correspondence between Khunrath and Arndt, in 'Khunrath, *Heinrich*', 194.

19 1601 Correspondence from Berlin

It is claimed, though without documentation, that Khunrath spent time in Berlin in 1601.[313] He does write once, however, of seeing youths kindling Saint John's bonfire on Saint John's Eve (23 June) in Berlin and Köln on the Spree.[314] Four items of correspondence dating from 1601–1604 contain medical advice on the treatment of kidney stones from Khunrath to one of his clients, Count Albrecht VII von Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt (1537–1605).[315] One was sent from Berlin on 10 March 1601.[316]

20 1602 Extra Engravings for the *Amphitheatre*, Magdeburg

The second, enlarged edition of the *Amphitheatre* has a somewhat bemusing publishing history, with many phantom editions mentioned in bibliographies, though never found in libraries.[317] Umberto Eco enlarges upon this in his *Lo Strano Caso della Hanau 1609*,[318] points out that this is partly due to the fact that the *Amphitheatre*'s component parts have a mixture of dates, and comes to the conclusion that the first genuine second edition 'complete in all its parts' appears in 1609, in Hanau, rather than Hanover as it is sometimes erroneously stated.[319] The original four circular engravings were reengraved, without their surrounding text, as well as the five new rectangular 'hieroglyphic' figures that appear in the expanded edition of the *Amphitheatre*, also engraved in 1602

313 Telle, 'Khunrath, *Heinrich*', 194. This is repeated by Bachmann and Hofmeier (eds.), *Geheimnisse der Alchemie*, 159.

314 Khunrath, *De Igne Magorum*, 42.

315 My thanks to the late Joachim Telle for informing me about the archival material relating to Albrecht, in Rudolstadt, Thüringisches Staatsarchiv, C XVI 4 g Nr. 16, f. 212, 194–195, 77, 258–259.

316 Rudolstadt, Staatsarchiv, Ms. A XVI 4g Nr. 16 (Four letters to Count Albrecht VII von Schwarzburg; autographs). See 'Heinrich Khunrath an Graf Albrecht VII von Schwarzburg', in Lenz (ed.), *Der Alchemist Conrad Khunrath*, 47–51: Berlin, 10 March 1601; Magdeburg, 22 February 1603; Gera, 31 March 1605; Np, Nd.

317 Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', 341.

318 Eco, *Lo Strano Caso della Hanau* 1609. Eco's title 'The Strange Case of the Hanau 1609', playfully alludes to the publication place and date of the enlarged edition of the *Amphitheatre* as well as to Robert Louis Stephenson's gothic novella *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886).

319 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 103; Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 38. De Bruijn, *Book-Building*, 125 moderates between the two locations, suggesting that the paper for the engravings originated in the town of Celle, near Hanover, and connects the watermark for the paper with Ortenberg, close to Hanau.

and the new edition was already advertised in the Frankfurt book catalogue in Spring the same year.[320]

21 Looking at the Watermarks

Two grades of paper were used for the printing of the 1595 *Amphitheatre*. According to Ralf Töllner the watermark on the paper used for the text was manufactured by Nicklaus Hüsler, who owned the Zunziger Mill, Basel, 1586–1613, while the slightly thicker paper on which the engravings were printed possibly comes from Bavaria.[321] In his analysis of the watermarks in the 1609 *Amphitheatre*, Willem De Bruijn argues that the watermark for the paper used for the text, 'a small crest with bars and a branch running diagonally across the crest' (Figs. 1.33–34) can be dated to 1604 and traced to the town of Lichtenau near Strasbourg, a very similar watermark being used in 1588 in Ortenberg, close to Hanau.[322] That for the engravings has 'a crest with three towers' (Figs. 1.35–36) and can also be dated to 1604 and traced to the town of Celle, near Hanover. De Bruijn proposes that the plates were printed in Hanover and the text in Hanau. He also suggests that Johann Arndt 'may have been involved in some way since he resided in Celle at the time'.[323]

22 1603 Second Edition of the Athanor, Magdeburg

The 61-page quarto 1603 second and enlarged edition of the *Athanor* again mentions the as yet unpublished work on the *Fire of the Mages and Sages*,[324]

320 Gilly, 'Khunrath und das Entstehen der frühneuzeitlichen Theosophie', in Gilly, Hallacker, Neumann and Schmidt-Biggemann (eds.), Heinrich Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae – Schauplatz der ewigen allein wahren Weisheit*, 9–22, at 10. For more on these Hieroglyphic figures, see Chapter 2.

321 Variants of the surname can be found: Niklaus Heussler/Heusler/Hüssler. See Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 12–13. On the name of the mill, see Gerard Kilroy, *The Epigrams of Sir John Harington* (Farnham: Ashgate 2009), 22.

322 De Bruijn, *Book-Building*, 125. In the copies that I have checked for watermarks, the shield watermark only seems to appear on the 1609 *Amphitheatre*'s two double-page tables, the *Summa Amphitheatri* (see Chapter 3, Fig. 9) and 'Three Things … that primordially constitute the World' (Chapter 3, Fig. 16).

323 De Bruijn, *Book-Building*, 125.

324 Khunrath, *Warhafftiger Bericht Vom Philosophischen Athanore auch Brauch unnd Nütz desselbigen*. Editio secunda, & auctior, Magdeburg, 1603, 56 'in Meinem *Consilio Philosophico*, das ist/ Philosophischen Gutachten/ unnd Rathsamen bedencken/ von und uber dem Geheimen/ Eusseren/ Sichtbaren Glüth und Flammen FEWER der Uhralten MAGORUM, das ist/ WEISEN/ unnd anderer wahren Philosophorum …'.



FIGURE 1.33
Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Oratory-Laboratory* watermark (back). Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam

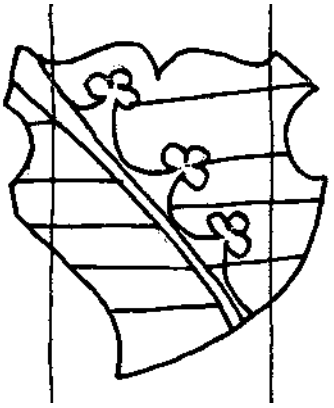


FIGURE 1.34
Watermark of a small shield with a diagonal branch from top left to bottom right, from the town of Lichtenau, near Strasburg, 1604. Wasserzeichensammlung Piccard Nr. 24629. Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg



FIGURE 1.35
Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Summa Amphitheatri* watermark. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam

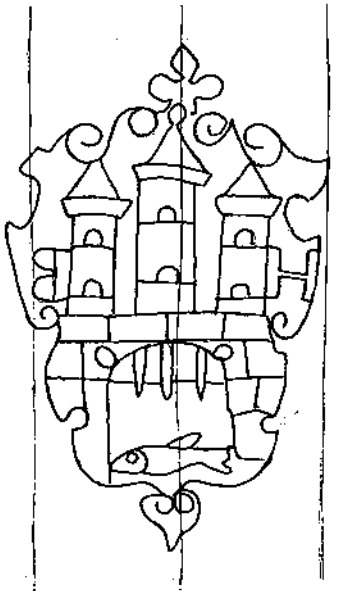


FIGURE 1.36
Watermark of Three Towers on a Coat of Arms, from the town of Celle, near Hanover, 1604. Wasserzeichensammlung Piccard Nr. 106248. Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg

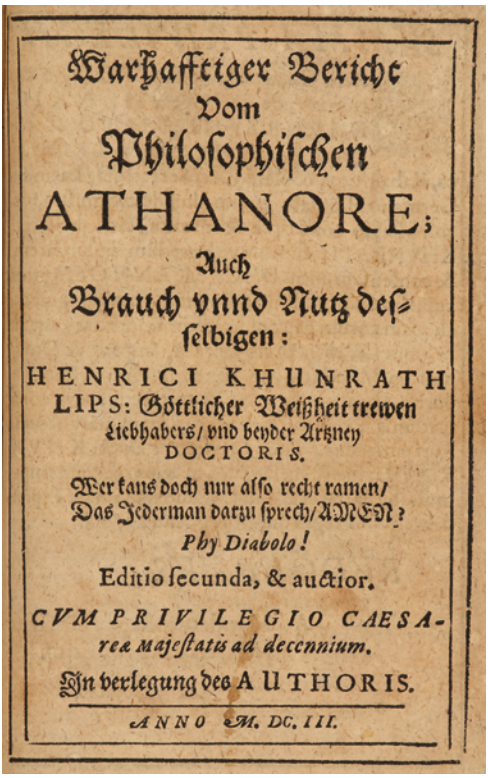

Warhafftiger Bericht
Vom
Philosophischen
ATHANORE;
Auch
Brauch vnnd Nutz deſ-
ſelbigen:
HENRICI KHUNRATH
LIPS: Göttlicher Weißheit trewen
Liebhabers/ vnd beyder Artzney
DOCTORIS.
Wer kans doch nur alſo recht ramen/
Das Jederman darzu ſprech/AMEN?
Phy Diabolo!
Editio ſecunda, & auctior.
CVM PRIVILEGIO CAESA-
rea majeſtatis ad decennium.
In verlegung des AUTHORIS.
ANNO M. DC. III.

FIGURE 1.37 Khunrath, *Warhafftiger Bericht Vom Philosophischen Athanore* (1603), title page. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH2055 C



FIGURE 1.38 Khunrath, *Warhafftiger Bericht Vom Philosophischen Athanore* (1603), Athanor. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH2055 C

and now includes references to both *Chaos* and *Magnesia*.[325] Khunrath also refers to the updated edition of the *Amphitheatre* and his intention to make it available to the public.[326] The 1603 edition states on its title page that it is self-published (In Verlegung des Authoris, Fig. 1.37) and now includes an image of the athanor (Fig. 1.38),[327] and, again at the end of the work, the disgruntled owl.

325 Khunrath, *Athanor* (1603), 18.

326 Khunrath, *Athanor* (1603), 59–60 'Wo von in Meinem *Amphitheatro* … (so Ich mit GOTTES hülffe/ in offenen Druch heraus zu geben/jetzo unter Handen habt) …'.

327 Khunrath, *Athanor* (1603), 26.

23 1603 Water of Health, Magdeburg

The same year saw the publication of a short 11-page octavo *Report on the Medicinal Use and Effectiveness of the Water of Health*.[328] Khunrath's name does not appear on the title page, but is provided at the very end of the text, with the explanation that the work was written while he was living for a time in Magdeburg (Fig. 1.39b).[329] No publisher is named, but the style of framing the title on the title page, while not identical, calls to mind Johann Bötcher's title pages for the 1599 *Magnesia* and *Athanor*. The text concerning this curative and preservative *Water of Health* reads like a long advertisement, mentioning its utility for internal and external ailments, that it is prepared out of vegetable ingredients beneficial for the health, based on four factors: 1. the qualities and properties of the ingredients, 2. healthy and conventional methods, 3. the authority of the most outstanding practising physicians, and 4. experience, efficacous mistress of all things.[330] Although Khunrath is a Paracelsian, he is not averse to discussing the more traditional Galenic and Hippocratic notion of the four bodily humors,[331] and here he touches on *Melancholia hypochondriaca*, before listing symptoms such as suffocating catarrh and mucous matter.[332] Then follow instructions as to use and dosage, with 3 to 6 tablespoons of the medicine to be taken with beef or chicken soup, or in a glass of wormwood wine (absinthe), or another such herbal wine, an hour before breakfast and also at lunch.[333] No recipe is provided for this *Water of Health*, but the reader is reassured that it is a fast-working remedy.[334] Although this work seems slightly out-of-character for Khunrath, if it is a forgery, it has at least made some effort to appear Khunrathian, with the inclusion of two of his favourite Hebraic phrases, 'IHSUH Christus' on the title page and 'HHOCHMAH-EL' (Wisdom [of] God) at the end. The four factors guaranteeing the efficacity of the medicine

328 Khunrath, *Bericht Vom Medicinalischen Brauch und Nutzen Aquae Sanitatis, Das ist/ Wassers der Gesundtheit* (n.p., 1603).

329 Khunrath, *Aquae Sanitatis*, 10 'pro tempore MAGDEBURGI habitans'.

330 Khunrath, *Aquae sanitatis*, 1–2.

331 Khunrath, *Quaestiones tres*, sig. Bij^{v}–Biij^{r} for references to Melancholia and 'Schwartzgällischen unreinigkeiten'; C^{v} 'Erdische Melancholey'; Cvii^{v} 'Melancholia hypochondriaca'.

332 Khunrath, *Aquae sanitatis*, 4.

333 Khunrath, *Aquae sanitatis*, 8–9 'USUS … von dreyen biß zu sechs Eßlöfflein voll uff ein mal: oder aber in Rindtfleisch oder Hünner Suppen vormischt; der auch in einem trunck Wermuthwein; odern andern auff dieselbigen Personen insonderheit gerichteten Kräuter Weinen; oder nur gutes lauteren Reinischen Weins; Eine stunde vor dem Frühestuck/ oder auch wol. … Item/ uber dem Frühstück/ oder auch zur Mittages Mahlzeit' … with attention to weakness, age, etc.

334 Khunrath, *Aquae sanitatis*, 10 'balde wurckende …'.

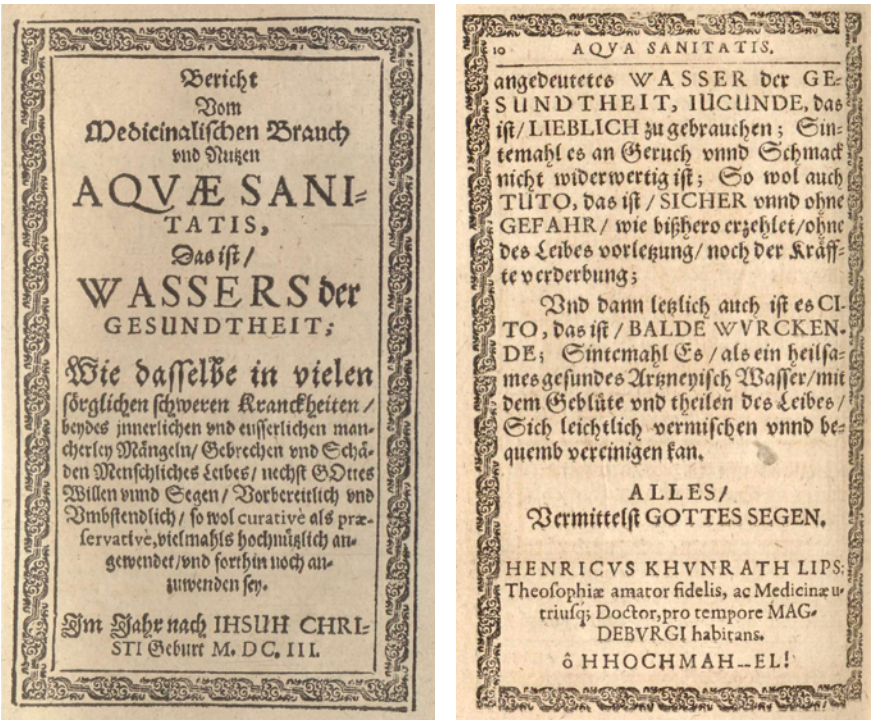

Bericht
Vom
Medicinalischen Brauch
vnd Nutzen
AQVÆ SANI-
TATIS,
Das ist/
WASSERS der
GESUNDTHEIT;
Wie dasselbe in vielen
sörglichen schweren Kranckheiten/
beydes jnnerlichen vnd eusserlichen man-
cherley Mängeln/ Gebrechen vnd Schä-
den Menschliches Leibes/ nechst GOttes
Willen vnnd Segen/ Vorbereitlich vnd
Vmbstendlich/ so wol curativè als præ-
servativè, vielmahls hochnützlich an-
gewendet/vnd forthin noch an-
zuwenden sey.
Im Jahr nach IHSUH CHRI-
STI Geburt M. DC. III.
10 AQVA SANITATIS.
angedeutetes WASSER der GE-
SUNDTHEIT, IUCUNDE, das
ist/ LIEBLICH zu gebrauchen; Sin-
temahl es an Geruch vnnd Schmack
nicht widerwertig ist; So wol auch
TUTO, das ist/ SICHER vnnd ohne
GEFAHR/ wie bißhero erzehlet/ohne
des Leibes vorletzung/ noch der Kräff-
te verderbung;
Vnd dann letzlich auch ist es CI-
TO, das ist/ BALDE WVRCKEN-
DE; Sintemahl Es/ als ein heilsa-
mes gesundes Artzneyisch Wasser/mit
dem Geblüte vnd theilen des Leibes/
Sich leichtlich vermischen vnnd be-
quemb vereinigen kan.
ALLES/
Vermittelst GOTTES SEGEN.
HENRICVS KHVNRATH LIPS:
Theosophiæ amator fidelis, ac Medicinæ u-
triusq; Doctor, pro tempore MAG-
DEBVRGI habitans.
ô HHOCHMAH--EL!

FIGURE 1.39 Khunrath, *Bericht Vom Medicinalischen Brauch und Nutzen Aquae Sanitatis* (1603), a) title page & b) end page. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz

call to mind the start of the *Amphitheatre*'s Isagoge to the third circular figure of the alchemical *Rebis*, where Khunrath presents arguments in support of the existence of the Philosophers' Stone.[335] We again find Khunrath's bespectacled owl on the final page.

24 1603 Signature of Magnesia

In the preface to a 1783 edition of the *Athanor*, Adam Friedrich Böhme (fl. 1781–1799), publisher of several eighteenth-century reprints of Khunrath's books, draws up a list of works by Khunrath, among which he mentions that in 1603 Khunrath wrote this treatise of 4 sheets: *The Signature of Magnesia, Magnesia as it were named Magnum-Aes-IAH* [Great Copper/Bronze of YAH].

335 See *Amph.*II, 191–193, where Khunrath lists 1. Experience, 2. Reason, 3. The Wise, 4. Nature, etc.

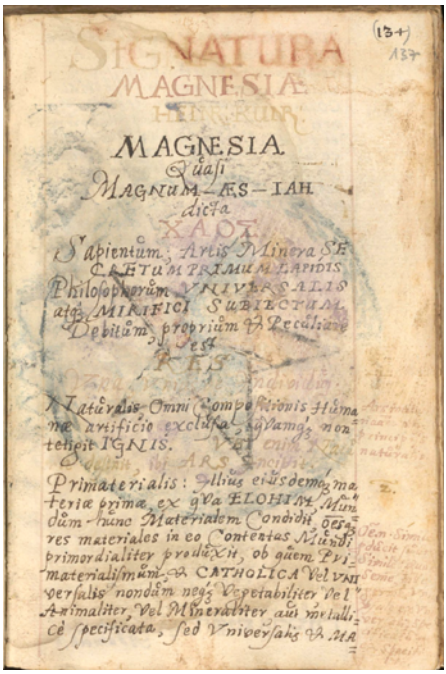


FIGURE 1.40 Khunrath, 'Signatura Magnesiae' (1603), f. 134r first page

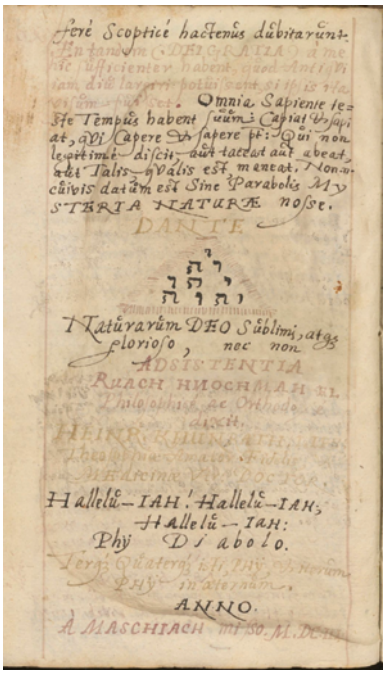


FIGURE 1.41 Khunrath, 'Signatura Magnesiae' (1603), f. 138v last page. Murhardsche Bibliothek und Landesbibliothek Kassel

Secret Chaos of the Wise, Mineral of the Art, First Subject of the Universal and Wonder-Working Philosophers' Stone.[336] A manuscript of the *Signatura Magnesiae Henr. Kunr.* survives in the Kassel archive (Fig. 1.40), in the hand of the Paracelsian Benedictus Figulus (b. 1567) who edited Khunrath's posthumously published work *On the Fire of the Mages and Sages* in 1608.[337]

336 Vorbericht des Herausgebers, *Wahrhafter Bericht vom philosophischen Athanor, und dessen Gebrauch und Nutzen* (Leipzig, bey Adam Friedrich Böhme, 1783), 6 *Signatura magnesiae magnesia quasi Magnum-Aes-IAH dicta. Xaos sapientum artis minera secretum primum lapidis philosophorum universalis atque mirifici subiectum*. Diesen Tractat hat er im Jahr 1603 geschrieben, und hält 4 Bogen. See also Adelung, *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit*, Part 5 (1787), 104 10. *Signatura Magnesiae Magnesia quasi Magnum-Aes IAH dicta*; bey der Ausgabe seiner *Confess. de Chao* (Strasburg, 1699).

337 Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', 348 in the hand of Benedictus Figulus: 'Signatura Magnesiae Henr. Kunr.' Kassel, Murhardsche Bibliothek und Landesbibliothek, MS 8° chem. 25, ff. 134r–138v.

The 8-page manuscript contains evidence of Khunrath's combination of alchemy and cabala, again with reference to the 'Voarch Beth Adamoth' of Giovanni Pantheo, plus an intriguing reference to the 'destruction and rebuilding of the house of red earth … in the school of the Voarchadamici'.[338] There is also a deconstruction of the word *Elixeir*, like that found in the 1597 *Chaos*,[339] reference to the 'truly admirable analogical harmony of both stones' (i.e. Christ and the Philosophers' Stone), an image of the Pythagorean Tetraktys with the letters of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton superimposed (Fig. 1.41), as found in the first circular *Amphitheatre* engraving and on the title page of the 1609 edition, and the manuscript closes with Khunrath's idiosyncratic Christian-Cabalist date-style: 'In the year 1603 from the sending of the Messiah'.[340]

25 1604 Gera

As with Berlin, there is the suggestion that Khunrath spent time in Gera, in 1604, although little documentation can be provided as evidence. Khunrath sent another letter to his client Albrecht VII von Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt from Magdeburg on 22 February 1603 and then a final one bidding the ailing count farewell in June 1604.[341] While highly condemnatory of the 'Theosopher and Gold-cook' Khunrath in his *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit* (History of Human Folly, 1787), Johann Christoph Adelung (1732–1806), nevertheless reports the existence of a chymical manuscript concerning the Song of Solomon attributed to Khunrath in the church library in Gera.[342] This may be Khunrath's as yet untraced *Kunst den Weisenstein zu fertigen aus dem hohen Liede Salomonis augenscheinlich erwiesen* (The Art of Fashioning the Philosophers' Stone manifestly demonstrated from Solomon's Song of Songs), dating from around 1600.[343]

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338 Khunrath, *Signatura Magnesiae*, f. 134v; 135r 'Hoc est, Destructio & Reaedificatio domus terrarum Rubrarum, cum innovatione & gloria, in Schola Voarchadamicorum'. It should be noted that Pantheo's *Voarch**adumia*** has now become *Voarch**adamic***. Christian Cabalists would have known that the name of their forefather *Adam* meant 'Red Earth', which is perhaps the reason for the reference to the 'House of Red Earths'. (See sig. 134^{v} 'ADAMICA' (האדמה) [Ha Adamah]. Ea, quae Indicio Coloris …).

339 Khunrath, *Signatura Magnesiae*, f. 136r El-I-X-EIR. See Chapter 4 on Khunrath's Cabala.

340 Khunrath, *Signatura Magnesiae*, f. 137r 'O Harmoniam Lapidis Utriusque Analogicam vere admirandam! … Anno à Maschiach misso M.D.C.III.'

341 'Heinrich Khunrath an Graf Albrecht VII von Schwarzburg', in Lenz (ed.), *Der Alchemist Conrad Khunrath*, 49–51: Gera, 31 March 1605; Np, Nd.

342 Adelung, *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit*, Part 5 (1787), 104.

343 See Gilly, 'Das *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* von Heinrich Khunrath', 144 who includes a reference to a 'Manuscriptum Chymicum, variegatis egregie pictum coloribus'

1604 also saw the preparation of part of the expanded *Amphitheatre*; not as Szulakowska describes it, another epilogue, but on the contrary the *Isagoges* or Introductions originally surrounding the four circular engravings in the 1595 edition.[344] In the same year, Khunrath also wrote the curious six-page opening to the 1609 *Amphitheatre* – partly based on material taken from the 1595 title page – imaginatively described by Ian Macphail as the 'invocation',[345] in which the book is dedicated not, as was often the custom, to a noble patron but instead to 7 different recipients: I. God, II. the Angelic Host, III. One's Fellow Man, IV. Oneself, V. Holy Scripture, VI. Nature, and VII. the Sciences & Arts.[346] Khunrath also explains that it has been 'recently revised, AMPHITHEATRICALLY constructed with FOUR circular, and other hieroglyphic FIGURES, skilfully engraved in copper, for the purpose of raising up and defending, with all its might, TRUTH'.[347]

26 Practical Philosophical Counsel

In 1604, shortly before his death, Khunrath also began drafting a *Trew-Hertziges und wohlgemeintes. … Consilium Philosophicum Practicum* (True-Hearted and Well-Intended … Practical Philosophical Counsel) for Prince August von Anhalt-Plötzkau (1575–1653), who was later to be interested in the Rosicrucian manifestos.[348] In it he discusses the secrets of the preparation of Universal

(Chymical Manuscript, painted with all kinds of colours) by Heinrich Khunrath in the Church Library at Gera.

344 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 103. Carl Jung's 1609 edition has all four Isagoges bound after the conclusion of the main text: *Isagoge* 1 (185–186); *Isagoge* 2 (187–189); *Isagoge* 3 (190/[no 191]/192/193/[193 repeated]/-207); *Isagoge* 4 (208–214).

345 Ian Macphail (ed.), *Alchemy and the Occult: A Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts from the Collection of Paul and Mary Mellon given to Yale University Library* (New Haven: Yale University Library, 1968), Vol. 1 Printed Books (1472–1623), 207.

346 *Amph.*I, 3–8. On *Amph.*I, 8 'Anno Maschiach iuxta promissionem Divinam missi MDCIV' (In the year of the Messiah sent according to Divine promise 1604). The only comparable dedication I know of is the double dedication by Robert Fludd in *Utriusque Cosmi Historia* (Frankfurt, 1617–18), Tomus Primus, p. 1 to God (Deo Optimo Maximo) and p. 2 to James I (Serenissimo et Potentissimo Principi Jacobo) …'.

347 *Amph.*I, 6–7 'recèns reuisum, AMPHITHEATRICE instructum QVATVOR circularibus, aliisque hieroglyphicis FIGVRIS, in æs affabrè scalptis, VERITATIS, … pro viribus, vindicandæ ac erigendæ causa'.

348 Khunrath, *Trew-Hertziges undt wohlgemeintes … Consilium Philosophicum Practicum*, (Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt Khunrath, Ms. 14 A 12 [1–2]). See Tilton, 'Of Ether and Colloidal Gold', 77. Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', 349 provides a longer title: '*Consilium Philosophicum, das ist, Philosophisches Guthachten und Rathsames Bedencken von dem Kunstlichen Geheimen Genese Hermetis und Anderer Weisen, welches sie ihr Ovum philosophicum artificiale, das*

Magnesia of the Philosophers, subject of the Philosophers' Stone. Similar to *On Primaterial Chaos* and the *Practical Confession* above he engages with both the 'Preparatory Work' (Vohrarbeit) and the 'Afterwork' (Nacharbeit).[349] With reference to the *Rosarium magnum* (Great Rose-Garden), Petrus Bonus's *Pretiosa Margarita Novella* (New Pearl of Great Price), and Pseudo-Paracelsus's *De Tinctura Physicorum* (On the Tincture of the Natural Philosophers), in a mixture of Latin and German, Khunrath discusses the properties of mercury, sulphur and salt, the spirit of vitriol, liquid *duenech*, the elixir and universal medicine, surpassingly perfect potable gold,[350] and so forth. He also mentions colours, such as the Raven's Head,[351] the Green Line of the Kabbalists,[352] the use of hermetic and divinely-magical seals,[353] and even refers at one point to the Koran.[354] Following this Khunrath prepared a manuscript copy of *De Igne Magorum* (composed in 1603), which was also entrusted to his princely reader.[355]

Two undated manuscripts display intimate knowledge of the *Amphitheatre*, each likely with Khunrath as author.

27 A Practical Confession

The Royal Danish Library possesses an alchemical manuscript that appears to be in Khunrath's hand (Fig. 1.42):

> A Practical [Confession]. *The Universal Naturally Triune* Chaos *of the Philosophers, i.e.* Heaven, Earth *and* Water, *Universal animated spark of Universal* Ruach Elohim. Son of the Greater World; The

kunstliche philosophische Ey nennen' (*Consilium Philosophicum, that is, Philosophical Counsel and Advisory Reflections on the Artificial Secrets of Genesis of Hermes and other Wise men, which they call their Ovum philosophicum artificiale,* [*or*] *artificial Philosophical Egg*). On August of Anhalt see Donald R. Dickson, 'Johann Valentin Andreae's Utopian Brotherhoods', *Renaissance Quarterly* 49:4 (Winter, 1996): 760–802.

349 Khunrath, *Consilium*, f. 1r–v 'Vom Praeparatione oder Zubereittung beider in der Ersten oder Vohr und Andern oder Nach-Arbeit'.

350 Khunrath, *Consilium*, f. 35v.

351 Khunrath, *Consilium*, f. 31v.

352 Khunrath, *Consilium*, f. 34r 'der Grüne der Kabalischen linea'.

353 Khunrath, *Consilium*, f. 26r–v; 30r.

354 Khunrath, *Consilium*, f. 19r 'Alkorran'.

355 Gilly, 'Das *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* von Heinrich Khunrath', 145.

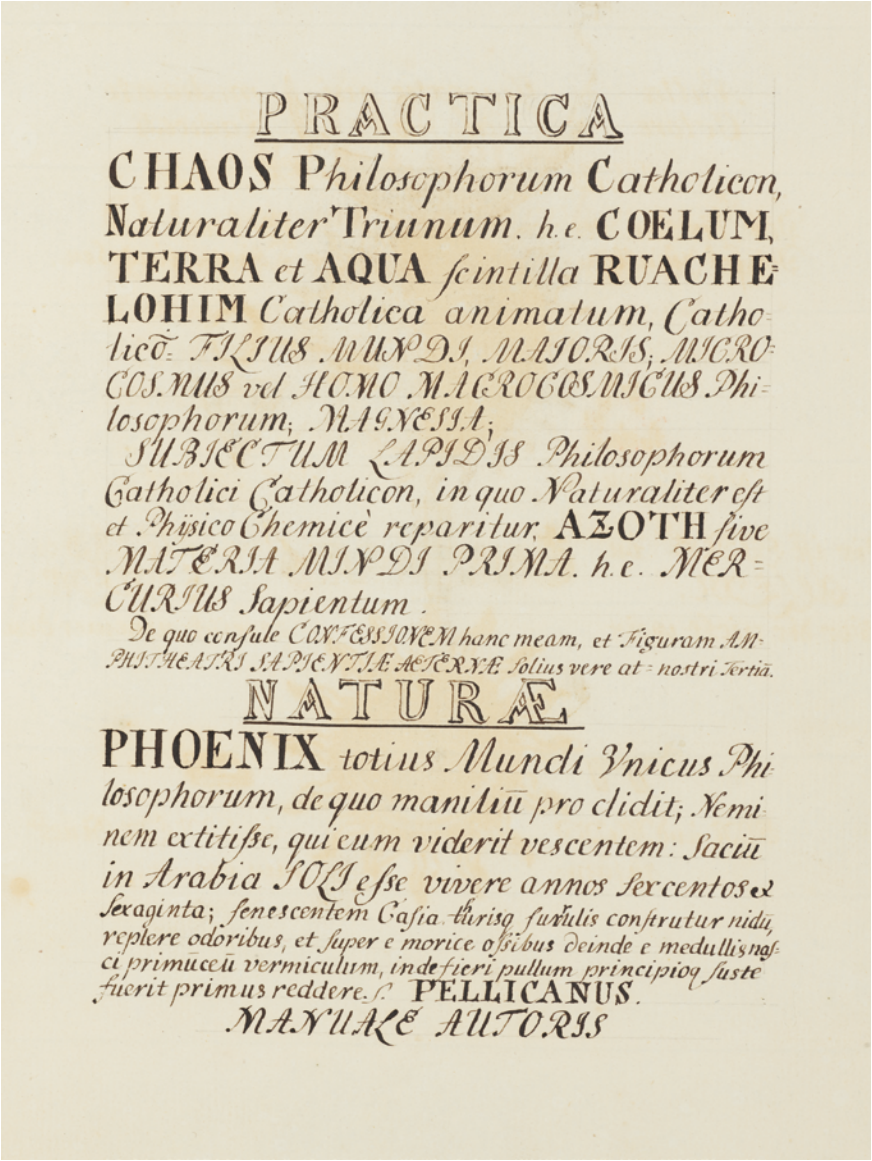

PRACTICA
CHAOS Philosophorum Catholicon,
Naturaliter Triunum. h.e. COELUM,
TERRA et AQUA scintilla RUACHE
LOHIM Catholica animatum, Catho-
licō FILIUS MUNDI, MAJORIS; MICRO-
COSMUS vel HOMO MACROCOSMICUS Phi-
losophorum; MAGNESIA;
SUBJECTUM LAPIDIS Philosophorum
Catholici Catholicon, in quo Naturaliter est
et Phisico Chemicè reperitur AZOTH sive
MATERIA MUNDI PRIMA. h.e. MER-
CURIUS Sapientum.
De quo consule CONFESSIONEM hanc meam, et Figuram AM-
PHITHEATRI SAPIENTIÆ AETERNÆ Solius vere at- nostri Tertiā.
NATURÆ
PHOENIX totius Mundi Unicus Phi-
losophorum, de quo manifestū pro clidit; Nemi-
nem extitisse, qui eum viderit vescentem: Saciū
in Arabia SOLI esse vivere annos sexcentos &
sexaginta; senescentem Casia thuris q; fusulis construtur nidu,
replere odoribus, et super e morice ossibus deinde e medullis nas-
ci primūceū vermiculum, indefieri pullum principioq; fuste
fuerit primus reddere. s. PELLICANUS.
MANUALE AUTORIS

FIGURE 1.42 Khunrath, *Practica Chaos Philosophorum Catholicon Naturaliter Triunum*, Thott 213 20, f. 2 title page. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen

> Microcosm or Macrocosmic Man of the Philosophers; Magnesia; Universal Subject *of the Universal Philosopher's* Stone, *in which there is Naturally and Physico-Chemically reproduced*, azoth, *or the* First Matter of the World, *i.e.* Mercury *of the Wise. Concerning which consult this my Confession, and the Third Figure of our Amphitheatre of Eternal Wisdom*.[356]

It is well illustrated with hand-drawn images of laboratory equipment, some immediately recognisable from the *Amphitheatre*.[357]

28 Cabbalistic Theosophical Tables

An undated manuscript in the British Library, ms Sloane 181 *Tabulae theosophicae cabbalisticae* (Cabbalistic Theosophical Tables, Fig. 1.43) does not bear Khunrath's name but is undeniably indebted to the *Amphitheatre*, including as it does two of the re-engraved 1602 circular figures as well as a close copy of the 1603 image of Khunrath's athanor.[358] The red band encircling the title page resembles the 1595 *Amphitheatre* title page. While the title page is in Latin, a painting inside contains a great deal of German. Details in the manuscript encourage the belief that this is Khunrath's personal item; if not, then it is the work of a disciple intimately familiar with his work.[359]

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356 Khunrath, *Practica Chaos Philosophorum Catholicon Naturaliter Triunum*, Royal Danish Library, ms Thott 213 2º, f. 2 'Practica Chaos Philosophorum Catholicon Naturaliter Triunum, h.e. Coelum, Terra et Aqua scintilla Ruach Elohim Catholica animatum, Catholicon Filius Mundi Majoris; Microcosmus vel Homo Macrocosmicus Philosophorum; Magnesia; Subjectum Lapidis Philosophorum Catholici Catholicon, in quo Naturaliter est et Physico Chemice reparitur, azoth sive Materia Mundi Prima, h.e. Mercurius Sapientum. De quo consule Confessionem hanc meam, et Figuram Amphitheatri Sapientiae Aeternae solius verae etc nostri Tertiam.'

357 For more on this manuscript, see Chapter 6 on Khunrath's alchemy.

358 In his *Index to the Sloane Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1904), 90 Edward J.L. Scott (1840–1918) does not identify any author for the Sloane 181 'Tabulae theosophicae cabbalisticae' but dates it to the seventeenth century. Samuel Ayscough (1745–1804), *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the British Museum Hitherto Undescribed* (London: John Rivington, 1782), Vol. 2, 880 dates the 'Curious theosophic tables and drawings coloured' to the sixteenth century.

359 For more on Sloane 181, see especially Chapter 5 on Khunrath's magic.

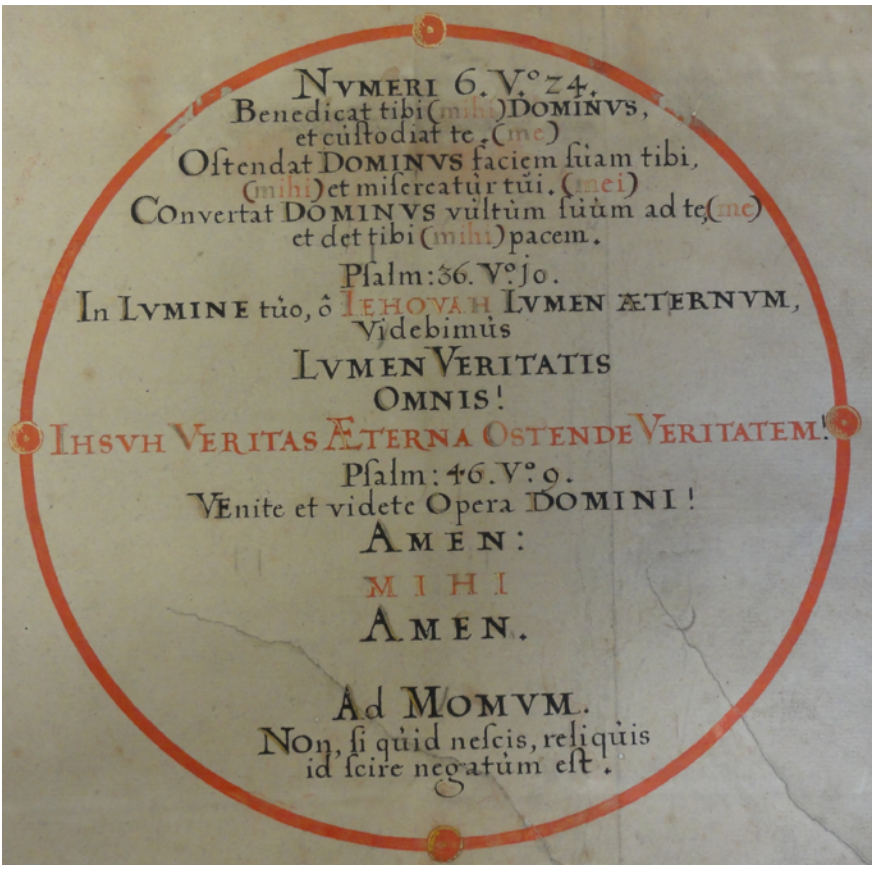


FIGURE 1.43 British Library Ms. Sloane 181 *Tabulae Theosophicae Cabbalisticae*, cover page
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29 1605 Khunrath's Death, Dresden

So little is known of Khunrath's life that it is not even certain where he died, some claiming Leipzig, others Dresden, although the date of his death is generally held to be 9 September 1605,[360] as recorded in Henning Witte's *Diarium Biographicum* (1688):

360 Kangro, 'Heinrich Khunrath', 355 *d.* Dresden, Germany, 9 September 1605; Stanislas Klossowski de Rola, *The Golden Game: Alchemical Engravings of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1988), 42.



FIGURE 1.44
Portrait of Khunrath, in Friedrich Roth-Scholtz, *Icones Virorum Omnium Ordinum Eruditione Omnique item Genere* (1725). Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

On 9 September 1605 the '*German* Philosopher and Doctor of Medicine,' Heinrich Khunrath of Leipzig, died in Dresden at the age of 45.[361]

361 Henningus Witte, *Diarium Biographicum* (Danzig, 1688), sig. D4^{r}: 'Anno 1605. Obiit 9. Septembr. Henricus Khunrath, *Germanus*, Lipsiensis, Phil. & Med. Doctor, aet.45. Dresdae.' This is repeated in Moller, *Cimbria Literata* (1744), 440; Matthiae, *Conspectus Historiae Medicorum Chronologicus*, 364 § 545 and Johann Christian Poggendorff's *Biographisch-literarisches Handwörterbuch zur Geschichte der exacten Wissenschaften* (Leipzig: J.A. Barth, 1863), Vol. 1, 1251. Cf. Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, Vol. 1, 464, who says Khunrath died in Leipzig. This date also appears on a portrait of Khunrath from

The same date appears on the portrait of Khunrath (Fig. 1.44) from the collection of Friedrich Roth-Scholtz (1687–1736), compiler of the famous *Deutsches Theatrum Chemicum* (German Chemical Theatre, 1728–1732).[362] Beneath the portrait we read,

> Heinrich Khunrath of Leipzig, renowned Lover of Theosophy and Doctor of both Medicines, most celebrated throughout the world. Born in the year 1560. Died in 1605 on the 9th of September at the age of 45.[363]

30 1607 Three Questions, Leipzig

Several of Khunrath's unpublished works eventually appeared in print after his death. The first was published in the town of his birth, Leipzig, in 1607 by Thomas Schürer, publisher of other chymical and medical works, including the *Tractatus vere Aureus* (Truly Golden Treatise, 1610), attributed to Hermes Trismegistus,[364] and several by Khunrath's friend, the French physician Joseph DuChesne, who combined Hippocratic, Galenic and Paracelsian ideas in his practice.[365]

The *Three Highly Useful, by no means to be neglected, and Greatly Necessary Questions concerning the Treatment, and then the Absolute, Perfect and True*

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the collection of Friedrich Roth-Scholtz (1687–1736), compiler of the famous *Deutsches Theatrum Chemicum* (Nürnberg, 1728–1732), within which Khunrath's *Treuhertzige Warnungs-Vermahnung an alle Liebhaber der Naturgemesen Alchemie Transmutatoriae* is to be found, a work originally appearing at the end of Khunrath's *Chaos*, under the pseudonym Thrasybulus Ricenus. See Roth-Scholtz, *Deutsches Theatrum Chemicum* (Nürnberg, 1728), Vol. 1., 289–313.

362 Georg Schwedt, *Chemie Zwischen Magie und Wissenschaft: Ex Bibliotheca Chymica 1500–1800* (Weinheim: VCH, Acta Humaniora, 1991), 56: 'Heinrich Khunrath, Chymicus von Leipzig, lebte in Holstein (Lübeck), gestorben 1614'. This confuses Heinrich with his brother Conrad, who lived in Lübeck and died in 1614, although the portrait gives the accepted date of Heinrich's death as 9th Sept 1605.

363 'Henricus Khunrath Lipsiensis, Insignis Theosophiae Amator et Medicinae utriusque Doctor per orbem celebratissimus. Nat. A. 1560. Den. A. 1605 d. 9 Sept. Aet. XLV. Ex collectione Friderici Roth-Scholtzii Norimberg.' Cf. Hans Dietrich Von Diepenbroick-Grüter (ed.), *Allgemeiner Porträt-Katalog* (Hamburg: Antiquariat Von Diepenbroick-Grüter & Schulz, 1931–33; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1967), 400 (Nr. 13438 und 13439).

364 *Hermetis Trismegisti Tractatus vere aureus de lapidis philosophici secreto: in Capitula 7 divisus* (Leipzig, 1610).

365 Josephus Quercetanus [Joseph DuChesne], *Diateticon Polyhistoricon* (Paris, 1607) on dietary regimen, *De priscorum philosophorum verae medicinae materia* (Saint Gervais, 1613), *Medici Sclopetarius* (Leipzig,1614) and *Pestis Alexicacus* (Paris, 1608; Leipzig, 1615). On DuChesne, see Debus, *The French Paracelsians*, 33ff.

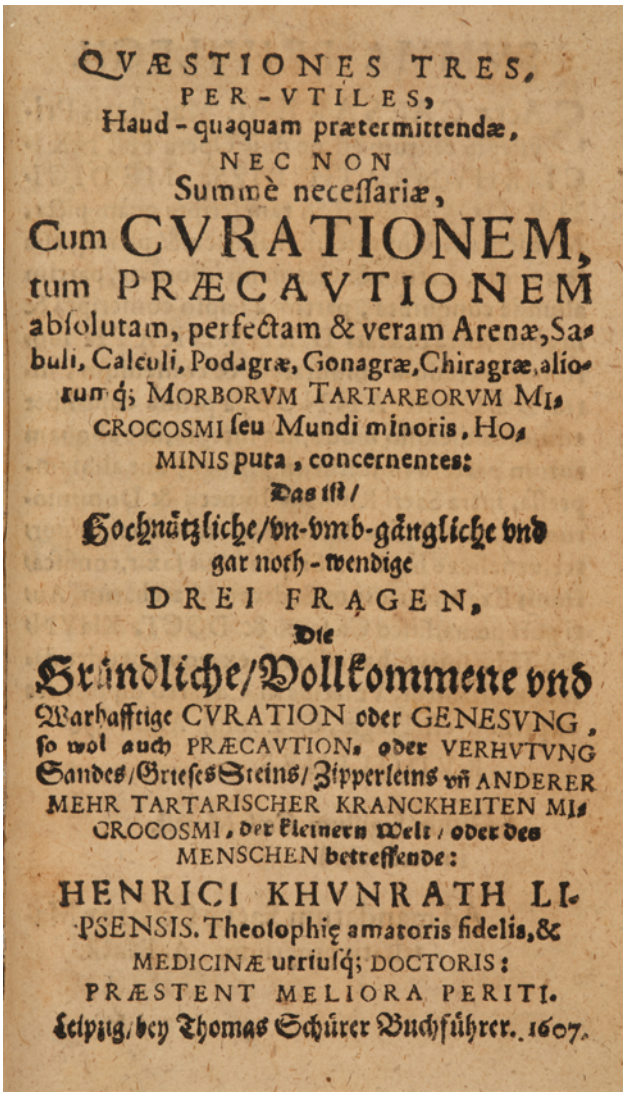

QVÆSTIONES TRES,
PER-VTILES,
Haud-quaquam prætermittendæ,
NEC NON
Summè neceſſariæ,
Cum CVRATIONEM,
tum PRÆCAVTIONEM
abſolutam, perfectam & veram Arenæ, Sabuli, Calculi, Podagræ, Gonagræ, Chiragræ, aliorumq; MORBORVM TARTAREORVM MICROCOSMI ſeu Mundi minoris, HOMINIS puta, concernentes:
Das iſt /
Hochnützliche/vn-vmb-gängliche vnd gar noth-wendige
DREI FRAGEN,
Die
Gründliche/Vollkommene vnd
Warhafftige CVRATION oder GENESVNG, ſo wol auch PRÆCAVTION, oder VERHVTVNG Sandes/Grieſes Steins/Zipperleins vñ ANDERER MEHR TARTARISCHER KRANCKHEITEN MICROCOSMI, der kleinern Welt / oder des MENSCHEN betreffende:
HENRICI KHVNRATH LIPSENSIS. Theoſophiæ amatoris fidelis, & MEDICINÆ utriuſq; DOCTORIS:
PRÆSTENT MELIORA PERITI.
Leipzig, bey Thomas Schürer Buchführer. 1607.

FIGURE 1.45
Khunrath, *Quaestiones Tres Per-Utiles* (1607), title page. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH2055 D

Prevention of Sand, Gravel, Calculus, Gout in the Feet, Knees, Hands and other Tartarean Ailments of the Microcosm or Lesser World, i.e. of Man (Fig. 1.45) is the most iatro-chemical of Khunrath's works,[366] and shows that his interest in

366 Khunrath, *Quæstiones Tres, per-utiles, Haud-quaquam præter mittendæ, Nec non Summè necesariæ cum Curationem, tum Præcautionem absolutam, perfectam & veram Arenæ, Sabuli, Calculi, Podagræ, Gonagræ, Chiragræ aliorumque Morborum Tartareorum Microcosmi seu Mundi minoris, Hominis puta, concernentes* (Leipzig bei Thomas

stones was not just limited to the preparation of the Philosophers' Stone, but extended, too, to an interest in those occuring in the human body.

Quaestiones Tres is interesting not only for its medico-chymical content, but also because it casts some light on Khunrath's friendships. It is dedicated to the 'three great LIGHTS of Europe in our century, Theo-and-Philo-sophers, Spagyrics, famous Natural Philosophers and Doctors [...] his Masters, Fellow-Priests (*Symmystas*) and dearly loved Friends,'[367] 'ENGLAND'S HERMES', 'the great Treasury της Μαγέιας ἤ Σοφίας' [*tēs Mageias ē Sophias – of Wisdom or Magic*], that is, 'of Genuine WISDOM,'[368] John Dee of London (1527–1608/9), Joseph Duchesne (1544–1609), 'Doctor of both Medicines, renowned Chief Physician to King Henri IV of France and Navare; most devout DRUID of the Vulcanic Spagiric Rites,' and the 'HIPPOCRATES OF GERMANY, distinguished practising doctor of medicine in Holsatia, and notable philosopher,' Petrus Hollander of Hamburg.[369]

Immediately following this dedication is a lapidary poem to Khunrath, praising his combination of *Chemia* and *Medicina* against tartar-related ailments, written 'in the cause of friendship,' by the German philosopher and physician Zacharias Brendel the Elder (1553–1626),[370] who was to offer a course in chemical medicine at Jena in 1612, just a few years after the Paracelsian Johann Hartmann (1568–1631) was appointed the first ever Professor of *Chymiatria*, at the University of Marburg in 1609.[371]

Schürer Buchführer, 1607), sig. Dij^{r} 'Gedruckt zu Eißleben/ durch Barthel Hörnkgk/ Im Jahr M.DC.VII.'

367 Khunrath, *Quaestiones*, sig. A2^{v} 'LUMINA, nostro seculo, EUROPÆ tria magna; Theo-ac-Philosophos, Spagiros, Physicos & Medicos Percelebres [...] Dominos, Symmystas & Amicos suos longè charissimos'.

368 Khunrath, *Quaestiones*, sig. A2^{r} 'Sapientiae Sincerioris Gazophylacem magnum; Angliae Hermetem.'

369 Khunrath, *Quaestiones*, sig. A2$^{r–v}$ 'Dn. Ioannem Dee, Londinensem, της Μαγέιας ἠ Σοφίας, h.e. Sapientiæ Sincerioris Gazophylacem magnum; Angliæ Hermetem: Dn. Iosephum Quercetanum, utriusque Medicinæ Doctorem, Henrici IV, Gallorum & Navarrenorum Regis Christianissimi ac potentissimi Archiatrum praeclarum; Sacrorum Vulcanicorum Spagiricorum Druidem religiosissimum: Nec non Dn. Petrum Hollandum, Hamburgensem, Medicinæ Doctorem practicum, in Holsatia, eximium, Philosophorumque, Germaniæ Hippocratem'. The only other reference I have found to a D. Petrus Hollander in Hamburg is in Nicolaus Staphorst, *Hamburgische Kirchen. Geschichte* (Hamburg, 1723–29), 755 for 1603, 757–758 where he is included in a list of 'Personae ad Fraternitatem admissae, una cum Persona Decani, hoc Anno 1609. fuerunt.' D. Petrus Hollander is listed as 17th, with a Cross indicating not that he was dead but that he was always absent from meetings.

370 Khunrath, *Quaestiones*, sig. Aiij^{r}.

371 Allen G. Debus, *Chemistry and Medical Debate: Van Helmont to Boerhaave* (Canton, MA: Science History Publications, 2001), 25–26; Bruce T. Moran, *Distilling Knowledge: Alchemy,*

The text of *Quaestiones Tres* is presented as Khunrath's response to questions asked by the three dedicatees, concerning philosophical saline solutions of gems and stones, and their uses in the context of Tartar-related ailments.[372] Question 1 concerns solvents, Question 2 discusses a wide variety of stones, while Question 3 mentions many available medications,[373] before focussing on the problem of Tartar.[374]

31 1607 Urim & Thummim, Magdeburg

Although no surviving copy can be found, apparently a work with the title *Urim & Thummim Christiano-Cabbalistica ex Macrocosmo & S.S. Scriptura Biblica desumta* (The Christian-Cabalist Urim & Thummim, gathered from the Macrocosm and Holy Scripture) was published in Magdeburg by Johann Franck in 1607.[375]

32 1608 On the Fire of the Mages and Sages

By 1602, the enterprising Lazarus Zetzner (1551–1616) had already published the first three volumes of what was to become the most prominent collection of early alchemical literature, the six-volume *Theatrum Chemicum*, and in 1616 was to publish the famous Rosicrucian *Chymische Hochzeit*, or *Chemical Wedding*.[376] In 1608, Zetzner published the work which Khunrath had

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Chemistry and the Scientific Revolution (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 106.

372 Khunrath, *Quaestiones*, sig. A3v & Ciij^{r}.

373 Khunrath, *Quaestiones*, sig. Cij^{v}.

374 Khunrath, *Quaestiones*, sig. Cij^{r}. For more, see Chapter 6 on Khunrath's alchemy.

375 Khunrath, *Urim & Thummim Christiano-Cabbalistica ex Macrocosmo & ss. Scriptura Biblica desumta* (Magdeburg apud Johannem Franck, 1607). See Neumann, *Natura sagax*, 144, citing Sinden, *De Scriptis Medicis* (1686) and Manget's *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medicorum* (Geneva, 1731), *Lindenius renovatus, sive, Johannis Antonidae van der Linden de Scriptis Medicis* (Nuremberg, 1686), Vol. 1, 396; and Adelung, *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit*, 103. See also Ulrike Kummer, 'Alchemie und Kontrafaktur. Bemerkungen zu Heinrich Khunraths *Symbolum* (1598)', *Daphnis-Zeitschrift für Mittlere Deutsche Literatur* 41:2 (2012): 565–580, at 567.

376 For more on Zetzner, who began his publishing career in January 1598 with an edition of Ramon Lull's *Opera*, followed later that year with Geber's *De Alchemia*, see Gilly, 'On the genesis of L. Zetzner's *Theatrum chemicum* in Strasbourg', in Gilly and Van Heertum (eds.). *Magia, Alchimia, Scienza dal '400 al '700. L'influsso di Ermete Trismegisto/ Magic, Alchemy and Science 15th–18th Centuries: The Influence of Hermes Trismegistus*, Vol. 1, 451–467; Rita

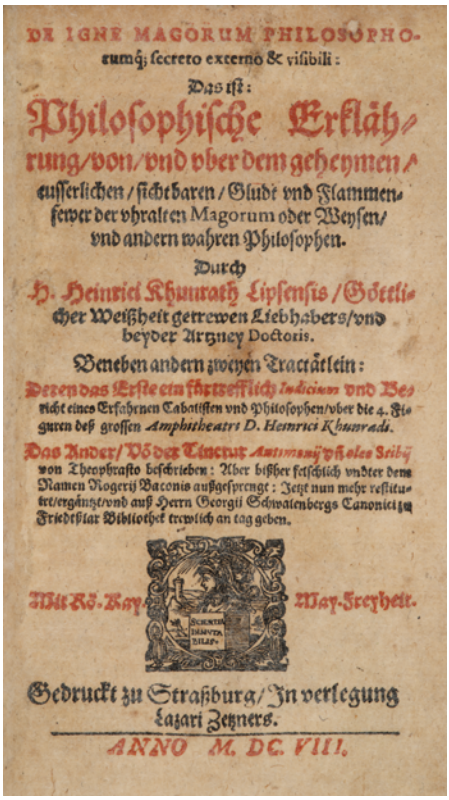

DE IGNE MAGORUM PHILOSOPHO-
rumq; secreto externo & visibili:
Das ist:
Philosophische Erklähr-
rung/von/vnd vber dem geheymen/
eusserlichen/sichtbaren/Gludt vnd Flammen-
fewer der vhralten Magorum oder Weysen/
vnd andern wahren Philosophen.
Durch
H. Heinrich Khunrath Lipsensis/Göttli-
cher Weißheit getrewen Liebhabers/vnd
beyder Artzney Doctoris.
Beneben andern zweyen Tractätlein:
Deren das Erste ein kürtzefftich Iudicium vnd Be-
richt eines Erfahrnen Cabalisten vnd Philosophen/vber die 4. Fi-
guren deß grossen Amphitheatri D. Henrici Khunradi.
Das Ander/Von der Tinctur Antimonij/Philalethis Stibij
von Theophrasto beschrieben: Aber bißher felschlich vnder dem
Namen Rogerij Baconis außgesprengt: Jetzt nun mehr restitu-
irt/ergänzt vnd auß Herrn Georgij Schwalenbergs Canonici zu
Friedtbiar Bibliothec trewlich an tag geben.
Mit Kö. May. May. Freyheit.
Gedruckt zu Straßburg/In verlegung
Lazari Zetzners.
ANNO M. DC. VIII.

FIGURE 1.46
Khunrath, *De Igne Magorum Philosophorumque* (1608), title page. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM OK 63-2996


107
Tractatus I.
IUDICIUM PHILO-
SOPHI ANONYMI.
Vber die 4. Figuren deß grossen
Amphitheatri.
WEil der Herr mein we-
nigers Iudicium vnnd beden-
cken/deß grossen Amphithe-
atri halber begert/wolle mich der Herr
in diesem Werck also vernehmen.
DAs gantze Werck/ist in zwey
Hauptheyl vndterscheyden vnd
getheylet: Das erste/welches der Au-
thor, (Doctor Khunrath seliger) ge-
nennet den Prologū, sind die Sprüch
Salomonis/nicht zwar nach der ord-
nung/wie sie in der Bibel stehē/Son-
dern nach einer sonderlichen ordnung
zusammen gezogen/die sich auff deß
Authoris intent reymet: Darzu hat
er eingesetzt/die denckwürdigsten vnnd
tieffsinnigstē Sprüche/auß dem Buch
der Weißheit/Darauß wil man bewei-
sen/

FIGURE 1.47
Judicium Philosophi Anonymi (1608), first page. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM OK 63-2996

entrusted in manuscript to August of Anhalt, *Of the Secret External and Visible Fire of the Mages and the Sages, that is, the Philosophical explanation of and about the secret, external, visible glowing and blazing fire of the ancient mages or wise men, and other true philosophers* (Fig. 1.46).[377] There, the 'most illustrious man, very experienced in many sciences Master Heinrich Khunrath, most renowned Doctor of both Medicines', as he is called in the prefatory

Sturlese, 'Lazar Zetzner, «Bibliopola Argentinensis». Alchimie und Lullismus in Straßburg an den Anfängen der Moderne', *Sudhoffs Archiv*, 75:2 (1991): 140–162.

377 Khunrath, *De Igne Magorum Philosophorumque secreto externo & visibili: Das ist: Philosophische Erklährung/ von/ und über dem geheimen/ eusserlichen/ sichtbaren/ Gludt und Flammenfewer der uhralten Magorum oder Weysen/ und andern wahren Philosophen* (Gedrückt zu Straßburg in verlegung Lazari Zetzners, 1608). A compromise translation, as Gludt means 'glow' and Flammenfewer, 'flaming fire'.

'exhortation to the reader',[378] starts by declaring that the preparation of the Philosophical Stone cannot be brought to perfection without the heat of an external fire ministered by Art.[379] By this Khunrath makes it clear that he is not just concerned with degrees of heat in the furnace, but rather with the much less discussed essence, nature, and external qualities of fire.[380] Drawing from classical works and from holy scripture, Khunrath writes about the sacred fires of antiquity, claiming that the famous ever-burning fires were not elemental but rather solar fires. He claims that all these are accounts of wise people and philosophers experienced in nature, physical and hyperphysical magic, and alchemy.[381] He ranges from the magical or ritual technologies involved with kindling a fire at the Vernal equinox, to the Sun as God's Fiery Instrument in the Macrocosmic Laboratory.[382] Khunrath's Paracelsianism is particularly evident in *De Igne*, which includes references, for example, to the separation of the three Paracelsian principles (Mercury, Sulphur and Salt) by means of a fire.[383] Here we find the broad-spectrum Paracelsianism that is as much interested in natural magic as in chemical medicine, with consideration of lightning as the heavenly 'Vulcanic' or 'Olympic' fire of the ancient natural magicians, used still in the forging of images, Martial sigils, and the like.[384]

Bound with *De Igne* is a text that deserves some attention. The *Judicium Philosophi Anonymi* (Judgement of an Anonymous Philosopher, Fig. 1.47) or more fully, the *Judicium und Bericht eines Erfahrnen Cabalisten und Philosophen über die 4 Figuren dess grossen Amphitheatri D. Heinrici Khunradi* (Judgement and Report of an Experienced Cabalist and Philosopher concerning the 4 Figures of Doctor Heinrich Khunrath's great Amphitheatre) is an introduction to (and positive estimation of) the four circular engravings in the first edition of the *Amphitheatre*.[385] The editor, the theosopher, poet, hermetic

378 Khunrath, *De Igne Magorum* (1608), *Paraenesis ad Lectorem Benevolum Anonymi cuiusdam veraeque Philosophiae studiosi*, sig.)(4r 'Vir clarissimus, multarumque scientiarum experientissimus Dominus Heinricus Chunrath utriusque Medicinæ Doctor celeberrimus.'

379 Khunrath, *De Igne Magorum* (1608), 1.

380 Khunrath, *De Igne Magorum* (1608), 3–5, 95.

381 Khunrath, *De Igne Magorum* (1608), 15–17.

382 Khunrath, *De Igne Magorum* (1608), 20–22. Khunrath gives the date in the old calendar as 12th March.

383 Khunrath, *De Igne Magorum* (1608), 28–9; 31–2. Khunrath also speaks of using a spherical phial filled with cold water, 77.

384 Khunrath, *De Igne Magorum* (1608), 37–8, 56.

385 *Judicium und Bericht eines Erfahrnen Cabalisten und Philosophen über die 4 Figuren dess grossen Amphitheatri D. Heinrici Khunradi*. The titlepage names the work as *Iudicium und Bericht eines Erfahrnen Cabalisten und Philosophen über die 4 Figuren dess grossen Amphitheatri D. Heinrici Khunradi*, while internally it has the slightly shorter title of *Iudicium Philosophi Anonymi Uber die 4. Figuren deß grossen Amphitheatri*, pp. 107–123.

physician and philosopher Benedictus Figulus (b. 1567) was deeply committed to Paracelsian philosophy, having also edited and published with Zetzner in 1608 the *Pandora Magnalium Naturalium Aurea et Benedicta*, later translated into English as the *Golden and Blessed Casket of Nature's Marvels*, which contained works by Paracelsus and the antimonial alchemist Alexander von Suchten (*c*.1520–1575).[386] It is likely that Figulus included the *Judicium* as a way of generating interest in the anticipated publication of a new edition of the *Amphitheatre*. In the address to the reader, preceding the *Judicium*, Figulus explains that because of its copperplate engravings and the small print-run, the first edition of the *Amphitheatre* was so expensive that only the nobility could afford it, and he is pleased to announce that a new edition of *Hanoviae* bey Franckfurt, i.e. Hanau, with more figures, is *in the press*, and will soon be on sale, for a more affordable price.[387]

The anonymous author of the *Judicium* explains that the *Amphitheatre* is divided into two main parts, the *Prologue*, comprised of the Sayings of Solomon, not in the sequence in which they appear in the Bible but strung together instead in Khunrath's own special order.[388] In so doing Khunrath has 'laid the groundwork and foundations of Natural *Magic*, supernatural *Cabala* and Divine *Theology*; and has *cited* many proverbs in which the *Seeds* and origin of the above-mentioned magnificent Art are engaged with and set down', with the intention of bringing 'these veiled mysteries from Solomon's writings back into the light.'[389] We learn that the whole premise and basis for the *Amphitheatre* is Solomon's declaration that *The Fear of the Lord is the Beginning of Wisdom*,[390] with the understanding that those who love Wisdom[391] will become God's

386 On Figulus, see Gilly, '"*Theophrastia Sancta*" – Paracelsianism as a Religion in Conflict with the Established Churches', 166; Florian Ebeling, *The Secret History of Hermes Trismegistus: Hermeticism from Ancient to Modern Times*, trans. David Lorton (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2007), 76–77.

387 Benedictus Figulus Utenhovias Fr. Poëta Th. Th. Ph. Med. Eremita. T.M. *Ad Lectorem*, in *De Igne Magorum* (124–126), 125–6.

388 *Judicium Philosophi Anonymi* (1608), 107.

389 *Judicium Philosophi Anonymi* (1608), 108 'den grundt und Fundament gelegt hab/ der Natürlichen *Magiae*, ubernatürlichen *Cabalae* unnd Göttlichen *Theologiae*: und hat viel Sprüch bey *notirt*, In welchen die *Semina* unnd Uhrsprung obgemeldter herrlichen Kunst spargirt und begriffen sein.'

390 Cf. Proverbs 1:7 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge'; Proverbs 9:10 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom: and the knowledge of the holy is understanding'; Proverbs 8:13 'The fear of the Lord is to hate evil: pride, and arrogancy, and the evil way, and the froward mouth …'

391 Wisdom of Solomon 7:14 'For she is a treasure unto men that never faileth: which they that use become the friends of God, being commended for the gifts that come from learning.'

friends and prophets.[392] The *Judicium* then goes on to explain the somewhat puzzling word *Tertriunum* (Thrice-Three-in-One) in the *Amphitheatre*'s title: Khunrath interprets many of the proverbs 'in a three-fold manner [presumably relating to the alchemy, magic and Cabala mentioned in the title] and divides all three ways into God, Man, and Nature, and resolves it all finally in *Unity*, in God's eternity.'[393] Wisdom, says the commentator, who certainly gives the appearance of being a Paracelsian,[394] is a threefold light: anyone who sees it shining in creatures and understands is a *Magus*;[395] anyone who perceives the light in invisible beings, such as angels, spirits, and human souls and can use the angelic powers, is a *Cabalist*, whose art is superior to magic; finally one who perceives the light of God, the Holy Spirit, is a true *Theologian* gifted with the Prophetic spirit.[396] Thus there is a gravitation from the natural, through the supernatural towards the divine. Nature speaks with a Magus through signs and signatures, and the firmament, through its influence. Cabala speaks through an angelic light and power with a Cabalist; God speaks with a Theologian through the Holy Spirit.[397] What has been taught with words in the *Prologue* is now done by means of the four figures in the second part of the *Amphitheatre*.[398] Here, it becomes clear that while the commentator is familiar with the figures he does not completely understand them. Describing the 1st Figure as touching on all three lights, Natural, Supernatural and Divine, he mentions its Hebrew Names, but apparently cannot read Hebrew because he describes the outer ring as containing the 72 Names of God, when in fact it is the 10 Commandments of the Decalogue.[399] What is clear, too, is that with four engravings he cannot convincingly sustain the metaphor of the three lights of Magic, Cabala and Theology. He ends up claiming, rightly in fact, that the 1st Figure teaches primarily of the *Cabala*, the 2nd of *Magic* and the 3rd of *Chymistry*.[400] Then there is a brief consideration of the three operations of

392 *Judicium Philosophi Anonymi* (1608), 108. Wisdom of Solomon 7:27 'And being but one, she can do all things: and remaining in herself, she maketh all things new: and in all ages entering into holy souls, she maketh them friends of God, and prophets.'

393 *Judicium Philosophi Anonymi* (1608), 109 'Dieses neben viel andern Sprüchen leget nun der *Author* auff dreyerley weiß auß/ und theilets es alles dreyfach/ In Gott/ Den Menschen/ und die Natur/ und beschleust es zuletzt alles in der *Unitet*, in der Ewigkeit Gottes.'

394 *Judicium Philosophi Anonymi* (1608), 110 '*Paracelsus* nennets an viel hundert orten das Liecht der natur/ und ein andere Sonne/ bey welcher die Weysen sehen (*Paracelsus* mentions the Light of Nature in hundreds of places, and another Sun, by which the Wise see).'

395 *Judicium Philosophi Anonymi* (1608), 110.

396 *Judicium Philosophi Anonymi* (1608), 116.

397 *Judicium Philosophi Anonymi* (1608), 116–7.

398 *Judicium Philosophi Anonymi* (1608), 117.

399 *Judicium Philosophi Anonymi* (1608), 118–9. See Chapters 2 and 4 in particular for further discussion of this figure.

400 *Judicium Philosophi Anonymi* (1608), 119.

Alchemy and the use of fire, closer consideration of which will be saved for chapter 6 on Khunrath's alchemy. Finally, the 4th Figure, despite being that of the *Oratory-Laboratory*, is simply said to be teaching *Theology*, '*Alloquium Divinum*, conversation with God through prayer and the Holy Spirit.'[401]

According to Johann Christoph Lenz (1748–1795), editor of an edition of *De Igne* reprinted in 1783,[402] the anonymous author of the *Judicium* was none other than the Lutheran mystic and follower of Melanchthon, the pietist Johann Arndt (1555–1621), whose religious writings include the famous *Vier Bücher vom Wahren Christentum* (Four Books on True Christianity, 1606), who had praised the *Amphitheatre* as early as 1596 in his *Ikonographia* or commentary on the right use and misuse of pictures in the Bible.[403] Arndt had also studied spagyric medicine at the University of Basel with Theodor Zwinger, though a decade before Khunrath; and his *Liber Naturae* (Book of Nature), the fourth book of *Wahren Christentum*, reveals the influence of Paracelsus's philosophy of nature.[404] In his *Unpartheyischer Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie* (Impartial History of the Church and Heretics, 1699–1700), the radical pietist Gottfried Arnold (1666–1714) likewise numbered Arndt amongst those who had admired Khunrath and his *Amphitheatre*.[405]

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401 *Judicium Philosophi Anonymi* (1608), 123 'In der 4. *Figur*, lehret das *Amphitheatrum Theologiam in Oratorio*, und ist *Theologia* nichts anders/ dann *Alloquium Divinum*, ein Gespräch mit GOTT durchs Gebet/ unnd durch den heiligen Geist.'

402 Theodor Harmsen, 'The Reception of Jacob Böhme and Böhmist Theosophy in the *Geheime Figuren der Rosenkreuzer*', in Wilhelm Kühlmann and Friedrich Vollhardt (eds.), *Offenbarung und Episteme: Zur europäischen Wirkung Jakob Böhmes im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 183–206, at 194. *Johann Arndts Philosophisch-Kabalistisches Judicium über die vier ersten Figuren des großen Khunrathischen Amphitheaters*, printed as a third text along with (1) *Wahrhafter Bericht vom philosophischen Athanor und dessen Gebrauch und Nutzen von Heinrich Khunrath* and (2) *De Igne Magorum* (Leipzig: Adam Friedrich Böhme, 1783), Vorbericht des Ausgebers, 6: 'Das angehängte Iudicium über die vier ersten Figuren des Khunrathischen Amphitheaters ist von Johann Arndt gestellet, wie aus seinen Schriften insonderheit dem Sendschreiben von der Menschwerdung Christi, kann erwiesen werden, auch in dem sehr raren chymischen Lustgärtlein, Ludwigsburg 1747, pag. 87 anzutreffen.'

403 Gilly (ed.), *Das Erbe des Christian Rosenkreuz*, 38. For more on Arndt, see Johann Arndt, *True Christianity*, Translation and Introduction by Peter Erb; Preface by Heiko A. Oberman (New York: Paulist Press, 1979); Geyer, *Verborgene Weisheit. Johann Arndts "Vier Bücher vom Wahren Christentum" als Programm einer spiritualistisch-hermetischen Theologie*; Neumann, *Natura Sagax*.

404 Gilly (ed.), *Das Erbe des Christian Rosenkreuz*, 33, 38; not at the same time as Eco claims in *Lo Strano Caso della Hanau 1609*, 7.

405 Arnold, *Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie*, 12. On Arnold, see Pierre Deghaye, 'Arnold, Gottfried', in Wouter Hanegraaff (ed.), *Dictionary of Gnosis and Western Esotericism* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 103–105.

Ralf Töllner expresses some reservations as to the authorship,[406] but Carlos Gilly has little doubt about the correctness of the attribution to Arndt, although he admits it is not known when and for whom the *Judicium* was written. Gilly mentions five manuscript copies, one possibly dated 31 January 1601 or 1607,[407] around the time of the version recorded by Bruce Moran as 'De Amphitheatro Magico Judicium Anonymum' (Anonymous Judgement concerning the Magical Amphitheatre), which he dates at 1604.[408]

Another copy of the *Judicium* is by the jurist and artist Johann Friedrich Jung of Strasbourg, who was also active as editor for Lazarus Zetzner,[409] publisher of the 1608 *Judicium* and, according to Donald Dickson, one of Arndt's pupils.[410] Jung was known amongst Paracelsians as the translator of the Flemish alchemist Gérard Dorn's *Clavis totius Philosophiae Chymisticae* (Key of the Whole Chymistical Philosophy, Strasbourg 1602) and was to go on to edit a collection of *Judicia clarissimorum aliquot ac doctissimorum virorum* (Judgements of Certain Most Learned and Renowned Men, 1616) concerning the Rosicrucians,[411] which includes a 'Prayer to Jesus Christ for true wisdom' by J[ohann] A[rndt] that originally appeared anonymously in the 1609 *Amphitheatre*.[412] Jung's manuscript copy of the *Judicium* comes just after his

406 Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 18–19. Hamburg Mss: 'Heinrich Khunrath Lipsiensis Schatz kammer der Natur' – extract from 'Iudicium' written by Johann Friderich Jung.

407 Kopenhagen KB, GKS 1765, 137r–140r; Hamburg SUB, cod. mag. 722; Prague Strahov, D F IV 59, 172v–191r; The Hague VMB, Ms. 240.A.44, III–XI; and Kassel MBLB, 4° Chem. 44, 194r–199v, which reads 'Reddi Mansfelt. den 31. Januarii anno 1601 (or 1607?). Kelbra.'

408 Bruce T. Moran, *The Alchemical World of the German Court: Occult Philosophy and Chemical Medicine in the Circle of Moritz of Hessen (1572–1632)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991), 90. This can be found in the Kassel archives: MBK: 4° MS Chem.44.

409 Gilly, 'Sulla genesi del Theatrum chemicum di L. Zetzner a Strasburgo = On the genesis of L. Zetzner's Theatrum chemicum in Strasbourg', 456. Jung edited Zetzner's first two publications in 1598: Ramon Lull's *Opera* and Geber's *De Alchemia*, as well as the 1616 *Chymische Hochzeit Christiani Rosenkreutz*, just before Zetzner's death in Strasbourg on 10 February the same year. See also Carlos Gilly (ed.), *Cimelia Rhodostaurotica: Die Rosenkreuzer im Spiegel der zwischen 1610 und 1660 entstandenen Handschriften und Drucke* (Amsterdam: In de Pelikaan, 1995), 82–83.

410 Donald R. Dickson, *The Tessera of Antilia: Utopian Brotherhoods & Secret Societies in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 79; Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 18.

411 *Judicia Clarissimorum Aliquot ac Doctissimorum Virorum* (Frankfurt, 1616), 11 'Oratio ad Jhesum Christum, verum Deum & hominem, pro vera sapientia. J.A.'

412 Gilly provides far more information in 'Hermes or Luther? The Search for Johann Arndt's *De Antiqua Philosophia et divina veterum magorum sapientia recuperanda*', in Gilly and Van Heertum (eds.), *Magia, Alchimia, Scienza dal '400 al '700. L'influsso di Ermete Trismegisto/ Magic, Alchemy and Science 15th–18th Centuries: The Influence of Hermes Trismegistus*, Vol. 1, 376–398, at 382. Gilly mentions that a German translation appears in editions of Arndt's *Paradiesgärtlein* (e.g. 1753, 241: Part V, Prayer 12 'Gebet zu dem Herrn Christo um wahre Weisheit'); that the beginning of the poem can be found in pseudo-Weigel's *Dritter*

transcript of the 1595 *Amphitheatre*.[413] His version of the *Judicium* is not identical to the published version, not including Khunrath's name, for example, nor making any mention of his death,[414] which suggests that it predates the published version. While Jung's self-portrait in the Oratory, bound in the same manuscript volume is dated 1601, immediately following the *Judicium* is a transcript of Khunrath's *Lux in Tenebris*, dated 1614, so there is no way of assigning a date with any conviction. The plot grows ever more complicated with the discovery that over half of the text of the *Judicium* can be found, though unacknowledged as such, in the short Paracelsian compendium the *Cabala Chymica* (Chymical Cabala, 1606) edited by Franz Kieser, Chemist and Doctor in Frankfurt, which argues like Khunrath that the highest secrets of alchemy cannot be discovered without knowledge of magic and cabala.[415]

33 1608 An *Amphitheatre* in Magdeburg

As mentioned above, Umberto Eco argues that the first genuine second edition of the *Amphitheatre* 'complete in all its parts' appears in Hanau in 1609, but there is a slight twist to the story.[416] In what must have been a short print-run, for relatively few copies can be found in modern collections, there appeared a curious edition of the *Amphitheatre* that has the date 1608 on the title page and 1609 in the colophon.[417] Except for the variant title page, the text in the two editions is identical.[418] Both are smaller in size than the 1595 edition, being published in the still expensive but more commonly available folio format,[419]

Theil deß Gnothi Seauton (Neustadt, 1587); and that two lines also form the beginning of the poem, 'pro verae scientiae cognitione', written by the Paracelsian Michael Toxites for his edition of Alexander von Suchten's *De secretis antimonii* (Strasbourg, 1570), 117–120.

413 Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, GKS 1765, sig. ff. 74r–77r.

414 *Judicium Philosophi Anonymi* (1608), 107–108 refers to the late Doctor Khunrath, and Khunrath P.M. (Post Mortem).

415 Franz Kieser, *Cabala Chymica. Concordantia Chymica. Azot Philosoph. Solificatum* (Mülhausen 1606), sig.)(iiijr.

416 For Eco's speculations on possible reasons for this edition, see *Lo Strano Caso*.

417 'Magdaeburgi: apud Levinum Braunss Bibliopolam, 1608.' The date in the colophon is 1609. See, for example, copies in the Ritman Library, Amsterdam and Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

418 See the discussion below of evidence for two print runs of the 1609 *Amphitheatre*, one identical to the 1608 text.

419 Brüning, *Die alchemistischen Druckwerke*, 160 includes entries for the 1608 and 1609 editions, describing the former as 2°, the latter as Folio, although these are simply different ways of describing the same size of approximately 12 × 19 inches/30.5 × 48 cm. Gilly, 'Khunrath und das Entstehen der frühneuzeitlichen Theosophie', 10 describes this as Quarto Format 9.5 × 12 inches/24 × 30.5 cm.

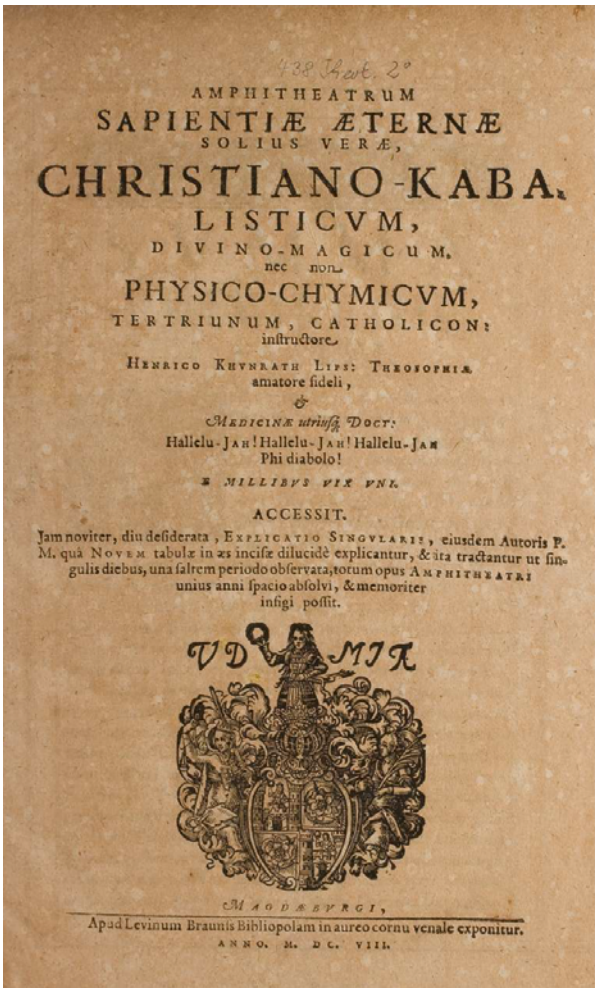


FIGURE 1.48
Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1608), title page. © Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel

have the same ornamentation, and the same pagination (including the same pagination error at the start of the sixth grade),[420] and both include the editor Erasmus Wolfart's letter, dated 1609.[421]

Although Figulus, in his preface to the 1608 *De Igne Magorum* had referred to the 1595 edition, or possibly even this edition, as the *Amphytheatrum Chymicum*,[422] the full title, notwithstanding the primarily alchemical focus of

420 There is a duplication of the page numbers 145 and 146, with the omission of page numbers 149 and 150. Grade 6 thus begins with this sequence of page numbers: 145, 146, 145, 146, 147, 148, 151, 152, 153, i.e., Sigs. T^{r}–V^{r}. This holds true for the 1608, 1609 and 1653 editions.

421 *Amph.*I, 9–10.

422 Figulus, *Ad Lectorem*, in *De Igne Magorum*, 125.

Khunrath's other works, makes it abundantly clear that his magnum opus was intended to be read on several levels: *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae, Solius Verae: Christiano-Kabalisticum, Divino-Magicum, nec non Physico-Chymicum, Tertriunum, Catholicon*. This translates as *The Universal Ter-tri-une, Christian-Cabalist, Divinely Magical, and Physico-Chymical Amphitheatre of the Only True Eternal Wisdom*.[423] If the relative sizes of the typography on the 1608 title page (Fig. 1.48) are anything to go by, Christian Cabala would appear to be of predominant importance, followed by Physico-Chymistry, and then Divine Magic.[424]

Beneath the title and the standard Khunrathian declarations of praise to the Lord (Hallelu-Jah!) and defiance to the devil (Phi diabolo!), we find the statement 'To scarcely one out of thousands' (e millibus vix uni), doubtless alluding to similar phrases in the works of the Christian Cabalist Johann Reuchlin, the alchemist Theophrastus Paracelsus, and the Magus Johannes Trithemius, on the rarity of those who know or understand such knowledge or possess such wisdom.[425]

Then we read the announcement that this includes the 'new, long awaited, SINGULAR EXPLANATION of the very same recently deceased Author, by which NINE pictures engraved in copper are clearly explained, and treated in such a way that, a period of time being observed each day, the whole work of the AMPHITHEATRE can be completed and fixed in the memory in the space of a year.'[426]

Beneath this can be seen the coat of arms of the city of Magdeburg with the letters V.D.M.I.Æ., initial letters of a phrase based on 1 Peter 1:25 'Verbum Domini manet in aeternum' (The Word of the Lord endures forever), which had been adopted as the city motto after Magdeburg's conversion to Protestantism.[427] At the bottom of the page we read the publication details: Magdeburg, displayed

423 *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae, Solius Verae: Christiano-Kabalisticum, Divino-Magicum, nec non Physico-Chymicum, Tertriunum, Catholicon*. The colophon gives the place, publisher and date as: 'HANOVIÆ Excudebat Guilielmus Antonius, MDCIX.' It is always interesting to note variant translations, such as that in the mid-seventeenth-century French manuscript in the Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, MS 490, where the title is translated as 'Chrestiennemant cabalistique divinemant magique et naturellemant Chymicque naturel …' (Christianly Cabalistic, Divinely Magical, and Naturally Physico-Chymical).

424 The type for 'Christiano-Kabalisticum' is almost three times larger than that for 'Divino-Magicum' and half as tall again as 'Physico-Chymicum'.

425 For references, see the analysis of the 1609 *Amphitheatre* title page in Chapter 2.

426 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1608), title page: 'Jam noviter, diu desiderata, EXPLICATIO SINGULARIS, eiusdem Authoris P.M. qua NOVEM tabulae in aes incisae dilucide explicantur, & ita tractantur ut singulis diebus, una saltem periodo observata, totum opus AMPHITHEATRI unius anni spacio absolvi, & memoriter infigi possit.'

427 Rein, *The Chancery of God*, 43. The title page of Luther's *Biblia* (Wittenberg, 1534) bore the German version 'Gottes wort bleibt ewig'.

for sale at the Golden Horn, at the house of the bookseller Levinus Braun, in the year 1608.[428]

In the same year that he published the *Amphitheatre*, Braun or Braunß (active. 1608–1620) also published a reprint of the *Geistliche Lieder und Gebetlein* (Spiritual Songs and Prayers) of the German didactic poet and Lutheran pastor Bartholomäus Ringwaldt (1532–*c.*1599), followed in 1609 by the *Amantes Amentes* (Lunatic Lovers) of the poet and emblematist Gabriel Rollenhagen (1583–1619).[429] Although he also published the Protestant theologian Johann Sommer's dubiously titled *Malus Mulier* (1609), on how to deal with bad women (bösen Weiber),[430] in later years Braun was to publish other books compatible with Khunrath's work, such as *Centuria Herbarium Mirabilium* (A Century of Wondrous Herbs, 1616) and Petrus Amelungius's *Ein edler und nützlicher hermetischer/ oder chymischer Discurs* (A Very Noble and Useful Hermetic or Chymical Discourse, 1617).[431]

Given the discrepancy between the dates on the title page and the colophon, and that even the editor's preface is dated 1609, it appears that the 1608 *Amphitheatre* may be a pirated edition. This speculation receives some support from the fact that Braun was the son-in-law and occasional business partner and printer of the notoriously piratical Johann Francke, who had published the 1599 edition of Khunrath's *Magnesia*.[432] As the rest of this work is identical to the first print run of the more widely available edition of the following year, let us now move forward in time to 1609.

34 1609 Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae, Hanau

Here we have the title page of the 1609 edition (Fig. 1.49) of the 'completely round and perfect *Universal* or Catholic Showplace of the only true Eternal Wisdom', 'expanded and improved' (at great cost of money, time, travels, work and effort), anticipated by readers ever since Khunrath mentioned it with

428 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1608), title page: 'Magdeburgi, Apud Levinum Braunss Bibliopolam in aureo cornu venale exponitur. Anno. M.DCVIII.'

429 Rollenhagen, *Amantes amentes. Das ist Ein sehr Anmutiges Spiel von der blinden Liebe …* (Magdeburg: Printed by Andreas Betzeln; Published by Levinus Braun; Sold at the Gülden Horn, 1609).

430 Sommer, *Malus Mulier. Das ist Gründliche Beschreibung. I. Von der Regimentssucht der bösen Weiber* (Magdeburg: Brauns, 1609).

431 Anon, *Centuria herbarum Mirabilium* (Magdeburg: Levinus Braun, Bookdealer for the Golden Horn, 1616); Amelungius, *Ein Edler und nützlicher Hermetischer/ oder Chymischer Discurs* (Magdeburg: Braunß, 1617).

432 On Johann Francke, see Geyer, *Verborgene Weisheit, I/II* 33ff, at 38.



FIGURE 1.49 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Title Page*. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

these words in the 1597 edition of *Chaos*.[433] It is indeed a much longer work than the original 1595 edition. Its reduction to folio size, as Figulus intimates, to save printing costs and make the book more widely available,[434] has resulted in the *Isagoges* or Introductions surrounding the circular engravings being printed separately and somewhat confusingly bound elsewhere in the book. The original 25 pages of text plus 4 engravings have increased to 282 folio pages of text, two large double-page tables, and, including the ornate title page, Owl and Khunrath's portrait, 12 engravings.[435] Additional confusion has arisen over the place of publication due to the fact that, as Eco observes, the city named in the colophon, *Hanoviae*, has been mistakenly translated as Hanover rather than Hanau, despite the fact that Benedictus Figulus clearly states the location as the Calvinist city of Hanau near Frankfurt,[436] then ruled by Philipp Ludwig II, Count of Hanau-Münzenberg (1576–1612), a cadet prince of the house of Orange-Nassau.[437]

The publisher is Wilhelm Anton (1556/60–1611), whose printing and publishing house is generally accepted to have been based in Hanau-am-Main,[438]

433 See Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), 424–5 'gantz Circulrunden und Volkommenen Universal oder Algemeinen Schawblatz der Ewigen allen wahren Weisheit: Welches unlangst (mit anwendung grosser Kosten/ auch vieles Reisens/ langer Zeit/ Mühe und Arbeit) … verfertiget; newlichst aber mit vleis wieder uber sehen/ und an vielen orten wol vermehret unnd verbessert'. Cf. Schmidt, 'Im Lande der Alchemie. Anmerkungen zu den Streifzügen von Johann Gottfried Schnabel durch "Geheime" Wissenschaften', 95 Abb. 5: Der "circel-runde […] Schauplatz der Ewigen Weisheit" aus Heinrich Khunraths *Amphitheatrum sapientiae aeternae* (1609). He considers this to be a description of the laboratorium rather than of the Amphitheatre itself.

434 For an octavo book of this size, a normal print run might be between one and two thousand copies. See Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer, 'Fabriquer un livre au XVI^{e} siècle', in Henri-Jean Martin, Roger Chartier and Jean-Pierre Viret (eds.), *Histoire de l'édition française* (Paris: Promodis, 1982), Vol. 1: Le livre conquérant, 179–301, at 281.

435 See Macphail, *Alchemy and the Occult*, 207 for a collation of the text, plus an indication of mispaginations: ^{2}62 as '42', ^{2}147 as '145', ^{2}148 as '146', ^{2}149 as '147', ^{2}150 as '148', ^{2}191 as '192', ^{2}192 as '193', ^{2}217 as '127'.

436 Eco, *Lo Strano Caso*, 31; Craven, *Doctor Heinrich Khunrath*, 91 Hanau near Frankfurt. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 38 mistakenly gives Hanover as the place of publication. Szulakowska's claim, *The Alchemy of Light*, 103, that her choice of Hanover is more justified because she is following Gottfried Arnold since 'he was closer in time to the facts of this history' is groundless as he too simply repeats the Latin 'Hanoviae'. In her 2006 *The Sacrificial Body and the Day of Doom*, 167 Szulakowska corrects the place of publication to Hanau.

437 Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Renaissance Essays* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961; rept. London: Martin Secker & Warburg Limited, 1985), 231.

438 David Lupher, 'The *De armis Romanis* and the Exemplum of Roman Imperialism', in Benedict Kingsbury and Benjamin Straumann (eds.), *The Roman Foundations of the Law of Nations: Alberico Gentili and the Justice of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 85–100, at 86; Edgar C. McKenzie, *A Catalog of British Devotional and Religious Books in*

where he earned a 'Europe-wide reputation as a printer of Calvinist, Zwinglian and Anglican books'.[439] Anton published a variety of religious and philosophical works, from the *Psychologia anthropologica* (Anthropological Psychology) of Otto Casmann (1594),[440] 'perhaps the first work by a single author to bear the title *Psychology*,'[441] to the British King James I's anti-magical *Daemonologia* (1604), as well as his treatise on government, the *Basilikon Doron* (1607).[442] The year before the *Amphitheatre*, Anton published the French Protestant humanist and educational reformer Pierre de la Ramée's *Dialecticae Libri Duo* (Two Books of Dialectic, 1608) and the English Puritan William Perkins's *Catholicus Reformatus* (A Reformed Catholic) in 1608.[443] The same year as his edition of the *Amphitheatre* finds Anton also publishing the Italian Protestant Girolamo Zanchi's *Epistolarum Libri* (Books of Letters) and the Professor of Theology at the Reformed University of Herborn, Jodocus Nahum's *Idea Theologiae* (Idea of Theology).[444] Khunrath's *Amphitheatre* seems to be Anton's most dramatic foray into the world of occult philosophy and theosophy, although in 1593 he had already published the famous Italian authority on natural magic, Giovanni Battista della Porta's *De humana physiognomonia* (On Human Physiognomy) and *De transfiguratione metallorum et occulta summaque antiquorum philosophorum medicina libellus* (A Booklet on the Transfiguration of Metals and the Occult and Greatest Medicine of the Ancient Philosophers), attributed to

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German Translation from the Reformation to 1750 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1997), 325, 329–330; Brüning, *Die alchemistischen Druckwerke*, 160; Jutta Martini, 'Hanauer Drucker und Verleger von 1593 bis 1776', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 73 (1998): 191–207; Howard Hotson, *Commonplace Learning: Ramism and Its German Ramifications, 1543–1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 128.

439 Joseph S. Freedman, *European Academic Philosophy in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries: The Life, Significance, and Philosophy of Clemens Timpler (1563/4–1624)* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1988), 93; Josef Benzing, 'Der Buchdrucker Wilhelm Antonius zu Hanau (1593–1611) als Vermittler Englischen Schrifttums', in David E. Rhodes (ed.), *Essays in Honour of Victor Scholderer* (Mainz: Pressler, 1970), 68–80.

440 Otto Casmann, *Psychologia anthropologica, sive animae humanae doctrina, methodice informata* (Hanau: Wilhelm Anton, 1594).

441 Fernando Vidal, *The Sciences of the Soul: The Early Modern Origins of Psychology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 55.

442 James I, *Daemonologia; hoc est, Adversus Incantationem sive Magiam, Institutio, Forma Dialogi concepta* (Hanau: Wilhelm Anton, 1604). Anton also published James's *Basilikon Doron, sive Regia institutio* (1607).

443 Petrus Ramus, *Dialecticae Libri Duo* (Hanau: Wilhelm Anton, 1608); William Perkins, *Catholicus Reformatus* (Hanau: Wilhelm Anton, 1608).

444 Hieronymus Zanchius, *Epistolarum Libri* (Hanau: Wilhelm Anton, 1609); Jodocus Nahum, *Idea Theologiae: Das ist: Kurtzer Begriff Der gantzen H. Schrifft* (Hanau: Wilhelm Anton, 1609).

the monk Morienus, and in 1599 Paracelsus's *Labyrinthus Medicorum Errantium* (Labyrinth of Erring Physicians).[445]

In a letter to the reader written in Wernigerode, in the German County of Stolberg, dated the Ides of March, 1609, the *Amphitheatre*'s editor Erasmus Wolfart explains that because of the untimely demise of its author, he has had to see the work into print 'as much because I was linked to him by intimate familiarity, as because he had made me participant in his counsels, in this work to be published, along with others more secret left by him.'[446] Little is known about Wolfart, other than that he was an imperial public notary.[447] It is conceivable that he might have been related to the Swiss physician and humanist scholar Theodor Zwinger (1533–1588), who taught at Basel during Khunrath's period of study, and whose step-father was the philosopher, theologian, alchemist and Basel professor of grammar and dialectic Conrad Wolffhart, alias Lycosthenes (1518–1561), much of whose work appears in Zwinger's *Theatrum vitae humanae* (1565). What is certain is that he was moving in similar circles of radical religious thinkers to Khunrath. He was apparently a close friend of the pietist Johann Arndt, who described him in a letter to the influential Lutheran theologian Johann Gerhard (1582–1637) – whose *Meditationes Sacrae* (1606) appeared just a few years before the 1609 *Amphitheatre* – as a 'sincere and spiritual son of theology, which leads to the cultivation of the inner man and spiritual life'.[448] In 1599 Arndt sent a letter *Von dem grossen Geheimnis der Menschenwerdung* (On the Great Mystery of the Incarnation), discussing the Paracelsian conception of the Flesh of Adam and Flesh of Christ,[449] addressed

445 For more on Anton's publishing of English authors, see Ian MacLean, *Learning and the Market Place: Essays in the History of the Early Modern Book* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 310.

446 *Amph.*1, 9: 'tum quod ipsi fuerim intima familiaritate iunctus, cum, quod consilii sui, in hoc opere edendo fecerit me, vna cum aliis relictis à sese secretioribus, participem.'

447 What follows previously appeared in Forshaw, 'Unexpected in the Octagon'. My thanks to Thomas Hakl for permission to use this material. On Wolfart as 'Notarius publicus caesareus,' see Martin Brecht, 'Das Aufkommen der neuen Frömmigkeitsbewegung in Deutschland,' in Johannes van den Berg and Martin Brecht (eds.), *Geschichte des Pietismus: Das 17. und frühe 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1993), 113–203, at 132. The information is contained in the title of Arndt's letter to Wolfart, as well as in *Das Grosse Geheimnüß der Menschwerdung des Ewigen Worts* (n.p., 1676; 1700), 16: 'Dem Ehrenvesten/ Achtbahren und Wohlgelehrten Herrn Erasmo Wolfarten, Notar. Publ. Caes. und Inhabern des Kißlebischen Hofes zu Bentzigeroda, meinem vielgeliebten günstigen Herrn und vertrauten Freunde.'

448 Hans Schneider, *Der fremde Arndt: Studien zu Leben, Werk und Wirkung Johann Arndts (1555–1621)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 106 'filius theologiae sincerioris et spiritualis, quae ad interioris hominis et vitae spiritualis culturam ducit.'

449 Thomas Illg, *Ein anderer Mensch werden: Johann Arndts Verständnis der imitatio Christi als Anleitung zu einem wahren Christentum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht unipress, 2011) 106. See Dane T. Daniel, 'Paracelsus on the "New Creation" and Demonic

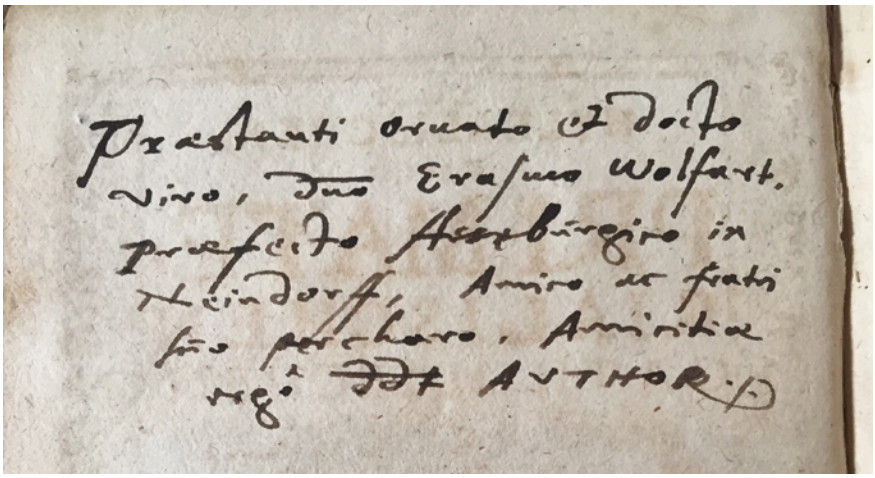


FIGURE 1.50 Khunrath's dedication to Erasmus Wolfart, in *Vom Hylealischen Chaos* (1597). Octagon Library, Graz
COURTESY OF HANS THOMAS HAKL

to his 'beloved Lord and trusted friend', Erasmus Wolfart. There he states that 'From Doctor Khunrath's book, called the *Amphitheatre of Eternal Wisdom*, I have learned to recognise God and true Wisdom from the writing of the macro and microcosm.'[450]

The recent discovery of a presentation copy of Khunrath's 1597 *On Primaterial Chaos*, its page edges stamped and gilded, with a handwritten dedication from the author (Fig. 1.50), confirms the friendship between Khunrath and Wolfart. As the dedication is not dated, it is impossible to say whether the book was presented to Wolfart at the time of publication – which would then suggest a long acquaintance and hence make him an obvious candidate for editor

Magic: Misunderstandings, Oversights, and False Accusations in His Early Reception', in Allison B. Kavey (ed.), *World-Building and the Early Modern Imagination* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 5–33.

450 Arndt, *Das Grosse Geheimnüß der Menschwerdung des Ewigen Worts: In einem Send-Schreiben an seinen guten Freund/ Erasmum Wolfartum, Notar. Publ. Caes. &c. Erkläret und verfasset*, bound together with Christian Hoburg, *Theologia Mystica; Oder Geheime Krafft-Theologia der Alten* (Amsterdam: Betkius, 1700). My edition: Frankfurt am Main: Johann Nicolaus Andreae, 1717, following p. 412; new pagination, p. 8 'auß Dr. Khunraths Buche/ genannt Schau-Platz der ewigen Weißheit/ habe ich gelernet Gott und die rechte Weißheit auß der Schrifft der grossen und kleinen Welt zu erkennen'. On Arndt as the author of the *Judicium* on Khunrath's *Amphitheatre*, see Vorbericht des Ausgebers in Khunrath, *De Igne Magorum* (1783), 3–6, at 6. See Gilly (ed.), *Das Erbe des Christian Rosenkreuz*, 38; idem (ed.), *Cimelia Rhodostaurotica*, 13; idem (ed.), *500 Years of Gnosis in Europe*, 131.

of the posthumous 1609 edition of the *Amphitheatre* – or whether the gift was closer to the time of Khunrath's death. What is clear, however, is the depth of their friendship, for the inscription reads, 'In friendship, the Author dedicates [this] to his beloved friend and brother, the outstandingly distinguished and learned man, master Erasmus Wolfart, Ilsenburg prefect in Neindorff.'[451]

The simplicity of the original two-part 1595 *Amphitheatre* (text and engravings), described by Arndt's *Judicium*, has now become a more complicated affair, especially since no two surviving copies seem to follow exactly the same format, due to the absence of any clear indications of where to place the engravings. Although the instruction '*Let the figure of the first* [*second, third*, etc] *Grade, be inserted here*' has been placed at the start of each Grade of Khunrath's commentary,[452] in the colophon the printer includes an apology, explaining that the words had been added in error, for none of the individual grades have their own figures, but the '*Amphitheatre* itself stands with its figures and has its Introductions', which seems to imply that the real Amphitheatre is the engravings and everything else is explanatory supplementary material.[453]

It is evident from differences in ornamentation and minor typographic variations that there was more than one print run for the 1609 edition. For the ornamentation, consider the upper and lower bands on the cover page of Khunrath's 'Interpretations and Annotations' in the 1609 copies owned by the Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam (Fig. 1.51) and the Getty (Fig. 1.52). The decoration and type-setting in the Allard Pierson copy is identical to that in the 1608 Magdeburg edition, which suggests that it is the earlier of the 1609 print runs.

The same variants in ornamentation appear on the opening to the 'First Prolegomenary Grade Exhibited' (I Gradus Prologeticus Primus Expositus),[454] although both the Allard Pierson and Getty copies share the same ornamentation elsewhere.[455]

Regarding the type-setting, in addition to the obvious breaking of the final word 'vindicatur' (Fig. 1.51) into 'vindi-catur' (Fig. 1.52) above, consider the

451 Octagon Library of Hans Thomas Hakl, Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597) handwritten dedication by Khunrath to Wolfart: 'Praestanti ornato & docto viro, domino Erasmo Wolfart, praefecto Ilsenburgico in Neindorff, Amico ac fratri suo percharo, Amicitiae rego dedicat Author'. My thanks to Mike Zuber for his help in deciphering the place names.

452 *Amph.*II, 2 '*Hic inseratur figura Gradus primi*; II, 35 '*Hic inseratur figura secundi gradus,*' etc.

453 *Amph.*II, [223] Colophon: '*Sed Amphitheatrum ipsum suis constat figuris, & suas habet Introductiones.*'

454 *Amph.*II, 2.

455 Both share the same ornamentation in *Amph.*I. In *Amph.*II, Getty is the same as ETH for Grades II to VII.

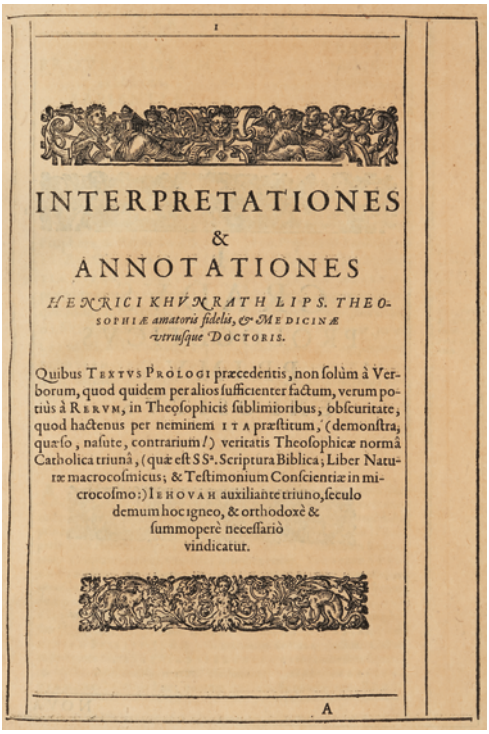


FIGURE 1.51 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), II, 1. 1st print run: Interpretations & Annotations. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

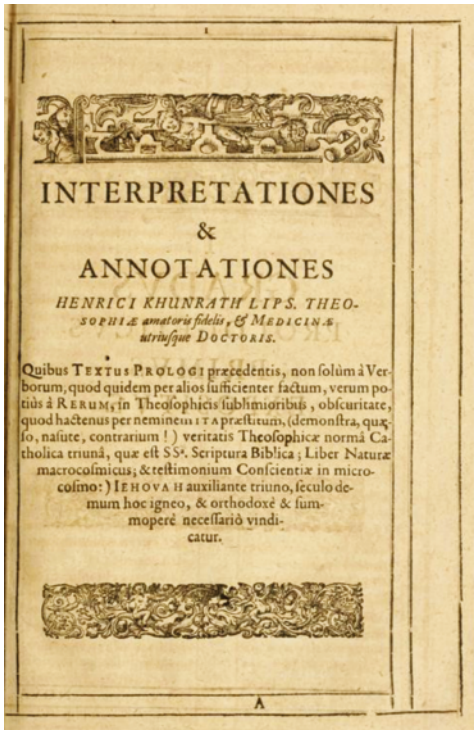


FIGURE 1.52 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), II, 1. 2nd print run: Interpretations & Annotations. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (1380–905)

slight variations on the first page of 'Interpretations and Annotations' shown below. A simple check at the foot of the page shows that the Allard Pierson version ends with 'Bona &', without a catchword (Fig. 1.53), while the Getty copy has 'Bona & Dona', plus the catchword 'sunt' (Fig. 1.54). While the Getty version has 'ISRAEL' as a complete word in the opening verse from Proverbs in the 'NOVA ... TRALATIO', on the left of the page, the Allard Pierson version has the line-break 'ISRA-EL', again following the 1608 edition. Other minor variations include siuè/sivè and the preference of the typesetter of the Getty copy for a final letter 'n' or 'm' with flourishes, as in the words 'non' and 'credendum'. Many examples of these slight variations in type-setting can be found throughout the work.[456]

456 See, for instance, *Amph.*II, 6 *Teuos rasche; & Neoteriken* ... which clearly use different italics, the ETH version having a swash on the initial N of *Neoteriken*.


GRADVS PRIMI. 3

NOVA PROVERBIORVM ex Hebræo; SAPIENTIÆ ex Græco TRALATIO.

VERSIO vetus, seu vulgaris.

LOCA SS^a. SCRIPTVRÆ.

AVDI, fili mi, inquit, SALOMONIS, filius DAVID, Prophetæ & Regis ISRAEL, Rex Sapiens, SAPIENTIÆ ÆTERNÆ, folius veræ præceptor magnificus, omnimque longè spectabilis; AVDI, fili mi, inquit, PARABOLAS meas, ad sciendum SAPIENTIAM & ERVDITIONEM, ad intelligendum eloquia INTELLIGENTIÆ,

Prouer. vers. 1.

Ibidem vers. 2.

AVDI, fili & mi, inquit SALOMON, filius DAVID, Prophetæ & Regis ISRAEL in Jerusalem, Rex Sapiens; SAPIENTIÆ ÆTERNÆ, solius veræ, præco magnificus, omniumque longè spectabilis, AVDI, fili mi, inquit, parabolas meas & ad sciendam SAPIENTIAM & DISCIPLINAM, ad intelligenda verba PRVDENTIÆ.

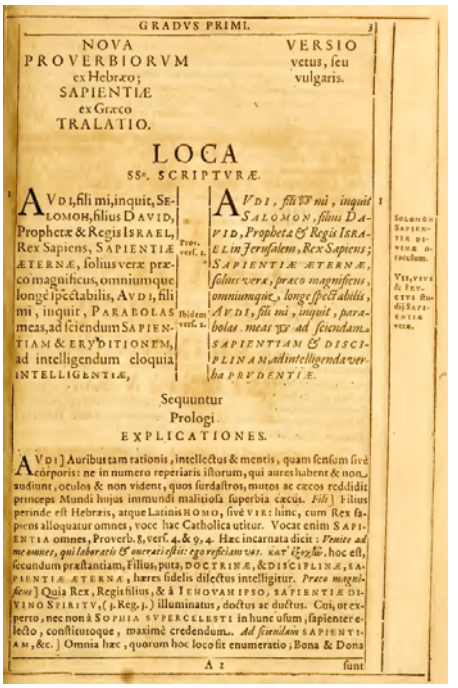
SOLOMON SAPIENTIÆ DIVINÆ OSCULUM.

VIS, VIVE & FRVCTVS studii SAPIENTIÆ veræ.

Sequuntur Prologi EXPLICATIONES.

AVDI] Auribus tam rationis, intellectus & mentis, quam sensum siuè corporis: ne in numero reperiaris illorum, qui aures habent & non audiunt, oculos & non vident, quos surdastros, mutos ac cæcos reddidit princeps Mundi hujus immundi malitiosa superbia cæcus. *Fili*] Filius perinde est Hebræis, atque Latinis HOMO, sive VIR: hinc, cum Rex sapiens alloquatur omnes, voce hac Catholica utitur. Vocat enim SAPIENTIA omnes, Prou. 8. vers. 4. & 9. 4. Hæc incarnata dicit: *Venite ad me omnes, qui laboratis & oneratis estis: ego reficiam vos.* κατ' ἐξοχὴν, hoc est, secundum præstantiam, Filius, puta, DOCTRINÆ, & DISCIPLINÆ, SAPIENTIÆ ÆTERNÆ, hæres fidelis dilectus intelligitur. *Præco magnificus*] Quia Rex, Regis filius, & à IEHOVAH IPSO, SAPIENTIÆ DIVINO SPIRITV, (3. Reg. 3.) illuminatus, doctus ac ductus. Cui, vt experto, nec non à SOPHIA SVPERCELESTI in hunc vsum, sapienter electo, constitutoque, maximè credendum. *Ad sciendam* SAPIENTIAM, &c.] Omnia hæc, quorum hoc loco fit enumeratio, Bona &

A 2


GRADVS PRIMI. 3

NOVA PROVERBIORVM ex Hebræo; SAPIENTIÆ ex Græco TRALATIO.

VERSIO vetus, seu vulgaris.

LOCA SS^a. SCRIPTVRÆ.

AVDI, fili mi, inquit, SALOMONIS, filius DAVID, Prophetæ & Regis ISRAEL, Rex Sapiens, SAPIENTIÆ ÆTERNÆ, solius veræ præceptor magnificus, omniumque longè spectabilis, AVDI, fili mi, inquit, PARABOLAS meas, ad sciendum SAPIENTIAM & ERVDITIONEM, ad intelligendum eloquia INTELLIGENTIÆ,

Prov. vers. 1.

Ibidem vers. 2.

AVDI, fili & mi, inquit SALOMON, filius DAVID, Prophetæ & Regis ISRAEL in Jerusalem, Rex Sapiens; SAPIENTIÆ ÆTERNÆ, solius veræ, præco magnificus, omniumque, longè spectabilis, AVDI, fili mi, inquit, parabolas meas & ad sciendam SAPIENTIAM & DISCIPLINAM, ad intelligenda verba PRVDENTIÆ.

SOLOMON SAPIENTIÆ DIVINÆ OSCULUM.

VIS, VIVE & FRVCTVS studii SAPIENTIÆ veræ.

Sequuntur Prologi EXPLICATIONES.

AVDI] Auribus tam rationis, intellectus & mentis, quam sensum sivè corporis: ne in numero reperiaris illorum, qui aures habent & non audiunt, oculos & non vident, quos surdastros, mutos ac cæcos reddidit princeps Mundi hujus immundi malitiosa superbia cæcus. *Fili*] Filius perinde est Hebræis, atque Latinis HOMO, sivè VIR: hinc, cum Rex sapiens alloquatur omnes, voce hac Catholica utitur. Vocat enim SAPIENTIA omnes, Proverb. 8, verf. 4. & 9. 4. Hæc incarnata dicit: *Venite ad me omnes, qui laboratis & oneratis estis: ego reficiam vos.* κατ' ἐξοχὴν, hoc est, secundum præstantiam, Filius, puta, DOCTRINÆ, & DISCIPLINÆ, SAPIENTIÆ ÆTERNÆ, hæres fidelis dilectus intelligitur. *Præco magnificus*] Quia Rex, Regis filius, & à IEHOVAH IPSO, SAPIENTIÆ DIVINO SPIRITV, (3. Reg. 3.) illuminatus, doctus ac ductus. Cui, ut experto, nec non à SOPHIA SVPERCELESTI in hunc vsum, sapienter electo, constitutoque, maximè credendum. *Ad sciendam* SAPIENTIAM, &c.] Omnia hæc, quorum hoc loco fit enumeratio, Bona & Dona

A 2 sunt

FIGURE 1.53
Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), II, 3: 1st print run 'ISRA-EL'; 'Bona &'. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam PH3246

FIGURE 1.54
Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), II, 3: 2nd print run 'ISRAEL'; 'Bona & Dona'. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (1380–905)

Most of these variations do not affect the meaning. For example, while the type-setter of the Amsterdam copy tends to make use of two different manicules throughout the edition (Figs. 55 & 56), the manicules in the Getty copy are all the same (and differ from those in the Allard Pierson copy, Figs. 57 & 58).[457]

Occasionally, there are instances that alter the sense of the text. Consider, for example, the first line of the 'Explicatio' on this page:

Allard Pierson *Amph.*II, 3:	Getty *Amph.*II, 3:
AVDI] Auribus tam rationis, intellectus & mentis, quam *sensuum* siuè corporis:	AVDI] Auribus tam rationis, intellectus & mentis, quam *sensum* sivè corporis:

457 From *Amph.*II, 11 the manicules are now the same in both copies. This seems to suggest that there was a loss of pages from the start of Grade 1 until page 10. From that page on, the end words are the same in both copies and both include the duplication on *Amph.*II, 102 'TIMOR IEHOVAE velut velut vena vitae' in Proverbs 14:27.

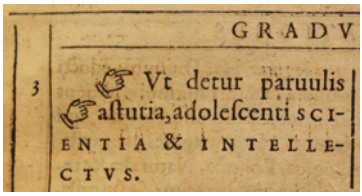


FIGURE 1.55
1609 *Amph.*II, 5 manicule 1. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam PH3246

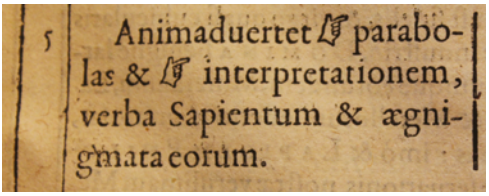


FIGURE 1.56
1609 *Amph.*II, 5 manicule 2. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam PH3246

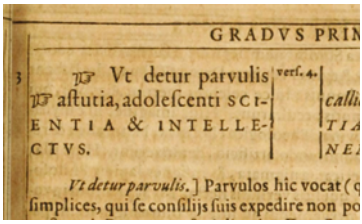


FIGURE 1.57
1609 *Amph.*II, 5 manicule 1. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (1380–905)

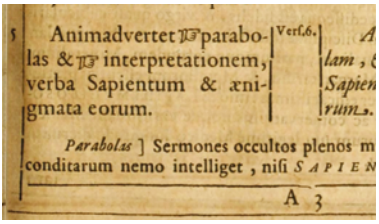


FIGURE 1.58
1609 *Amph.*II, 5 manicule 2. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (1380–905)

It is clear that the (more common) Allard Pierson version with the genitive plural *sensuum* (of the senses), as found in the 1595 edition,[458] is correct, while the Getty version with the accusative singular *sensum* (sense) is a typographical mistake. It is not, however, a particularly serious slip and most readers would doubtless automatically fill in the missing letter '*u*' and read, 'HEAR] As much with the ears of the reason, intellect and mind, as *of the senses* or the body.'[459]

35 A Puzzling Discovery

The Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg has a collection of the *Amphitheatre* engravings, though without the accompanying pages of text, and introduces

458 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), 1. The Wolfenbüttel and Amsterdam copies of the 1608 edition also have the correct Latin form *sensuum* and seem to be identical to the ETH version.

459 For a list of editions of the 1609 *Amphitheatre* in libraries, see that provided by Gilly, 'Verzeichnis der Werke von Heinrich Khunrath', in Gilly, Hallacker, Neumann and Schmidt-Biggemann (eds.), Heinrich Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae – Schauplatz der ewigen allein wahren Weisheit*, 531–557, at 532.

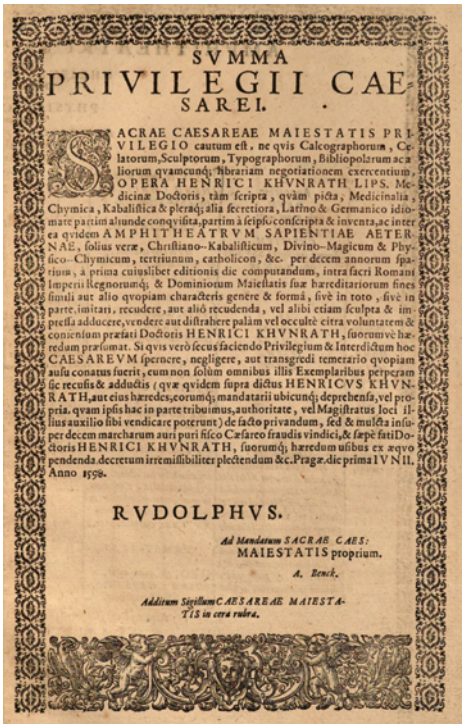


SVMMA
PRIVILEGII
CÆSAREI.

SACRAE CÆSAREÆ MAIESTATIS Privilegio cautum est, ne quis Chalcographorum, Celatorum, Sculptorum, Typographorum, Bibliopolarum ac aliorum quamcunque librariam negotiationem exercentium, OPERA HENRICI KHVNRATH, Lipsi. Medicinæ Doctoris, tam scripta quam picta, Medicinalia, Chymica, Kabalistica & pleraque alia secretiora, Latino & Germano idiomate, partim à seipso conscripta & inuenta, ac inter ea quidem AMPHITHEATRVM SAPIENTIÆ ÆTERNÆ, solius veræ, Christiano-Cabalisticum, Diuino-Magicum, & Physico-Chymicum, tertriuum Catholicon, &c. per decem annorum spatium, à prima cuiuslibet editionis Die computandum, intra sacri Romani Imperii, Regnorumque & Dominiorum Maiestatis suæ hæreditariorum fines, similis aut alio quopiam characteris genere & forma, siue in toto, siue in parte, imitari, recudere, aut alibi recudenda, vel alibi etiam sculpta & impressa adducere, vendere aut distrahere palam vel occultè, citra voluntatem & consensum præfati Doctoris Henrici Khunrath, suorumve hæredum præsumat. Si quis vero secus faciendo, Privilegium & interdictum hoc Cæsareum spernere, negligere aut transgredi temerario quopiam ausu conatus fuerit, eum non solum omnibus illis exemplaribus perperam sic recusis & adductis (quæ quidem supradictus Henricus Khunrath, aut eius hæredes, eorumque mandatarii vbicunque deprehensa vel propria, quam ipsis hac in parte tribuimus, authoritate vel Magistratus loci illius auxilio sibi vendicare poterunt)

a

FIGURE 1.59 *Amphitheatrum* (1609), Imperial Privilege. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246



SVMMA
PRIVILEGII CAE-
SAREI.

SACRAE CAESAREAE MAIESTATIS PRIVILEGIO cautum est, ne qvis Calcographorum, Celatorum, Sculptorum, Typographorum, Bibliopolarum aeteliorum qvamcunq; librariam negotiationem exercentium, OPERA HENRICI KHVNRATH LIPS. Medicinæ Doctoris, tàm scripta, qvàm picta, Medicinalia, Chymica, Kabalistica & pleraq; alia secretiora, Latino & Germanico idiomate partim alunde conqvisita, partim à seipso conscripta & inventa, ac inter ea qvidem AMPHITHEATRVM SAPIENTIAE AETERNAE, solius veræ, Christiano-Kabalisticum, Divino-Magicum & Physico-Chymicum, tertriunum, catholicon, &c. per decem annorum spatium, à prima cuiuslibet editionis die computandum, intra sacri Romani Imperii Regnorumq; & Dominiorum Maiestatis suæ hæreditariorum fines simili aut alio qvopiam characteris genere & formâ, sivè in toto, sivè in parte, imitari, recudere, aut alibi recudenda, vel alibi etiam sculpta & impressa adducere, vendere aut distrahere palàm vel occultè citra voluntatem & consensum prætati Doctoris HENRICI KHVNRATH, suorumve hæredum præsumat. Si qvis verò secus faciendo Privilegium & Interdictum hoc CAESAREVM spernere, negligere, aut transgredi temerario qvopiam ausu conatus fuerit, eum non solùm omnibus illis Exemplaribus perperam sic recusis & adductis (qvæ qvidem supra dictus HENRICVS KHVNRATH, aut eius hæredes, eorumq; mandatarii ubicunq; deprehensa, vel propria, qvam ipsis hac in parte tribuimus, authoritate, vel Magistratus loci illius auxilio sibi vendicare poterunt) de facto privandum, sed & mulctæ insuper decem marcharum auri puri fisco Cæsareo fraudis vindici, & sæpè fati Doctoris HENRICI KHVNRATH, suorumq; hæredum usibus ex æqvo pendenda. decretum irremissibiliter plectendum &c. Pragæ, die prima IVNII. Anno 1598.

RVDOLPHVS.

Ad Mandatum SACRAE CAES: MAIESTATIS proprium.

A. Bencl.

Additum Sigillum CAESAREAE MAIESTATIS in cera rubra.

FIGURE 1.60 *Amphitheatrum* (1609), Imperial Privilege. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, Signatur 2 Kst 218

another element to the story. It contains the full set of engravings (discussed in the following chapter),[460] plus Khunrath's gatefold table: 'Summa Amphitheatri' (Summary of the Amphitheatre) and the book's Imperial Privilege. It is puzzling, however, to see that the Augsburg Imperial Privilege (Fig. 1.60) differs from that found in the 1608 and 1609 editions (Fig. 1.59), even though all are dated Prague, 1 June 1598. Here the privilege is printed on one page, instead of two, has a floral border, and contains typographic variants (*Calcographorum* instead of *Chalcographorum*, *Germanico* instead of *Germano*, *Christiano-Kabalisticum* instead of *Christiano-Cabalisticum*). The 'Summa Amphitheatri' has a different floral border to the 1608/9 edition and uses different Latin and Greek type: the first two words of the Greek phrase Πάντα

460 The Augsburg sequence: 1609 TP, *Portrait*, Imperial Privilege; *Summa Amphitheatri; School; Pyramid; Citadel; Entrance*; Circular Figures 1, 2, 3, 4; *Calumniators; Owl.*

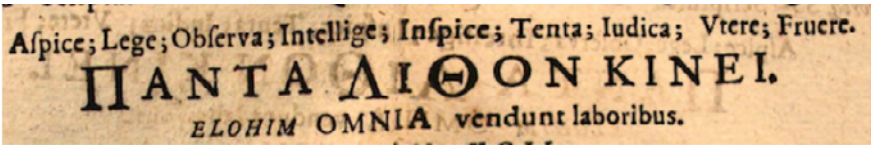


FIGURE 1.61 *Amphitheatrum, Summa Amphitheatri* (Augsburg copy): 'Panta Lithon kinei'. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, Signatur 2 Kst 218

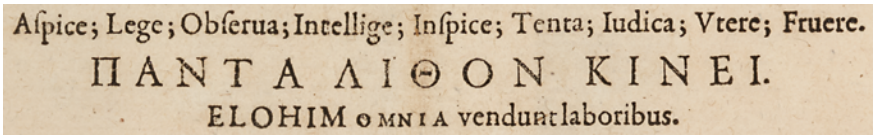


FIGURE 1.62 *Amphitheatrum, Summa Amphitheatri* (Hanau, 1609): 'Panta Lithon kinei'. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

Λιθον κινει' [Panta Lithon Kinei] (Leave no Stone unturned), being printed with larger initials (Fig. 1.61) instead of in uniform size, as in the standard published version (Fig. 1.62). The sharpness of the *Amphitheatre*'s engravings encourages speculation that this might be a proof print before the regular impression.[461]

36 'Complete in All Its Parts': the Structure of the Amphitheatre

Seeking to present the structure of an 'ideal' *Amphitheatre*, I have followed the *Judicium*'s lead in describing it in parts; rather than two, however, I have assigned it three, due to the fact that the pagination starts anew with Khunrath's 'Interpretations and Annotations' (Part II) of the biblical verses first listed in the Prologue (Part I).[462] Part III is simply a suggested sequence for the engravings on the understanding that no two extant copies seem to share the same sequence, many in fact lacking certain engravings.[463]

461 For example, the room in the vanishing point of the *Oratory-Laboratory* engraving is clearly visible, with no degradation of the engraving.

462 Gilly, 'Khunrath und das Entstehen der frühneuzeitlichen Theosophie', 10 refers to the hypothetical "pars III" and "pars IV" of the *Amphitheatrum* or the untraceable "canon 10" or "propositio 1, Distinctio 7". In response I would argue that the reference to 'Propositio 1, Distinctio 7,' made on *Amph.*II, 68 (Vide figuram Amphitheatri huius tertiam, propos.1. distinct.7.) clearly refers to Figure 3 and must surely be the *Isagoge*'s opening statement that 'The Philosophers' Stone Exists', which is supported by 7 arguments on *Amph.*II, 192–193. 'Canon 10' is probably the 10th statement in the *Isagoge* to Figure 4 on *Amph.*II, 210.

463 On possible sequences, see Eco, *Lo Strano Caso*, 37–39 who provides 12 sequences; De Bruijn, *Book-Building*, 372 Appendix 2, lists Eco's 12 plus 9 more.

Part I.	The Prologue	Pages
1	Title Page	
2	Imperial Privilege of Rudolf II, dated Prague 1st June 1598	1–2
3	'Invocation' or Prefatory Dedication to I. God, II. Angels, III. One's Neighbour, IV. Oneself, V. Holy Scripture, VI. Nature, and VII. the Sciences and Arts, dated 1604	3–8[464]
4	Editor's Letter by Erasmus Wolfart, dated Ides of March 1609	9–10
5	Gratulatory Verses by Theophilus Aretius, M. Zuberus, Johannes Seussius (dated Ides of March, 1604), Theodorus Aquilinus, and 'Christianus Cordatus'.[465]	11–16
6	The Theosophical Prayer of a Prudent Christian to Best and Greatest Christ the Source of Wisdom.	17
7	Summary of the Amphitheatre (double-page table).[466]	
8	ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΟΤΥΠΩΣΙΣ (Introduction and General Sketch) of the following Prologue, in the Amphitheatre of Eternal Wisdom.	18
9	Outline of the Seven Grades of the Prologue.	19–22
10	Seven Prolegomenary Grades of parallel-text Latin versions of 365 verses from the Sapiential Books of Solomon and Ecclesiastes, those in the inside column from the Vulgate, those on the outside Sante Pagnini's translations, mostly from the Hebrew Pentateuch's *Book of Proverbs* and the Greek Septuagint's *Book of Wisdom*.[467]	23–60

464 Macphail (ed.), *Alchemy and the Occult*, Vol. 1, 207 calls it the 'invocation'.

465 Theophilus Aretius (109 lines), M. Zuberus (12 lines), Iohannes Seussius (16 lines), Theodorus Aquilinus (62 lines), Christianus Cordatus (26 lines).

466 With instructions to insert before page 18. In all three Wellcome copies (Wellcome 3560/d/1 &9 2 & 3), however, as in the Getty copy, it has been inserted between pages 18 and 19.

467 See Alsted, *Scientiarum omnium Encyclopaediae* (Lyon, 1649), Vol. 3, 384 '*Heinricus Khunrath* Amphitheatrum suum ita construxit, ut illud adornaverit ex Proverbiis, Ecclesiaste, & libro sapientiae.' Alsted then goes on to list the biblical verses for each of the *Amphitheatre*'s seven grades. Alsted, incidentally, corresponded with Khunrath's publisher Wilhelm Anton. See 'Letter by Wilhelm Anton (Hanau, 15 February 1610) to Johann Heinrich Alsted (Herborn), listed in Joseph S. Freedman, 'The Career and Writings of Bartholomew Keckermann (d. 1609)', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 141:3 (September 1997), 305–364, at 363.

PART II.	INTERPRETATIONS & ANNOTATIONS	1
1	Exposition of the 1st Prolegomenary Grade, v. 1–81.	2–35
2	Exposition of the 2nd Prolegomenary Grade, v. 82–132.	36–54
3	Exposition of the 3rd Prolegomenary Grade, v. 133–166.	55–76
4	Exposition of the 4th Prolegomenary Grade, v. 167–193.	77–93
5	Exposition of the 5th Prolegomenary Grade, v. 194–290.	94–144
6	Exposition of the 6th Prolegomenary Grade, v. 291–345.	145–172[468]
7	There are Three Things that Primordially Constitute the World (double-page table).	*[469]
8	Exposition of the 7th Prolegomenary Grade, v. 346–365.	173–181
9	Author's Colophon and Conclusion.	181–184
10	*Isagoge* or Introduction to the 1st Figure of this Amphitheatre.	185–186
11	*Isagoge* or Introduction to the 2nd Figure of this Amphitheatre.	187–189
12	*Isagoge* or Introduction to the 3rd Figure of this Amphitheatre, including Summary, 4 Corollaries and an Enigma.	190–207
13	*Isagoge* or Introduction to the 4th Figure of this Amphitheatre, including 2 Corollaries and an Enigma.	208–214
14	Epilogue, dated 1602.	215–222
15	Publisher's Colophon and Errata, dated 1609.	

468 Even though there are no pages 149 or 150, the text flows without a break from the bottom of page 148 to the top of page 151, with the catchword 'quomodo' at the foot of page 148 appearing as the first word on 151 in the Wolfenbüttel (1608), Halle (1609) and Getty (1609) copies.

469 In several copies of the 1609 edition (e.g., Wellcome 3560/d/2 & 3) an unpaginated table beginning 'TRIA sunt, quae primordialiter constituunt MUNDUM', which originally appeared on page 17 of the 1595 edition has been inserted at the end of Grade 6. See, however, the Getty and ETH e-rara-7137 copies, where it is inserted between pages 144 and 145, i.e., at the end of Grade 5; or ETH Signatur: Rar 9441 q, where it appears between 152 and 153, in the middle of Grade 6. In the University of Toulouse copy, the table appears immediately after Khunrath's *Portrait*, before the Imperial Privilege at the start of the work.

Part III.	The Images
1	*Title Page*
2	Khunrath's *Portrait*
3	*School of Nature*
4	*Pyramid*
5	*Alchemical Citadel*
6	*Entrance*
7	*Calumniators*
8	Circular Figure 1: *Christ Cruciform/ Seal of God*
9	Circular Figure 2: *Adam-Androgyne*
10	Circular Figure 3: *Alchemical Rebis*
11	Circular Figure 4: *Oratory-Laboratory*
12	*Owl*

37 Changes in the Text between the 1595 and 1609 Editions

The general message of the expanded *Amphitheatre* is essentially the same as the first. Khunrath has not so much rewritten the 1595 *Amphitheatre* as Szulakowska suggests, since it survives intact, minus about five hundred words, but has greatly added to its length, in the process rearranging the sequence of biblical verses and even reassigning parts of the original commentary to different verses.[470]

While the Solomonic verses in the 1595 edition are from the *Books of Proverbs* or *Wisdom*, the 1609 also includes several from *Ecclesiastes* and the number has been increased from the original 306 to 365 verses, reassembled into a new order, one for each day of the year.[471] In this it calls to mind the 365 *Exotericarum exercitationum liber xv. De Subtilitate* (*The Fifteenth Book of Exoteric Exercises, On Subtlety*, 1557) of the Italian Aristotelian scholar and physician Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484–1558), which Khunrath cites in *Chaos* and the *Amphitheatre*.[472] In the second part of the *Amphitheatre*, the 306

470 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 112 'In rewriting his masterwork, Khunrath involved himself in a labour of such ardor that it may have cost him his life.'

471 Neumann, 'Between Heresy and Orthodoxy: Alchemy and Piety in Late Sixteenth-Century Germany', in O. Hammer and C.K.M. Von Stuckrad (eds.), *Polemical Encounters: Esoteric Discourse and Its Others* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 137–156, at 148.

472 *Amph.*II, 77; *Chaos* (1597), 54. *Julii Caesaris Scaligeri Exotericarum Exercitationum Liber Quintus Decimus, De Subtilitate, ad Hieronymum Cardanum* (Lyon, 1557). The 365th exercise (471^{r}–476^{v}) concerns itself with 'A new admirable and arcane division of beings' (Entium nova partitio, admirabilis, & arcana), moving from God to Created Wisdom

'Annotationes' of the original edition become the 365 'Interpretationes & Annotationes' in 1609. Sometimes these amount to a terse three or four lines of commentary; at other times to several pages in which Khunrath expands on his theosophy. He explains:

> This PROLOGUE, moreover, CONSISTS of as many VERSES as there are days in the Year, namely three hundred and sixty-five, by which on individual days throughout the whole year, ONE [verse] may be most acutely pondered in the weighing-scale of accurate contemplation, considered with a diligent mind, and often as it were thoroughly examined by one genuinely studious of WISDOM, such that the wholesome soul-food of this THEOSOPHICAL DOCTRINE might be transformed for him into a gentle pass-time of the Soul and most efficacious nourishment of the Mind, as suitable as it is pleasant. And, thus, in the course of a whole year, (for, believe one taught by Experience speaking the truth, it is not the work or study of a single day, week or month, especially for one only just initiated!) … one may not merely get a slight or superficial taste, but, deeply and also frequently swallowing [it] down, [one may], as it were, taste anew and truly, moreover, QUINT-ESSENTIALLY perceive, WHO, OF WHAT KIND, HOW GREAT and HOW SWEET is both true WISDOM, and this way of sincerely PHILOSOPHISING; and what, at length, its DOCTRINE cherishes in its very inward part.[473]

There are a few notable omissions of material present in the 1595 edition. One of these is the removal of a quote from Virgil's *Aeneid* accompanying one of the Proverbs, for which Khunrath could possibly have been accused

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(De sapientia creata). On Scaliger, see Kuni Sakamoto, *Julius Caesar Scaliger, Renaissance Reformer of Aristotelianism: A Study of his Exotericae Exercitationes* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

473 *Amph.*I, 19 'CONSTAT autem PROLOGVS hic VERSIBVS totidem, quot Annus diebus, trecentis nimirum sexaginta quinque, eô quòd per totum annum singulis diebus VNVS, SOPHIÆ studioso genuino, contemplationis accuratæ lance, acutissimè pensitandus, industria mente considerandus, ac sæpius veluti riminandus sit, ita vt DOCTRINÆ huius THEOSOPHICÆ salutaris animi cibus ei in dulcem Animæ recreationem efficacissimumque Animi nutrimentum tanto conuenientius atque felicius conuertatur: Sicque etiam integri anni spatio, (non enim est, nuperrimè initiato præsertim, crede veridico Experientiâ edocto, vnius vel diei, vel hebdomadis aut mensis labor vel studium!) … non superficialiter aut primis duntaxat labris gustare, sed, penitus quoque ac crebrò deglutiendo, quasi regustare & verè, imò QVINT-ESSENTIALITER, percipere queat, QVÆNAM, QVALIS, QVANTA & QVAM SVAVIS sit cùm SAPIENTIA vera, tum ratio hæc sincerè PHILOSOPHANDI: & quid demum DOCTRINA illius in recessu interiori foueat.'

of placing pagan literature on the same level as biblical.[474] He also drops references to the Dutch Professor of Hebrew at the University of Louvain, Johannes Campensis (Jan van Campen, 1491–1538),[475] to Erasmus's *Enchiridion militis Christiani* (*Handbook* [or *Dagger*] *of the Christian Soldier*),[476] Cicero's *De Amicitia* (*On Friendship*),[477] Plato,[478] a possible impolitic comment about never keeping silent about the truth in the company of nobles and princes,[479] and a religiously provocative remark concerning the holy Catholic Earth of the Philosophers, in which is the Tree of Life and Jehovah's Tabernacle with men, only possessed by Theosopher-Chemists.[480] Given the fact that Khunrath has added an extra fifty-nine biblical verses and greatly increased the length of his commentary, there are numerous examples of additional material, a few being quotations from the *Emerald Tablet*, references to John Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica* (1564),[481] to Julius Caesar Scaliger's *Exercitationes*,[482] extra references to Johann Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico*,[483] to famous military commanders – Maurice of Nassau (1567–1625), John Sigismundus Zapolya (1540–71), and Don Juan, or John of Austria (1545–78)[484] – and discussion of divination and the casting of lots.[485] The only major change is that some of the text that appeared in the circumference of the fourth circular figure of the *Oratory-Laboratory* in the 1595 *Amphitheatre*, concerning the uses of the Philosophers' Stone, has, in the 1609 edition, become Part IX of the *Isagoge* for the third circular figure of the *Alchemical Rebis*.[486] There are also a few minor changes to the 1595 images, but these will be discussed in the next chapter.

474 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), 10 Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book VI, l. 620 'discite Justitiam moniti, & non temnere Divos' (Be warned; learn ye to be just and not to slight the gods), trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann, 1932), 549.

475 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), 2 '(ut Paraphrasticè interpraetatur Joh. Campensis)'; author of exegetical works like the parallel-text *Enchiridion Psalmorum* (1537), featuring his translation of the psalms from Hebrew into Latin in the left column and his paraphrastic interpretation on the right.

476 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), 4. Which is somewhat bizarre as several unacknowledged citations from this work appear in the 1609 *Amphitheatre*.

477 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), 5.

478 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), 20.

479 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), 23.

480 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), 10; see too *Confessio*, 38.

481 *Amph.*II, 6.

482 *Amph.*II, 77.

483 *Amph.*II, 58.

484 *Amph.*II, 176.

485 *Amph.*II, 85–6.

486 *Amph.*II, 204f. See Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 17.

38 The Gratulatory Verses

The gratulatory verses at the beginning of the *Amphitheatre* provide rare insights into Khunrath's circle of friends, their religious background and political influence. Nothing is known about Theophilus Aretius who wrote by far the longest poem, but M. Zuberus P.L. is presumably the Poet Laureate Matthaeus Zuber (1570–1623), author of works like the *Epigrammatum Confuseanorum Farrago* (Hodgepodge of Confusing Epigrams, 1595), *Epimictorum Epodaetyos* (1608) and his short anthology of single-line poems, the *Monostichologia* (1616).[487] The poet Johannes Seusse (1566–1631), who matriculated at the University of Leipzig in 1584, belonged to the Ecclesiastical Council of the Elector of Saxony in Dresden.[488] Various poetic New Year gifts (strenae) to aristocrats by Seusse survive, such as a 'Golden Table' (1618) and a 'Catoptric Mirror' (1622) to Johann Georg I, Elector of Saxony (1585–1656).[489] Nothing is known about the Poet Laureate Theodorus Aquilinus, but the author of the final poem, Christianus Cordatus (Prudent Christian), has been shown to be Johann Arndt.[490] Another name to add to this list is the author of the 12-line 'C.O.N.S.I.L.I.U.M. D.E.I.' (God's Counsel) acrostic poem printed beneath Khunrath's portrait engraving. This was by the theologian and astronomer Andreas Riccius (*c.*1575–*c.*1617) of Hilperhausen in Hessen, son of the first pastor of Pulsnitz, who studied in Frankfurt, Wittenberg and Leipzig,[491] was ordained in 1570, and worked as headmaster and deacon in Pulsnitz.[492] He was the author of several works, including an *Alt und New Schreibcalender* (An Old

487 See John L. Flood, *Poets Laureate in the Holy Roman Empire: A Bio-bibliographical Handbook* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), Vol. 4, 2324f 'Matthaeus Zuber'.

488 *Amph.*I, 15. Arnold, *Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie*, 12. Flood, *Poets Laureate in the Holy Roman Empire*, Vol. 1, 2006, clxviii; Heinrich Klenz, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1892), Vol. 34, 67–68.

489 'Aurea Mensa, Strena. Cal. Ian. Anni M. DC. XVIII. Ad Sereniss. Principem … Iohannem Georgium Ducem Saxoniae … Electorem' (Leipzig, 1618); 'Catoptrum calendis ianuariis anno 1622 strenae loco … Johanni Georgio duci Saxoniae … oblatum' (Leizig, 1622).

490 Telle, *Alchemie und Poesie*, 479–80; Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', 345.

491 Some information gleaned from Johannes Rithwager, *Novis honoribus, ornatissimi et doctissimi iuvenis Dn. Andreae Riccii, Hilperhusani* (Wittenberg, 1600).

492 According to Erich Stange, 'Die Amtsenthebung eines oberlausitzer Pfarrers durch seinen Kollektor 1594', *Beiträge zur sächsischen Kirchengeschichte* (1815), Andreas Riccius, son of the first pastor of Pulsnitz, studied in Frankfurt, Wittenberg and Leipzig, was ordained in 1570, and worked as headmaster and deacon in Pulsnitz. http://www.presseforschung.uni-bremen.de/dokuwiki/doku.php?id=riccius_andreas.

and New Writing-Calendar for the year 1605, 1604) and a *Groß Prognosticon* (Great Prognosticon, 1616/17).[493]

As mentioned above, *Quaestiones Tres* includes a dedication to the 'most famous and excellent Man, Master Heinrich Khunrath, Doctor of Both Medicines, distinguished Chemist' by a fellow doctor and physico-chemist, the Jena professor Zacharias Brendel the Elder (1553–1626) as well as those by Khunrath to DuChesne, Dee and Hollander. DuChesne likewise acknowledges Khunrath as his 'distinguished friend' in his *Ad Veritatem Hermeticæ Medicinæ* (On the Truth of Hermetic Medicine, 1604).[494] Khunrath's letter to the alchemist Johann Grasshoff (*c.*1560–1623) has also been mentioned.[495] A final, so far enigmatically anonymous individual needs to be added to this list, for the Elizabethan clergyman Christopher Taylour (fl. 1580–1598), one of the 'great alchemical copyists of early modern England',[496] who moved in the circle of John Dee and Edward Kelley, writing in his manuscript 'A mystical treatise of Occult Philosophy, or the philosopher's stone, by Christopher Taylour; addressed to a Lady', after discussing the significance of John Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica*, cites Dr Khunrath, 'who was my masters master'.[497]

39 Chimerical Editions

Eco and Gilly have both discussed the phantom or chimerical editions counted by bibliographers,[498] with Gilly remarking that 'hardly any other book can boast as many ghost editions as the famous *Amphitheatrum* by Heinrich

493 Andreas Riccius, *Groß Prognosticon. Auff die vier Jahrzeiten, des Gnaden vnd Friedenreichen Jahrs, nach vnsers lieben Herrn vnd einigen Seligmacher Jesu Christi Geburt* 1617 (Magdeburg, 1616).

494 Josephus Quercetanus, *Ad Veritatem Hermeticæ Medicinæ ex Hippocratis veterumque decretis ac Therapeusi: necnon viuæ rerum anatomiæ, exegesi, ipsiusque naturæ luce stabiliendam, adversus cuiusdam Anonymi phantasmata Responsio* (Paris, 1604), 11 'insignis amicus meus Henricus Conradus D.Medicinae Hamburgi.'

495 Telle, 'Khunrath, *Heinrich*', 194.

496 Jennifer M. Rampling, *The Experimental Fire: Inventing English Alchemy, 1300–1700* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2020), 156.

497 Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Ashmole 1392, ff. 7–57 'A mystical treatise of occult Philosophy, or the philosopher's stone, by Christopher Taylour; addressed to a Lady'. My thanks to Penny Bayer for this information from her unpublished paper, 2005, '"My Master's Master": Christopher Taylour, the Dee Circle and Heinrich Kunrath [sic]'. On Taylour's connection with Dee and Kelley, see Anke Timmermann, *Verse and Transmutation: A Corpus of Middle English Alchemical Poetry* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 89, 355. For further references to Taylour, see Rampling, *The Experimental Fire*, passim.

498 Eco, *Lo Strano Caso*, 19–23 'La 1602 Fantasma'; 27–33 'Altre Edizioni Fantasma'.

Khunrath'.[499] Bibliographers display an apparent delight in proposing numerous Latin editions. Johann Moller, for example, in the eighteenth century, lists 14, plus an as yet undiscovered German edition, apparently dating from 1602.[500]

Much of the confusion can be cleared up by paying attention to the dates for the additional parts of the expanded 1609 edition. The five double-page rectangular engravings all have Khunrath's name on them, three of them as their 'Inventor', 'Constructor', and 'Fashioner' and are all dated 1602, as is the extended Epilogue concluding with the words 'From our study in the year of the Christian era 1602'.[501] The engraving for the title page of the 1609 edition is likewise dated M.D.C.II. (1602), as is Khunrath's portrait, where we read in the oval frame surrounding his image that it was engraved when he was 42 years old.[502]

40 1611 A Physico-Medical Treatise

Khunrath's attention to the diseases of tartar apparently enjoyed some success, for there exists another work in his name, published in Hof by Johann Thurnmüntzer in 1611, six years after Khunrath's death: *A Physico-Medical Treatise, that is, a Natural, Medicinal Description of Action concerning the most thorough, true, complete and effective Curing of Tartar, Gravel, Sand, Stone, Gout in the Hand and Feet, Sciatic and Lumbar Pains … of Tartarean Ailments of the Microcosm, by means of the Tartar, Gravel, Sand and Stone of the Macrocosm, and concerning right philosophical natural preparation of solutions of the same* (Fig. 1.63).[503]

499 Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', 341; idem, 'Das *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* von Heinrich Khunrath', 133 phantom editions; 134 list of 'editiones chimericas'.

500 Moller, *Cimbria Literata*, 440–441 'Henricus Kunraht', lists 1. Prague (1598); 2. Magdeburg (1602); 3. Hanau (1604); 4. Magdeburg (1606); 5. Frankfurt (1608); 6. Leipzig (1608); 7. Lubeck (1608); 8. Magdeburg (1608), 9. Hamburg (1611); 10. Hamburg (1648); 11. Hamburg (1651); 12. Hanau (1653); 13. Frankfurt (1653); 14. Hamburg (1710), with the comment 'Quarum tamen editionum multas esse chimaericas non dubito'. He also mentions a German language edition (1602).

501 *Amph.*II, 215–222 'Ex Musaeo nostro anno aerae Christianae 1602'.

502 *Portrait*: 'Effigies Henrici Khunrath Lipsensis, Theosophiae Amatoris Fidelis, et Medicinae Utriusque Doctoris: Anno à IHSVH Christo, servatore nostro, nato M.D.C.II aetatis suae, XLII' (The portrait of Heinrich Khunrath of Leipzig, Doctor of Both Medicines and Faithful Lover of Theosophy, Age 42, in the year 1602 from the birth of our Saviour IHSVH Christ).

503 Khunrath, *Tractatus Physico-Medicus, Das ist/Natur-gemese/ Artzneyische Beschreibungshandlung von Recht-gründlicher/wahrer/vollkommener und höchster Curation Tartari,*

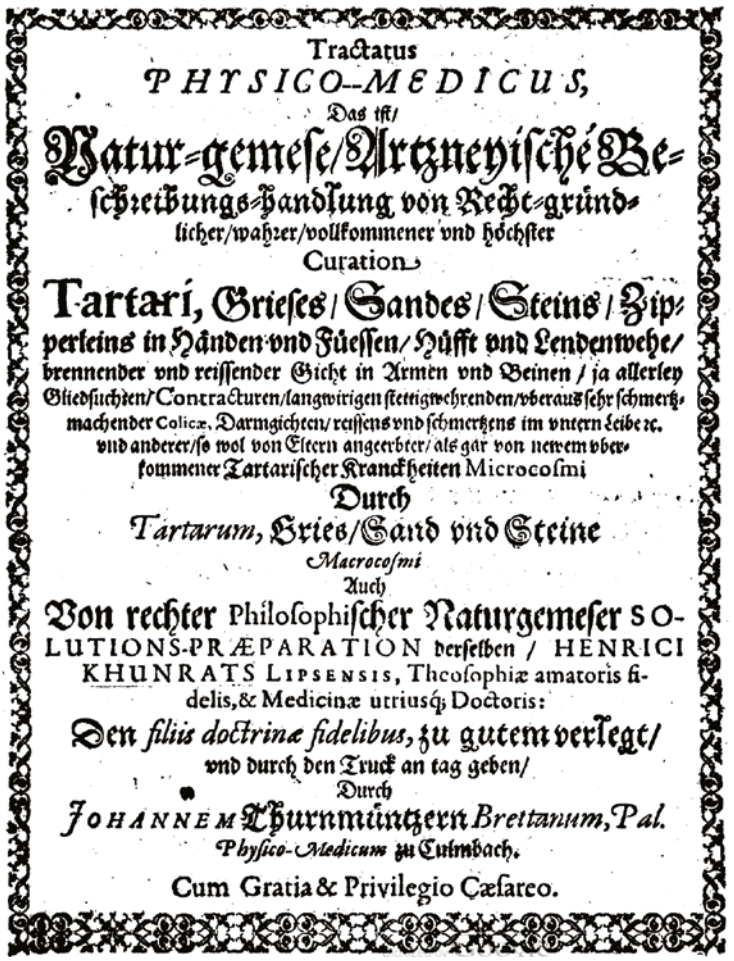

Tractatus
PHYSICO-MEDICUS,
Das ist/
Natur-gemese/Artzneyische Be-
schreibungs-Handlung von Recht-gründ-
licher/wahrer/vollkommener vnd höchster
Curation
Tartari, Grieses/Sandes/Steins/Zip-
perleins in Händen vnd Füessen/Hüfft vnd Lendenwehe/
brennender vnd reissender Gicht in Armen vnd Beinen/ja allerley
Gliedsuchten/Contracturen/langwirigen stettigwehrenden/vberaus sehr schmertz-
machender Colicæ, Darmgichten/reissens vnd schmertzens im vntern Leibe ꝛc.
vnd anderer/so wol von Eltern angeerbter/als gar von newem vber-
kommener Tartarischer Kranckheiten Microcosmi
Durch
Tartarum, Gries/Sand vnd Steine
Macrocosmi
Auch
Von rechter Philosophischer Naturgemeser SO-
LUTIONS-PRÆPARATION derselben / HENRICI
KHUNRATS Lipsensis, Theosophiæ amatoris fi-
delis, & Medicinæ utriusq; Doctoris:
Den filiis doctrinæ fidelibus, zu gutem verlegt/
vnd durch den Truck an tag geben/
Durch
JOHANNEM Thurnmüntzern Brettanum, Pal.
Physico-Medicum zu Culmbach.
Cum Gratia & Privilegio Cæsareo.

FIGURE 1.63 Khunrath, *Tractatus Physico-Medicus* (1611), title page. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, 4 Alch. 42

Given the similiarities in content, Hans Gerhard Lenz and Hanns-Peter Neumann both present it as a re-edition of *Quaestiones Tres*, but close reading shows that it is a completely different work.[504] Although it lacks Khunrath's favourite expression, 'Ora et Labora', the text includes many references to such favoured themes as the relations between the macrocosm and microcosm, the

Grieses/Sandes/Steins/Zipperleins in Händen und Füessen/Hüfft und Lendenwehe, etc ... *Tartarischer Kranckheiten Microcosmi, Durch Tartarum, Gries/ Sand und Steine Macrocosmi, Auch Von rechter Philosophischer Naturgemeser Solutions-Praeparation derselben* (Getruckt zum Hof/ durch Mattheum Pfeilschmidt, 1611).

504 Lenz, *Der Alchemist Conrad Khunrath*, 108; Neumann, *Natura sagax*, 144.

Doctrine of Signatures, regeneration and surpassing-perfection, and quotes in Khunrath's style (Ruach Hhochmah-El! Hallelu-Jah!, Phy Diabolo, etc) concluding with the declaration that Khunrath wrote it in May 1604.[505]

41 1614 Light in Darkness

The postumously published *Light in Darkness, that is, Light and Guide for those in Alchemy who are surrounded by Darkness and Error, and work without the Light of Nature; how they namely, through God's Grace, shall come out of it, and make good such a lack, universally and particularly*,[506] is extremely rare, only one printed copy being known to exist (Fig. 1.64).[507] The editor of the 1783 edition of the *Athanor* mentions a *Lux lucens in tenebris* attributed to Khunrath, in a *Tractatus aliquot chemici* (1647),[508] whose editor explains in the preface that it is 'clearly and without doubt a most useful introductory work, which he deems to hold first place amongst the assembled treatises'.[509]

505 Other Khunrathian identifiers: "plusquamperfecta" (28), Paracelsian tone: Natura Sagax (30), Laboratorium microcosmi perpetuum (32), quote from Paracelsus, in fine lib. Vexat (40), Theosophice & orthodoxe physice nosse (41), Adsit Elohim! (43) magnesia & Senior Zadith (43), *Sapit qui intelligit* (43), Regeneration oder Wiedergebährung & Naturae Ecstasin aut elevationem summam … plusquamperfecten Saltz-Stein … vis lapidificandi … (44) Hae vires SALIS-SAPIENTIAE Physico-Chymice manifestati, regenerati & plusquamperfecti … Jehovah annuente, Natura cooperante (46), Ignis est Dei, in universitate mundana, Physices Professor ordinarius … (48), Univers-Sal-Saltz-Urim (49), Gott und die Natur (nihil facientes frustra) (50); Kabalisch … In herbis, verbis & lapidibus, magna est virtus (51), panta lithon kinei, hoc est Omnem move lapidem, juxta vulgarem versionem; vel rectius, Move, Lapidem, qui est panta, OMNIA. Das ist. … (53); Ruach Hhochmah-El, etc Phy Diabolo (55); Getruckt zum Hof, durch Mattheum Pfeilschmidt, 1611. Telle seems to accept it as a genuine work by Khunrath. See Telle's entry on Khunrath in *Killy Literaturlexikon. Autoren und Werke des deutschsprachigen Kulturraumes*, edited by Wilhelm Kühlmann (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009,) Vol. 6, 398–400.

506 Khunrath, *Lux in Tenebris: Das ist, Liecht und Wegweisung/ derer/ die in Alchymia mit Finsternuß und Irrthumb umbgeben/ und außerhalben dem Liecht der Natur laboriren; wie sie nemblich/ durch die gnade Gottes/ darauß kommen/ und solchen Mangel ersetzen sollen: Universaliter, & particulariter* (n.p., 1614).

507 The printed copy is in Yale University Library BEIN Rs5\K52\614; the manuscript version is part of Johann Friedrich Jung's Copenhagen KB, GKS 1765 4 °, 141r–151v. See Tilton, 'Of Ether and Colloidal Gold: The Making of a Philosophers' Stone', 57, 74–77, 115 on a manuscript falsely attributed to Khunrath, *Lux Lucens in Tenebris*, Hamburg SUB MS Cod. Alchim. 674. See also Tilton, 'Of Ether, Entheogens and Colloidal Gold', 386–389.

508 Khunrath, *Athanor* (1783), 17.

509 Khunrath, *Lux lucens in tenebris*, in *Tractatus aliquot chemici* (Geismar: Typis Salomonis Schadewiß, 1647), Praefatio, 13 'erat insuper in manibus opusculum Dn. Henrici Khunrath Lipsensis, Lux lucens in tenebris, Germanicè scriptum, isagogicum planè & tyronibus

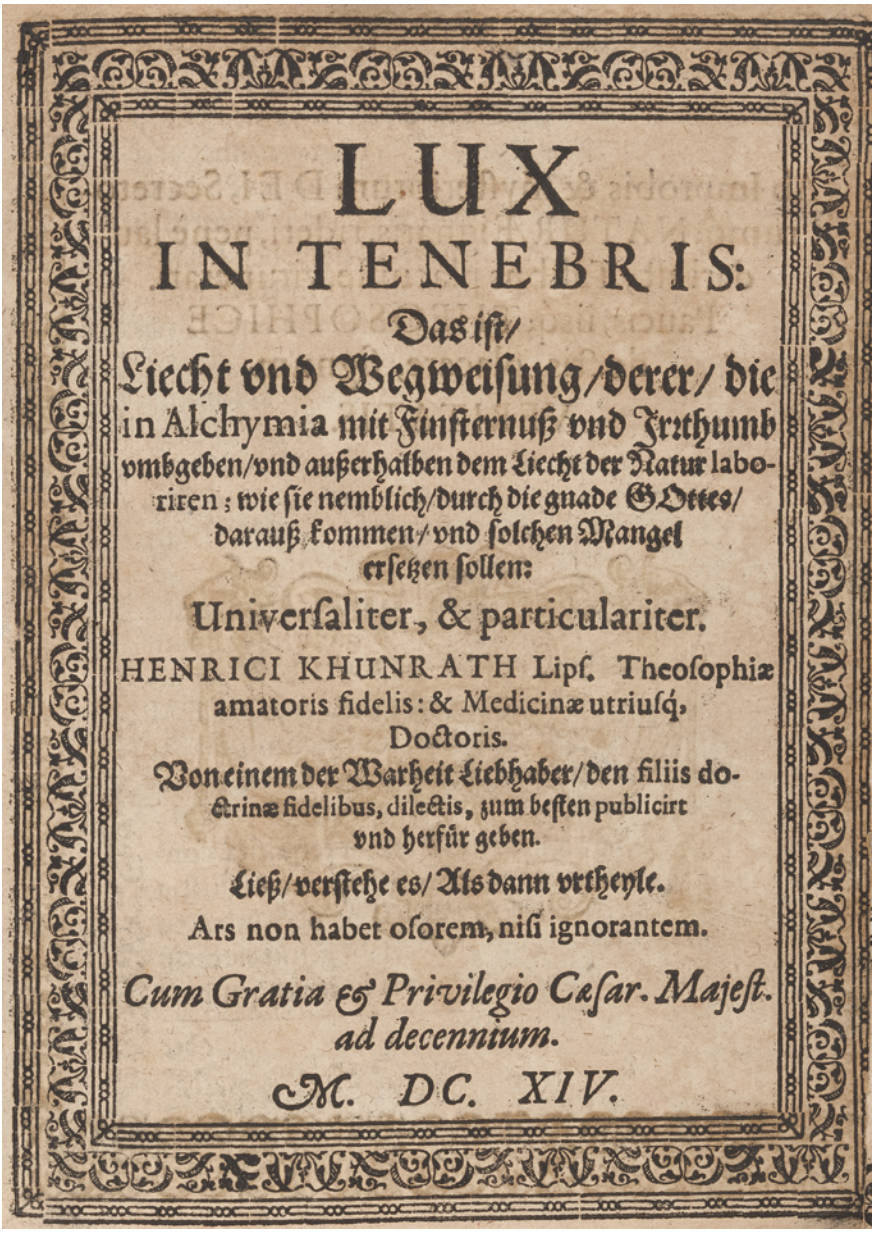

LUX
IN TENEBRIS:
Das iſt/
Liecht vnd Wegweiſung/derer/ die
in Alchymia mit Finſternuß vnd Irthumb
vmbgeben/vnd außerhalben dem Liecht der Natur labo-
riren; wie ſie nemblich/durch die gnade GOttes/
darauß kommen/vnd ſolchen Mangel
erſetzen ſollen:
Univerſaliter, & particulariter.
HENRICI KHUNRATH Lipſ. Theoſophiæ
amatoris fidelis: & Medicinæ utriuſq;
Doctoris.
Von einem der Warheit Liebhaber/den filiis do-
ctrinæ fidelibus, dilectis, zum beſten publicirt
vnd herfür geben.
Ließ/verſtehe es/Als dann vrtheyle.
Ars non habet oſorem, niſi ignorantem.
Cum Gratia & Privilegio Cæſar. Majeſt.
ad decennium.
M. DC. XIV.

FIGURE 1.64 Khunrath, *Lux in Tenebris* (1614), title page. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Call Number Rs5 K52 614

This 31-page *opusculum*, published in 1614, nine years after Khunrath's death, begins by explaining that there are two secrets of the Art of transmuting lower metals into higher, namely a knowledge and understanding of which matter is 'Lux in Tenebris, the right light, the root of all metals', by which Khunrath means Magnesia,[510] and how to prepare it.[511] In language at times identical to that found in *Chaos* and *Magnesia*, Khunrath explains that both these secrets come as a gift of God, either through divine inspiration, mysterious visions, revelations from good spirits, from another philosopher and human teacher, or from the Light of Nature, through industrious reading of true books and Theosophical contemplation, meditation and observation of the working of Nature.[512] To recognise the true matter, the sons of the doctrine are advised to read the first two chapters of Genesis, seek a raw material untouched by man or art, which resembles the universal matter from which nature produces metals,[513] because although Magnesia is neither metal nor mineral, it resembles them in its external form.[514]

Tilton ranks this text highly, arguing that it is 'unique amongst Khunrath's printed and manuscript works for the insight it grants us into his laboratory praxis', for he believes that it divulges 'crucial source material for the alchemical process,' which Khunrath's other printed works keep secret: the use of what would today be called tetrachloroauric acid for the preparation of potable gold.[515]

Khunrath stresses the distinction between universal and particular stones, the true Philosophers' Stone being the former, the latter also having their uses, both for the health of metals and human beings.[516] As in his other works, there is the strong sense that the search for the Philosophers' Stone is a religious undertaking. The very title of the work alludes, of course, to the evangelist John's famous phrase 'Lux in tenebris lucet' (John 1:5 'And the light shineth in darkness') and Khunrath's implication that this refers alchemically to Magnesia is another instance of his repeated assertion that the natural Stone is a real symbolic effigy and likeness of Christ, the blessed Stone of the Universal Church,[517]

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procul dubio utilissimum, quod dignum iudicabam ut primum locum inter hosce tractatulus occuparet'.

510 Khunrath, *Lux in Tenebris*, 5.
511 Khunrath, *Lux in Tenebris*, 1.
512 Khunrath, *Lux in Tenebris*, 4.
513 Khunrath, *Lux in Tenebris*, 12.
514 Khunrath, *Lux in Tenebris*, 18.
515 Tilton, 'Of Ether and Colloidal Gold', 57.
516 Khunrath, *Lux in Tenebris*, 22.
517 Khunrath, *Lux in Tenebris*, 6.

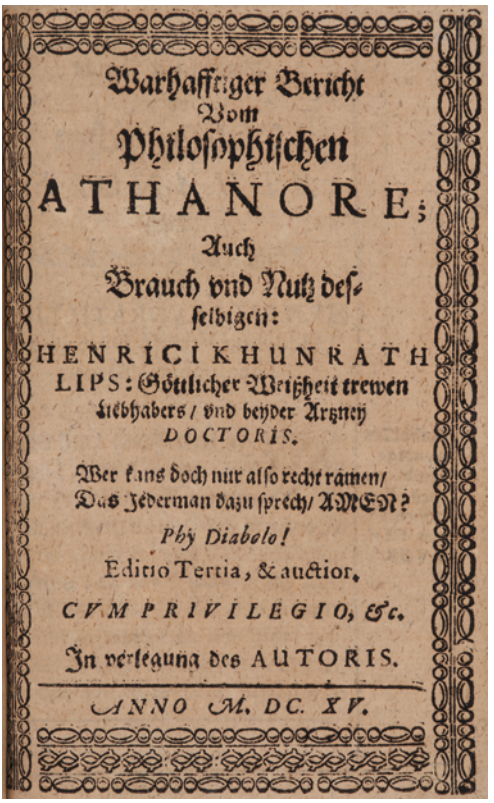

Warhafftiger Bericht
Vom
Philosophischen
ATHANORE;
Auch
Brauch vnd Nutz deſ-
ſelbigen:
HENRICI KHUNRATH
LIPS: Göttlicher Weißheit trewen
Liebhabers / vnd beyder Artzney
DOCTORIS.
Wer kans doch nur alſo recht rämen/
Das Jederman dazu ſprech/ AMEN?
Phy Diabolo!
Editio Tertia, & auctior.
CVM PRIVILEGIO, &c.
In verlegung des AUTORIS.
ANNO M. DC. XV.

FIGURE 1.65 Khunrath, *Warhafftiger Bericht Vom Philosophischen Athanore* (1615), title page. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam PH 1282-B


VOM
HYLEALISCHEN,
Das iſt
PRIMATE-
RIALISCHEN
CATHOLISCHEN
oder ALLGEMEINEM
MATÖRISCHEN
CHAOS
Der Naturgemeſſen ALCHYMIÆ
vnd ALCHYMISTEN;
Wiederholete / verbeſſerte vnd wolvermehrete Naturgemeß / ALCHYMISCH
vnd Rechtlehrende philoſophiſche
CONFESSIO oder
BEKENTNVS:
HENRICI KHUNRATH LIPS:
Göttlicher WEISHEIT Liebhabers/
vnd beyder Artzney Doctor:
Dem Leſerer.
Gib dir ſchon was iſt vnbewuſt/
Nicht deſt' minder eim anderns iſt bewuſt.
Cum Privilegio SSae Caſareæ Matis
ſpeciali.
Hans Alder

FIGURE 1.66 Khunrath, *Vom Hylealischen Chaos* (1616), title page. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH1282 A

and as such prefiguring and bearing witness to Christ, the supernatural blessed and heavenly Stone.[518]

42 1615 Athanor; 1616 Chaos, Magdeburg

The following two years see new editions of the *Athanor* (1615, Fig. 1.65) and *On Primaterial Chaos* (1616, Fig. 1.66), which seem to be reprints of previous editions.[519] The *Athanor* is presented as self-published by the author (still apparently temporarily living in Magdeburg, a full decade after his death). *Chaos* is

518 Khunrath, *Lux in Tenebris*, 10, 13.

519 The 'expanded' 1615 *Athanor* repeats the 'hieroglyphi-χωρ' (6) reference absent from the first 1599 edition, but present in the 1603. The 1616 *Chaos* does, however, include errors,

also printed in Magdeburg by Joachim Schmiedt, for the ever-opportunistic Johann Francke.

43 Manuscripts & Untraced Works

Some as yet untraced works have already been mentioned and for the sake of completeness the few other references to writings can be included here. In *Quaestiones Tres*, Khunrath mentions his *Consilium Medicum, das ist/ Artzneiischem Gut-achten und Rathsamen Bedencken* (Medical Counsel, that is, Medical Report and Judicious Considerations)[520] and his *Liber de veritate veracissima; Antiquitate haud ficta; Vsu legitimo; Operatione virtuosa; Efficacitate mirifica, Vtilitate summa; nec non Praestantia ineffabili Lapidis Philosophorum ac Alchymiae* (Book on the Truest Truth; by no means false, on the Legitimate Use, Virtuous Operation, Wonder-Working Efficacy, Highest Utility, and Unutterable Excellence of the Philosophers' Stone and Alchemy).[521] Other works mentioned by bibliographers are *De Apocalipsi* (On the Apocalypse),[522] and *Extractus Chymicorum quaestionum* (Extract of Chymical Questions, 1616).[523] There are also reports of a manuscript *Die Kunst, den Lapidem Philosophorum nach dem Hohen Liede Salomon's zu verfertigen* (The Art of Fashioning the Philosophers' Stone according to the Song of Solomon) in the University Library in Jena,[524] although the latter can no longer be found in the archives.[525] Just over a decade after Khunrath's death, a collection of his unpublished manuscripts, some bearing titles similar to these, was offered for sale to Landgrave Moritz of Hessen-Kassel in 1617.[526] Bachmann and Hofmeier also suggest that Khunrath could be the author of some of the Pseudo-Paracelsian works.[527]

In concluding this introductory chapter, let us consider the words of Hans Kangro, who comments that 'Khunrath deserves more than admiration from enthusiasts of the occult. He still awaits the kind of understanding that would

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such as a missing Tetraktys in the margin of p. 68 and a misprinted Tetraktys with only 6 points on p. 209.

520 Khunrath, *Quaestiones Tres*, sigs. Cviii^{v}–D^{r}.

521 Khunrath, *Quaestiones Tres*, sig. Cij^{r} and *Magnesia*, 31.

522 Borellius, *Bibliotheca Chimica*, 130.

523 From a list of Khunrath's publications in 'Vorbericht des Herausgebers', in *Wahrhafter Bericht vom philosophischen Athanor* (Leipzig: Adam Friedrich Böhme, 1783), 11.

524 Schmieder, *Geschichte der Alchemie*, 322; Adelung, *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit*, 104.

525 My thanks to Achim Blankenburg at the Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena for this information.

526 See Chapter 7, Epilogue.

527 Bachmann and Hofmeier (eds.), *Geheimnisse der Alchemie*, 159.

derive from an appreciation of the reciprocal role of thought in mediating between the two ranges of spiritual striving and experimental knowledge.'[528] Too many superficial and overly-partisan appraisals of Khunrath have insisted on typecasting him, relegating him to the ranks of the 'hierophants of the psychic side of the *magnum opus*' [...] who 'exerted no influence upon the progress of alchemy towards chemistry'[529] or by anachronistically lauding him as 'a sovereign prince of the Rosy Cross'.[530] This has resulted in Khunrath becoming a caricature of occult enthusiasm and unjustly marginalised as a subject of scholarly research.

Rather than perpetuating such two-dimensional stereotyping, this book aims to provide a more balanced appraisal of Khunrath's ideas. Having introduced Khunrath's works in this chapter, the following chapter is an introduction to the complex 'Theosophical' and 'Hieroglyphic' figures in his *Amphitheatre*. After that comes an investigation into the general conceptual framework of his Theosophy, followed by chapters devoted to the three main themes emphasised in the title of the *Amphitheatre*: Christian Cabala, Divine Magic and Physico-Chemistry, with more detailed focus on how Khunrath verbally and visually communicated these practices. The *Mage's Images* concludes with a survey of the reception of Khunrath's work in subsequent medical, occult, psychoanalytic and academic literature, art and occulture, from the seventeenth century to the present day.

528 Kangro, 'Heinrich Khunrath', 354–356.

529 John Read, *Through Alchemy to Chemistry: A Procession of Ideas & Personalities* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1957), 87.

530 Eliphas Lévi, *The History of Magic*, trans. A.E. Waite (York Beach, Maine: Samuel Weiser, 2000), 265.

CHAPTER 2

Images in the Amphitheatre

> He who does not imagine in words and pictures is no philosopher.
>
> GIORDANO BRUNO, *Explicatio triginta sigillorum*, 1583[1]

∴

In *The Universal, Ter-tri-une, Christian-Cabalist, Divinely-Magical, and Physico-Chymical Amphitheatre of the Only True Eternal Wisdom* (Fig. 2.1), Heinrich Khunrath seeks to propound his 'way of correctly PHILOSOPHISING'.[2] With the declaration that Theosophical truth has been 'orthodoxly and graphically' shown 'in Scripture and Picture' (*in* Scriptura & pictura), by 'none before me', Khunrath clearly demonstrates his sense that the *Amphitheatre*'s combination of image and text was a novel departure.[3] Antoine Faivre enthusiastically endorses this, praising the *Amphitheatre* for its rich theosophical iconography and goes so far as to claim that it was this work that inaugurated a 'theosophy of the image',[4] and contributed so much to the 'evolution of the esoteric book, the taste for hieroglyphic figures and different hermetic, alchemical, theosophical and mystical emblematic allegories'.[5] As Ivo Purš remarks, Khunrath's Amphitheatral 'Pictures' bear only an indirect relationship to the

1 Giordano Bruno, *Explicatio triginta sigillorum* (1583), f. a8^{r} 'non est philosophus, nisi qui fingit et pingit', quoted in Christoph Lüthy, 'What Does a Diagram Prove that Other Images Do Not? Images and Imagination in the Kepler-Fludd Controversy', in Christoph Lüthy, Claudia Swan, Paul Bakker, and Claus Zittel (eds.), *Image, Imagination, Cognition: Medieval and Early Modern Theory and Practice* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 227–274, at 227.

2 *Amph*.I, 19 'recteque PHILOSOPHANDI rationis'.

3 *Amph*.II, 182–3 '(*ante me à nullo … orthodoxè ac graphicè exhibitam*)'. See also *Amph*.II, 123 and the *Calumniators* engraving for additional references to 'scripture and picture'.

4 Antoine Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition: Studies in Western Esotericism*, trans. Christine Rhone (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 11. See too p. 8 where Faivre varies the expression 'Theosophy is a kind of theology of the image.' See also Faivre, 'La théosophie par l'image,' in ARIES, Colloque de la Sorbonne, N° 15: *Magie du Livre, Livres de Magie* (Paris: La Table d'Emeraude, 1993), 42–48.

5 Faivre, *Magie du Livre, Livres de Magie*, 5 'cette évolution du livre ésotérique, le goût pour les figures hiéroglyphiques et les différentes allégories emblématiques – hermétiques, alchimiques, théosophiques ou mystiques.'

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FIGURE 2.1 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* (1609), *Title Page*. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977

Amphitheatre's 'Scripture', thereby 'allowing space for multiple interpretations.'[6] Sometimes this simply means a secondary level of signification, a monosemic, unidirectional movement from the literal to the allegorical,[7] the (deceptively) simple substitution of an image or term as in the case of the *Decknamen* or cover-names in alchemy,[8] or the drawing out of an analogous relationship, as between the passion of Christ and the 'sufferings' of the Philosophers' Stone; at other times there is the sense of an insistence on the multivalent quality of images, on coexisting (and ultimately coordinating) multiple levels of exegesis, and a preference for polysemic symbols that at one and the same time refer to different aspects of Khunrath's theosophical theory and practice.[9]

Khunrath's elaborate engravings, which the semiotician Umberto Eco describes as 'obscure but decidedly fascinating [...] complex verbal-visual constructions, where banderoles, subscript texts, [and] compositions in rebus merge with symbolic representations',[10] constitute what art historian Urszula Szulakowska considers to be the 'first Paracelsian illustrative cycle',[11] being likened by another art historian Jacques Van Lennep to 'visual mazes' and logographs.[12] Historian of Rosicrucianism Carlos Gilly describes the engravings as graphic and 'manifest' (augenscheinlich) representations of the various spiritual, hermetic, cabalistic and occult traditions that were included, without differentiation, under the umbrella term 'Theosophy', by, in particular, the

6 Purš, 'Perspective, vision and dream', 57.

7 Although this reading of allegory is challenged by Dean Swinford, 'Defining Irrealism: Scientific Development and Allegorical Possibility', *Journal of the Fantastic in the Arts* 12:1 (2001): 77–89 and idem, *Through the Daemon's Gate: Kepler's Somnium, Medieval Dream Narratives, and the Polysemy of Allegorical Motifs* (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), 147.

8 On *Decknamen*, see William R. Newman, 'Decknamen or pseudochemical language? Eirenaeus Philalethes and Carl Jung', *Revue d'histoire des sciences* 49:2–3 Théorie et pratique dans la construction des savoirs alchimiques (1996): 159–188.

9 On these notions, see Caroline Walker Bynum, 'The Complexity of Symbols', in Sumner B. Twiss and Walter H. Conser (eds), *Experience of the Sacred: Readings in the Phenomenology of Religion* (Hanover & London: University Press of New England, 1992), 265–272.

10 Eco, *Lo Strano Caso*, 13 'oscure ma decisamente affascinanti [...] complesse costruzioni verbovisive, dove cartigli, didascalie, composizioni a rebus si fondono con rappresetazioni simboliche.'

11 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 5.

12 Jacques Van Lennep, *Alchimie* (Bruxelles: Crédit Communal, 1984), 151–2, 168. On logographs, see also Frank Greiner, 'Art du feu, art du secret: obscurité et ésotérisme dans les écrits alchimiques de l'âge baroque', in Frank Greiner (ed.), *Aspects de la tradition alchimique au xvii^e siècle* (Paris: S.É.H.A./Milan: Archè, 1998), 207–231, at 218.

followers of Paracelsus in the last quarter of the 16th century.[13] Anthroposophist Paul Allen, with a dose of hyperbole, presents them as 'among the most important and remarkable mystical drawings in the world',[14] while historian Robert Evans deems them 'remarkable illustrations of a kind of sophic Utopia, the whole symbolic landscape of the occultists'.[15] One of the images in particular, that of the *Oratory-Laboratory* has appeared in numerous picture-books on alchemy and the occult arts and has been included as a token illustration in many articles on emblems and alchemy, although, as we shall see, its significance extends far beyond the domain of the alchemist's laboratory.

As historian of alchemy Tara Nummedal has observed concerning the engravings of Khunrath, Michael Maier (1568–1622) and Robert Fludd (1574–1637), 'the images are notoriously complex, erudite, and nearly impenetrable for the uninitiated.'[16] While work does exist on Khunrath's engravings, some of it is undoubtedly flawed by a lack of familiarity with the whole of his oeuvre and an insufficient grasp of his sources; some simply focuses on one aspect of his work. Ralf Töllner, for example, provides a great deal of insight into Khunrath's alchemy, but does not mention that one engraving that he discusses in the context of alchemy is primarily concerned with material from the Christian-Cabalist writings of Johann Reuchlin (1455–1522),[17] a fact recognised, however, by the seventeenth-century owner of one of the copies of the *Amphitheatre* now in the Wellcome Library, London.[18] On the other hand, Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann focuses on Khunrath's Christian Cabala.[19] Szulakowska undermines

13 Gilly, 'Khunrath und das Entstehen der frühneuzeitlichen Theosophie', 10. A term Gilly has likely borrowed from the *Judicium*, published with Khunrath, *De Igne Magorum* (1608), 107–123, at 117 'Was nun der Author deß Amphitheatri mit Worten gelehret in dem Prologo, das will er nun weitters auch *augenscheinlich* zeigen in den 4 Figuren'. My italics. See also Purš, 'Perspective, vision and dream', 57.

14 Paul M. Allen, *A Christian Rosenkreutz Anthology* (New York: Rudolf Steiner Publications, 1968), 329. See also James Brown Craven, *Count Michael Maier, Doctor of Philosophy and of Medicine, Alchemist, Rosicrucian, Mystic, 1568–1622: Life and Writings* (Kirkwall: William Peace & Son, 1910), 23 who calls them 'mystical and recondite'.

15 Evans, *Rudolf II And His World*, 214.

16 Tara Nummedal, Review of Urszula Szulakowska, *The Sacrificial Body and the Day of Doom: Alchemy and Apocalyptic Discourse in the Protestant Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), in *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 60, No. 3 (Fall 2007), 998–1000, at 999. Khunrath's and many of Maier's engravings can be found in Klossowski de Rola, *The Golden Game*. For Fludd, see Joscelyn Godwin, *Robert Fludd: Hermetic Philosopher and Surveyor of Two Worlds* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979).

17 See, for example, Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 176–196 "Der Prolog".

18 London, Wellcome 3560/d/2, *Entrance* engraving marginalia.

19 Schmidt-Biggemann, *Geschichte der christlichen Kabbala*, Vol. 2 (1600–1660); idem 'Die Darstellung des Empyräums in Heinrich Khunraths *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae*'.

perceptive observations by misidentifying many of the engravings, relating them to the wrong *Isagoge* (Introduction), mis-transcribing primary textual material, misconstruing secondary literature,[20] and above all by ignoring the fact that the *Amphitheatre*'s title explicitly speaks of physico-chymistry, divine magic and Christian Cabala; she far too often narrowly defines the images as 'alchemical' engravings.[21] Here I hope to present a slightly more nuanced and informed discussion of Khunrath's figures. The first part of this chapter considers the significance of Khunrath's choice of the image of an amphitheatre for the title of his work; the second part introduces the images in his *Amphitheatre*, the third part discusses them in the context of early modern emblems and hieroglyphs; and the fourth part introduces some initial reflections on their synoptic, didactic and polemical roles. Further discussion of their specifically theosophical, cabalistic, magical and alchemical significance takes place in later chapters devoted to those themes.

1 Part I. The Image of an Amphitheatre

First, before contemplating the engraved images in the *Amphitheatre*, let us consider Khunrath's choice of such an architectural or architectonic metaphor for the title of his work.[22] Why, specifically, did he construct an *amphitheatre* of Eternal Wisdom?

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw the publication of numerous *theatres*,[23] including the *Theatrum Vitae Humanae* (1565) in Basel by the Swiss humanist Theodor Zwinger (1533–1588), a set of engravings bearing the same title, *Theatre of Human Life* (1577) by Hans Vredeman de Vries (1527–1607), who engraved the *Amphitheatre*'s best-known engraving, or the *Universae*

20 See Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 123 where she conflates Klossowski de Rola's description of Figure 3's alchemical *Rebis* and Figure 2's cabalistic *Androgyne*. A close look at both figures will show that Khunrath uses the term *Rebis* in the alchemical context of Figure 3 and describes Adam as 'Androgyne' in Figure 2.

21 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 6, 77, 126.

22 As Gilly notes in 'Khunrath und das Entstehen der frühneuzeitlichen Theosophie', 9, Khunrath provides a German gloss of his *Amphitheatre* title in *Chaos* (1597), 424 'gantz Circulrunden und Vollkommenen Universal oder Algemeinen Schawplatz der Ewigen allein wahren Wejshejt' (completely circular and perfectly universal or general showplace of the only true eternal Wisdom).

23 Walter Ong, 'Typographic Rhapsody: Ravisius Textor, Zwinger, and Shakespeare', in Walter Ong, *Interfaces of the Word: Studies in the Evolution of Consciousness and Culture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), 147–188. See William N. West, *Theatres and Encyclopedias in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Naturae Theatrum (Theatre of Universal Nature, 1596) of the French writer on demonology, Jean Bodin (1530–1596),[24] the term becoming particularly popular for compendia of alchemy, for example, the six volumes of the *Theatrum Chemicum* (1602, 1613, 1622, 1659–61), the *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (1652), and the 3-volume *Deutsches Theatrum Chemicum* (1728–1732).

Although textual references to the world as a *theatre* could be found as far back as Aristotle's *De Partibus animalium* (On the Parts of Animals),[25] prior to Khunrath's 1595 publication, books that included the term *amphitheatre* in their title were usually about the amphitheatres of imperial antiquity.[26] A notable instance of this is the incunabulum of the first-century Roman poet Martial's *In Amphitheatrum Caesaris* (In Caesar's Amphitheatre, 1491), reprinted as *Epigrammata in Caesaris Amphitheatrum* (1584).[27] Khunrath was most likely familiar with one of these editions, for he quotes Martial at least twice in the *Amphitheatre*, once with an unattributed quote in one of the engravings: 'Whosoever is bursting with envy, let him burst'[28] and once by name for the declaration that 'A book that is to live must have a Genius' (Martialis: Victurus Genium debet habere liber),[29] with the first word 'Victurus' from the Latin verb *vincere* (to win or to conquer).[30] Given the importance of Hermes Trismegistus in Khunrath's *Amphitheatre*, it is tempting to imagine that he had the lines of

24 Ann Blair, *The Theater of Nature: Jean Bodin and Renaissance Science* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

25 Neumann, *Natura Sagax*, 145. See Louis Van Delft, '*Theatrum Mundi* Revisité', in Claire L. Carlin and Ronald W. Tobin (eds.), *Theatrum Mundi: Studies in Honor of Ronald W. Tobin* (Charlottesville: Rookwood Press, 2003 (35–44).

26 I have found one exception: *De totius universi amphitheatro philosophema* (*Philosopheme on the Amphitheatre of the Whole Universe*), a debate for the highest honour in Philosophy that took place at the University of Wurzburg in 1593, presided over by the Jesuit Jean Pernot.

27 See also Marcus Valerius Martial, *Epigrammaton libri 15, hoc est, In Amphitheatrum Caesaris* (Lyon, 1588).

28 *Calumniators* engraving: 'Rumpatur, quisquis rumpitur inuidia.' Cf. Martial, *Epigrammaton*, Book IX. 97, l. 12, in *Epigrams*, trans. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 317 'Whosoever is bursting with envy, let him burst.' (i.e. 'be damned').

29 *Amph.*II, 219. Martial, *Epigrammaton*, Book VI. LXI, l. 10, *Epigrams*, 47 'A book that is to live must have a Genius.'

30 Ambrosius Calepinus, *Dictionarium octolingue* (Geneva, 1609), 881. 'Victurus' can be translated literally as 'about to live/win/survive' and as such is the opposite of the famous gladiatorial oath to Caesar, 'Ave imperator, morituri te salutant'. Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, with an English translation by J.C. Rolfe (London: William Heinemann, 1914), Book V 'The Deified Claudius', 44; 45 'Hail, emperor, they who are about to die salute thee'.

Martial's epigram on the gladiator Hermes in the back of his mind: 'Hermes, the only one who is all things, the thrice-one'.[31]

In 1582 the Flemish humanist Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) published *Saturnalium sermonum libri duo, qui de gladiatoribus* (Two Books of Saturnalian Speeches about Gladiators), followed two years later by *De amphitheatro liber* (A Book about the Amphitheatre), concerning the Colosseum in Rome, and *De amphitheatris quae extra Romam libellus* (A Booklet on Amphitheatres outside Rome).[32] Khunrath never mentions these works, but he does cite Lipsius's letters in the *Amphitheatre*, concerning the prudence and strong memory of elephants, which letter mentions their use in amphitheatral games.[33]

Most scholars who have commented on the *Amphitheatre*, no doubt impressed by the striking images, have tended to consider Khunrath's choice of term as primarily a reference to the drama theatre. Szulakowska, for instance, claims that Khunrath 'enveloped his life in a deliberated theatricality',[34] and argues that Theophilus Aretius's *Encomium* in the laudatory verses prefacing the 1609 *Amphitheatre* emphasises a 'theatrical atmosphere' and that 'from the outset, [Khunrath] is conceptualised as an actor taking part in a staged performance directed at a community of pious, Christian theosophists', and that the engravings should be looked on as stage-sets.[35] There is certainly support for this reading: the first part of the *Amphitheatre* is called the 'Prologue' and the gratulatory poems at the start of the work develop the theatrical metaphor.[36] Theophilus Aretius's poem is an extended metaphor on theatre, spectator,

31 Martial, *Epigrammata*, v, 24, 15 'Hermes omnia solus ter unus', in J.P. Sullivan and Peter Whigham (eds.), *Epigrams of Martial Englished by Divers Hands* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2021), 200. On the obvious allusion to Hermes Trismegistus, see Henk S. Versnel, *Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion, 1, Ter Unus: Isis, Dionysos, Hermes: Three Studies in Henotheism* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), Chapter III 'Hermes Ter Unus. Martial 5, 24: Transformations of Henotheism'.

32 Joost Depuydt, '"Vale, Verum Antiquae Historiae Lumen": Antiquarianism in the Correspondence between Justus Lipsius and Abraham Ortelius', in Gilbert Tournoy, Jeanine de Landtsheer, and Jan Papy (eds.), *Iustus Lipsius Europae Lumen et Columen* (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1999), 34–46, at 39.

33 *Amph.*II, 39. Cf. Justus Lipsius, *Epistolarum selectarum centuria miscellanea, pars 1* (Leiden, 1586), Letter 50, 125.

34 Szulakowska, 'Phy Diabolo! The Persecution of Heinrich Khunrath', in Attila Kiss, Márta Baróti-Gaál, and György E. Szönyi (eds.), *The Iconography of the Fantastic: Eastern & Western Traditions of European Iconography* 2 (Szeged: JATE Press, 2002), 175–185, at 175.

35 Szulakowska, *Alchemy of Light*, 113–115; De Bruijn, 'From Text to Theatre: An Architectural Reading of Heinrich Khunrath's Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae (1596, 1609),' 351.

36 See *Amph.*I, 19 'This present Prologue …' (Prologvs hic præsens); *Amph.*II, 3 'Now follow the Explanations of the Prologue' (Sequuntur Prologi EXPLICATIONES), etc.

playwright and actor that concludes with praise for Khunrath's new monument, outdoing most of those in antiquity:

> And in this way you will not be a dead weight
> For this wonder-working Theatre, not an idle spectator,
> But truly a Playwright, and Actor, …
> A most intimate guest; not one forever rambling about the place. …[37]
> Worthily from the heavens, bringing wonders to light with [this] new AMPHITHEATRE;
> Scarcely seen in all the Theatres of the ancients.[38]

Johannes Seussius also praises Khunrath's 'Theatre', declaring that it is superior to any, antique or modern:

> There is no need for him to go to the ruined Theatres of the ancients,
> Or to new ones, rendered vain with their spectacles. …
> Let him enter the Orchestra, oh KHUNRATH, of your Theatre, …
> Where divine Wisdom shows with a mirror of Emerald
> What the Macrocosm does, what the Microcosm might.[39]

The Orchestra was where the Roman Senate would sit, the place closest to the stage and arena, the best position for seeing and listening.[40]

A third laudatory poem, Theodor Aquilinus's *Address*, praises it as an edifying edifice:

> This celebrated Theatrical and wholly mystical Work will teach you,
> It plants the eternal monad and triad in your heart,

37 *Amph.*I, 12 '*Et sic mirifici non pondus inane Theatri/ Non spectator iners, verum Rimator, & Actor/ Intimus hospes eris, non hospes semper oberrans.*'

38 *Amph.*I, 12 '*Hanc,* HENRICE, *tibi quod amicam elegeris unam/ Gratulor, Asclepidûm decus immortale Sophorum:/ Grata* DEO *Charitum soboles; Diuine Prometheu;/ Digne polo, qui mira nouo dans* AMPHITHEATRO*/ In Lucem: veterum vix cunctis visa Theatris.*'

39 *Amph.*I, 15 '*Orchestramque tui subeat* KVNRADE *Theatri/ Aetheris igniculo prægrediente bono./Dia ubi Smaragdi monstrat Sapientia speclo*/ Quid Macrocosmus agit, quod Micro<co>smus agat.'

40 Justus Lipsius, *De Amphitheatro* (Leiden, 1584), Caput XIIII, 63 'Senatui in Amphitheatris quoque suam sedem fuisse … Illam orchestram dixere … Is enim locus quia Scaenae & Arenae proximus, ideoque oculis auribusque expositus: optimus habitus spectioni, sive auditioni.'

> May these spectacles show you this good end and goal,
> By which you can delight in GOD.[41]

Frances Yates and Carlos Gilly argue that Khunrath's *Amphitheatre*, with its seven steps or grades, belongs in the tradition of philosophical theatre as found in the work of Giulio Camillo (1480–1544), author of *L'Idea del Theatro* (The Idea of the Theatre, 1550).[42] Camillo's wooden theatre, large enough to fit two people facing a semi-circular array of images and boxes displaying symbols representing all human knowledge,[43] was a Memory Theatre, 'a repository of all knowledge and an encyclopaedic container', an 'anatomical dissection' of literary texts, 'a *mens artificialis* and a *mens fenestrata* – an artificial mind and a mind which was endowed with windows – a machine designed to draw from the inner soul the images which were buried there, by rendering them newly visible.' It was a model for the mind, a 'grid for the classification of reality made up of forty-nine principal *loci* originating from the intersection of the seven elements of a vertical order (the seven columns, or portals, representing the seven planets) with the seven elements of a horizontal order (the seven steps).'[44]

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41 *Amph.*I, 16 'Hoc te docebit inclytum Theatricum/ Opus hoc, & planè mysticum, /Aeterna monas & trias cordi tuo/Fac insit, hunc finem bonum/ Scopumque monstrant hæc tibi spectacula,/ Quibus DEO potes frui.'

42 Gilly, 'Khunrath und das Entstehen der frühneuzeitlichen Theosophie', 9. On Camillo, see François Secret, 'Les Cheminements de la Kabbale à la Renaissance: le Théâtre du Monde de Giulio Camillo Delminio et son influence', *Rivista critica di storia della filosofia* XIV (1959): 418–36; idem, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance*; Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1966; repr. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), Chapter VI: Renaissance Memory: The Memory Theatre of Giulio Camillo. See also De Bruijn, *Book-Building*, 96–99; Giulio Camillo, *L'Idea del Teatro*, edited by Lina Bolzoni (Palermo: Sellerio, 1991). On Camillo's admiration for the Christian Cabalist Francesco Giorgio, and his theatre as 'at the same time the realm of the human mind and a real theatre of a supra-mundane representation', see Giulio Busi, 'Francesco Zorzi: A Methodical Dreamer', in Joseph Dan (ed.), *The Christian Kabbalah: Jewish Mystical Books & Their Christian Interpreters* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard College Library, 1997), 97–125, at 114.

43 Pannill Camp, 'Ocular Anatomy, Chiasm, and Theatre Architecture as a Material Phenomenology in Early Modern Europe', in Maaike Bleeker (ed.), *Anatomy Live: Performance and the Operating Theatre* (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press, 2008), 129–146, at 132.

44 Lina Bolzoni, 'The Memory Theatre of Giulio Camillo: Alchemy, Rhetoric, and Deification in the Renaissance', in Peter J. Forshaw (ed.), *Lux in Tenebris: The Visual and the Symbolic in Western Esotericism* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 66–80, at 68–69. For Khunrath's description of the *Amphitheatre* in terms of the Solomonic House of Wisdom, with seven pillars, see *Amph.*II, 90. See also Chapter 3 on Khunrath's Theosophy.

In another of his works, the unpublished *De transmutatione* (On Transmutation), Camillo claimed that the secret objective of his *Theatre* was to teach the three arts of metamorphosis: alchemy, which transforms physical objects; eloquence, which acts on words; and deification, which turns the human mind into one divine.[45] As Pannill Camp points out, the architectonics of Camillo's theatre show the influence of the first-century BCE Roman architect and engineer Marcus Vitruvius, whose designs and theories enjoyed a revival during the Renaissance, not only for physical building, but also as models for projects like Camillo's Memory Theatre that 'served to enable novel ways of thinking about mankind in relation to the world.'[46]

Yates and Gilly would seem to be justified in their argument. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the title page of the 1608 *Amphitheatre* announces that it includes

> a new, long awaited, SINGULAR EXPLANATION of the very same recently deceased Author, by which NINE tables engraved in copper are clearly explained, and treated in such a way that, a period of time being observed each day, the whole work of the AMPHITHEATRE can be completed and *fixed in the memory* in the space of a year.[47]

At one point in the *Amphitheatre*, Khunrath writes of the difficulties cast in his way in order to prevent its construction and the erection within of further architectural features:

> Good GOD! With how many and what great schemes of hindrance, … has not the devil, enemy of TRUTH, assailed me for many years, by which I might have been deterred from my so pious project, from my laboriously

45 Bolzoni, 'The Memory Theatre of Giulio Camillo', 71.

46 Camp, 'Ocular Anatomy, Chiasm, and Theatre Architecture', 131. Camp also discusses the oldest surviving enclosed theatre in the West, the Teatro Olimpico (Olympic Theatre) constructed in Vicenza in 1580–85, designed by Andrea Palladio (1580–1580) and famed for its trompe-l'oeil onstage scenery designed by Vincenzo Scamozzi, 134–5.

47 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1608), title page: 'Jam noviter, diu desiderata, EXPLICATIO SINGULARIS, eiusdem Authoris P.M. qua NOVEM tabulae in aes incisae dilucide explicantur, & ita tractantur ut singulis diebus, una saltem periodo observata, totum opus AMPHITHEATRI unius anni spacio absolvi, & memoriter infigi possit.' My italics. Perhaps this risks over-reading, but the feminine noun *periodus* can mean both a complete sentence, a period, or 'the circuit of the four Grecian games'. Likewise, the verb *infigi* has a martial/gladiatorial sense, for as well as meaning 'to infix, impress, imprint', it also has the sense of 'to thrust,' e.g. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 4, 22, 50 'gladiumque hosti in pectus infixerit'.

> and expensively undertaken work, so that, of course, I might not construct this AMPHITHEATRE, and that I might not raise in it a distinguished Monument of honour, praise, and glory to the WISDOM, OMNIPOTENCE and GOODNESS of JEHOVAH; a Μνημοσυνον [*Mnēmosynon – Record*] of Love towards my NEIGHBOUR; [and] a Memorial for MYSELF, aiding my weak memory; a Testimony of public loathing and everlasting defiance towards the DEVIL.[48]

Khunrath was likely familiar with the art of memory; indeed the *Amphitheatre*'s 1609 title page bears a quote from a work attributed to Cicero, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (Rhetoric for Herennius), one of the fundamental treatises of the art known in the Middle Ages.[49] The art of memory, however, generally revolves around careful, systematic memorizing of memory spaces,[50] and, as Gilly rightly points out, the aim of Khunrath's *Amphitheatre* is less the creation of 'a systematic theoretical encyclopedia of theosophy,' than 'a veritable theosophical showplace or hermetic theatre … in order to make palpable and tangible all the symbols and concepts of the new natural philosophy in different images and visual scenes.'[51] As Khunrath makes clear in the quote above, his literary construction serves a variety of purposes: honour to God, record of neighbourly love, memorial or memory aid, and testimony of defiance.

When discussing creations like Camillo's *Theatre* and Khunrath's *Amphitheatre* it is important to bear in mind the semantic field of their choice of terms: the Greek *theōria*, meaning 'contemplation' or 'speculation', the verb *theōrein*, to 'consider' or 'look at' and *theōros*, a 'spectator'.[52] *Theōrein* is built

48 *Amph.*II, 220 'Bone DEVS! quot & quantis impedimentorum machinis annis multis me aggressus est diabolus, hostis VERITATIS … quibus deterrerer à proposito meo tam pio, ab opere laboriosè sumptuoseque suscepto, ne scilicet extruerem AMPHITHEATRVM hoc, erigeremque in eo SAPIENTIÆ, OMNIPOTENTIÆ & BONITATI JEHOVÆ, Monumentum honoris, laudis, gloriæ insigne; PROXIMO Μνημοσυνον Charitatis; MIHI IPSI Memoriale, labili inseruiens memoriæ meæ; DIABOLO Testimonium odii publici, & phy sempiternum'.

49 Barbara Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique* (*XIV^e–XV^e siècles*) (Paris: Éditions le Sycomore, 1982), 112.

50 See, for example, Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 23, 76, 117, 119; Paolo Rossi, *Logic and the Art of Memory: The Quest for a Universal Language*, translated with an introduction by Stephen Clucas (London: Continuum, 2000).

51 Gilly, 'Khunrath und das Entstehen der frühneuzeitlichen Theosophie', 11.

52 In his seventh homily 'Against the Games and Theatres', one of Khunrath's models for prayer (*Amph.*II, 110), the fourth-century Archbishop of Constantinople, John Chrysostom, calls the audience a theatre. See Wendy Mayer and Pauline Allen, *John Chrysostom* (London: Routledge, 2000), 28; 119 'Does the populace who loves Christ, the simple theatre, allow this?'

upon 'to theion' (the divine) or 'to theia' (divine things) and 'horaō' (I see), hence 'looking upon the divine'.[53] The name of the alleged first actor and inventor of Greek Tragedy, *Thespis* (6th century BCE),[54] belongs in the same semantic field as *thespatos* (pronounced by a god) and *thespizein* (to prophesy).[55]

In his summary statement at the end of the *Isagoge* to his third Circular Figure, Khunrath describes the Philosophers' Stone itself as the 'greatest and miraculous THEATRE of secrets and miracles of the whole Universe.' Alluding to the tiers of steps in a theatre or amphitheatre, and possibly to another of the *Amphitheatre*'s engravings, he says that

> from its careful contemplation … we shall theosophically climb, as if by steep and upward-inclining steps, to the Recognition of YHVH; [and] by gentle and downward-inclining ones to a more profound, true and perfect knowledge of NATURE and OURSELVES.[56]

In the *Entrance* engraving we find the enigmatic statement that – S –[57] is a 'truly DIVINE MYSTHPION [*Mystērion – Mystery*]; which justly seizes all spectators, especially the more penitent, with admiration and love for it',[58] but are warned that 'it is necessary that the spectator who wants to reach the centre be

53 William McNeill, *The Glance of the Eye: Heidegger, Aristotle, and the Ends of Theory* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1999), 252.

54 Eli Rozik, *The Roots of Theatre: Rethinking Ritual and Other Theories of Origin* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2002), 142f.

55 Andrew Ford, *Homer: The Poetry of the Past* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 181.

56 *Amph.*II, 206 'Nec non THEATRVM miraculorum ac secretorum, totius Vniuersi, amplissimum atque miraculosum, … Ex cuius contemplatione, accurata, tanquam per gradum supinum atque altum, in יהוה Agnitionem; pronum & obuium in NATVRÆ & NOSTRI IPSIVS cognitionem penitiorem, veram atque perfectam, Theosophice conscendimus, & Naturaliter ac Sensibiliter trahimur.'

57 By '–S–', Khunrath presumably intends the Hebrew letter ש (*Shin*) which transforms the Tetragrammaton YHVH into the Pentagrammaton YHSVH. The same '–S–' appears at the centre of the pentacle in the *Calumniators* engraving. See Johann Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica: On the Art of the Kabbalah*, translated by Martin and Sarah Goodman (New York, Abaris Books, 1983; repr. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, Bison Books, 1993), 115. See Chapter 4 on Khunrath's Christian Cabala.

58 *Entrance* engraving: '–S– MYSTHPION profectò verè DIUINVM; et qvod spectatores omnes, præsertim penitiores, in admirationem et amorem illius meritò rapit.' See Hans Dieter Betz, 'Magic and Mystery in the Greek Magical Papyri', in Christopher A. Faraone and Dirk Obbink (eds.), *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 244–259, at 250 on Paul's frequent use of the word *mystērion* 'as a term designating the revelation of the transcendental realities of the divine world and of

illuminated by the Spirit of WISDOM.'[59] Although Khunrath's intent is clearly Christian, there is also perhaps a veiled allusion here to the initiates and spectators of the Eleusinian Mysteries.[60]

In his fourth-century *Homilies on the Hexaemeron*, Basil of Caesarea had written of entering the grand stadium or amphitheatre (theatron) of creation.[61] In a similar vein, Khunrath writes of how 'at set times the figures, proportion and behaviour of Animals, Vegetables, Minerals, rivers, winds, storms, calms, times, ages and all things make an appearance on this visible stage of the World',[62] and of how Angels are messengers 'faithfully attending on true WISDOM on this Worldly stage, by which we may in a human manner more fittingly perceive, know and understand DIVINE THINGS.'[63] Khunrath may well have been thinking of one of his favourite literary sources here, the Dutch humanist Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536) and his statement from the *Paraphrase on Mark*, concerning Christ speaking to the multitude: 'From there, as from a stage, he taught the crowd, which was tightly packed on the shore as in an amphitheatre'.[64]

In what must surely be a deliberate echoing of phrases, Khunrath writes both of the Philosophers' Stone and the Theosopher making dramatic entries:

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wisdom, prophecy, history, the afterlife and, by implication, the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist as well', with reference to Romans 11:25; 16:25; 1 Corinthians 2:7, 4:1, 13:2, 14:2, 15:51.

59 *Amph.*II, 10 'At spiritu SAPIENTIÆ illuminatum esse oportet spectatorem, qui vult pertingere ad centrum.'

60 George Emmanuel Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961; first paperback, 1969), 73. See Plato, *Phaedrus* 250C 'in consequence of this divine initiation, we became spectators of entire, simple, immovable, and blessed visions, resident in a pure light', trans. Thomas Taylor, *The Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries: A Dissertation* (New York: J.W. Bouton, 1891), 103.

61 Paul M. Blowers, 'Entering "This sublime and blessed Amphitheatre": Contemplation of Nature and Intepretation of the Bible in the Patristic Period', in Jitse van der Meer and Scott Mandelbrote (eds.), *Nature and Scripture in the Abrahamic Religions: Up to 1700*, Vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 147–176.

62 *Amph.*II, 74 'vtpote, Animalium, Vegetabilium, Mineralium, fluminum, ventorum, tempestatum, serenitatum, temporum, ætatum, rerumque omnium, figuræ, proportio & habitus, quibus in hanc Mundi scenam visibilem, statis temporibus prodeunt'.

63 *Amph.*II 136 'MEDIATE etiam, & quidem vel per Angelum lucis, non bestiam tenebrarum; vel per ORGANA Naturalia aut Artificialia, (agit enim DEVS per varia MEDIA nobiscum, eaque mirabilia, quia ipse Mirabilis) SAPIENTIÆ veræ in scena Mundana hac fideliter ancillantia, quo commodius DIVINA humanitus percipiamus, noscamus & intelligamus.'

64 Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, Vol. 49, *Paraphrase on Mark*, translated and annotated by Erika Rummel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 55.

*Amph.*II, 202

Finally, after the ashen-colour, whiteness and yellowness have been passed through, you will see the PHILOSOPHERS' STONE, our KING, and LORD of Lords, come forth from the inner-chamber and throne of his glassy sepulchre, onto this worldly stage.[65]

*Amph.*II, 208

Religiously clothed in the CLEAR WHITE ROBE of Christian integrity, that is, in simplicity, rectitude and honesty; loins girded with the GOLDEN BELT of Divine Truth; and, coming forth onto this worldly stage …[66]

Unlike Zwinger's *Theatrum Vitae Humanae*, which describes its nineteen books as 'acts',[67] after the initial reference to a Prologue, Khunrath does not develop this theatrical metaphor, although he does include one or two references to comedy and tragedy, quoting from the third-century BCE Pagan Comedian Plautus's *Amphitryon* and from the Stoic Seneca's far more doleful *Hercules Furens* and *Hercules Oetaeus*, dating from the first century of the Christian era.[68] Khunrath's favourite source for his Christian Cabala, Johann

65 *Amph.*II, 202 'Denique, posteaquam transfierint color cineritius, albedo & flauedo, videbis, LAPIDEM PHIL[OSOPHORV]M REGEM nostrum, & DOMINVM Dominantium, prodire, ex sepulchri vitrei sui thalamo ac throno, in scenam mundanam hanc.'

66 *Amph.*II, 208 'STOLA integritatis Christianæ CANDIDA, hoc est, simplicitate, recto & probitate, sanctè amictus; veritatisque Diuinæ ZONA lumbis succinctis AVREA, & SCEPTRO CHRISTIANÆ libertatis imperatorio, mundo videlicet, diabolo ac carnis concupiscentiis atque affectibus dominando, in hanc scenam mundanam progrediens.'

67 De Bruijn, *Book-Building*, 100.

68 Plautus: *Amph.*II, 43 '*Viscus merus, vestra est blanditia*' (Your flattery is nothing but glue). See Titus Maccius Plautus, *The Two Bacchises*, Act 1, l. 48 'Viscus merus vostrast blanditia', 334 'Nothing but birdlime, these honeyed words', in Plautus, *Amphitryon. The Comedy of Asses. The Pot of Gold. The Two Bacchises. The Captives*, trans. Paul Nixon, Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann, 1916; repr. 1956). *Amph.*II, 121 'Id quo & Comicus Ethnicus scriptum reliquit: Virtus præmium est optimum: Virtus omnibus rebus anteit: profectò Virtus omnia in se habet bona' (For which reason the Pagan Comedian left that saying: Virtue is the best reward; Virtue surpasses all things; truly Virtue has all good things in itself). Slightly paraphrased from Plautus, *Amphitryon*, Act II, Scene ii, ll. 648–653. Seneca: *Amph.*II, 11 'For, according to Seneca, *the end of one ill is but the preparation for another*.' See Seneca, *Hercules Furens*, ll. 208–209 'finis alterius mali/ gradus est futuri', in Seneca, *Tragedies*, trans. Frank Justus Miller, Vol. 8, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927; repr. 1998), 19; *Amph.*II, 14 'Seneca says: *Noble Virtue never sinks into the waters of the Styx*.' Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus*, ll. 1983–4 'Numquam Stygias fertur ad umbras inclita virtus,' in Seneca, *Tragedies*, Vol. 2, trans. Frank Justus Miller, Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann, 1929), 341 'Never to Stygian shades is glorious valour borne.' See also Khunrath's reference to comedy in *Lux in Tenebris*, 14 'Agitur enim & hodie eadem comœdia, qvæ qvondam, mutatis duntaxat personis. Et qvi primo, secundo, tertio dedit, is dare potest etiam aliis, qvoniam misericordia

Reuchlin (1455–1522), it should be noted, was also a playwright.[69] At the same time, Khunrath displays a distaste for 'Trivial People', for 'liars, preferring the attention of stage-players, buffoons, horses or dogs, to the Law and Doctrine of WISDOM'.[70]

Close reading of the *Amphitheatre* suggests, however, that Khunrath does not seem to be thinking of the *Amphitheatre* primarily as a place of actors and drama, but rather of competitions and games, bearing in mind that the association of athletes and oracles extends far back to the games at Olympus and Delphi in the eighth century BCE.[71] Admittedly, the prizes could also be awarded to poets. In *Works and Days*, Hesiod (*c.*750–*c.*650 BCE) records winning a prize (a tripod with handles) for his solo performance of a hymn at the funeral games of King Amphidamas in Chalcis.[72] Khunrath writes, however of running, 'in the stadium or in the course of your whole life',[73] and, when defining the term magic, he asserts that the Hebrew Cabalists 'have considerably outstripped the others in one and the same stadium'.[74] He returns to the athletic running metaphor elsewhere, writing that the alchemist 'Dionysius Zacharias, and many others running in the same stadium, have taken … the βραβεῖον [*brabeion*]', the crown or prize of victory.[75]

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ejus manet in æternu[m]. Ists einem ein rechter Christlicher Eiffer und ernst/ zur Warheit ist wol zukommen.'

69 See Schmidt-Biggemann, 'Einleitung: Johannes Reuchlin und die Anfänge der christlichen Kabbala', in Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann (ed.), *Christliche Kabbala* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003), 9–48, at 23 on Reuchlin as author of a theatrical work *Scenica Progymnasmata* (1498); *Sergius* (1498); Jan Bloemendal, 'Neo-Latin Drama in the Low Countries', in Jan Bloemendal and Howard Norland (eds.), *Neo-Latin Drama in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 293–364, at 298; Stefan Tilg, 'Comedy', in Sarah Knight and Stefan Tilg (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 87–101, at 91–2 on Reuchlin as author of the comedy *Henno*.

70 *Amph.*II, 217 'LEVIBVS, mendacibus, histrionum, morionum, equorum canumve curam SAPIENTIAE Legi atque Doctrinae praeferentibus.'

71 Catherine Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles: The Transformation of Olympia and Delphi in the Eighth Century BC* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

72 Thomas J. Matheisen, *Apollo's Lyre: Greek Music and Music Theory in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 31.

73 *Amph.*II, 7 '*Currens.*] In stadio siue curriculo totius vitae tuae.'

74 *Amph.*II, 147 'in vno eodemque stadio … longè præcurrerent illos.'

75 *Amph.*II, 150 'Sic, Dionysius Zacharius, aliique plures in eodem stadio currentes, βραβεῖον … acceperunt.' For a later use of the trope of athlete and alchemy, this time with the inclusion of lions, see *Tractatus Aureus de Lapide Philosophico*, in *Musaeum Hermeticum Reformatum et Amplificatum* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1749), 43 'plure quidem domandi leonem praesumpsisse, paucissimos vero ad finem suum propositum perduxisse; me confirmabam, et ne pudori mihi essem, varias argutasque encheireses, quas indefesso studio in hac athletica didiceram, tentabam, addo quod naturalis magiae non eram imperitus'.

The metaphor of the runner in a race winning the prize can be found in 1 Corinthians 9:24–25,[76] as well as Philippians 3:4.[77] The pagan convert to Christianity, the Church Father Clement of Alexandria (*c.*150–*c.*215) wrote in *Paedagogus* (The Tutor) of how 'the witness of those that have endured to the end, and the rejoicing on their account, is the mystic sport'.[78] The French Cistercian Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) had developed this in *On Loving God*, warning that 'those whom reason does not guide in their course may indeed run, but not in the appointed race-track'.[79]

In the *Enchiridion militis Christianae* (Handbook [or Dagger] of a Christian Solider, 1503), a work from which Khunrath quotes more than once in the *Amphitheatre*, Erasmus urged, 'rejoice like an athlete eager to run his race [...] until you achieve the prize and the crown promised to those who persevere.'[80] Khunrath modifies this

> Let us Christian-Cabalistically, Divinely Magically and Physico-Chemically run sweating in the stadium of the Oratory and Laboratory, according to the Laws and Doctrine of this Amphitheatre. The βραβεῖον [*brabeion*], that is, the prize of victory, will be awarded to the winner; not to one who is lazy or dozing in the slumber of vices.[81]

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76 1 Corinthians 9:24 'Know you not that they that run in the race, all run indeed, but one receiveth the prize? So run that you may obtain ... that they may receive a corruptible crown; but we an incorruptible one' (Douay).

77 Philippians 3:14 'I press toward the mark for the prize (βραβεῖον) of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.'

78 Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen (ed.), *Holy Spirit and Salvation: The Sources of Christian Theology* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2010), 30. For the rest of the passage, see 'The Instructor', in *The Writings of Clement of Alexandria*, translated by William Wilson (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1867), 128 'The king, whose name was Abimelech, appears to me to represent a supramundane wisdom contemplating the mystery of sport. They interpret Rebecca to mean endurance. O wise sport, laughter also assisted by endurance, and the king as spectator! The spirit of those that are children in Christ, whose lives are ordered in endurance, rejoice. And this is the divine sport.'

79 Bernard of Clairvaux, *De Diligendo Deo* (*On Loving God*), Chapter 7, in Bernardi Claravallensis, *Operum* (Lyon, 1679), Vol. 4, 58 'Quorum itaque ratio non praevenit gressus, currunt, sed extra viam.'

80 Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, Vol. 66, *Spiritualia: Enchiridion, De Contemptu Mundi, De Vidua Christiana*, edited by John W. O'Malley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 55.

81 *Amph.*II, 162 'ChristianoCabalisticè, DiuinoMagicè, & PhysicoChemicè, iuxta Leges atque Doctrinam Amph[itheatri] huius, currendum sudandum in Oratorii & Laboratorii stadio. Victori βραβεῖον, quod est, victoriæ præmium, decernitur; non somno vitiorum dormienti aut pigro.' For another reference to the *Brabeion* or prize of victory, see *Amph.*I, 19.

Khunrath sounds like a reader of the fourth-century Archbishop of Constantinople, Gregory of Nazianzus when he introduces the analogy of a chariot race:

Khunrath, *Amph.*II, 217	Nazianzus *Oratio adversus Eunomianos*
just as impetuous and restless horses … do not wish to bow [their] stiff necks to TRUTH, but, having wantonly and petulantly thrown off our charioteer, that is, the FEAR OF THE LORD in Christian Charity, they stray far from the paths of WISDOM, and willingly wander from the straight line of TRUTH or the centre of TRUTH to the circumference of LIES.[82]	like hot-tempered and hard-mouthed horses, throwing off our rider Reason, and casting away Reverence, that keeps us within due limits, run far away from the turning point …[83]

It transpires that one of the expressions Khunrath uses concerning prayer, 'I ardently pray (with John Chrysostom), and from the bottom of my heart,'[84] is taken from another fourth-century Archbishop of Constantinople, Chrysostom's ninth homily 'To those who are about to be brought into the theatre'.[85]

Elsewhere Khunrath quotes from Gregory's *De Arianis* (*On the Arians*) on how it is not permitted to always and publicly dispute about God.[86] Educated readers would have remembered that in the very same oration Gregory uses

82 *Amph.*II, 217 'qui, sicut feruentes equi & inquieti facere solent, ceruices submittere nolunt VERITATI duras, sed auriga nostro, hoc est, TIMORE DEI in Charitate Christiana, lasciuè ac petulanter excusso, procul à SAPIENTIÆ semitis deuiant, lineaque VERITATIS recta centrove VERI ad circumferentiam mendacii lubentes euagantur; ad hoc vnum spectantes atque prospicientes, si quid fortè in quæstionibus seductoriè captiosis alligent, aut simpliciter ac fideliter dicta peruersè dissoluant.'

83 Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio adversus Eunomianos* (Oration against the Eunomians), in Edward R. Hardy (ed.), *Christology of the Later Fathers* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1954), 131.

84 *Amph.*II, 110 'Precor (cum Iohanne Chrysostomo) ardenter, & ex imo pectore'.

85 Chrysostom, *Omnia quae extant opera* (Paris: Paul Mellier, 1842), 123, Homilia IX. De Anna IV, *Ad eos qui, collecta relicta, ad theatra ascendunt*.

86 *Amph.*II, 216. See *De Arianis*, in Gregorii Nazianzeni, *Orationes trigintaocto* (Paris, 1532), 140^{r} 'Non ita vilis est sacrae scripturae sermo, ut vulgo indocili & per terram adhuc repentibus homunculis pateat. … sed est & quando, & quibus, & inquantum.'

the analogy of an athletic contest,[87] and that in the funeral oration for his brother Caesarius he had written an extended passage on how he was

> an athlete ready to contend in word and deed against a contestant who was capable in both. Such was the stadium, and such the contender for piety. And masters of the contest were present: on one side Christ, arming His athlete with His own sufferings; on the other the dread tyrant … The spectators on both sides, those who yet remained on the side of piety and those he had snatched from it, also were looking down to see how the contest inclined and who would conquer.[88]

Here we have the *Athletae Christi* (Athletes of Christ), Christian martyrs, participants in the bloody gladiatorial games of the late classical period,[89] a motif used by several of Khunrath's sources. Erasmus had used it concerning St. Jerome's asceticism.[90] The Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives (1493–1540) had used it in his *Excitationes animi in Deum*,[91] as well as including the theme of gladiators in the arena, spectacles of *venationes* (beast hunts), *naumachia* (sea-fights), and contests of poets or orators in his essay 'On Concord and

87 Gregory of Nazianzus, *De Arianis,* 139^{v} 'Sicut nonnunquam fieri in athletico certamine solet, ubi luctae colludio non tam ad palmam tenditur, quam ostentatio palaesmatis & artis spectantium ad se rapit favorem.'

88 *The Fathers of the Church, Saint Gregory Nazianzen and Saint Ambrose, Funeral Orations*, translated by Leo P. McCauley, S.J., John J. Sullivan, C.S. Sp., Martin R.P. McGuire and Roy J. Deferrari (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1953), 14.

89 John P. Hermann, 'Boniface and Dokkum: Terror, Repetition, Allegory', in Paul Maurice Clogan (ed.), *Medievalia et Humanistica. Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture. New Series* 22: *Diversity* (Lanham, MD, 1995), 1–29, at 28 '*Agones* means "athletic contests" or "combats in the public games", a variation of the warfare figure in Ephesians 6:11–17. These *agones* are fought by the *athletae Christi*, participants in the bloody gladiatorial games of the late classical period, but often a variation on the figure of the *milites Christi*.' See also Jeffrey Burton Russel, *Satan: The Early Christian Tradition* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), 37; 106 on martyrdom as the struggle of athletes of Christ against the servants of the Devil, like in the gladiatorial arena.

90 Alan W. Reese, '"So Outstanding an Athlete of Christ": Erasmus and the Significance of Jerome's Asceticism', *The Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 18 (1998): 104–117. Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus, Patristic Scholarship: The Edition of St. Jerome*, edited, translated and annotated by James F. Brady and John C. Olin (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 35 'it was to the advantage of all Christians that so outstanding an athlete of Christ at times be brought into the arena and that so extraordinary a light of the world not be hidden under a bushel for any length of time.'

91 Vives, *Excitationes animi in Deum* (Paris, 1550), 203 'O fortissimi athletae, o milites invictissimi, utinam nobis a charissimo vobis Christo aliquantulum constantiae & patientiae vestrae …'.

Discord'.[92] Khunrath may also have been familiar with the third-century Neoplatonist Iamblichus's description of theurgists as 'genuine athletes of fire' in *On the Mysteries of the Egyptians, Chaldaeans and Assyrians*.[93] Khunrath's references to amphitheatral spectacles resonate with the tone of Iamblichus's declaration in *On the Mysteries* that, 'the soul, in contemplating blessed spectacles, acquires another life, energizes according to another energy, and is then rightly considered as no longer ranking in the order of man. Frequently, likewise, abandoning her own life, she exchanges it for the most blessed energy of the gods.'[94]

In the *Amphitheatre*'s Epilogue Khunrath writes first of how his readers have 'heard':

> YOU HAVE HEARD, now, oh mortals, excellent Spectators, through the most-wise Royal herald of SUPER-CELESTIAL SOPHIA and through ME, his interpreter, faithful Lover of THEOSOPHY, and, moreover, from the only true Eternal WISDOM of the Eternal One, HERSELF, What WISDOM is.[95]

Slightly later in the same passage, he continues with how his readers have 'seen':

> You have seen the AMPHITHEATRE itself. Oh, I wish that (*reading* the Amphitheatre's DOCTRINE in the Prologue, *seeing* the Prologue's

92 Vives, 'De concordia et discordia', in Joannis Ludovici Vivis Valentini, *Opera omnia* (Valencia, 1783), Vol. 5, 228 'jam simulacra pugnarum praecipuae cujusdam sunt in spectaculis voluptatis; olim gladiatores in arena, venationes, naumachia, athletae, nunc militaria exercitamenta, certamina poetarum, vel oratorum, disputationes in scholis, quibus homines intersunt litterarum prorsus ignari, jutantque singularem se ex illis voluptatem capere, nempe ex pugnae imagine, nam verborum nihil intelligunt; … non solum ut spectores ad sua certamina admiserunt, sed ut arbitros, et judices, ut indignitati nihil sit relictum quo crescat.'

93 Iamblichus, *On the Mysteries*, Translated with Introduction and Notes by Emma C. Clarke, John M. Dillon, and Jackson P. Hershbell (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 109 'those [deeds] of the genuine athletes of the fire are authentic and true.'

94 This quote from Iamblichus is taken from Julien Véronèse, 'Magic, Theurgy, and Spirituality in the Medieval Ritual of the *Ars Notoria*', in Claire Fanger (ed.), *Invoking Angels: Theurgic Ideas and Practices: Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 37–78, at 58.

95 *Amph.*II, 215 'AVDIVISTIS nunc ô mortales, Spectatores optimi, per Regium SOPHIÆ SVPERCÆLESTIS præconem sapientissimum, eiusque, ME, interpretem THEOSOPHIÆ Amatorem fidelem, imò à SAPIENTIA Æterni Æterna IPSA, sola vera, Quid sit SAPIENTIA …'

> [Doctrine] in the Amphitheatre) having wisely contemplated the Amphitheatral games and the Christian-Cabalist, Magical and Physico-Chemical Amphitheatral spectacles of True Wisdom, you may skilfully understand them.[96]

This passage, originating in the 1595 edition, reveals that Khunrath made a distinction between the real Amphitheatre, to be *seen* in its four circular figures and the doctrine, to be *read* in the Prologue. This was evident to the first known commentator on the *Amphitheatre*, the father of literary pietism, Johann Arndt (1555–1621), who wrote 'Now what the author of the *Amphitheatre* taught with words in the Prologue, that will he now show further manifestly (*augenscheinlich*) in the four figures'.[97]

It would seem, then, that there is a certain tension between the verbal and visual elements in the *Amphitheatre*, with the images calling to mind the stage sets and theatrical backdrops of the early modern play-house, while the written word is more evocative of the athletes of Christ and the *Miles Christianus* (Christian Soldier) of religious oration and biblical scripture. This should not, however, be seen as self-contradiction: the etymology of the Greek term *Amphitheatron* means literally a *theatron* 'seeing-place', *amphi* 'on both sides',[98] and the following chapters show that Khunrath intended his work to be interpreted on a multiplicity of levels and from a variety of perspectives.

When considering how the theosopher must imitate the life of Christ, Khunrath says that the way to do this is 'synoptically *shown* to you in this Amphitheatre'.[99] An introduction to the theosophical and hieroglyphical figures that enigmatically communicate so much of the message in the *Amphitheatre of Eternal Wisdom* is provided in the rest of this chapter.

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96 *Amph.*II, 215 'Vidistis Amphitheatrvm ipsum. O vtinam (legendo Doctrinam Amphitheatri in Prologo, Prologi videndo in Amphitheatro) ludos Amphitheatrales spectaculaque Amphitheatrica Sapientiæ veræ Christiano Cabalistica, Mageica & PhysicoChemica sapienter contemplati fuissetis, dextrè intelligeretis …' My italics.

97 [Arndt], *Judicium Philosophi Anonymi* (1608), 117 'Was nun der Author deß Amphitheatri mit Worten gelehret in dem Prologo, das will er nun weitters auch augenscheinlich zeigen in den 4 Figuren'.

98 Marcus Valerius Martial, *Liber Spectaculorum*, edited with Introduction, Translation & Commentary by Kathleen M. Coleman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), lxx.

99 *Amph.*II, 50 '*Calles iustorum*] Sunt exempla virtutum, pietatis, & inprimis imitatio vitae Christi Saluatoris nostri. … Hac viâ incedendum est in Oratorio & Laboratorio. Imò hæc ipsa via tibi monstratur in hoc Amphitheatro synopticè …'.



FIGURE 2.2 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), II, 1 Ornament at the start of Khunrath's 'Interpretations and Annotations'. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

2 Sculpta, Picta, Scripta: 'Not just of Words, ... but rather of Things'

Khunrath placed a great deal of importance on his readings of scriptural texts, whether in the humanist, philological desire for an accurate and reliable rendering of the Bible through the inclusion of Sante Pagnini's retranslations from the Hebrew and Greek in tandem with Jerome's vulgate, or his occasional adoption of Christian Cabalist hermeneutical techniques as a way of discovering secret meanings in familiar texts. The main body of the *Amphitheatre* consists of Khunrath's 'Interpretations and Annotations' of scriptural extracts from the Solomonic sayings of the Books of Proverbs and Wisdom (plus Ecclesiastes), supplemented by material from the kinds of classical sources familiar to a university-educated reader, as well as medieval and early modern occult works – with the aim of intimating ways of understanding all that had been communicated 'symbolically or mystically, hieroglyphically, figuratively, enigmatically, parabolically, allegorically, arcanely, secretly or manifestly' concerning ancient, antique and neoteric philosophy.[100] Writing thus, Khunrath is not restricting his sense to an understanding of the symbolic imagery of verbal forms of communication, classical or contemporary, but intends languages in the broader sense of what is 'engraved, painted or written' (sculpta, picta, scripta) in all three of the 'Books' of Scripture, Man, and Nature, as the 'voices or diverse languages of Wisdom.'[101] In fact, he enthusiastically explains that his interpretation is 'not just of WORDS, which indeed has been adequately

100 *Amph.*II, 148 (mispaginated as p. 146 [T2^{v}]) '... Philosophorum variorum populorum, tam vetustissimorum & veterum, quàm Neotericorum monumenta, Symbolicè aut mysticè, hieroglyphicè, figuratè, aenigmaticè, parabolicè, allegoricè, arcanè, secretè vel manifestè, sculpta, picta, scripta.'

101 *Amph.*II, 19 'Voces SAPIENTIÆ has, linguasvè varias.'

done by others, but rather of THINGS [...] which till now has not been done by anyone IN THIS WAY.'[102]

Khunrath's *Amphitheatre*, then, with its Oratory and Laboratory, is an arena for both *Res* and *Verba*.[103] In his reflections on the 'Emblematic World View', William Ashworth provides helpful insight into Khunrath's approach to this dichotomy, explaining that 'words and things were all of a piece, and the entire world of objects, letters, signs, and symbols was part of one language, the meaning of which was built in by God.'[104] Just as anyone seeking to extend their knowledge of the Book of Scripture beyond the vernacular, be that Luther's German *Biblia* of 1534 or the English Authorised King James Version of 1611, would ideally be schooled in Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages and letters – which in themselves each generate subtle variations on the familiar biblical themes – so one reading the Book of Nature should be versed in its 'characters and hieroglyphic marks.'[105] For an early modern occult theosopher like Khunrath one of the most important methods for reading such 'natural scripture and literature' (scriptura ac literatura naturalis)[106] was through an understanding of the Doctrine of Signatures, the Hermetic art by which man could discover the inner virtues and powers of all created things through an esoteric understanding of their outer form.[107] Such indeed had been the

102 *Amph.*II, 1 'non solùm à Verborum, quod quidem per alios sufficienter factum, verum potiùs à RERVM ... quod hactenus per neminem ITA præstitum.'

103 On this dichotomy, see Ian Maclean and Eckhard Kessler (eds.), *Res et Verba in der Renaissance* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002); Diana B. Altegoer, *Reckoning Words: Baconian Science and the Construction of Truth in English Renaissance Culture* (London: Associated University Presses, 2000), esp. Chapter 1.

104 William B. Ashworth, 'Natural History and the Emblematic World View,' in David C. Lindberg and Robert S. Westman (eds.), *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 303–332, at 323. See Wilber Samuel Howell, '*Res et verba*: Words and Things,' *ELH: A Journal of English Literary History*, 13 (1946): 131–42.

105 *Amph.*II, 141–142 'Hi characteres Naturae, & notae hieroglyphicae'. In early modern occult philosophy, the word 'characteres' has distinctly magical connotations. See, for example, Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (Cologne, 1533), Book 2, Chapters 51 and 52; Giordano Bruno, *Cause Principle and Unity, and Essays on Magic*, edited by Richard J. Blackwell and Robert de Lucca (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998; rpt. 2004), 105 'On Magic', fifth definition of magic.

106 *Amph.*II, 142.

107 *Amph.*II, 152. Paracelsus, *De natura rerum* (Strasbourg, 1584), Lib. 9 'De signatura rerum naturalium'; Jacob Boehme, *De Signatura Rerum, Das ist: Von der Gebuhrt und Bezeichnung aller Wesen* (Amsterdam, 1682); Oswald Croll, *Tractatus de Signaturis internis rerum, seu de vera et viva Anatomia majori & minoris mundi* (Frankfurt, 1609); Giambattista Della Porta, *Phytognomonica* (Naples, 1588); See Wolf-Dieter Müller-Jahncke, 'Signaturenlehre', in Werner E. Gerabek et al (eds.), *Enzyklopädie Medizingeschichte* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 1330–1332; Friedrich Ohly, *Zur Signaturenlehre der frühen Neuzeit:*

subject of Khunrath's 1588 graduation theses *De Signatura Rerum Naturalium* (On the Signatures of Natural Things), in which he had promoted the new Paracelsian philosophy.[108] Paracelsus had argued that everything in the natural world had been put there by God for a purpose and claimed that 'by the thing signed, which opens inwardly,' one skilled in the art of Signatures may 'recognize the virtue in a body, be that in herbs, trees, sensitive or insensitive …'.[109] Indeed, Khunrath takes particular pride in claiming to have been the first in Germany, after Paracelsus, to have promoted this doctrine in his theses, just before the publication of the *Phytognomonica* (Interpretations of Plants, 1588) by the famous Italian expert on natural magic, Giovanni Battista della

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Bemerkungen zur mittelalterlichen Vorgeschichte und zur Eigenart einer epochalen Denkform in Wissenschaft, Literatur und Kunst, edited by Uwe Ruberg & Dietmar Peil (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel Verlag, 1999), 4, 12, 54; Wilhelm Kühlmann, 'Oswald Crollius und seine Signaturenlehre. Zum Profil hermetischer Naturphilosophie in der Ära Rudolphs II', in August Buck (ed.), *Die okkulten Wissenschaften in der Renaissance, Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaisssanceforschung*, 12 (Wiesbaden, 1992), 103–24. On Signatures, see Massimo Luigi Bianchi, *Signatura Rerum: Segni, Magia e conoscenza da Paracelso a Leibniz* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1987); Guy G. Stroumsa, *Hidden Wisdom: Esoteric Traditions and the Roots of Christian Mysticism* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), Chapter One 'Myth as Enigma: Cultural Hermeneutics in Late Antiquity', 11–26, at 23: Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis*, VII.1, 'Just as nature has in a way set the stamp of invisible thoughts in visible objects'. For a slightly longer discussion, see Chapter 5 on Khunrath's Magic.

108 Khunrath, *De Signatura rerum naturalium theses*, sig. Aij^{r} 4 'Deum & Naturam nihil facere frustra.' See Aristotle, *On the Heavens*, Book 1, Chapter 4 (271a34). See too Maclean, *Logic, Signs and Nature in the Renaissance*, 325. Cf. Clifford R. Backman, 'The Reception of Arnau de Vilanova's religious ideas', in Scott L. Waugh and Peter D. Diehl (eds.), *Christendom and its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion, 1000–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 112–131, at 124 'God and Nature do nothing in vain' he asserted [in relation to astronomy] *Deus et natura nichil faciant frustra*, in *Tractatus de tempore adventus Antichristi*. For more on Khunrath's graduation theses, see Peter J. Forshaw, '"Paradoxes, Absurdities, and Madness": Conflict over Alchemy, Magic and medicine in the Works of Andreas Libavius and Heinrich Khunrath', *Early Science and Medicine* 13 (2008): 53–81.

109 Paracelsus, *Astronomia magna: oder die gantze philosophia sagax der grossen und kleinen Welt*, ed. Michael Toxites (Frankfurt, 1571), sigs. 29^{v}–30^{r} "Was Signatum/ und der Signator sey/ und was die Signatur mit sampt jren Speciebus", at sig. 29^{v} 'Nichts ist das die Natur nit gezeichnet hab/ durch welche zeichen man kan erkennen/ was im selbigen gezeichnet ist'; sigs. 60^{v}–63^{v} "Probatio Particularis in Scientiam Signatam"; at sig. 61^{r} 'durch das Signatum das innwendig öffnet/ und ein jeglicher Signator mag durch das Signatum erkennen die Tugendt im selbigen Corpus/ es sey in Kreutern/ Bäumen/ entpfindtlichs oder unentpfindlichs … wer nicht auß der Signatur die Drafft der Kreuter schreibet/ der weiß nicht was er schreibt'; sig. 62^{r} 'der nit auß dem signato Signo philosophirt/ der ist kein Philosophus.'

Porta (1535–1615).[110] As shall be seen, a regard for the insight to be gained from images and visions of *Things* pervades Khunrath's whole oeuvre, nowhere more so than in the remarkable figures of his *Amphitheatre*.

3 Part II: the *Amphitheatre* Engravings

> Now is the time for me to make use of my memory, [a time] of writing, painting, [and] annotating.[111]

The 1609 edition of Khunrath's 'artistically highly demanding'[112] *Amphitheatre* contains twelve engravings: the Title Page, Khunrath's Portrait, and then the main images, alluded to by the circular and rectangular plaques on the title page, namely, four double-folio circular figures which first appeared in the 1595 edition and five double-folio rectangular engravings created for the expanded 1609 edition, plus the small image of an owl, which also appears in several of Khunrath's other works.[113]

Khunrath highlights the visual nature of his *Amphitheatre* at the beginning, asserting that it attests a 'truly extraordinary *ocular testimony* (αὐτοψία [*autopsia*] … revera eximium)' and explaining that it has been 'Amphitheatrically constructed with Four Circular and other hieroglyphic Figures […] for the purpose of raising up and defending […] Truth.'[114] As in much of Khunrath's writing, a few words provide entry into a variety of discourses: the 'extraordinary ocular testimony' plunges us into the Reformation debate over the relative values of audition and vision, the verbal and the visual.[115] The word *autopsia*

110 *Phytognomonica Io. Baptistae Portae* (Naples, 1588). On Della Porta, see William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994; repr. 1996), especially Chapter 6 'Natural Magic and the Secrets of Nature'.

111 *Amph.*II, 150 'Tempus nunc est, vt inseruiam memoriæ meæ, scribendi, pingendi, annotandi.'

112 Neumann, 'Between Heresy and Orthodoxy', 142.

113 The owl appears in *Chaos* (1597) at the very end, after the colophon; *Magnesia* (1599), immediately before the colophon; and in *Bericht vom Medicinalischen Brauch und Nutzen Aquae Sanitatis Magnesia* (1599), at the end.

114 *Amph.*I, 6–7 'Amphitheatrice instructum Qvatvor circularibus, aliisque hieroglyphicis Figvris, in aes affabrè scalptis, Veritatis … vindicandæ ac erigendæ causa.'

115 Karl F. Morrison, *History as a Visual Art in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 129 'our discussion has a bearing on the continuing debate between those who contend that understanding is primarily verbal, or discursive, and those who hold that understanding is fundamentally visual'; Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, translated by Edmund Jephcott

refers to the sense of personally witnessing an event, rather than merely accepting the report (*historia*) of others;[116] hence to direct anatomical evidence, be that of the human body in the anatomy theatres being constructed towards the end of the sixteenth century,[117] or the alchemical 'anatomy' of matter by fire in the laboratory.[118] Last but not least, there is also more than likely a theurgic

(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 465 'The kingdom of God is a kingdom of hearing, not of seeing' (Luther). Timothy J. Reiss, 'From Trivium to Quadrivium: Ramus, Method and Mathematical Technology', in Jonathan Sawday and Neil Rhodes (eds.), *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print* (London: Routledge, 2000), 45–58, at 44 'For Ong these [Ramist diagrams] created a new reality associating "concept, word and referent" that "took the printed text, not oral utterance, as the point of deprature and the model for thought."' He asserts that they signal a transformation in Europe's 'mental world' from verbal/oral to spatial/visual, marked by 'the elimination of sound and voice from man's understanding of the intellectual world' and their replacement by the quasi-Pascalian 'silences of a spatialized universe. For Ong, McLuhan and now endless others, print technology and book were together *fons et origo* of this transformation, impetus for, if not identical with, the aforenamed *technologia*.'

116 Maclean, *Logic, Signs and Nature*, 198. Purš and Karpenko, 'Alchemy at the Aristocratic Courts of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown', 60 mention Adam Zaluzansky of Zaluzany, who dedicated his *Methodi herbariae libri tres* (Three Books of Herbal Method, 1592) to Vilém Rožmberk, which explains the Greek ἀυτοψια (autopsia) as 'proprius intuitus, est ipsa comprehensio et idea visorum, historia vero ejus Ideae nominatio' (sig. M4^{v} 'a personal view, the very comprehension and idea of things observed, indeed the naming of its Idea from report'). On the ramifications of the word 'historia', see Gianna Pomata, '*Praxis Historialis*: The Uses of *Historia* in Early Modern Medicine', in Gianna Pomata and Nancy G. Siraisi (eds.), *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2005), 105–146; Ann Blair, '*Historia* in Zwinger's *Theatrum humanae vitae*', in Pomata and Siraisi (eds.), *Historia*, 269–296; and Ian Maclean, 'White Crows, Graying Hair, and Eyelashes: Problems for Natural Historians in the Reception of Aristotelian Logic and Biology from Pomponazzi to Bacon', in Pomata and Siraisi (eds.), *Historia*, 147–79, at 147f.

117 See Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1995), especially Chapter 1 'The Autoptic Vision'; Ludger Schwarte, 'Anatomical Theatre as Experimental Space', in Helmar Schramm, Ludger Schwarte, and Jan Lazardzig (eds.), *Collection, Laboratory, Theater: Scenes of Knowledge in the 17th Century* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 75–102.

118 Khunrath, *Athanor* (1599), 5. Cf. the definitions provided by Theodor Zwinger, *Physiologia Medica* (Basel, 1610), 74–75 'αὐτοψία … observatio Immediata & Mediata.' See also Johann Hartmann, first professor of Chymiatria at the University of Marburg in 1609, a reader familiar with Khunrath's work. In his *Opera Omnia Medico-Chymica* (Frankfurt, 1690), Vol. 3, Book 1, Notes on Jean Beguin's *Tyrocinium Chymicum* (A Chymical Apprenticeship, n.p., 1610), Chapter 1 *De Definitione Chymiae* (On the Definition of Chymistry), 8, Hartmann highlights the risks of depending on those who are only learned from books, not through *autopsia*: 'Qui ex libris tantùm, non ἀυτοψία artem hanc edocti.'

reference to the Neoplatonic notion of *autopsia* as immediate vision of the divine light.[119]

4 The 'Inventor' and His Engravers

Drawings of chemical apparatus in Khunrath's manuscripts suggest that he was a fairly accomplished draughtsman.[120] All four circular engravings from the 1595 edition of the *Amphitheatre* bear the inscription, 'Heinrich Khunrath of Leipzig, lover of Theosophy and Doctor of Medicine, by the grace of God, inventor [of this image]. Paullus van der Doort of Antwerp engraved [it], in Hamburg, in the month of April (May, July, September), in the year 1595 since Christ was born'.[121] The fourth, the best-known image of the adept in his *Oratory-Laboratory*, also includes the statement 'H F. Vriese pinxit' (H.F. de Vries painted [it]).[122]

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119 See George Luck, 'Theurgy and Forms of Worship in Neoplatonism', in Jacob Neusner, Ernest S. Frerichs, and Paul Virgil McCracken Flesher (eds.), *Religion, Science and Magic: In Concert and in Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 185–225, at 197 where he cites Marinus, *Vita Procli*, 28. See also George Luck, *Arcana Mundi: Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds, A Collection of Ancient Texts* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985; 2nd edition, 2006), 23 '*autopsia*, the appearance of the divine light without any shape or form'; 53 concerning theurgy and preparation of the faithful 'for greater things to come, such as *autopsia*, the appearance of the divine light without any shape or form'; 496 *autopsia* as 'direct observation, supernatural vision'. For further discussion of this, see Chapter 5 on Khunrath's magic.

120 Gilly, 'Khunrath und das Entstehen der frühneuzeitlichen Theosophie', 11; Purš, 'Perspective, vision and dream', 58. See Chapter 6 on Khunrath's Alchemy.

121 'Henricus Khunrath Lips[ensis] Theosophiæ amator, et Medicinae Doctor, Dei gratia, inventor. Paullus van der Doort Antverp[iensis] scalpsit. Hamburgi. Anno a Christo nato 1595 Mense Aprili (Maio, Iulio, Septembri)'. See also *Chaos* (1597), 210 'Ein Theosophus'; [margin] 'Wie in secunda Amphitheatri … figura, von mir abgemalet und beschrieben ward' (A Theosopher … as was painted and described by me in the second figure of the Amphitheatre).

122 Cf. Christopher L.C.E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 90 on 'pinxit' as either 'painted' or 'designed'; while 'fecit' translates as either 'made' or 'cut'. See also Carl Goldstein, *Print Culture in Early Modern France: Abraham Bosse and the Purposes of Print* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 16 'The division of labor is indicated on the prints themselves. The name of the designer is usually acknowledged with the Latin word *invenit* [did invent] or *delineavit* [did draw], that of the etcher-engraver with *fecit* [did make], *sculpsit* [did hollow out or carve], or *incidit* [did cut], and the publisher with permission to produce the prints, *excudit* [did issue].'

The Dutch artist Paul (or Peter) van der Doort (or Doost), was at that time Superintendent of the Dutch Poor in Hamburg and is otherwise known for a picture of the Holy Family, another of a sailing ship, and a view of the city of Hamburg, where the 1595 *Amphitheatre* was published, with figures in costume.[123]

The deep perspective of the fourth circular figure was rendered by the Dutch mannerist painter, draughtsman and writer on perspectival drawing and architecture, Hans Vredeman de Vries (1527–1606). De Vries, who had collaborated with Pieter Brueghel the Elder (1525–1569) and is rumoured to have had connections with the *Huys ter Liefde*, or Family of Love, a spiritualist sect with roots in his native Friesland,[124] was the author of several books on perspective, including the *Theatrum Vitae Humanae* (Theatre of Human Life, 1577), *Variae architecturae formae* (Various Forms of Architecture, 1601), and *Perspective* (1604).[125] The last of these has been described as 'one of the strangest, most influential, and most misunderstood tracts on art ever published, a book touted by turns as "a failure," "surreal," and "protofilmic".'[126]

123 Ulrich Thieme (ed.), *Allgemeines Lexicon der Bildenen Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig: Verlag von E.A. Seemann, 1913), Vol. IX, 465; Joel Mokyr (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Economic History*, Vol. 1, 493 'Hamburg, View of the City.' Engraving by Paullus van der Doort, sixteenth century. His son, Abraham van der Doort (*c.*1575/80–1640) was Keeper of the English King Charles I's art collections and the first 'Surveyor of the King's Pictures'. Oliver Millar, 'Some Painters and Charles I', *The Burlington Magazine* 104, No. 713 (August 1962): 323–330, at 325.

124 Christopher Heuer, *The City Rehearsed: Object, Architecture, and Print in the Worlds of Hans Vredeman de Vries* (London: Routledge, 2009), 7.

125 Further information and extensive references to de Vries can be found in Hans Vollmer (ed.), *Allgemeines Lexicon der Bildenen Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig: Verlag von E.A. Seemann, 1940), Vol. XXXIV, 575–578, with a reference to Khunrath on 576. See also Ger Luijten (ed.), *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700* (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Interactive, 1997), Vol. XLVIII Vredeman de Vries, Part II 1572–1630, in particular pages 162–164 concerning the 'Laboratory of the Alchemist Heinrich Khunrath'; Peter Fuhring and Ger Luijten, *Vredeman de Vries* (*Hollstein's Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700*, Vols. XLVII and XLVIII, Part I, *1555–1571*; Part II, *1572–1630*), Vol. 2, 122–136. For more information on De Vries, see Barbara Uppenkamp, 'Hans Vredeman de Vries *Theatrum Vitae Humanae* – A Stoic World Theater', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (2002): 139–167; eadem, 'The Last Judgement by Hans Vredeman de Vries in Gdansk (1595). A Calvinist Re-Interpretation of a Catholic Iconography,' in Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams (eds.), *Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), 169–182.

126 Heuer, *The City Rehearsed*, 1–2.

In 1595 De Vries moved from Gdansk, where he had been designing fortifications as well as executing paintings for the Court of Artus,[127] the Red Room of the Town Hall and several churches, to Hamburg, where he was employed by the city's most famous goldsmith Jacob Moers (*c.*1553–1609).[128] Moers had connections with people moving in occult circles – was indeed the father of Joachim Morsius (1593–1644),[129] who published an early response to the Rosicrucian *Fama Fraternitatis* (1614) – and it is assumed that it was through Moers that De Vries came into contact with Khunrath,[130] before moving on to decorate rooms in the imperial palace in 'the most dazzling artistic colony of his day', Rudolf II's court in Prague.[131]

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the five double-page rectangular engravings, on three of which Khunrath's name appears as their 'Inventor', 'Constructor', and 'Fashioner' are all dated 1602. The title page for the 1609 edition is likewise dated 1602, as is Khunrath's portrait. The latter also supplies the name of its engraver, Johann Diricks van Campen, who engraved it in Magdeburg when Khunrath was aged 42, as indicated in the oval frame surrounding his image.[132] Although it cannot be taken as final proof, a comparison of the lettering of the unattributed engravings with that in the portrait suggests the probability that all the images where done by the same man.[133] Based on the stylistic differences in the representation of clouds in the circular and rectangular engravings, Töllner suggests that Paullus van der Doort prepared

127 De Vries's painting of 'Orpheus among Animals' at the Court of Artus has a similar checkered floor to the *Amphitheatre*'s *Oratory-Laboratory* engraving. My thanks to Helene Peereboom for pointing out the similarities with De Vries' engraving of 'Daniel and His Vision' in *Thesaurus Sacrarum Historiarum* (Antwerp, 1579), presumably long before he met Khunrath.

128 On Jakob Moers, the Elder, see Wolfgang Shefler, *Goldschmiede Niedersachsens* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1965), 403–411.

129 On Morsius, see Dickson, *The Tessera of Antilia*, 138. See also Thomas Reiser, *Mythologie und Alchemie in der Lehrepik des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts: Die 'Chryseidos Libri III' des Strassburger Dichterartztes Johannes Nicolaus Furichius (1602–1633)* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 37ff.

130 Borggrefe et al (eds.), *Hans Vredeman de Vries und die Renaissance im Norden*, 23.

131 Heuer, *The City Rehearsed*, 3; Dacosta Kaufmann, *L'École de Prague*, Section 25.

132 *Portrait*: 'Johan Diricks, Van Campen, scalpsit: Magdeburgi' (Johan Diricks Van Campen engraved [this in] Magdeburg).

133 For further information and references to Van Campen, see Thieme (ed.), *Allgemeines Lexicon der Bildenen Künstler*, 326–7. See also Jörg Deuter, 'Die Illustrationen zum "Oldenburgisch Chronicon" von 1599. Johann Dietrich Schaffer – Jan Diricks van Campen – Pieter Bast – Hans Maes', *Oldenburger Jahrbuch* 99 (1999): 1–18, at 7–8. A. Von Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1906), Vol. 1, 379 provides variants to his name as Jan/Johan/Hans Diricks/Diricksen/Dercksen/Dyrick van Campen.

the four circular engravings for the 1609 re-edition, while Van Campen took care of the rectangular engravings.[134] The presence of slight changes in some of the circular figures between editions, suggests that the 1595 images were re-engraved in 1602.[135]

5 Naming the Images

Khunrath makes few overt references to his engravings in either version of the *Amphitheatre*, or in fact in any of his works. He does occasionally refer to the original 1595 circular engravings as 'Figures' of his *Amphitheatre*, by which he intends both the images themselves and the *Isagoges* or textual *Introductions* that encircle them in the original edition. He generally refers to them simply as the First, Second, Third and Fourth Figures,[136] sometimes mentioning the respective 'Parts' of his *Amphitheatre*, by which he means the *Isagoges*.[137] Fortunately, he provides enough contextual information for us to understand

134 Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 21 'stilistisch unterschiedliche Gestaltung der Wolken im "Stein der Weisen" und in "Der gekreutizgte Christus", die rundlicher sind und mehr Wölkchen-Charakter haben als die großflächigen Wolken im "Prolog" und in "Khunraths Pentakel".'

135 Hallacker, 'Das Bild-Text-Verhältnis', 25, n. 2 claims that all four 1595 circular figures were redone by Vredeman de Vries for the 1609 edition.

136 For references to the 1st Figure (*Amph.*II, 11, 57, 67, 68, 82, 123, 124, 155); 2nd Figure (*Amph.*II, 4, 14, 15, 17, 19, 49–50, 57, 67, 70, 71, 72, 88, 93, 103, 105–6, 109, 115, 123, 135, 136, 145, 148, 151, 157); to the 3rd (*Amph.*II, 17, 22, 56, 57, 65, 67, 68, 73, 127, 130, 147, 150–1, 170, 200); and to the 4th (*Amph.*II, 17, 19, 22, 44, 54, 58, 69, 96, 123, 130, 151, 153, 154–5, 163). See also *Chaos* (1597), 130 for references to the 3rd and 4th figures; 209 to the 2nd figure; 251 to the 2nd and 3rd figures and 403–404 to figures 2, 3, and 4; 288 & 397 for the 4th; *Magnesia* (1599), 6 refers to the 3rd figure, 89 to the 4th; *Symbolum* (1597/8), 20 Fig 4. There was apparently some editorial confusion in the 1609 edition of the *Amphitheatre*, for while the discussion of the threefold use of the Stone has been moved to *Isagoge* 3, now printed separately from the circular engraving, the main text still contains Khunrath's unchanged 1595 association of it with Figure 4. *Amph.*II, 151. Cf. *Amphitheatrum* (1595), 17.

137 *Amph.*II, 58 'De quibus partem consulo Amphitheatri huius primam, & passim Cabalistarum scripta' (Concerning which consult the first part of this *Amphitheatre*, and here and there the writings of the Cabalists); *Amph.*II, 194 'Philosophus, autem, h.e. Sapientiæ veræ amator, qui sit, ex parte, Amphit[heatri] huius, secunda perfectè docêris' (He, however, who is a Philosopher, that is, a lover of true wisdom, you are perfectly taught by the second part of this Amphitheatre); *Amph.*II, 24 'Vide tertiam Amphitheatri huius partem, Quæst. Quarta' (See the third part of this Amphitheatre, Question Four) [i.e., *Amph.*II, 195]; also 66, 163; *Amph.*II, 104 'Huc refer canonem decimum, partis Amphitheatri huius quartæ, in Mageiæ reformatione instauratoria ac renouatoria (On this point refer to the tenth canon of the fourth part of this Amphitheatre, on the restorative and renewing reformation of Magic), i.e., *Amph.*II, 210.

which figure is intended and there can be no doubt as to which image he means, nor to the intended order of the circular engravings in the first edition, because all surviving copies of the 1595 edition have them bound in the same sequence. This was no longer the case, however, in all copies of the 1609 edition.[138]

Although various elements are duplicated in the main body of the *Amphitheatre* text and the engravings, such as the opening passage from the Hermetic *Pimander*,[139] the Pythagorean commandment 'Do not speak of God without light',[140] or the Virgilian warning, 'Procul este prophani',[141] the 1602 rectangular engravings are never explicitly mentioned. This has in no way deterred readers from dreaming up a plethora of imaginative and at times misleading titles, as is the case with the nineteenth-century French poet and Rosicrucian Stanislas de Guaita's slightly anachronistic description of the first circular figure as 'La Rose-Croix pentagrammatique', despite the fact that Khunrath died before the publication or earliest manuscript circulation of the Rosicrucian manifestos.[142]

Khunrath's rectangular engraving of adepts at the cave-tunnel entrance to the *Amphitheatre*, which we shall see is concerned with Christian Cabala, has inspired some particularly inventive titles. In the *Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (1972), Frances Yates names it 'The Cave of the Illuminati', which, despite the association with the later eighteenth-century Masonic society, is probably close to the spirit of Khunrath's work.[143] Tobias Churton, writing about the Rosicrucians, like Töllner, places an alchemical or natural philosophical emphasis on the engraving, calling it 'Entering the Secrets of Nature',[144] as does Heide Klinkhammer who, in her work on treasure hunters and wisdom seekers,

138 Eco, *Lo Strano Caso*, 38 shows, nevertheless, that his own personal copy of the 1609 as well as those in Bologna, Trivulziana and the copy described by Van Lennep all have the same sequence for the 4 circular engravings.

139 *Amph.*II, 168–9 and *Pyramid* engraving.

140 *Amph.*II, 27 and Figure 4.

141 *Amph.*II, 120 and the *Entrance* engraving.

142 De Guaita, *Essais de Sciences Maudites* (Essays on Accursed Knowledge, Paris: Georges Carré, 1890), Vol. 1 *Au Seuil du Mystère*, 101 *'la Rose-Croix* pentagrammatique'; 104–123 II 'Analyse de la Rose-Croix d'après Henry Khunrath'. See also Papus [Gérard Encausse], *The Qabalah: Secret Tradition of the West* (York Beach, Maine: Samuel Weiser, 2000) and De Guaita, 'An analysis of the Rosy-Cross after Heinrich Khunrath', in *The Amphitheatre Engravings of Heinrich Khunrath*, edited by Adam McLean and translated by Patricia Tahil (Edinburgh: Magnum Opus 7, 1981), 53–67.

143 Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (1996), 49, Plate 11; 51 'One engraving shows a great cave … with inscriptions on its walls, through which adepts of some spiritual experience are moving towards a light.' On the Bavarian *Illuminatenorden* (Order of the Illuminati), created in 1776, see Henrik Bogdan and Jan A.M. Snoek (eds.), *Handbook of Freemasonry* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 365, 530.

144 Tobias Churton, *The Invisible History of the Rosicrucians: The World's Most Mysterious Secret Society* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2009), 167.

gives it the rather Jules Verne sounding title of 'Visit to the innards of the Earth', though she doubtless has the alchemical Vitriol acrostic in mind.[145] Closer in time to Khunrath, the French alchemist Nicolas de Villiers, Sieur de Chandoux (d. 1631) refers to the same engraving as 'The Seven Mystical Grades'.[146]

Somewhat ironically, the most useful set of titles for the *Amphitheatre* engravings comes from an author with an evident dislike for Khunrath and his pictures, the German Lutheran theologian Johann Valentin Andreae (1586–1654), author of one of the foundational texts of Rosicrucianism, the *Chymische Hochzeit* or *Chemical Wedding of Christian Rosenkreutz* (1616).[147] Although Andreae does not mention Khunrath by name, in his *Mythologiae christianae … Libri Tres* (Three Books of Christian Mythology, 1619), he satirises him as a long-winded merchant or charlatan selling quack medicines and holy pictures in the market-place.[148] There he refers to the *Amphitheatre* images with significant words from each engraving: 'Chaos Magnesiae, Pyramis Triumphalis, Bonum Macrocosmicon, Arx primaterialis, Antrum Naturae, Gymnasium Universale, Porta Sapientiae, Speculum legis, Oratorio-laboratorium, [and] Rejectio Binarii'.[149] This sequence of Andreae's ten titles corresponds, respectively, to what I shall refer to as *Title Page*,[150] *Pyramid*,[151] Circular Figure 3 or *Rebis*,[152]

145 Klinkhammer, *Schatzgräber, Weisheitssucher und Dämonenbeschwörer*, Illustration 21 'Besuch des "Inneren der Erde"'. The Vitriol acrostic begins 'Visita Interiora Terrae' (Visit the innards of the earth).

146 Nicolas de Villiers, Sieur de Chandoux, 'Commentaire sur l'*Amphithéâtre de la sapience éternelle* de Khunrath', in Nicolas de Villiers, Sieur de Chandoux, *Lettres sur l'or potable*, suivies du traité *De la connaissance des vrais principes de la nature* et des mélanges et des fragments d'un *Commentaire sur l'Amphithéâtre de la Sapience éternelle de Khunrath*, textes édités et présentés par Sylvain Matton avec des études de Xavier Kieft et de Simone Mazauric, préface de Vincent Carraud (Milan: Archè, 2012), 447–564, at 560–561 'Les sept degrés mystiques' [*Entrance*] and 'Le forteresse universelle aux sept bastions' [*Citadel*]. De Villiers was doubtless thinking of Khunrath's description on *Amph.*II, 19 of a 'mystical LADDER of SEVEN orthodox STEPS' (SCALAE … GRADVVM orthodoxorum SEPTEM mysticae).

147 For more on Andreae's attitude towards Khunrath, see Chapter 7: Epilogue.

148 Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', 347.

149 Johann Valentin Andreae, *Mythologiæ Christianae* (Strasbourg, 1619), Manipulus V.45. *Thraso*, 271–272. See Gilly (ed.), *Johann Valentin Andreae*, 37. Andreae's titles translate as 'Chaos of Magnesia, Triumphal Pyramid, Macrocosmic Good, Primaterial Citadel, Cave of Nature, Universal School, Gate of Wisdom, Mirror of the Law, Oratory-Laboratory, Rejection of the Binary'.

150 The words 'ΧΑΟΣ [*Chaos*]' and 'Magnesiae' appear in the sphere at the top of the left-hand obelisk.

151 See the phrase 'Designatio Pyramidum' (Depiction of the Pyramids).

152 The phrase 'BONVM MAKPOKOΣMIKON' (Macrocosmic Good) appears at the circumference of Circular Figure 3.

TABLE 2.1 Names for the *Amphitheatre* engravings in some recent works[a]

Forshaw	*Eco*	*Töllner*	*Klossowski de Rola*	*Völlnagel*	*Schmidt-Biggemann*
Title Page	Frontespizio	–	Title Page	–	–
Portrait	Ritratto di K.	–	Portrait	–	–
School of Nature	Adumbratio Gymnasii	Schule der Natur	The Way of the Wise	Die Schule der Natur	Gymnasium Naturae
Pyramid	Designatio Pyramidum	Tabula Smaragdina	Emerald Table	Die Tabula smaragdina	Hermes Smaragdene Tafel
Citadel	Hypotyposis Arcis	Alchemistische Festung	Hermetick Citadel	Die alchemistische Festung	Zitadelle der Alchemie
Entrance	Porta Amphitheatri	Prolog	Door of the Amphitheatre	Das Tor zum Amphitheater ewiger Weisheit	Porta Amphitheatri Sapientiae
Calumniators	Nemici	Khunraths Pentakel	[Calumniators]	Khunraths Pentakel	Kristall & Siegel
Christ Cruciform	Cristo	Gekreuzigte Christus	Scheme of Christian Kabbalism	Der himmlische Christus	Theogonie & Empyräum
Adam-Androgyne	Adamo androgino	Erneuerte Mensch	Syzygy or Conjunction	Der erneuerte Mensch	Kosmogonie
Rebis	Rebis	Stein der Weisen	The Stone of the Philosophers	Der Stein der Weisen	Philosophische Stein
Oratory-Laboratory	Laboratorio	Laboratorium-Oratorium	The Art of Alchemy	Das Oratorium-Laboratorium	Oratorium & Laboratorium
Owl	Ossifraga	Eule	–	–	–

a Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 2–10, 16; Eco, *Lo Strano Caso*, 37; Klossowski de Rola, *The Golden Game*, 42–44; Jörg Völlnagel, *Alchemie. Die Könighliche Kunst* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2012), 144–153; Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, 'Der Text der Bilder. Das ikonologische Programm von Khunraths *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae*', in Gilly, Hallacker, Neumann and Schmidt-Biggemann (eds.), Heinrich Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae – Schauplatz der ewigen allein wahren Weisheit*, 41–83, at 48.

Citadel,[153] *Calumniators*,[154] *School of Nature*,[155] *Entrance*,[156] Circular Figure 1 or *Christ-Cruciform*,[157] Circular Figure 4 or *Oratory-Laboratory*, and Circular Figure 2 or *Adam-Androgyne*.[158] These resemble the titles that Umberto Eco provides in his bibliophile booklet on the *Amphitheatre*, *Lo Strano Caso della Hanau 1609* (1989), except for the *Calumniators*, which accords with Szulakowska's choice of title in her *Alchemy of Light* (2000),[159] rather than Eco's *Nemici* (enemies).[160]

A correspondent of Andreae's, the Czech pansophist Jan Amos Comenius (1592–1670) includes a similar episode in his *Labyrinthus mundi et palatium cordis* (Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart, 1623). In the chapter 'The Pilgrim Observes the Rosicrucians', the pilgrim sees a man 'setting up a booth, inviting the bystanders to examine and to buy his most wonderful mysteries … enclosed in painted boxes with various beautiful inscriptions: The Gates of Wisdom, The Fortress of Science, the Universal School, The Good Guide to the Large and Small Cosmos, The Harmony of Both Worlds, Christian-Cabala, The Cave of Nature, The Castle of Primordial Matter, The Divine Magic,

153 See 'Hypotyposis Arcis Pri-materialis' (Representation of the Primaterial Citadel) in the *Citadel* engraving.

154 The words 'antrum naturae' (cave of nature) appear in the centre of the grotto with the caltrop. I have chosen, however, to emphasise the polemical nature of the engraving by referring to it as the '*Calumniators*'.

155 'Adumbratio Gymnasii Theomagici' (Sketch of the Theomagical School).

156 'Porta Amphitheatri' (Entrance of the Amphitheatre). Although the word 'porta' is often translated as 'door' or 'gate', which could be taken as an allusion to Joseph Gikatilla's kabbalistic work, *Portae Lucis* (The Gates of Light, Augsburg, 1516) neither seems appropriate to an image showing a cave-mouth.

157 'Speculum Legis' (Mirror of the Law). This phrase never appears in the *Amphitheatre* and the attribution to Circular Figure 1 is more speculative, the choice encouraged, for example, by *Amph.*II, 109 'Mens inebriata DEO videt, tanquam in speculo, DEVM in se, & se in DEO' (The Mind intoxicated with GOD sees, as in a mirror, GOD in itself, and itself in GOD).

158 'Rejectio Binarii' (Rejection of the Binary). See *Amph.*II, 16 'Quod sit reiectione Binarii, vt est in figura Amphitheatri huius secunda' (That may come about by the rejection of the Binary, as in the second figure of this Amphitheatre).

159 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 137, 139.

160 See Eco, *Lo Strano Caso*, 37. See also Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 2–10 where he provides a slightly different list of titles: Der Prolog (*Entrance*), Die Schule der Natur (*School*), Die Tabula Smaragdina (*Pyramid*), Khunraths Pentakel (*Calumniators*), Die alchemistische Festung (*Citadel*), Der Stein der Weisen (*Fig. 3*), Der erneuerte Mensch (*Fig. 2*), Der gekreuzigte Christus (*Fig. 1*), Das Laboratorium-Oratorium (*Fig. 4*); Klossowski de Rola, *The Golden Game*, 42–44 'The Way of the Wise' (*School*); 'Hermetick Citadel'; 'The door of the Amphitheatre of Eternal Wisdom'; 'A scheme of Christian Kabbalism' (*Fig. 1*); 'The Stone of the Philosophers' (*Fig. 3*); 'Syzygy or conjunction of the macrocosmic Unity with the microcosmic triunity' (*Fig. 2*).

The General Tri-Trinity, The Triumphal Pyramid, Hallelujah, etc.'[161] Given the number of images mentioned, it is clear that both Andreae and Comenius are consulting the expanded 1609 Hanau edition of the *Amphitheatre* (or perhaps one of the rare 1608 copies published in Magdeburg). Comenius was not simply reproducing Andreae's list of ten titles, but apparently consulting another copy of the *Amphitheatre* because he provides twelve titles in a different sequence.[162] The responses of Andreae, Comenius and later figures, including Eliphas Lévi, to Khunrath's *Amphitheatre* form part of the Epilogue to the *Mage's Images*; here, let us continue with a closer look at Khunrath's circular and rectangular figures.

6 Four 'Theosophical Figures'

The title page of the 1595 *Amphitheatre* advertises that it is 'adorned' with four copperplate 'Theosophical figures', which have been described as highly complex 'cosmograms'.[163] As mentioned in the previous chapter, these large circular hand-coloured engravings are surrounded by text radiating outwards from the central images (Fig. 2.3).[164] The first two figures display the text in curved bands, aligned around the central circular image, like concentric spheres emanating outwards from the earth in a representation of the Ptolemaic cosmos. The latter two images present the text, for the most part, radially, like

161 John Comenius, *The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart*, trans. Howard Louthan and Andrea Sterk (New York: Paulist Press, 1998), 116–7. See also, Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 213. See also Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 311 'The stranger told how, of a sudden, thousands descended upon the Rosicrucians to purchase their wisdom in packages labeled Portae sapientiae, Fortalitium scientiae, Gymnasium universitatis [sic], Bonum macro-micro-cosmicon, Harmonia utriusque cosmi, Christiano-cabalisticum, Antrum naturae, Arx primaterialis, Divino-magicum, Tertrinum catholicum, Pyramis triumphalis, Hellelujah, and other windy combinations.' Brian Vickers provides a translation of this passage in 'Frances Yates and the Writing of History', *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 51, No. 2, Technology and War (June, 1979): 287–316, at 297.

162 Comenius's titles are a little confusing as several seem to apply to the same engraving, e.g. 'The Fortress of Science' and 'The Castle of Primordial Matter' both sound like they refer to the *Citadel*. On *Amph*.11, 70 'Hallelujah' is mentioned in the context of the second figure; 24, 79 'Gates of Wisdom' most likely refers to the opening words of the subscript to the *Entrance* engraving: 'Porta Amphitheatri Sapientiae Aeternae'; 'Cave of Nature' is a phrase in the *Calumniators*.

163 Völlnagel, *Alchemie. Die Königliche Kunst*, 146. Rather, however, than strictly concerning the cosmographs of astronomical treatises, Khunrath's could rather be conceived of as Macro- and Micro-Cosmograms.

164 The engravings in the Rostock 1595 copy are not coloured.



FIGURE 2.3 *Amphitheatrum* (1595), 4 Circular Theosophical Figures. Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Duveen D 897. Department of Special Collections, Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison

spokes of a wheel from the central hub or like the radial stroma fibres of the iris around the pupil of an eye.[165] The versions created for the 1609 edition lack

165 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 135 remarks on their similarity to eyes, as well as comparing them to Hieronymus Bosch's circular painting of the *Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* (*c.*1500). In a similar way Alexander Roob, *The Hermetic Museum: Alchemy and Mysticism* (Cologne: Taschen, 1997), 115 describes Figure 3 as a 'depiction of the alchemistical Work in the form of an eyeball' with the Pythagorean *tetraktys* as the optic nerve! See also Bachmann and Hofmeier, *Geheimnisse der Alchemie*, 161; De Bruijn, *Book-Building*, 84; Völlnagel, *Alchemie. Die Könighliche Kunst*, 146. As far-fetched as this



FIGURE 2.4 *Amphitheatrum* (1609), 4 Circular Theosophical Figures. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

the surrounding text (Fig. 2.4). Here I shall not enter into a detailed analysis of all the verbal and visual elements in each image, but present an introduction, preceding the closer examination of the engravings in subsequent chapters.

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may sound, we shall see that Khunrath is very much a man seeking visions and revelations, waking and sleeping, so the idea of an eye looking both inwards to the soul and outwards to the world should be borne in mind.

7 Circular Figure 1: Christ-Cruciform or Seal of God

The *Amphitheatre*'s first circular figure presents 'the Holy Cross, Christ Himself crucified'.[166] Christ stands at the centre of the image, with his arms extended in a cruciform posture, although he is not on the Cross (Fig. 2.5). His palms face the reader, the wounds visible, but the focus seems to be less on his suffering and more on the miracle of his resurrection, given the presence of what appears to be a blazing phoenix beneath his feet, or perhaps even of his ascension, as described in Luke 24.[167] Another possibility is that the fiery bird is a golden eagle, sometimes associated with Christ's Ascension.[168] In the fifteenth-century *Buch der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit* (Book of the Holy Trinity), attributed to the Spiritual Franciscan Ulmannus, whose name Khunrath includes in a list of alchemists in the *Amphitheatre*,[169] the alchemical enterprise is symbolised by a black eagle hanging on a cross that transforms into an eagle of gold in eternal glory.[170] Of course, another possibility is that the bird is

166 *Amph.*II, 57 'est enim Crux Sancta Christus ipse crucifixus, figura Amphitheatri huius prima.'

167 On the identification of this bird as a phoenix, see, for example, Völlnagel, *Alchemie. Die Königliche Kunst*, 148; Joseph Nigg, *The Phoenix: An Unnatural Biography of a Mythical Beast* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 435 n. 12. On the phoenix as a symbol of Christ's resurrection, see David L. Jeffrey, *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1992), 612, which identifies the 'earliest full-scale treatment of the myth' of the phoenix as a fourth-century poem, *Carmen de ave phoenice*, attributed to Lactantius. As Khunrath has a penchant for hybrids and a tendency to cross disciplines, we should note that his friend Johann Grasshoff, *Ein philosophischer und chemischer Tractat: genannt der kleine Baur* (Strasbourg, 1658), 280 argues that the Phoenix's nest, in which it bursts into flames is the 'Vas Philosophorum' (Philosophers' Vessel): 'Das ander Fewr ist das Nest/ darinnen sich der Phoenix einlosiert/ und darinnen ad regenerationem sui außgebrütlet wird/ ist anders nichts als das Vas philosophorum …'. For further alchemical input on the phoenix, see also Michael Maier, *Cantilenae intellectuales In Triadas 9 distinctae, de Phoenice Redivivo* (Rostock, 1622).

168 According to Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *St. John the Divine: The Deified Evangelist in Medieval Art and Theology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 85 'in the Bernward Gospels, illuminated in Hildesheim in about 1015, the eagle associated with the ascending Christ doubles as a symbol of John.' See also Peter Murray, Linda Murray, and Tom Devonshire Jones (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Christian Art and Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 160.

169 *Amph.*II, 154.

170 Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique* (*XIV^e–XV^e siècles*), 149.

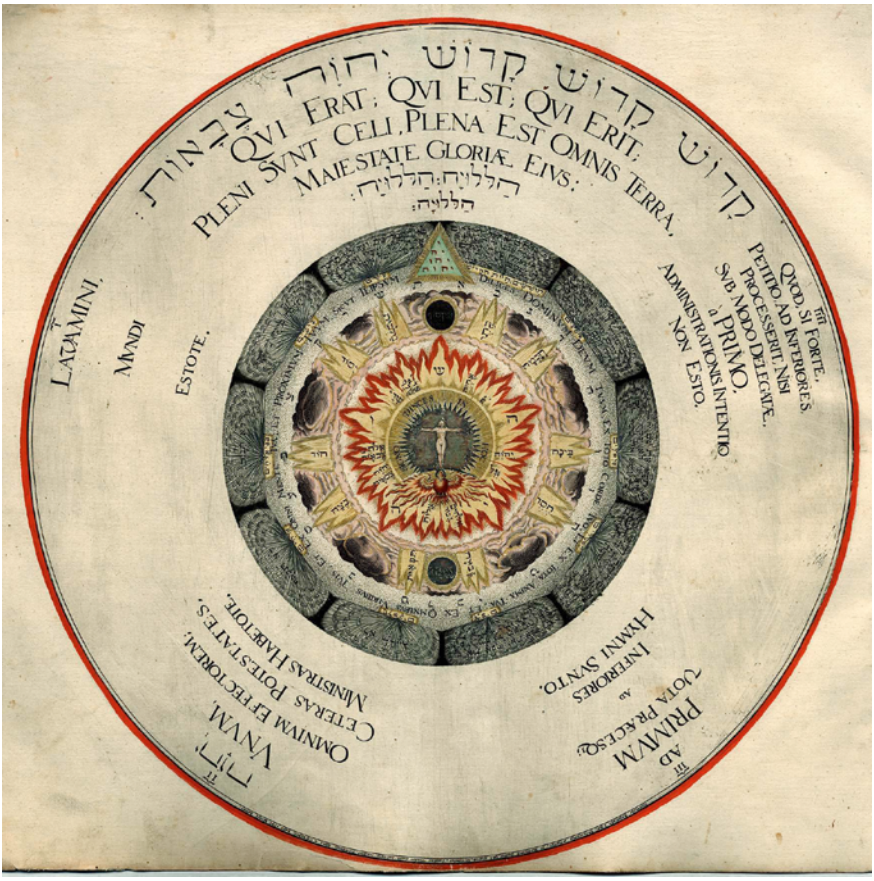


FIGURE 2.5 *Amphitheatrum* (1595), Circular Figure 1: *Christ Cruciform*. Department of Special Collections, Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Duveen D 897

a fiery dove, a compound symbol of two representations of the Holy Spirit, as a dove and a tongue of fire, at the time of Pentecost.[171]

What is certain is that this fiery image of the risen Christ is at least in part a depiction of him as the 'Sun of Justice' in Malachi 4:2,[172] as made clear in

171 Reuchlin refers to this baptism in fire and the holy spirit in *De verbo mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae* (1587), 929 'Ipse vos baptizabit in Spiritu sancto & igne.' On the fiery dove of the Holy Spirit, see for example English theologian, John Owen (1616–1683), *Pneumatologia, or, A Discourse concerning the Holy Spirit* (London, 1676).

172 Malachias 4:2 'But unto you that fear my name the Sun of justice shall arise, and health in his wings: and you shall go forth and shall leap like calves of the herd.' This verse is cited on *Amph*.II, 60.

Khunrath's commentary on Ecclesiastes 11:7 (Sweet indeed is the LIGHT, and it is pleasant for the eyes to look at the Sun):

> GOD is the supreme, purest, immaculate LIGHT; Christ is the true LIGHT, and the SUN of Justice; the Holy Spirit is the LIGHT and SPLENDOUR of WISDOM; LIGHT is an Angel; LIGHT is truth, life, joy; LIGHT is the vesture of holiness, the garment of GOD.[173]

Khunrath's quasi Ptolemaic engraving is at one and the same time Heliocentric and Christocentric.

In contrast to most depictions of Christ in Reformation art, the *Amphitheatre*'s Christ is naked (Fig. 2.6);[174] perhaps Khunrath's theosophical way of emphasising a truly 'unmediated' vision of Christ; one, in Luther's words, allowing the 'naked person to see the naked God.'[175] Examined closely, this figure of Christ as *theanthropos*, divine man, seems curiously hermaphroditic,[176] the genitalia almost invisible, despite the fact that they are the exact focal point,[177]

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173 *Amph.*II, 38 'LVMEN, &c.] Summa, purissima, immaculata LVX DEVS est, LVX vera Christus est, & SOL Iustitiæ: LVX & LVMEN SAPIENTIÆ, Spiritus sanctus est: LVX est Angelus: LVX est, veritas, via, lætitia: LVX est amictus, est vestimentum DEI.' Khunrath is likely alluding to Ecclesiasticus 50:12 'When he went up to the holy altar, he honoured the vesture of holiness' and Luke 9:29 'And whilst he prayed, the shape of his countenance was altered, and his raiment became white and glittering.'

174 This is supported by Matthew 27:28 concerning the Roman soldiers' treatment of Christ before the crucifixion: 'And stripping him they put a scarlet cloak about him'. A polychrome limewood carving attributed to Michelangelo, the *Crucifix Gallino* (*c.*1495) at the Bargello, Florence, presents Christ naked, as does Michelangelo's *Risen Christ* (1514–1520) in Santa Maria Sopra Minerva in Rome. See Kathryn Moore Heleniak, 'Naked/Nude', in Helene E. Roberts (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Comparative Iconography* (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1998), Vol. 2, 639–650, at 643.

175 Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago: Chicago University Press; London: Reaktion Books, 2004), 208 'Christ wears a transparent robe that shows him naked underneath. Nudity realizes the eschatological dream of an unmediated vision of God. Yet on these furthest shoals of the visual image, where a painter allows the "naked person to see the naked God" (Luther) …'. For Luther on the 'naked God' (*nudus deus*), see Christian Schulken, *Lex efficax: Studien zur Sprachwerdung des Gesetzes bei Luther im Anschluss in die Disputationen gegen die Antinomer* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 114ff; Albrecht Beutel, *In dem Anfang war das Wort: Studien zu Luthers Sprachverständnis* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 95 'Vor dem Anfang von Zeit und Kreatur … war nichts als "nuda essentia divina et nudus Deus".'

176 Elkins, *What Painting Is*, 180 'Here Jesus is nude, like the unfinished hermaphrodites and homunculi'.

177 On the Christian Cabalist Francesco Giorgio's identification of the genitals as the center of the Vitruvian man (as opposed to Vitruvius who regarded the navel as man's centre), see Saverio Campanini, 'Shaping the Body of the Godhead: The Adaptation of the

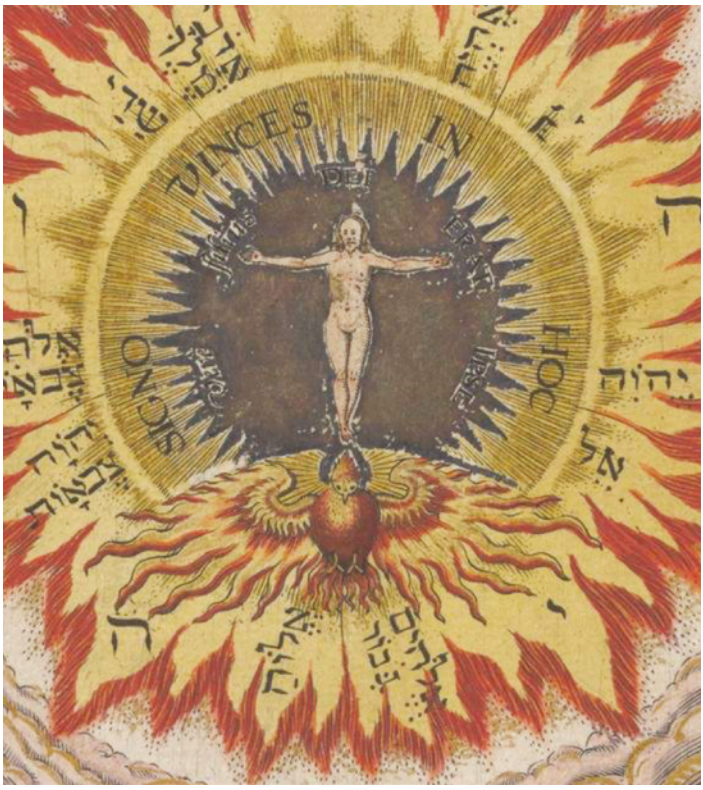


FIGURE 2.6 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), Circular Figure 1: *Christ Cruciform*, detail. Department of Special Collections, Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Duveen D 897

the geometrical centre of the image, and the left side of the body arguably more feminine, the thigh rounder, the breast perhaps fuller, than the right (at

Androgynous Motif in Early Christian Kabbalah', in Maria Diemling and Giuseppe Veltri (eds.), *The Jewish Body: Corporeality, Society, and Identity in the Renaissance and Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 355–376, at 373, where Campanini compares Giorgio, *De harmonia mundi* (Paris, 1546), 1.6.2 'A cuius umbilico secundum aliquos, sed a pectine (ut verius est) si circinus ducatur circulus ille perfecte conducitur' with Vitruvius, *De architectura* 3, 1, 3 'Item corporis centrum medium naturaliter est umbilicus'. On the hundreds of images showing the infant Christ's genitalia, see David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 13. On the less common images of the naked adult Christ, see Leo Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 59–60, 85, 132.

least in the Wisconsin copy).[178] As far-fetched as this may sound, in the *Buch der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit* the double-natured, divinely human revealed God is androgynous or hermaphroditic: a unity of contrary parts, human and divine; female and male.[179] In *De divisione naturae* (On the Division of Nature), the ninth-century Irish theologian John Scotus Eriugena, alluding to Galatians 3:28 had argued that the resurrected Christ had no sex, '"For in Jesus Christ there is neither male nor female," but only the true and whole man.'[180]

Elliot Wolfson points out the emphasis on the androgynous aspect of the Messiah in the thirteenth-century Kabbalist *Bahir*,[181] and finds similar gender blurring in the Christian Cabala of the Jewish convert to Lutheranism, Johann Kemper (1670–1716), in speculation on Sophia and the Holy Spirit from Jewish sources.[182] In *On the Mysteries*, the Neoplatonist Iamblichus writes of

178 There seem to be subtle differences between Wisconsin (rounded breast) and Vienna. The same applies for coloration, with the Basel Christ pink; the Vienna Christ white and lacking pigment; and the Rostock copy completely uncoloured. This speculation finds support from Cyril O'Regan, who writes in *Gnostic Apocalypse: Jacob Boehme's Haunted Narrative* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 246 'In Paracelsus himself Christ is not explicitly an androgynous figure. In Khunrath, however, … the clearer association of Christ with the *lapis philosophorum*, and thus the identity of *sol* and *luna*, encourages androgynous reading of Christ.'

179 See Ganzenmüller, 'Das Buch der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit', in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Technologie und der Alchemie* (Weinheim: Verlag Chemie, 1956); Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique*, 117. For more on hermaphrodites in alchemy, see Lawrence M. Principe, 'Revealing Analogies: The Descriptive and Deceptive Roles of Sexuality and Gender in Latin Alchemy', in Wouter J. Hanegraaff and Jeffrey J. Kripal (eds.), *Hidden Intercourse: Eros and Sexuality in the History of Western Esotericism* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 209–229 as well as Chapter 6 in this book. On the theme of the hermaphroditic Christ, see Leah DeVun, 'The Jesus Hermaphrodite: Science and Sex Difference in Premodern Europe', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 69:2 (2008): 193–218; eadem, *The Shape of Sex: Nonbinary Gender from Genesis to the Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2021). See also Wayne A. Meeks, 'The Image of the Androgyne: Some Uses of the Symbol in Earliest Christianity', *History of Religions* 13:3 (1974): 165–208; Adrian Thatcher, *God, Sex and Gender: An Introduction* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 139–140.

180 Leah DeVun, 'Heavenly hermaphrodites: sexual difference at the beginning and end of time', *Postmedieval: A Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies* 9:2 (2018): 132–146, at 137.

181 See Elliot R. Wolfson, *Language, Eros, Being: Kabbalistic Hermeneutics and Poetic Imagination* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2005), 167 concerning the emphasis on the androgynous aspect of the Messiah in the Bahir.

182 Elliot R. Wolfson, 'Angelic Embodiment and the Feminine Representation of Jesus: Reconstructing Carnality in the Christian Kabbalah of Johann Kemper', in Maria Diemling and Giuseppe Veltri (eds.), *The Jewish Body: Corporeality, Society, and Identity in the Renaissance and Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 395–426, at 397. See also David Morgan, *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 97–123 'The Masculinity of Christ'.

the Pythagoreans defining the Monad, God, as male and female; in the hermetic *Pimander* (quoted by Khunrath in another engraving), an androgynous *Nous* produces a son, the First Man, bisexual, like itself, and provides the world with seven androgynous beings corresponding to the seven planets; likewise in the hermetic *Asclepius* God possesses both sexes.[183] This motif is perhaps echoed by the presence of the Phoenix, which is itself sometimes described as hermaphroditic.[184]

This seems in keeping with Khunrath's presentation of Wisdom in the *Amphitheatre* as both the female figure of Sophia or Sapientia in the Old Testament and as Christ as the 'Eternal Wisdom of the Father' in the New Testament.[185] This first engraving is arguably an intentional foreshadowing of the androgynous and hermaphroditic central figures that appear in the following two circular images and the union of the two-fold *Oratory-Laboratory* in the fourth. Khunrath gives a sense of a Christological theme running through these figures:

> Observe here the Theosophical rite and manner of Praying, used by our Sage and by others similar to him … in great and arduous circumstances; by which pious antiquity used to address JEHOVAH in IHSVH CHRIST who had to be crucified, and not crucified in vain; he will become known to you, if you intently look at both the pictures and inscriptions of the first, second and fourth figures of this Amphitheatre.[186]

Perhaps having Ptolemaic diagrams of the cosmos in mind – but with a Christocentric rather than a Geocentric focus – the British occult author and member of the Golden Dawn Arthur Edward Waite (1857–1942) names Figure 1 the 'Cosmic Christ' and rightly considers it to be a 'Summary of the Christian

183 Marie Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite: Myths and Rites of the Bisexual Figure in Classical Antiquity* (London: Longacre Press, 1961), 76–78.

184 For references to the hermaphroditic character of the phoenix, see Roelof Van den Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix: According to Classical and Early Christian Traditions* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 368, 421. See also Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite*, 71.

185 Cf. Bernard McGinn (ed.), *Meister Eckhart, Teacher and Preacher* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1986), 267 on Christ as the 'Eternal Wisdom of the Father'.

186 *Amph.*II, 123 'Modum hîc & ritum obserua Theosophicum Orandi, Sapienti nostro aliisque sui similibus … in magnis & arduis vsitatum; quo in IHSVH CHRISTO crucifigendo, & crucifixo non frustra adoriebatur IEHOVAM pia vetustas: is innotescet tibi, si acutè intueberis & picturas & scripturas figurarum Amphitheatri huius primae, secundae & quartae.'

Kabalah'.[187] Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann aptly suggests that this image symbolically represents Theogony and the fiery Empyrean heaven, above the Sidereal heaven, the first revelation of the divine and the 'kabbalistic foundation of all being, divine as well as created'.[188]

Khunrath refers to his first circular figure as the *Sigillum Dei* (Seal of God) or *Sigillum Emes* (Seal of Truth), the latter phrase reinforcing the Hebraic nature of the image, both phrases of great significance for scholars of the English magus John Dee's 'Actions with Spirits', as shall be discussed in subsequent chapters.[189] Here let it suffice to note that the notion of Truth as the Seal of God apparently goes back at least as far as the Talmudic sage Rabbi Chanina.[190] Gregory of Nazianzus, whom Khunrath appears to have read, had described Christ as the 'image and seal of the power and operation of God'.[191] Khunrath mostly likely was also familiar with how Dionysius the Areopagite, discussing participation in the divine in *Divine Names*, introduces the idea of the divine archetype as a seal impressed on the wax that is man.[192]

Influenced here by the German humanist scholar Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522), Khunrath presents the Ten Commandments of the Decalogue, the ten *Sephiroth* or divine emanations of Kabbalah, as well as the ten *Shemoth* or divine names.[193] Bearing in mind that the *Sephiroth* were believed to mirror the actual structure of the godhead, a map of divine topography, and that this engraving also includes the most powerful names of God, it is hard to believe that this Seal, in addition to its meditative and mnemonic functions, was not considered replete with talismanic power.[194]

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187 A.E. Waite, *The Secret Doctrine of Israel: A Study of the Zohar and its connections* (London: William Rider & Son, 1913; repr. New York: Occult Research Press, n.d.), 323 & Plate 4, facing p. 292.

188 Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, 'Der Text der Bilder. Das ikonologische Programme von Khunraths *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae*', 48.

189 *Amph.*II, 11, 155. For more on this see chapter 4 on Khunrath's Christian Cabala.

190 John Lightfoot, *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae impensae in Evangelium S. Johannis* (London, 1671), 108 '[EMET] *Veritas, R, Chanina dicit Inde disce quod Sigillum Dei est Veritas.*'

191 Johann David H. Goldhorn (ed.), *Sancti Basilii ... et s. Gregorii theologi ... opera dogmatica selecta* (Leipzig: T.O. Weigel, 1854), 720, in the entry for 'Sigillum' in the 'Index Rerum': 'Christus est imago et sigillum potentiae et operationis Dei'.

192 Sarah Klitenic Wear and John Dillon, *Dionysius the Areopagite and the Neoplatonist Tradition: Despoiling the Hellenes* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 109.

193 *Amph.*II, 82, 124.

194 Cf. Vesa-Pekka Herva, 'Maps and Magic in Renaissance Europe', *Journal of Material Culture* 15:3 (2010): 323–343.

There can be no doubt, however, that this is a Christian image: the circumference may contain the Old Testament *Decalogue*, but the *Zentralschau* (vision from the centre) of this figure is the New Testament *Logos*, with all the divine names and emanations radiating from its centre.[195] Although at first sight an engraving of Christ would appear to be a direct contradiction of the Second Commandment's ban on graven images, Khunrath could have cited Luther's support for the use of devotional images in private rooms as 'memory or witness' of Christ's passion. Figure 1 conforms to Luther's desire that such images include 'mottoes', in the form of biblical quotations, so that 'one can have God's work and word always and everywhere before one's eyes'.[196] As we shall see with the rest of the *Amphitheatre* engravings, none belong to the extremes of the spectrum as 'pure scripture' or 'pure picture', but are each blends of writing, notation and picture.[197]

The details of this image and its inclusion of the *Sephiroth* and the *Shemoth* shall be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 4 on Khunrath's Cabala, but here a few comments are in order about the layout. Raphael Patai remarks on 'the impression of seeing a complex Jewish emblem written in Hebrew.'[198] There are details, however, some blatantly obvious, such as the central image of Christ, and others more subtle, that indicate a non-Jewish orientation. A close look at the concentric rings in this first circular engraving discovers the Hebrew alphabet printed clockwise in one ring, beginning with the first letter א *Aleph* beneath the right side of the *Tetraktys* and ending with ת *Tav* beneath the left side of the *Tetraktys*. The clockwise direction of these letters is obviously contrary to the convention of written or printed Hebrew. The letters of the divine language are nevertheless being used and their inclusion here in a Christian image, although unintelligible to most readers, 'proves its historical authenticity'.[199] Khunrath is indeed aware that the inclusion of so

195 On *Zentralschau* in relation to theosophical visions, see Antoine Faivre, 'The imagination … You mean fantasy, right?', in Wouter J. Hanegraaff, Peter J. Forshaw, and Marco Pasi (eds.), *Hermes Explains: Thirty Questions about Western Esotericism* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019), 80–87, at 82, 85.

196 Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 466, 458.

197 Christoph Lüthy and Alexis Smets, 'Words, Lines, Diagrams, Images: Towards a History of Scientific Imagery', *Early Science and Medicine* 14:1–3 (2009): 398–439, at 402.

198 Raphael Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists: A History and Source Book* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 156.

199 Ilia Rodov, 'Script in Christian Art', in Geoffrey Khan (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), Vol. 3, 462–477, at 464. Schmidt-Biggemann, 'Der Text der Bilder. Das ikonologische Programme von Khunraths *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae*', 50 is critical of the print and says that two of the *Sephiroth*, *Binah*

much Hebrew might deter some of his readers but justifies its presence with Zoroaster's advice not to change 'barbarous' names.[200] The same Hebrew words printed in particularly elegant letters at the top of the 1595 *Sigillum Dei* engraving (Fig. 2.7) appear in the 1609 edition's *Isagoge* to Figure 1 (Fig. 2.8) in the form of the *Trisagion* or Sanctus from Isaiah 6:3:

> Qadosh Qadosh Qadosh (Holy, Holy, Holy)
> YHVH Zebaoth (Lord of Hosts).
> Who was, Who is,
> Who is to come.
> The heavens are full, All the earth is full
> of the majesty of his glory.[201]
> Halleluiah Halleluiah
> Halleluiah.[202]



FIGURE 2.7 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), Circular Figure 1: Hebrew. Department of Special Collections, Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Duveen D 897

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and *Nezach* are printed wrong, with confusion between the letters *Beth* ב, *Kaf* כ, and *Nun* נ: 'Das Nun ist als Kaf verlesen … Das Nun ist fur ein Beth verlesen.'

200 *Amph.*II, 82 'Quærat aliquis, cur introduxerim in Amphitheatrum hoc HEBRÆA?' (Someone may ask why I have introduced HEBREW into this Amphitheatre?)

201 Revelation 1:4 '… et pax ab eo, qui est, et qui erat, et qui venturus est' (and peace, from him that is and that was and that is to come). Cf. The Sanctus of the Roman Mass: 'Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus, Deus Sabaoth, Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua'; Isaiah 6:3 'Plena est omnis terra gloria eius'.

202 Revelation 19: 1–5 'After this I heard a loud voice of a great multitude in heaven, saying "Hallelu-jah! Salvation and glory and power belong to our God, for his judgments are true and just;" … A second time they cried "Hallelujah! The smoke from her goes up forever and

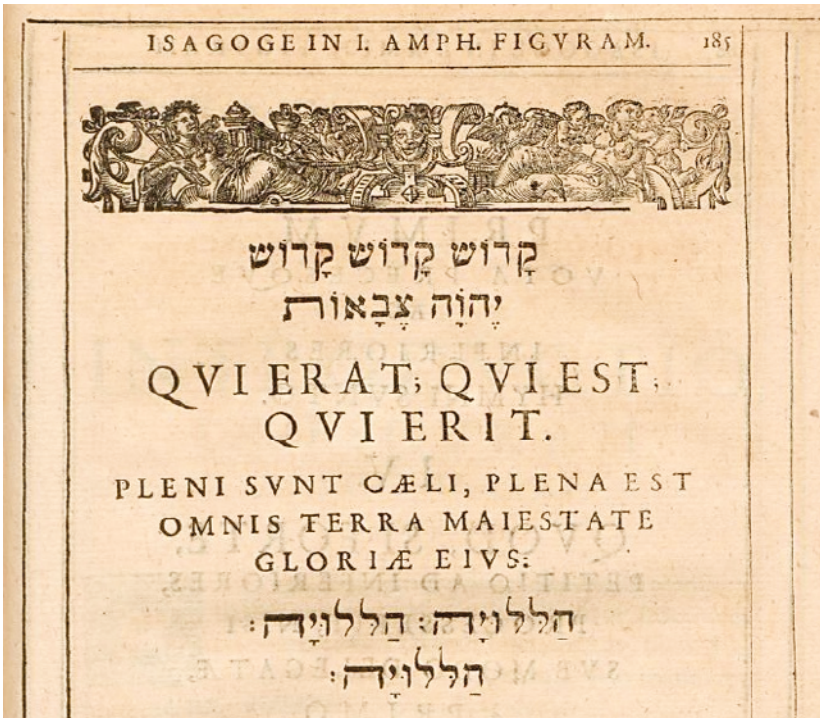


FIGURE 2.8 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Isagoge* or Commentary to the First Figure, detail. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

A copy of the 1609 *Amphitheatre* in Prague (Fig. 2.9), goes still further, labelling 59 elements in the first circular engraving for identification, from a central cluster around Christ (a1–4), moving outwards through the various bands (*Divine Names*: b1–11),[203] (*Sephiroth*: c1–10), (d1), (e1), (f1–6), (*Angelic Orders*: g1–10), (H), to (*Decalogue*: K1–10) at the circumference.[204]

ever." 'And the twenty-four elders and the four living creatures fell down and worshipped God who is seated on the throne, saying, "Amen, Hallelujah!" And from the throne came a voice, crying, "Praise our God, all you his servants, you who fear him, small and great".'

203 Whoever is adding these numbers appears to get muddled with the 10 Divine Names and the 5 letters of the Pentagrammaton YHSVH. On these, see Chapter 4 on Khunrath's Christian Cabala. My great thanks to Ivo Purš for helping me obtain a copy of this image.

204 Vladislav Zadrobílek (ed.), *Opus Magnum* (Prague: Trigon Press, 1997), 176. For a larger reproduction, see the recent Czech translation of Khunrath's *Amphitheatre*: Heinrich Khunrath, *Divadlo věčné Moudrosti a teosofická alchymie*, 34 'Kabalisticky Kristus', which provides labels for 49 of the elements.



FIGURE 2.9 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), Circular Figure 1, *Seal of God*, annotated. The Royal Canonry of Premonstratensians at Strahov. The Strahov Library, Prague, Shelf mark CX I 6
PHOTO: VLADO BOHDAN, INSTITUTE OF ART HISTORY OF THE CZECH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, PRAGUE

8 Circular Figure 2: Adam Androgyne

While Schmidt-Biggemann interprets the first circular figure as Theogony, for him the second is Cosmogony, and movement from the First to the Second Heaven. Here is shown the divine conception of primordial creation and at its centre a two-form Adam (Fig. 2.10).[205] I am tempted to modify this perceptive

205 Schmidt-Biggemann, 'Der Text der Bilder. Das ikonologische Programme von Khunraths *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae*', 44 presents the sequence: 1. Theogonie & Empyräum,

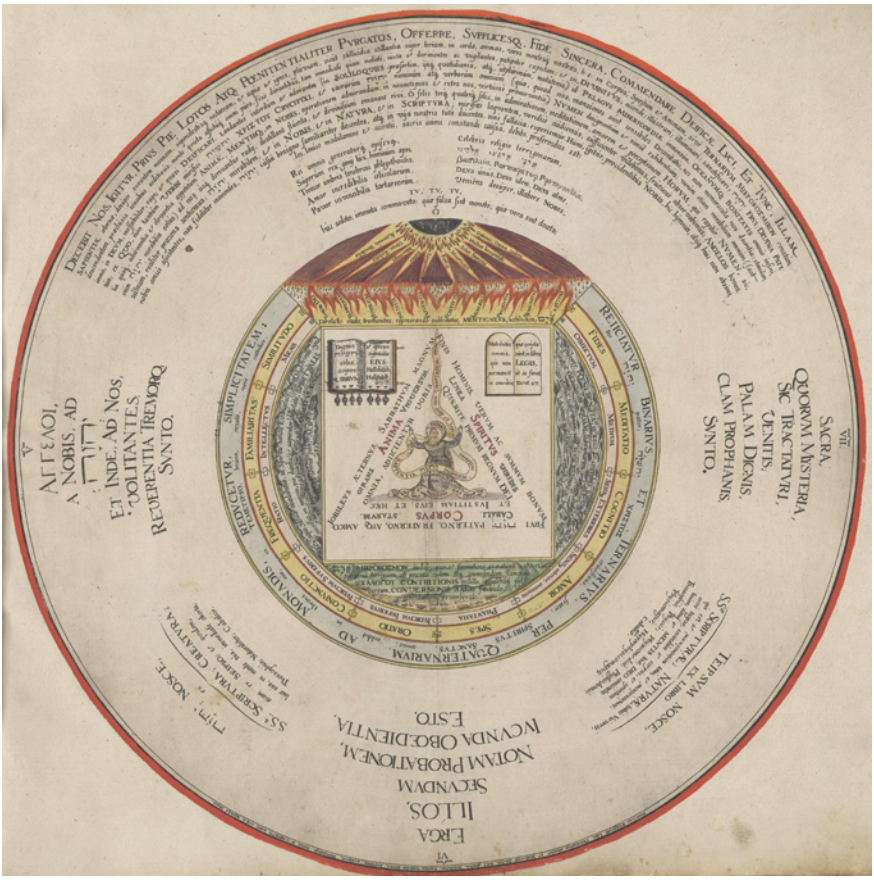


FIGURE 2.10 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), Circular Figure 2: *Adam Androgyne*. Department of Special Collections, Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Duveen D 897

observation by suggesting that here in the *Amphitheatre*'s Second Circular Figure we have both macro-cosmogony, the generation of the four elements of the universe, but also micro-cosmogony or anthropogony, the creation of Adam Protoplast, first-formed man.[206]

If Christ stands at the heart of Figure 1; here in the centre of Figure 2 we find kneeling, with arms outstretched and hands raised, a very different figure

2. Kosmogonie, 3. Philosophischer Stein, 4. Oratorium & Laboratorium.

206 Hallacker, 'Das Bild-Text-Verhältnis', 28 lists the themes of the four circular engravings as God (Fig. 1), Man (Fig. 2), Nature (Fig. 3), and the theosopher as Student of Wisdom (Fig. 4).



FIGURE 2.11 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), Circular Figure 2: *Adam Androgyne*, detail. Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, Linz, Shelfmark 46 N. 11

(Fig. 2.11). The first line of the band of words at the top of the engraving make it clear that this is an image of the pious theosopher:

> It will be fitting for Us, therefore, to offer ourselves first piously washed and penitently purified, and, on bended knee, with sincere faith, to commend ourselves to the Deific Light.[207]

While Christ, *theanthropos*, both god and man, dominates the first circular figure, as Wisdom Incarnate, here we have the image of the theosopher as Adam in an androgynous prelapsarian (or potentially post-resurrection) state, male on the left, female on the right, before the division into Adam and Eve.[208] This is based on Genesis 1:27 and 5:2 'Male and female created he them' (KJV). Adam's

207 Figure 2: 'Decebit Nos, igitur, prius piè lotos atque pœnitentialiter purgatos, offerre, supplicesque, fide sincera, commendare Deificæ Luci …'. Much of this passage is lifted verbatim from Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico*. See Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Johannes Pistorius (ed.), *Artis Cabalisticae: hoc est, Reconditae Theologiae et Philosophiae Scriptorvm* (Basel, 1587), 908: 'Decebit nos prius quidem purgatos offere, commendareque Deificae luci …'.

208 On the concept of androgyny in Western esotericism see Antoine Faivre and Frédérick Tristan (eds.), *L'Androgyne* (Albin Michel: Paris 1986); and Antoine Faivre (ed.), *L'Androgyne dans la littérature. Actes du colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle, juin–juillet 1987* (Albin Michel:

image here alludes to the preceding circular figure with the advice, 'MAN having put on CHRIST, rejecting the binary; and imitating him, Fear GOD, and keep his commandments.'[209] Although Szulakowska mistranscribes 'Christo indutus' (having put on) as 'Christo inductus' (led by Christ),[210] it is likely that Khunrath is here alluding to Galatians 3:27 (For as many of you as have been baptized in Christ, have put on Christ).[211] Khunrath elsewhere writes of this as involving an *imitatio Christi* in which the theosopher first identifies with the suffering Christ before any ascent:

> Patiently bearing one's cross, one carries also Christ's; who being put on (indutus), one imitates him. For him the door of the virtues is opened, he is let into the EVERLASTING KINGDOM OF WISDOM; but he who avoids Discipline is excluded. Through difficulties to honours.[212] It is necessary for us first of all to be with Christ in the infernal regions, before we may ascend with him to Heaven.[213]

The figure's arms are raised in the precatory posture of the *Orant* or, perhaps, *Christophore*, bearer of Christ, displaying the *Amphitheatre*'s call to a combination of contemplative and active life in the imperatives 'Ora' (Pray) on the left, male arm, and 'Labora' (Work) on the right, female one. It is worth noting the presence of the New Testament's Book of Seven Seals with the Old Testament's Ten Commandments of Mosaic Law, flanking the androgyne, with the observation that Christ YHSVH (who stands at the centre of Khunrath's Seal of God in Figure 1) 'alone is worthy to take the BOOK and open ITS seals.'[214] Although the placement of the New Testament on the left might at first seem

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Paris 1990). On *Adam-Androgyne* as the Theosopher, see *Chaos* (1597), 210 'Ein Theosophus'; [margin] 'Wie in secunda Amphitheatri … figura.'

209 Figure 2: 'HOMO binarium reijciens CHRISTO indutus: & eum imitans.'

210 Szulakowska, *Alchemy of Light*, 124. Cf. Schmidt-Biggemann, 'Der Text der Bilder. Das ikonologische Programme von Khunraths *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae*', 53 and in *Geschichte der christlichen Kabbala*, Vol. 2, 72, who provides the correct transcription of 'indutus', but translating it as 'der Christus angezogen hat' (who has attracted Christ).

211 Galatians 3:27 'quicumque enim in Christo baptizati estis Christum induistis.' Cf. The Protestant Reformer Johannes Brenz (1499–1570), *Opera* (1590), 435 'Galat. 3. Quicunque baptisati estis, Christum induistis. An Christo indutus, non est Christianus coram Deo perfectus?'

212 Literally: 'To high places, by narrow ways.'

213 *Amph.*II, 114 'Crucem patienter ferens suam, baiulat & Christi; quo indutus, eundem imitatur: huic ianua aperitur virtutum, hic intromittitur ad REGNVM SAPIENTIÆ PERPETVVM: Disciplinam fugiens, excluditur. Ad augusta, per angusta. Oportet nos prius esse cum CHRISTO in Orco, antequam cum eo ascendimus in Cælum.'

214 Figure 2: 'Dignus יהשוה solus, accipere LIBRVM, & aperire signacula EIVS'. Cf. *Amph.*II, 16. Cf Revelation 5:9 'And they sung a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book, and

counter-intuitive, it is likely that the author wished to associate the New Testament with Adam and Prayer; the Old Testament with Eve and Work. This figure should be taken as representing both Adam Protoplast, the first-formed Adam created as both male and female, who existed in perfect union before the Fall,[215] and at the same time the inner or internal man and human nature, the most perfect of all created things.[216]

As shall be seen in the following chapters on Khunrath's Theosophy and Christian Cabala, this highly complex second circular figure, with its *Grades of Cognition* and its *Ladder of Union*, plus its description of the theosopher's spiritual purgation in the language of alchemy,[217] encapsulates much of the *Amphitheatre*'s message, as indicated by the greater number of internal references to it than to any of the other figures.

9 Circular Figure 3: Rebis or Alchemical Hermaphrodite

The third circular figure (Fig. 2.12), which Manuel Bachmann and Thomas Hofmeier call a 'Picture-Compendium of Paracelsian Alchemy',[218] presents 'the triune Hermaphroditic universal Son of the Macrocosm, the threefold Regimen, [and its] universal threefold use'.[219] Whereas the androgyne in Circular

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to open the seals thereof: for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation' (KJV).

215 See *Amph.*II, 10, 81, 137, 221 for references. See too Figulus in *De Igne Magorum* (1608), sig.)(iij^{v} 'der warhafftige Hermaphroditische ADAM.' On this theme, see Edgard Jégut (trans.), *Traité des Révolutions des Âmes: Sepher Ha-Gilgulim*, d'après Isaac Louria, edited by François Secret (Milan: Archè, 1987), 378–9.

216 *Amph.*II, 209 'hominis interioris fronte, diuinitùs notatus, & ceu obtectus atque ornatus' (Divinely marked, and as it were adorned and covered, on the forehead of the inner man).

217 Adam and Eve also appear in alchemical works. See, for instance, Bayerische Staats-Bibliothek, Hss Cgm 598 *Buch der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*, f. 2^{v}. A version of the same image appears later in print in Hieronymus Reusner, *Pandora, Das ist/ Die Edelste Gab Gottes* (Basel, 1588), 249. See Chapter 6 on Khunrath's alchemy, Fig. 73. For a textual reference, see Hans Christoph Reinhart, *Das Valete: Uber den Tractat der Arcanorum Basilii Valentini zusammen …* (Halle, 1608), sig. C1^{v} 'unser rother Adam und weisse Eva'.

218 Bachmann and Hofmeier, *Geheimnisse der Alchemie*, 161 'ein Bild-Kompendium der paracelsistischen Alchemie.'

219 Khunrath, *Magnesia*, 6–7 'Aus dem dreyeinigen Hermaphroditischen allgemeinem SOHN der grossen Welt; in Dreyeinigem Regiment; zu Allgemeinen nützlichen dreyeinigen BRAUCH und ENDE; wie in circumferentia der dritten Figur/ und an andern örten mehr/ meines AMPHITHEATRI SAPIENTIÆ ÆTERNÆ.' See also *Chaos* (1597), sig. Aij^{v} 'Das LAPIS Philosophorum admirabilis, der wunderbare STEIN der Weisen … ist mit unfehlbaren und Diamantischen Grundfesten/ in der dritten Figura meines AMPHITHEATRI SAPIENTIAE aeternae, &c. gnugsam dargethan und erwiesen'; *Confessio … De Chao Physico-Chemicorvm catholico* (1596), sigs. A2$^{r–v}$ 'Iure de re omni primum queari solet, an sit; deinde quid sit;

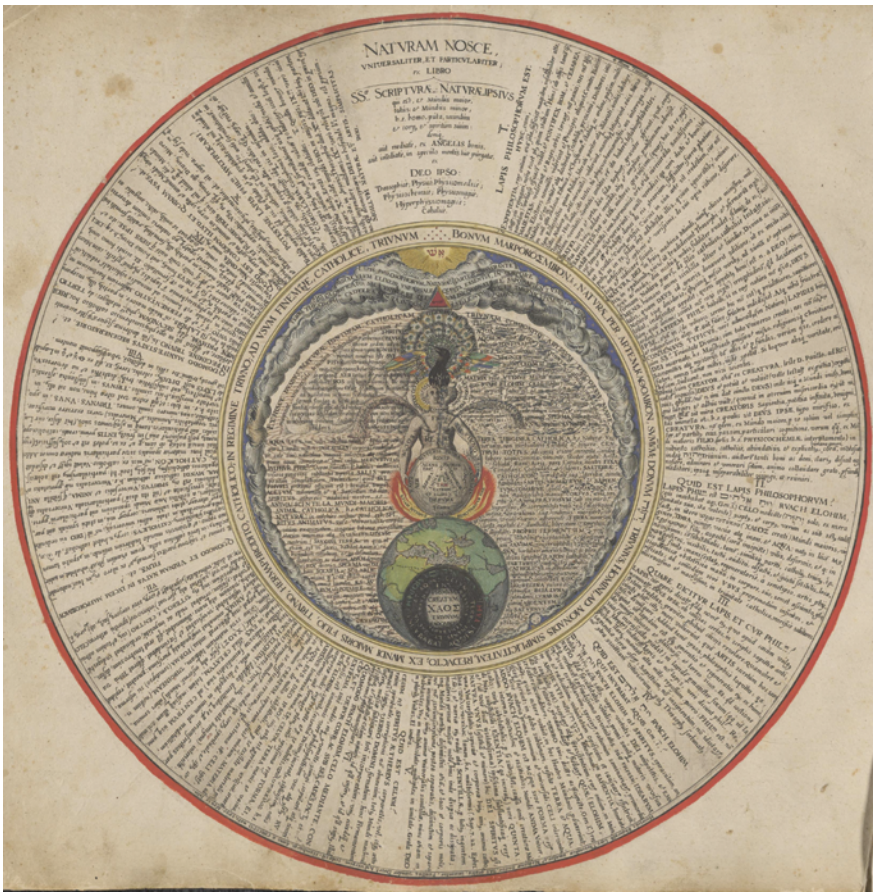


FIGURE 2.12 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), Circular Figure 3: *Rebis*. Department of Special Collections, Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Duveen D 897

Figure 2 could be argued to represent an original unity that was subsequently split, along the lines of Aristophanes' account of the androgyne in Plato's *Symposium*,[220] at the centre of Figure 3 we find the *Rebis* or Hermaphrodite,

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Lapidem philosophorum esse, fundamentis septem (qui numerus non, secundum mendacij patrem, mendacij, sed potius, veritatis mysteriosae sacer, iuxta ss scripturae spiritum veritatis) demonstratum est apodicticis & adamantinis figura Amphitheatri sapientiae aeternae etc tertia nostri: quid sit, tam ex definitione eius a nobis ibidem posita, quam ex confessione praesente, constabit. Hisce feliciter fruere; & bene vale. Magdaeburgi intransitu itinerario. Anno a verbo incarnato MDXCVI. Aegidij die.'

220 Although Plato's androgyne is completely different, all humans being originally four-legged, four-armed, and two-faced and there being three original genders. See Campanini,

personification of the compounding, conjunction or union of two opposing principles (Form and Matter; Active and Passive; Volatile and Fixed; Wet and Dry),[221] symbolised in medieval alchemical imagery by the Chemical Wedding of the Philosophers' Sun and Moon, Sulphur and Mercury, or Philosophical Gold and Silver.[222] While *Adam Androgyne* represents the human microcosm or lesser world, embedded in the four elements of the macrocosm or greater world, here the *Rebis* represents a second microcosm, Magnesia of the Philosophers and the Philosophers' Stone, born in the alchemical laboratory. In Khunrath's words, it is the 'Son of the Macrocosm', counterpart to Christ as the 'Son of the Microcosm'.[223]

As Barbara Obrist and Mino Gabriele in particular have shown, there is a rich tradition of visual symbolism in alchemy, beginning with manuscript works and publications attributed, for example, to Gratheus and Constantine of Pisa, dating from the fourteenth century,[224] George Ripley (1415–1490) and Petrus Bonus (1417–1497), Giovanni Battista Nazari (fl. 1572),[225] and the mythical

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'Shaping the Body of the Godhead', 370; Peter T. Struck, *Birth of the Symbol: Ancient Readers at the Limits of Their Texts* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), 79; Moshe Idel, 'Androgyny and Equality in the Theosophico-Theurgical Kabbalah,' *Diogenes* 208 (2005): 27–38, at 27.

221 Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique*, 156.

222 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), 196–7 'Rebis, h.e. Res ex duabus Una, reipsa Bina, q:d: Unius rei res bina, Ein Zwey-Ein-Ding, als Sulphur und [Mercurius]/ (daraus Cinober der Weisen sublimiret wird …).' Looking closely, however, we also find the Paracelsian ternary of Mercury, Sulphur and Salt present in the same figure.

223 For more on this, see chapter 6 on Khunrath's alchemy.

224 See H. Birkhan, 'The Alchemical Tracts of Gratheus Filius Philosophi in Codex Vindobonensis 2372', in Z.R.W.M. Von Martels (ed.), *Alchemy Revisited* (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 162–170; idem, *Die alchemistische Lehrdichtung des Gratheus filius philosophi in Cod. Vind. 2372. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur okkulten Wissenschaft im Spatmittelalter* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992); Barbara Obrist, *Constantine of Pisa: The Book of the Secrets of Alchemy: Introduction, Critical Edition, Translation and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 1990).

225 On Ripley's images, see Stanton J. Linden, 'The Ripley Scrolls and *The Compound of Alchymy*', in Alison Adams and Stanton J. Linden (eds.), *Emblems and Alchemy* (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 1998), 73–94; Timmermann, *Verse and Transmutation*, Chapter 4 'The Ripley Scrolls: Alchemical Poetry, Images and Authority'; Jennifer M. Rampling, 'A Secret Language: The Ripley Scrolls', in Sven Dupré, Dedo von Kerssenbrock-Krosigk, and Beat Wismer (eds.), *Art and Alchemy: The Mystery of Transformation* (Munich: Hirmer, 2014), 38–49, with reproductions of images from the British Library, London, 46–49. On Bonus, see Völlnagel, *Alchemie. Die Königliche Kunst*, 136–143; on Nazari, see Alfredo Perifano, 'Giovanni Battista Nazari et Francesco Colonna: la réecriture alchimique de la *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 66:2 (2004): 241–259; idem, 'Iconographie et alchimie: de quelques images contenues dans *Della tramutatione metallica sogni tre* de Giovan Battista Nazari', in Michel Plaisance

fifteenth-century monk Basil Valentine – now considered to be the work of Johann Thölde (*c.*1565–1624)[226] – as well as the *Splendor Solis*, dating from 1532–45, attributed to the legendary Salomon Trismosin.[227] Khunrath's inclusion of the hermaphrodite connects his *Amphitheatre* with previous German works on alchemy, most notably the already-mentioned oldest alchemical manuscript in the German vernacular, *Das Buch der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit* (The Book of the Holy Trinity) and the Latin *Aurora consurgens* (The Rising Dawn),[228] both dating from the first decades of the fifteenth century. To these should be added the influential alchemical florilegium, the *Rosarium Philosophorum* (Rose-Garden of the Philosophers), which Lawrence Principe suggests is 'probably the earliest text to incorporate allegorical figures',[229] its text dating from the fourteenth century; certainly one of the first printed alchemical works to include allegorical figures, with its famous sequence of twenty woodcuts depicting the alchemical opus as the courtship, coupling and union of the royal pair, Gabricus and Beya.[230]

Prior to the fifteenth century, the hermaphrodite had not been a common feature of alchemical literature. Early stages of its development can be found in the works of Albertus Magnus and Petrus Bonus,[231] where it is discussed

(ed.), *Le Livre illustré Italien au XVI^e siècle. texte/image. Actes du colloque organisé par le Centre de recherche Culture et Société en Italie aux XV^e, XVI^e et XVII^e siècles de l'Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle (1994)* (Paris: Klincksieck, Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1999), 247–263.

226 Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique*, 37. On Basil Valentine's *Twelve Keys*, see Lawrence M. Principe, *The Secrets of Alchemy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 144; idem, '"Chemical Translation" and the Role of Impurities in Alchemy: Examples from Basil Valentine's Triumph-Wagen', *Ambix* 34 (1987): 21–30.

227 Jörg Völlnagel, *Splendor solis oder Sonnenglanz: Studien zu einer alchemistischen Bilderhandschrift* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2004); Michael Roth and Brigitte Reineke, *Splendor solis, oder, Sonnenglanz: von der Suche nach dem Stein der Weisen* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2005); Anne-Françoise Cannella, 'Alchemical Iconography at the Dawn of the Modern Age: The *Splendor solis* of Salomon Trismosin', in Wolfgang Lefèvre, Jürgen Renn, and Urs Schoepflin (eds.), *The Power of Images in Early Modern Science* (New York: Springer Science+Business Media, 2003), 107–116.

228 Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique*; Mino Gabriele, *Alchimia e Iconologia* (Udine: Forum, 1997). For reproductions, see Völlnagel, *Alchemie. Die Königliche Kunst*.

229 Principe, *The Secrets of Alchemy*, 74.

230 Urszula Szulakowska, *The Alchemical Virgin Mary in the Religious and Political Context of the Renaissance* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), 88. The *Rosarium Philosophorum* is included in *De Alchimia Opuscula* (Frankfurt, 1550), Vol. 2, the title page of which is adorned with a representation of the *Rebis* or hermaphrodite, after the illustrated poem *Sol und Luna*, included in the *Rosarium*. It is a close copy, albeit reversed, of a hermaphrodite appearing in the *Buch der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*.

231 Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique*, 32–33, 157.

as a symbol of the union of the opposing hot/dry and cold/wet qualities of matter according to Aristotelian natural philosophy, with both authors conceptualising the Philosophers' Stone as a hermaphroditic plant or egg. In new fifteenth-century works like the *Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*, however, the Philosophers' Stone is visually represented as a hermaphroditic person.[232]

In the *Book of the Holy Trinity*, the image of the Mercurial Hermaphrodite appears with the quasi-biblical inscription *Rex noster dyademate coronatus* (Our King crowned with a diadem).[233] It shows the union of a male figure on the left and a female on the right (Fig. 2.13), having, respectively, gold and blue bat-like wings stretched out behind them. Following colour indicators mentioned in the text, this would appear to signify the union of the Sun and Moon. The male holds a rolled or coiled serpent in his hand, while the female holds a chalice from which rise three serpents.[234] These represent the fixed male Sulphur and the volatile female Mercury that unite to form the Philosophers' Stone.[235] Reinforcing the binary nature of this union, we have the two plants Solaria and Lunaria, to the left and right of the hermaphrodite.[236] The figure stands on two rocks, symbolising the two mountains (Sulphur and Mercury) in which one finds the philosophical stone, as described in the *Liber Hermetis* (Book of Hermes).[237] Beneath this is a dragon, more accurately an amphisbaena, a snake or dragon with a head at both ends, which usually signifies quicksilver or mercurial vapour.[238]

232 DeVun, 'The Jesus Hermaphrodite', 203.

233 Cf. Isaiah 62:3 (Douay): 'And thou shalt be a crown of glory in the hand of the Lord, and a royal diadem in the hand of thy God'; Revelation 12:3 'And there was seen another sign in heaven: and behold a great red dragon, having seven heads, and ten horns: and on his head seven diadems.'

234 See *Buch der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*, Munich, Bayerische StaatsBibliothek, Hss Cgm 598, f. 105^{v}. For a manuscript variant with a rather feline looking 'dragon' in the male figure's hand and three birds in the chalice held by the woman, see Vladimir Karpenko and Ivo Purš (eds.), *Alchemy and Rudolf II, Exploring the Secrets of Nature in Central Europe in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Prague: Artefactum, 2016), 67, from Universitaire Bibliotheken, Leiden, Cod. Voss. Chym. F.29, fol. 96^{r}.

235 Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique*, 153.

236 On Solaria and Lunaria, see, for example, Geber, *Summa Perfectionis*, Chapter 25 'De medicina Lunari & Solari pro corporibus imperfectis', in *Artis Chemicae Principes, Avicenna atque Geber* (Basel, 1572), 676–678.

237 On the *Liber Hermetis*, see William R. Newman, *The Summa Perfectionis of Pseudo-Geber: A Critical Edition, Translation & Study* (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 7–10.

238 Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique*, 154. See Martin Ruland, *Lexicon Alchemiae sive Dictionarium Alchemisticum* (Frankfurt, 1612), 189: 'Draco ist Mercurius' etc. On the amphisbaena, a name meaning 'going both ways', see Angela Giallongo, *The Historical Enigma of the Snake Woman from Antiquity to the 21st Century*, trans. Anna C. Forster (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), 30 'a mythical snake-like



FIGURE 2.13 *Buch der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*, fol. 105^{v} Hermaphrodite. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, Hss Cgm 598

creature with two heads – one at each end. … born out of drops of Medusa's blood as Perseus carried her head above the desert.' On it having two heads, see Pliny, *Natural History*, Book VIII, Chapter XXIII. *Of Serpents*, 44 and 30.128 on the dead amphisbaena as an abortifacient. On springing from the dripping blood of the gorgon Medusa's severed head, see Lucan, *Pharsalia* ix.719. Maier refers to the amphisbaena in *Arcana arcanissima* (London, 1614), 147 'id viperae utrinque caput habenti nomen est'; 151 'Amphisbaenam occidit, duplici capite serpentem'.



FIGURE 2.14 Reusner, *Pandora, das ist die edelste Gab Gottes* (1588), 239 Hermaphrodite. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH2083 A



FIGURE 2.15 Reusner, *Pandora, das ist die edelste Gab Gottes* (1588), 261 Hermaphrodite. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH2083 A

The illustration of the Mercurial Hermaphrodite in the *Book of the Holy Trinity*, enjoyed a great success in later alchemical imagery.[239] One of the first published image sequences in alchemy, the *De Alchimia Opuscula* (Little Work on Alchemy), which included the famous *Rosarium Philosophorum* (1550), features a very similar hermaphroditic figure, albeit reversed (Fig. 2.16),[240] and with the plant Lunaria replaced by the joint Christian and alchemical image of a pelican feeding its young.[241] Hieronymus Reusner's *Pandora, das ist die*

239 Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique*, 155.

240 *De Alchimia Opuscula* (Frankfurt, 1550), Vol. 2, title page. The serpent held by the male half has uncoiled.

241 On the Pelican as a Christological symbol, see Patricia Cox Miller, *In the Eye of the Animal: Zoological Imagination in Ancient Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 30–31. See also Sarah Kay, *Animal Skins and the Reading Self in Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 91 'Beasts as Benefactors: The Self-Sacrificing Pelican'. For a variation on this theme, with a phoenix



FIGURE 2.16 *Rosarium Philosophorum* (1550), X iij^{v} 'Display of Perfection', Hermaphrodite. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM O 63-8113



FIGURE 2.17 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Rebis*, detail

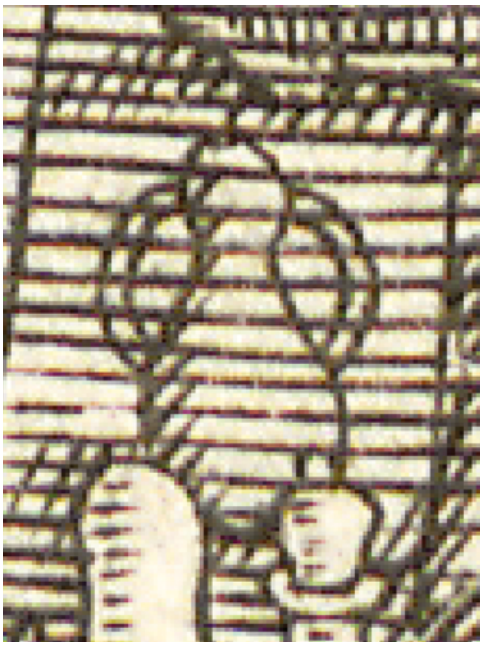


FIGURE 2.18 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Oratory-Laboratory*, detail: Pelican

edelste Gab Gottes (Pandora, that is the noblest Gift of God, 1582), published during Khunrath's lifetime, contains woodcuts clearly borrowing from both works (Figs. 2.14 & 2.15).

It is notable that Khunrath's *Rebis* follows either the *Rosarium* or the *Pandora* in presenting a two-sexed being, golden crowned solar male on the left, silver diademed lunar female on the right (thereby echoing the gender placement of the heads of Adam and Eve in Circular Figure 2). Above its head is perched a large bird. The *Rebis* holds a sphere representing, according to the seventeenth-century commentary of Nicolas De Villiers, 'what is necessary for the artist to do to reach the end of the operation'.[242] This is the alchemical microcosm, itself held above the large globe of the worldly macrocosm.

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instead, see Edward Kelley, *Tractatus duo egregii, De Lapide Philosophorum, una cum Theatro astronomiae terrestri, cum Figuris* (Hamburg, 1676), 116 'in monte picto stabat phoenix pectus mordens, ex quo sanguis, quem pulli excipiebant …' (On the mountain painted was standing a Phoenix, biting its breast, from which [flowed] blood, which the chicks received).

242 De Villiers, 'Commentaire sur l'*Amphithéâtre*', 530 'Bref, c'est l'oeuure des philosophes que nous uoyons estres figurée par ce que tient l'androgine de la troisiesme figure en ses deux



FIGURE 2.19 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), Circular Figure 3: *Rebis*, detail: Palingraphia. Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, Linz

Sergius Kodera suggests that the body of the *Rebis* (Fig. 2.17) is shaped like the laboratory distillatory vessel called the *Pelican* (Fig. 2.18), 'in which the elements are recycled on a continual basis.'[243]

Even a cursory glance at the woodcuts and engravings in the *Buch der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*, *Rosarium Philosophorum* and *Pandora* perceives that Khunrath's third *Amphitheatral* figure is far more elaborate *in pictura* and *scriptura*, in the complexity of its image and the profusion of its text. It even plays with the very act of vision, experimenting with palingraphia or mirror-writing, with the words in the arc of liquid gushing from the alchemical sign for Sulphur on the male nipple of the *Rebis* printed in reverse (Fig. 2.19): 'uersus orientem sanguis ♌ [Leonis] purus' (pure blood of the Lion, facing the East).[244]

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mains et où est merqué ce qu'il est necessere à l'artiste de fere pour paruenir à la fin de l'operation …'.

243 Manfred Horstmanshoff, Helen King, and Claus Zittel (eds.), *Blood, Sweat and Tears: The Changing Concepts of Physiology from Antiquity into Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 139–170, at 147.

244 On the use of mirror writing by alchemists to disguise their ideas, see Linda A. Stone-Ferrier, *Dutch Prints of Daily Life: Mirrors of Life or Masks of Morals: Essays and Catalogue*

10 Avis Hermetis: Hermes' Bird

In the First Circular Figure, Christ was presented above a fiery phoenix, symbol of resurrection, a bird that also makes its appearance in some alchemical texts as a symbol of the final stage of the Philosophers' Stone.[245] A particularly noteworthy presence in Khunrath's *Rebis* engraving is again a bird; this time not at the feet of the central figure, but instead perched on its head. Two possible precursors to Khunrath's figure are the image of a large blue eagle, symbol of quicksilver, embracing a naked hermaphroditic pair joined at the hip in the *Aurora Consurgens*; all three standing on a heap of smaller blue birds (Fig. 2.20), and the first figure in Hieronymus Reusner's *Pandora* (1582), 'The Work for the White and the Red', of a naked Queen standing on two alchemical furnaces bearing alembics, flanked by the Sun, Moon, and groups of ascending and descending birds (volatile spirits), with an eagle perched on her crown (Fig. 2.21).[246]

Just as the blue eagle in the *Aurora Consurgens* is identified as quicksilver or mercury, so too is Khunrath's bird, which bears the words 'Avis Hermetis' or 'Bird of Hermes' on its wings.[247] As shall be discussed in the chapter on Khunrath's alchemy, his 1595 image is far more complex in its representation, for it is a multicoloured composite formed of several birds (Raven, Swan, Peacock, Eagle, Phoenix) that symbolise various colour changes related to alchemical processes (Figs. 2.22–2.26). The importance of Mercury for Khunrath's alchemy is quietly emphasised in the way the focal point of the image is the very bottom of the glyph for Mercury at the *Rebis*'s navel ☿, just above the spherical Philosophers' Stone (Fig. 2.22).

(Lawrence, KS: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, 1983), 52; Serge Hutin, *A History of Alchemy* (New York: Walker and Company, 1963), 4; Claire Fanger (ed.), *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), 81.

245 Tilton, *The Quest for the Phoenix*, 66 n. 129. Read, *Prelude to Chemistry*, 146; Nigg, *The Phoenix: An Unnatural Biography of a Mythical Beast*, 237. Andreas Libavius, *Alchymia, recognita, emendata, et aucta* (Frankfurt, 1606), Libavius, *Commentariorum Alchemiae* (Frankfurt, 1606), Part 2, Treatise 4, *De Lapide Philosophorum*, engravings on p. 51 includes Phoenix at top; p. 53 ouroboros etc. See Michael Toxites, *Onomastica II. I Philosophicum, Medicum, Synonymum ex varijs vulgaribusque linguis. II. Theophrasti Paracelsi: hoc est, earum vocum, quarum in scriptis eius solet usus esse, explication* (Strasbourg, 1574), 435 'Foenix, lapis philosophicus'; Paracelsus, *Fasciculus medicinae veteris et non novae* (Frankfurt, 1581), 130^{r} 'Filius unius diei, est lapis philosophicus. … Foenix/ vel Phoenix, est filius unius diei'; Gerard Dorn, *Dictionarium Theophrasti Paracelsi* (Frankfurt 1583 and 1584), 44; Ruland, *Lexicon* (1612), 222 'Foenix vel phoenix, filius unius diei, Der Philosophisch Stein.'

246 Reusner, *Pandora, das ist die edelste Gab Gottes* (1588), 225.

247 Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 160, 167.



FIGURE 2.20 'Avis Hermetis', in *Aurora Consurgens*, Ms. Rh.172, f. 1. Zentralbibliothek, Zurich



FIGURE 2.21 'Avis Hermetis', in Reusner, *Pandora* (1588), 225. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH2083 A

With his inclusion of a Bird of Hermes, Khunrath was tapping into a long tradition. Marcellin Berthelot provides a reference from antiquity, in which the Bird of Hermes is described as 'the spirit of the fire of nature, enclosed in the moisture of hermetic mercury'.[248]

A precursor to Khunrath's composite image can be found in the Ripley Scrolls, attributed to the fifteenth-century English alchemist George Ripley (*c*.1415–1490), such as in the sixteenth-century copy in the Wellcome Library, London. Here, however, not as a combination of various birds, but rather as

248 Marcellin Berthelot, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, 3 vols. (Paris: Georges Steinheil, 1887–1888), Vol. 3, 140 Zosime, III.vii. Sur l'évaporation de l'eau divine (Qui fixe le mercure) (1) … Ce qui me surprenait, c'était la cuisson de l'oiseau (4) soumis à la filtration; … note 4. On lit dans la *Bibl. des philos. chimiques*, p. 583: Oiseau d'Hermes l'esprit du feu de nature, enclos dans l'humide du mercure hermétique …, ou la chaleur naturelle unie à l'humide radical./ Le mot oiseau a donc un sens emblématique,. Il s'explique par le texte qui suit et par les fig. 25, 26, 27 (*Introd*., 149 et 150).

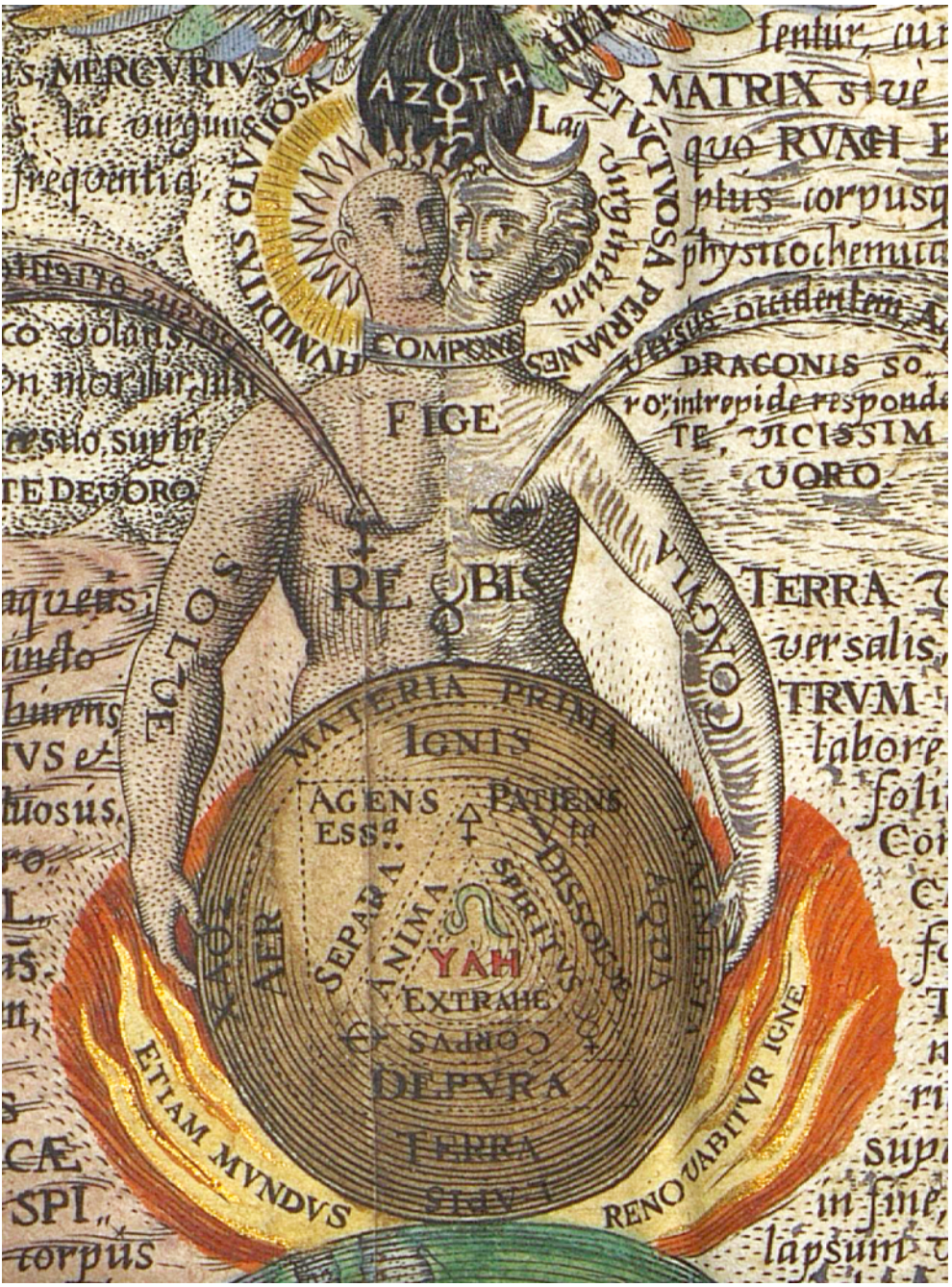


FIGURE 2.22 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Rebis*, detail: Hermaphrodite's body. Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, Linz



FIGURE 2.23 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Rebis*, detail: Hermes' Bird. Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, Linz



FIGURE 2.24 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Rebis*, detail: Hermes' Bird. University of Wisconsin-Madison, Duveen D 897



FIGURE 2.25 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Rebis*, detail: Hermes' Bird. Hessische Landes und Hochschulbibliothek, Darmstadt



FIGURE 2.26 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Rebis*, detail: Hermes' Bird. Universitätsbibliothek Basel

the golden body of an eagle with the head of a bearded king, standing on a water-filled sphere (Fig. 2.27), beneath which one reads

> In the Sea withouten lees
> standeth the birde of Hermes
> eatinge his winges variable
> and maketh himselfe full stable
> when all his feathers be from him gone
> he standeth still here as a bone.[249]

249 London, Wellcome MS 693 'Rotulum hieroglyphicum G. Riplaei Equitis Aurati'. See Timmermann, *Verse and Transmutation*, 50, 117; poem 56. Timmermann humorously, but rather unflatteringly describes the bird as looking like a pigeon or a chicken.



FIGURE 2.27 *Ripley Scroll*, detail: Birde of Hermes. The Wellcome Library, London, Western Manuscript 693

Immediately beneath this we read 'The Birde of Hermes is my name: eatinge my winges to make me tame'.[250] The bird's eating its wings symbolises the fixation of volatile mercury.[251]

250 Cf. Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Mellon MS 41 Ripley Scroll with 'The Bede [sic] of Hermes is my name'.

251 Cf. Stanton J. Linden (ed.), *The Alchemy Reader: From Hermes Trismegistus to Isaac Newton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 116 'The Bird of Hermes symbolizes the

Khunrath's composite image of several birds, however, is novel. Previously most texts that did include avian imagery restricted it to single birds, such as a raven or an eagle.[252] Earlier references to the 'Bird of Hermes', simply identified it as a stork, an eagle or a goose.[253] In his engraving, Khunrath is taking the idea of the compound hermaphrodite a stage further. While the image of the *Rebis* represents the matter of the Stone, the Bird of Hermes represents the transformations that the matter undergoes during the processes of the alchemical work.

We are fortunate to have several manuscripts that show the impact that Khunrath's image had on alchemical culture. A particularly intriguing example is found in the 22-page manuscript in a mixture of German and Latin, *Symbola Chiroglifica. Totius Laboris Nostri Alchimici, Cum Annexis Explicantibus Notis* (Hieroglyphic Symbols of Our Whole Alchemical Work, with Explanatory

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mercurial vapours as they ascend in the alembic during distillation and sublimation, and descend as celestial rain or dew, washing the black earth …' 'And] the name of the philosophical bird or chick born from the vessel of the philosopher's egg.' (DAI 25). Cf. Philippus Morgenstern (trans.), *Turba Philosophorum, Das ist, Das Buch von der güldenen Kunst* (Basel, 1613), 386 who associates the bird with quicksilver, stating that it is called the 'Bird of Hermes' or the 'Chick of Hermogenes' and 'calcined earth': 'Daß ists daß der Philosophous gesagt hat in dem Buch der Turba. … das ist Argentum vivum, daß du in ihm findem wirst/ daß da der Vogel Hermetis genandt wirdt/ und der Pullus Hermogenis, und die Calcinirte Erden …'; 319 'Philosophus in der Turba … ein Vogel Hermetis. Diese Aschen achte bey Leib nicht geringe …'. In his *Lexicon Alchemiae* (1612), 87, however, Martin Ruland declares that the 'Bird of Hermes is Red Lead in the middle of the Egg': 'Auis Hermetis, ist das rothe Bley/ mitten in dem Ey'.

252 See Ruland, *Lexicon Alchemiae* (1612), 21 on Aetites or 'Eagle-stones'; 23 on 'Ahusal', i.e. Arsenical Sulphur, also known as the Eagle; 46 'Aquila,' Eagle as Sal Ammoniac; but 'Aquila Philosophorum' (Eagle of the Philosophers) as 'Mercury of Metals'; 189 Mercury as the Black Raven.

253 Ruland, *Lexicon Alchemiae* (1612), 87, 'heist auch anser, und Aes Hermetis, auis volans, quia in altum evolat, & tamen iterum in terram propter nutrimenta descendit: unde nutrix omnium est terra' (it is also called goose, and Copper of Hermes, the flying bird, because it rises high, and then descends again to earth on account of nourishment: whence earth is the nurse of all things); Anon, *Traité de chymie, philosophique et hermetique* (Paris, 1725), 120 'l'or coulant des Philosophes, dans lequel est caché l'aigle ou oiseau d'Hermès, avec son sel clarifié' (the flowing gold of the Philosophers, in which is hidden the eagle or bird of Hermes, with its clarified salt); Guglielmo Gratarolo (ed.), *Auriferae artis, quam chemiam vocant* (Basel, 1572), 307 and 477 'Anser Hermetis, & pullus Hermogenis' (Goose of Hermes & Chick of Hermogenes); Grasshoff, *Ein Philosophischer vnd Chemischer Tractat. Genannt: Der kleine Baur* (1658), 183 'Aetites Adlerstein/ das ist ein Stein/ der ein andern Stein, in seinem Bauch verborgen hat/ der nicht ringer zu achten als der Stein selbst … Apellatur etiam Anser & pullus Hermogenis. Item Avis Hermetis: Phoenix, &c.' (Aetites, eagle stone, that is a stone, that has hidden another stone in its belly, that is not to be esteemed less than the stone itself … It is called Goose and Chick of Hermogenes. Likewise, Bird of Hermes, Phoenix, etc).

Notes Included), originally the possession of the Freemason Count Joseph Karl von Waldstein (1755–1814), who employed Casanova as his librarian, in Duchcov castle in the Czech Republic.[254]

This manuscript, which concentrates on the alchemical uses of antimony – even having the symbol for antimony ♁ covered with the pulverised mineral itself – contains 21 numbered images, some relating to substances. The first image, for example, of a black owl (Fig. 2.28 left) represents antimony, with its various names listed as Adrop, Heart of Saturn, Lead of the Wise, Microcosm, Dragon, the Green Lion with open mouth, Hermaphrodite, Chaos, Mercury of the Philosophers.[255] It is associated with the 'transmutation of imperfect metallic bodies into primal matter'.[256] The third image, which looks like a variant of Khunrath's owl (Fig. 2.28 right), is identified as 'Water of Life, Our Arsenic, our pure Silver, Magnesia of the Philosophers, Our congealed Water'.[257] Other images relate to processes, including two versions of Khunrath's composite Hermetic bird from the *Rebis* engraving,[258] the first the 'Elixir of the Second Order to the White' (Fig. 2.29)[259] the second, the 'White Elixir of the Third Order' (Fig. 2.30),[260] All of the *Amphitheatre* images are either above or inside the symbol for antimony.

In the 19th figure in the manuscript an operation takes place in a vessel resembling the alchemical sign for antimony ♁, coloured in the manuscript with powdered antimonite (here Fig. 2.29). On the left a red figure, symbolising sulphurous Adamic Earth,[261] can be seen standing next to an equally red

254 Vladislav Zadrobílek, 'Symbola Chiroglifica. Totius Laboris Nostri. Alchimici, Cum Annexis Explicantibus Notis', in Vladislav Zadrobílek (ed.), *Opus Magnum* (Prague: Trigon Press, 1997), 92–100, at 97. For a reproduction of another image from this manuscript, see Vladimir Karpenko, 'Matthias Erbinäus von Brandau (von Brandow): Alchemy between Reality and Phantasy', in Purš and Karpenko (eds.), *Alchemy and Rudolf II*, 393–422, at 408.

255 *Symbola Chiroglifica, Totius Laboris Nostri Alchimici, Cum Annexis Explicantibus Notis*, Mnichovo Hradiště, Ms. 48.3.38, f. 1 'Adrop. Saturni cor … Plumbum Sapientum. Parvus Mundus. Microcosmus. … Draco. Leo viridis Aperto ore. Hermaphroditus. Chaos. Mercurius Philosophorum.'

256 *Symbola Chiroglifica*, f. 2 'Transmutatio Corporum imperfectorum Metallicorum ad Materiam Primam'.

257 *Symbola Chiroglifica*, f. 2 'Aqua Vitae, Arsenicum Nostrum, Argentum purum Nostrum … Philosophorum Magnesia, Nostra Aqua congelata'.

258 Zadrobílek (ed.), *Opus Magnum*, 94, 95, 97, 99. According to Zadrobílek, 'Symbola Chiroglypica', 285–287, at 286 the manuscript was 'originally kept in the library of Count Waldstein's castle at Duchcov'; it is now in the state castle library at Mnichovo Hradiště.

259 *Symbola Chiroglifica*, f. 17 'Elexir Secundi Ordinis ad Album'.

260 *Symbola Chiroglifica*, f. 18 'Elexir Album Tertij ordinis'.

261 This identification is made on *Symbola Chiroglifica*, f. 14, on the right of Figure 17: 'Sulphur nostrum, Terra Adamica, Terra Virginea …'.



FIGURE 2.28 Khunrath's Owl in *Symbola Chirogliphica*, ff. 1–2. Shelf mark 48.3.38. Mnichovo Hradiště/Schloss Münchengrätz Library

Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, around which is entwined the biblical serpent, all standing on red earth, in which is found the glyph for Sulphur ♆.[262] From behind the red tree a bright rainbow arches overhead in the background, its right foot touching a pile of sandstone coloured rocks carved into a flight of seven steps, marked with the sign for Mercury ☿.[263] Dominating the image is Khunrath's composite Bird of Hermes, with a greyish swan above, on top of the Peacock's Tail.

262 See Antoine-Joseph Pernety, *Dictionnaire mytho-hermétique* (Paris, 1758), 3 for Adam as a name for the Red Stone; 489 for Red Earth as Red Sulphur of the Wise.

263 On the alchemical symbolism of the rainbow, see Edward Kelley, *Theatrum Astronomiae Terrestri* (Theatre of Terrestrial Astronomy, Hamburg, 1676), 101 'Insidebat iridi, cujus primus color erat niger cum signo Saturni. Secundus obscure badius cum signo Jovis. Tertius ruber cum signo Martis. Quartus viridis & flavus cum signo Solis. Quintus viridis cum signo Veneris. Sextus, flavus, viridis, albus & rubeus cum signo Mercurii. Septimus argenteus seu griseus cum signo Lunae, infra flavus' (He [God] was seated upon a rainbow, whose first colour was black with the sign of Saturn. The second, dark brown with the sign of Jupiter. The third, red with the sign of Mars. The fourth, green and yellow with the sign of the Sun. The fifth, green with the sign of Venus. The sixth, yellow, green, white and red with the sign of Mercury. The seventh, silver or grey with the sign of the Moon, yellow below).



FIGURE 2.29 Hermes Bird 1 in *Symbola Chirogliphica*, shelf mark 48.3.38, f. 17. Mnichovo Hradiště/Schloss Münchengrätz Library

In the manuscript's next, penultimate figure, the Bird of Hermes continues to dominate the engraving (Fig. 2.30). The outline of the large antimony vessel is no longer sprinkled with powdered antimonite, and the grey swan has transformed into the triangular or pyramidal shape found above the Peacock's Tail in Khunrath's engraving. The Bird now stands in a landscape in which the rainbow rises on the left behind a house at the foot of a range of hills, its right foot shining down on the same seven rocky Mercurial steps. The sign for Sulphur



FIGURE 2.30 Hermes Bird 2 in *Symbola Chirogliphica*, shelf mark 48.3.38, f. 18. Mnichovo Hradiště/Schloss Münchengrätz Library

has disappeared and the Red Earth has now turned into an antimonial black, anticipating 'the preparation of the third-degree elixir.'[264]

264 Concerning the 'Elixir of the third degree', see Chapter 49 in Linden (ed.), *The Alchemy Reader: From Hermes Trismegistus to Isaac Newton*. See also Pernety, *Dictionnaire mytho-hermétique*, 131–132 concerning three kinds of elixirs (*Elixir of the Bodies*, until the black stage; an intermediary elixir until the white and red stage; and a third *Elixir of the*



FIGURE 2.31 *Rebis* variant in *Symbola Chirogliphica*, shelf mark 48.3.38, f. 10. Mnichovo Hradiště/Schloss Münchengrätz Library

In the earlier 13th figure in the manuscript (Fig. 2.31) we find a variant of Khunrath's hermaphrodite, in which the original composite figure of the Male Sun and Female Moon has been split into three figures, standing in flames,

Spirits, made by fermentation, also called *Elixir of the Fire*). Pernety then writes of an Elixir perfect to the White Stage, then one perfect to the Red, and finally the Complete Elixir.

each with liquid gushing from one of their breasts. A golden solar male on the left and a silver compound solar-lunar figure on the right both bear the sign for Sulphur 🜍, while a youthful central silver lunar figure (Quicksilver), bearing the sign for Common Salt ⊖ and a moon on its head, stands behind a seven-pointed star on which sits the sign for Mars, or possibly the Crocus of Mars. A large crown, tinged red inside, hangs over this central figure, and seems to be a symbol for the Star Regulus of Antimony, indeed the whole image represents the 'conjunction of purest Gold or Silver with regulus or our moon [which] is called the chaste marriage of Beya and Gabritius'.[265] From this conjuction comes 'our white and red Gold'.[266] An accompanying note to the left lists the figures as Gabritius (normally the red male brother of his white sister Beya), the Active Man, Red Lion, Red Dragon, Red King, our Sulphur;[267] on the right it states that 'when the Raven is born in the first putrefaction, it is a sign that the red lion, or dragon is dead'.[268]

Another response to Khunrath's *Rebis* is found in the notes of the French physician and alchemist Nicolas de Villiers, sieur de Chandoux, who was hanged for counterfeiting money in 1631. He is the author of *Lettres sur l'or potable* (Letters on Potable Gold) and a treatise *De la connaissance des vrais principes de la nature et des mélanges* (On Knowledge of the true principles of nature and of mixtures), who also wrote a *Commentaire sur l'Amphithéâtre de la Sapience éternelle de Khunrath* (Commentary on Khunrath's *Amphitheatre of Eternal Wisdom*).

De Villiers begins his *Commentary* on the *Amphitheatre*, by stating that Khunrath had no other intention than of teaching the universality of nature and by praising him for having

> worked so artistically and ingeniously, that he has written nothing in all his Amphitheatre which is not most excellently demonstrated in his figures and has portrayed nothing there that is not taught in his writings.[269]

265 *Symbola Chiroglifica*, f. 10 'Haec conjunctio Auri vel Argenti purissimi cum regulo seu luna nostra dicitur castum conjugium Bejae cum Gabritio …'. On the Star Regulus of Antimony, see William R. Newman and Lawrence M. Principe, *Alchemy Tried in the Fire: Starkey, Boyle, and the Fate of Helmontian Chymistry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 108ff; William R. Newman, *Gehennical Fire: The Lives of George Starkey, an American Alchemist in the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 129ff.

266 *Symbola Chiroglifica*, f. 10 'Ex hac conjunctio fit Aurum nostrum, Album & rubrum.'

267 *Symbola Chiroglifica*, f. 10 'Gabritius, Agens Vir, leo ruber, Draco ruber, rex ruber, Sulphur nostrum'.

268 *Symbola Chiroglifica*, f. 10 'Dum Corvus in prima putrefactione nascitur, signum est quod leo, seu Draco ruber mortuus sit.'

269 De Villiers, '*Commentaire sur* l'Amphithéâtre', 452 'A quoy il a si artistement et ingenieusement trauaillé, qu'il n'escrit rien en tout son *Amphitheatre* qui ne soit tres excellamment

One of the most fascinating aspects of De Villiers' commentary is the degree to which he considers every minute detail of the *Rebis* engraving. Just as one is advised not to neglect one jot or tittle of holy scripture, so here the reader pays close attention to the tiniest dots, stipples and swirls that form the background to the text in the *Rebis* engraving:

> Our Azoth therefore makes in this third figure extreme resolution, which begins on the right side of the figure and in the upper portion (Fig. 2.32), at the place where it is written *Ethereal Spirit Seat of the Soul* (Spiritus aethereus … animae sedes),[270] in which place behind the writing one sees a quantity of dots with waves, which is extremely remarkable because in the first operation of extreme resolution it is necessary for the decomposing universal to separate the moist from the dry, which is accomplished through the dissolution of the seed.[271]



FIGURE 2.32
Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Rebis*, detail: Sulphur Side (Male), above: 'dots with waves'. Universitätsbibliothek Rostock, Shelfmark: G VI-7

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demonstré en ses figures, et n'y a rien de portrait en ses figures qui ne soit enseigné en ses escrits …'.

270 *Rebis* engraving, top left: 'SPIRITVS æthereus CELVM animæ sedes'.

271 De Villiers, '*Commentaire sur* l'Amphithéâtre', 494 'Nostre Azoth doncques faict en cette troisiesme figure l'extremme resolution, qui se commance au costé droit de la figure et en la partie superieure, à l'endroit où il est escrit *esprit etherée siege de l'ame*, auquel lieu outre l'escriteau l'on ueoid quantité de points auec les ondes, ce qui est grandement remarquable parce que en la premiere operation de l'extreme resolution il fault que le descomposant vniversel separe l'humide du sec, ce qui se faict par la dissolution du germe.'



FIGURE 2.33
Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Rebis*, detail: Salt Side (Female), above: also 'lines' of Water. Universitätsbibliothek Rostock, Shelfmark: G VI-7

A couple of pages later in the manuscript, De Villiers continues his close scrutiny of the background of the image: 'This appears on the side of Salt (Fig. 2.33, ♁ on the female nipple) through the union of the white eagle,[272] which is reduced to dots, that is, into earth (Fig. 2.35); and the other, which is volatile, is on the side of Sulphur (Fig. 2.32, ☿ on the male nipple), which is completely water because one sees nothing there except lines (Fig. 2.34). Furthermore, it calls itself the *Flying dragon, which does not die except with its brother*.[273] This is to say that its volatility is by no means stopped and fixed except with the ethereal spirit which carries it into the virgin earth.'[274]

272 *Rebis* engraving, top left: 'AQUA AQUILÆ albæ'.

273 *Rebis* engraving: 'DRACO volans qui non moritur, nisi cum fratre suo, superbe clamans TE DEVORO (The flying DRAGON which does not die, except with its brother, proudly calling, I SWALLOW YOU DOWN).' Somewhat confusingly, this is on the male, 'Sulphur' side of the *Rebis*. On the female, 'Salt' side are the words 'DRACONIS soror intrepide respondens TE UICISSIM UORO (The DRAGON's sister boldly replying, I SWALLOW YOU IN TURN). Cf. *Rosarium Philosophorum, secunda pars* (Frankfurt, 1550), sig. [Civ^{v}]: 'Draco non moritur nisi cum fratre & sorore sua'; Michael Maier, *Atalanta fugiens* (Oppenheim, 1617), Emblem XIV, 66 'Et Rosarius. Draco non moritur, nisi cum fratre & sorore sua interficiatur. Et mox. Draco est argentum vivum extractum à corporibus, habens in se corpus, animam & spiritum.'

274 De Villiers, '*Commentaire sur* l'Amphithéâtre', 496 'Celuy cy paroist du costé du sel par l'union de l'aigle blanche, qui est reduitte en points, c'est à dire en terre; et l'autre, qui est le uolatil, est du costé du souffre, qui est toutte eau parce que l'on n'y ueoid que des lignes. Aussy se nomme il le *dragon uolant, qui ne meurt qu'auec son frere*. Cela ueult dire que sa volatilité n'est point arrestée et fixée qu'auec l'esprit etherée qui le porte dans la terre uierge.'



FIGURE 2.34 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Rebis*, detail: Sulphur Side (Male), below: lines of Water. Universitätsbibliothek Rostock, Shelfmark: G VI-7

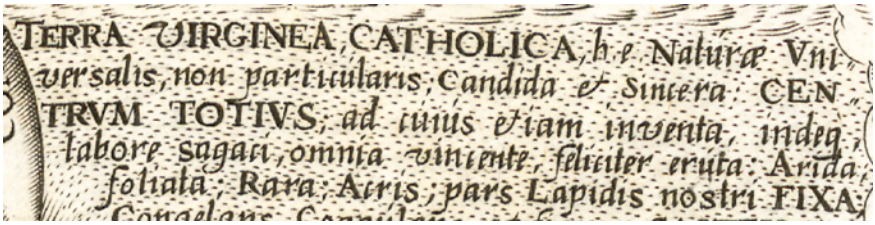


FIGURE 2.35 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Rebis*, detail: Salt Side (Female), below: reduction to dots of Earth. Universitätsbibliothek Rostock, Shelfmark: G VI-7

De Villiers' close attention to details of the engraving and his conviction that every detail of every engraving conceals secrets of laboratory alchemy gives rise to further interesting observations. He sees a serpent above the Raven's Head of the Bird of Hermes (Fig. 2.36):

> This serpent, which is the secret spirit of the world and which bites the bird's body, arises in its scroll *O blessed greenness* [o benedicta viriditas],[275] in order to justify what is said in the second figure of Adam [Androgyne], which being set free is reduced into earth or lumps of verdant powder because this secret spirit, having extracted the greenness in the matter, becomes completely green.[276]

275 *Rebis* engraving: 'RES CVNCTAS GERMINARE FACIENS. NATVRA ESSENTIA QVINTA ANIMA in spiritu MUNDI secreto. O benedicta viriditas! (O blessed greenness! Making all things grow. NATURE FIFTH ESSENCE SOUL in the secret spirit of the WORLD).'

276 De Villiers, '*Commentaire sur* l'Amphithéâtre', 493 'ce serpant, qui est l'esprit secret du monde et qui pique le corps de l'oiseau, orte en son escriteau *o bien heureuse verdeur*, pour justiffier ce qui a esté dit en la segonde figure de l'Adam, lequel estant deslié est reduit en glebes ou mottes de poudre uerdoiante parce que cest esprit segret, ayant tiré la uerdeur en la matiere, deuient tout uert.' Cf. *Adam-Androgyne* engraving: 'glebam puluream, CONUERSIONIS SALE fœcundo uiridantem, … exoluito' (a powdery mass, growing green with the fertile SALT OF CONVERSION).



FIGURE 2.36
Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Rebis*, detail: Raven's Head and De Villiers' 'Serpent'. Universitätsbibliothek, Rostock, Shelfmark: G VI-7

Concerning the Bird, he continues (translating *Rebis* as 'androgyne,' rather than 'hermaphrodite'):

> It is still worthy of consideration that the bird is placed in this figure of the undressed and naked androgyne, which androgyne differs in this condition from that which is pictured in the triangle of the second figure [*Adam Androgyne*], which is clothed, and this because of the fact that that one awaits the first resolution, which is the rejection of the great binary; and this of the third [figure] being discharged is brought by the bird to extreme resolution, which is the separation of parts and the rejection of the secret binaries which are the specific cause of gold.[277]

This is an interesting interpretation of two of the *Amphitheatre*'s circular figures, calling to mind the progression in the second and third woodcuts in the *Rosarium Philosophorum* (1550) from the King and Queen in clothes (Fig. 2.37), to them standing naked (Fig. 2.38).

277 De Villiers, '*Commentaire sur* l'Amphithéâtre', 494 'Il est encore considerable que l'oiseau est posé en cette figure sur l'androgine despouillé et nud, lequel androgine est differand en cette condition à celuy qui est figuré dans le triangle de la segonde figure, lequel est uestu, et ce daultant que celuy cy attand la premiere resolution, qui est le reiect du gros binere; et celuy de la troisiesme en estant deschargé est conduit par l'oiseau à l'extreme resolution, qui est la separation des partyes et le reiect des bineres segrets qui sont la cause specifique de l'or.'



FIGURE 2.37 *Rosarium Philosophorum* (1550), sig. Cij^{r}, Clothed Sun and Moon. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH1060 B



FIGURE 2.38 *Rosarium Philosophorum* (1550), sig. Dij^{r}, Naked Sun and Moon. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM O 63-8113

11 Circular Figure 4: the Oratory-Laboratory

By far the best-known image from Khunrath's *Amphitheatre*, appearing in many books and articles on the history of alchemical imagery, is the fourth and final circular figure (Fig. 2.39), which has been called 'the incunabulum of all representations of the alchemical workplace'.[278]

Although most readers tend to focus on the alchemical dimension of this image, simply calling it the *Laboratorium*,[279] it is the visual summation of

278 Horst Bredekamp, 'Die Erde als Lebewesen,' *Kritische Berichte* 9:4/5 (1981): 5–37, at 21 'die Inkunabel aller alchemistischen Werkstattdarstellungen, das Laboratorium des Hamburger Arztes H. Khunrath aus dem Jahre 1609'. See also Lawrence M. Principe and Lloyd DeWitt, *Transmutations: Alchemy in Art. Selected Works from the Eddleman and Fisher Collections at the Chemical Heritage Foundation* (Philadelphia: Chemical Heritage Foundation, 2002).

279 See, for example, Pamela H. Smith, 'Laboratories', in Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston (eds.), *Cambridge History of Science*, Vol. 3 Early Modern Science (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 290–305, at 291.



FIGURE 2.39 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), Circular Figure 4: *Oratory-Laboratory*. Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, Linz, Shelfmark 46 N. 11

Khunrath's entire theosophy and his repeated injunction, *Ora et Labora*, that is, to pray in the Oratory and work in the Laboratory. Ivo Purš and Vladimir Karpenko identify the Oratory as a studiolo, 'a place for working on and contemplating alchemical writings, an addition to laboratories recommended in the literature of the day'.[280] Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, who has written extensively on Khunrath's Cabala, recognizes this other bookish and meditative dimension of Khunrath's experience more than most, although his description of the fourth figure as the pious alchemist in the act of 'redeeming the

280 Purš and Karpenko, 'Alchemy at the Aristocratic Courts of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown', 49.



FIGURE 2.40 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), Circular Figure 4: *Oratory-Laboratory*, centre. Department of Special Collections, Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Duveen D 897

fallen cosmos' is perhaps a little optimistic, even for Khunrath.[281] Nevertheless, in *Vom hylealischen Chaos* (1597), Khunrath castigates those who 'utterly un-Philosophically separate *Oratory* and *Laboratory* from each other.'[282] With this in mind, the most suitable title for this image would most likely be the *Oratory-Laboratory*, an ideal representation of what Obrist at one point calls the 'sanctuary-laboratory', harking back to the atmosphere of religion and

281 Schmidt-Biggemann, 'Der Text der Bilder. Das ikonologische Programme von Khunraths *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae*', 44.

282 *Chaos* (1597), 416 'Das ORATORIVM und LABORATORIVM trennen sie gantz unPhilosophisch von einander.'

alchemy in Muhammad ibn Umail's tenth-century *Tabula Chymica* (Chymical Tablet) or the even earlier fourth-century *Visions* of Zosimos of Panopolis.[283]

The well-lit hall has a tiled floor with a grid-pattern, with windows on both sides, and a high wooden, exposed beamed ceiling, with ten longitudinal joists and three heavy transverse summer beams (Fig. 2.40). The nearest of these beams bears a phrase from Cicero's *De Natura Deorum* (On the Nature of the Gods): 'SINE AFFLATV DIVINO NEMO VNQUAM VIR MAGNVS' (NO ONE IS EVER A GREAT MAN WITHOUT DIVINE INSPIRATION).[284] Purš rightly remarks that the 'core message here is the need for divine inspiration,' although his statement, 'without which the alchemist theosopher cannot discover the true matter of alchemy or the way it should be treated', should be modified to include all of Khunrath's activities, including Christian Cabala and Divine Magic.[285]

At the far end of the hall is a portico, with what appears to be a balcony above (perhaps a minstrels' gallery), with an oculus in the rear wall, and three large spheres standing atop the portico. In light of Khunrath's engagement with symbolic numbers and geometries it is unlikely that these are accidental, but rather yet another allusion to the Holy Trinity or the three Supernal *Sephiroth* on the Tree of Life. Passing through the portico one enters a room with a bed with drapes on the left, and then, finally, an open door to a room with what appears to be another table with a green cloth on the right, like the one in the foreground of the engraving, and a diamond-shaped lattice window, like those in the main hall, at the image's vanishing point.

12 The Oratorium

The left-hand side of the image, the Oratory (Fig. 2.41), is the realm of the Divine, connected with Christian Cabala, Neo-Pythagorean philosophy and theurgy, which at one point Khunrath describes as 'the monastic, or as it were hermetic CHAPEL or SANCTUARY of the ORATORY.'[286] There, in a green

283 Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique*, 204. For the works of Zosimos, see Berthelot, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, Vol. 2; Benjamin Hallum, *Zosimus Arabus: The Reception of Zosimos of Panopolis in the Arabic/Islamic World* (Unpublished PhD thesis, Combined Historical Studies, Warburg Institute, London, 2008).

284 Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II.LXVI 'Nemo igitur vir magnus sine aliquo adflatu divino umquam fuit,' trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1933; repr. 1979), 283 'Therefore no great man ever existed who did not enjoy some portion of divine inspiration.' See *Amph.*I, 11; II, 137.

285 Purš, 'Perspective, vision and dream', 58.

286 *Amph.*II, 210 'in SACELLO siue ADYTO, ORATORII, monastico, aut quasi eremitico …'.



FIGURE 2.41 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), Circular Figure 4: *Oratory-Laboratory*, detail. Department of Special Collections, Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Duveen D 897

pavilion – possibly alluding to Moses' Tent of Meeting (Exodus 33:7) or the tent Jacob pitched at Bethel (Genesis 12:8)[287] – labelled *Oratorium*, we see a table on which rest two open books on reading stands. That on the right is labelled 'Biblia', open at Psalm 145:19, declaring 'YHVH does the Will of them that fear

287 Michael Widmer, *Moses, God and the Dynamics of Intercessory Prayer: A Study of Exodus 32–34 and Numbers 13–14* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 286 distinguishes the 'tent of meeting' located outside the Israelite camp and used for oracular purposes, from the tabernacle located in the middle of the camp and serving for cultic purposes.

him'.[288] The other bears the 1595 *Amphitheatre*'s newly engraved first two circular figures of *Christ Cruciform* on the left and *Adam-Androgyne* on the right.[289] A bearded man, most likely Khunrath himself, in a long coat, kneeling on a cushion, is seen in prayer, his arms outstretched, resembling the cruciform posture of Resurrected Christ in Figure 1 and the similar posture of Adam-Androgyne in Figure 2.[290] Given the number of quotes from the Solomonic works in the Old Testament, it is possible that Khunrath had in mind 2 Chronicles 6:13 in which Solomon 'kneeled down upon his knees before all the congregation of Israel, and spread forth his hands toward heaven' (KJV).

Below the table can be found the traditional scholarly *Vanitas* symbols of a skull and hour-glass, suggesting the transient nature of human life and activity, beneath the words 'Disce bene mori' (Learn to Die Well).[291] Above the table hangs an oil lamp casting light on a tablet bearing the advice 'Ne loquaris de deo absque lumine' (Do not speak of God without light).[292] The pavilion bears further mottoes, some including Hebrew, testament to Khunrath's Christian Cabala. On the canopy: 'Felix cui יהוה a consiliis' (Happy is He who has YHVH as Counsellor),[293] and on its valance: חכמה אל [Chochmah El] (Wisdom [of] God).[294]

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288 Vulgate Psalm 144:19 'He will do the will of them that fear him: and he will hear their prayer, and save them.' A phrase also appearing in John Dee's *Libri Mysteriorum*. See Peterson (ed.), *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery: Original Sourcebook of Enochian Magic*, 364 'Voluntatem timentium se faciet deus'.

289 Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 211–212 on the left 'Der gekreuzigte Christus' (Crucified Christ); on the right 'der erneuerte Mensch' (Renewed Man). In *From Alchemy to Chemistry*, 72 Read describes the left-hand figure as 'a pentagram, the badge of the Pythagoreans'.

290 Neil Kamil, *Fortress of the Soul: Violence, Metaphysics, and Material Life* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 371 imaginatively writes, 'His arms are spread in a gesture of both passive embrace and astonisment as he tries to accommodate the conjunction of both the big world and the little world to the celestial center in his own body.'

291 Jane Russell Corbett, 'Convention and Change in Seventeenth-Century Depictions of Alchemists', in Jacob Wamberg (ed.), *Art & Alchemy* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2006), 249–271, at 251.

292 For more on this see Chapter 5 on Khunrath's Magic.

293 Cf. *Amph.*II, 96, 110, 125, 159; *Chaos* (1597), 416–17 'Felix Terque Quaterque Felix, cui IEHOVAH à Consilijs. Oho/ wie gewis gehet der/ so GOTT den HERRN zum Rathgeber hat!'

294 Eggert, *Disknowledge*, 113, 115, 282 n. 9 argues that the Hebrew words "Chochmah El", which Khunrath glosses as "Sapientia Dei" (Wisdom of God) are a mispelled version of "divine wisdom", by which she perhaps means חובמה אלוהית "Chochmah Elohit". Her claim that it is 'a ham-fisted transliteration of KHUNRA into Hebrew' is forced and reveals a lack of understanding of his work. Worthier of comment, surely, would be that he does not include his full name and that he places it beneath the "Wisdom of God", thereby

Running up the slanted wall of the pavilion is a phrase from one of Khunrath's favoured sources 'HOC HOC AGENTIBVS NOBIS, ADERIT IPSE DEVS' (If this and this alone could be our purpose, God himself will be at our side). This is a modification of a line from Erasmus's *Enchiridion militis Christianae* (Handbook of the Christian Soldier, 1503), where we read, in a discussion of 'true and genuine and effective theology, which long ago made proud philosophers and unconquered monarchs bow the knee to Christ', 'If this and this alone could be our purpose, Christ himself will be at our side'.[295]

Not present in the 1595 engraving, but appearing as an extra quote in the 1609 edition, in the smoke rising from the thurible we read 'Ascendat, ut fumus, ORATIO, sacrificium DEO acceptabile' (Let PRAYER rise like smoke, an acceptable sacrifice to GOD), words calling to mind Psalm 140:2 'Let my prayer be directed as incense in they sight', Gregory the Great's declaration that 'to praise him with a pure heart is an acceptable sacrifice to God',[296] and Martin Luther's statement that 'It was lawful for the priests only, to burn incense; but now, all we who believe in Christ, are priests; wherefore it is lawful for us, and for us only, to burn the incense of prayers.'[297] Along the wall on the Oratory side of the engraving runs a long shelf filled with books, representing two of the traditional sources of knowledge, *Auctoritas Sacra et Profana* (Sacred and Profane Authority),[298] the Bible, the Church Fathers, and for Khunrath, sixteenth-century religious authorities like Erasmus and Luther.

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implying subordination and perhaps incompletion. She is correct, however, 282 n. 9 in pointing out the engraver's mistake in using a ה 'He' instead of a ח 'Cheth' as the initial letter of *Chochmah*. This is the case in both the 1595 and 1609 editions.

295 Erasmus, *Enchiridion militis Christiani* (1518), 7 'Hoc, hoc agentibus nobis, aderit ipse CHRISTUS.' Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, Vol. 66, 'The Handbook of the Christian Soldier.' *Enchiridion militis christiani*, 10.

296 Cf. Vulgate Psalm 140:2 'Let my prayer be directed as incense in thy sight: the lifting up of my hands, as evening sacrifice.' See 'Gregor Magnus, lib. 5 Moral: Sacrificium DEO acceptabile est, ipsum puro corde laudare,' in Julius Sperber, *Kabalisticae precationes, sive selectiores sacrosancti nominis divini glorificationes* (Magdeburg, 1610), 286. See also Rachel Fulton Brown, 'Oratio/Prayer', in Amy Hollywood and Patricia Z. Beckman (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 167–177, at 176.

297 R. Bentley (ed.), *A Selection of the Most Celebrated Sermons of M. Luther and J. Calvin* (New York: G. &. C. & H. Carvill, 1829), 199.

298 György E. Szönyi, 'Architectural Symbolism and Fantasy Landscapes in Alchemical and Occult Discourse: Revelatory Images', in Adams and Linden (eds.), *Emblems and Alchemy*, 49–69, at 64.

13 The Laboratorium

The right-hand side of the engraving is the realm of Creation, the Macrocosm, and shows the Laboratory concerned with the Physico-Chemical investigation of the wonders of Nature, the transmutation of metals, the preparation of chemical medicines and the Philosophers' Stone. There we see a fireplace with two doric columns, representing the other two sources of knowledge: *Ratio* et *Experientia* (Reason and Experience), as promoted by famous figures in the history of alchemy such as the English Franciscan Roger Bacon (1214–1292) and the Swiss iatrochemist Theophrastus Paracelsus (1493–1541).[299] Lest anyone suspect that his labours in Oratory and Laboratory are separate, disconnected endeavours, on the laboratory mantelpiece Khunrath has placed further words from Erasmus's *Opera*, this time a modification of a sentiment found in the *Enchiridion*, the *Adages* and *Letters*: 'Sapienter Retentatum, Succedet Aliquando' (After wisely trying over and over again, one may at length succeed).[300]

This seems suitable encouragement for the trials and tribulations of alchemy that must take place in the three-part distillation furnace beneath a large hood in the fireplace,[301] where a plume of smoke rises on the left, and a tongue of fire (in the Basel 1595 copy) blazes out on the right. As counterparts to the row of books on the shelf in the Oratory, here we find rows of bottles and glasses on the laboratory's mantelshelf, bearing substances necessary

299 On Bacon, see Barbara Obrist, 'Visualization in Medieval Alchemy', *Hyle: International Journal for Philosophy of Chemistry* 9:2 (2003): 131–170, at 146; on Paracelsus, see Andrew Weeks, *Paracelsus: Speculative Theory and the Crisis of the Early Reformation* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997), 104.

300 Erasmus, *Opera* (Basel, 1540), Epistolarum Liber XXIII, to Abbot Paulus Volzius 885 'Semper hoc agendum in omni vita, & crebro retentatum, succedet aliquando.' See also Erasmus, *Enchridirion* (1518), 4 'crebro retentatum, succedet aliquando' Cf. Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, Vol. 31, *Adages* I i 1 to L v 100, translated by Margaret Mann Phillips, annotated by R.A.B. Mynors (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 154 Adage I.ii.13: 'It may turn out that a person scores a success after trying over and over again.' In his 'Commentaire sur l'*Amphithéâtre*', 457 Nicolas de Villiers refers to this phrase, stating that he finally succeeded in his work, after having failed more than ten times: 'la chose, estant scauamment et sagement recommancée, succede quelqufois auec contantement, ce qui m'est arriué par la grace de Dieu, mais apres auoir failly plus de dix fois.' There is a certain irony, surely, to the presence of Erasmus in the laboratory. Matton, 'L'influence de l'humanisme dur la tradition alchimique', 343 points out that Khunrath ignores Erasmus's mockeries of alchemists in the *Colloquies* and includes him in his list of the wisest men of his time.

301 Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 196.

for both *Chrysopoetic* (gold-making) and *Iatrochemical* (chemical-medicinal) alchemy.[302]

Additional bottles can be seen high up on the second level of windows, some perhaps placed there to absorb the rays of the sun. Below we find further useful items, including a coal bucket, shovel, tongs, and bellows. Some of these bear additional mottoes, such as the coal bucket's 'Non pudeat te carbonum' (Do not be ashamed of coals),[303] or the athanor in the foreground, bearing advice from Erasmus's *Adages*, 'Festina lente' (Make haste slowly), and the sand-oven with the word 'Maturandum' (Let it mature).[304] This sense of 'adventurous prudence'[305] is supported by a variant of Khunrath's motto in the banner on the chimney breast, above the word *Laboratorium*: 'Nec Temere, Nec Timide' (Neither rashly, nor timidly).[306] This fourth circular figure is clearly an extremely personal image: in the Oratory the letters of Khunrath's surname appear in the dags of the scalloped edging on the pavilion's valance: (K)(H)(V)(N)(R)(A), while his coat-of-arms appears on the Laboratory's chimney-breast.

14 The Central Table

The table dominating the centre of the engraving is something of an enigma, mediating as it does between the qualitative aspects of the Oratory and the quantitative nature of the Laboratory. It is covered in a wide variety of objects, those on the left relating more to the Oratory: ink pot, quill, pencils, notepaper,

302 To be discussed in more detail in chapter 6 on Khunrath's alchemy.

303 This appears also on *Amph.*II, 128. For a possible secondary meaning, such as burning coal signifying the Gospel, Christ and the Holy Spirit, see Johann Guilielmus Stuckius, *De Angelis Angeloque Hominum Præsidio atque Custodia meditatio* (Zurich, 1595), sig. 69^{r} 'Carbo igitur hic ignitus & Evangelium & Christum & Spiritum Sanctum significat. Carbo primùm est ipse Christus [...] ut autem carbo ignitus res videtur esse vilis & abiectum.'

304 See Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, Vol. 33, *Adages* II i 1 to II vi 100, translated by R.A.B. Mynors (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 3–17 Adage II i 1 'Festina lente' (Make haste slowly). See also Erasmus, *Adagiorum epitome* (Antwerp, 1564), 157 'in omni negotio maturandum esse'.

305 See Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries of the Renaissance* (London: Faber & Faber, 1958; rev. rpt. Harmondsworth: Peregrine/Penguin, 1967), 215 'In an illustration of Henricus Khunrath's alchemical kitchen the words *festina lente* and *maturandum*, employed by Gellius and Erasmus to designate a moral idea of adventurous prudence, are inscribed on the vessels of transmutation, to suggest that slow heat, a controlled sort of boiling, is conducive to the "exaltation of gold."'

306 This comes from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. For more see Chapter 3 on Khunrath's Theosophy.

folded letter, notebook, and open book lined with musical staves, with another closed, plus a bell; those on the right, balance-scales, a set of weights, tongs or dividers, chopping board and knife, what appears to be a set of test-needle reference samples of metals for touchstone testing in assaying, a small jug, and a small magnifying glass or hand lens, all suggestive of the Laboratory, as are the distillation vessels under the table.[307] On the axis between the Oratory and Laboratory, precisely aligned with the empty chair standing at the far end of the table, and indeed with the doorway into the distant back room, is a blank sheet of paper, awaiting a moment of inspiration or revelation. Directly above the table, from the beam bearing Cicero's quote concerning divine inspiration, hangs a star-shaped oil-lamp, with seven branches, doubtless relating to the seven archangels and the Oratory, the seven planets of the Ptolemaic cosmos, and related seven metals of alchemy in the Laboratory.

One of Khunrath's preferred authors, Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535), provides some sense of the significance of the table's contents in the opening chapter 'Of the necessity of mathematical learning' of the second book in his *De occulta philosophia libri tres* (Three Books of Occult Philosophy, 1533):

> Hence a magician, expert in natural philosophy, and mathematics, and knowing the middle sciences consisting of both these, arithmetic, music, geometry, optics, astronomy and such sciences that are of weights, measures, proportions, articles, and joints.[308]

Could it be argued, then, that while the Oratory is the place of Khunrath's Cabala and the Laboratory that of his alchemy, the central table represents the third of his amphitheatrical activities, magic? Given his penchant for describing magical endeavour as both 'physical' and 'hyperphysical', the *Oratory-Laboratory* engraving allows for the interpretation that readers meditating on this image enter Khunrath's world by way of the instruments on the table, thereafter turning to the realms of physics or metaphysics as the spirit moves them.

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307 *Vide infra*, Chapter 6 on Khunrath's Alchemy.

308 Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, Book 2, Chapter 1, 233 'Of the necessity of mathematical learning'. Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533), XCIX–C *De necessitate Mathematica rerum disciplinarum*: 'Hinc magus expertus philosophiae naturalis & matheseos, cognitisque mediis scientiis ex his utrisque existentibus, Arithmetica, Musica, Geometria, Optica, Astronomia, & quae ponderibus, mensuris, proportionibus, articulis & iuncturis scientiae sunt.'

15 The Auditorium

This idea finds support in what surely must be one of the most imaginative responses to Khunrath's engraving, from the Silesian nobleman Abraham von Franckenberg (1593–1652), follower and biographer of the German theosopher Jacob Boehme (1575–1624).[309] Franckenberg is clearly inspired by the presence of what Jörg Völlnagel calls the 'musical still-life',[310] the four stringed instruments in the central foreground of the image: harp and lira da braccio on the left; lute and cittern on the right,[311] together with the phrase on the tablecloth immediately below: 'SACRED MUSIC [is] the dispeller (fuga) of sadness and evil spirits; because the SPIRIT of יהוה [JEHOVAH] gladly sings in a heart perfused with pious joy.'[312]

Writing of music and demonology, Laurence Wuidar comments that since God was the creator of music, its harmony is repellent to the Devil, who hates concord and flees from it.[313] Most early-modern readers, seeing this phrase would surely be reminded of the biblical account of David playing his harp to

309 See Peter J. Forshaw, '*Oratorium – Auditorium – Laboratorium*: Early Modern Improvisations on Cabala, Music and Alchemy', *Aries* 10.2 (2010): 169–195, at 170. On Franckenburg, see Sibylle Rusterholz, 'Abraham von Franckenbergs Verhältnis zu Jacob Böhme: Versuch einer Neubestimmung aufgrund kritischer Sichtung der Textgrundlagen', in Klaus Garber (ed.), *Kulturgeschichte Schlesiens in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2005), Vol. 1, 205–241; Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, 'Abraham von Franckenberg als christlicher Kabbalist', in Ralf Bogner, Ralf Georg Czapla, Robert Seidel, and Christian von Zimmermann (eds.), *Realität als Herausforderung: Literatur in ihren konkreten historischen Kontexten. Festschrift für Wilhelm Kühlmann zum 65. Geburtstag* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 233–48; Mike A. Zuber 'Spiritual Alchemy from the Age of Jacob Boehme to Mary Anne Atwood, 1600–1900' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Amsterdam, 20 June 2017), Chapter II 'Abraham von Franckenberg, His "Philosophical Son" and the Spiritual Alchemy of the Ancients'.

310 Völlnagel, *Alchemie. Die Königliche Kunst*, 144 'Das Musikalienstillleben'.

311 On possible identification of the musical instruments, see Michael Praetorius, *Theatrum Instrumentorum Seu Sciagraphia* (Wolfenbüttel, 1620), table XVI (lute; cittern), XVIII (harp), XX (lyra), XXI (violin). My thanks to Margaréta Jurkovičová for the suggestion that the four instruments might relate to the four musical voices: soprano, alto, tenor and bass.

312 *Oratory-Laboratory* engraving: 'MUSICA SANCTA tristitiae spirituumque malignorum fuga quia SPIRITVS יהוה lubenter psallit in corde gaudio pio perfuso'. Cf. Jasper Hopkins (trans.), *Nicholas of Cusa's Early Sermons, 1430–1441* (Loveland, CO: Arthur J. Banning Press, 2003), 54 'For a heart perfused with great joy sheds sweet drops by way of the eyes.' Cf. Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 216 'Singt der Alchemist Hymnen, so ist der Geist Gottes in ihm und die bösen Geister sind verschwunden – Ausdruck der melancholy'. For reference to music and melancholy see, for example, Johannes Carolus Rosenberg, *Rosa Nobilis Iatrica* (Strasbourg, 1624), 24.

313 Laurence Wuidar, *Fuga Satanae: Musique et démonologie à l'aube des temps modernes* (Geneva: Droz, 2018), 94.

drive out the wicked spirit from melancholy King Saul: 'whensoever the evil spirit from the Lord was upon Saul, David took his harp, and played with his hand, and Saul was refreshed, and was better, for the evil spirit departed from him' (1 Samuel 16:23).[314] Knowing that Khunrath was a physician, there are doubtless religious, psychological and medical dimensions to this statement, so prominent in the foreground of the engraving.

In his *Raphael: oder Artzt-Engel* (Raphael or Medic-Angel, composed 1639; published 1676), in a section on 'Kabalistic or Spiritual Medicine', Franckenberg includes a diagram in the margin of one page (Fig. 2.42), which surely suggests that he was familiar with the *Amphitheatre*. It is a table of correspondences with three columns, each relating to one of Khunrath's practices: Kabala, Magia and Chymia. At the bottom of each column we find the place where they should be practised, namely *Oratorium*, *Laboratorium*, and *Auditorium*, which is certainly the cleverest way of including Khunrath's central table with its four musical instruments.[315] Use of the term *Auditorium* calls to mind an alchemical maxim quoted by Arthur Schult concerning the importance of prayer, composure, concentration and meditation at the start of alchemical work: 'First the Oratorium, then the Auditorium and finally the Laboratorium.'[316]

In Franckenberg's table, the *Auditorium* mediates between Oratory and Laboratory, just as Mathematics stands between Theology and Natural Philosophy. The implied relationship of music with these disciplines, indeed to the Christian Cabala of Figure 1, the Cabala and alchemy in Figure 2, and physico-chemical work in the laboratory in Figure 3, evokes a passage from the Roman statesman Cassiodorus (*c*.485–*c*.585) on the powers of harmony in the microcosm and macrocosm:

> First, it is true that if we perform the commandments of the Creator and with pure minds obey the rules he has laid down, then every word we speak, every pulsation of our veins, is related by musical rhythms to the

314 See Dagmar Hoffmann-Axthelm, '*David musicus*, or: On the Consoling Power of String Music', in Fabrice Fitch and Jacobijn Kiel (eds.), *Essays on Renaissance Music in Honour of David Fallows: Bon jour, bon mois et bonne estrenne* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), 326–337. See also W.F. Kümmel, 'Melancholie und die Macht der Musik: Die Krankheit König Sauls in der historischen Diskussion', *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 4 (1969): 189–209.

315 H.M.E. de Jong, *Michael Maier's Atalanta Fugiens: Sources of an Alchemical Book of Emblems* (Leiden: Brill, 1969; repr. York Beach, Maine: Nicolas-Hays, 2002), 318 describes it as 'the temple with musical instruments.'

316 Arthur Schult, *Das Johannesevangelium als Offenbarung des kosmischen Christus* (Remagen: Otto Reichl Verlag, 1965), 94 'Ein alter Wahrspruch der echten Alchimie lautet: "Zuerst Oratorium (Gebetsraum), dann Auditorium (Hörsaal, also Studium), zuletzt Laboratorium (Arbeits- und Experimentierraum). Anfang des alchimistischen Wirkens ist also Gebet, Sammlung, Konzentration und Meditation."'



FIGURE 2.42 Franckenberg, *Raphael oder Artzt-Engel* (1676), 27 margin diagram. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH2659

> powers of harmony. Music, indeed is the knowledge of proper measurement. If we live virtuously, we are constantly proved to be under its discipline, but when we commit injustice we are without music. The heavens and the earth, indeed all things in them which are directed by a higher power, share in this discipline of music, for Pythagoras shows that this universe was founded by and can be governed by music.[317]

In light of Khunrath's interest in Reuchlin's combination of Neo-Pythagoreanism and Kabbalah, it may be that he subscribed to the belief that the wise man should seek to reestablish harmonious relations between the world and its creator through divine contemplations and observance of the *mitzvot* (commandments) of God. It is even possible that the presence of the musical instruments in this engraving is an act of remembrance for Khunrath's erstwhile patron, Vilém Rožmberk, whose motto, the well-known alchemical maxim 'Festina Lente' (Make Haste Slowly) appears in the *Oratory-Laboratory* engraving.[318] As

317 Thomas J. Matheisen, *Apollo's Lyre: Greek Music and Music Theory in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 637.

318 *The Rožmberks: A Short Exhibition Guide*, 117; Marshall, *The Theatre of the World: Alchemy, Astrology and Magic in Renaissance Prague*, 122.

long ago as 1552, in his regional capital of Český Krumlov, Vilém had established an orchestra of up to one hundred musicians,[319] 'of very high quality, whose importance reached even beyond the borders of its homeland': the *Capella Dominorum de Rosis* (Orchestra of the Lords of the Rose).[320]

16 A Matter of Perspective

Turning from music to another subject in the scholarly *Quadrivium*, geometry, the highly perspectival representation of the *Oratory-Laboratory*, in which the perspective dramatically tunnels into the page, has been noted by several scholars. Both Yates and Szulakowska claim that it reveals the influence of the Elizabethan mathematician and magus John Dee (1527–1608).[321] Dee's geometrically abstract hieroglyphic Monad, symbol of what Szulakowska terms his 'Euclidean cabbalism', is present in the *Amphitheatre*, but is the antithesis of the figurative realism of the *Oratory-Laboratory* engraving. Yates claims that the 'perspective symbolises [...] architecture and its applied mathematical subjects,' though why it should 'symbolise' this any more than the rest of De Vries's well-known perspectival drawings is a mystery.[322] Rather than in his architectural images, perhaps the closest resemblance to the design for Circular Figure 4 is found in De Vries' book *Perspective* (1604) in the image of a body laid out on a table, as if ready for anatomical dissection (Fig. 2.43).[323]

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319 Benny Sluchin and Raymond Lapie, *Le trombone à travers les âges* (Paris: Editions Buchet-Chastel, 2001), 37.

320 Alexander Buchner, *Musical Instruments: An Illustrated History*, translated from the Czech Ms by Borek Vancura (London: Octopus Books and New York: Crown Publishers, 1973), 21, citing Václav Březan, *The Last of the Rozmberks*.

321 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 126; Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (1996), 39. Szulakowska follows Yates in likening Khunrath's engraving to the eighth of Michael Maier's *Atalanta fugiens* emblems, bearing the title '*Accipe ovum & igneo percute gladio*' (Take the egg and strike it with a fiery sword), which in the background has a tunnel with similar deep perspective. See Maier, *Atalanta fugiens* (1617), 41 Emblem VIII. See also Klossowski de Rola, *The Golden Game*, 75, Fig 37.

322 Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (1996), 83. See too Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 77.

323 'Perspective view of a corridor with vault, with a figure lying on a table', from Ioan Vredeman Frison, *Perspective*, Part I (Leiden: Henrick Hondius, 1604), in *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700*, Vol. XLVIII, 197, and 162–4 for the *Amphitheatre*'s Circular Figure 4.

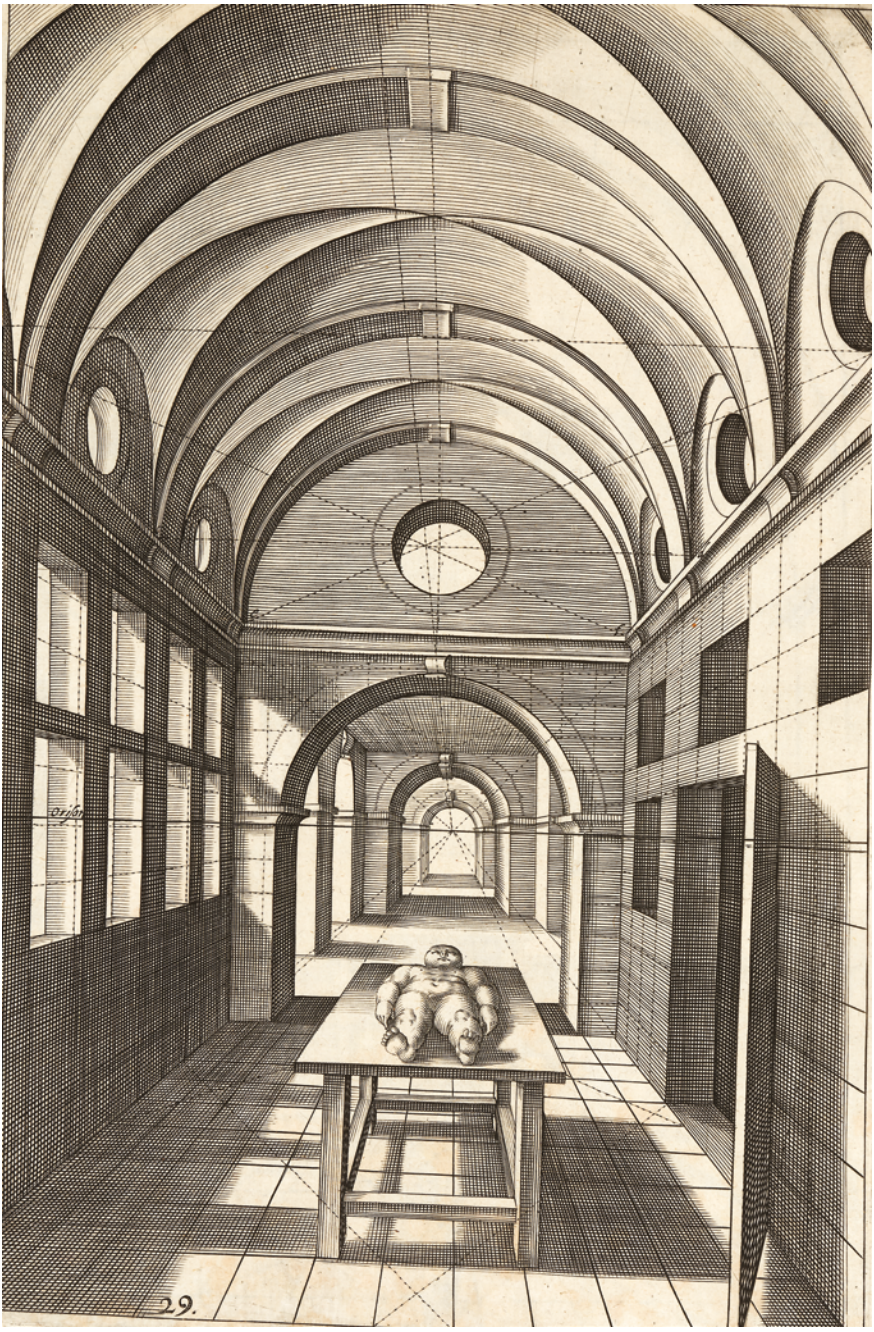


FIGURE 2.43 De Vries, *Perspective* (1604), Part 1, Fig. 29. 'Perspective view of a corridor with vault, with a figure lying on a table'. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM KF 62-737

Szulakowska, for her part, claiming that 'de Vries' emblem is the summation of Khunrath's alchemy of light',[324] considers the perspectival system to be a metaphor for a cone of light, a 'theurgic mirror of enormous power which, rightly used, could effect spiritual and material transmutations.'[325] She argues that one of the purposes of Khunrath's 'employment of single-point perspective and classical architecture was to instruct the alchemist in the science of catoptrics'.[326] As impressive as this sounds, unfortunately we gain little sense of what she means by a 'theurgic mirror', nor any indication of how such instruction would be accomplished.[327] It is admittedly possible that viewing the image through a combination of mirrors and lenses might contribute to producing an 'unbroken spatial (indexical) continuum between the physical world and the illustration', although surely this is the effect that a perspectival drawing is supposed to achieve without recourse to such apparatus?[328] It is likely, however, that Khunrath does have magic in mind with his emphasis on perspective, but perhaps more in line with Michael Maier's statement in *Themis Aurea* (1624), concerning 'true Magic, that is perspectival knowledge, by which nature's works are more clearly perceived [as] the consummate understanding of natural Philosophy'.[329]

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324 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 91. For more on Jung's manuscript, *vide infra*, Chapter 7, Epilogue.

325 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 135.

326 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 78.

327 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 136f.

328 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 137. For possible ways of viewing the image with mirrors and lenses, see Michael Kubovy, *The Psychology of Perspective and Renaissance Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986; repr. 1988), Chapters 2 and 3 in particular. See also Stuart Clark, *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 88–89 on Brunelleschi making a small hole through a painted panel and then positioning a plane mirror in front of the panel so that it reflected the whole of his painted scene and on Samuel van Hoogstraten's 'threshold' perspectives, 'with illusionary rooms opening beyond fictional doorways and perspectival boxes whose painted interior surfaces created the impresson of completely realistic rooms when viewed through apertures in the sides'; 98 on Della Porta 'manipulating two or more mirrors so that they reflect bizarre and unexpected objects and, in some cases, whole "amphitheatres" of images.' Khunrath cites Della Porta, whose *Magiae Naturalis* (1589), Book 17, Chapter III *De Speculo theatrali*, 262f gives advice on *Speculum amphitheatrale quomodo construatur* (How an Amphitheatral Mirror may be constructed).

329 Michael Maier, *Themis aurea* (Frankfurt, 1618), 124 'veram Magiam, hoc est, perspectivam scientiam, per quam opera naturae clarius cernuntur … consummata cognitio Philosophiae naturalis.' Maier is here, at the start, quoting Philo, *De specialibus legibus* (On the Special Laws). See Philo, Volume VII, with an English Translation by F.H. Colson, Loeb Classical Library 320 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1937; repr. 1998),

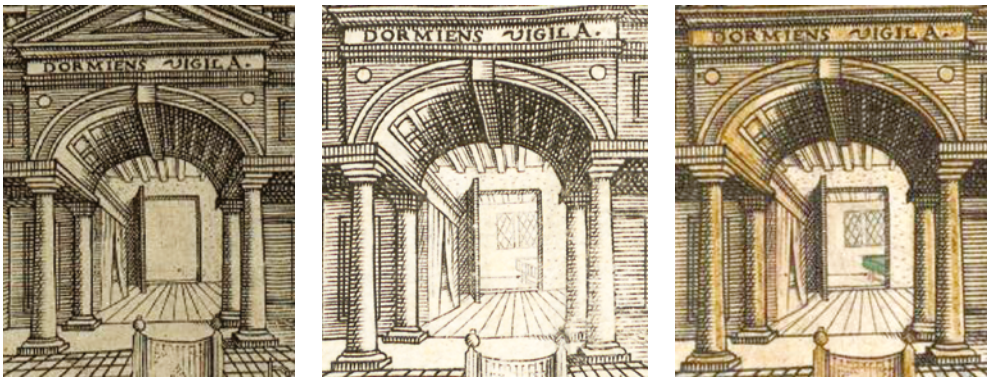


FIGURE 2.44 *Oratory-Laboratory*, detail of Vanishing Point. 1) 1609 (Toulouse); 2) 1595 (Rostock); 3) 1595 (Wisconsin)

Christopher Heuer introduces a degree of paradox, arguing that 'Vredeman's perspective both underscored and effaced the boundaries between the built world and the simulated one', that he 'used geometry to create fantastic, overtly hermetic architectural utopias', at the same time as deploying 'perspective illusionalistically to mark those utopias as fictions.'[330] In a discussion of another of De Vries' paintings (Christ in the House of Mary and Martha, 1566, Hampton Court Palace), Heuer writes that 'we are accustomed in Italian paintings to follow perspective to the site of action or history at a vanishing point', but notes that in the Hampton Court picture, there is none.

The same can be said for the *Oratory-Laboratory* engraving, in which the vanishing point, at least in some of the 1609 editions, appears to be a blank wall (Fig. 2.44.1). In response to this Purš imaginatively writes, 'the perspective construction of Khunrath's engraving converges on a door behind which there is only empty space. I think that Khunrath wanted to suggest that whatever lies behind the door cannot be pictured.'[331] De Jong is in sympathy with this, suggesting that 'the sense of the depiction is that the activities of the Microcosm, the orare, laborare and musica, result in the centre of the circle, in God's infinity …'.[332] Finally, Neil Kamil writes,

539 'Now the true magic, the scientific vision by which the facts of nature are presented in a clearer light …'.

330 Heuer, *The City Rehearsed*, 19.

331 Purš, 'Perspective, vision and dream', 64.

332 De Jong, *Michael Maier's Atalanta Fugiens: Sources of an Alchemical Book of Emblems*, 318.

> Following mannerist perspective back into deep space, the engraving ultimately resolves in a central vanishing point that is also a "prospect door" framed, once again, by columns of the Doric order. The door opens inward and yet out into the light, in much the same way as the alchemists's physician's armchair, situated just before the door in the beholder's line of perspective, seems to repeat the door's open framing of the light in its back.[333]

All three readings of this image are imaginative responses to the degradation of the engraving in the 1609 edition (compare the three images in Fig. 2.44), something which must have intrigued and puzzled contemporary readers, encouraging them to develop their own interpretations.[334]

While perspectival compositions engage in a conversation with, and 'allegedly define a contiguity with the viewer, through the fictional extension of space',[335] Szulakowska's notion of such perspective 'blurring the division between imagination and reality' sounds a little strained, as does her statement that Barbara Obrist claims medieval alchemists 'provided visual depictions of their ideas with the same intention of confusing the viewer's sense of reality', that they '"proved" the truth of alchemy by means of pictures which aimed to confuse reality with its painted simulacrum'.[336] The Swiss scholar instead far more soberly (and convincingly) writes, for example, of one author's rejection of the logical process of argumentation by syllogisms with its abstract terms which do not go *ad rem*, replacing them with thought in images and illustrations, which bypass the written word.[337] It is true that Obrist argues an alchemical illustration can have 'une fonction probatrice' (a probatory function), but nowhere does she imply that an alchemical image can also have any effect of an apparent psychoactive nature, whatever may be the case with the laboratory substances themselves.[338] Given the importance of optics and catoptrics for her thesis, Szulakowska has unfortunately failed to notice the

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333 Kamil, *Fortress of the Soul*, 371–2.

334 Concerning wear on the copper printmaking matrix, see Lisa Pon, *A Printed Icon in Early Modern Italy: Forlì's Madonna of the Fire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 64 'the finely engraved or etched grooves of a copper plate would wear from the friction of wiping away printing ink and the pressure of the intaglio press'.

335 Heuer, *The City Rehearsed*, 52.

336 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 137, who cites Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique*, 55–65, 248–49.

337 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 17. Cf. Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique*, 116, writing of the 'Livre des secrets de ma dame alchemie' of Constantinus.

338 Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique*, 177.

mirror-writing mentioned above in Figure 2.3, where the services of a mirror would actually be in order.

Szulakowska does, however, make the thought-provoking observation that the presence of motifs drawn from perspectival geometry, architecture, Pythagorean mathematics, and alchemy in this fourth circular figure all suggest the astrological influence of the planet Saturn, symbol of intellectual and metaphysical thought as well as the melancholy attached to such endeavour (not to ignore Saturn's significance as the alchemical symbol for the metal lead and thereby one possible candidate for primal matter).[339] This interpretation receives support from the above-mentioned words on the tablecloth, which refer to sacred music's ability to dispel 'sadness and evil spirits'. While it is true that Khunrath deals with the issue of melancholy in his medical treatise *Quaestiones Tres* (1607), Szulakowska's claim that the image belongs to the 'emblematic tradition of "Melancholia" [...] which originated in Albrecht Dürer's engraving of that name in 1514' seems somewhat forced and one-sided, disregarding as it does the fine balance in Khunrath's figure between the active and contemplative life, the terrestrial, celestial and indeed supercelestial worlds, as well as ignoring the jocular, buoyant and even rhapsodic elements in the *Amphitheatre*.[340]

In his reflections on the *Oratory-Laboratory*, Purš argues that while engravings in distorted perspective were a relatively common phenomenon in the latter half of the sixteenth century, the central perspective of Khunrath's is so distorted that it is 'totally divorced from the rationale for the mathematisation of space, i.e. the correct geometrical construction of space'. The chequered floor 'only emphasises the disproportionate elongation of the space and the extremely high position of the vanishing point,' perhaps intentionally calling to mind the raked stage in a theatre.[341] This exaggerated effect seems to have an almost initiatory, liminal quality of drawing the viewer in, dragging one's attention over the threshold, past the instruments, across the table, through

339 See Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 217. On Saturn and melancholy, see the monumental work of Klibansky, Panofsky and Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion and Art* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd, 1964; Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1979).

340 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 129–130. Perhaps overstating the case. See, for instance, John Manning, *The Emblem* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002), 191 'Festive notes are struck on the very title pages of other emblematic works.' Heinrich Khunrath's *Amphitheatrum* ... (1595) announces its emblematic, joyous wisdom with a three-fold 'Hallelu-IAH', an elaborate 'Phy' thrust into the face of the very face of the Devil himself: 'Phy diabolo!', etc. As shall be seen in Chapter 7, Johann Valentin Andreae condemns Khunrath as a comedian; not a tragedian.

341 Purš, 'Perspective, vision and dream', 60.

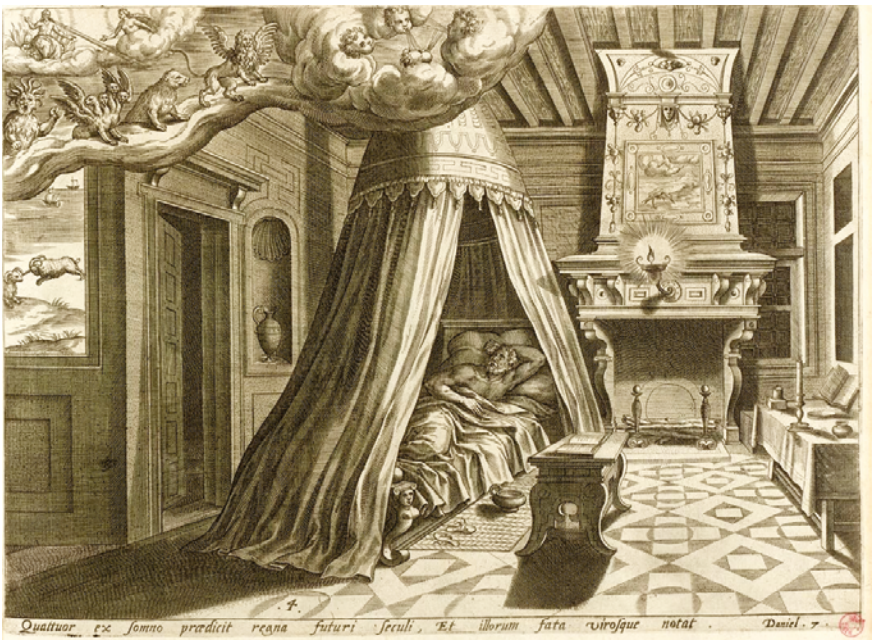


FIGURE 2.45 De Vries, 'Daniel's Dream of the Four Animals', in *Thesaurus Sacrarum Historiarum* (1585), 219. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Arsenal, EST-1290. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gallica

the portico, across the bed chamber, and into the mystery of the end space, the enigmatically unknown final room.[342]

Purš further reflects on the fact that the *Oratory-Laboratory* engraving was 'painted' by De Vries, who was commissioned a few years later in 1598 as one of Rudolf II's four court painters (together with Bartholomeus Spranger, Joseph Heintz and Hans von Aachen) to paint an altarpiece for All Saint's Church at Prague Castle. De Vries' skills were employed 'in the service of the depiction of the theological secret of the descent of God the Creator of All Things into the fleshly womb of the Mother of God.' Purš suggests that just as in this painting the motif of perspective served as 'a symbol of the intrusion of the Divine into the mundane', such could also be argued to be the case in the *Amphitheatre*'s engraving. God, Purš argues, 'is represented by the vanishing point of the central perspective, which does not conform to the laws of perspective but is perfectly consistent with the idea of the Supreme Being as the centre of a circle.' The reader becomes an 'active participant in the process of making sense of the image whereby the purified human mind is the "third book" or the *speculum*

342 For reflections on this theme, see Emilie M. Van Opstall (ed.), *Sacred Thresholds: The Door to the Sanctuary in Late Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

mentis, the soul mirror, through which God makes himself known.'[343] Heuer, reflecting on the significance of pictorial 'emptiness' in De Vries' pictures suggests a 'reading of perspective as an image of the "un-representable",' a re-sacralization of painting.[344]

It is possible that Khunrath was familiar with an earlier engraving by De Vries in *Thesaurus Sacrarum Historiarum* (A Treasury of Sacred Stories, 1585), related to the Book of Daniel 7:17 'From a dream he announces the four kingdoms of the future age, and he notes their fates and men' (Fig. 2.45),[345] in which Daniel can be seen lying in his bed having his vision of four monstrous beasts. Certainly, the pavilion, the table on the right with the open book on a stand, the candle burning in the wall sconce, and the ceiling beams are elements common to both engravings.

17 The Dormitorium

As one of Khunrath's practices is divine magic, here it would be useful briefly to consider advice from the ceremonial magic in the *Abramelin* manuscript, which contains instructions for an 18-month ritual to call and control spirits under the guidance of one's guardian angel.[346] The earliest manuscript dates to the year before the publication of the 1609 *Amphitheatre*.[347] We learn that an Oratory is required and it should be located near a bedchamber and attached to an open lodge or room with wide open windows. In turn this bedchamber (*camera*) should be attached to an *anticamera*, a smaller room whose access is mediated by the bedchamber. During the convocation of spirits, at night the adept should sleep in his bed with his head facing the entrance to the *Oratorium*.[348]

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343 Purš, 'Perspective, vision and dream', 61–62.

344 Heuer, *The City Rehearsed*, 12.

345 De Vries, 'Daniel's Dream of the Four Animals', in *Thesaurus Sacrarum Historiarum* (Antwerp, 1585), 219. See Borggrefe, Fusenig, and Uppenkamp (eds.), *Hans Vredeman de Vries und die Renaissance im Norden*, 290, 293 'Quattuor ex somno praedicit regna futuri seculi, Et, illorum fata virosque notat. Daniel 7.' See also De Bruijn, *Book-Building*, 106, Fig. 2.15.

346 See Abraham von Worms, *The Book of Abramelin: A New Translation*, compiled and edited by Georg Dehn, Translated by Steven Guth (Florida: Ibis Press/Nicolas-Hays, 2006).

347 The earliest known manuscript (in German) dates from 1608, purporting to be a copy of a fifteenth-century original. My thanks to Andrea Franchetto for this information from 'Architecture and Topographical Variations of Renaissance Ceremonial Magic' (Unpublished Research MA thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2019).

348 Franchetto, 'Architecture and Topographical Variations', 71, 72.

This consideration of sleep and dreams leads us to another possible interpretative perspective, with the presence of the phrase 'Dormiens Vigila' (While Sleeping, Keep Watch) on the architrave of the portico leading out of the main hall into the room with bed and drapes on the left. In the *Amphitheatre* Khunrath writes that 'sleeping … you will be Divinely admonished, taught [and] instructed with Visions'.[349] Even in sleep, vigilance is necessary to be receptive to God's angels as both bringers of dreams and themselves apparitions in visions.[350] Purš suggests that the *Oratory-Laboratory*'s distorted perspective evokes 'the deformation of space occuring in a dream or fantastical vision' and that the admonition to vigilance doubtless alludes to the Song of Solomon 5:2 'I sleep, and my heart watcheth'.[351] Certainly, many of Khunrath's readers would have been well aware of the theme of dream revelation in alchemical literature, from Zosimos of Panopolis in antiquity to Giovanni Battista Nazari's *Della tramutatione metallica sogni tre* (Three Dreams about Metallic Transmutation, 1599).[352]

Thus, it could be argued that these divisions of space in the engraving create four axial points: *Oratorium* and *Laboratorium*, *Auditorium* and *Dormitorium*, each relating in their own way to the overarching notion of divine inspiration. Khunrath's foregrounding of sacred music's ability to dispel evil spirits should perhaps be seen as an apotropaic device for turning away harmful influences prior to the reader's entry into the other spaces.

Heuer's arguments concerning the Hampton Court painting can be applied to Khunrath's engraving: in the 'dynamic switching of attention prompted by the disjointed spaces', in the eye's movement 'among the different spaces – foreground, background, ceiling, floor',[353] there is an inherent dynamic-tension between the Oratory and the Laboratory.

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349 *Amph.*II, 168 'Et dormiens … Visionibus Diuinitùs admoneberis, doceberis, instituêris'.

350 See Peter J. Forshaw, '"Behold, the dreamer cometh": Hyperphysical Magic and Deific Visions in an Early-Modern Theosophical Lab-Oratory', in Joad Raymond (ed.), *Conversations with Angels: Essays Towards a History of Spiritual Communication, 1100–1700*, 1700 (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 175–200. For more on Khunrath, dreams and theurgy, *vide infra*, Chapter 5 on Khunrath's magic.

351 Purš, 'Perspective, vision and dream', 63.

352 As well as Nazari's earlier *Il Metamorfosi metallico et humano* (Brescia, 1564), which contained four dreams. See Frank Greiner, 'L'initiation alchimique de Giovan Battista Nazari', *Bulletin de l'Association d'étude sur l'humanisme, la réforme et la renaissance*, 41 (1995): 9–35. On Zosimos's dreams, see C.G. Jung, *Alchemical Studies*, trans. R.F.C. Hull (New York: Princeton/Bollingen, 1983), 59–65; Sherwood Taylor, 'The Visions of Zosimos', *Ambix* 1:1 (May 1937): 88–92.

353 Heuer, *The City Rehearsed*, 29–30.

18 Underlying Geometries and Symmetries in the Four "Theosophical" Figures[354]

Returning to De Villiers' hypothetical link between the clothed second figure of *Adam Androgyne* and the naked third figure of the *Rebis* brings us to the question of possible intended connections between the 1595 engravings. The first three circular figures each display highly-structured geometrical layouts, variously incorporating concentric circles, triangles, and squares, some of which echo elements in other images: Figures 2.2 and 2.3, for example, both have triangles bearing the words ANIMA (SOUL), SPIRITUS (SPIRIT), and CORPUS (BODY), to emphasise the trinitarian natures of both microcosms: Man as *Adam Androgyne* (Fig. 2.46) and the Philosophers' Stone as *Rebis* (Fig. 2.47).

The implicit association Khunrath makes between the cabalistic Androgyne and the alchemical Hermaphrodite becomes clear in *On Primaterial Chaos*, where we find him writing in an alchemical context of

> Our ADAM, from which his EVE came forth. The Macrocosmically Microcosmic Universal Hermaphrodite of Nature, the Philosophers' Philosophical Man of both sex, that is man and woman at the same time … Form and Matter … it is called Universal ELECTRUM, and Universal Androgyne of the Wise.[355]

The interconnectedness of the three realms (Divine, Human, and Natural) represented by these images is further reinforced by overlapping themes: Figures 1 and 2 both deal with Cabala, while Figures 2 and 3 both include alchemical material. Neo-Pythagorean number symbolism is yet another linking factor: Figure 2 contains a formula resembling one found in the works of the magical abbot Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516) and the Paracelsian Gérard Dorn (*c*.1530–1584): 'Let the Binary be rejected, and the Ternary be reduced, by means of the Quaternary, to the simplicity of the Monad'.[356] This is echoed in

354 *Amph*.II, 205 Isagoge 3.9 'The author of confusion cannot bear symmetry' (Nec potest auctor confusionis ferre symmetriam). On symmetry in relation to the divine and to music, see Iamblichus, *On the Mysteries* (2003), 89, 255, 263.

355 *Chaos* (1597), 195–196 'Unser ADAM/ daraus Seine EVA kompt. Hermaphroditus Naturae Catholicus Macrocosmicè Microcosmicus, ambigui sexus Homo Philosophorum Philosophicus, so Man und Weib zuggleich ist. … Forma unnd Materia … ELECTRUM Catholicon, heisset/ und Androgynos Sophorum Catholicus …'.

356 Dorn, *Dictionarium Theophrasti Paracelsi* (1583), 92 'Unitas Trithemij, est ternarij in unionem reductio per abiectionem binarij, estque supernaturalis & spagyrica'; idem, *De Spagirico Artificio Io. Trithemii sententia*, in Dorn, *De Naturae Luce Physica, ex Genesi Desumpta* (Frankfurt, 1583), 135 'Reiiciatur binarius, & ternarius ad unitatem convertibilis



FIGURE 2.46 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Adam-Androgyne*, detail: Anima-Spiritus-Corpus. Department of Special Collections, Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Duveen D 897



FIGURE 2.47 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Rebis*, detail: Anima-Spiritus-Corpus. Department of Special Collections, Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Duveen D 897

Figure 3's declaration that the Stone will only be gifted 'to the Man reduced, or studying to be reduced, to the simplicity of the Monad.'[357]

The combination of the ten-point Pythagorean *Tetraktys*, symbol of cosmogenesis,[358] kernel or epitome of Pythagorean wisdom,[359] and the most powerful Hebrew divine name, יהוה YHVH, the four-letter *Tetragrammaton*,

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erit.' This exact quote can be found in Trithemius, *Epistolarum familiarum libri duo* (Hagenau, 1536), 90.

357 Figure 2: 'Reiiciatvr Binarivs, et Ternarivs, per Quaternarivm, ad Monadis Redvcetvr, Simplicitatem.' Figure 3: 'homini, ad monadis simplicitatem, redvcto'. Khunrath intimates of this thematic connection between figures 2, 3 and 4 in *Chaos* (1597), 403–404 'Quia datur homini triuni ad Monadis simplicitatem reducto reduci vestudenti, &c. Ut est Fig: Amphitheatri 3'; 'Reductionis methodum vide ibidem Fig: 2. & 4.' Cf. *Chaos* (1786), 298 'reducive studenti'. For more reflection on these symbolic numbers, see 'Rejection of the Binary' in Chapter 4.

358 Elke Morlok, 'Visual and Acoustic Symbols in Gikatilla, Neoplatonic and Pythagorean Thought', in Forshaw (ed.), *Lux in Tenebris: The Visual and the Symbolic in Western Esotericism*, 19–49, at 24.

359 Walter Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*, trans. E.L. Minar Jr. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 72–72, 186–188. See also Armand Delatte, *Études sur la Littérature Pythagoricienne* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1915), 253–264; W.K.C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, 5 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1967), Vol. 1, 212–226.



FIGURE 2.48 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), Circular Figure 1, detail: *Tetraktys* & *Tetragrammaton*. Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, Linz

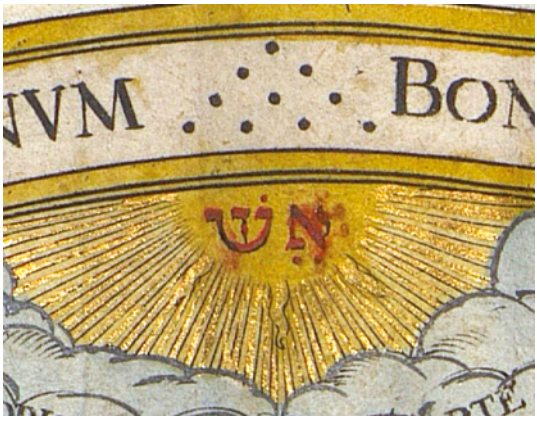


FIGURE 2.49 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), Circular Figure 3, detail: *Tetraktys*. Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, Linz



FIGURE 2.50 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), Circular Figure 2, detail: *Tetragrammaton* יהוה. Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, Linz

found at the top of Figure 1 of Christ, deity incarnated in matter (Fig. 2.48), is mirrored by the *Tetragrammaton* at the top of Figure 2 (Fig. 2.50) and the *Tetraktys* at the top of Figure 3 (Fig. 2.49).

The mathematical and geometrical underpinnings to these engravings certainly attracted the attention of at least two readers, both from the early eighteenth-century. The first example appears in a manuscript copy of the rare 1608 *Amphitheatre* (Fig. 2.51). The manuscript was made by 'F. Bruno Eremita/ Eremitico in antro' (F. Bruno the Hermit/Hermetic in the Cave) or 'Eremo in Antro Sancto' (by the Hermit in the Holy Cave) in 1702 (Fig. 2.52).[360] The man-

360 Allard Pierson Ms. PH 355 (208) Circumference of Fig. 3 'F. Bruno Eremitico in antro, Calamo depinxit, 1702'; Fig. 4 'F. Bruno Eremita, calamo depinxit, anno 1702'; and on the

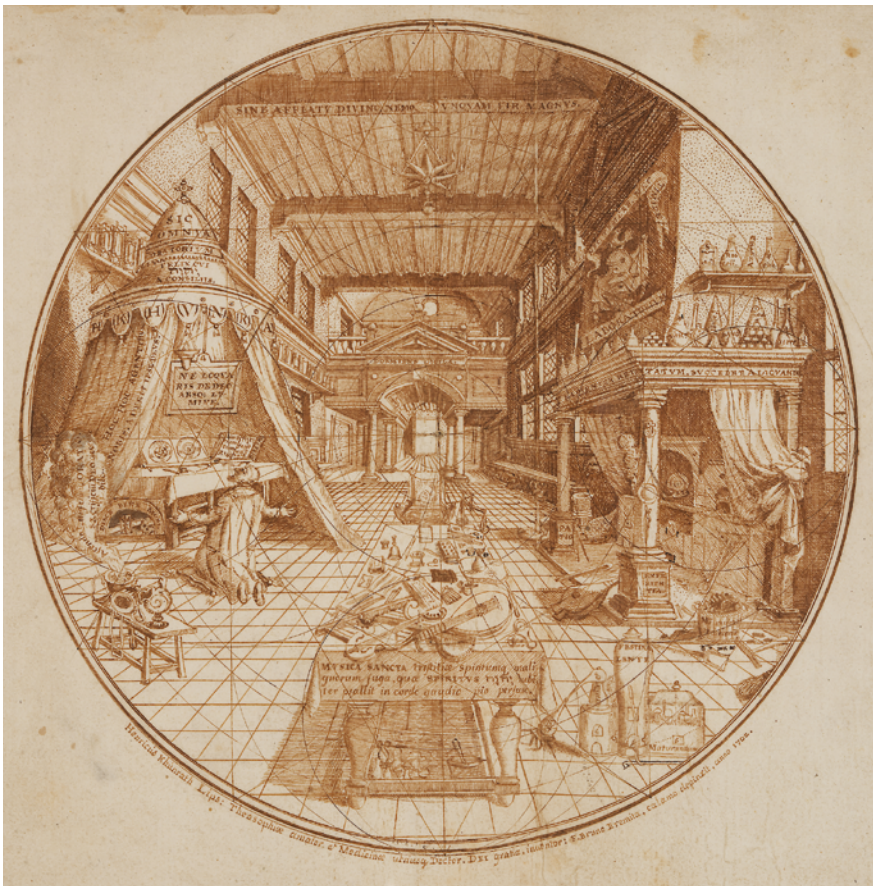


FIGURE 2.51 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* manuscript copy (1702), *Oratory-Laboratory*, drawn by F. Bruno Eremita. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH355

uscript's copy of the *Oratory-Laboratory* engraving displays an abundance of lines drawn between points, calling to mind composition studies (Fig. 2.53), seeking to discover hidden meaning in an image by analysing its geometries.[361]

A sequence of 12 large equilateral triangles, each placed at 30-degree intervals, divide up the circular engraving, the topmost one, for example, at the

1609 title page 'F. Bruno, Eremitico in Antro, יהוה gratia, calamo depinxit. 1702'. See the colophon, dated 7th January 1702, for 'Calamo pingebat, Eremo in Antro Sancto, Religiosus Anachoreta F.B.+.+.HE.' For an additional reference to F. Bruno Eremitico, see Gilly and Afanasyeva (eds.), *500 years of Gnosis in Europe*, 129.

361 My thanks to Tjalling Janssen for this observation.



FIGURE 2.52 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* manuscript copy (1702), *Oratory-Laboratory*, detail, F. Bruno Eremita Signature. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH355



FIGURE 2.53 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* manuscript copy (1702), *Oratory-Laboratory*, detail, Composition Study. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH355

apex, with its left side passing through the central triangle in the engraving of *Adam-Androgyne* on the Oratory table, then through the *Vanitas* skull to the thurible of incense with its prayer to God.

Eight concentric circles radiate outwards from the vanishing point, which is not in the centre of the doorway, but in the right door-frame, while three contiguous circles, each touching the fourth central concentric circle, encompass the *Oratorium*, *Laboratorium*, as well as the *Auditorium* section of the table, with a fourth contiguous circle above surrounding the candelabra, symbol of the planets in the heavens.

The second example of geometrical analysis is a 'manuscript', Sloane 1006 'Tabulae theosophicae cabalisticae' (Cabalistic Theosophical Tables) in the British Library that contains pasted-in engravings from Khunrath's 1609 *Amphitheatre*,[362] and Johann Daniel Mylius's *Opus Medico-Chymicum* (Medico-Chymical Work, 1618).[363] Bound with these images are many pieces of card, tied in with string, covered with geometrical deconstructions of alchemical engravings, including ones that appear to be taken from the circular figures in the 1609 *Amphitheatre* (Figs. 54–56).[364] These have been completely stripped of all figurative elements and reduced to geometries.

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362 British Library Ms. Sloane 1006 'Henricus Khunrath, MD, of Leipsic: Tabulae theosophicae cabalisticae'. See, for example, ff. 55–56 *Amphitheatrum* (1609), Circular Figures 2 and 3. The card images, most of which are tied in by string, are all numbered individually. In his *Index to the Sloane Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 289 Edward J.L. Scott gives the date of the *Tabulae Theosophicae Cabbalisticae* as '1599, delineated, 1707–1731'.

363 Images 38, 49, 50 are from Johann Daniel Mylius, including the well-known engraving linked with the *Emerald Tablet*, bound between the *Dedicatio* and *Praefatio* in *Tractatus III. Seu Basilica Philosphica*. Sloane 1006 includes the version from *Musaeum Hermeticum Reformatum et Amplificatum* (Frankfurt, 1678), 'Janitor Pansophus', Figura IV.

364 British Library MS. Sloane 1006. Image 21 is *Amph* Fig. 1; Image 55 is *Amph* Fig. 2 'Gradus Cognitionis. NB 1st Row/ ... Scala Unionis ... 2[nd] Row/ Fig: 2'; Image 56 is *Amph* Fig. 3, plus a reference to 'Kunraht in Tractat Magnesia Page 7°.' Image 45 also refers to 'Khunraht 10 Deuided'. The reference in the image on f. 172^{v} to 'Rejiciatur Binarius' could also be alluding to *Amph* Figs. 2 and 3. Another item, dated August 4th 1724, bears the phrase '5th size of simple Unity. ... Reject. 2. and the 3. by the 4. bring into one ...'. This is most likely a translation of Khunrath's phrase in Circular Figure 2 'Let the Binary be rejected, and the Ternary be reduced, by means of the Quaternary, to the simplicity of the Monad' (Reiiciatur Binarius, et Ternarius, per Quaternarium, ad Monadis Reducetur, Simplicitatem). Folio 149 has a cube construction similar to the images in the Byrom Collection, Chethams Library, Manchester. For reproductions of some of the images, see Joy Hancox, *The Byrom Collection and the Globe Theatre Mystery* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1992; repr. 1997). Folio 42^{v} of British Library MS. Sloane 1198, Section 3 'Collectanea ex operibus alchymicis Johannes Reuchlini, Philippi a Rovillasco, Bartholomici Fitts, Georgii Ripleii, et aliorum, facta a Thoma Grey, annis 1607 et 1608', ff. 41–63 also contains

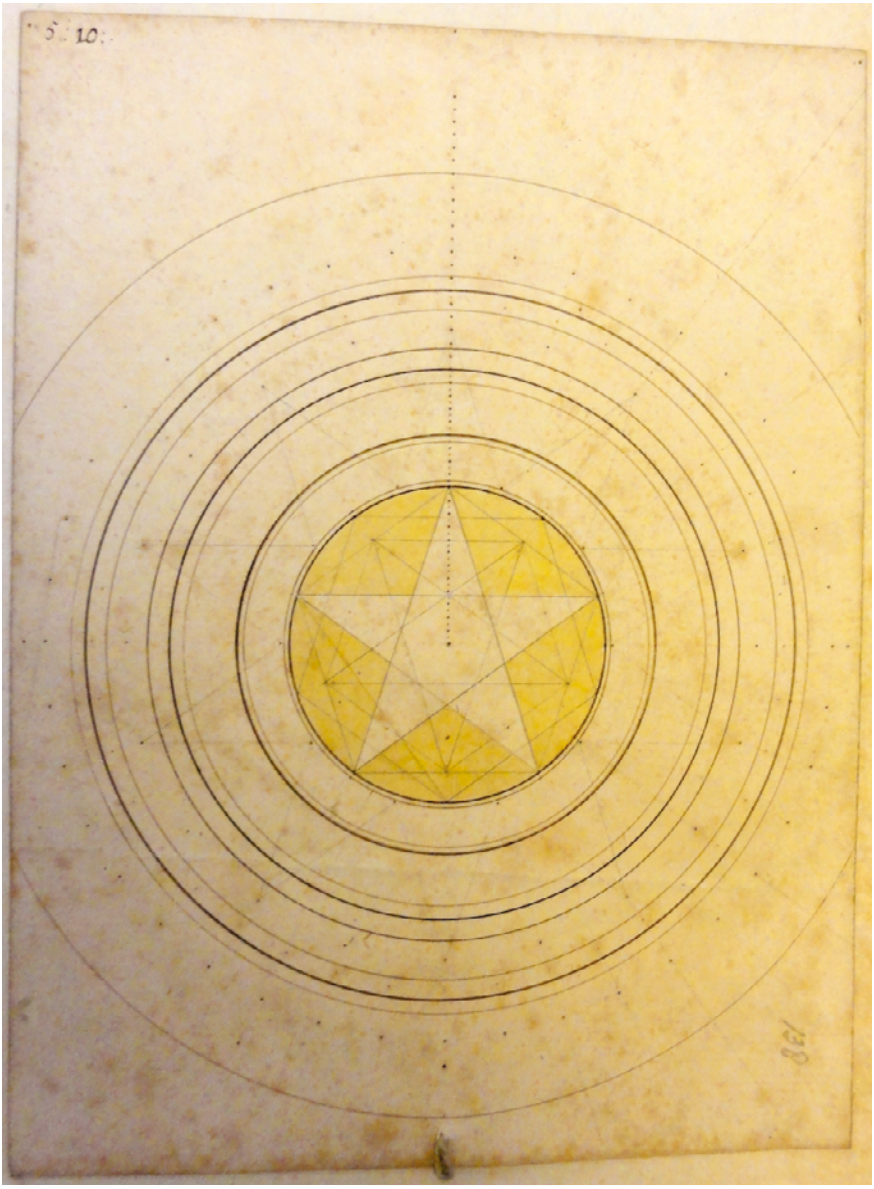


FIGURE 2.54 British Library Sloane Ms. 1006 *Amphitheatrum* (1609), Circular Figure 1 deconstructed. © The British Library Board

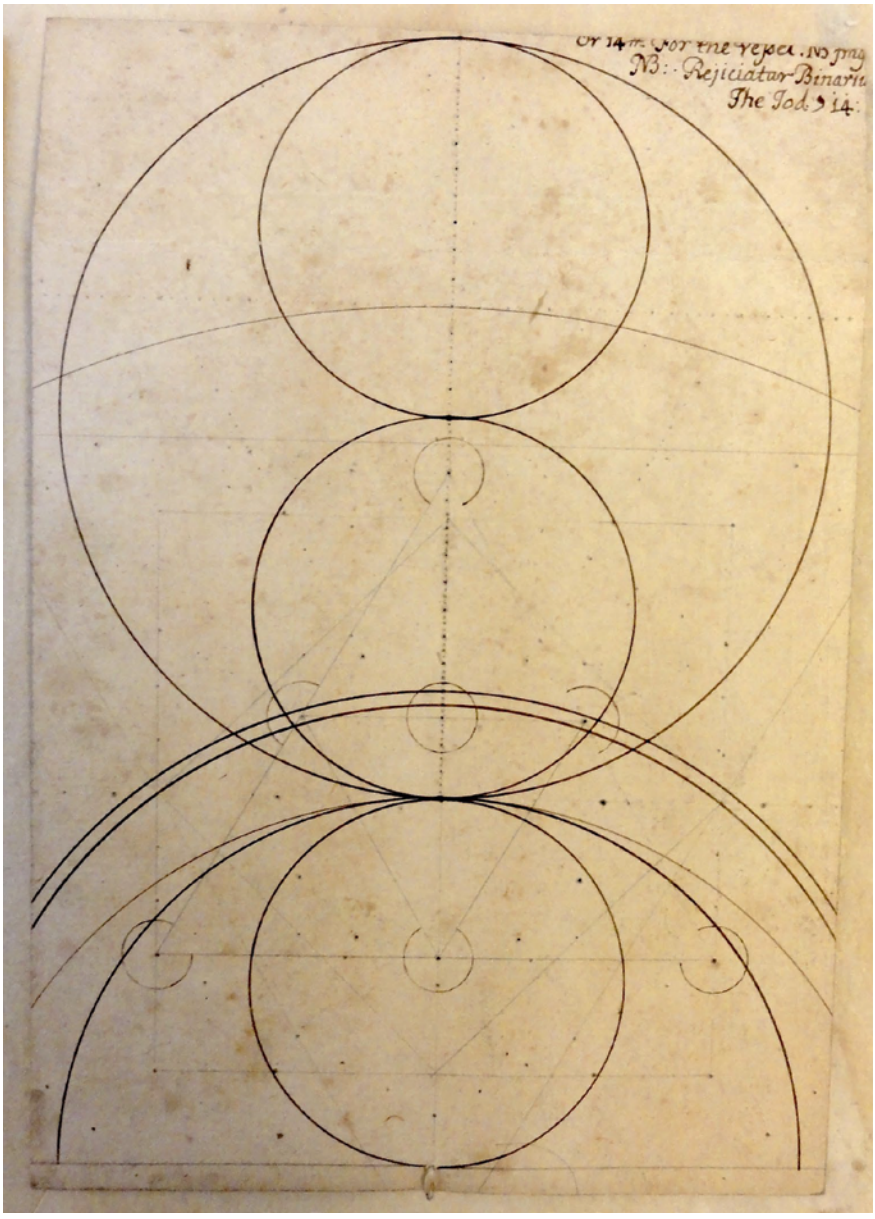


FIGURE 2.55 British Library Sloane Ms. 1006, f. 172ᵛ 'Rejiciatur Binarius' (Let the Binary be rejected). © The British Library Board

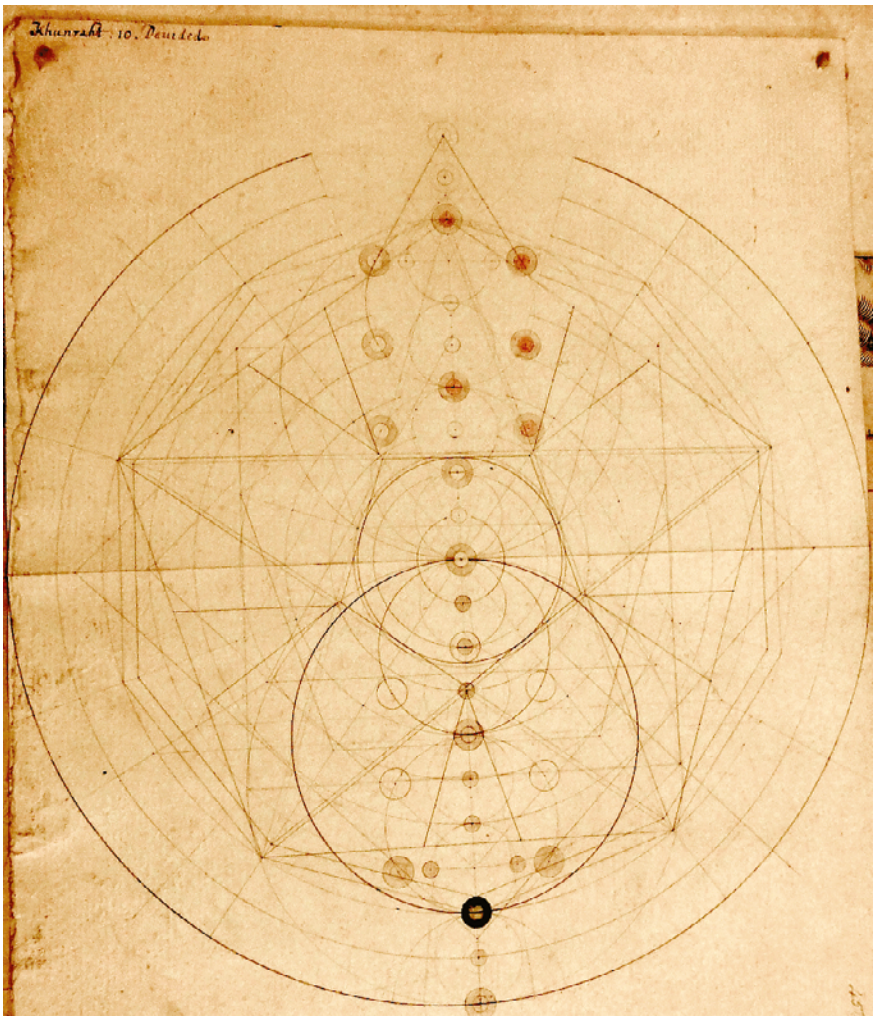


FIGURE 2.56 British Library Sloane Ms. 1006, f. 45 'Khunraht 10 Deuided'. © The British Library Board

The use of geometrical forms to discuss the elements reaches back to Plato's *Timaeus*.[365] Barbara Obrist believes that geometric figures were particularly appealing to the alchemists because they were traditionally accepted as 'true'

a diagram of geometrical shapes with similar advice, 'de triangulo fac circulum rotundum' (of the triangle make a round circle), related to 'Henry Conrath Lipsensis'.

365 Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique*, 105–107.

images corresponding to the forms conceived in the eternal model, directly expressing the universal mathematical laws according to which the universe was structured. They served as mental constructs for the purpose of meditation and were 'used as "ladders" leading to eternal truths.'[366]

Such was evidently the case in works inspired by the *Ars magna* and *Ars brevis* of the Franciscan theologian, philosopher and logician, the 'Doctor Illuminatus,' Ramon Lull (1232–1315), who used the figures of the circle, triangle, and square to designate the structure of the elements and the bodies from which they were formed by combinations which were at the base of all the physical sciences.[367] They served as cognitive tools for graphically representing both the progression of divine principles down into matter and the regression from matter back to divinity.[368] A Lullian influence in the *Amphitheatre* engravings is certainly possible, for Khunrath mentions the pseudo-Lullian alchemical *Codicillus, seu Vade mecum*, first printed in 1563, and the *Testamentum* (1332, printed in 1566, Fig. 2.58), though he makes no reference to any particular diagrams.[369] William Eamon has discovered a commonplace book dating from 1586 by Jáchym Nostic that documents interest in Lull's work in Rudolfine Prague, both the genuine philosophical material and the pseudonymous alchemical works.[370] Although it is devoid of figurative elements, one of the schemata inspired by Lull's *Ars Brevis* in Nostic's commonplace book (f. 115^{r}) shows a compositional affinity with the *Amphitheatre*'s second circular figure: a triangle bound within a square, itself within a circle.

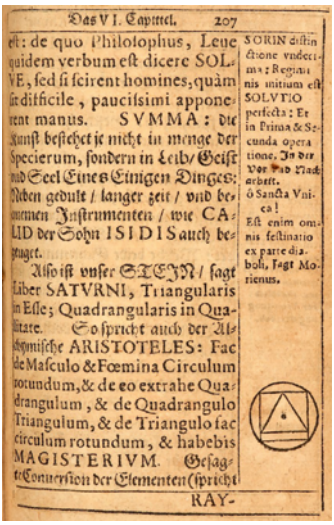
366 Obrist, 'Visualization in Medieval Alchemy', 139.

367 Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique*, 106–8. For a work replete with such diagrams, see *Practica compendiosa artis Raymundi Lulii* (Lyon, 1523). On Pseudo-Lullian alchemy, see Pereira, *The Alchemical Corpus attributed to Raymond Lull* (London: Warburg Institute, 1989); Robert Amadou, *Raymond Lulle et l'alchimie. Introduction au Codicille avec notes et glossaire* (Paris: La Haute Science, 1953). On Lull in relation to geometry, see Anthony Bonner, *The Art and Logic of Ramon Llull: A User's Guide* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

368 Obrist, 'Visualization in Medieval Alchemy', especially part 5, 'Geometrical figures as cognitive tools: the Lullian alchemical corpus', 158.

369 For Khunrath's explicit references to the *Testamentum*, see *Chaos* (1597), 191 'Vide Raymund: Lullium in Testamento, Cap. 88'; *Athanor* (1603), 16; to the *Codicillus*, *Chaos* (1597), 408 'Raimundo Lullio … In Codicillo, pag. 188. & sequentibus'. Lull's *Codicillus* (Cologne, 1563) contains no diagrams; but the *Testamentum* (Cologne, 1566) does include them: 5^{v}, 7^{r}, 11^{v}, 16^{r}, 172 $^{r–v}$, 174^{r}, 177^{v}, after 185^{v}, after 210^{v}.

370 William Eamon, 'The Scientific Education of a Renaissance Prince: Archduke Rudolf at the Spanish Court', in Purš and Karpenko (eds.), *Alchemy and Rudolf II*, 129–138, at 134 Library of the Royal Canonry of Premonstratensians at Strahov, MS DB V 12, fol. 114^{v}–115^{r}.

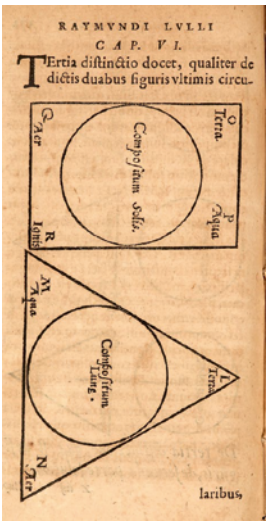

Das VI. Capittel. 207

eſt: de quo Philotophus, Leue quidem verbum eſt dicere SOLVE, ſed ſi ſcirent homines, quàm ſit difficile, pauciſsimi apponerent manus. SVMMA: die Kunſt beſtehet je nicht in menge der Specierum, ſondern in Leib/ Geiſt und Seel Eines Einigen Dinges: Neben gedult / langer zeit / vnd benommen Inſtrumenten / wie CALID der Sohn ISIDIS auch bezeuget.

Alſo iſt vnſer SATVRN / ſagt Liber SATVRNI, Triangularis in Eſſe; Quadrangularis in Qualitate. So ſpricht auch der Alchymiſche ARISTOTELES: Fac de Maſculo & Fœmina Circulum rotundum, & de eo extrahe Quadrangulum, & de Quadrangulo Triangulum, & de Triangulo fac circulum rotundum, & habebis MAGISTERIVM. Geſagt: Conuerſion der Elementen (ſpricht

SORIN diſtinctione vndecima: Regimen initium eſt SOLVTIO perfecta: Et in Prima & Secunda operatione. In der Vor vnd Nacharbeit. O Sancta Vnica! Eſt enim omnis feſtinatio ex parte diaboli, ſagt Morienus.

RAY-


RAYMVNDI LVLLI

CAP. VI.

Tertia diſtinctio docet, qualiter de dictis duabus figuris vltimis circu-

Terra

Aqua

Aer

Ignis

Compoſitum Solis.

Materia

Compoſitum Lunæ.

laribus,


EMBLEMA XXI. *De ſecretis Naturæ.* 93

Fac ex mare & fœmina circulum, inde quadrangulum, hinc triangulum, fac circulum & habebis lap. Philoſophorum.

EPIGRAMMA XXI.

Fœmina másque unus fiant tibi circulus, ex quo
Surgat, habens aquum forma quadrata latus.
Hinc Trigonum ducas, omni qui parte rotundum
In ſpheram redeat: Tum LAPIS ortus erit.
Si res tanta tua non mox venit obvia menti,
Dogma Geometra ſic capi, omne ſcies, M 5 PLA-

FIGURE 2.57
Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), 207. 64 Circle, Triangle, Square. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH2055 A

FIGURE 2.58
Lull, *Testamentum* (1566), 172v. Geometries. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH1595

FIGURE 2.59
Maier, *Atalanta Fugiens* (1618), 93 Emblem 21 Geometer. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, BPH O 384

The geometricality of the *Amphitheatre* engravings should probably not be thought of as exclusively Lullian, however, for on a page in *On Primaterial Chaos*, featuring a small geometrical diagram of a triangle nested within a square, within a circle (Fig. 2.57), Khunrath cites Lull, along with the *Liber Saturni* concerning the Stone being '*Triangularis in Esse; Quadrangularis in Qualitate*' (Triangular in Being, Quadrangular in Quality),[371] together with advice from one of the pseudo-Aristotelian sources on alchemy included in the *Rosarium Philosophorum*: 'So says the alchemical Aristotle: Make of the Male and Female a round Circle, and from it extract a Square, and from the Square a Triangle, and from the Triangle make a round circle, and you will have the Magisterium [Philosophers' Stone]'.[372] This was to be the inspiration

371 Cf. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, Vol. 3, Chapter X 'The Speculum Alchimiae of Nicolaus de Comitibus', 168 'the stone is triangular in being, quadrangular in quality.'

372 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), 207 'So spricht auch der Alchymische ARISTOTELES: Fac de Masculo & Foemina Circulum rotundum, & de eo extrahe Quadrangulum, & de Quadrangulo Triangulum, & de Triangulo fac circulum rotundum, & habebis MAGISTERIUM.' See *Rosarium Philosophorum* (1550), sig. Hiijv. For reference to Khunrath and 'alchemistischen Geometrie', see Klinkhammer, *Schatzgräber*, 173.

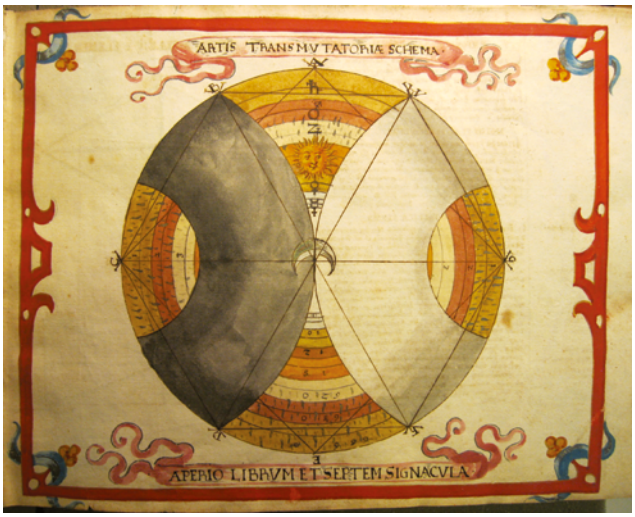


FIGURE 2.60 'Artis Transmutatoriae Schema', in Johann Friedrich Jung, Ms. GKS 1765, f. 4r. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen

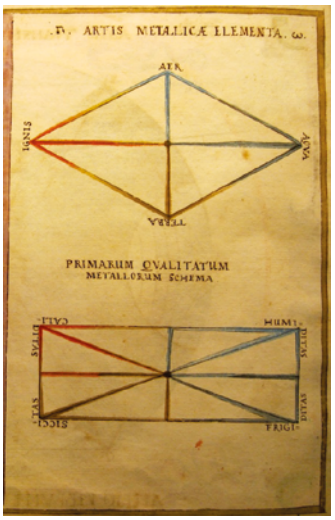


FIGURE 2.61 'Artis Metallicae Elementa', in Jung, Ms. GKS 1765, f. 4v. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen

behind one of Michael Maier's engravings (Fig. 2.59) in his work of emblematic alchemy, *Atalanta Fugiens* (Atalanta fleeing, 1617).[373]

The significance attributed to the geometry of the 1595 engravings is brought out in the 1601 manuscript copy of the first edition of the *Amphitheatre* made by Johann Friedrich Jung of Strasbourg, a pupil of Khunrath's friend, the Pietist Johann Arndt (1555–1621).[374] This manuscript, in the Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, contains colour reproductions of the original circular engravings as well as two religious images at the very end, one of Christ on the Cross, the other of the temptation of Adam and Eve (which should perhaps be taken as more orthodox representations of Circular Figures 1 and 2, respectively), plus a self-portrait variant on Figure 4.[375]

373 Maier, *Atalanta Fugiens* (1617), Emblem XXI, 93 'Fac ex mare & foemina circulum, inde quadrangulum, hinc triangulum, fac circulum & habebis lap[idem] Philosophorum.'

374 Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', 345f; Gilly and Afanasyeva (eds.), *500 Years of Gnosis in Europe*, 129; Dickson, *The Tessera of Antilia*, 79. Åkerman, *Rose Cross over the Baltic*, 208 describes him as 'the altar-painter Hans Friedrich Jung'. For more on Jung, see Chapter 7, Epilogue. On a flyleaf we read 'Sum Joannis Friderici Jung Senioris' (I [belong to] Johann Friedrich Jung the Elder).

375 See Chapter 7, Epilogue. The self portrait also appears in Bouman and van Heertum (eds.), *Divine Wisdom – Divine Nature*, 86–87.

Under the heading 'Artis Transmutatoriae Schema' (Schema of the Transmutative Art, Fig. 2.60), Jung reproduces a geometrical image first found in the *Ars transmutationis metallicae* (Art of Metallic Transmutation, 1519) and later in the *Voarchadumia contra alchimiam* (Voarchadumia against Alchimia, 1530), works by the Venetian Father of Cabalistic Alchemy, Giovanni Agostino Pantheo.[376] Jung's manuscript reproduction has as a subscript exactly the same apocalyptic words as Pantheo's *Voarchadumia*: 'Aperio Librum et Septem Signacula' (I open the Book and [its] Seven Seals).[377] Jung also reproduces two other geometrical diagrams from Pantheo, showing Aristotle's notion of the four primary qualities and their relation to the four elements: the 'Artis Metallicae Elementa' (Elements of the Metallic Art, Fig. 2.61) is a parallelogram showing the interrelations between the four elements and a rectangular figure, 'Primarium Qualitatum Metallorum Schema' (Schema of the Primary Qualities of the Metals, Fig. 2.63), represents the four qualities of Hotness, Coldness, Dryness and Moistness.[378]

19 Volvelles

While on the subject of Lull, it is interesting to speculate whether his rotating disks or volvelles, formed of concentric circles, had any influence on the design of Khunrath's circular figures (Figs. 62–64). Lull's wheels were used for a multiplicity of purposes, which Benedek Lang lists as 1. facilitating understanding; 2. didactic; 3. representative; 4. classificatory; 5. memorizing; and

376 The diagram first appears in the *Ars transmutationis metallicae* (Venice, 1519), preceding sig. 6^{r}. It reappears in the *Voarchadumia* (Venice, 1530), sig. 36^{r} in a section bearing the title 'Aperio Librum et Septem Signacula'. The following page contains a marginal reference to pseudo-Lull, *Codicillus*. See Peter J. Forshaw, '*Cabala Chymica* or *Chemia Cabalistica* – Early Modern Alchemists and Cabala', *Ambix* 60:4 (November, 2013): 361–389, at 371f. Cf. Joannes Antonius Pantheus, *Voarchadumia contra alchimiam, ars distincta ab archimia et sophia, cum additionibus, proportionibus numeris et figuris opportunis* (Paris, 1550), sig. 35^{v}.

377 Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Old Royal Collection Ms. GKS 1765.1. 'Heinrich Khunrath. Amphitheatrum Sapientiæ æternæ solius vera, exar. Lips. 1595, cum Figuris coloribus et auro pictis, et præmisso Artis transmutatoria Schemate. Autograph. Latine nebst Judicio darüber', f4^{r}. My thanks to Carlos Gilly for biographical information on Jung. The manuscript also features two simple diagrams (5^{r}), one the square, or rather trapezoid, of contraries representing the interaction of the four elements, the other of their qualities and possible combinations.

378 On the four elements and four primary qualities, see Principe, *The Secrets of Alchemy*, 37. Cf. Pantheus, *Ars et Theoria Transmutationis* (Paris, 1550), 8^{v}.



FIGURE 2.62
Lull, *Opera* (1598), 239
AUTHOR'S COLLECTION



FIGURE 2.63
Lull, *Opera* (1598), 708
AUTHOR'S COLLECTION



FIGURE 2.64
Lull, *Opera* (1598), 820
AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

6. meditative.[379] In 1598 Lazarus Zetzner, who was later to publish Khunrath's *De Igne Magorum* (1608), issued Lull's *Opera ea quae ad adinventam ab ipso artem universalem, Scientiarum Artiumque omnium brevi compendio … pertinent* (Those Works which pertain to the Universal Art invented by him, a brief Compendium of All Sciences and Arts), together with Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa's commentary on the *Ars Brevis* and Giordano Bruno's *De Specierum scrutinio* (*On the Investigation of Images*), *De Lampade Combinatoria Lulliana* (*On the Lullian Combinatorial Lamp*), and *De Progressu & Lampade Venatoria Logicorum* (*On Progress & the Hunting Lamp of the Logicians*). Although the separate parts of Khunrath's figures do not rotate, their design evokes a similarity to the Lullian wheels.

20 Reading the 1595 Circular Images

As shall be seen in the following chapters, the first three circular figures should be regarded as paralleling (or indeed mirroring) one another on different exegetical levels, the first figure of *Christ-Cruciform* a supernal combination of Christocentric theology and Kabbalah; the second figure of *Adam-Androgyne* an intermediate anthropocentric psychology, theo-alchemy and Christian-Cabala; the third figure of the *Rebis*, an alchemical anatomisation of nature and generation of the Stone, such that the three figures represent descending harmonic levels of theosophical contemplation and action,[380] after the fashion

379 Láng, *Unlocked Books. Manuscripts of Learned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe*, 137.

380 See, for example, *Amph.*II, 67.

of Agrippa's threefold intellectual, celestial, and elementary worlds.[381] Each of these *figurae* is literally represented by a composite anthropomorphic figure: 1) God & Man; 2) Adam & Eve; 3) Sun & Moon. Discussing copulative compound words, which are 'rare in Greek, and still rarer in Latin', Marie Delcourt identifies the only ones current in Greek as '*androgynos* and its converse *gynandros*; *arrhenothelus*, which was applied to Dionysus; and *hermaphroditos*'; offering as comparison the Christian theologians' creation of the term *Theanthropos* (at once Man and God).[382] Khunrath applies *Theanthrōpos* (θεανθρωπος), *Androgynos* (ἀνδρογυνος), and *Hermaphroditos* ('ερμαφροδιτος),[383] respectively, to the first three circular figures and this composite nature of things can be found throughout the *Amphitheatre*: in the compound adjectives of the 1609 title (*Christiano-Kabalisticum*, *Divino-Magicum*, *Physico-Chymicum*), compound *Verba*, as it were, produced in the Oratory, the composite image of the Hermetic Bird in Circular Figure 3, bearing John Dee's hieroglyphic monad, union (or unit) of the symbols for the seven astrological planets and seven alchemical metals on its breast, representing the compound *Res* in the Laboratory; and not to forget, of course, the very encapsulation of the word *Oratory* in the word *Lab-oratory*,[384] or indeed the etymology of the word ἀμφιθέατρον, *Amphitheatron* or *double theatre*, as 'a place for seeing' 'on both sides'.[385]

Khunrath seems to expect his readers to read these circular images in a wide variety of ways. Figure 1, for example, with its set of circular bands resembling the nested concentric spheres of Ptolemaic diagrams of the cosmos, encourages both centripetal and centrifugal reading, where the viewer either moves inwards from the Old Testament Decalogue at the circumference towards the New Testament Christ at the centre, or bears witness to Christ's influence radiating outwards through the macrocosm. Those who were able to read Hebrew would recognise that the alphabet sequence was reversed, reading clockwise from left-to-right, following the direction of the Latin alphabet, rather than the normal right-to-left of Hebrew texts, suggesting, perhaps, the inversion (or conversion) of Jewish Kabbalah into Christian Cabala. The reader is also implicitly encouraged to rotate the figures, to follow the sequence not only of the alphabet, but also of the series of sephiroth, angelic orders, and divine names.

381 See Noel Putnik, 'Agrippa's Cosmic Ladder: Building a World with Words in the *De Occulta Philosophia*', in Forshaw (ed.), *Lux in Tenebris: The Visual and the Symbolic in Western Esotericism*, 81–102, at 83.

382 Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite*, 48.

383 *Amph.*II, 45 θεανθρωπος; Circular Figure 2: ἀνδρογυνον; *Amph.*II, 193 'ερμαφροδιτος.

384 John Warwick Montgomery, *Cross and Crucible: Johann Valentin Andreae (1586–1654), Phoenix of the Theologians*, 2 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973), Volume 1, 18.

385 H.G. Liddel and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1901), 85.

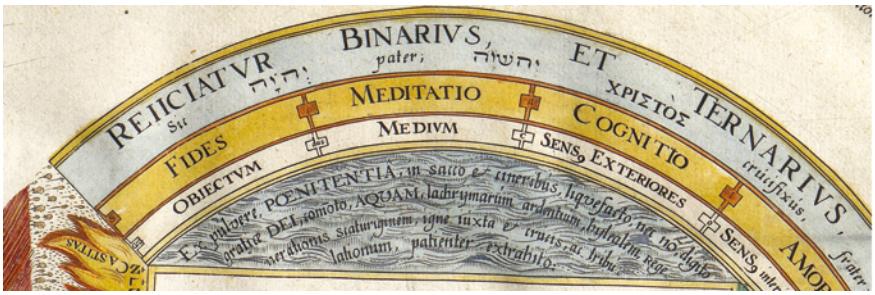


FIGURE 2.65 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), Circular Figure 2, detail of concentric bands. Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, Linz

Given Khunrath's speculation in the *Amphitheatre* and other works on the monad, binary, ternary, quaternary and denary, there is surely the expectation that the reader will pay attention to the Pythagorean arithmology and geometries of the image, the central figure of Cruciform Christ, as it were both Monad and Quaternary, the fiery pentagram with its 45 flames, the ten *sephiroth*, and so forth.[386]

Symbolic geometries are also present in Figure 2, with Adam Androgyne bound in the square (or cube) of matter. Here we have the four elements, but not as the Rota or Aristotelian diagram of the circular rotation of the elements, Earth – Water – Air – Fire, or vice-versa; instead it may have been inspired by the cube of the elements in Isidore of Seville's seventh-century *De natura rerum* (On the nature of things), with earth at the bottom, and then a zig-zag movement through water and air up to fire at the top, all contained within a circular representation of the world (Fig. 2.66).[387]

The concentric bands of Figure 1 have now become three semicircular bands (Fig. 2.65), the inner two of which contain two lists (FIDES, MEDITATIO, etc) and (OBIECTUM, MEDIUM, etc). There is a definite sense that Khunrath expects his readers to actively analyse this image: Only if the reader looks closely at what at first sight seem to be ornamental boxes between these words and rotates the image will they see individual letters, hidden in plain sight, as it were, which when read in a clockwise manner and joined together

386 Consider also the influence of Dee, in Michael T. Walton, 'John Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica*: Geometrical Cabala', *Ambix* 23:2 (July 1976): 116–123.

387 Isidorus Hispalensis, *De natura rerum*, Zofingen, Stadtbibliothek, Pa 32, f. 62ʳ. See Isidore of Seville, *Of the Nature of Things*, translated with introduction, notes, and commentary by Calvin B. Kendall and Faith Wallis (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016), 130–132 'The Parts of the World'.



FIGURE 2.66 Isidore of Seville, *De natura rerum*, Pa 32, f. 62r Cube of the Elements. Stadtbibliothek Zofingen

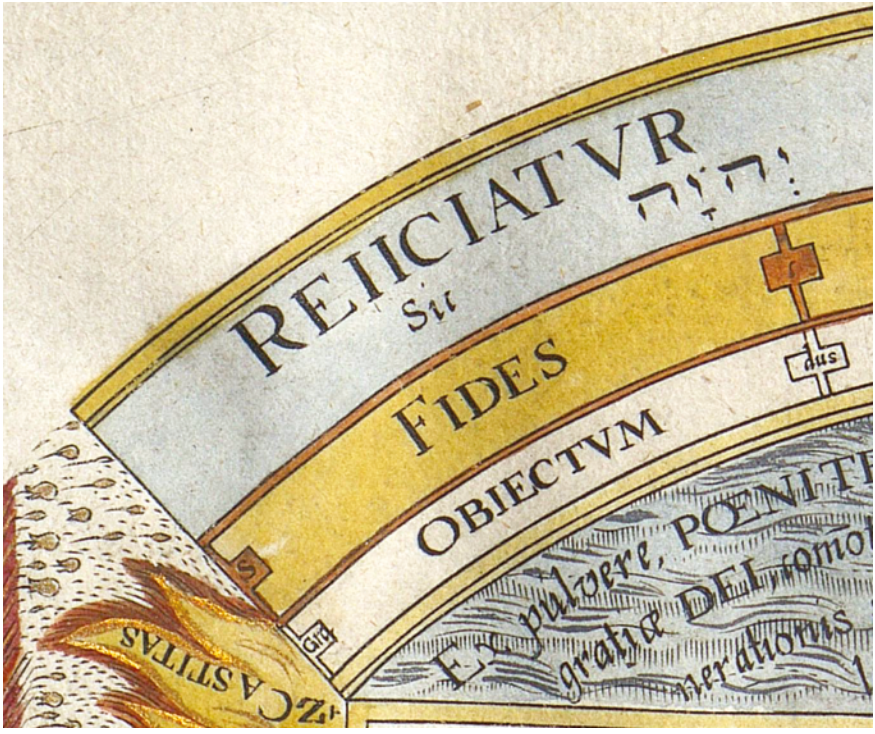


FIGURE 2.67 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), Circular Figure 2, detail of 'concealed' words. Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, Linz

form the names of two hierarchical sequences, which have gone unnoticed by some readers.[388]

The yellow central band (Fig. 2.67) contains letters in small rectangular boxes that form the words *Scala Unionis* (Ladder of Union):

> S] Fides [c] Meditatio [a] Cognitio [l] Amor [a] Spes [Un] Oratio [i] Conivunctio [o] Frequentia [n] Familiaritas [i] Similitvdo [s

The white inner band (Fig. 2.67) holds the phrase: *Gradus Cognitionis* (Grades of Cognition):

> Gra] Obiectum [dus] Medium [C] Sensus Exteriores [o] Sensus Interior, Communis [g] Phantasia [n] Judicium Inferius [i] Judicium Superius [t] Ratio [i] Intellectus [o] Mens [nis

In the space encircled by these bands, Khunrath varies the direction of reading, where we see the four elements, clearly figuratively identified as such (and colour-coded in the 1595 edition), with the reader expected to begin reading the image from the sand, stones and green land of earth below, thence to the blue waves of water on the right, followed by the clouds of air on the left and finally to the flames of the highest element, fire, above. The highest rung of the Ladder of Union is indicated by the word vnio (Fig. 2.68) on the boundary between the rays of light radiating down from the Archetype above to the tongues of fire below, where the drops of heavenly manna rain down upon the theosopher as regenerated (or reborn) prelapsarian Adam.

In the centre of the image (Fig. 2.69), Adam Androgyne is surrounded by three nested triangles, the outer two containing ternaries: the outermost with the message that man's end is to delight in 'yhvh, Father, Brother and Friend'; while the middle triangle bears man's Body, Spirit and Soul. The Decalogue from Figure 1 reappears as the two stone tablets of the Law on the right of the androgyne, accompanied by the book with seven seals from Revelation on the left.

Just as there is an emphasis on the presence of Body, Spirit and Soul in both *Adam Androgyne* and the *Alchemical Rebis*, so too there is a parallel positioning of the four elements in both figures: surrounding the Androgyne in Figure 2 and in the sphere held by the *Rebis* in Figure 3. While an act of *synthesis* was expected by the reader with Figure 2's combination of the letters for the *Grades*

388 This was apparently not noticed, for example, by Szulakowska or Schmidt-Biggemann.



FIGURE 2.68 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), Circular Figure 2, detail: VNIO. Universitätsbibliothek Basel

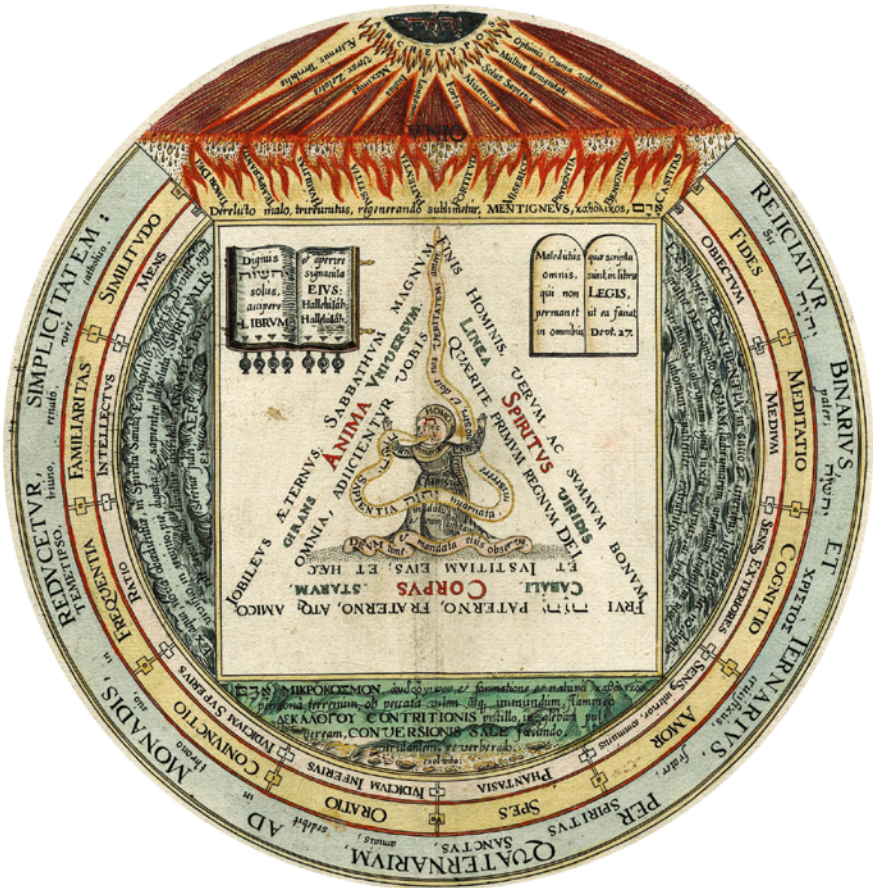


FIGURE 2.69 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), Circular Figure 2, centre. Department of Special Collections, Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Duveen D 897

of Cognition and *Ladder of Union*, in Figure 3 the reader is surely expected to carry out an *analysis* of the composite *Avis Hermetis* (Hermetic Bird) immediately above the *Rebis*, into its individual parts, as shall be discussed in Chapter 6 on Khunrath's alchemy.

The implication, furthermore, seems to be that only when the individual disciplines of Cabala, Magic and Alchemy, as represented in the two-dimensional Figures 1, 2 and 3, are combined or integrated by the theosopher according to the *Amphitheatre*'s ter-tri-une method is there a full vision or experience of the true nature of things, represented by the dramatic three-dimensional perspective of Figure 4.[389] Confirmation that such is most likely the case can be found in *On the Fire of the Mages and Sages* (1608), where Khunrath emphatically asserts that 'Cabala, Magic and Alchemy conjoined, should and must be used together with and alongside one another.'[390] The most explicit instance of this insistence on the multivalent quality of images, on multiple levels of exegesis and a preference for polysemic symbols,[391] rather than on the monosemic unidirectional character of allegory,[392] or a simple notion of two-dimensional substitution of terms by way of *Decknamen*, is Khunrath's advice with regard to a line from the *Rosarium Philosophorum* that can be found in Figure 3, 'Oh Blessed Greenness, making all things grow':[393]

> Contemplate [this] Greenness, in the first, second and third figures of this Amphitheatre, [and], oh Theosopher, you will find the Ruah Elohim

389 Cf. *Amph.*II, 54 'Notate hoc, vos, qui quæritis Lapidem Philosophorum quique affectatis Cabalisticè, Magicè, Chemicè, Theosophicè, &c. intelligere, scire, possidere & præstare ea, quæ quarta huius Amphitheatri figura sapienter sunt annotata' (Note this, you who seek the Philosophers' Stone, and who aspire Cabalistically, Magically, Chemically, Theosophically, etc. to understand, know, possess and accomplish those things which are wisely noted in the fourth figure of this Amphitheatre).

390 *De Igne Magorum*, 87 'Kabala, Magia, Alchymia Conjugendae, Sollen und müssen mit und neben einander angewendet werden.' A statement noted by Gershom Scholem in 'Alchemie und Kabbala', *Eranos Jahrbuch* 46 (1977): 1–96; reprint in *Judaica* 4 (1984): 19–127. I am using the English translation, Gershom Scholem, *Alchemy and Kabbalah*, translated by Klaus Ottmann (Putnam, Connecticut: Spring Publications, 2006), 91. For further discussion of this, see the Epilogue of this book.

391 On these notions, see Walker Bynum, 'The Complexity of Symbols'.

392 Although this reading of allegory is challenged by Dean Swinford, 'Defining Irrealism: Scientific Development and Allegorical Possibility', *Journal of the Fantastic in the Arts* 12:1 (2001): 77–89; idem, *Through the Daemon's Gate: Kepler's Somnium, Medieval Dream Narratives, and the Polysemy of Allegorical Motifs* (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), 147.

393 A well-known quote from the *Rosarium Philosophorum* (1550), sig. Cij^{v} 'O benedicta viriditas, quae cunctas res generas.'

> [*Spirit of the Lord*]; you, oh Cabalist, the GREEN LINE, ENCIRCLING THE UNIVERSE; you, Mage, NATURE; [and] you, Physical-Chemist, THE GREEN LION, DUENEGH VIRIDE; ADROP, THE QUINTESSENCE.[394]

The *Oratory-Laboratory*, which epitomises Khunrath's repeated exhortation in the *Amphitheatre* to 'Pray and Work' (*Ora et Labora*), is both the locus of experience and the culmination of the theories and practices contained in the preceding circular figures. This is quite literally the case: the two images standing on the Oratory's altar table are reproductions of Figures 1 and 2.[395] As Töllner rightly notes, Khunrath is thus studying his own book.[396]

Mino Gabriele comments on how Oratory and Laboratory stand on either side of the image, facing one another, as if in a mirror, with the argument that the alchemical operations cannot be separated from dialogue with the divine.[397] John Young, writing of the image of the adept 'surrounded at once by the apparatus of religion and that of practical experiment', observes that '"Laboratorium" and "oratorium", laboratory and house of prayer, were one. There was no question, for the "chemical philosophers", of choosing between divine and experimental revelation: they amounted to the same thing.'[398]

21 From 1595 to 1602: Changes in the Circular Images

These four circular figures first saw the light of day in the first edition of Khunrath's *Amphitheatre*, published in Hamburg in 1595. As mentioned above, they appeared surrounded by their *Isagoges* (Introductions) as either radial or

394 *Amph.*II, 67 'O BENEDICTA VIRIDITAS, FACIENS RES CVNCTAS GERMINARE. Contemplare VIRIDITATEM, figuris Amphitheatri huius prima, secunda, & tertia, reperies tu TheoSophe, RVAH ELOHIM: Cabalista, LINEAM VIRIDEM, GIRANTEM VNIVERSVM: Mage, NATVRAM: PhysicoChemista, LEONEM VIRIDEM; DVENEGH VIRIDE; ADROP; ESSENTIAM QVINTAM.' *Vide infra*, Chapter 6 for an analysis of this quote.

395 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 130 simply speaks of geometrical symbols … an image of the squaring of the circle (i.e., Figure 2) and a pentacle (i.e., Figure 1). Cf. Read, *From Alchemy to Chemistry*, 72 'As he prays, Khunrath fixes his gaze upon a pentagram, the badge of the Pythagoreans.'

396 Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 211–212.

397 Gabriele, *Alchimia e Iconologia*, 30. See also Gabriele's more recent *La Porta Magica di Roma, simbolo dell'alchimia occidentale*, Biblioteca dell'«Archivum Romanicum» – Serie I: Storia, Letteratura, Paleografia, vol. 444 (Florence: Casa Editrice Leo. S. Olschki, 2015).

398 John T. Young, *Faith, Medical Alchemy and Natural Philosophy: Johann Moriaen, Reformed Intelligencer, and the Hartlib Circle* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998; reprint Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), 159.

concentric bands of lettering. This changes in the 1609 edition, where, most likely to cut down on costs, the *Isagoges* were printed separately from their images, which undoubtedly led to a certain amount of confusion as to which *Isagoge* belonged to which figure.[399] In the process of this conversion, some of the *Isagoge* that was originally in Figure 4, concerning the threefold (Divine, Micro- and Macro-cosmic) use of the Philosophers' Stone, became the IXth part of *Isagoge* 3 in the 1609 edition.[400] This had the potential to perplex readers of other works by Khunrath that included references to one or the other edition of the *Amphitheatre*;[401] apparently even confusing the editor of the 1609 edition, Erasmus Wolfart, who at various places left directions in the main body of the text to the fourth (1595) rather than third (1602) figure.[402]

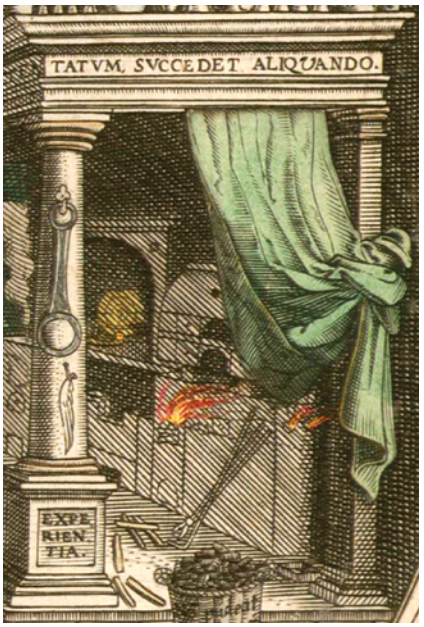
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399 See, for example, Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 90–91 where she confuses Khunrath's reference to the 'third [circular] figure' [of the *Alchemical Rebis*] with the fourth [of the *Oratory-Laboratory*]; 109 where the third figure is misidentified as the first [of *Christ Cruciform*]; 110 where Khunrath's reference to the fourth figure, is taken as referring to the 'Anthropos' figure, which can only be the second [of *Adam Androgyne*]; 120 where she relates a passage to the 'Archetypos' figure [presumably Figure 2, which contains the word Archetypos at the top], while in reality it is part of the Isagoge to Figure 3 of the *Alchemical Rebis*.

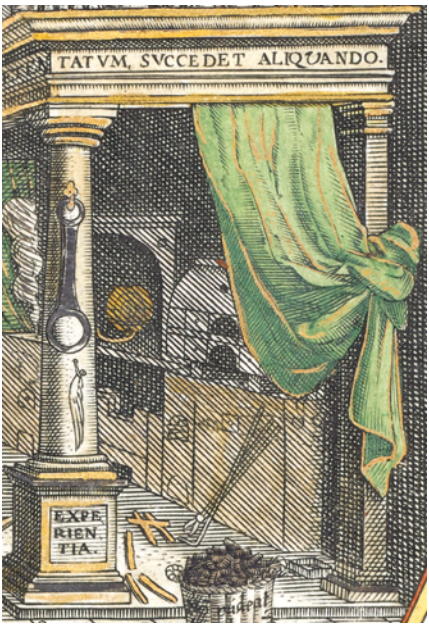
400 Compare the right side of Figure 4 (1595), text from 3 o'clock to 6 o'clock with *Amph*.II, 204–205. This was also noted by Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 17.

401 See, for example, *Magnesia*, 6–7 which is clearly still referring to the 1595 edition, with its reference, for example, to the 'circumferentia der dritten Figur', and with a direction to the reader (p. 89) to consult Figure 4 concerning the 'VSVS atq[ue] EFFECTVS Lapidis Philosophorum Catholici, Vide 4. Figura.'

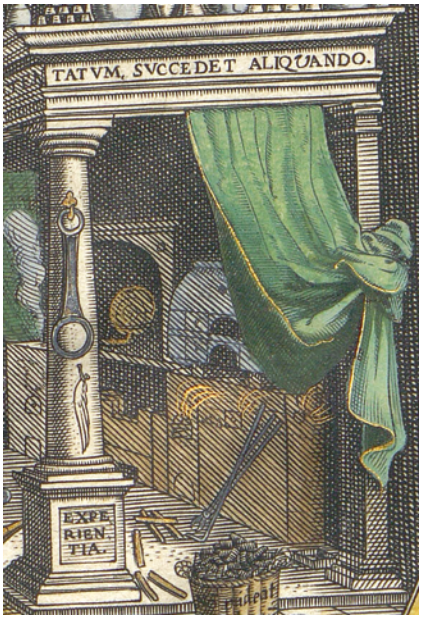
402 See, for example, *Amph*.II, 58 'ex hoc fundamento quoque intelliges, cur LAPIS Philosophorum Catholicus PhysicoChemicus diabolicis resistat potestatibus; aliaque non minus præstantia mirificè operetur innumera. Vide figuram Amphitheatri huius quartam' (On this basis you will also understand why the Universal Physico-Chemical Philosophers' STONE resists diabolical powers; and wondrously accomplishes innumerable other no less excellent things. See the fourth figure of this Amphitheatre). See also *Amph*.II, 151 'quarta Amphitheatri huius figura, vbi de Lapidis Philosophici egi vsv triuno' (the fourth figure of this Amphitheatre, where I have spoken of the triune use of the Philosophical Stone). This would appear to be an editorial error, unchanged from the 1595 edition (p. 17), for in the 1609 edition the discussion of the Stone's 'triune use' has been relocated to *Isagoge* 3.9, *Amph*.II, 204. Likewise, although the Urim and Thummim are discussed in Figure 4 in the 1595 edition, but in Isagoge 3, *Amph*.II, 204, in the 1609 edition, we still find a reference to them in relation to Figure Four on *Amph*.II, 130 'Causas VSVS Lapidis Philosophici ChristianoCabalisticè DIVINI (fig[ura] Amphit[heatri] huius quarta, vbi de VRIM & THVMIM) ex hisce facillimè ostendere possem sufficientes, si fas esset sigillum frangere Cæleste & occultæ reuelationis, mysteriaque diuulgare DEI' [I could most easily show from these sufficient causes the USE of the Christian-Cabalistically DIVINE Philosophical Stone (in the fourth figure of this Amphitheatre, where the URIM and THUMMIM [are discussed]), if it were lawful to break the seal of Celestial and occult revelation, and to divulge the mysteries of GOD].



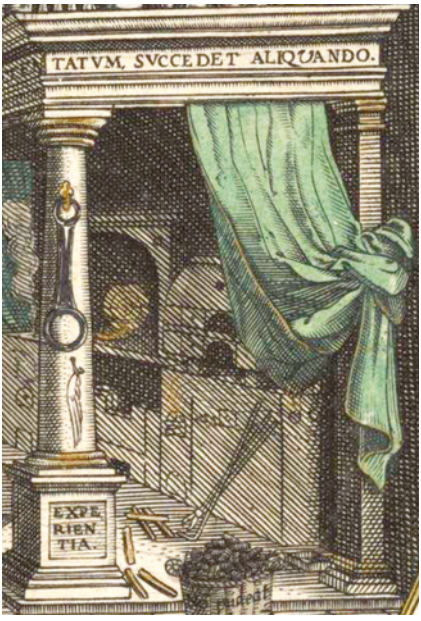
1) Basel



2) Darmstadt

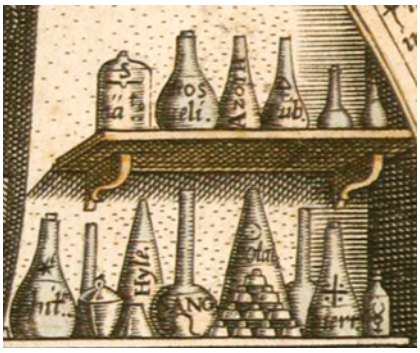


3) Linz

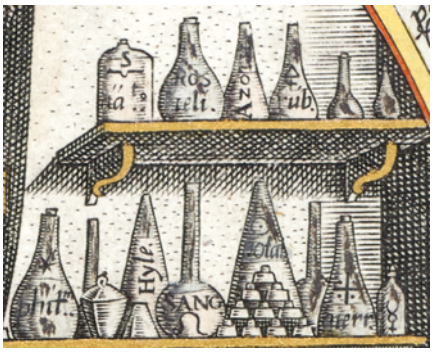


4) Wisconsin

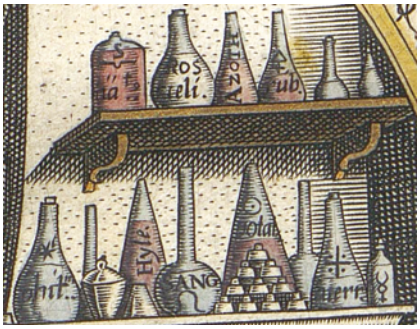
FIGURE 2.70 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Oratory-Laboratory*, detail of furnace



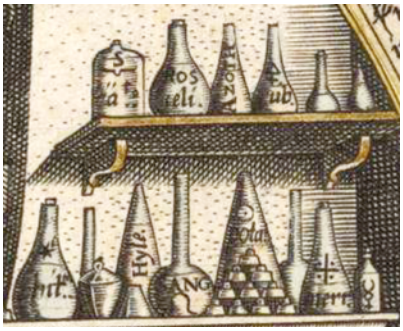
1) Basel



2) Darmstadt



3) Linz



4) Wisconsin

FIGURE 2.71 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Oratory-Laboratory*, detail of substances

The colouring in the surviving 1595 engravings, while similar, is not identical. The skin tone of Christ varies in the first circular figure, as does the pink colour of the clouds. The boxes enclosing the letters forming the words 'Gradus Cognitionis' in Circular Figure 2 are coloured red in the Linz copy (Fig. 2.67), drawing the reader's eye to their presence, while they are a similar yellow to the background in the Basel and Wisconsin copies; there are variations in the colours of the wings in Hermes' Bird in the *Rebis* engraving (Figs. 23–26); while the Rostock copy's 1595 engravings are completely uncoloured. Comparison of the *Oratory-Laboratory* engraving from Basel, Darmstadt, Linz and Wisconsin discovers that only the Basel version has a dramatic burst of flames from the right-hand furnace in the Laboratory (Fig. 2.70). The alchemical substances on the Laboratory mantel are also more colourful in the Linz copy (Fig. 2.71). The Oratory books are not coloured in the Linz copy, nor are the images on the altar, but there is more evidence of gold paint as highlight. The hue of the adept's clothing also varies (Fig. 2.72).



1) Basel 2) Darmstadt 3) Linz

FIGURE 2.72 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Oratory-Laboratory*, detail of the theosopher and his books



FIGURE 2.73 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Adam-Androgyne*, detail. Universitätsbibliothek, Basel

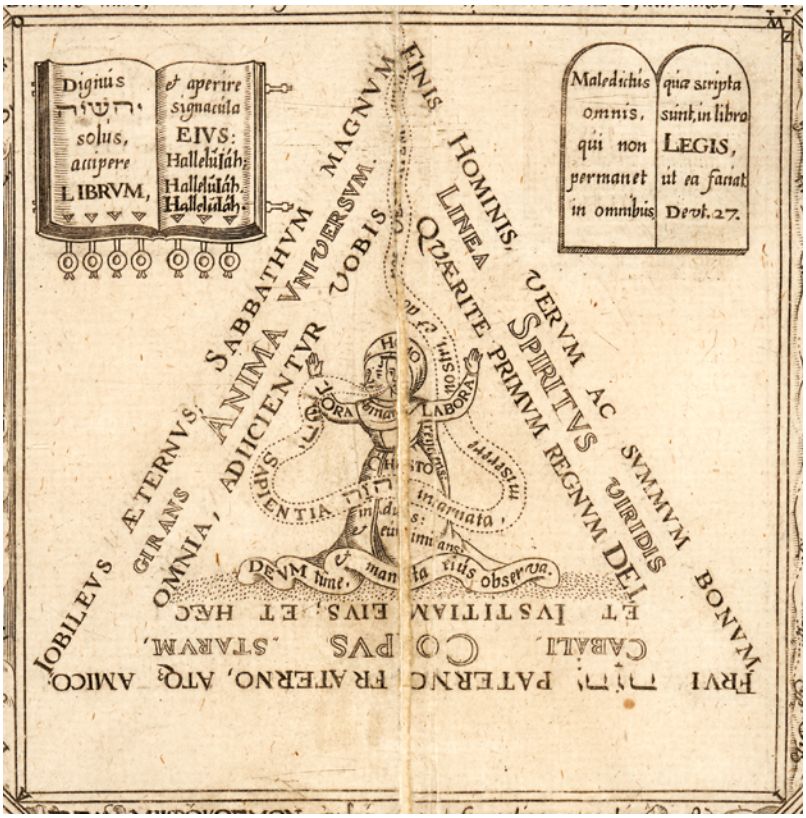


FIGURE 2.74 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Adam-Androgyne*, detail: O-MN-I-A. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

In addition to the major difference that four of the five 1595 copies have coloured engravings, indeed ones painted or gilded with silver and gold highlights,[403] Ralf Töllner also noted several differences between the 1595 and 1602 circular figures.[404]

Most of these variations are fairly inconsequential, such as the backgrounds to the word *Emet* in Figure 1 and the *Tetragrammaton* in Figure 2 change from dark to light; or the dark heavens with light stars in Figure 3 become dark stars against a white background in the later version. There are also one or two additions: 'OMNIA' (ALL THINGS) appears beneath the *Tetraktys* in the 1602 version of Figure 1; an extra Halleluyah appears on the book with seven seals in the 1602 version of Figure 2 and the letters of the word O-MN-I-A appear at the

403 Elkins, *What Painting Is: How to Think about Oil Painting, Using the Language of Alchemy*, 180.
404 Töllner *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 17.

corners of the square surrounding the androgyne (Figs. 2.73 & 2.74); and, as has been mentioned, the words 'Let PRAYER rise like smoke, an acceptable sacrifice to GOD' only appear in the incense smoke in the 1602 version of Figure 4.[405]

22 The 5 Rectangular 'Hieroglyphic Figures' (1602)

The rectangular engravings lack the concise geometric structure of the circular figures and are even further away from the tightly focused imagery appearing in most emblem books but are nevertheless organised spaces. According to Eco, they represent

> surreal landscapes, initiatory itineraries, and culminate in access to the Entrance of the Amphitheatre, a sort of Dantean ascent to a magical passage that, as we will see, reminds many of the tomb of Christian Rosencreutz, as described in the Rosicrucian *Fama*.[406]

For Szulakowska the rectangular engravings lack the elegance of the 'visual design and the semiotic delivery' of the 1595 images and 'seem dark in their atmosphere and diffuse and rambling in their discursive structure'. For her the 1595 image series focuses on the 'alchemical "azoth" as Christ and its spiritual and alchemical significance' (a somewhat misleading reading of Khunrath's doctrine of the *analogical* harmony between Christ and the Philosophers' Stone), while the later 1602 series is concerned with the 'political status of the illuminated magus and his struggle to defend his sacred knowledge from perversion by the ignorant and himself from political attack.'[407] Such an interpretation of the 1595 series is overly narrow in its focus on alchemy and the suggestion that the five rectangular engravings are mainly political and produced as a 'defensive mechanism against the unchristian strategies of both bacchantic hermeticists and arid sophists' seriously neglects their theosophical significance and misrepresents Khunrath's engagement with hermetic philosophy.[408] It is true that Khunrath does assign a great deal of importance

405 *Oratory-Laboratory*: 'Ascendat, ut fumus, ORATIO, sacrificium DEO acceptabile.'

406 Eco, *Lo Strano Caso*, 13 'Le tavole rettangolari rappresentano paesaggi surreali, itinerari iniziatici, e culminano nell' accesso alla Porta Amphitheatri, una sorta di ascesa dantesca verso un varco magico che, come vedremo, ricorda a molti la tomba di Christian Rosencreutz, così come viene descritta nella *Fama* rosacrociana.'

407 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 128–9.

408 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 149. Khunrath does refer to those who are 'wine-jars of Bacchus' (*Amph.*II, 35 'amphorae Bacchi'), but in criticism of either the extravagance

to the preservation of knowledge from the profane and complains at times of unjust treatment, but as shall be seen, these additional rectangular engravings provide much that complements and supplements the message of the original four circular figures.

Each 1602 'hieroglyphic figure' consists of a large double-folio picture containing multiple figurative images, some of which are labelled after the manner of medieval tapestries and manuscripts, in the tradition of the inscribed word in Dutch painting, along with an accompanying frame of subscribed text beneath the picture, providing a general intimation of the import of the engraving.[409] Although there is the risk of unduly subordinating image to text, this combination of word and image could perhaps be argued to accord with John Willis's notion of 'Compound Ideas' in *The Art of Memory* (1621), in which the picture constitutes the 'relative' idea and the text the 'scriptile'.[410] These later 'hieroglyphic' figures are compound subjects, constellations of images or symbolic collages of imagery from a variety of genres, calling to mind Renaissance illustrations of the *Tabula Cebetis* and Philostratus's *Imagines*, described by Claude-François Menestrier in *L'art des emblèmes* (1684) as 'tableaux Emblematiques'.[411]

23 The Theo-Magical School of Nature

In contrast to the private intimacy of the *Oratory-Laboratory* engraving, the *Gymnasium Naturae* or *School of Nature* (Fig. 2.75) is a fairly naturalistic,

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of court life or perhaps of monks. Cf. Bruno Seidel, *Paroemiae ethicae* (Frankfurt, 1589), Sig. [S6r] '*O monachi, vestri stomachi sunt amphora Bacchi*'. He also refers to those 'who … live like Bacchanals' (*Amph*.II, 165 'Bacchanalia viuunt'), possibly alluding to Juvenal, *Satire* 2, ll. 1–3 'Vltra Sauromatas fugere hinc libet et glacialem Oceanum, quotiens aliquid de moribus audent qui Curios simulant et Bacchanalia vivunt'; Juvenal, *Satires*, trans. G.G. Ramsay, Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann, 1918), 17 'I would fain flee to Sarmatia and the frozen Sea when people who ape the Curii and live like Bacchanals dare talk about morals.' There is no indication, however, that Khunrath is targetting 'bacchantic hermeticists'.

409 Michael Bath, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (London: Longman, 1994), 128. Khunrath's engravers were all Dutch.

410 Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, 45.

411 Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, 113. On the 'Tablet of Cebes' (Tabula Cebetis), see George Hugo Tucker, *Homo Viator: Itineraries of Exile, Displacement and Writing in Renaissance Europe* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2003), 109ff in particular. On Philostratus's *Imagines*, see chapter 2 of Norman E. Land, *The Viewer as Poet: The Renaissance Response to Art* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994).

picturesque rural landscape and most definitely an expansive public space.[412] James Brown Craven's claim that 'this diagram is evidently introductory to those following' has some justification; his statement, however, that 'it has no mystic meaning, merely representing Nature, sanctified by labour and prayer' falls somewhat short of the mark.[413] Khunrath describes it more dramatically as the 'universal, macrocosmic Theo-magical SCHOOL, which is the great and public ἁγιαστήριον [*hagiastērion – Sanctuary*] of NATURE'.[414] In the *Prologue*, Khunrath introduces his *Amphitheatre*'s seven steps of wisdom.[415] This engraving is most likely connected with the first step, the necessity of understanding the Book of Nature, a nature that has been divinely-magically fashioned by the Creator. The gentlemanly figures peppered around the landscape, either solitary or in groups, presumably represent the 'highly, deeply and widely-learned admirers of the Macrocosmic Book of Nature',[416] inspired by divine grace, partly by the 'Signature or Divine hieroglyphic characters of Nature', and partly by the 'Vulcanic anatomy' of alchemy, from which they gain 'a solid and perfect understanding, Physically, and likewise Physico-artificially; and are thus made genuine and true Natural Philosophers.'[417] According to the subscribed text, some of this knowledge of nature is in the form of the surviving books, maps and letters of the Magi and ancient philosophers.[418]

A close look at the engraving reveals the practical application of this knowledge in various forms of technology: sundials on the chimney of one of the buildings,[419] waterwheels powering a mill, a ship with a cannon or culverin

412 The public nature of the other rectangular engravings is evident: the *Entrance* is restricted to those who scaled the mountain, but nevertheless hardly solitary; the *Pyramid* has a group of people observing a rock; the *Citadel* includes a host of people about their business, despite the solitary figure in prayer at the centre; and the *Calumniators* features a crowd of Khunrath's opponents.

413 Craven, *Doctor Heinrich Khunrath, A Study in Mystical Alchemy*, 72.

414 *School of Nature*: 'Adumbratio GYMNASII Theo-magici, macro-cosmici catholici illius, quod NATVRÆ ἁγιαστήριον est publicum & magnum.'

415 *Amph.*I, 19ff. For further discussion, see the following chapter on Khunrath's theosophy.

416 *School of Nature*: 'als hoch/ tieff und weit-gelerte des grossen Weltbuchs der Natur admiratores.'

417 *School of Nature*: 'partim Signatúrâ Divinisve Natúræ characterismis hieroglyphicis … partim verò Anatomiâ Vulcanicâ … cognitionem solidam atque perfectam, etiam Physicè, nec non Physico-artificialiter … Physici genuini verique Philosophi … ita fierent'.

418 *School of Nature*: 'pro libris, huiusce Partes & Regiones pro chartis, fructus innumeri pro literis & Linguis.'

419 On sundials, see, for example, Oronce Finé's *De Solaribus Horologiis et Quadrantibus* (Paris, 1560).



FIGURE 2.75 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), hand-coloured *Gymnasium Naturae* (*School of Nature*). Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977

on the prow, navigation by means of either a mariner's quadrant or sextant,[420] and what looks to be a magnetic compass, and at the mine one figure pushes a cart to the entrance while another winches something up from a deep shaft with a windlass.[421] As the *Amphitheatre* quotes from the *Georgics*, Virgil's celebration of rural life, the educated reader was doubtless expected to recognise

420 Cf. W.F.J. Mörzer Bruyns and Richard Dunn, *Sextants at Greenwich: A Catalogue of the Mariner's Quadrants, Mariner's Astrolabes Cross-staffs, Backstaffs, Octants, Sextants, Quintants, Reflecting Circles and Artificial Horizons in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

421 Cf. Georg Agricola's *De re metallica* (Basel, 1561), 72 image of a mine shaft & pulley; 118. On imagery of miners in relation to alchemy, see Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique*, 229–230 with reference to the fifteenth-century *Aurora consurgens*. On the invention of 1) the printing press, 2) the compass and 3) the "bombard" (cannonry and/or gunpowder), see Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *Divine Art, Infernal Machine: The Reception of Printing in the West from First Impressions to the Sense of an Ending* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 67.

relevant motifs.[422] Khunrath also espouses Paracelsian-sounding sentiments in his recognition of the wisdom of practical professional experience, as when he cites the tongue-in-cheek proverbial expression on the observations and practices of farmers, 'They are not always wrong',[423] or when he speaks with respect of 'those expert in practical matters', for example, 'mechanics, whose workshops I have frequently visited,' and in his emphasis on consulting '*As much with the widely and deeply learned*, that is, with sailors and miners (for one should believe that each is experienced in his own art), *As with the Highly Learned*.'[424]

Bearing in mind that Khunrath's first publication after university, *Zebel* (1592) was astrological, it is worth comparing his *School of Nature* engraving with the series of seven representations of the Children of the Planets, published in 1531 by the Nuremberg artist Georg Pencz (1500–1550), whose images are considered to have been a possible source for the backgrounds to the famous alchemical manuscript series of the *Splendor Solis* (Splendour of the Sun, 1532–1535).[425] Khunrath and Pencz's compositions share some similarities in imagery: the activities ruled by Saturn (farmers ploughing and collecting hay, woodcutters chopping and sawing, Fig. 2.76) and the Moon (fishermen, millers, boatmen, and herders, Fig. 2.77),[426] respectively the outermost and innermost planets in the Ptolemaic system.

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422 See, e.g., *Amph.*II, 5 'Admire the large fields, cultivate the small'. Virgil, *Georgics* 2, l. 412, in Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I–VI*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, 2 Vols., Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann, 1932), 145 'Praise thou large estates, farm a small one.'

423 *Amph.*II, 151 'Bauwern practica & obseruationes. Sie fehlen nicht allezeit.'

424 *Amph.*II, 149 (mispaginated as p. 147 [T3^{r}]) 'cum theoricis aut contemplatiuis exercitatis, practicisque expertis; cum mechanicis, quorum officinas frequenter visitaui; So wol mit den weit und tieffgelehrten, hoc est, nautis atque montanis (credendum enim vnicuique in suo arte perito) als hochgelehrten.'

425 For the children of the planets, see the *Heidelberger Schicksalsbuch* (Regensburg, 1491); Johannes Graf von Wladburg-Wolfegg, *Das Mittelalterliche Hausbuch: Betrachtungen vor einer Bilderhandschrift* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1957). See also Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972; reprint 1995), 72f. On the *Splendor Solis*, see Stephen Skinner, Rafal T. Prinke, Georgiana Hedesan, and Joscelyn Godwin, *Splendor Solis: The World's Most Famous Alchemical Manuscript* (London: Watkins, 2019).

426 See Herbert Zschelletzschky, *Die 'Drei Gottlosen Maler' von Nürnberg: Sebald Beham, Barthel Beham und Georg Pencz. Historische Grundlagen und ikonologische Probleme ihrer Graphik zu Reformations und Bauernkriegszeit* (Leipzig: Veb. E.A. Seemann Verlag, 1975), 164. See also Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub, *Kunst und Magie. Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Hamburg: Luchterhand Literaturverlag, 1991), 40, 127, 255; Völlnagel, *Splendor solis oder Sonnenglanz*, 132. On the activities linked with the 'Children of the Planets', see Zdravko Blazekovic, 'Variations on the Theme of the Planets' Children', in Katherine A. McIver



FIGURE 2.76 Georg Pencz (1500–1550), *Folge der Planeten* (1531), Saturn. Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre



FIGURE 2.77 Georg Pencz (1500–1550), *Folge der Planeten* (1531), Moon. Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre

A casual glance at Khunrath's *School of Nature* engraving would probably leave the impression that it connects more with the active, practical business of the alchemist in his Laboratory, but closer scrutiny reveals that this image connects, too, with the more contemplative life of the Oratory. Less physically active, perhaps, but equally intent, the hermits praying and fasting in their grottoes add an extra Saturnian dimension to the image, mining the ore of truth, as it were, in their retreats, as counterparts to the miners busy with the subterranean excavation of minerals and metals on the other side of the river.[427] Craven would seem to be right in his interpretation of the image as teaching that 'divine wisdom can only be attained by labour, prayer, devout meditation'.[428] As such the hieroglyphic figure of the *School of Nature* echoes Theosophical Figure 4's joint call to 'Pray and Work' (*Ora et Labora*). This idea gains some support from the inclusion of a small building labelled *Oratorium* in what looks like a rock shelter on the far side of the river. Given the presence of the adept at prayer from Circular Figure 4, this time on an islet in the river, with the psalter lying open before him, Paul Allen's suggestion that the whole landscape is in fact '*a meditation-picture* unfolding before the eyes of the kneeling figure' sounds feasible.[429] Khunrath's positioning of this praying figure in the foreground is presumably meant to drive home the message in Circular Figure 2, from Matthew 6:33 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his Justice, and all these things shall be added unto you.'[430] As the traditional direction for

(ed.), *Art and Music in the Early Modern Period: Essays in honor of Franca Trinchieri Camiz* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 241–286, at 246 (Saturn); 279 (Moon). For engravings of the Children of the Planets, see also Timothy B. Husband, *The Medieval Housebook and the Art of Illustration* (New York: Frick Collection, 1999); Friedrich Lippmann, *Die Sieben Planeten* (Berlin: Amsler & Ruthardt, 1895). See also Dieter Blum's essay 'Picturing the Stars', in Brendan Dooley (ed.), *Companion to Astrology in the Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 333–398.

427 For Saturn as the astrological lord of contemplatives and philosophers, see Klibansky, Panofsky, and Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy*. See also Ruth Clydesdale, '"Jupiter Tames Saturn": Astrology in Ficino's Epistolae', in Stephen Clucas, Peter Forshaw, and Valery Rees (eds.), *Laus Platonici Philosophi: Marsilio Ficino and His Influence* (Leiden: Brill, 2011, 117–31). See Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, 115, 121, 217, etc.

428 Craven, *Doctor Heinrich Khunrath, A Study in Mystical Alchemy*, 23.

429 Allen (ed.), *A Christian Rosenkreutz Anthology*, 345. See Stefan Laube, 'Wissenstheater – Theaterkunst. Theatralische Episoden im Pietismus', in Rudolf Dellsperger, Ulrich Gäbler, Manfred Jakubowski-Tiessen, Anne Lagny, Fred van Lieburg, Hans Schneider, Udo Sträter, Jonathan Strom and Johannes Wallmann (eds.), *Pietismus und Neuzeit: Ein Jahrbuch zur Geschichte des neueren Protestantismus* 34 (2008): 42–81, at 49–50.

430 Cf. *Amph.*II, 22 'Si quærerent primum Regnum Dei & Iustitiam eius, cætera omnia (inter quæ & aurum & argentum) adiicerentur illis' [If they sought first of all the Kingdom of God and his Justice, all the rest (including both silver and gold) would be added to them]. See also *Amph.*II, 108, 155.

prayer is to face the East, we can assume that the time is dawn and the sun is rising, an idea supported by Khunrath's both literal and symbolic gloss on the phrase '*At the dawning of the* LIGHT' from Wisdom 16:28, 'that is, first thing in the morning, in the early-morning twilight (for he who seeks good things rises well at the break of day, Proverbs 11:27),[431] at sunrise, at dawn [Aurora], which is dear to the Muses, and truly the golden hour [aurea hora]'.[432]

Unlike the circular engravings, there is very little text within this image. The most notable exception is an eye-catching beam of light from יהוה (Jehovah) bearing the words 'Light with Divine Power, and Divine Power in the Light' (Cum Numine Lumen, et in Lumine Numen), intimating of both the moment of Creation through the divine 'Fiat Lux' and the Paracelsian notion of man's twofold illumination through the Lights of Grace and Nature. As Martin Žemla observes, there is likely some influence of Ficino's metaphysics of light.[433] See, for example, *Liber de Lumine* (Book on Light, 1492), Chapter XVI '*Light is like a visible deity, & calling to mind God, & leading us step by step to manners, & divine things*', where we read, 'Finally, there is light, as it were a certain deity in this worldly temple, bearing the likeness of God.'[434] It is surely intended to remind the reader of the prominent phrase at the top of the *Amphitheatre*'s 1609 title page that 'This is certainly not possible wihout the divine power of Elohim' (Non, certe, haec sine numine Elohim). The same reminder of man's

431 Proverbs 11:27 'Well doth he rise early who seeketh good things: but he that seeketh after evil things shall be oppressed by them.' Wisdom 16:28 'That it might be known to all, that we ought to prevent the sun to bless thee, and adore thee at the dawning of the light' (Douay).

432 *Amph.*II, 79 '*Ad orientem Lucis*] hoc est, summo manè, in crepusculo matutino, (nam benè consurgit diluculo, qui quærit bona. Prou.11,27.) sub exortum Solis, in aurora, quæ grata Musis, & verè aurea hora.' The play between 'Aurora' and 'Aurea Hora' can also be found in the alchemical text attributed to Thomas Aquinas, *Aurora Consurgens*. See Marie-Louise Von Franz (ed.), *Aurora Consurgens: A Document Attributed to Thomas Aquinas on the Problem of Opposites in Alchemy*, trans. R.F.C. Hull and A.S.B. Glover (Toronto: Inner City Books, 2000), 204.

433 Žemla, 'Ficino in the light of alchemy. Heinrich Khunrath's use of Ficinian metaphysics of light', in John F. Finamore and Tomáš Nejeschleba (eds.), *Platonism and its Legacy: Selected Papers from the Fifteenth Annual Conference of the International Society for Neoplatonic Studies* (Westbury: Prometheus Trust, 2019), 281–295, at 284.

434 See Ficino, *Liber de Lumine*, in Ficino, *Opera* (Basel, 1576), Vol. 1, 976–986, at 984, Chapter XVI *Lumen est quasi visibile numen, & Deum referens, & nos gradatim ad mores, & divina perducens*. 'Denique lumen est, quasi numen quoddam in mundano hoc templo, Dei similitudinem referens.' See also, in the same volume, *Epistolarum Liber II*, 710 '*Lumen est umbra Dei, Deus est lumen luminis*' (Light is God's shadow, God is the light of light), followed by the same quote from *Liber de Lumine*. The same quote appears again in *Sententiae Pulcherrimae, ex Marsilii Ficini Florentini operibus collectae, & secundum alphabetum distributae* (Basel, 1576), sig. [C^{v}].

dependence on divine inspiration is repeated later: 'For without his Divine Power, without his Light, there is nothing in man, nothing free of blame, as the Church sings.'[435]

In the *School of Nature* engraving the light bearing these words spears down from heaven, drawing our eyes to two figures climbing the mountain side. Although it would misrepresent this image to reduce it to one simply intimating of alchemy, it is worth bearing in mind that at least some readers viewing the mountain would know that in alchemical imagery 'mountains' can signify cucurbits and 'peaks' alembics (Fig. 2.78),[436] while furnaces and other implements 'represent the earth's globe and caves in which natural operations take place'.[437] Sympathetic Catholic readers, such as Rudolf II, whose Imperial Privilege the *Amphitheatre* enjoyed, could well have drawn connections with the notion of spiritual ascent found in works like *The Ascent of Mount Carmel* of

435 *Amph.*II, 27 'Nam sinè eius Numine, sinè eius Lumine, nihil est in homine, nihil est innoxium, ut canit Ecclesia.' Cf. 'Veni, Sancte Spiritus,' known as the 'Golden Sequence,' the sequence for the Mass for Pentecost: 'Sine tuo numine, nihil est in homine, nihil est innoxium.' See 'The Augsburg Confession, Symbola Evangelica,' in Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom: The Evangelical Protestant Creeds* (New York: Harper, 1877; reprint New York: Cosimo Classics, 2007), Vol. III, Part I, 26. Khunrath may have been lifting this from Philip Melanchthon, *Confessio Fides exhibita Invictissimo Imperator Carolo v. in Comitiis Augustæ* Anno M.D.XXX, Articulum XX. *De bonis operibus*, in *De vita, actis et morte D. Martini Lutheri … accedit Augustana Evangelicorum Confessio* (Karlsruhe: Theophilus Braun, 1847), 64–92, at 74 'et Ecclesia canit: sine tuo numine nihil est in homine, nihil est innoxium'. See also Zwinger, *Theatrum Vitae Humanae* (Basel, 1575), Vol. 6, 1110 'Sine tuo numine/ Nihil est in homine/ Nihil est innoxium/ Da salutis exitum,/ Da perenne gaudium.' See also Valentin Weigel, *Libellus Theosophiae* (Neustadt, 1618), 3 'Sine hoc Dei numine/ nihil est in homine.'

436 Gabriele, *Alchimia e Iconologia*, 47. See Senior, *De Chemia*, in *Theatrum Chemicum* (Strasbourg, 1660), Vol. V, 234 'Per montes autem significavit cucurbites et per cacumina montium alembica … Et nominavit cucurbitas montes, quia in montibus solent minerae auri et argenti esse, et in his montibus, qui sunt cucurbitae, generantur aurum eorum et argentum … et est mirabilis et pulchra similitudo'. See also Johann Daniel Mylius, *Philosophia Reformata* (Frankfurt, 1622), 25 'Coelum id est Mons, caput vitri. Cavernae, fundus vitri.' Martin Ruland, *Progymnasmata alchemiae, siue Problemata chymica, nonaginta & vna Quaestionibus dilucidata* (Frankfurt, 1608), final text, 'De lapide philosophico,' 72 'Dicunt Philosophi lapidem suum ubique offendi in montibus & cavernis; … In montibus, hoc est capite Alembici, & coelo atque cavernis, hoc est in fundo vitri & terra. Dicunt lapidem nasci in duobus montibus, hoc est, in coelo & in terra, utpote in vitro.' Cf. *Rosarium Philosophorum* (1550), sig. Hiij^{r} 'in aere scilicet in capite vasis, id est alembici' (in the air, namely in the head of the vessel, i.e. of the alembic).

437 Gerard Dorn, *Chymisticum artificium naturae, Theoricum & Practicum* (Frankfurt, 1568), Vol. I, 90 'fornaces & organa … secundum Theoricam, terrae globum & cavernas, in quibus naturales operationes fiunt, repraesentant.'

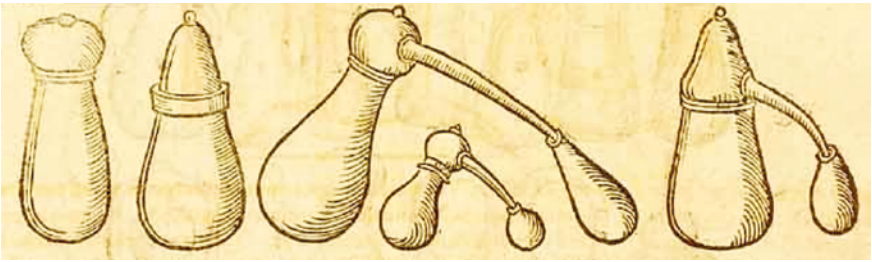


FIGURE 2.78 Cucurbits (below) and Alembics (above), in Andreas Libavius, *De Sceuastica artis* (1606), 176. © Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel

the Spanish mystic, John of the Cross (1542–1591) or have recalled the *Ascent of Mount Ventoux* by the Italian humanist Francesco Petrarch (1304–1374).[438] Those with a more hermetic education could have considered the thirteenth discourse in the *Corpus Hermeticum*: 'A Secret Discourse of Hermes Trismegistus on the mountain to his son Tat: On being born again, and on the promise to be silent.'[439]

The climbers' goal is a small entrance at the top of the mountain, which in the subscribed text Khunrath evidently cannot resist introducing with the pun that 'This is the peak of very Sincere Philosophy!'[440] This goal, labelled 'The Entrance of the Amphitheatre of the Only True Eternal Wisdom', is the subject of the next rectangular engraving.

The significance of this engraving is apparent in an image concealed within the inside front cover of British Library manuscript Sloane 181 *Tabulae Theosophicae Cabbalisticae* (Cabbalistic Theosophical Tables), where it appears as the view through the study window (Fig. 2.79).[441]

438 See *John of the Cross: Selected Writings*, edited with an Introduction by Kieran Kavanaugh (New York: Paulist Press, 1987); Petrarch, *Selections from the Canzoniere and Other Works*, translated and edited with an introduction and notes by Mark Musa (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

439 Brian P. Copenhaver, *Hermetica: The Greek 'Corpus Hermeticum' and the Latin 'Asclepius' in a new English Translation, with notes and introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992; repr. 1995; repr. 2000), 49–54; Christian H. Bull, *The Tradition of Hermes Trismegistus: The Egyptian Priestly Figure as a Teacher of Hellenized Wisdom* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), Chapter 5: The Ritual of Rebirth.

440 *School of Nature*: 'PORTA AMPHITHEATRI SAPIENTIÆ ÆTERNÆ, SOLIVS VERÆ … Hic Syncerioris Philosophiæ apex!'

441 For more on this manuscript, see Chapter 5 on Khunrath's Magic.



FIGURE 2.79 View through the Study Window, London, British Library, Sloane MS 181, detail, compared with *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *School of Nature*, details, Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977

24 The Entrance of the Amphitheatre

A close-up of the summit of the 'mountain of God' in the *School of Nature* engraving, and in strong contrast to its expansive panorama, the *Entrance* engraving (Fig. 2.80) is instead a vignette, showing the cave-entrance to the *Amphitheatre*.[442] Exploring the significance of natural and artificial caves in Greek antiquity, Yulia Ustinova writes of the 'passage through a cave or a tunnel as a mental image of the route to divine truth'.[443] Stefan Laube, writing of Khunrath's cave, describes it as looking like a grotto-theatre in a park landscape and sees this portal as a symbol for Khunrath's 'Theatrical Concept of Compression' or 'Concentration', with the bottleneck of the tunnel representing a transition that paves the way for the fusion of the diverse phenomena of

442 Comparison with the previous engraving shows that the cave in the *Entrance* engraving is not at all embedded in the same kind of rock formation as that in the *School of Nature* engraving.

443 Yulia Ustinova, *Caves and the Ancient Greek Mind: Descending Underground in the Search for Ultimate Truth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 2.

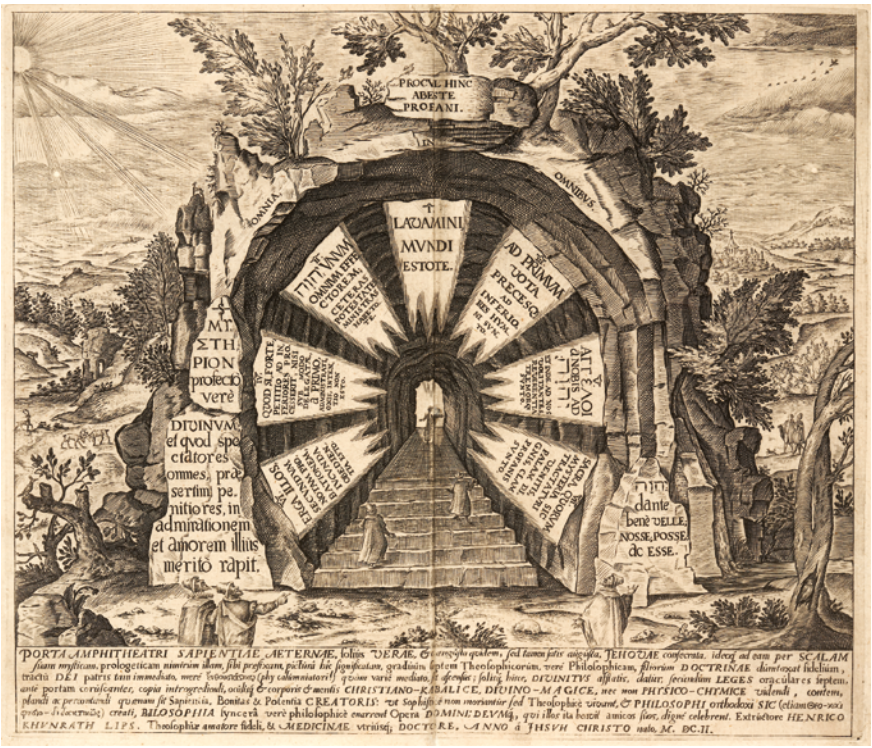


FIGURE 2.80 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Entrance*. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

nature into a single substance, the Philosophers' Stone.[444] There is perhaps an element of pun involved here too, for the auditorium of the theatre, containing the seats for the spectators, was in Latin called the 'cavea'.[445]

444 Stefan Laube, 'Verdichtung, Fragmentierung und Verdrängung. Die Theatrum-Metapher in der Wissenstradition des Pietismus,' in Oswald Bauer, Ariane Koller, and Flemming Schock (eds.), *Ordnung und Repräsentation von Wissen. Dimensionen der Theatrum-Metapher in der frühen Neuzeit* (Hannover: Wehrhahn Verlag, 2008), 55–88, at 59–60 '(Theatrale Verdichtungskonzept) … Theatrum-Konzept der Konzentration.' Laube perhaps has in mind Camillo's 'L'Antro' in *L'Idea del theatro* (1550), 29ff.

445 Arthur Elam Haigh, *The Attic Theatre: A Description of the Stage and Theatre of the Athenians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889), 90. See Naomi Miller, *Heavenly Caves: Reflections on the Garden Grotto* (New York: G. Braziller, 1982), 123 'Perhaps like the proscenium of the theatre, the grotto is above all a metaphorical portal, an entrance, a place of passage. To enter is the significant act; for to enter is to acknowledge the distance between outside and inside, between reality and illusion, between nature and art. Like the theatre, the grotto is a gateway to wonder and to knowledge.'



FIGURE 2.81 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Entrance*, detail of Vanishing Point. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

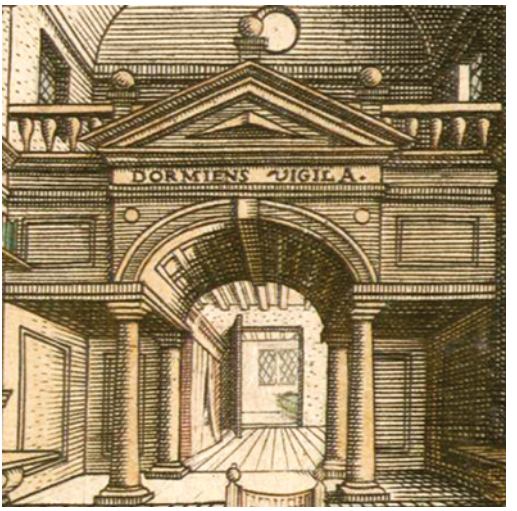


FIGURE 2.82 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Oratory-Laboratory*, Vanishing Point. Universitätsbibliothek Basel

Perhaps there is an intentional echo of the vanishing point of the *Oratory-Laboratory*'s doorway into an enigmatic back room (Fig. 2.82), in the blaze of light towards which the adepts progress at the end of the cave tunnel in the *Entrance* (Fig. 2.81)? Should we take the figure at the end of the tunnel, his arms stretched out in a cruciform posture, as Khunrath, or perhaps, more modestly, the figure outside on the right, standing with his arms outspread in a gesture resembling that of the adept in the *Oratory-Laboratory*, his faithful dog curled up in front of him?

The *Entrance* is one of the *Amphitheatre* images most closely approximating a humanist emblem. The words at the top of the cave-mouth 'Procul hinc abeste prophani' (O you profane be far from here) are a quote from Virgil, from the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, and serve as a perfect classical emblematic motto for the rest of the engraving, connected as they are with the Cumaean Sibyl and her oracles.[446] Those familiar with the *Aeneid* would remember an earlier

446 Ustinova, *Caves and the Ancient Greek Mind*, 164. See too *Amph.*II, 120. Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book VI, line 258. See the references to this phrase in Libavius, *Examen Philosophiae Novae* (Frankfurt, 1615), 94 concerning Paracelsians versus Aristotelians, and 101 with direct reference to Khunrath and the *Amphitheatre*. See also Petrus Palmarius, who interprets the saying as a rejection of medieval scholastic and Galenic philosophy, in *Lapis Philosophicus Dogmaticorum* (Paris, 1609), 126 'Procul verò hinc este prophani. Apage scholam Parisiensem. Apage totam Galeniam.'

passage describing the hero's ascent and encounter: 'But good Aeneas seeks the heights, where Apollo sits enthroned, and a vast cavern hard by, hidden haunt of the dread Sibyl, into whom the Delian seer breathes a mighty mind and soul, revealing the future.'[447] Theodore Aquilinus, author of one of the gratulatory poems at the start of the *Amphitheatre*, draws a comparison with antiquity, at the same time as rejecting pagan oracles, in exchange for Khunrath's superior Christianity:

> Hearts dedicated to GOD
> Say no to the Camenae, nor are they ready to hear Apollo.[448]
> It was formerly foolish impudence,
> Deception, Darkness, Dreams,
> To call to deaf Phoebus from the Delphic cavern,
> To call the Muses Goddesses,
> And to seek the gift of prophecy, [and] with a gift the favour of God.
> At a fountain, in a wood, or on mountain peaks.
> Now another power stirs the mind, a greater GOD
> And requires other customs ...[449]

Khunrath may perhaps also have been familiar with the Virgilian warning against the prophane from the *Compendium ... Theophrasti Paracelsi* (Compendium of Theophrastus Paracelsus, 1568) of his fellow Paracelsian, Jacques Gohory (1520–1576), where it appears in a prefatory passage on caution in relation to communicating mysteries.[450] Gohory's quote was taken up by his Paracelsian rival, Gerard Dorn who likewise considers it related to 'Mysteriorum cautio' (Caution concerning the Mysteries).[451] Michael Maier is another who

447 Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book VI, 9–12; Loeb, 507.

448 According to *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949; repr. 1950), 272 in Roman mythology, the four Camenae were goddesses of a spring from which the Vestal virgins drew their daily water and were traditionally linked with inspiration, later identified with the Muses.

449 *Amph.*I, 15 'Negant camænis, nec patent Apollini/ DEO dicata pectora./Fuit ista quondam stulta confidentia,/Fucus, Tenebræ, Somnia:/Ciêre surdum Delphica Phœbum specu,/Vocare Musas Numina,/Fandique munus, munere indultum DEI/Petere fonte, nemore, aut iugis,/Nunc alia mentem vis agit, maior DEVS/Aliosque mores postulat ...'.

450 Leo Suavius [i.e., Jacques Gohory], *Theophrasti Paracelsi ... Compendium* (Basel, 1568), 12 'At in mysterijs scimus semper illud usurpatum fuisse, *procul este prophani.*' See Didier Kahn, *Alchimie et Paracelsisme en France* (1567–1625) (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2007), 228 on Gohorry's use of *procul este prophani* in his 1567 preface to the *Compendium*.

451 Dorn, *Chymisticum artificium Naturae* (1569), 207 citing Gohory's *Compendium* (1567), 24/(1568), 20, in the margin 'Mysteriorum cautio'.

considers it a warning for those who are not initiated.[452] The *Amphitheatre*'s author certainly gives his readers a clear idea of the level of his expectations in this regard:

> I ask for a Reader, I want a Listener, I desire a Contemplator, I require a Catholic, Orthodox Judge, Biblically, Macro and Microcosmically Experienced in Theo-Sophical, Physical, Physico-Medical, Physico-Chemical, Physico-Magical, Hyperphysico-Magical, [and] Cabalistic things; irradiated, illuminated, kindled and stimulated to love for the Good, by the Influence, Light and Motion of the DIVINE SUN; a Pythagorean, not a precocious son [putting himself] before [his] father; disputing and philosophising Theo-Sophically, that is, according to the Law and Testimony of Sacrosanct Scripture, the Book of Nature and an upright Conscience; not Paganly or profanely. May such be the reader, listener, contemplator, [and] judge; not another. Oh, you profane, get far away from here.[453]

Having arrived at the mountain's summit, the adept is then faced with seven 'prolegomenary' steps into the tunnel.[454] In an unbound copy of this engraving in the National Széchényi Library in Budapest (Fig. 2.83), an early owner has labelled each step with a different level of attainment, from an initial stage of hearing Wisdom to the highest level of taking delight in Wisdom.

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452 Maier, *Arcana arcanissima* [1614], 184 'nisi initiatis, … sumpsisse Virgilium versiculum istum, *Procul o procul este prophani*.' See also Maier, *Silentium post clamores* (Frankfurt, 1617), 129 'Ad hanc synodum Pythagoricam vos non vocamini, sed procul hinc, procul ite prophani.'

453 *Amph*.II, 216 'Lectorem posco, Auditorem volo, Contemplatorem desidero, Iudicem requiro in TheoSophicis, Physicis, PhysicoMedicis, PhysicoChemicis, PhysicoMageicis, HyperphysicoMageicis, Cabalisticis, Biblicè, Macro & Microcosmicè Exercitatum, Orthodoxum, Catholicum; Influentiâ, Lumine & Motu SOLIS DIVINI irradiatum, illuminatum, accensum & stimulatum in charitate ad Bonum; Pythagoricum; non filium, ante patrem, præcocem; TheoSophicè, hoc est, ad Legem & Testimonium SS.æ Scripturæ, Libri Naturæ Conscientiæque rectæ, non Ethnicè aut prophanè disputantem atque philosophantem. Talis adsit lector, auditor, contemplator, iudex; non alius. Procul hinc abeste prophani.'

454 *Entrance* engraving: 'PORTA AMPHITHEATRI SAPIENTIAE AETERNAE … ad eam per SCALAM suam mysticam, prologeticam nimirum illam, sibi præfixam, picturâ hîc significatam graduum septem Theosophicorum uerè Philosophicam' (The ENTRANCE OF THE AMPHITHEATRE OF ETERNAL WISDOM … let an ascent be made to it by its mystic, truly Philosophical LADDER, namely that prolegomenary one, prefixed to it, signified here by the picture of the seven Theosophical steps). Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 1 calls this engraving the *Prologue*, which makes a useful link between its seven steps and the seven 'prolegomenary steps' from the *Amphitheatre*'s Prologue, *Amph*.I, 19ff.



7. [Sophia] laetari — To delight in Wisdom
6. [Sophiam] uti — To use Wisdom
5. [Sophiam] invenire — To find Wisdom
4. [Sophiam] quaerere — To seek Wisdom
3. [Sophiam] nosse — To know Wisdom
2. [Sophiam] amare — To love Wisdom
1. Sophiam audire — To hear Wisdom

FIGURE 2.83 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Entrance*, detail of labelled steps. National Széchényi Library, Budapest

While climbing the steps, the adept sees 'seven oracular LAWS shining before the entrance,' which Khunrath has tacitly lifted from Johann Reuchlin's Christian-Cabalist *De Verbo Mirifico* (On the Wonder-Working Word, 1494).[455] Even if his reader could not identify the source, these seven laws, each appearing in a triple blaze of light resembling the ones containing the *Sephiroth* in Circular Figure 1, also appear at the start of the *Isagoges* for Figures 1 and 2; so, for the attentive reader, there would be an immediate connection with Christian Cabala and the Oratory.[456] As context for this image, Szulakowska mentions Reuchlin's cabalistic interpretations of the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham on Mount Moriah (Genesis 22), the intervention of the angel Raphael, and subsequent covenant between God and Abraham.[457] Another possible association is the account in the synoptic gospels of the transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor when Moses and Elijah appeared with him.[458] A likely Reuchlinian connection would be his discussion of the prophet Elijah's experience of the

455 *Entrance* engraving: 'LEGES oracúlares septem, ante portam coruscantes'. To be discussed in Chapter 5 on Khunrath's Magic.

456 The same 7 Laws surround Figures 1 and 2 in the 1595 edition, the first four in Figure 1, the final three in Figure 2.

457 Szulakowska, *Alchemy of Light*, 116.

458 See Mark 9:2–8, Matthew 17:1–8, Luke 9:28–36; cf. 2 Peter 1.16–18. I am referring to the longer version in Matthew 17:5.

still, small voice and of hearing the glory of God speaking to him 'in the very entrance of the caverns and the caves', 'on Horeb, the mountain of God'.[459] Khunrath could very well have had Horeb in mind in this allusion to the first oracular law in the *Entrance* engraving: 'WASH YOURSELVES, be clean; let all you profane get far away from here, no one polluted may enter; no one contaminated may approach the *Mountain of GOD*; sanctify yourselves; tomorrow you will see the glory of the Lord.'[460]

Despite Theodore Aquilinus's rejection of the 'Delphic cavern', it is likely that other pagan textual resonances in the *Amphitheatre* should be included in any meditation on this cave. The *Isagoge* to Figure 2 exhorts the reader to 'Know Thyself', itself an oracular utterance from the cave at Delphi, on the southern slope of Mount Parnassus, abode of Apollo and the Muses. In a passage quoting from Agrippa's *Dehortatio Gentilis Theologiae* (A Dissuasion against Pagan Theology, 1526),[461] Khunrath assures his readers that, 'if your soul, O son, were thus Cabalistically illumined by a ray of Eternal Wisdom',

> like Ulysses (to use the words of Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, …) if you were to enter the caves of the Cyclopses, and descend to the infernal regions, you would return unscathed.[462]

It is likely that Khunrath was also familiar with a passage in Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*:

> So we read of certain caves, as of *Apollo*, *Trophonius*, the three footed stools, dens, fountains, lakes, and such like, that were consecrated to the

459 Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica: On the Art of Kabbalah*, Book Three, 337.

460 See *Amph.*II, 120 'LAVAMINI mundi estote; procul este prophani; nemo pollutus introeat; nemo contaminatus *ad montem DEI* propinquet: sanctificate vos, cras videbitis gloriam Domini.' My italics. For Horeb as one of the two candidates, along with Mount Sinai, as the place where Moses received the Ten Commandments, see Exodus 3:1, 1 Kings 19:8, where it is described as הר האלהים [*har ha-elohim*] the *Mountain of God*.

461 On this work, see Marc Van der Poel, *Cornelius Agrippa: The Humanist Theologian and His Declamations* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 24f.

462 *Amph.*II, 99 'Quod si animus tuus, ô fili, SAPIENTIÆ Æternæ radio, sic Cabalicè fuerit illuminatus … tunc Vlyssis instar (H.C. Agrippæ vtar verbis, …) si Cyclopum specus ingrediamini, & ad inferos descenderitis, remigrabitis illæsi.' Cf. Agrippa, *Dehortatio Gentilis Theologiae*, in *Opera*, 2 vols. (Lyon: Beringos Fratres, 1550), Vol. 2, 507 'Ubi vero jam animus vester Catholica doctrina firmatus ac corroboratus fuerit, tunc illius lumine per omnes errorum tenebras secure ambulabitis, tunc libere omnia disciplinarum genera penetrare poteritis, tunc Ulyssis instar si Cyclopum specus ingrediamini, & ad inferos descenderitis, remigrabitis illaesi'.

> gods after this manner, or made by that mysterie, that from thence the priests might draw the spirit of prophecying, as *Iamblicus* in *Porphyrie*: The *Sybill* (saith he) in *Delphi* was wont to receive God after two wayes: either by a subtill spirit, and fire, which did break forth somewhere out of the mouth of the cave, where she sitting in the entrance upon a brazen three footed stool dedicated to a deity, was divinely inspired, and did utter prophecyings; or a great fire flying out of the cave did surround this prophetess, stirring her up, being filled with a deity, to prophesie, which inspiration also she received as she sate upon a consecrated seat, breaking forth prently into predictions.[463]

Those like Agrippa who were also familiar with the works of the third-century neoplatonist Porphyry might have recalled his *De Nympharum antro* (On the Cave of the Nymphs), where he argues that caves signify the cosmos: 'The Persians call the place a cave where they introduce an initiate into the mysteries, revealing to him the path by which souls descend and go back again.'[464]

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463 Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia* (1533), Lib 3, Cap. XLVIII 'De tertia specie furoris, ab Apolline', CCCXV: 'Sic legimus antra quaedam, ut Apollinis & Trophonii, & tripodas, & specus, & fontes, & lacus, & eiusmodi hoc modo diis sacrata, vel eo mysterio fabricata fuisse, ut exinde sacerdotes vaticinandi spiritum hauserint, quemadmodum Iamblichus ad Porphyrium: Sibylla (inquit) in Delphis duplici ratione deum suscipere solita est: aut enim per tenuem spiritum, & ignem, qui alicubi ex ore antri prorumpebat: aut ipsa etiam in adytu sedens, super aeneam fellam tripodem numini dicatam, & utrobique hoc divino spiritu acta, vaticinia fundebat: tum plurimus ignis ex antro volans, vati undique circunfunditur, eamque suo numine repletam agitat, aut sacrae sedi adhaerens, per quam deo afflata, protinus ad vaticinia erumpit.' Translation by James Freake with one or two modifications, in Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, trans. JF (London, 1651), 506–507. Cf. Gregory Shaw, *Theurgy and the Soul: The Neoplatonism of Iamblichus* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 89 '*For the priestess at Delphi*: When the abundantly gathered fire ascending from the mouth of the cave circularly embraces her on all sides, she is filled with its divine splendor' (Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis* 126, 11–14).

464 Jeremy M. Schott, 'Porphyry on Christians and Others: "Barbarian Wisdom," Identity Politics, and Anti-Christian Polemics on the Eve of the Great Persecution', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 13:3 (2005): 277–314, at 297. See Porphyrius, *Commentatio de Nympharum Antro in XIII. Libro Odysseae Homericae; Interprete Conrado Gesnero* (Zurich, 1542), 19^{v} 'Non immerito veteres antra vel speluncas mundo consecrabant tum toti tum partibus eius: materiae quidem ex qua mundus constat symbolum'; 20^{r} 'Persae cum animae ad inferiora descensum, & rursus exitum mysterijs celebrant, locum in quo versantur speluncam vocant … per speluncam quidem mundum significaret fabricatum à Mithra.' To gain some idea of the vast amount of cave assocations available to the early modern reader, see Jacques Gaffarel's *Le Monde Sousterrein* (Paris, 1654) and its lists of 'Cavernes Divines, Humaines, Brutales, Naturelles, and Artificielles.'

One association that Khunrath apparently doesn't want his readers to make is Plato's famous allegory of the cave from the *Republic*: in one of his many quotations without citation, Khunrath writes 'Those who wonder at the empty images of things in place of the very things themselves are vulgar'.[465] This turns out to be an edited version of a line from Erasmus's *Enchiridion*: 'Those, chained in that Platonic cave …'.[466] If there is a subtext implying Plato's cave, then this image of theosophers *entering* the tunnel surely implies that everyday life is the cave where we live blind and that the cave mouth opening onto the tunnel is not merely an entrance, but an exit.[467] If such is the case, perhaps it connects with the skull and hour-glass beneath the Oratory table, with its Saturnian message 'Disce bene mori' (Learn well to die) and Plato's notion of philosophy as preparation for death.[468]

Such pagan references were without a doubt insupportable for at least one of Khunrath's fellow students at Basel Medical Academy, the more orthodox Lutheran Andreas Libavius (1555–1616). While fulminating against Paracelsian vital philosophy in his polemical *De Philosophia vivente seu vitali Paracelsi* (On the Living or Vital Philosophy of Paracelsus, 1615), he expostulates about their idolatry, singling out Khunrath for his profane juxtaposition of the words of the 'Impious Sibyl' and the Pauline phrase from Corinthians concerning God who works '*All in All*':

> Surely you are not unaware that it is *a type of Idolatry, if anyone desires to worship or name God by another name, and indeed with a gentile abomination?* … You make yourself like this with your fictitious Enthusiasm, who from Virgil adduce the words of the Impious *Sibyl* … In a picture of the seven steps of the entrance of the profane amphitheatre [of Khunrath], likewise they are warned to keep far away and it is written below *All in all Things*.[469]

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465 *Amph.*II, 218 'Vulgus sunt, quicunque inanes rerum imagines pro verissimis rebus demirantur.'

466 See Erasmus, *Enchiridion militis christiani* (Paris, 1529), 70ʳ 'Vulgus sunt, quicunque in specu illo Platonico, vincti suis affectibus, inanes rerum imagines, pro verissimis rebus admirantur.' Cf. Erasmus, *Enchiridion militis christiani* (The Handbook of the Christian Soldier), 86 'The crowd are those in Plato's cave, who, chained by their own passions, marvel at the empty images of things as if they were true reality.'

467 See Purš, 'Perspective, vision and dream', 65 who also considers a possible reference to 'emergence from the Platonic cave and the reaching out to the light of ideas'.

468 Cf. Socrates' statement in the *Phaedo* (67e) that 'true philosophers make death their profession'.

469 *De Philosophia vivente sev vitali Paracelsi ivxta P. Severinvm danvm ex repetitione I. Hartmanni chymiatri marbvrgensis*, in Andreas Libavius, *Examen Philosophiae Novae*

25 The Triumphal Pyramid

Another less panoramic image of nature, this time promoting the Hermetic elements in Khunrath's Theosophy, is the 'depiction of those Triumphal Rocky Pyramids' (Fig. 2.84).[470] There is generally quite a division in early modern publications between the operative, technical Hermetica, i.e., the alchemical, astrological, and magical works attributed to Hermes Trismegistus, and the philosophical Hermetica concerned with religious gnosis and individual salvation.[471] The best-known representative of alchemical Hermetica is the *Tabula smaragdina* or *Emerald Tablet*, a short, enigmatic, foundational text of the discipline, which Julius Ruska compares to the Decalogue in its importance for alchemists – for some bolstering their faith in the possibility of transmutation, for others intimating of the healing powers of the elixir – as the 'revelation of the highest divine wisdom and the key to the last secrets of nature.'[472] Its counterpart in the philosophical Hermetica is undoubtedly the *Corpus Hermeticum*, a Byzantine collection of seventeen hermetic texts, first introduced into the West through the translations of the Florentine scholar Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), published in 1471, under the title *Pimander*, after the name of the first treatise, *Poimandres*, itself a text that includes a creation

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(Frankfurt, 1615), 88–261, at 101 'An ignoras hanc quandam *speciem Idololatria esse, si quis Deum alieno nomine, & quidem abominationis gentilis, nominare, & colere velit?* … Huic tu te similem facis tuo fictitio Enthusiasmo, qui tibi etiam Impiæ *Sibyllae* verba ex Virgilio suppeditat … *Henricus Kunrath* … In pictura graduum septem portæ amphitheatri profani, item iubentur procul abesse, subscribiturque: *omnia in omnibus*.' Cf 1 Corinthians 12:6 'And there are diversities of operations, but the same God, who worketh all in all'.

470 *Pyramid* engraving: 'Designatio PYRAMIDVM Petrosarum Triumphalium illarum.'

471 See the various entries on 'Hermes Trismegistus' (Roelof van den Broek, I. Antiquity, 474–478; Paolo Lucentini, II. Middle Ages, 479–483; Antoine Faivre, III. Modernity, 483–487) and 'Hermetic Literature' (Roelof van den Broek, I. Antiquity, 487–499; Paolo Lucentini and Vittoria Perrone Compagni, II. Latin Middle Ages, 499–529, Pierre Lory, III. Arab, 529–533; Antoine Faivre, IV. Renaissance-Present, 533–544, as well as Van den Broek, 'Hermetism' (558–570) and Goodrick-Clarke, 'Hermeticism and Hermetic Societies' (550–558) in Hanegraaff (ed.), *Dictionary of Gnosis and Western Esotericism* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Copenhaver, 'Natural Magic, Hermetism, and Occultism in Early Modern Science', in David C. Lindberg and Robert S. Westman (eds.), *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 261–302.

472 Julius Ruska, *Turba Philosophorum: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Alchemie* (Berlin and Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag, 1931), 1 'Offenbarung höchster göttlicher Weisheit und Schlüssel zu den letzten Geheimnissen der Natur'. See also Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique*, 38 who calls it the 'Bible of the alchemists' ('cette Bible des alchimistes'). For more on the history of the *Emerald Tablet* and Khunrath's translation, see Chapter 6 on Khunrath's alchemy.



FIGURE 2.84 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Pyramid*. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

myth, sometimes referred to as the 'Egyptian Genesis'.[473] Khunrath's *Pyramid* engraving is a rare instance in Hermetic publications, in that we find technical and philosophical Hermetica presented together.[474]

473 See Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964; repr. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 22, 27–28, 85, 425 for a description of the *Pimander* as the "Egyptian Genesis". On the *Pimander*'s debt to Genesis, see Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 36. For more on Ficino and the Hermetica, see, for example, Clement Salaman, 'Echoes of Egypt in Hermes and Ficino', in Michael J.B. Allen, Valery Rees, and Martin Davies (eds.), *Marsilio Ficino: His Theology, His Philosophy, His Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 115–136.

474 Another example is found in Basil Valentine's *Azoth, Sive Aureliae Occulta Philosophorum, Materiam Primam* … Georgio Beato, Fr. Interprete (Frankfurt, 1613), 51–52, which includes very different translations of both the 'Verba Hermetis in Poemandro' and the 'Tabula Smaragdina Hermetis'. The first edition attributes the work to 'Basilius Vicentinus'; which is changed to 'Basile Valentin' in the Paris, 1659 edition. For references to the *Pimander* in

The first account of the *Emerald Tablet* appears in the *Liber de secretis naturae* (Book on the Secrets of Nature), a translation of the sixth-century Arabic *Kitāb sirr al-haliqa* (Book of the Secret of Creation), attributed to Balinus, 'the lord of talismans and wonders', that is, the Greek Neo-Pythagorean thaumaturge Apollonius of Tyana. It tells of the discovery of the *Emerald Tablet* in a subterranean crypt, held in the hands of an old man seated on a golden throne.[475] In Khunrath's engraving, however, we find the *Emerald Tablet* not inside a tomb, but instead carved outside on the upper part of a massive volcanic rock, almost as though it has been revealed in a cleavage or fracture in the rock face, perhaps with the implication that whereas Cabala is to be entrusted only to the initiated few; alchemy (or at least its fruits) should be readily available to all. The rock's base holds the beginning of the *Pimander*, the record of a revelation received from a divine being, Pimander, the 'Mind of Divine Power' (MENS DIVINAE POTENTIAE).[476] At the bottom left of the engraving, we see a small group of six men, with Khunrath pointing out these texts to fellow philosophers, thereby introducing the *Amphitheatre*'s spectators to the operations of both theurgy in the Oratory and alchemy (itself sometimes called *Chymiurgia*) in the Laboratory.[477] Although stylistically very Western, with its hermetic material from Hermes Trismegistus and its reference to pyramids this is Khunrath's most 'Egyptian' engraving. He is well aware, too, that etymologically the word 'pyramid' is formed from the Greek word 'pyr' (fire);[478] hence this fiery rock is both *verba* and *res*, a repository of knowledge and a significant

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an alchemical context, see Jean d'Espagnet, *La Philosophie naturelle restablie en sa purete* (Paris, 1651), 3; Elias Ashmole, *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (London, 1652), 441. For reference to the Hermetic *Asclepius* in an alchemical context, see Maier, *Symbola aureae mensae* (Symbols of the Golden Table, 1617), 12.

475 Julius Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Hermetischen Literatur* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1926), 136 'Ich bin Balanijus, der Herr der Talismane und der Wunder', 139. See also Kahn, (ed.), *Hermès Trismégiste, La Table d'Émeraude et sa tradition alchimique* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2012), XIII–XV; Antoine Faivre, *The Eternal Hermes: From Greek God to Alchemical Magus*, translated by Joscelyn Godwin (Grand Rapids, MI: Phanes Press, 1995), 93–94.

476 Cf. Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, 1 'Discourse of Hermes Trismegistus: Poimandres': 'I am Poimandres … mind of sovereignty'; Roelof van den Broeck and Cis van Heertum (eds.), *From Poimandres to Jacob Böhme: Gnosis, Hermetism and the Christian Tradition* (Amsterdam: In de Pelikaan, 2000), 48 'I am Poimandres, intelligence of the supreme authority'.

477 Gilly and Van Heertum (eds.), *Magic, Alchemy and Science 15th–18th Centuries*, Vol. II, 145. On the use of the term *Chymiurgia*, see Andreas Libavius, *Alchymia* (Frankfurt, 1606), 244–245 'Et est revera Chymiurgia operis Chymici effectio: vel motus Chymici operis …'; Athanasius Kircher, *Mundus subterraneus* (Amsterdam, 1678), Vol. 2, 298, 454.

478 Khunrath, *Quaestiones Tres*, sig. D1^{v} 'Immò, etiam ipsi Ægyptiorum Reges, per PYRAMIDES, ex LAPIDE πυροποικελο [sic], pyripoecelo'.

substance in the art of fire. On one level of reading, the seven flames around the peak of the mountain may allude to the seven terrestrial metals of alchemy and their related celestial planets, in keeping with the *Emerald Tablet*'s message of the relations between 'Above' and 'Below'; on another level, the presence of fire with the waters flowing below may be an allusion to the fiery sulphur and watery mercury required for the Philosophers' Stone. There is likely also an intentional echo of the seven radiant oracular laws in the *Entrance* engraving.

Here in particular we notice a radical departure from the 1595 figures in the presence of a full German translation of the *Emerald Tablet* along with the Latin, presumably in an attempt to appeal to a wider audience – at least in the engravings, if not in the *Amphitheatre*'s predominantly Latin text. The bi-lingual nature of this engraving reflects Khunrath's macaronic combination of German and Latin in his more overtly alchemical works, *Vom Hylealischen Chaos* (On Primaterial Chaos, 1597) and *De Igne magorum philosophorumque* (On the Fire of the Mages and Sages, 1608). The focus of the text beneath the *Pyramid* engraving is mostly alchemical, with references to Magnesia, a substance highly important for Khunrath as primal matter of the Philosophers' Stone and the alchemical counterpart to Christ.[479] Khunrath's message is clear, however, that alchemical endeavour (*Emerald Tablet*) rests on the basis of Hermetic revelation (*Pimander*),[480] similar to the way the Bible appears as the foundational text in his *Portrait* engraving, and to Cicero's quote about divine inspiration from *On the Nature of the Gods* at the top of the *Oratory-Laboratory* engraving.

The degree of detail is quite remarkable in these engravings, to the extent that one suspects Khunrath expected the viewer to use a magnifying glass to see, for example, the snake and the toad concealed within the vegetation in the *Pyramid*'s foreground (Fig. 2.85).

479 For more on this, *vide infra*, Chapter 3 on Khunrath's Theosophy and Chapter 6 on his Alchemy.

480 A cryptic note: In the Warburg Institute copy of the 1609 edition, FGH 5602 in the Michael Innes Collection, the *Pyramid* engraving contains a hand-written marginal note: 'Explicationem huius Tab. v. L. p[ars] 5. fol. 364. Et Theatr. p[ars] 1. fol. 393.' The latter reference is probably to the *Theatrum Chemicum* (Strasbourg, 1602; repr. 1659), Vol. 1, Gerard Dorn, *De Spagirico Artificio Io. Trithemii sententia*, 393, which includes an analysis of the *Emerald Tablet*.



FIGURE 2.85 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Pyramid*, detail of foreground. Tolosana, Bibliothèque universitaire Santé Allées Jules Guesde, Res Med XVII D104971

26 The Alchemical Citadel

The *Alchemical Citadel* engraving returns to the *Entrance* engraving's theme of privileged access to esoteric mysteries, but this time not by entrance into a cave carved with extracts from a Christian Cabalist text, high up on a lofty mountain top; instead into the heart of a fortified citadel, dominated by a large dragon seated on a triangular rock (Fig. 2.86), not all that dissimilar to the one in the *Pyramid* engraving. The design of this 'most powerful primaterial Mercurial Citadel, called Magnesia',[481] is that of a Star Fort, a new style of fortification developed originally in fifteenth-century Italy (hence its alternative designation as *trace italienne*), as a response to gunpowder and the growing use of cannons during sieges.[482]

481 *Citadel* engraving: 'Arcis Pri-materialis … Mercurialis validißimae, MAGNESIA … dictae'.

482 For an informative early modern work, see Daniel Speckle, *Architectura von Vestungen* (Strasbourg, 1589), which includes a design for a pentagonal fortress, following 7^{v} & 18^{v}. On the star-shaped city as a main component of all utopian schemes, see Siegfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1941; repr. 1982), 43 'The Renaissance was hypnotized by one city type which for a century and a half – from Filarete to Scamozzi – was impressed upon all utopian schemes: this is the star-shaped city.' See also Horst De La Croix, 'Military Architecture and the Radial City Plan in Sixteenth Century Italy', *Art Bulletin* 42:4 (1960): 264–268.

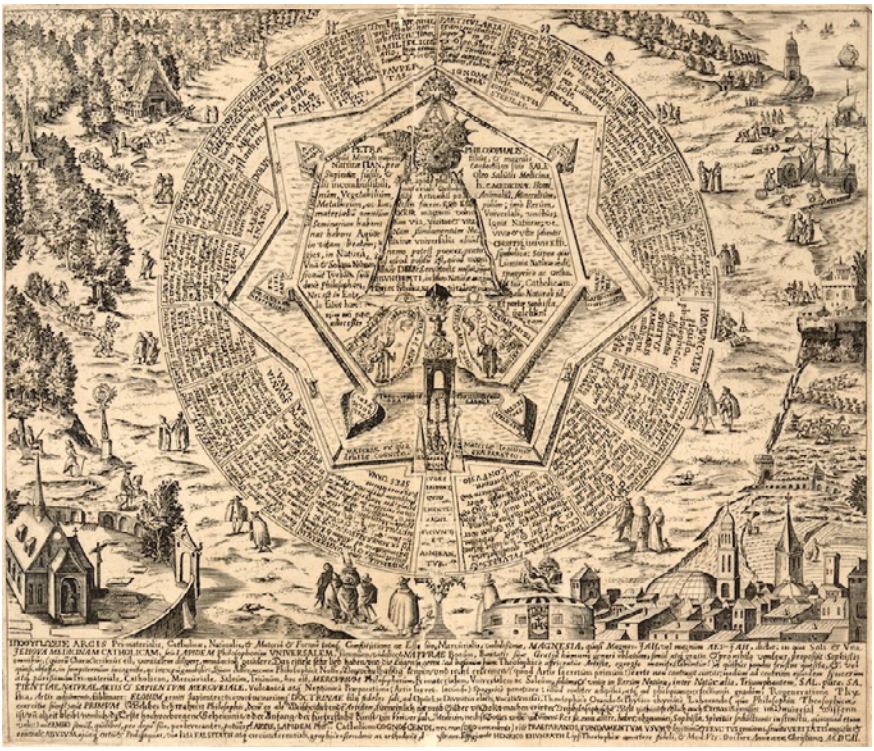


FIGURE 2.86 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Alchemical Citadel*. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

This style of fortification became popular in Germany, for example, in Berlin and Dresden; the fortress city of Coevorden in the north-eastern Netherlands, its reconstruction completed by Maurits of Nassau, Prince of Orange (1567–1625) in 1605 is a fine example of a seven-pointed Star Fort, terminating in seven 'royal' bastions.[483] The image of the *Alchemical Citadel* would, thus, have looked extremely modern to Khunrath's contemporaries.[484] It is quite possible that he had Maurits's fortress in mind, as he mentions him in the

483 Christopher Duffy, *Siege Warfare: The Fortress in the Early Modern World 1494–1660* (London: Routledge, 1979; repr. 1997), 91–92.

484 Charles Van den Heuvel, 'De versterkte stad', in Mieke Dings (ed.), *De Stad* (Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010, 2006), 23–35, at 24. Coevorden was designed by the Dutch engineer Adriaan Anthonisz (1527–1607), based on designs by Simon Stevin (1548–1620). Stevin's book *De Sterctenbouwing* (Fortification, Leiden, 1594) provides descriptions of ideal urban defences. For an example of a hexagonal star fort, see *De Sterctenbouwing*, *The Principal Works of Simon Stevin*, edited by W.H. Schukking (Amsterdam: C.V. Swets & Zeitlinger, 1964), Volume IV 'The Art of War', 86.

Amphitheatre as one of the 'great commanders of armies … in our times', along with John Sigismundus Zápolya (1540–1571), King of Hungary and Prince of Transylvania and Don Juan or John of Austria (1545–1578), illegitimate son of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V.[485] As Khunrath counted Albrecht VII von Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt (1537–1605) among his patients, who was for many years at the court of the Prince of Orange-Nassau and was married to Juliana van Nassau-Dillenburg (1546–1588), younger sister of William of Orange,[486] perhaps the inclusion of the famous Star Fort, which was in its day seen as an *ideale cité*,[487] is an intentional allusion to Maurits and his court, especially when we consider that the 1609 edition of the *Amphitheatre* was published in Calvinist Hanau, ruled by Philipp Ludwig II (1576–1612), a cadet prince of the house of Orange-Nasssau.[488]

Even more so than in the *Pyramid* engraving, the focus of the *Citadel* is on the Philosophers' Stone, which is here represented as being at the centre of the world, in the sense that it dominates the heart of the *Citadel*, which in its turn is located in a landscape showing sacred and secular activities and human industry, with coaches, carriages, a farm house and chapel in hills and forest to the left; scenes of farmers tending crops and cattle, coopers preparing barrels for sea-voyages and varied ships and boats on the flat land and coastline on the right. Töllner notes the presence of a winged Ouroboros (Fig. 2.87.1), standing on top of a retort-shaped column bearing the inscription 'Omnia' (All), by a small waterfall, right at the point where the hilly woodland begins.[489] A disproportionately large church surrounded by its own circular wall dominates the left foreground (perhaps the Oratory to the Citadel's Laboratory); while on the right we see a city-scape with spires and steeples, and most notably a large circular building (Fig. 2.87.2), which with its Christian motifs INRI and IHS suggests a church rotunda, although Szulakowska considers it an 'alchemical kiln'.[490]

485 *Amph.*II, 176 'Quæ & quanta etiam nostris temporibus magni illi bellorum duces, *Mauritius Nassouius*, *Sigismundus Transsyluanus*, *Donb Iohan a Austria*, &c.'

486 Correspondence exists between Khunrath and Albrecht VII von Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt (1537–1605) who was married to Juliana van Nassau-Dillenburg. See Rudolstadt, Thüringisches Staatsarchiv, Sign.: AXXI 4g Nr. 16.

487 This sense of the perfection of the design appears in an observation of Szönyi, in 'Architectural Symbolism and Fantasy Landscapes in Alchemical and Occult Discourse: Revelatory Images', where he discusses 'the works of the great seventeenth-century esoteric illustrators, such as Heinrich Khunrath, Fludd and Kircher' (52), commenting on the 'particularly impressive mandala-fortress … Khunrath's "hermetic citadel"' (59).

488 Trevor-Roper, *Renaissance Essays*, 231.

489 Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 36–110 'Die Alchemistische Festung', at 36.

490 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 125.



FIGURE 2.87 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Citadel*, details: 1) Ouroboros, 2) Rotunda. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

The most convincing analysis of this engraving is found in the seventeenth-century French commentary on the *Amphitheatre* by Nicolas de Villiers, where he writes that 'the figure of seven bastions … is a representation of the universal, primaterial, natural castle or fortress, in which … through his goodness God has proposed or placed the universal medicine or indeed the universal stone of the philosophers.'[491] The *Citadel* is provided with 21 entrances, of which only one is correct, the others being dead-ends, representing mistaken or fraudulent alchemical practices as well as the wrong choice of starting material for creating the Stone.[492] As de Villiers observes, this fortress is 'impregnable to the sophists',[493] because the aspiring adept presumably has to satisfy its guardian, Hermes Trismegistus,[494] bearing the mercurial caduceus, before being allowed through the gate labelled *Opera Bona* (Good Works). Töllner suggests that only

491 De Villiers, 'Commentaire sur l'*Amphithéâtre*', 511 'la figure des sept bastions … est une representation du chasteau ou de la forteresse universelle, primaterielle, naturelle, en laquelle … Dieu par sa bonté a proposé ou mis la medecine universelle ou bien la pierre des philosophes universelle.'

492 For more on these points, *vide infra*, Chapter 6.

493 De Villiers, 'Commentaire sur l'*Amphithéâtre*', 512 'la forteresse est impregnable par les sophistes.' This refers to text beneath the engraving: 'Sophistis omnibus … incognita, ac inexpugnabilis.'

494 This image of Hermes guarding the entrance calls to mind the image of the Good Demon or Genius dispensing lots in Hans Holbein's woodcut title page of the *Tabula Cebetis* (Basel, 1525). See *Epictetus Manuall. Cebes Table. Theophrastus Characters*, translated by John Healey (London, 1616); *Cebes in England: English Translations of the Tablet of Cebes, from Three Centuries, with Related Materials*, with introductory notes by Stephen Orgel (New York: Garland Publishing, 1980).

by knowing Mercurius can one progress to the centre of the *Citadel*;[495] perhaps this can be understood in the double sense of Mercury as both ancient authority and primal matter.[496] It may also imply that one has to understand the philosophical and technical hermetic messages of the *Pyramid* engraving before Hermes will allow you to pass into the *Citadel*.

Mercury stands as the guardian of the entrance, with the words 'Opera Bona' at his feet and the word 'Mysterium' above his head, on the lowered drawbridge. De Villiers claims that '*good works* are what is carried out by philosophical mercury' and 'the *mystery* is that this mercury opens the citadel gate',[497] correct preparation of which produces the 'true and second Mercury of the Hermetic [Philosophers]'.[498] Martin Ruland offers insight into an alchemical understanding of *Mysterium* in his *Lexicon*:

> The mysterium is the essence of the inner nature, bearing the whole substance in the subtle and hidden part of matter. Whence it differs from the juice as much as the juice from the body; and because it is hidden in the innermost recesses of corporeal matter and has a very subtle nature, it is usually called a mysterium or an arcanum. Moreover, it is extracted, either immediately from the things themselves, with due preparation in advance, or sometimes even from the magisterium, and the juice, and it is twofold: the Quintessence, and a specific arcanum.[499]

495 Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 196 suggests that only by knowing 'Mercurius' (which allows for both the figure Hermes and the substance quicksilver), can one progress to the centre; the first stage of alchemy is knowing what substance should be used.

496 Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique*, 204, simultaneously the sage teaching and the object of transmutation.

497 De Villiers, 'Commentaire sur l'*Amphithéâtre*', 520 'Les *bonnes oeuures* est ce qui est exequté par le mercure philosophal. Le *mystere* est que ce mercure faict ouurir la porte de la forteresse.'

498 University of Pennsylvania, Edgar Fahs Smith Memorial Collection, Van Pelt Library, Ms. Codex 114 'De Arte Cabalistica seu De Magisterio magno Philosophorum', containing: *Explicatio figurae hermeticae a Khunrahdo designatae* (ff. 33^{r}–103^{v}), (11), S. [1], 1–160, sig. 4 'unde Khunrahd bene delineauit hos duos obeliscos solare[m] ac Lunarem, in medio autem venerandum senem, manu dextera tenentem Mercurij Caduceu[m], sinistra veró hæc verba pedibus enixa, scilicet, opera bona. & supra illius capite, istud verbum Mysterium. Magnum enim Mysterium (agi) cognitionem materiæ, seu Mercurij primi philosophorum, ac illius legitimam præparationem, ut de illa obtineas verum ac secundu[m] Mercurium hermeticorum.'

499 Ruland, *Lexicon Alchemiae* (1612), 341–2 'Mysterium est essentia interioris naturae, totius substantiae in subtili reconditaque materiae parte vehens. Unde a succo tantum discedit, quantum succus a corpore; & quia in intimis recessibus materiae corporeae latet, subtilemque admodum habet naturam, mysterium vel arcanum appellari solet. Excipitur autem, vel ex ipsis rebus statim, praemissa tamen praeparatione debita, vel etiam ex

Related to this, Khunrath advises, 'Listen and pay attention: SALT IS THE MOST ANCIENT STONE. It is a mystery! whose nucleus is in the DENARY. Be Harpocratically silent!'[500]

There is more to this mystery, however, than laboratory secrets, for at the same time as advocating silence, Khunrath nevertheless discloses a secret:

> I shall be silent. I shall not repeat this: figuratively compare the Philosophers' Stone, ... with this incarnate WISDOM, and vice versa; you will discover in this admirable harmony of the Servant of the greater World with the Saviour of the lesser World the wonderful mystery (OF THE VAPOUR OF THE POWER OF GOD EMANATING IN THE UNIVERSE), about which it is better to keep silent, than to throw pearls to the impure world to be trodden under foot.[501]

There is more than likely a double sense, too, to the word ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ [Mystērion] on the draw-bridge that one must cross. A *Mystērion* is a mystery known through initiation or revelation, 'denoting the hidden essences of natural phenomena',[502] and as such relates to accounts of alchemists being initi-

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magisterio interdum, & succo, Estque duplex: Quinta essentia, & arcanum specificum'. On p. 53 Ruland explains: 'Arcanum specificum est duplex: Unum formalius est, & appellatur astrale; alterum materialius' (The specific arcanum is of two kinds: one is more formal and is called astral; the other is more material). It is less subtle or noble than the Quintessence.

500 *Amph.*II, 194 'Audi atque attende: SAL ANTIQVISSIMVM LAPIS. Mysterium! Cuius nucleum, in DENARIO, Harpocraticè, sile.'

501 *Amph.*II, 57 'Obmutesco. Hoc non redicebo: Cum SAPIENTIA hac incarnata typicè confer Lapidem Phil[osophoru]m quis, qualis & quantus sit ille: & contra: reperies harmonia mirabili hac Seruatoris Mundi maioris cum Saluatore Mundi minoris mysterium (VAPORIS VIRTVTIS DEI EMANANTIS IN VNIVERSVM) mirandum: de quo præstat silere, quàm mundo immundo margaritas proiicere pedibus conculcandas.' Cf. *Amph.*II, 197 'Observe and admire now this figurative mystery, the conception, I say, of the Servant and Saviour of both the Greater World and the Lesser World, or humankind' (Mysterium iam obserua & admirare typicum; conceptionem, inquam, Seruatoris & Saluatoris vtriusque & Mundi maioris & Mundi minoris, siue generis humani).

502 Bull, 'Ancient Hermetism and Esotericism'. The primary use of the term "mystery" (Gk. *mystērion*, Lat. *mysterium*) in the Hermetica is to denote the hidden essences of natural phenomena. Following Egyptologist Jan Assmann, Bull distinguishes between *secretum* (something that is hidden from common view) and *mysterium* (something that is intrinsically secret): 'A *secretum*, such as a secret recipe or a confidential letter, is no longer secret if it is published, whereas a *mysterium* retains its aura of secrecy even if exposed. A *mysterium* can only be known by those with the requisite faculty or status. The kind of secret possessed by esoteric groups is the *mysterium*' (126). See also Benjamin L. Gladd, *Revealing the Mysterion: The Use of Mystery in Daniel and Second Temple Judaism with*

ated into their practice through a master.[503] You may recall, from the opening discussion of the image of an amphitheatre above, that the word MYΣTHPION also appears in the *Entrance* engraving, a place only discovered by the initiated or elect, another locus of limited access, involving the crossing of a threshold. Reading through the *Amphitheatre*, however, turns up another level of significance. One of Khunrath's favoured sources for biblical verses is the Book of Daniel, with the word *Mystērion* appearing nine times in the Septuagint version.[504] Khunrath more than once refers his reader to Daniel 2:28 and the declaration that 'There is a GOD in Heaven who reveals profound and hidden mysteries',[505] with the advice 'Learn to seek revelations of hidden things with GOD after the manner of Daniel'.[506] Having received insight into the mystery, the adept then passes through the arch bearing the words 'Non Omnibus' (Not for All), an analogue to the *Entrance*'s message of 'Keep Away, ye Profane', as well as a partial echo of the phrase from Corinthians that appears on the *Entrance*: 'Omnia in Omnibus' (All in All).[507]

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its Bearing on First Corinthians (Berlin & New York: De Gruyter, 2008). Contemporary readers could well have made links with the theosopher Jacob Boehme's notion of the 'Mysterium Magnum'. See Andrew Weeks, *Boehme: An Intellectual Biography of the Seventeenth-Century Philosopher and Mystic* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1991), 197.

503 See, for example, Elias Ashmole's discussion of alchemists adopting heirs in *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (London, 1652), 440–41. On William Backhouse and his adoption of Ashmole as his alchemical 'son', see C.H. Josten, 'William Backhouse of Swallowfield', *Ambix* 4 (1949): 1–33; Bruce Janacek, *Alchemical Belief: Occultism in the Religious Culture of Early Modern England* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 1; Robert M. Schuler (ed.), *Alchemical Poetry 1575–1700: From Previously Unpublished Manuscripts* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1995; repr. 2013), Vol. 5, 73ff.

504 Gladd, *Revealing the Mysterion*, 32.

505 Daniel 2:28 'But there is a God in heaven that revealeth mysteries, who hath shewn to thee, O king Nabuchodonosor, what is to come to pass in the latter times. Thy dream and the visions of thy head upon thy bed are these.' See *Amph.*II, 59 'It is not permitted (though I would like to) to speak of all things because of the impure World. Therefore, let this Mystery lie stored deep in the heart. The GOD in Heaven, who reveals mysteries (Daniel 2:28) can give to whom he will to Christian-Cabalistically, Divine-Magically and Physico-Chemically find out what the URIM and THUMMIM, Exodus 28:30, are' (Fari (quamuis vellem) non omnia licet, propter Mundum immundum. Maneat igitur Mysterium hoc alta mente repostum. Quid fuerint VRIM & THVMMIM, Exod.28,30. ChristianoCabalicè, DiuinoMagicè, & PhysicoChemicè percontare: DEVS Cæli, qui reuelat mysteria, Dan.2,28. dare potest, cui vult); *Amph.*II, 136 again citing Daniel 2:28.

506 *Amph.*II, 153. See particularly Daniel 2:19 'Then was the mystery revealed to Daniel by a vision in the night: and Daniel blessed the God of heaven.' See also the *Calumniators* engraving references to Daniel 2:34 and 45.

507 1 Corinthians 12:4–6 'Now, there are diversities of graces, but the same Spirit. And there are diversities of ministries, but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations,

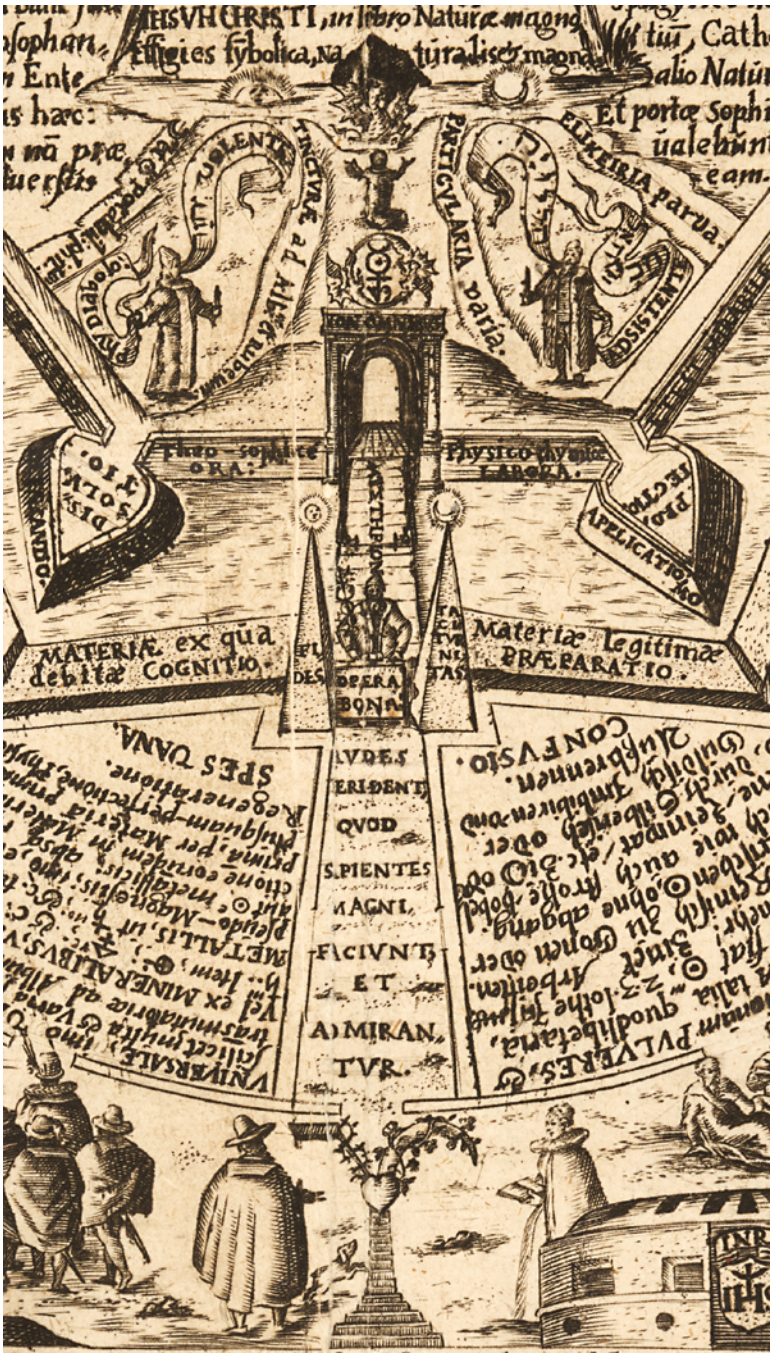


FIGURE 2.88 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Citadel*, detail: Hermes at the gate. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

The arch is surmounted by the well-known alchemical image of two serpents swallowing each other's tails,[508] symbol of distillation and digestion; here encircling John Dee's hieroglyphic *Monad* (Fig. 2.88).[509] No doubt the initiate had learned the vital importance of distilling and digesting knowledge as well as matter. He then passes between two human figures, inner guardians, as it were, of the citadel, and finally encounters the dragon seated on the large central rock, watching over the pool at its base, in which the Sun, Moon and a smaller mercurial dragon float. If we remember that in alchemy dragons often represent philosophical mercury and that in mytho-alchemy dragons are often the guardians of alchemical treasures, be that the golden apples of the Hesperides or the Golden Fleece, in this engraving the adept encounters not one but two mercurial guardians.[510] Khunrath's readers, educated in classical mythology at school and university would likely have made further associations, such as Cadmus's encounter with the serpent at the spring of Ismene at Thebes. More experienced readers of alchemical manuscripts would have called to mind the wyverns and dragons in the fifteenth-century *Aurora Consurgens*, *Splendor Solis*, and *Book of Lambspring* or recent publications by Basil Valentine.[511]

27 Mercurius and Caduceus

The figure of Hermes-Mercury, flanked by solar and lunar obelisks (Fig. 2.88),[512] surely intended to remind the reader of the two obelisks on the *Amphitheatre*'s

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but the same God, who worketh all in all.' 1 Corinthians 15:28 'And, when all things shall be subdued unto him, then the Son also himself shall be subject unto him that put all things under him that God may be all in all.'

508 See Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique*, 220 on two birds, one winged, one wingless forming a circle. Khunrath has two dragons doing the same over the archway into the *Citadel*.

509 On Dee's Hieroglyphic Monad, see p. 289 below.

510 On mythology and alchemy, including reference to dragons, see Antoine Faivre, *The Golden Fleece and Alchemy* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1993); Peter J. Forshaw, 'Michael Maier and Mythoalchemy', in *Furnace and Fugue: A Digital Edition of Michael Maier's Atalanta fugiens (1618) with Scholarly Commentary*, edited by Tara Nummedal and Donna Bilak (University of Virginia Press, 2020).

511 For more on dragons in relation to Khunrath's alchemy, see Chapter 6.

512 Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 37 describes them as pyramids. In the hermetic *Kore Kosmou* (Daughter of the Cosmos), Hermes preserved secret wisdom by inscribing it on 'slabs and obelisks.' According to Margaret A. Murray, *Egyptian Temples* (London: Routledge, 2009), 69 'a pair of obelisks always indicated the entrance to a temple'. Bern Dibner, *Moving the Obelisks* (n.p.: Muriwai Books, 2017) describes the design as 'four-sided

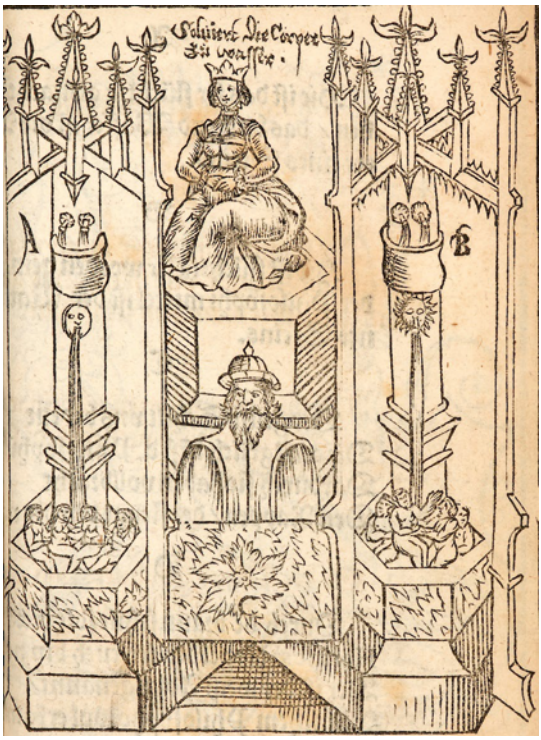


FIGURE 2.89
Reusner, *Pandora* (1588), 243. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH2083 A

title page, is possibly influenced by Hieronymous Reusner's figure standing between solar and lunar distillation towers (Fig. 2.89) in his alchemical image compendium *Pandora* (1588). Hermes holds a curiously shaped caduceus. The staff bears the usual two entwined serpents, but appears to have a cross at its upper end, with leaves sprouting at its tip, calling to mind the rod of the high priest Aaron, which both turned into a serpent (Exodus 7:10) and put forth buds, produced blossoms, and bore ripe almonds (Numbers 17:8).[513] The *Citadel*'s Hermetic guardian has, perhaps, additional Cabalistic virtues.

This suggestion is supported by a passage in Johann Reuchlin's Christian-Cabalist *De Verbo Mirifico* (On the Wonder-Working Word, 1494):

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tapered stone pillars with a pyramid-shaped top … the pyramidal top was usually sheathed in bright metal, such as gold, gilt bronze or electrum (four parts gold; one part silver) so that its facets reflected the moving sun like a beacon or heliograph upon the landscape.'

513 Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 108 Moses's rod brought forth water from a rock (Exodus 17:6; Numbers 20:11).

> For, as Nazianzus says, it is not permitted for all to Philosophize about God, neither always, nor all things, but is a case of to whom, & when, & how much … nor do I demand anything extra from you except that which Terence's Simo asked from Sosia, faith and taciturnity.[514]

As already mentioned, the *Citadel*'s triumphal archway's architrave bears the words 'Non Omnibus' (Not for All), while the two obelisks flanking the gateway bear the words 'Fides' (Faith) and 'Taciturnitas' (Taciturnity).

It should be pointed out that as with Khunrath's Bird of Hermes, this personification of Hermes is also a composite. The context here is alchemical, so the primary reference must be to Hermes Trismegistus, author of the *Emerald Tablet*; thus, we have the 'hermetic philosopher' in an alchemical sense. But the *Pyramid* engraving also includes a passage from the *Pimander*, in which Hermes receives a revelation from the *Nous* or Divine Mind, so there is possibly an initiatory sense intended here too, with the gateway flanked by obelisks and the bridge that must be crossed. As suggested above, the initiate surely needs to learn the secret identity of 'mercury' as primal matter, before he can proceed. At the same time, this gateway figure also carries the caduceus of the pagan god Hermes/Mercury, the herald or messenger of the classical gods and the psychopomp or guide of souls.[515] A complex mixture of religio-philosophical ingredients is present at this threshold.

The *Citadel*'s outer wall, where Hermes stands guard, makes it clear that knowledge of the required material for the Philosophers' Stone and of its preparation is the prerequisite for entry.[516] The necessary combination of Christian-Cabalist Oratory and alchemical Laboratory is emphasised on the inner walls flanking the archway on the far side of the bridge, with advice to PRAY Theo-sophically and WORK Physico-chymically,[517] and by the graphic way that Khunrath has made the small figure at prayer before the pool – in the

514 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 908 'Non enim omnibus, ut Nazianzenus ait, neque semper, neque omnia de Deo Philosophari conceditur: sed est quibus, & quando, & quantum. … Nec à vobis ultra quid exigo, nisi quod Terentianus Simo quaesivit in Sofia/Sosia, fidem & taciturnitatem.' Reuchlin is referring to characters in a comedy *Andria* (The Girl from Andros) by the Roman playwright Terence: Simo is an Athenian nobleman and Sosia is his freedman.

515 Cf. the reference in *Amph.*I, 19 to 'the truly Wise doctrine, as much of true WISDOM, as of her Wise Herald' (tam iuxta SAPIENTIÆ veræ, quam eius Præconis … Sapientis doctrinam verè Sapientem).

516 *Citadel* engraving, on the left of the entrance: 'MATERIAE ex qua debitae COGNITIO' (KNOWLEDGE of the proper MATTER from which …); on the right: 'Materiae legitimae PRÆPARATIO' ([comes] PREPARATION of the legitimate Matter).

517 *Citadel* engraving: 'Theo-sophicè ORA' and 'Physico-chymicè LABORA'.

same posture as the adept in his oratory, or on the islet in the *School of Nature* – the geometric focus or convergence point of the engraving.[518]

A seventeenth-century manuscript 'De Arte Cabalistica seu De Magisterio magno Philosophorum' (On the Cabalistic Art or On the Great Magistery of the Philosophers) in the Edgar Fahs Smith Memorial Collection, University of Pennsylvania, contains another work, 'Explicatio figurae hermeticae a Khunrahdo designatae' (An Explanation of a hermetic figure designed by Khunrath), the figure being a fold-out image of the central heptangular inner Citadel (Fig. 2.90). Its opening declaration states that

> the great philosopher Khunrath most perfectly demonstrated the whole hermetic work for you with this figure, rightly protected with seven bastions, surrounded by a moat full of water; this is the labour, this is the work, to be attained with honorable victory, study, and great industry.[519]

The anonymous, possibly German, author promises to take the reader by hand into the interior of the city, to find the golden fleece hidden within. He points out the two obelisks on either side of the gate, one with the moon the other the sun,

> designating for you knowledge of the matter and its correct preparation, without which no-one at all can enter this holy Jerusalem.[520]

The already-mentioned French alchemist Nicolas de Villiers, who writes in detail about the *Rebis*, also has much to say about the 'figure of the seven bastions', which for him is a representation of the 'ethereal spirit that is the seat of the soul, which prevails over and makes volatile the earth or the Adam of

518 Such is the case if we focus on the picture; if we take into consideration the whole page, including the subscribed text, then the centre is the archway into the *Citadel*.

519 *Explicatio figurae hermeticae a Khunrahdo designatae* (ff. 33^{r}–103^{v}), signed 'Mercurii Trismegistæ suæ philosophiæ amator fidelis,' 71ff includes a fold-out illustration just before f. 33 of a seven-pointed star diagram with text. See *Explicatio figurae hermeticae a Khunrahdo designatae*, sigs. 1–2: 'Khunrahdus magnus philosophus hâc figurâ tibi totum opus hermeticum perfectissimé demonstrauit, septem propugnaculis recté tutatam, fossâque aqua plena circundatam, ad quam obtinendam generosa debellatione, studio, & magna industria, hoc opus hic labor est'.

520 *Explicatio figurae hermeticae a Khunrahdo designatae*, sigs. 2–3 'duo sunt obilisci ad latera illius posita, quorum unus Luna[m] habet in summitate; alter Sole[m] ad designandum tibi materiæ cognitionem, eiusque debitam præparationem, sine quibus nemo poterit unquam ingredi hanc sanctam Ierusalem.'

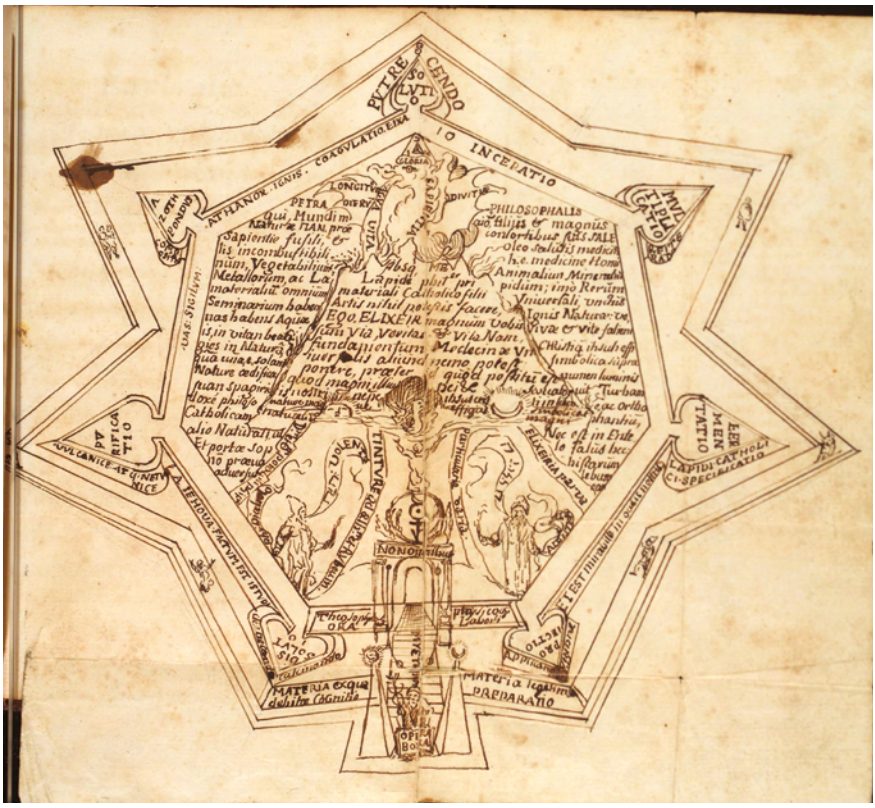


FIGURE 2.90 Hand-drawn copy of the centre of Khunrath's *Citadel*, Ms. Codex 114, preceding f. 33r. University of Pennsylvania, Edgar Fahs Smith Memorial Collection, Van Pelt Library

this subject.'[521] He appears to agree with the previous author, that knowledge of the required matter is the prerequisite for gaining entry to the inner Citadel:

> one cannot achieve the philosophical stone unless one has first of all obtained the enjoyment of the solvent … which being obtained grants easy entry into the fortress. But it is by the seven operations denoted by

521 De Villiers, 'Commentaire sur l'*Amphithéâtre*', 511 'l'esprit etherée, qui est le siege de l'ame, emporte et rand uolatille la terre ou l'Adam de ce subiect, de sorte qu'il est faict vne mesme chose uolatille auec l'esprit etherée et la forme. Ce qui est bien representé par nostre autheur en la figure des sept bastions.' See Chapter 6 on Khunrath's alchemy, where it is mentioned that 'Adamah' in Hebrew means 'Red Earth'.

> the bastions that one most win it, which is accomplished by the friendship of Mercury who is at the gate and in front of the drawbridge.[522]

Concerning the words *Fides* and *Taciturnitas* on the obelisks, De Villiers explains,

> the obelisk on the right which says *Faith* teaches that one must believe that the solvent, being prepared as it should be, will lead us to the achievement of all resolutions and *Taciturnity* shows that one should hold all things secret, as much the solvent as the preparation of the correct matter.[523]

As in his consideration of the *Rebis* engraving, De Villiers discusses certain elements of the image in detail, giving some idea of how a contemporary reader could analyse Khunrath's symbolic geometry:

> this winged serpent which occupies the top of the figure and has above its head a triangle, which contains a lesser whose lines drawn from the angles lead to a central point, creating in this way three equal angles. … This serpent, which is without feet (Fig. 2.93), expresses that it is entirely volatile … represents the universal solvent and … carries on its head the triangle, representing that it is three universal principles united together … And this triangle contains in itself another triangle which teaches us that by means of the first and great triangle, which is the universal agent, one comes by resolution to the knowledge and visible perfection of the pure principles which constitute the universal substance … which is why the lines which are drawn from the angles towards the centre lead to one point which is fixed and which is the quaternary point which reduces everything to unity.[524]

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522 De Villiers, 'Commentaire sur l'*Amphithéâtre*', 519 'on ne peult paruenir à la piere philosophale si premierement l'on n'a obtenu la jouissance du resoluant, ainsy que dit l'enseignement du dessous de la figure, lequel obtenu donne vne facille entrée en la forteresse. Mais c'est par les sept operations qui sont designées aux bastions de la forteresse qu'il fault gaignier. Ce qui se faict par l'amitié du mercure qui est dessus la porte et au deuant du pont leuis.'

523 De Villiers, 'Commentaire sur l'*Amphithéâtre*', 520 'L'obelisque droitte qui dit *foy* enseigne qu'il fault croire que le resoluant, estant prepare comme il fault, nous conduira à l'effect de touttes les resolutions; et la *taciturnité* monstre qu'il fault tenir segret le tout, tant le resoluant que la preparation de la matiere legitime.'

524 De Villiers, 'Commentaire sur l'*Amphithéâtre*', 512–513 'Ce serpant qui est sans pieds tesmoigne qu'il est entierement uolatil, le dissoluant … Et encores que dans la troisiesme



FIGURE 2.91 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Citadel*, detail of triangle. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246



FIGURE 2.92 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Title Page*, detail of triangle, Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977

This 'triangle within a triangle', resolving in a point (Fig. 2.91), surely a geometric representation of Khunrath's neologism 'ter-tri-une' (thrice-three-in-one) in the 1609 *Amphitheatre*'s title, was evidently an important symbol for Khunrath, for he includes a similar nested triangle on the right-hand obelisk on the 1609 title page (Fig. 2.92). In both cases the central 'triangle' more closely resembles a trilateral pyramid ⧋ or the tetrahedral Platonic solid associated with the element fire.[525] In both instances, Hebrew is included in the design, in the former אבן (*Aben*/Rock); in the latter אורים יה (*Aurim-Yah*/God's 'Fires' or 'Lights').[526]

figure l'oyseau qui y est aye des pieds, ce n'est pas qu'il ne soit tout uolant, mais c'est qu'il monstre en les apuyant sur la teste de l'androgine qu'il peult et doit estre arresté et fixé par le mesme androgine. Or daultant que le serpant aislé et uolatil dont nous faisons mantion represente le resoluant uniuersel et. … il porte sur sa teste le triangle comme representant qu'il est ces trois principes uniuersels vnis ensemble, de mesme que les lignes de l'oyseau sont par les points de l'angle. Et ce triangle contient dans soy ung autre triangle qui nous enseigne que par le moyen du premier et grand triangle, qui est l'agent uniuersel, l'on uient par la resolution à la connoissance et à la perfection uisible des principes purs qui constituent la substance uniuerselle … il est necessaire de la fixer; et c'est pourquoy les lignes qui sont tirées des angles uers le centre aboutissent en vng point qui est fixe et qui est ce point quaternere qui reduit le tout à l'unité, de sorte que ces principes sont faicts vne substance fixe et vniuerselle, ce qui est tesmoigné par ces trois petits triangles esgaux que constituent ces lignes.'

525 Cf. The title page to Oswald Croll's *Basilica Chymica* (1608, Fig. 96), which also incorporates the 'trilateral pyramid'.

526 For more on this see chapter 4 on Khunrath's Cabala.

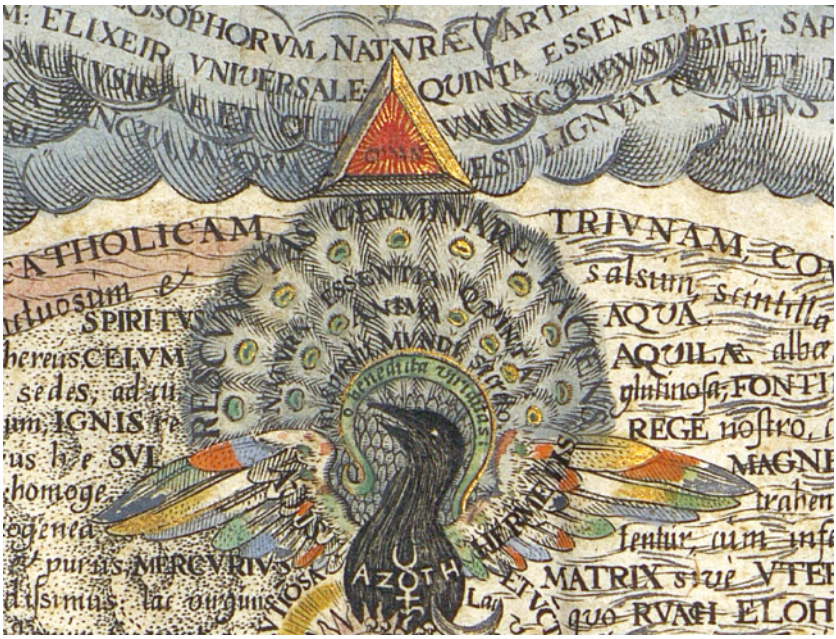


FIGURE 2.93 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Rebis*, detail of triangular cabochon. Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, Linz



FIGURE 2.94 Croll, *Basilica Chymica* (1608) Title Page, with two pyramids. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH1963 A

We have, thus, further symbols of Khunrath's implicit union of alchemy and Cabala. A parallel to the *Citadel*'s Mercurial Dragon is surely to be drawn with Hermes' Bird in the *Rebis* engraving, where we again find a triangular cabochon above its head, this time without a pyramid implying fire, but instead coloured red and bearing the Hebrew word אורים (*Aurim*), 'Lights' or 'Fires' (Fig. 2.93).

28 Hieroglyphic Monad or Mercury?

Szulakowska, Töllner and others have argued that the symbol within the two dragons above the archway into the *Citadel* is the Hieroglyphic Monad of the English alchemist, astronomer, mathematician and magus, John Dee, as displayed on the title pages of his *Propaedeumata aphoristika* (Aphoristic Introduction, 1558, Fig. 2.95) and *Monas Hieroglyphica* (Hieroglyphic Monad, 1564, Fig. 2.96).[527] The same has been argued about the glyph substituted for the central letter O of the alchemical word AZOTH on the breast of Hermes' Bird in Circular Figure 3 (Fig. 2.97).[528]

In the *Monas Hieroglyphica*, Dee explains that 'Mercury becomes parent and king of all the planets when perfected by a stable pointed hook', i.e. the Zodiac sign for Aries.[529] He shows how the characters for all seven planets in the Ptolemaic cosmos and related seven metals are included in his hieroglyph, thus uniting *Astronomia Superior* (Astrology) with *Astronomia Inferior* (Alchemy), or the 'Above' and 'Below' of the *Emerald Tablet* of Hermes. Given the large collection of Paracelsian works in Dee's library, it seems reasonable to suggest that on one level of interpretation his hieroglyph represents Paracelsus's alloy of all metals, his electrum magicum, used in the fashioning of magical mirrors and necromantic bells.[530] On an alchemical level, the hieroglyph is a combination of the planetary sign for 'watery' Mercury and the zodiac symbol for the first fire sign Aries, a metonym for 'fiery' Sulphur and as such the two conjoined represent the fiery-water, quintessence or 'heaven' of the alchemists.[531]

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527 Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 239; Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 125; Åkerman, *Rose Cross over the Baltic*, 208.

528 Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 165, 167 points out, however, that the central point within the 'sun' in Dee's hieroglyph is missing and notes that the 'foot' has been modified. Åkerman, *Rose Cross over the Baltic*, 208 states that [Johann Friedrich Jung's] manuscript in Copenhagen 'enhances the Monas on the exotic bird.'

529 Nicholas H. Clulee, 'The *Monas Hieroglyphica* and the Alchemical Thread of John Dee's Career', *Ambix* 52:3 (November 2005): 197–215, at 202, 208. See also Walton, 'John Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica*: Geometrical Cabala'.

530 For more on this, see Chapter 5 on Khunrath's magic.

531 See Chapter 6 on Khunrath's alchemy.



FIGURE 2.95 Dee, *Propaedeumata aphoristika* (1558), title page
COURTESY OF THE BEINECKE RARE BOOK AND MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY



FIGURE 2.96 Dee, *Monas Hieroglyphica* (1564), title page. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH1826 A

Joachim Telle, however, contests the notion that it is Dee's Monas, arguing instead that in the *Rebis* engraving, 'the sign differs formally from the basic shape of the Monas' and that since it is combined with the word Azoth, a common term for arcane Mercury, it cannot be the sign for the Monas, but for Mercury'.[532] I would agree that there is some formal difference between Dee's Monas and the version in Khunrath's work, and identification is rendered problematic because both versions of the glyph are partially obscured by other elements in their engravings. If, however, Dee was ready to criticise Gérard Dorn for his appropriation of the Monas hieroglyph on the title page of *Chymisticum artificium naturae* (The Chymistical Craft of Nature, 1568,

532 Joachim Telle, 'John Dee in Prag. Spuren eines elisabethanischen Magus in der deutschen Literatur', in Peter-André Alt and Volkhard Wels (eds.), *Konzepte des Hermetismus in der Literatur der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2010), 259–296, at 274 n. 37 'Das Zeichen weicht gestaltlich von der Monas-Grundform ab. Zumals es mit dem Wort "AZOTH", einem geläufigen Terminus für arkanen Mercurius, kombiniert worden ist, könnte hier kein Monas-, sondern ein Mercurius-Zeichen vorliegen.'



FIGURE 2.97 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Rebis*, detail: AZOTH with hieroglyphic 'O'. Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, Linz

Fig. 2.98), despite its variant form, some leeway in artistic standards should perhaps be accepted.[533] Telle's argument that because the symbol appears in the middle of the word AZOTH it must be the glyph for Mercury rather than the Monas totally disregards Dee's equation of Mercury with his Monas. The title page of *Propaedeumata aphoristika* modifes the alchemical dictum 'Est in Mercurio quicquid quaerunt sapientes' (There is in Mercury whatever the Wise men seek),[534] by replacing 'in Mercurio' with 'in hac Monade', resulting in the phrase 'There is in this Monad whatever the Wise men seek.'[535]

There is a manuscript at the John Rylands Library, Manchester (Fig. 2.99) that once belonged to the Hungarian János Bánfi-Hunyadi, or Johannes Huniades the elder (*c*.1576–1646), who lectured in chemistry at Gresham College, the main centre of scientific activity in early seventeenth-century London, and

533 Peter J. Forshaw, '"Possibly the most obscure work ever written by an Englishman?": The Early Alchemical Reception of John Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica*', *Ambix* 52:3 (Nov. 2005): 247–269, at 256–257.

534 See *Clangor Buccinae* (The Trumpet's Clangour), in *De alchimia opuscula complura veterum philosophorum* (Several Little Works of the Ancient Philosophers about Alchemy, Frankfurt, 1550), Vol. 1, f. 28v 'Est in & in eo sunt omnia metalla ut dicunt Philosophi. Versus. Mercurio quicquid quaerunt sapientes. Nam sub umbra sua viget haec substantia quinta.' See also Janus Lacinius, *Praeciosa ac Nobilissima Artis Chymiae Collectanea De Occultissimo ac praeciosissimo Philosophorum lapide* (A Precious and Most Noble Collection of the Art of Chymistry Concerning the Most Hidden and Most Precious Philosophers' Stone, Nuremberg, 1554), 28 'Est in Mercurio quicquid quaerunt sapientes. Nam sub umbra sua viget haec substantia quinta, propter hoc, quia sua media substantia ut dicit Geber est incombustibilis. Nam illa quinta substantia, quae est in hoc Mercurio Philosophorum, figitur, & mutatur, quod ignem sustinet, & non fugit, sed perseverat in eo.'

535 See Peter J. Forshaw, 'The Hermetic Frontispiece: Contextualising John Dee's Hieroglyphic Monad', *Ambix* 64:2 (2017): 115–139.



FIGURE 2.98 Dorn, *Chymisticum artificium naturae* (1568), title page. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM O 61-9201 (1)



FIGURE 2.99 Huniades, 'Orando & Laborando', MS Latin 82, f. 8r. John Rylands Library, Manchester

assisted Kenelm Digby (1603–1665) in his experiments with plants.[536] It clearly associates the Khunrath-sounding phrase 'Orando & Laborando quaeras & invenies' (By Praying and Working you will seek and you will find) with Dee's Hieroglyph and the traditional statement that 'There is in Mercury whatever the Wise men seek.'[537]

Examination of manuscript copies of Khunrath's *Rebis* and *Citadel* images gives varied results for how readers interpreted this hieroglyph. In reproductions of Circular Figure 3, we sometimes find clear instances of copyists

536 M. Rady, 'A Transylvanian Alchemist in Seventeenth-Century London', *Slavonic and East European Review* 72 (1994): 140–51.

537 Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Latin 82, f. 8r. See Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library at Manchester* (Manchester: At the University Press Longmans, Green & Company, 1921, repr. 2011), Vol. 1, 150.



FIGURE 2.100 J.F. Jung, manuscript copy of 1595 *Amphitheatrum, Rebis*, detail, Avis Hermetis, Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, MS GKS 1765, f. 67

seeing Dee's Monad. This is undeniably the case for the earliest known copy of the 1595 *Amphitheatre* by Johann Friedrich Jung in the Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, the manuscript dating from 1601–2. Jung makes this explicit by reproducing the Hermetic Bird in the margin of his copy of the *Rebis*, where we can clearly see Dee's Monad (Fig. 2.100). The simplified copy at Alnwick Castle in Northumberland has slightly cropped the foot of the Monas, so that it terminates at a point, similar to the sign for the planet Mars, itself the ruler of fiery Aries (Fig. 2.101) A manuscript copy of the 1609 edition of the *Amphitheatre* at the Universitäts-und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, likewise seems to be modelling the glyph off Dee's Monad.[538] The Sun and Moon glyphs have been drawn in one stroke rather than as two separate elements, but the foot of the glyph resembles Dee's in its use of the astrological sign for Aries (Fig. 2.102). This is certainly not the case, however, with a copy of the 1595 image in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, where the artist has drawn the alchemical symbol for Quicksilver/Mercury (Fig. 2.103).[539] As, however, they

538 Darmstadt Hs 3263 'Schauplatz der ewigen allein wahren Weisheit, christlich-cabalistisch, göttlich-magisch, und phÿsico-chemisch, abgefasset von Heinrich Khuhnrath von Leipzig', Fig. III.

539 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 'The Philosopher's Stone from Heinrich Khunrath, Amphiteatrum [sic] sapientiae aeternae, n.d.', Accession Number: 2011.304. The copyist has shortened the information on the engraving's circumference to the extent that



FIGURE 2.101 *Henry Khunrath's Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae*, DNP MS 571 f. 53^{v} *Rebis*, detail: Avis Hermetis. Collection of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle

have misread the word AZOTH as AZOH, perhaps their accuracy could be called into question.[540]

What at first glance appears to be Dee's *Monad* above the archway in the *Citadel*, on closer inspection could perhaps be argued to be a modification of Dee's hieroglyph (Fig. 2.104).

Khunrath's symbol certainly cannot be simply identified as the alchemical symbol for Mercury, because it has something resembling the 'foot' of Dee's hieroglyph (Figs. 2.105 & 2.106), and moreover, looks nothing like the glyphs for Mercury found elsewhere in the *Citadel* or for that matter in the *Oratory-*

we no longer know that 'Khunrath' is the inventor: 'Henricus Lips. Theosophiae amator & Medicinae Doctor, Dei gratia, inventor'.

540 Alnwick Castle (Library of the Duke of Northumberland), Ms. 571.



FIGURE 2.102 Ms. 3263 *Schauplatz der ewigen allein wahren Weisheit, Rebis*, detail: Avis Hermetis. Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt

Laboratory and *Calumniators* engravings.[541] In the *Monas Hieroglyphica*, Dee explicitly states that the foot of his hieroglyph is formed of the glyph for the first astrological zodiac sign of Aries.[542]

Unlike some of the other astrological glyphs, that for Aries is highly symmetrical: ♈. While not absolutely identical to Dee's glyph, the bottom right side of Khunrath's glyph sufficiently resembles Dee's *Monad* to make the earliest copyist think that it is the same symbol. It could be argued, however, that

541 See Chapter 6 on Khunrath's Alchemy.

542 C.H. Josten, 'A Translation of John Dee's "Monas Hieroglyphica" with an Introduction and Annotations', *Ambix* 12 (June and Oct. 1964): 84–221, at 161.

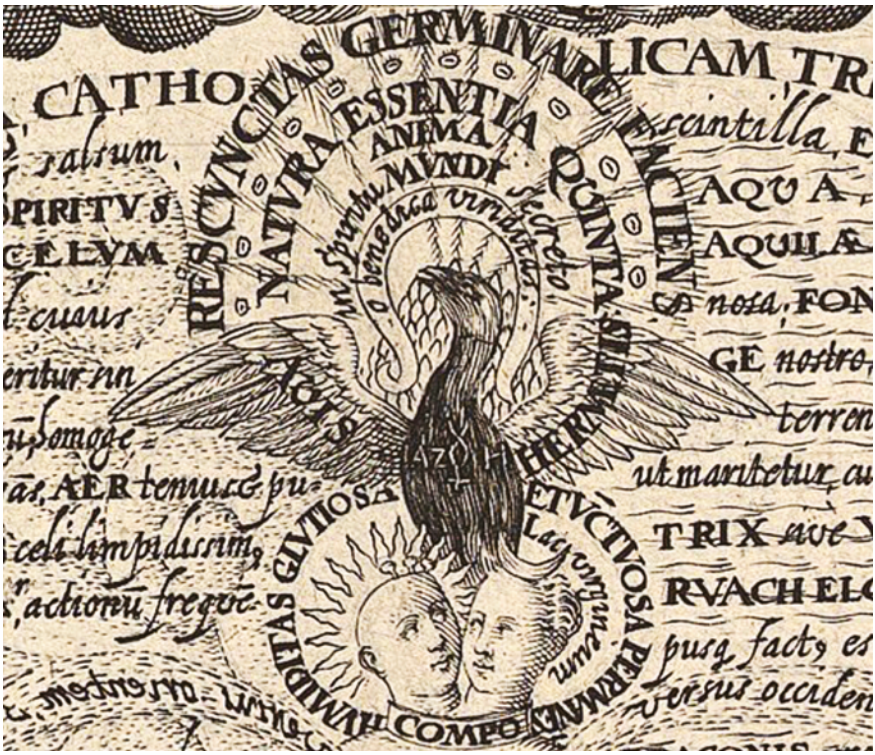


FIGURE 2.103 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Rebis*, detail: Avis Hermetis. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession Number: 2011.304



1) *Amphitheatrum* (1609), Allard Pierson, PH3246



2) Darmstadt Ms. 3263, Fig. VII



3) Pennsylvania Ms. Codex 114

FIGURE 2.104 Khunrath's *Citadel*, detail: the 'modified' *Monad*

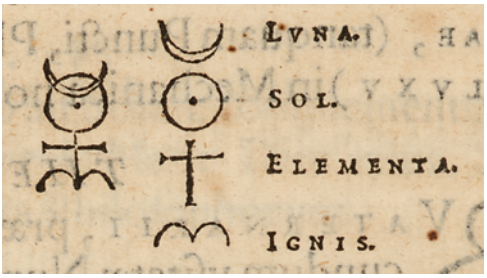


FIGURE 2.105 Dee, *Monas Hieroglyphica* (1564), 13[v] Deconstructed Monas displaying Moon, Sun, Elements, and Fire. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH1826 A



FIGURE 2.106 Dee, *Monas Hieroglyphica* (1564), 15[r] Deconstructed Monas showing the astrological signs Aries and Taurus. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH1826

the left foot of Khunrath's glyph is not a semi-circular downward facing crescent, but rather a straight line at an approximate 45-degree angle, more like the pointed termination resembling the arrow-head of Mars in the Alnwick manuscript. Dee's deconstruction of his glyphs shows how the foot of the hieroglyph represents the metals Tin and Lead, with the right side approximating the glyph for Saturn, the planet relating to Lead, constructed of a cross and a crescent moon: ♄. If Khunrath is substituting Mars for the left side of the foot, that could mean an emphasis on the related metal Iron in his system,[543] or perhaps fire from Mars on the left and water from the moon on the right, the two together symbolising the fiery water so important in alchemy.[544] Variations of the standard glyph for Mercury and of Dee's Monas do exist. Jaroslava Hausenblasová and Ivo Purš compare the Protestant priest and alchemist Simon Thadeas Budek's symbol of philosophical mercury with Dee's Monad and Carlos Gilly reproduces manuscripts of the first commentator on the Rosicrucian Manifestos, Adam Haslmayr (*c.*1550–after 1617), with a signature that includes a glyph closely resembling Dee's Monas.[545]

543 For a discussion of variants of the standard glyph for Mercury, see Hans Thomas Hakl, 'The Symbology of Hermeticism in the Work of Julius Evola', in Forshaw (ed.), *Lux in Tenebris*, 334–362, at 348 concerning two versions of the alchemical glyph for Mercury, one with a lunar curve on top ☿; one with the zodiacal sign for Aries on top ♈. The latter represents a 'burning' or 'enflamed water'.

544 See, for example, John of Rupescissa, *Liber de consideratione quintae essentiae omnium rerum* (Book on the Consideration of the Quintessence of All Things, 1351–52; Basel, 1561). On Rupescissa and *aqua ardens* (fiery water), see Leah DeVun, *Prophecy, Alchemy, and the End of Time: John of Rupescissa in the Late Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 52.

545 Jaroslava Hausenblasová and Ivo Purš, 'Simon Thadeas Budek and his Contacts at the Court of Rudolf II', in Purš and Karpenko (eds.), *Alchemy and Rudolf II*, 607–624, at 619, 621;

A detail in an eighteenth-century manuscript of the *Geheime Figuren der Rosenkreuzer* (Secret Symbols of the Rosicrucians) in the Ritman Library, Amsterdam perhaps adds some insight into this hieroglyph. One of the many circles in the image of the *Virgin Sophia* (Fig. 2.107) contains a glyph resembling a modification of Dee's Monas, bearing the title 'Rebis,' with the accompanying gloss: 'Der Weisen Wunsch und Glück-Ruthe' (The Wish and Luck-Rod of the Wise), which can be linked with Mercury's caduceus.[546] Here we find Dee's Hieroglyphic Monad graphically reduced to a circle interlinked with a semicircle, connected by a line to what looks like a figure three on its side (Fig. 2.108).

A nineteenth-century masonic manuscript in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, *L'alchimie du maçon* (The Mason's Alchemy, *c.*1812) by François-Nicolas Noël,[547] who is clearly familiar with the *Geheime Figuren*, includes a version of the same glyph next in a small drawing of two keys (Fig. 2.109): on the left a key described as the 'desire of the philosophers'; on the right a key labelled 'The desire of the sages', 'The rod of happiness',[548] which closely resembles Khunrath's modified 'monas' glyph.

Whatever may be the case with possible modified versions of Dee's hieroglyph in Khunrath's *Rebis* and *Citadel* engravings, the standard 'Monas' has an undeniable presence in the Isagoge surrounding Khunrath's original 1595 *Oratory-Laboratory* engraving. There, in a discussion of the threefold uses of the Philosophers' Stone, in the section on the Macrocosmic Stone, we read 'AZOTH Lapidis huius, h.e. [Mercurius] Philosophorum, corpora in primam materiam reducit' ('The AZOTH of this Stone, i.e. Mercury of the Philosophers, reduces bodies to primal matter', Fig. 2.110). Although it is clear from the diacritic marks that the Latin term 'Mercurius' is intended, what we actually see is Dee's Monas.[549]

Gilly, *Adam Haslmayr: Der erste Verkünder der Manifeste der Rosenkreuzer* (Amsterdam: In de Pelikaan, 1994).

546 Amsterdam BPH MS M309 'Physica, metaphysica et hyperphysica' (Natural, metaphysical and supernatural [things], *c.*1735), f. 13r. See Bouman and Van Heertum (eds.), *Divine Wisdom – Divine Nature*, 154–157. A similar idea is implied in the title of *Mercurii Zweyfacher Schlangen-stab/ Das ist: I. Glücks-Ruthe zu Paracelsi Chymischem Schatz …* (Mercury's Twofold Serpent Staff, that is, a Luck-Rod to Paracelsus's Chymical Treasure, Ulm, 1679).

547 See Jean-Pierre Laurant, '*L'Alchymie du Maçon* de François-Nicolas Noël. Texte édité par Dominique Bonnemaison', in Sylvain Matton (ed.), *Documents oubliés sur l'alchimie, la kabbale et Guillaume Postel: offerts, à François Secret* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2001), 439–455.

548 François-Nicolas Noël, *L'alchimie du maçon*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms. Atlas FM ICONOGR 2, f. 26 'Le desir des sages'; 'La Baguette du bonheur.'

549 Perhaps this is what De Villiers has in mind when he identifies Khunrath's character in the *Rebis* as the 'hieroglyphic of Mercury' in his 'Commentaire sur l'*Amphithéâtre*', 490: 'Nous uoyons vng oyseau dont le corps est noir ou de gris obscur et qui a en son ventre escrit ce mot *Azoth* en lettres blanches et pures et dont l'o est marqué par le cercle du caractere ou



FIGURE 2.107 'Physica, metaphysica et hyperphysica' (*c.*1735), f. 13r *Virgin Sophia*, Ms. M309. Ritman Library, Amsterdam



FIGURE 2.108 'Physica, metaphysica et hyperphysica', *Jungfrau Sophia* detail of 'Rebis' (bottom left). Ms. M309, f. 13r. Ritman Library, Amsterdam



FIGURE 2.109
François-Nicolas Noël, *L'alchimie du maçon*, Two Keys. Ms. Atlas FM ICONOGR 2, f. 26. Bibliothèque nationale de France

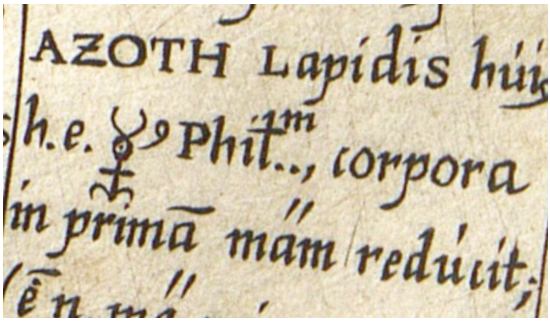


FIGURE 2.110
Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Oratory-Laboratory*, detail of Mercurius-Monas. Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, Linz

29 A Heart with Thorns

Khunrath's Monadic glyph, identical to Dee's or otherwise, is not the only mystifying symbol in the *Citadel* engraving. Directly beneath the hieroglyph, at the base of the engraving is a most unusual signpost (Fig. 2.111).

From a five-tiered stepped base rises a stone pedestal of what looks like twelve bricks, terminating in a large heart. From this heart extends a curvilinear crescent, resembling an elephant's tusk, on the right, in the direction of a woman with an open book in her hands and to the left a rectilinear shape formed of a thin line at approximately 45 degrees, extending into a thicker

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du hieroglifique de Mercure.' NB in the 1609 edition, *Amph.*II, 204 the Monas hieroglyph has been replaced by the more commonly available character for Mercury ☿.



FIGURE 2.111 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Citadel*, detail of Heart with Thorns. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

horizontal arm. The right-hand, curved arm is entwined in blossoming flowers; the left with what look like thorns.[550] The positioning of a male figure on the left; female on the right is probably intended to echo the gender dyad found in the circular figures of *Adam-Androgyne* and the *Alchemical Rebis*. It is tempting to suggest that the two figures represent Khunrath, with his dog bounding at his side, and the personification of Wisdom as Sophia (or Lady Chymia). It is also tempting to suggest that the rectilinear and curvilinear shapes of the sign echo the variations in Khunrath's Hieroglyphic Monad.

This signpost is an unusual symbol. The closest resemblance is found in Daniel Stolcius's *Viridarium Chymicum* (Chymical Pleasure-Garden, 1624), where his image of the 11th of Basil Valentine's *Twelve Keys* shows two women riding lions, each holding a heart in one hand, from which sprout a Sun on the left and a Moon on the right (Fig. 2.112).[551] As such they represent the

550 Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 37.

551 See Vladimir Karpenko, 'Daniel Stolcius and Emblematic Alchemy', in Purš and Karpenko (eds.), *Alchemy and Rudolf II*, 719–739, at 729–730, where he reproduces three images from the *12 Keys* of Basil Valentine: a woman holding a heart with a seven-flowered plant growing from it (5th Key), an emblem with three hearts, three snakes, four birds, man and woman (9th Key), and two women riding lions, each holding a heart with the sun



FIGURE 2.112 Stolcius, *Viridarium Chymicum* (1624), Figura XI, Key 11 of Basil Valentine's *Twelve Keys*. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH1547

wedding of Philosophical Sulphur and Mercury. It is possible that the heart in Khunrath's *Citadel* also represents their Conjunction.

The first quote from Khunrath that comes to mind is from *On Primaterial Chaos*, where he advises his reader, 'Therefore study, meditate, sweat, work, cook … then will a wholesome flood be opened to you which springs from the Heart of the Son of the Macrocosm, against all infirmity of all material things.'[552] The Son of the Macrocosm is Magnesia, so it seems reasonable to suggest that this sign-post, which stands immediately in front of the one true entrance to the *Citadel* is pointing the way to the Magnesia at its centre. It could also be an allusion to the 'Treuhertzige Warnungs-Vermahnung'

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and moon sprouting forth (11th Key), all taken from Stolcius's *Viridarium Chymicum* (Frankfurt, 1624). For the symbol of a heart in an alchemical text, see Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique*, 225 concerning the presence of a heart and brain in an image from the *Aurora Consurgens*.

552 *Chaos* (1597), 274f 'Alhier studiere/ meditire/ schwitze/ arbeitte/ Koche/ und las dich Kochens nicht verdriessen/ so wird sich dir eröffnen eine heilsame Fluet/ welche aus dem Hertzen des SONS der grossen Weld entspringt, wieder alle gebrechligkeit Aller Materialischen dingen'. Not to be ignored, either is the 'Treuhertzige Warnungs-Vermahnung' (True-Hearted Warning-Admonition) appended to *On Primaterial Chaos*.

(True-Hearted Warning-Admonition) appended to *On Primaterial Chaos*. As Khunrath shows some familiarity with Petrus Bonus's work, and was himself a medical doctor, perhaps these statements from the *Pretiosa Margarita Novella* (1546) bear some relevance:

> The sperm first generates the heart from matter and imprints the first power in the heart … the heart can generate all other members from the rest by virtue of the first power … And for this reason in creation the heart appears first among all other members in action and is manifest to sense and likewise to reason.[553]

Remaining with Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica*, there could, perhaps, be some influence from his image of the 'Arbor Raritatis' (Tree of Rarity, Fig. 2.113), illustrating the choice to be made between the common earthly path leading, on the left, to ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΣ [*Tyrannos*], tyranny or despotism, or, on the right, the rare philosophical path to ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ [*Pneumatikos*] or the spiritual life.[554] The design is clearly based on the Pythagorean Y that illustrates the same idea, based on a parable of the young Hercules having to choose between the paths of virtue and vice.[555] This image appears, for example on the title page of a work by an author known to both Dee and Khunrath, Gerard Dorn's *Lapis Metaphysicus, aut Philosophicus* (1570, Fig. 2.114).[556]

For Töllner this sign-post recalls Matthew 7:13–14 with its description of the narrow and broad paths of life,[557] and Khunrath's reflection on the way of Wisdom and Ovidian advice never to stray,

> from the centre of Theosophical truth, to the slippery circumference of worldly sophistries or diabolical lies. At the centre, truth; at the circumference, falsehood. Strive to be in the centre; for *in the middle is the safest path*.[558]

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553 Petrus Bonus, *Pretiosa Margarita Novella* (Venice, 1546), 125r 'sperma generat ex materia cor primo & primam virtutem in corde imprimit … cor potest de caetero generare alia membra omnia per virtutem primam'; 125v 'Et propter hoc in creatione apparet cor prius inter omnia alia membra in actu & manifestum est sensui & similiter rationi'.

554 Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy: Between Science and Religion* (2012), 81.

555 C.M.C. Green, *Roman Religion and the Cult of Diana at Aricia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 130.

556 See also Gerard Dorn, *Artificii Chymistici Physici, Metaphysicique, Secunda pars & Tertia* (Second and Third Parts of the Chymistical, Physical and Metaphysical Art, [Frankfurt], 1569).

557 Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 59–60.

558 *Amph.*II, 7 'Nec seducêris, per philosophiam & inanem fallaciam, à veritatis Theosophicæ centro, ad lubricam sophismatum mundanorum mendaciorumvè diabolicorum

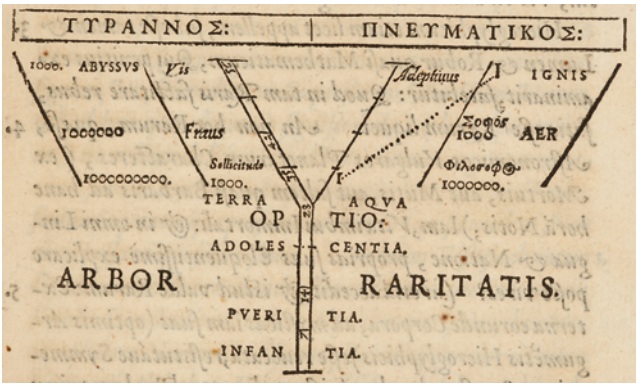


FIGURE 2.113 Dee, *Monas Hieroglyphica* (1564), 3. 'Arbor Raritatis' (Tree of Rarity). Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH1826 A



FIGURE 2.114 Dorn, *Lapis Metaphysicus* (1570), title page, detail with Pythagorean Y. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM O 61 9201 (3)

Khunrath returns to the same theme elsewhere, stating, for example, that to be 'on the worldly circumference is to lose oneself; [to be] in the Centre, that is GOD, [is] to find oneself, and discover GOD in oneself.'[559] In the text beneath the *Citadel* engraving he informs his readers that this approach to life is important for the Art, for knowing the Stone and its preparation, arguing that here he is

> graphically showing and orthodoxly demonstrating [its] FOUNDATION and legitimate USE and genuine FRUITS, by the narrow and central path of TRUTH; and the ABUSE of it [which has] arisen and its Followers, by the broad and circumferential way of FALSEHOOD.[560]

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circumferentiam. In centro, veritas: in circumferentia mendacium. Centralis esse studeto; nam *Medio tutissimus ibis.*' Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book II, l. 137 '*medio tutissimus ibis*', trans. Frank Justus Miller, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926; repr. 1999), 69 'In the middle is the safest path.' My italics.

559 *Amph.*II, 23 'In circumferentia mundana se ita amittere, est in Centro, hoc est, DEO se inuenire, DEVMque in se reperire.' See also *Amph.*II, 217 'procul à SAPIENTIÆ semitis deuiant, lineaque VERITATIS recta centrove VERI ad circumferentiam mendacii lubentes euagantur' (they stray far from the paths of WISDOM, and willingly wander from the straight line of TRUTH or the centre of TRUTH to the circumference of LIES).

560 *Citadel* engraving: '... FUNDAMENTVM VSVMque legitimum & FRVCTVS genuinos, semita VERITATIS angusta & centrali; ABVSVM ejusque ortum & Pedissequas, uia lata FALSITATIS atque circumferentiali, graphicè ostendens ac orthodoxè demonstrans.'

Bearing in mind Khunrath's theo-alchemical tendency to combine alchemy and religion,[561] a passage from Augustine's *De Trinitate* concerning the image of God may be appropriate here:

> By your gift we are set on fire and carried upwards; we grow red hot and ascend. We climb the *ascent of the heart* (Psalm 83:6) and sing *the song of steps* (Psalm 119:1). Lit by your fire, your good fire, we grow red-hot and ascend, as we move upwards to the peace of Jerusalem (Psalm 121:6).[562]

De Villiers has yet another worthwhile observation concerning this motif:

> At the bottom [the entrance] is as it were blocked by a heart that bears brambles and thorns with flowers, to show that one doesn't easily reach that which is well represented in this figure: by thorny and difficult paths one attains glory in the end.[563]

30 Changing Perspective

The *Alchemical Citadel* is a curious combination of bird's-eye view and single point perspective, for the adept moves from a fairly flat two-dimensional landscape outside into a more pronounced three-dimensional perspective within the *Citadel* itself; though it displays none of the skill of De Vries' work in the *Oratory-Laboratory*.[564] Here the angle of perspective and relative size of the objects varies so much from one side of the engraving to the other that there is little sense of naturalistic representation, far more of the picture being a tableau of symbolic images. Töllner and Szulakowska have both noted the mixture of a flat, map-like or aerial view on the outside of the *Citadel* and three-dimensionality at its centre.[565]

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561 On Augustine, see Chapter 3 on Khunrath's Theosophy; on his Theo-Alchemy, see Chapter 6.

562 Luigi Gioia, *The Theological Epistemology of Augustine's De Trinitate* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 258 'inardescimus et imus. ascendimus ascensiones in corde et cantamus canticum graduum. igne tuo, igne tuo bono inardescimus et imus.'

563 De Villiers, 'Commentaire sur l'*Amphithéâtre*', 523 'elle est comme bouchée d'un coeur qui porte des ronces et des espines auec des fleurs, pour monstrer que l'on n'arriue si facillement au bien representé en cette figure: par les chemins espineux et difficiles l'on arriue en fin à la gloire.'

564 See Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique*, 199 on the view of both the interior and exterior of the Treasure House in *Aurora Consurgens*.

565 Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 38; Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 125.

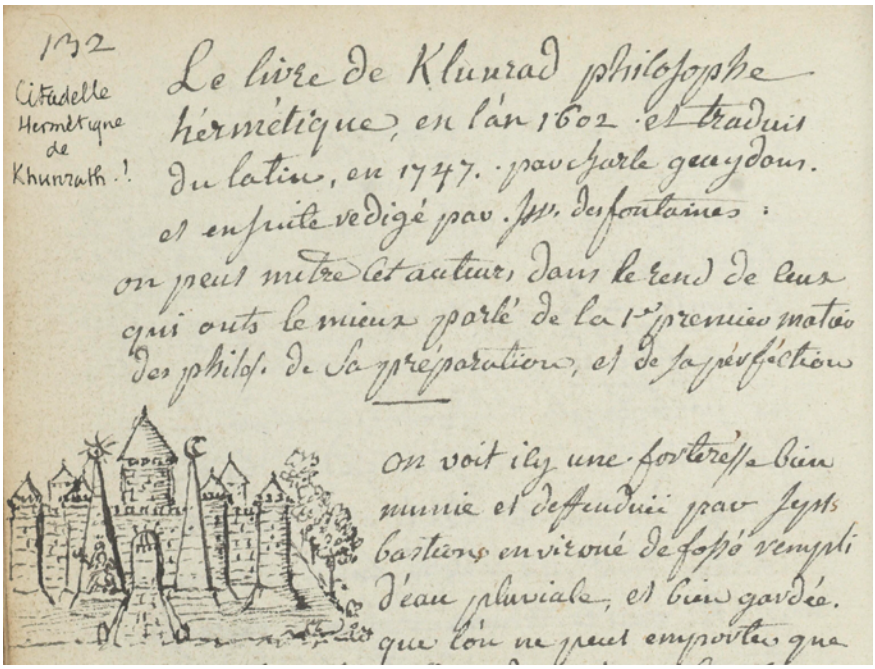


FIGURE 2.115 'Citadelle Hermétique de Khunrath', in Swibach des Fontaines, *La moëlle de la philosophie hermétique*, Ms. 4745/10, f. 132. The Wellcome Library, London

Khunrath's curious experiment with perspective evidently encouraged one of his readers to draw his own small relief version of the *Amphitheatre*'s 'Hermetic Citadel' (Fig. 2.115) in an eighteenth-century manuscript collection assembled by Swibach des Fontaines, titled 'The Marrow of Hermetic Philosophy', containing extracts from the works of 1. Flamel, 2. Arisleus, 3. Flamel, 4. Artephius, 5. Trevisanus, 6. J.B. von Hellwig, 7. Artephius, 8. W. Butler, 9. Geber, and, last but not least, 10. Khunrath.[566]

Since the outer part of the *Citadel* depicts a labyrinth of misleading laboratory practices and poorly chosen ingredients and the interior the attainment of the Philosophers' Stone, perhaps it is safer to simply suggest that there is the implication that Khunrath's alchemy entails a coordination of various levels of theory, practice, and the correct matter to create the Stone, as was

566 London, Wellcome Ms 4745/10, 'La moëlle de la philosophie hermétique,' ff. 132–150. This eighteenth-century collection begins with 'Le livre de N. Flamel contenant l'explication des figures et hyeroglyphes qu'il avait fait mettre au Cimetière des Innocens à Paris' and concludes with 'Le livre de Khunrad philosophe hermétique en l'an 1602, et traduit du latin en 1747 par Charles Gueydon, et ensuite rédigé par Sw[ibach] des Fontaines.' This is extracted from Khunrath's 'Amphitheatrum Sapientiae'. The second work attributed to Flamel is 'Le désir désirez'.

discussed above in the context of the movement from the two-dimensional representation of Circular Figures 1, 2, and 3 to their combination in the three-dimensionality of the *Oratory-Laboratory*.

Although the content of the *Citadel* is predominantly alchemical, one instance of the confluence of different aspects of Khunrath's theosophy would be the presence of four rivers in the centre of the *Citadel*, with the obvious allusion to Genesis 2:10–14 and the four rivers in the Garden of Eden, the first of which, Pison, 'compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold'.[567] Perhaps there is even a Kabbalistic reference, for in the Zohar, the female aspect of the godhead, the Shekhinah, is 'the foundation stone of the world', 'a point which is in the middle of the world, and the world expands from there, to the right and to the left, and upon all sides.'[568] Khunrath explicitly draws links between Wisdom, the motifs of rock and rivers, and the *Lapis* in a passage in the *Amphitheatre*:

> For WISDOM WAS, IS, AND WILL BE this solid, fixed and firm ROCK of truth, against which the gates of Hell have not and never will prevail;[569] out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water, John 7:38;[570] Whose real Type is the Philosophers' Stone in the great book of Nature.[571]

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567 Genesis 2:10–14 'And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads. The name of the first is Pison: that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold; And the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium and the onyx stone. And the name of the second river is Gihon: the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia. And the name of the third river is Hiddekel: that is it which goeth toward the east of Assyria. And the fourth river is Euphrates.' (KJV). Support for this can be found in Johann Philipp Maul (1662–1727), *Medicina Theologica, Chymico Irenica, & Christiano-Cabbalistica* (Wesel, 1713), 67 who interprets the four heads as 'the four common elements, which succesively denote the mutation of Chymical Matter' (4. vulgata Elementa, quae successivè mutationem Materiae Chymicae notant). For its relevance to alchemy, see Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique*, 90, 93, 96–7, where she also mentions that the four rivers signify the four elements. The first figure in Constantine of Pisa's *The Book of the Secrets of Alchemy* includes the four rivers of Eden. See Obrist, *Constantine of Pisa*, 44, 325. Another possible scriptural allusion could be to Ezekiel 28:13 'Thou hast been in Eden the garden of God; every precious stone was thy covering' (KJV).

568 Isaiah Tishby (ed.) and David Goldstein (trans.), *The Wisdom of the Zohar: An Anthology of Texts*, 3 vols. (London and Washington: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1994), Vol. 2, 552.

569 Matthew 16:18 'And I say to thee that: Thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.'

570 John 7:38 'He that believeth in me, as the scripture saith: Out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.'

571 *Amph.*II, 59 'FVIT enim, EST & ERIT SAPIENTIA hæc PETRA veritatis solida, fixa & firma; contra quam non præualuerunt nec præualebunt vnquam portæ inferni: flumina de



FIGURE 2.116 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Citadel*, detail: Dragon on Rock

In a similar vein, the large dragon – alchemically the beast that 'gives birth to itself, dissolves itself, congeals and makes black, white and red'[572] – perched on the rock dominating the centre of the engraving is an allusion to Christ (Fig. 2.116). Consider the popularity among alchemists of the account from Numbers 21:5–9 of Moses raising the brazen serpent on a pole or cross in the wilderness, which John 3:14 interprets as an adumbration of Christ being 'lifted up' on the Cross.[573] Here the dragon modifies the words of Christ from John 14:6 and reveals its significance: 'I the great ELIXIR am for you, the way, truth, and life,'[574] explaining that

> no-one can lay down any foundation for the Universal medicine, other than that which has been laid, which is the great and Natural symbolic Image of its great GOD and our Saviour, namely IHSVH CHRIST, in the great Book of Nature.[575]

As if this overlapping of biblical and alchemical imagery connecting Christ and the Stone weren't enough, Khunrath also includes obvious references to Wisdom. On the dragon's wings we see the words 'Longitudo dierum', 'Gloria',

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ventre eius fluent aquæ viuæ, Iohan.7,38. Cuius typus realis Lapis Phil[osophoru]m in libro Naturæ magno.'

572 Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique*, 154 concerning *Das Buch der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*.

573 John 3:14 'And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up.' See Nicholas Flammel, *His Exposition of the Hieroglyphicall Figures which he caused to bee painted upon an Arch in St. Innocents Church-yard, in Paris* (London, 1624) and the eighteenth-century manuscript of Denis Molinier in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 14765 «Habraham, juif, prince, prêtre, lévite, astrologue et philosophe, à la nation des Juif, répandue dans toute la Gaule, salut en nôtre Seigneur. – Livre des figures hiéroglifiques, avec l'explication des fables es poètes, des mistères du Christianisme, de l'alchimie de la pharmasie, suivant les nombres», Plate 4, facing f. 37. On Molinier, see Lennep, *Alchimie: contribution à l'histoire de l'art alchimique*, 142–3. See Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique*, 92 for the analogical linking of God and quicksilver; 153 for the association of Christ and the Dragon.

574 *Citadel* engraving: 'EGO ELIXEIR magnum uobis sum via, veritas & vita.' See John 14:6 'Jesus saith to him: I am the way, and the truth, and the life. No man cometh to the Father but by me.' See also *Amph.*II, 16, 21, 43.

575 *Citadel* engraving: 'Nam fundamentum Medicinæ vniversalis aliud nemo potest ponere, præter id quod positum est, quod magni illius DEI & Servatoris nostri, nempe IHSVH CHRISTI, in libro Naturæ magno Effigies symbolica, Naturalis & magna.' Here, as Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 48 observed, Khunrath is borrowing from 1 Corinthians 3:11 'fundamentum enim aliud nemo potest ponere praeter id quod positum est qui est Christus Jesus' (For other foundation no man can lay, but that which is laid; which is Christ Jesus).

and 'Sapientia' (Wisdom), alluding to Proverbs 3:16 'longitudo dierum in dextera eius in sinistra illius divitiae et gloria' (Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and glory). This is one of the 365 biblical verses in the *Amphitheatre* accompanied by Khunrath's theosophical reflections, which in this case are predominantly alchemical at the start, shading into Christian Cabala towards the end:

> *Length of days*] For by means of PHYSICAL-CHEMISTRY, (which in this age is the faithful attendant of true WISDOM, and as it were a lady of the bed-chamber with respect to Natural secrets), the MISTRESS benevolently gives the most wholesomely efficacious subtleties and precious Essences of Vegetables, Animals and their parts, Minerals, Stones, Gems, Pearls and Metals to the industrious son of the Discipline, and, moreover, the PHILOSOPHERS' STONE, truest Catholic Medicine of our restoration and preservation; from whose legitimately Medical use [comes] length of days. RICHES, assuredly, from the wonder-working power of the above-mentioned blessed catholic Stone, by which inferior Metals are really transformed, and most fruitfully transmuted both in essence and form, into superior, that is, into Silver and Gold. And lastly, GLORY, from the Christian-Cabalistically Divine use of the surpassingly-perfect Stone. See the fourth figure of this Amphitheatre. It should be observed that as much as the right is more worthy than the left, so health and a long lifespan should by far be preferred to monetary riches.[576]

31 The Calumniators

A feature that links the final rectangular engraving, the *Calumniators* (Fig. 2.117), with the *Citadel* is that they both emphasise the presence of

576 *Amph.*II, 163 '*Longitudo dierum*, &c.] Mediante enim PHYSICO-CHEMIA, (quæ SAPIENTIÆ veræ, in hoc seculo, pedissequa est fidelis, & virgo quasi Cubicularis à secretis Naturalibus) filio Disciplinæ industrio, DOMINA benignè largitur Vegetabilium, Animalium partiumque eorundum, Mineralium, Lapidum, Gemmarum, Margaritarum, & Metallorum Essentias prætiosas, subtilitatesque salutariter efficacissimas: imò, & LAPIDEM PHILOSOPHORVM, restaurationis ac conseruationis nostræ verissimam Medicinam Catholicam: ex quorum vsu legitimè Medico, longitudo dierum. DIVITIÆ verò, ex Lapidis catholici præfati benedicti vi mirifica, qua Metalla inferiora in superiora, hoc est, in Argentum & Aurum, reuera conuertuntur, & in esse & in forma fructuosissimè transmutantur. GLORIA denique, ex vsu Lapidis plusquamperfecti ChristianoCabalisticè Diuino. Vide figuram Amphitheatri huius quartam. Obseruandum: quò dextra dignior sinistrâ, eò longius præferendus diuitiis pecuniariis sanus & longæuus vitæ status.'



FIGURE 2.117 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Calumniators*. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

two particular human figures with banderoles of words issuing from their mouths.[577] The *Calumniators* can indeed be seen as a progression from the *Citadel*, in that while in the latter engraving our point of view is that of an outside spectator seeing them inside the *Citadel* (Fig. 2.118), here we are also insiders, together with the two figures surrounded by their (and hence our) enemies (Figs. 119 & 120).[578] Szulakowska identifies these two figures as an aca-

577 See the two figures flanking the entrance into the inner citadel. The one on the left: 'Fie the Devil! Jehovah willing' (Phy Diabolo! יהוה Uolente); right: 'God's Wisdom assisting, Halleluyah' (חכמה אל Adsistente הללויה).

578 See Schmidt-Biggemann, 'Einleitung: Johannes Reuchlin und die Anfänge der christlichen Kabbala,' 24 on the *Calumniators* as the enemies of Wisdom. Given Khunrath's frequent listing of human failings, these could also perhaps be seen as personifications of vices, similar to those encountered by the protagonist of Nazari's *Dreams*. See Greiner,

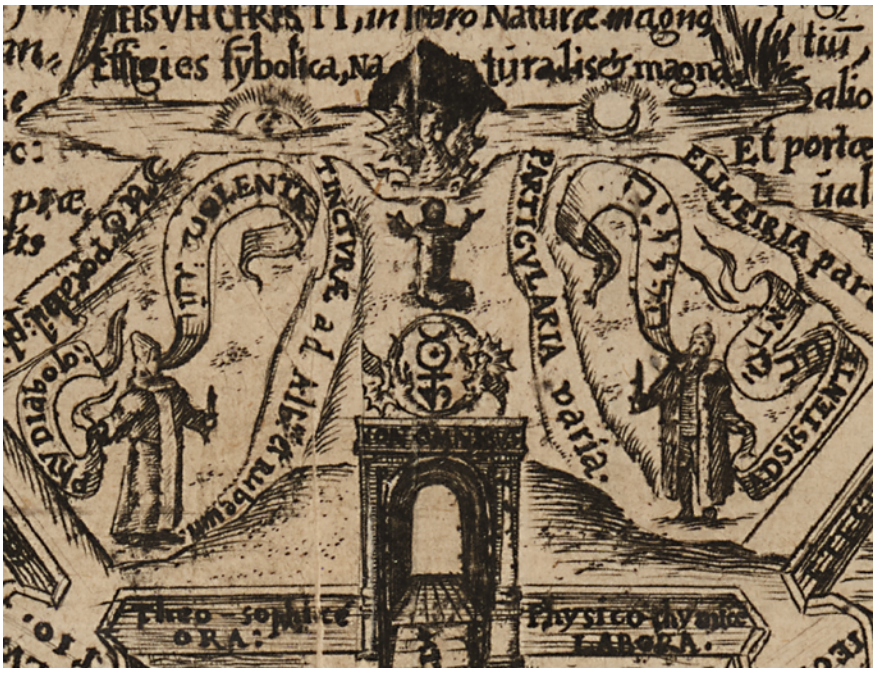


FIGURE 2.118 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Citadel*, detail of 2 figures. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

demic and a traveller.[579] Since the figure on the left speaks of seeking solace from detraction through prayer and the one on the right of assistance from God, Creator of heaven and earth,[580] perhaps the implication is that they respectively represent the *Amphitheatre*'s practices of Prayer and Work, echoing as they do the same left-right axis in the *Oratory-Laboratory*?

Although Szulakowska's suggestion that the first figure – pinning the snake to the ground with his geometrical dividers, so that it cannot attack his little dog – symbolises the triumph of wisdom inspired by the Holy Spirit over sophistry

'L'initiation alchimique de Giovan Battista Nazari', 14 where he lists 16 malaises, including somnolence, otiosity, negligence, lack of perseverance, laziness, lack of devotion, sadness, and despair.

579 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 140.

580 *Calumniators* engraving, left: 'Pro eo, ut me diligerent, detrahebant mihi; ego autem orabam'. Vulgate Psalm 108:4 'Instead of making me a return of love, they detracted me: but I gave myself to Prayer'; right: 'Auxilium meum à Jehovah, qui fecit celum et terram' (My help is from Jehovah, who made heaven and earth). Cf. Vulgate Psalm 120:2 'My help is from the Lord, who made heaven and earth.' See too *Amph.*II, 86.



FIGURE 2.119
Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Calumniators*, detail of the 'Cabalist'. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246



FIGURE 2.120
Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Calumniators*, detail of the 'Journeyman'. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

and the poisoned tongue of the serpent in Eden seems appropriate,[581] I would argue that he more specifically represents the theoretical considerations of supercelestial Cabala. The other figure – standing on a scorpion and menaced

581 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 143.



FIGURE 2.121 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Pyramid*, detail of the 'Journeyman'. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

by a snake – dressed in the worldly attire of a peripatetic scholar,[582] resembling that of the man standing by the Heart-Signpost, preparing to enter the *Citadel* (Fig. 2.111), or the journeyman riding past the *Pyramid* (Fig. 2.121), and who is here gazing at the rocks covered with alchemical symbols surrounded

582 Faivre, *Magie du Livre, Livres de Magie*, 14.

by flames, may be the physical-chemist and physician, concerned with more terrestrial (and celestial) practices.[583]

This interpretation receives support from the fact that in the *Citadel* the left-hand figure is behind a wall bearing the words 'Pray Theosophically', while the wall on the right urges 'Work Physico-Chemically'. These two figures in the *Calumniators* engraving, defending the 'Cave of Nature' (Antrum naturae), ultimately, of course, depict Khunrath in his two main active and contemplative theosophical modes. The fact that one figure is standing on the serpent and the other on a scorpion is doubtless an allusion to the words of Christ in Luke 10:19, 'Behold, I have given you power to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and upon all the power of the enemy: and nothing shall hurt you.'

The intended relation between the *Calumniators* and the *Citadel* was evidently apparent to Khunrath's contemporaries, as seen in a discussion of Paracelsian philosophy in Andreas Libavius's *Examen philosophiae novae* (*Swarm* [or *Examination*] *of New Philosophy*, 1615). There Libavius mentions first the *Calumniators* and then the *Citadel*:

> in the penultimate figure of the *Amphitheatre* Khunrath has set forth an image of the magistery in the centre; on the circumference he has represented various monstrous [images] of calumniators and accusers, as in the third [rectangular] figure or plate [he has set forth] the stances of sophists and false philosophers.[584]

While in the *Citadel* these two human figures are encircled by abstract, verbal examples of alchemical wrong-doing, in the *Calumniators* they are surrounded by personifications of various opponents of true wisdom. Here, if anywhere, we have a dramatisation of the gladiatorial aspect of Khunrath's amphitheatre.

As in the *Entrance* engraving, we find another quote from Book 6 of Virgil's *Aeneid*, serving as a useful title for the whole image, in the maxim 'Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito' (Do not yield to ills, but go forth

583 Szulakowska, 'Phy Diabolo! The Persecution of Heinrich Khunrath', 179–180 identifies them, respectively, as an academic and a traveller, speaking to 'two groups of masqueraders wearing either court or theatrical costume.'

584 Libavius, *Examen Philosophiae Novae* (1615), 105–6 'Ita *Kunrath* in penultima amphitheatri figura magisterij typum proposuit in medio: in ambitu varia monstra calumniantium, & criminantium repræsentavit, ut in figura seu tabula tertia falsorum Philosophorum, & Sophistarum Stationes …'. The 'third figure' in Libavius's copy of the *Amphitheatre* is presumably the *Citadel*.



FIGURE 2.122 Typoets, *Symbola divina et humana* (1600), title page. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna



FIGURE 2.123 Typoets, *Symbola*, Plate 23 'A.D.S.I.T.' Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna



FIGURE 2.124 Typoets, *Symbola*, Plate 24 'ADSIT'. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna



FIGURE 2.125 Typoets, *Symbola*, Plate 26 'ADSIT'. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna



FIGURE 2.126 Typoets, *Symbola*, Plate 25 'Tu ne cede malis'. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

to face them more boldly).[585] In 1600, the first volume of *Symbola Divina & Humana Pontificum, Imperatorum, Regum* (Divine and Human Symbols of Popes, Emperors and Kings), illustrated by Aegidius Sadeler (1570–1629), court engraver to Rudolf II, was published in Prague and it is interesting to note that four of the emblems for Rudolf relate to images in the *Amphitheatre*.[586] One of these features the Homeric image of the Chimera, defeated by Bellerophon, confronted by the Sword of Vengeance and Shield of Steadfastness within a cloud (Fig. 2.126), accompanied by the Virgilian advice found in Khunrath's *Calumniators* engraving: 'Do not yield to ills' ('Tu ne cede malis', Fig. 2.127).[587]

585 Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book VI, line 95.

586 Jacques Typoets, *Symbola divina et humana Pontificum, Imperatorum, Regum* (Prague, 1600–1603).

587 Plate 25, Symbol H. XXXVI G (right). Typoets, *Symbola divina et humana* (1601), XV^{v} explained as a symbol of the emperor against the Turks.



FIGURE 2.127 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Calumniators*, detail: 'Oh Heinrich Khunrath, Do not yield to ills, but go forth to face them more boldly'. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen

The other three images include the word 'Adsit', which appears on the left-hand obelisk of the *Amphitheatre*'s 1609 title page (which bears Rudolf's *privilegium* at the bottom), as well as in the table titled the 'Summary of the Amphitheatre'.[588] In *Symbola Divina* we find first the image of an eagle bearing an arrow, encircled by the words 'ADIUTORIUM · DOMINI · SIT · INIMICIS · TIMOR' (May the Lord's Assistance be Dread for Enemies, Fig. 2.123).[589] This phrase is the extended version of Rudolf's cryptogram 'ADSIT' (May he be present), which can be seen in two other symbola, in a scroll beneath an arrow-bearing eagle (Fig. 2.124),[590] and two pages later above a two-headed Habsburg eagle (Fig. 2.125).[591]

Szulakowska considers the *Calumniators* to be a 'bitter and extremely defensive' engraving.[592] It is true that Khunrath does state there that he is responding 'not offensively, but defensively, in Scripture and Picture'[593] – this defensive attitude was likely due to slurs that were uttered against some of

588 On which see Chapter 3 on Khunrath's Theosophy.

589 Soukup, *Chemie in Österreich*, Volume 1, 321. This interpretation can be found in Plate 23, Symbol H. XXXII G (right) in Typoets, *Symbola divina et humana*, as well as in Giovanni Ferro (1582–1630), *Teatro d'Imprese di Giovanni Ferro all'illustrissimo e reverendissimo Cardinal Barberino* (Venice, 1623), Vol. 1, [303] in relation to the Aquila (Eagle). In the 1601 *Isagoge* to the *Symbola* by the Flemish humanist and historian at the imperial court Jacobus Typotius (Jacques Typoets, 1540–1601), XV^{r} in relation to Symbol H. XXXVI G (right), on Plate 25, we find an alternative reading: 'A. Adjuvante. D. Domino. S. Superabo. I. Imperatorem. T. Turcarum' (With the Lord Helping, I will Conquer the Emperor of the Turks).

590 Plate 24, Symbol H. XXXIII. G. (left), Sadeler, *Symbola divina et humana*.

591 Plate 26, Symbol H. XXXIX. G. (right), Sadeler, *Symbola divina et humana*.

592 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 139.

593 *Calumniators* engraving: '& in Scriptura, & in Pictura, non Offensivé sed Defensivé'.



FIGURE 2.128 Rabelais, *Songes drolatiques* (1565), 41^{v} Charlatan or Juggler playing his instrument nose. Bibliothèque nationale de France



FIGURE 2.129 Rabelais, *Songes drolatiques* (1565), 7^{r} Jules II swarmed by flies. Bibliothèque nationale de France

the images from the 1595 edition, in particular Figure 3's image of the alchemical *Rebis*.[594] Nevertheless, the *Calumniators* displays a fair degree of sardonic humour in its mordant depiction of the opposition, some not so different in tone to those by François Desprez in François Rabelais's *Les songes drolatiques de Pantagruel* (The Drolatic Dreams of Pantagruel, 1565, Figs. 2.128 & 2.129).[595]

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594 See *Amph.*II, 147 '(MacroCosmicè, Lapidem Philosophorum. MicroCosmicè corporis humani partes: absit tamen calumnia de pristina figura reddenda)' (Macro-Cosmically, the Philosophers' Stone [and] Micro-Cosmically, the parts of the human body. Let, however, no slurs be uttered about the original figure).

595 Compare, for example, the figure in Khunrath's right-hand group, his head swarmed by flies, with image 7 of Jules II in Rabelais, *Les songes drolatiques de Pantagruel* (Paris, 1565), 7^{r}; described in the 1869 edition as a figure having a beehive-shaped tiara, swarmed by bees, with the speculation that the bees represent hard-working priests and monks who carry their loot back to the hive. A similar figure on (1565), 59^{v} is likewise described in (Paris: Chez les Bons Libraires, 1869), CX as the Warrior Pope (or Fearsome Pope) Julius II, having a cloud of bees and a vulcanic head buzzing with tumultuous ideas. Khunrath's bird-like figure with the trumpet beak, in the left-hand group, though far better dressed,

We also find elevated Stoic sentiments, such as the resolution not to stoop to slander, the calm resignation of Erasmus's *Adage* that it is impossible to please everyone,[596] and the self-possessed advice from Seneca's *Letters* that 'the insults of the ignorant should be listened to with equanimity.'[597]

Rather than maintain the naturalistic representation of the other rectangular engravings, here Khunrath moves from the eikastic to the fantastic,[598] exhibiting a mannerist delight in the claustrophobic piling-up and juxtaposition of objects and figures in unexpected poses in a confined space. Here he introduces mainly therianthropic figures of human beings with the heads of asses, oxen, foxes, rabbits and birds (seven figures standing on the left, five on the right; eight of which are animal-headed), to condemn the arguments and practices of 'fantasts',[599] resorting to imagery which has much in common with the otherworldly scenes of some of Rudolf II's favourite artists, Hieronymus Bosch (1450–1516), Pieter Brueghel the Elder (1525–1569) and Maerten de Vos (1532–1603), or the propagandist images of religious polemic.[600]

In the air (Fig. 2.130) we find the arch detractors and calumniators in the pestilential figures of the devil 'Deceitful' from Bosch's 'Haywain' (Fig. 2.131) and de Vos's 'Temptation of St Anthony' (Fig. 2.132),[601] together with Lucifer's chief lieutenant Beelzebub, conveniently identified as 'Lord of the Flies',[602]

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is not so different from Rabelais' figure (1565), 41^{v} named in the 1869 edition LXXIV, as a charlatan or juggler who is described as having a long nose like an elephant's trunk and pierced with holes, which he plays like a clarinet. For more on the images in Rabelais' work, see Walter S. Gibson, *Pieter Bruegel and the Art of Laughter* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), Chapter 2.

596 Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, Vol. 34, *Adages* II vii 1 to III iii 100, translated and annotated by R.A.B. Mynors (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1993), 27 Adage II vii 55 'Ne Jupiter quidem omnibus placet' (Even Jupiter does not please everybody).

597 *Calumnitators* engraving: '*Æquo animo audienda sunt imperitorum conuitia.*' See Seneca, *Epistles*, LXXVI.4, 149 'for one should listen in an unruffled spirit to the railings of the ignorant; when one is marching toward the goal of honour, one should scorn scorn itself.'

598 On these categories, see the section 'The Eikastic and the Phantastic' (298f) in James Biester, 'Fancy's Images: Wit, the Sublime and the Rise of Aestheticism', in Peter G. Platt (ed.), *Wonders, Marvels, and Monsters in Early Modern Culture* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999), 294–327.

599 *Amph.*II, 219 'Fürwahr ich mache die Narren tolle/und jage die Phantasten wider mich in Harnisch' (Truly I drive fools crazy, and drive the fantasts to take up arms against me).

600 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 140.

601 Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700*, compiled by Christiaan Schuckman and edited by D. de Hoop Scheffer (Amsterdam: Sound and Vision, 1995), Vol. XLVI, Maarten De Vos, 89. See also Walter Bosing, *Hieronymus Bosch, c. 1450–1516: Between Heaven and Hell* (Köln: Taschen, 2004), 47.

602 According to the Dutch physician, occult philosopher and demonologist Johann Weyer (1515–1588), *De Praestigiis Daemonum et Incantationibus ac Veneficiis* (On the Illusions



FIGURE 2.130 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Calumniators*, detail: 'Lord of the Flies', Devil 'Deceitful', and the 'Chief of the Diabologues'. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

urging on his cohorts in their attack of Khunrath with the words, 'Beloved Faithful, boldly slander, something always sticks; do not spare the TRUTH. LET US ANNIHILATE.'[603] The 'Chief of the Diabologues' (Praeceptor diabologorum) or master of the pseudo-theologians,[604] wearing what appears to be the large-brimmed flat hat of a cardinal,[605] hurls curses at Khunrath's joint defenders of Truth, with the words 'He blasphemes; let him be anathema, maran-atha'.[606]

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of Demons and on Spells and Poisons, Basel, 1563), Beelzebub is the chief lieutenant of Lucifer, who is the emperor of Hell, and presides over the "Order of the Fly." See George Mora (ed.), *Witches, devils, and doctors in the Renaissance: Johann Weyer, De praestigiis daemonum*, translated by John Shea (Tempe, Arizona: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998). Wier, *De praestigiis Daemonum* (1566), vol. 1, 40.

603 *Calumniators* engraving: 'Beelzebvb princeps muscarum: "Fideles dilecti, Calumniamini audacter, semper aliquid hæret: nec parcite ueritati. annihilemvs".' Cf. Paracelsus, *Philosophia De Limbo Aeterno* (1618), Vorrede, Aij[r] 'Calumniare audacter; semper aliquid haeret'.

604 Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', 343–4.

605 On devils as detractors and calumniators, see [Peter de Loier], *A Treatise of Specters or straunge Sights, Visions and Apparitions appearing sensibly vnto men. Wherein is delivered, the Nature of Spirites, Angels, and Divels: their power and properties: as also of Witches, Sorcerors, Enchanters and such like* (London, 1605), 7 'They are also tearmed by the Greekes, *Daemones* and *Diaboli: Daemones*, because they bring feare unto men, and *Diaboli*, because they are Detractours, Lyers, & slaunderers: which the Hebrewes doe expresse also in their Language, by the Name of *Satanim*: which in the vulgar Translation, is translated, *Diuels, Calumniators*, and *enemies*.'

606 Cf. 1 Corinthians 16:22 'If any man love not our Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema, maran-atha.' See also *Le Livre des Figures Hieroglifiques de Nicolas Flamel Escrivain*, in *Philosophie Naturelle de Trois Anciens Philosophes Renommez Artephius, Flamel, &*



FIGURE 2.131 Bosch, *The Haywain Triptych* 1512–1515. Central panel, detail: Devil 'Deceitful'. © Photographic Archive Museo Nacional del Prado



FIGURE 2.132 De Vos, 'Temptation of St Anthony' (1594), detail: the Devil 'Deceitful'. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp

Behind the Diabologist-in-Chief flies a creature bearing the words 'Linguae Veneno' (With the Tongue's Venom, Fig. 2.133), representing the poison tongue of Calumny,[607] a motif familiar from the *Devises Heroiques* (Heroic Devices, 1557) of Claude Paradin (Fig. 2.134),[608] as well as in Gabriel Rollenhagen's *Nucleus Emblematum* (Nucleus of Emblems, 1605, Fig. 2.135).[609]

Synesius, Traitant de l'Art occulte, & de la Transmutation metallique (Paris, 1682), 45–88, at 48–49 'Au premier des feuillets, il y avoit escrit en Lettres grosses capitales dorées. ABRAHAM LE IVIF, PRINCE, PRESTRE LEVITE, ASTROLOGVE, ET PHILOSOPHE, A LA GENT DES IVIFS PAR L'IRE DE DIEV, DISPERSEE AVX GAVLES, SALVT. D. I. Apres cela il estoit remply de grandes execrations & maledictions, (avec ce mot, MARANATHA, qui y estoit souvent repeté,) contre toute personne qui ietteroit les yeux sur iceluy, s'il n'estoit Sacrificateur ou Scribe.' See also R. Abraham Eleazar, *Uraltes Chymisches Werck* (Erfurt, 1735), Vorrede)( )(ᵛ … 7 'beschenen Mißbrauch des Apostolischen Fluches 1. Cor. XVI.22. μαραναθα, …'; 7 'Darum komme das Maranatha über alle diejenigen, so dieses Buch in die Hände bekommen, denen es nicht gehöret. Maranatha müsse sie verfinstern und umbringen.' *Pace* Szulakowska, *The Sacrificial Body and the Day of Doom*, 60 but the figure is less likely to be, as she suggests, a blasphemer, but is rather accusing Khunrath of blasphemy, as was the case with the Sorbonne's censure of the *Amphitheatre* in 1625.

607 *Calumniators* subscript: 'Linguae Veneno calumniosae' (with the Venom of the Calumnious Tongue).

608 Claude Paradin, *Devises Heroiques* (Lyon, 1557), 68ᵛ has the motto 'Quo tendis' (Where are you going?).

609 Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus Emblematum* (Cologne, 1605), 42 has 'Lingua quo Tendis' (Tongue, where are you going?).



FIGURE 2.133
Khunrath, *Calumniators*, detail: the Venomous Tongue. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246



FIGURE 2.134
Paradin, *Heroica Symbola* (1563), 68v. 'Quo tendis?' Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM OK 63-5326



FIGURE 2.135 Rollenhagen, *Nucleus Emblematum* (1605), 42 'Lingua quo tendis'. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM O 69-56 (1,3)

These figures are most likely the 'defamatory drones of the Devil' (verleumbderischen Teufelshummeln), mentioned in the margin of the engraving, the 'arrogant Beelzebubian drones' and 'Sophistic drones', that is, the 'heretical' Scholastic Philosophers whom Khunrath excoriates in Paracelsian fashion in *Magnesia* (1599).[610]

More than any other engraving, the *Calumniators* appears to be representative of what Michael Bath in the context of emblems calls 'agglomerations of topoi, a *bricolage* of received ideas', appealing to a learned audience that will appreciate the collection of associations from a wide variety of sources.[611] Far from being a loose and arbitrary grouping of images, however, this engraving, perhaps more so even than the fourth circular figure of the *Oratory-Laboratory*, serves as the summation of the *Amphitheatre*; indeed with all its references to alchemy, magic, cabala, Stoic philosophy, and theology in both word and picture, along with its ridiculing of vicious opponents, as shall be discussed in more detail below, the *Calumniators* serves as a visual and verbal index to the whole of Khunrath's work.[612]

32 The Bespectacled Owl

Careful examination of the *Amphitheatre*'s engravings discovers a variety of birds, each open to symbolic interpretation. Circular Figure 1 has the Phoenix of resurrection and rebirth and Circular Figure 3 the composite Bird of Hermes; the *Entrance* has an owl in a hole in the bole of a tree on the right and a hoopoe, messenger between Solomon and Sheba, on the far left;[613] and the *School*

610 R.W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 232–3. See Khunrath's references to swarms of bees in *Magnesia*, 24 'Trotzigen Beelzebubischen Hummelschwarm'; 31 'unHimlischen schmehhummeln'; 64 'Ja/ Sie bleibets auch wol/ für der Sophisten Hummel-schwarm; sie mögen darkegen sommen/ brommen/ schreyen/ kurren/ murren/ purren/ sacramenten/ schenden und lestern/ wie sie wollen.'

611 Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, 108.

612 An idea inspired by Sandra Hindman cit. Russell, *Emblematic Structures in Renaissance French Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 22.

613 Koran, Sura 27. Ali Asani, '"Oh that I could be a bird and fly, I would rush to the Beloved": *Birds in Islamic Mystical Poetry*,' in Paul Waldau and Kimberley Patton (eds.), *A Communion of Subjects: Animals in Religion, Science, and Ethics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 170–175, at 172. For the hoopoe's link with Gabriel, Archangel of Revelation, see Evans Lansing Smith, *The Hero Journey in Literature: Parables of Poesis* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1997), 158; Jules Janssens, 'The Ikhwan as-Safa



FIGURE 2.136 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), Khunrath's Owl. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

of Nature and *Pyramid* both have Swans, indicative of the white *albedo* stage of the alchemical opus.[614] Not to be neglected is the curious engraving of a bespectacled owl (Fig. 2.136), which also appears in other works by Khunrath, including *On Primaterial Chaos* (1597), with the rather ambiguous question, 'What's the point of Torches, Lights or Glasses if people don't want to see?'[615] Seen in isolation, it is unclear whether the owl is the subject or object of the inquisition, for as the totemic bird of the goddess Athena-Minerva, who appears at the foot of Khunrath's *Portrait* engraving, the owl symbolises wisdom, the ability to see what others cannot see. On the other hand, the owl is also ridiculed as the bird that cannot see in the clear light of day and as such a symbol of blindness, particularly blindness to faith.[616] In a short prayer, Khunrath comments on the general inability of most people to see the light of Wisdom:

> The world is a night-owl [with regard] to this Light. O eternal Light from Light eternal, illumine (I beg you) my mind with a ray of your Divine Light; may you shine, I pray, in my Micro-Cosmic temple of Minerva, so that I might know you in myself and myself in you, in the only true ETERNAL WISDOM, Amen.[617]

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on King-Prophet Solomon', in Joseph Verheyden (ed.), *The Figure of Solomon in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Tradition: King, Sage, and Architect* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 241–253, at 250.

614 Pernety, *Dictionnaire mytho-hermétique* (1758), 102: 'Cygne. Oiseau dont le plumage est d'une blancheur éblouissante … Les Philosophes Hermétiques l'ont très-souvent pris pour le symbole de leur matiere parvenue au blanc' (Swan. Bird whose plumage is of a dazzling whiteness … The Hermetic Philosophers have frequently taken it for the symbol of their matter having reached the white).

615 *Owl* engraving: 'Was helffen Fakeln, Licht oder Briln, so die Leut nicht sehen wollen.' A variant is found in Alexander Glitsch, *Das Archiv und die Bibliothek der Brüder-Unität in Herrnhut* (Herrnhut, 1878), "Was helfen Fackeln, Licht und Brill, da das Geschlecht nicht sehen will." Another variant is listed as a 'Bremisches Sprichwort' in Heinrich Karl Wilhelm Berghaus, *Der Sprachschatz der Sassen* (Berlin: Eisenschmidt, 1883), Vol. I–N 'De nig se'en will, dem helpt nog Kars nog Brill: Was helfen Fackeln, Licht und Brille dem, der mit Absicht nicht sehen will?'

616 Deischer and Rabinowitz, 'The Owl of Heinrich Khunrath: Its Origin and Significance', 244. Zadrobílek (ed.), *Opus Magnum*, 94–5. Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique*, 185 mentions one illustration that shows Moses holding an owl in his hand, symbol of the blind Jews.

617 *Amph.*II, 34 'Mundus noctua ad Lucem hanc. O Lumen de Lumine æterno æternum, illumina (quæso) mentem meam radio Lucis tuæ Diuinæ, luceas, oro, in Mineruae templo Micro-Cosmico meo, vt cognoscam te in me, & me in te, in SAPIENTIA ÆTERNA, sola



FIGURE 2.137 Maier, *Jocus Severus* (1617), title page, detail of birds. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, BPH O 594

Khunrath's slighly younger contemporary, Michael Maier published *Jocus Severus* (A Harsh Joke, 1617, Fig. 2.137), the allegorical account of a tribunal of birds set up to judge the 'Night owl' (Noctua), associated with the goddess of wisdom, which is criticised and ridiculed for its day-light blindness, its unmusical voice, etc, but vindicated by the Hawk, its advocate, and the Phoenix, who acts as judge. In a similar way to how many alchemists write that 'the Stone is not a Stone' (Lapis non lapis), Maier explains that 'the *Night Owl* is not an owl, but (speaking of worldly things) is the art of arts and the science of sciences, CHEMISTRY, which is daily condemned by men in various ways, afflicted with insults and castigated with reproofs … It is called *Night Owl*, because it lives in the darkness, and is acquired with many night-time labours.'[618]

Khunrath's owl first appeared in *On Primaterial Chaos* (1597), again in *Magnesia* (1599); then in his *Bericht vom Medicinalischen Brauch und Nutzen Aquae Sanitatis* (1603); it reappears in some copies of the *Amphitheatre* (1608 & 1609), later in a reprint of *Chaos* in 1708, with a longer fourteen-line poem,

vera, Amen'. See *Amph.*II, 99 for an additional reference to the Micro-Cosmic temple of Minerva.

618 Michael Maier, *Jocus Severus* (Frankfurt, 1617), 4 '*Noctua* non noctua, sed (de mundanis loquendo) ars artium & scientia scientiarum, CHEMIA, quae à diverso hominum genere quotidie accusatur, contumeliis afficitur & convitiis proscinditur … *Noctua* dicitur, quia in tenebris vivit, multisque noctium laboribus acquiritur …'.

and then again in another edition of *Chaos* in 1786 with a slightly different poem.[619] Here is the poem from the 1708 edition:

Was helffen Fackeln, Licht und Brillen,	What's the point of Torches, Light and Glasses
Weil jedermann nach seinem Willen	Since each according to his will
In der Chymia ängstlich sucht,	Anxiously seeks in Chymistry
Dass ihm das Hertz im Leibe pucht!	That which sets the Heart all a quiver.
Er suchet zwar die creutz und quer,	He seeks indeed the cross and crosswise
Alleine Nichts das findet er,	Only he finds Nothing there.
Und setzte er auf alle *Brillen*,	And even if he puts on all *Eyeglasses*,
Weil er nur thut nach seinem Willen,	Since he only follows his own will,
So wird er doch nicht treffen an	Then he will not meet
Die Wahrheit, so erfreuen kan,	The Truth, that can delight,
Versuchs, und lis das mit Verstand,	Try it, and leave it with Reason,
Und tapp nicht blindlings nach der Wand,	And grope not blindly along the Wall,
Gebrauch recht Fackeln, Licht und Brillen,	Rightly use Torch, Light and Glasses,
So wird Gott deinen Wunsch erfüllen.	And God will grant your wish.

Khunrath's owl seems to have become a popular image, for in the seventeenth century we find it being adapted in the *Selectorum Emblematum Centuria Secunda* (Second Century of Select Emblems, 1613), the second volume of the *Nucleus Emblematum* of Gabriel Rollenhagen (1583–1619) who lived, like Khunrath, in Magdeburg.[620] There the owl is portrayed in a negative light, with the words 'Coecus nil luce iuvatur' (A blindman isn't helped by any light, Fig. 2.138). *La science du plomb sacré des sages, ou de l'Antimoine* (Knowledge

619 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1786), 323–4. See Bouman and Van Heertum (eds.), *Divine Wisdom, Divine Nature*, 97.

620 Stephen L. Wailes, *The Rich Man and Lazarus on the Reformation Stage: A Contribution to the Social History of German Drama* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 1997), 236. Rollenhagen, *Nucleus Emblematum* (Utrecht, 1613), vol. 2, Emblem 95 for the owl. See sig. D^{r} for a verse explaining the image: 'Cil qui ne peut, ou veut voir d'une ame rebelle/ Les saints enseignemens de Dieu & des Sçavans/ Ressemble au lourd Hybou, a qui lon perd son temps/ De vouloir faire voir en plein jour la chandelle.' See also Rollenhagen, *Nucleus emblematum* (Cologne, 1611), Emblem 42 on 'Lingua qua tendis' against garrulity.



FIGURE 2.138 Rollenhagen, *Nucleus Emblematum* (1613), 95 Khunrath's Owl. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM O 69-56 (1,3)



FIGURE 2.139 Chartier, *La science du plomb sacré des sages, ou de l'Antimoine* (1651), title page. Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de santé (Paris)

of the Sacred Lead of the Wise, or Antimony, 1651, Fig. 2.139) by Jean Chartier (1610–1662), member of the Parisian Medical Faculty and professor of medicine at the Collège Royal, includes a version of Khunrath's owl on the title page.[621]

In the following century, variants also appear in Anonymus von Schwartzfuss's *Brunnen der Weisheit und Erkänntniss der Natur* (Fountain of Wisdom and Knowledge of Nature, 1767),[622] being reprinted in *Die 7 heiligen Grundsäulen*

621 Debus, *The French Paracelsians*, 95–96.

622 Deischer and Rabinowitz, 'The Owl of Heinrich Khunrath', 248. Anonymus von Schwartzfuss, *Brunnen der Weisheit und Erkänntniss der Natur* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1767), 47. It is the fourth tract in *Fünff curieuse chymische Tractätlein* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1767). The third tract, Johann de Monte Raphaim's *Vorbothe, der am Philosophischen Himmel hervor brechenden Morgen-Röthe*, has a frontispiece that incorporates the centre of Circular Figure 3, surmounted by a winged figure of Mercury. The fifth tract, Johannes Fridericus Helvetius's *Vitulus Aureus*, 37 has a plate containing 'coins' with phrases taken from Khunrath's *Amphitheatre*. For more on this, *vide infra*, Epilogue.



FIGURE 2.140 Anonymus von Schwartzfuss's Owl, reprinted in AdaMah Booz's *Die 7 heiligen Grundsäulen der Ewigkeit und Zeit in Sinnbildern* (1783), Sig. C4r. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH1247 C



FIGURE 2.141 Hans von Osten's *Eine grosse Herzstärkung für die Chymisten* (1711), Owl frontispiece. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH2040 B

der Ewigkeit und Zeit in Sinnbildern (Seven Sacred Pillars of Eternity and Time in Symbolic Pictures, 1783, Fig. 2.140) of AdaMah Booz (pseudonym of Adam Michael Birkholz, 1746–1818),[623] and in Hans von Osten's *Eine grosse Herzstärkung für die Chymisten* (Great Heart-Tonic for the Chymist, 1771, Fig. 2.141).[624]

623 Anonymus von Schwarzfuss, *Brunnen der Weisheit und Erkenntniß der Natur*, 39.

624 Hans von Osten, *Eine grosse Herzstärkung für die Chymisten* (Berlin, 1771), Frontispiece with the sun shining in the background and the variant text: 'Du siehst bey Fackeln, Brillen, Licht/ Und bey der hellen Sonne nicht.' See Deischer and Rabinowitz, 'The Owl of Heinrich Khunrath', 249.



FIGURE 2.142 Bonacina, *Compendiolum de praeparatione auri potabilis veri* (*c.*1790), f. 77v. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library



FIGURE 2.143 *Alchemical and Rosicrucian Compendium* (*c.*1760), between f. 101/102. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library

Manuscript versions can also be found, a particularly beautiful example in a copy of Marcus Bonacina's *Compendiolum de praeparatione auri potabilis veri* (A Little Compendium on the preparation of true potable gold) in Yale's Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Mellon Ms 131 (*c.*1790, Fig. 2.142); which also contains an image of a praying figure with the words 'Ora et labora'.[625] An *Alchemical and Rosicrucian Compendium* in Yale's Mellon

625 Yale Mellon Ms. 131, *Philosophia hermetica Compendiolum de praeparatione auri potabilis veri* [ca. 1790], 77v owl in tree wearing glasses and holding torches, Figura prima, caput IV; see also f. 85v Figura Quinta 'Ora et labora, sustine et abstine' – 'Per elementorum conversionem Ternarius purificatus fit Monas'. On the printed and manuscript versions of the *Compendiolum*, see Ivo Purš, 'Das alchemistische Traktat des Marcus Eugenius Bonacina von 1616 über Trinkgold', *Studia Rudolphina* 8 (2008): 77–90, at 83, Fig. 6; 84, Fig. 8. MS. Skeny XI C 42 and MS. Skeny XI H 61. Marcus Eugenius Bonacina, *Compendiolum de praeparatione auri potabilis veri* (Olomouc, 1616), 57. See also Purš and Karpenko, 'Alchemy at the Aristocratic Courts of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown', 91.

Ms 110 (*c.*1760, Fig. 2.143) contains a humorous drawing that includes a variant of Khunrath's owl with two other myopic creatures, a mole and a bat, all peering at the heavens through various lenses.[626] An accompanying reference to Revelation 16:13–14 leaves no doubt that here they should all be regarded in a negative light: 'And I saw from the mouth of the dragon, and from the mouth of the beast, and from the mouth of the false prophet, three unclean spirits like frogs. For they are the spirits of devils working signs, and they go forth unto the kings of the whole earth, to gather them to battle against the great day of the Almighty God.'[627]

33 The Sequence of the Images

Although there is a clear sequence for the circular engravings in the 1595 *Amphitheatre* (1. *Christ-Cruciform*; 2. *Adam-Androgyne*; 3. *Rebis*; 4. *Oratory-Laboratory*), no two surviving copies of the 1609 *Amphitheatre* appear to have been bound with the same format, many in fact lack the full complement of images, and there are no internal indications of whether any formal sequence was ever intended for the full set of engravings, nor any clear set of names for the images.[628] Indeed, there seems to have been confusion about this at the very time of printing, for on the final page of the 1609 edition the publisher Wilhelm Anton adds an apologetic note 'To the Candid Reader':

> At the end of the exposition of each step, candid Reader, by error these words crept in: 'Let the figure of the first, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, seventh step be inserted'. For the individual steps do not have specific figures, but the Amphitheatre itself consists of its figures, and has their Introductions, which I wished to tell you, lest you think that anything of the work was missing.[629]

626 Yale Mellon Ms. 110 *Alchemical and Rosicrucian Compendium*.

627 Illustration facing f. 102^{r}. Translation from Douay-Rheims 1899.

628 Eco, *Lo Strano Caso*, 37–8.

629 *Amph.*11, 223 '*In calce expositionum cuiuslibet gradus, candide Lector, per errorem irrepserunt hæc uerba*; Inseratur figura primi 2.3.4.5.6. septimi gradus. *Nec enim singuli gradus singulas habent figuras. Sed Amphitheatrum ipsum suis constat figuris, & suas habet Introductiones, quod te monere uolui, ne operi deesse aliquid putes.*' See Eco, *Lo Strano Caso*, in Eco, *La Memoria Vegetale e Altri Scritti di Bibliofilia* (Milan: Bompiani, 2011), 104 where Eco comments that the cause of the error and errata remains a mystery: why would the editor imagine that he had to insert seven figures, when the figures are either four (circular) or five (rectangular), or all together nine, or ten if you include the owl, or eight if one

While woodcuts could be printed concurrently with movable type in one process on the same hand press, copperplate engravings had to be printed separately on a rolling press, which squeezed plate and paper more firmly together.[630] Khunrath's engravings are not numbered and since early modern publishers sold text as unbound quires and the engravings would have been provided as a suite of unbound prints, it is hardly suprising that the individual book-binder or the person commissioning the binding might be puzzled as to where to place the engravings. It is unusual, nevertheless, to find such a wide diversity of sequences.

Umberto Eco has discussed the possible intended series of images, including examples of twelve different sequences, as well as providing a useful discussion of the many phantom editions appearing in bibliographies over the centuries. Eco's favoured sequence (Table 2.2) seems a perfectly satisfactory order, as his positioning of the *School*, *Pyramid*, and *Entrance* in the sequence is at least supported by the respective heights of the sun in each successive engraving.[631]

Comparison of two copies of the rare 1608 edition (Table 2.3) shows that even that edition had the engravings bound in a different sequence. The Wolfenbüttel copy has all engravings bound near the end of the book, between the end of Step VII and the Isagoges to the four circular figures, and then the Epilogue.[632]

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leaves out the table of the enemies and owl? whichever way you calculate it, you don't arrive at seven.

630 John H. Astington, 'Visual Texts: Thomas Middleton and Prints', in Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (eds.), *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 226–246, at 228.

631 See Eco, *Lo Strano Caso*, 18, 27. See too Moller, *Cimbria Literata*, 440 who provides a long list of bibliographic works which include chimerical editions. Cf. Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 1 who provides titles for the engravings as 'Der Prolog, Die Schule der Natur, Die Tabula Smaragdina, Khunraths Pentakel, Die alchemistische Festung, Der Stein der Weisen, Der erneuerte Mensch, Der gekreuzigte Christus, Das Laboratorium-Oratorium.' See also De Bruijn, *Book Building*, 372 where he provides 12 sequences listed by Eco, plus 9 sequences from copies of the 1608, 1609 and 1653 editions in collections in the UK (Wellcome, British Library, Bodleian), Amsterdam (Ritman), and Basel.

632 Carl Jung's 1609 copy also has most engravings, except for the title page and *Portrait*, bound at the end: *Calumniators, School, Oratory-Laboratory, Rebis, Adam-Androgyne, Christ Cruciform, Entrance, Citadel, Pyramid, Owl.*

TABLE 2.2 Examples of sequences of the engravings in different copies

	Eco	**Töllner**	**Klossowski de Rola**	**Schmidt-Biggemann**
1	Title Page	–	Title Page	–
2	Portrait	–	Portrait	–
3	School	Owl	Oratory-Laboratory	Christ
4	Pyramid	Entrance	School	Adam
5	Citadel	School	Citadel	Rebis
6	Entrance	Pyramid	Pyramid	Oratory-Laboratory
7	Calumniators	Calumniators	Calumniators	Calumniators
8	Christ	Citadel	Entrance	Citadel
9	Adam	Christ	Christ	School
10	Rebis	Adam	Rebis	Pyramid
11	Oratory-Laboratory	Rebis	Adam	Entrance
12	Owl	Oratory-Laboratory	–	–

TABLE 2.3 Comparison of the sequence of engravings in two 1608 copies

	Wolfenbüttel 1608	**Ritman 1608**
1	1609 Title Page	1609 Title Page
2	Portrait	Portrait
3	School	School
4	Pyramid	Pyramid
5	Entrance	Citadel
6	Christ	Entrance
7	Adam	Christ
8	Rebis	Adam
9	Oratory-Laboratory	Rebis
10	Citadel	Oratory-Laboratory
11	Calumniators	Calumniators
12	Owl	Owl

34 Interconnections and Correspondences

Despite the uncertainty regarding any intended sequence, what is clear is that many interconnections and correspondences can be found between the engravings, some of which have already been mentioned in relation to the original 1595 series of four circular "Theosophical" figures.

Although Khunrath gives no explicit indication of links between the circular and rectangular engravings, the very fact that the same 'seven oracular Laws' from Reuchlin's Christian Cabalist *De verbo mirifico* (1494) appear in both the *Isagoge* to Circular Figures 1 and 2 and the rectangular *Entrance* engraving implies a conceptual link between them. A relation is implied, too, between Circular Figure 4 of the *Oratory-Laboratory*, the *School of Nature* and the *Alchemical Citadel* by the repetition of the kneeling figure of the adept in cruciform posture, while another appears standing at the far end of the cave tunnel in the *Entrance*.[633] The two postures respectively represent, perhaps, following Tertullian, humility and penitence on the one hand and joy and confidence on the other,[634] and clearly emphasise the transcendent theosophical motivation underlying Khunrath's activities. As has been suggested and will be discussed in more detail when we address the question of 'spiritual alchemy' in Chapter 6, the image of the Christian-Cabalist androgynous *Adam* in Figure 2 is clearly intended to mirror the hermaphroditic alchemical *Rebis* in Figure 3, relating as they do to the perfection of the microcosm and macrocosm. The Solar-Lunar nature of the *Rebis* is undoubtedly echoed in the presence of the Sun and Moon atop the obelisks in the *Citadel*.

In a similar way, the pentagram of five large flames with the Hebrew letters יהשוה YHSVH of the Christian-Cabalist Name for Christ in Circular Figure 1 (Fig. 2.144) reappears in the *Calumniators* along with the letter 'S' superimposed on a cross (Fig. 2.145) found in the *Entrance* engraving, which in its turn contains the Greek word MYΣTHPION [*Mystērion* – Mystery] (Fig. 2.146) that appears on the drawbridge into the *Alchemical Citadel* (Fig. 2.147). This latter engraving could be argued to be a counterpart to Circular Figure 1 in that the

633 Hallacker, 'Das Bild-Text-Verhältnis in Heinrich Khunraths *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae*,' 38 discerns a link in their pictorial conception between *Entrance* and *Pyramid*.

634 See Tertullian, *De Corona* 3; *De Oratione* 23. L. Edward Phillips, 'Prayer in the First Four Centuries A.D.', in Roy Hammerling (ed.), *A History of Prayer: The First to the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 31–58, at 48ff. See also Introduction, 11 *Prayerful Postures*. Believers pray while kneeling (Acts 20:36), standing … with hands lifted upward toward God (1 Timothy 2:8; Origen, *De Oratione* 32.2f); *Crosfigel* (i.e., standing with their arms stretched out to their sides so that their body was in the shape of a cross).



FIGURE 2.144
Christ Cruciform, detail of fiery pentagram. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246



FIGURE 2.145
Calumniators, detail of pentacle and 'S'. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246



FIGURE 2.146
Entrance, detail of 'S' and *Mystērion*. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246



FIGURE 2.147
Citadel, detail of *Mystērion*. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

1602 rectangular engraving features the Philosophers' Stone as the Son of the Macrocosm at the centre of the terrestrial world, while the 1595 circular figure presents Christ as the Son of the Microcosm at the centre of Creation.

Another link between the *Oratory-Laboratory* and the *Calumniators*, which I would argue respectively represent the synopses of the two sets of circular and rectangular engravings, and the *Citadel*, is that they all contain characters or 'hieroglyphs' for alchemical substances, which were a relatively new

development in the history of printing.[635] These interconnections between the various engravings very much conform to Khunrath's belief in the reciprocity of the three Books of Scripture, Man, and Nature.[636]

35 Khunrath's Dog

The one motif that runs through all the rectangular "Hieroglyphic" Figures, together with the *Portrait*, is the image of Khunrath's dog (Figs. 2.148–2.153), most often curled up on the ground while his master is engaged in prayer or conversation, attentively regarding the reader in the *Portrait* (Fig. 2.148); bounding enthusiastically towards the entrance of the *Citadel* (Fig. 2.152). While this could well be a genuine image of Khunrath's canine companion,[637] it is likely that it also emblematic of fidelity, in particular his Christian faith; possibly even a symbol of Mercury.[638]

635 Khunrath's engravings represent some of the earliest images to include multiple alchemical hieroglyphs, rather than simply the common symbols for Mercury, Sulphur and Salt. See Maurice P. Crosland, *Historical Studies in the Language of Chemistry* (London: Heinemann, 1962; reprint New York: Dover Publications, 2004), Part 4, Chapter One: Alchemical Symbols, 227f. See also Frank Sherwood Taylor, 'Symbols in Greek Alchemical Writings', *Ambix* 1 (1937–8): 64–7. For more, see the section on Khunrath's alchemical glyphs in Chapter 6 on his alchemy.

636 One of the first lexica to include an extensive number of alchemical glyphs, Johann Christoph Summerhoff, *Lexicon pharmaceutico-chymicum latino-germanicum et germanico-latinum*, first appears in Nuremberg in 1701.

637 I can't help think of Tycho Brahe's little dog in the 'Mural Quadrant' engraving from *Astronomiae instauratae mechanica* (Wandsbeck, 1598/Nuremberg, 1602).

638 On the dog as a symbol of fidelity, see *Amph.*II, 38–39. Maier mentions that the dog can denote Mercury, in *Septimana philosophica* (Frankfurt, 1620), 167 'Si Canis Mercurium denotat', while in *Arcana arcanissima* (London, 1614), 31 Maier associates dogs with hunting and guarding, and 37, 39 with Egyptian Anubis, who is Mercury: 'Nam Canino capite Mercurium pingebant, quam Anubi vocarunt' (For they paint Mercury with a Canine head, which they call Anubis); 'Hunc autem Mercurium seu Hermetem dicit *Isidorus*, … fuisse formatum cum capite canino; Nam Canis est animal sagacissimum, sic et ipse fuit sapientissimus' (This Mercury or Hermes, says *Isidorus*, … was formed with a canine head; for the dog is the most sagacious animal, just as he was the wisest). Jacob Cats, *Silenus Alcibiadis, sive Proteus, vitae humanae ideam, emblemate …* (Amsterdam, 1630), 148 relates the dog to 'Chymical hope, dream of the vigilant' (Spes chymica, vigilantis somnium).

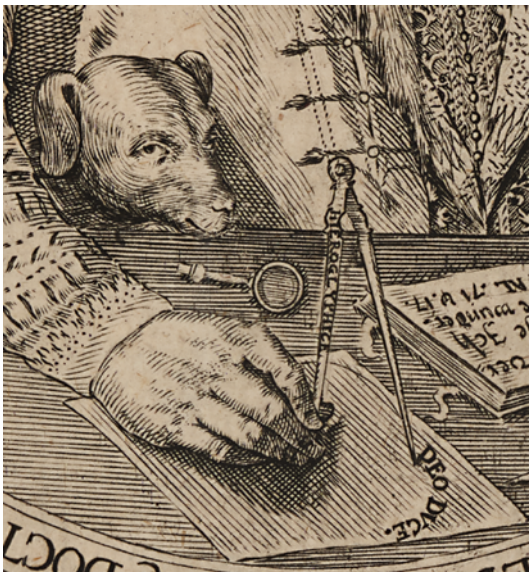


FIGURE 2.148 *Portrait*, detail of Khunrath's dog. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246



FIGURE 2.149 *Calumniators*, detail of Khunrath's dog. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246



FIGURE 2.150 *Pyramid*, detail of Khunrath's dog. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246



FIGURE 2.151 *Entrance*, detail of Khunrath's dog. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246



FIGURE 2.152 *Citadel*, detail of Khunrath's dog. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246



FIGURE 2.153 *School*, detail of Khunrath's dog. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

36 Hermes's Caltrop in the Cave of Nature

Many of the links between images require a sharp (and possibly obsessive) eye. A final example is found in the presence of a small pointed object that appears in the right hand of Hermes-Mercury at the bottom of Khunrath's *Portrait* (Fig. 2.154) and also at the centre of the *Calumniators* engraving in a small grotto surrounded by alchemical symbols (Fig. 2.155). Although Szulakowska describes it as 'a three-pointed star', closer inspection reveals it to be not tri- but quadricuspid, in the form of a *tribulus* or *caltrop*, a four-pointed spike thrown on the ground to incapacitate horses in war.[639]

There is an allegorical drawing by Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) of a figure, sometimes described as hermaphroditic or androgynous, though it seems to be a hybrid or composite of youth and old age, described as an 'Allegory of Pleasure and Pain' (*c*.1484–86), in which a bearded male, symbolising Pain, holds a handful of spiked caltrops, some of which are falling on the ground. Playing on the similarity between *tribolo* (caltrop) and *tribolatione*, Leonardo, both artist and military engineer, punningly remarks that 'If you take pleasure know that he has behind him one who will bring you tribulation and

639 The term 'tribulus' = τριβολος [*tribolos – three-pronged*] appears in the Bible (Matthew 7:16 and Hebrews 6:8) where it signifies the land caltrop or star-thistle, a low thorny shrub resembling in its spikes the military caltrop. Iron caltrops were used as early as 331 BCE at Gaugamela according to Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander*, trans. John C. Rolfe (London: William Heinemann, 1946), 289.



FIGURE 2.154
Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Portrait*, detail of Hermes holding a Caltrop (close-up). Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246



FIGURE 2.155
Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Calumniators*, detail of Caltrop in the Cave of Nature. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

repentance.'[640] Although Khunrath may not have had the trials and tribulations of laboratory work in mind, this object, like the *Citadel*'s Star Fort, the culverin in the *School of Nature*, and the rapier and musket in his *Portrait* is another instance of a martial presence in his work.

Szulakowska interprets the 'star' as 'representing the Holy Trinity as well as the tria prima' or three Paracelsian principles of matter (Mercury, Sulphur and Salt), which is likely close to the truth, although I would suggest that the additional spike pointing upwards represents at one and the same time the 'tri-une' mystical *unity* of the godhead and the perfection of the three Paracelsian principles in the Philosophers' Stone.[641] Consider an almost identical figure in Symbol CCXCV of *Symbolicarum Quaestionum De Universo Genere ... libri quinque* (Five Books Concerning the Universal Kind of Symbolic Questions, 1555, Fig. 2.156) of the Bolognese humanist friend of Erasmus, Achille

640 Charles Nicholl, *Leonardo Da Vinci: The Flights of the Mind* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2009), 205. Nicholl explains the etymology of 'caltrop' as 'heel-trap' (Latin *calx* = heel).

641 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 143.



FIGURE 2.156 Bocchi, *Symbolicarum Quaestionum* (1555), Lib 5, CCXCV Athena and Caltrop. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM O 61-9878

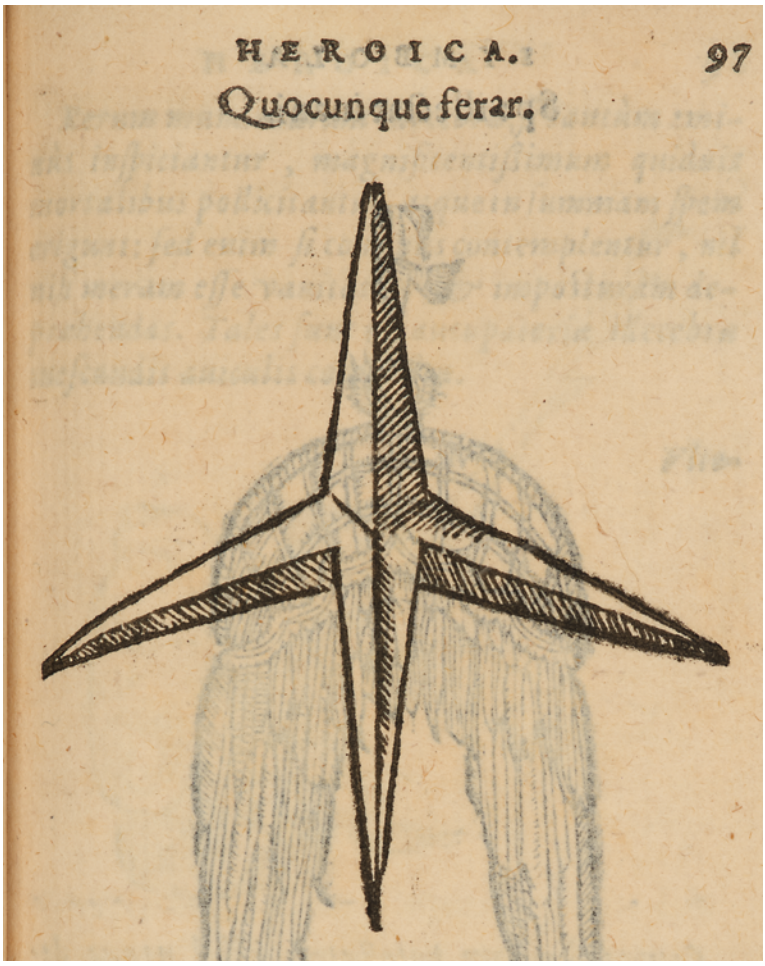


FIGURE 2.157 Paradin, *Heroica Symbola* (1563), 97ᵛ Caltrop. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM OK 63-5326

Bocchi (1488–1562).[642] It is accompanied by a motto indicative of the stability of the object: 'Quam se se cunque in partem sapiens dederit, stat' (For whatever side a wise man has decided, he remains steadfast). Bocchi explains that the upward point: 'indicates the almighty Monas, once known to the Pythagoreans, which is the first beginning of all four things.'[643] Writing of the *Calum-*

642 Lina Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory: Literary and Iconographic Models in the Age of the Printing Press*, translated by Jeremy Parzen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 123f.

643 Achille Bocchi, *Symbolicarum Quaestionum De Universo Genere ... libri quinque* (Bologna, 1574), CCCV 'Indicat omnipotens Monas, olim Pythagoreis/ Cognita, qui rerum primordia quattuor omnium.' In the first edition of 1555, CCXCV it appears as Symbol CXXXII.

niators engraving, Schmidt-Biggemann describes it as a star-shaped pyramidal crystal,[644] and in this Bocchi is in agreement: 'What more signifies the eternal, than that Pyramidal form, of three sides, fire reaching upwards?' We learn that the tricuspid forming the base of a pyramidal shape symbolizes a Trinity surmounted by the One (Monad). The pyramid shape points upward to higher things; the four perfectly equal points symbolize wisdom, as do the four serpents' heads, and so on. Bocchi adds, perhaps with a play on one of Athena's names, that 'Pallas Tritonia often uses these weapons.'[645] They are, apparently, the weapons of the wise.[646]

A caltrop also appears in 'one of the most influential early emblematic works', the *Devises heroiques* (Heroic Devices, 1563) of Claude Paradin, canon of Beaujeu (*c*.1510–1573). Beneath the motto 'Quoqunque ferar' (Wherever I may be cast, Fig. 2.157), we read that wherever it falls it has one point upright.[647] In Bocchi's engraving the caltrop appears alongside Athena and is adorned with serpents resembling the snake-headed gorgon Medusa on Athena's shield.[648] In Khunrath's *Amphitheatre* the caltrop is held by Hermes. The meaning of wisdom remains essentially the same, the introduction of Hermes into the equation perhaps intended to imply a more 'Hermetic' type of wisdom. It is possible that the three points on the ground might represent Khunrath's three conjoined practices of Alchemy, Magic and Cabala, with the fourth point, aimed at heaven either denoting Religion or Theosophy.

37 Part III: Hieroglyphs or Emblems?

In this third part of the chapter the *Amphitheatre*'s figures are discussed in the context of early modern emblems and hieroglyphs. While I agree that Khunrath's engravings are representative of what William Ashworth has called 'the emblematic world-view',[649] I would be reluctant to describe them, like some historians as 'emblems,' but would argue instead that they should be

644 Schmidt-Biggemann, 'Der Text der Bilder. Das ikonologische Programme von Khunraths *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae*', 67.

645 Bocchi, *Symbolicarum Quaestionum*, CCCVI 'Quid magis aeternum signat, quam Pyramidata/ Illa, trium & laterum forma ignem quae alta patentem/ Assequitur' … 'Utitur his Pallas tritonia saepius armis.'

646 See Watson, *Achille Bocchi and the Emblem Book as Symbolic Form*, 117.

647 Alison Adams, Stephen Rawles, and Alison M. Saunders, *A Bibliography of French Emblem Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1999–2002), Vol. 2, 249.

648 See Watson, *Achille Bocchi and the Emblem Book as Symbolic Form*, 139.

649 Ashworth, Jr., 'Natural History and the Emblematic World View,' 307.

more properly referred to as 'hieroglyphic figures'.[650] Here would be a convenient point to consider the differences between these two genres.[651]

38 Hieroglyphica

Hieroglyphs, as Ashworth remarks, were looked on as a 'language of symbolic images – a language in which understanding is conveyed immediately, much as God understands things, without the mediation of conventional language.'[652] In 1419 the Florentine monk Cristoforo Buondelmonti (1386–*c*.1430), on behalf of Cosimo de' Medici (1389–1464), purchased a manuscript on the Greek isle of Andros, purporting to have been written by an Egyptian priest, Horapollo, and then translated into Greek: the *Hieroglyphica*, a guidebook to interpreting hieroglyphic symbols.[653] It caused a sensation and was a major element in initiating the Renaissance antiquarian fascination with ancient Egypt.[654] It undoubtedly influenced the Dominican priest Francesco Colonna (*c*.1433–1527), whose popular romance *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (The Strife of Love in a Dream, 1499), published by Aldus Manutius in Venice. As 'probably the earliest artistic prose incursion into the field of hieroglyphics',[655] it made use of novel typography and was filled with high quality and memorable illustrations, of an elephant

650 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 91 'In fact, de Vries emblem is the summation of Khunrath's alchemy of light'; 129 'The picture of the Oratory-Laboratory belongs to the emblematic tradition of "Melancholia"'; Tilton, 'Of Ether, Entheogens & Colloidal Gold', 414 n. 191 'the text surrounding the third emblem'; idem, 'Of Electrum and the Armour of Achilles', 122, 144; Penelope Gouk, 'Harmony, Health, and Healing: Music's Role in Early Modern Paracelsian Thought', in Charles Webster, Margaret Pelling, and Scott Mandelbrote (eds.), *The Practice of Reform in Health, Medicine, and Science, 1500–2000: Essays for Charles Webster* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005; repr. London: Routledge, 2017), 23–42, at 35 Khunrath's emblem taps into a powerful form of 'music therapy'; Charles Nicholl, *The Chemical Theatre* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), 230 'this cave-emblem'; Young, *Faith, Medical Alchemy and Natural Philosophy*, 159 'The classic emblem of this is the plate at the end of Heinrich Khunrath's *Amphitheatrum sapientiæ æternæ …*'.

651 For a useful introduction, see Daniel Russell, 'Emblems and Hieroglyphics: Some Observations on the Beginnings and Nature of Emblematic Forms', *Emblematica* 1 (1986): 227–39.

652 Ashworth, 'Natural History and the Emblematic World View,' 307.

653 See Alexander Turner Cory, *The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo Nilous* (London: William Pickering, 1840).

654 Liana de Girolami Cheney, 'Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*: A Garden of Neoplatonic Love', in Donato Mansueto in collaboration with Elena Laura Calogero (eds.), *The Italian Emblem: A Collection of Essays* (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 2007), 157–183, at 181.

655 Pedro Germano Leal, '*Belles Lettres*: Hieroglyphs, Emblems and the Philosophy of Images', in Simon McKeown (ed.), *The International Emblem: From Incunabula to the Internet* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 97–111, at 99.

carrying an obelisk, obelisks bearing hieroglyphs, pyramids, temples, triumphal arches, and so forth.[656] Six years later, in 1505, the Aldine press published the first Greek edition of Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica*, followed by a Latin edition in 1515.[657] In 1517 the humanist Filippo Fasanini (d. 1531) had his Latin translation published at a time when he was lecturing on hieroglyphics at the University of Bologna,[658] while in France Michel de Nostredame (1503–1566) translated Horapollo into French verse.[659]

Cosimo de' Medici's scholar-philosopher-magus Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), translator of Plato, Neo-platonists and the *Corpus Hermeticum*, and author of 'one of the foundation charters of the Renaissance art of emblematic',[660] considered Egyptian wisdom to be not only the oldest, but closest to the divine. In the commentary to his paraphrastic translation of the Neoplatonist Iamblichus's *On the Mysteries of the Egyptians, Chaldaeans and Assyrians* (1497) he made the influential claim that 'Egyptian Priests did not use individual letters to signify mysteries, but whole images of plants, trees and animals; because God has knowledge of things *not* through a multiplicity of thought processes, but rather as a simple and firm form of the thing.'[661]

By the mid-sixteenth century printed editions of the *Hieroglyphica* included large collections of woodcuts with explanations where the reader could discover, for example, that when the Egyptians drew a serpent with its tail in its mouth, it was meant to symbolize eternity (Fig. 2.158),[662] while a baboon

656 Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: The Strife of Love in a Dream*, edited and translated by Joscelyn Godwin (London: Thames and Hudson, 2005). On Colonna, see Karl Giehlow, *The Humanist Interpretation of Hieroglyphs in the Allegorical Studies of the Renaissance*, translated with an Introduction & Notes by Robin Raybould (Leiden: Brill, 2015), Chapter 4.

657 Rudolf Wittkower, *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1977; repr. 1987), 116; Daniel Stolzenberg, *Egyptian Oedipus: Athanasius Kircher and the Secrets of Antiquity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 41–2. For translations, see Turner Cory, *The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo Nilous*; Boas, *The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo*. For further information, see Mark Wildish, *The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo Nilous: Hieroglyphic Semantics in Late Antiquity* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018).

658 Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, 2nd edition (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1975), 24.

659 Claude-Françoise Brunon, 'Signe, Figure, Langage: Les *Hieroglyphica* d'Horapollon', in Yves Giraud (ed.), *L'Emblème à la Renaissance*, Actes de la Journée d'Études du 10 Mai 1980 (Paris: Société d'Édition d'Enseignement Supérieur, 1982), 29–47, at 34.

660 Ernst Gombrich, *Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (London: Phaidon, 1972), 158, cited by Liana de Girolami Cheney, 'Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*: A Garden of Neoplatonic Love', 181.

661 Marsilio Ficino, cit. Wittkower, *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols*, 116.

662 Ori Apollinis Niliaci, *De Sacris notis & sculpturis* (Paris, 1551), 1f.



FIGURE 2.158 Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica* (1551), 1 Ouroboros
AUTHOR'S COLLECTION



FIGURE 2.159 Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica* (1551), 26 Baboon
AUTHOR'S COLLECTION



FIGURE 2.160 Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica* (1551), 61 Dog
AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

(*cynocephalus*, Fig. 2.159) variously signified the moon, letters, a priest, anger, or a diver,[663] and a dog with a stole represented a magistrate or judge (Fig. 2.160).[664] The Venetian poet Giovan Pietro della Fosse, otherwise known as Pierio Valeriano Bolzani (1477–1558), produced the 'greatest summation of hieroglyphical thought and material' in his own *Hieroglyphica* (1556), a large compilation of material gleaned from Horapollo, the medieval *Physiologus* bestiary tradition, Greek and Roman sources, the Cabala, and the Bible. Here, in a similar spirit to Ficino, in Valeriano's long lists of interpretations in which he systematically discusses one animal after another, as well as Egyptian and Greek gods, flowers, trees, mathematical symbols, and parts of the human body, we find the consistent equation of Egyptian and Christian symbolism, leading to the Christianisation of Horapollo's hieroglyphs. In his introductory dedication Valeriano aligns hieroglyphs with God's parabolic discourse, justifying his interest in them in his commentary on Psalm 77:2 (Vulgate) 'I will open my mouth in parables' by rhetorically asking 'What else did he [Asaph] want to say than that His language be hieroglyphic and He voice the ancient records allegorically.'[665]

663 Ori Apollinis Niliaci, *De Sacris notis & sculpturis*, 26ff.

664 Ori Apollinis Niliaci, *De Sacris notis & sculpturis*, 61.

665 Wittkower, *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols*, 128. See also Liselotte Dieckmann, *Hieroglyphics: The History of a Literary Symbol* (St. Louis, Missouri: Washington University Press, 1970), 48–50.

39 Emblemata

Emblem books are generally considered to originate with Erasmus's friend, the Italian humanist and jurist Andrea Alciato (1492–1550), a student in Bologna during the time that Fasanini gave his lectures on hieroglyphics.[666] Alciato first published his *Emblemata* in 1531,[667] where he makes clear the close relation between emblems and hieroglyphs:

> The words signify, the things are signified: though sometimes things signify, as the Hieroglyphs of Orus and Chaeremon. Based on their arguments I have composed a small book of poetry, whose title is "Emblemata".[668]

Michael Bath usefully summarizes the normative model for the *emblema* – a term taken from Guillaume Budé's *Annotationes ad Pandectas* (Annotations to the Pandects, 1508),[669] originally meaning a 'mosaic work' or 'decorative inlay' – in the form of Alciato's *emblema triplex*.[670] It displays a

> clear tripartite structure, consisting of a sententious motto (in a foreign language, normally Latin), a picture which shows something which seems to require interpretation (Who is the figure …? What is he doing …?) and

666 Wittkower, *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols*, 128; Charles Demsey, 'Renaissance Hieroglyphic Studies: An Overview', in Jon Whitman (ed.), *Interpretation and Allegory: Antiquity to the Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 365–381, at 371. On Fasanini, see Giehlow, *The Humanist Interpretation of Hieroglyphs*, Chapter 7, although he casts doubts on their association (268).

667 On Alciato and his *Emblemata*, see Stephen Rawles, 'Layout, Typography and Chronology in Chrétien Wechel's Editions of Alciato', in David Graham (ed.), *An Interregnum of the Sign: The Emblematic Age in France, Essays in Honour of Daniel S. Russell* (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 2001), Vol. 6, 49–71; Henry Green, *Andrea Alciati and his Book of Emblems. A Biographical and Bibliographical Study* (London: Trübner, 1872); Karl A.E. Enenkel, *The Invention of the Emblem Book and the Transmission of Knowledge, ca. 1510–1610* (Leiden: Brill, 2019). For a useful translation of the *Emblemata*, see Andrea Alciato, *Emblemata.* Lyons, 1550, translated and annotated by Betty I. Knott (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996).

668 'Verba significant, inquit, res significantur: tamentsi et res quandoque significent, ut Hieroglyphica Orum et Chaeremonem, cuius argumenti et nos carmine libellum composuimus, cui titulus est Emblemata', Alciato, *De verborum significatione*, Book 1, 530, cited in Germano Leal, '*Belles Lettres*: Hieroglyphs, Emblems and the Philosophy of Images', 99.

669 The sixth-century digest of Roman Law compiled by order of emperor Justinian I.

670 Dieckmann, *Hieroglyphics: The History of a Literary Symbol*, 46. See also Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, 8.

> a verse-epigram (… describing the picture [… and/or] revealing its moral significance).[671]

James Elkins provides useful terminology for any discussion of emblems and hieroglyphs: 'The image itself was generally called the *pictura*, or alternatively the *icon*, *imago* or *symbolon*' and 'the accompanying text, which might be a caption, headline, legend or "copy" was originally called the *inscriptio*. It normally consisted of a phrase, a verse, a sentence, or a single word', also referred to as *titulus*, *motto*, *lemma*, *sentence*. In agreement with Bath, Elkins adds that in some emblems the basic *pictura* and *inscriptio* are 'accompanied by a verse description, variously called the *subscriptio*, *declaratio* or *epigramma*.'[672]

Elkins has a far looser definition of emblem, as 'any image that includes an explanatory text', with the argument that 'Without the text, the image would be slightly (or completely) baffling, and the two work together to make sense.' While this broadens the field of what can be considered emblems, embracing words on banners, scrolls in paintings of the Annunciation, graffiti in Dutch interiors, and so forth, it risks missing the tension apparent in some *Emblemata*, in the combination of text and image, where there is an oscillation between puzzlement and comprehension.[673] It also blurs the boundaries between emblems and hieroglyphs.

One of Alciato's most influential commentators, Professor of Law at the Sorbonne Claude Mignault (1536–1606), in his *Syntagma de Symbolis* (A Syntagma about Symbols, 1577) identifies three kinds of emblems: Historical, Natural and Moral.[674] It is worth noting that Alciato shows little interest in philosophical or religious speculation,[675] and a fourth category of Divine emblems only appears towards the end of the sixteenth century, around the time Khunrath was constructing his *Amphitheatre*.[676]

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671 Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, 73. See also Yves Giraud, 'Propositions', in idem (ed.), *L'Emblème à la Renaissance* (Paris: Societé de l'*édition* de l'enseignement supérieur, 1982), 9.

672 James Elkins, *The Domain of Images* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999), 196–7.

673 Elkins, *The Domain of Images*, Chapter 12: Emblemata. See also Germano Leal, '*Belles Lettres*: Hieroglyphs, Emblems and the Philosophy of Images', 104 'The majority of emblematic images do not represent something already said in the text … but create a vital dialogue with the *inscriptio* and *subscriptio*.'

674 On Mignault, see Florence Vuilleumier Laurens, *La Raison des Figures Symboliques à la Renaissance et à l'âge classique. Etudes sur les fondements philosophiques, théologiques et rhétoriques de l'image* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2000), Chapter IV.

675 Dieckmann, *Hieroglyphics: The History of a Literary Symbol*, 47.

676 Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, 88.

Although Khunrath's engravings are a complex fusion of image and text, they do not conform to the strictures of the emblem tradition in the way of certain images from the *Rosarium Philosophorum* (Rose-Garden of the Philosophers, 1550, Fig. 2.161) or subsequent alchemical engravings in such works as Michael Maier's *Atalanta fugiens* (Atalanta Fleeing, 1618, Fig. 2.162) or Abraham von Lambsprinck's *De Lapide Philosophico* (On the Philosophical Stone, 1677, Fig. 2.163) which feature compact images with accompanying *inscriptio* and *subscriptio*.[677]

Khunrath's images present a variety of stylistic forms: portrait, panoramic landscape, close-up vignettes, abstract geometrical diagrams, and so forth. It could be argued, however, that Khunrath occasionally includes elements that he would expect his reader to recognize from the emblem tradition. One such instance is the presence of the word 'Maturandum' (Let it Mature) on one of the ovens in the *Oratory-Laboratory* engraving (Fig. 2.164).

A reader familiar with Alciato's *Emblemata* would have been able to compare the message of the curious *pictura* of a fish curling around an arrow, with the *inscriptio* 'Maturandum' (All in good time, Fig. 2.165) and the *subscriptio* explanation that

> Everyone tells us to deal with things quickly, but they also tell us to hold back – not to be impetuous, nor yet to wait too long.
> A missile linked with a sucking-fish can demonstrate this for you:
> the fish is slow, but arrows fly fast when they leave the shooter's hand.[678]

This message connects well with the advice on the accompanying furnace: 'Festina Lente' (Make Haste Slowly).[679] More than one alchemist cautioned against undue haste, warning that 'All haste is of the devil'.[680]

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677 See reproductions of their images in Klossowski de Rola, *The Golden Game*. Lambsprinck inverts the emblematic scheme, with the verse coming first, then the figura, and finally the short caption.

678 Alciatus, *Emblemata* (Lyon, 1551), 26 'Maturare iubent properè, & cunctarier omnes./Ne nimiùm praeceps, neu mora longa nimis./Hoc tibi declaret connexum echeneide telum,/ Haec tarda est, volitant spicula missa manu.'

679 See Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, Vol. 33, 3–17 Adage II i 1 'Festina lente' (Make haste slowly), where Erasmus discusses a coin of the emperor Vespasian, which had on the reverse a dolphin curving around and embracing an anchor, similar to Alciatus's image of the sucking fish curling around the arrow. See also Erasmus, *Adagiorum* (1564), 157 'in omni negotio maturandum esse'.

680 See, for example, the words of Morienus in the *Liber de Compositione Alchemiae* (Book of the Composition of Alchemy) in Manget, *Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa*, Vol. 1, 512 'Festinatio enim ex parte diaboli est' (For haste is of the devil). Another famous alchemical authority,



FIGURE 2.161 *Rosarium Philosophorum* (1550), Fiij^{v} Conjunction or Coitus. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM O 63-8113



FIGURE 2.162 Maier, *Atalanta fugiens* (1618), 13 Emblem 1 'The Wind bore him in its belly'. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam BPH O 384



FIGURE 2.163 Lambsprinck, *De Lapide Philosophico*, Figure 3 'In the Body is the Soul and Spirit' in *Musaeum Hermeticum Reformatum et Amplificatum* (1677), 347. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM O 61-8362

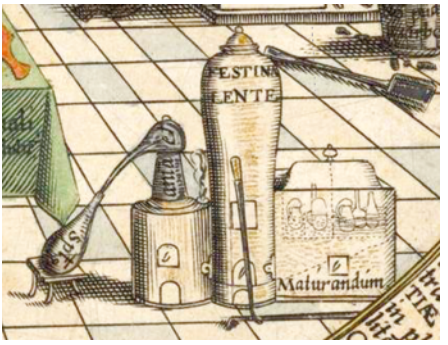


FIGURE 2.164
Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Oratory-Laboratory*, detail of oven: Maturandum. Department of Special Collections, Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Duveen D 897



FIGURE 2.165 Alciato, *Emblemata* (1591), 111 'Maturandum'. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM O 63-4098

Discussing the relationship between image and text in Khunrath's engravings and whether this relationship is one of competition or interaction, Anja Hallacker introduces the notion of 'Ikonotext', a term denoting a kind of

Geber, warns the same in Theobald de Hoghelande's *De Alchimiae Difficultatibus Liber* (Book on the Difficulties of Alchemy), in Manget, *Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa*, Vol. 1, 341 as does the commentator to Hermes's *Tractatus Aureus* (Golden Tract) in the same volume, 420. Morienus's warning is repeated in the *Rosarium Philosophorum* (1550), sig. Liij^{v} 'Pacientia & mora sunt necessariae in nostro magisterio. Festinantia quidem ex parte diaboli est in hoc magisterio' (Patience & delay are necessary in our magistery. Haste is of the devil in this magistery).

hybrid visuality, involving both reading and seeing, not simply pictures but 'Superzeichen' (Super-Signs), 'whose potential is realised in the interplay of two different sign systems'.[681] Hallacker argues that textual and visual elements complement each other, that in the case of the circular figures, the images encode a field of knowledge that complements the text that surrounds and occupies the centre of the engravings, without the reading of which an interpretation of the figures would be impossible. She suggests that the great complexity of the engravings argues against the idea that the individual engravings could be sold as free-standing wall-charts for self-study. They are not self-explanatory, require Khunrath's accompanying annotations; that even the university-trained scholar would also need the help of a theosophical teacher, as well as direct and personal divine inspiration.[682]

40 Visual Exegesis or Eisegesis?

One of the problems of dealing with esoteric images is the difficulty of when to stop looking for the symbolic meaning of elements in a picture, to know when unlimited pictorial exegesis risks turning into eisegesis.[683] James Elkins, discussing one of Maier's emblems from *Atalanta fugiens* (1617), argues, for instance, that 'the picture's landscape must … be ignored by the viewer'. Some of the details should be considered 'meaningless' objects, 'gaps in the emblem, present absences;' indeed 'the picture must not be entirely comprised of symbols; it needs to have its "meaningless" framing elements'.[684]

Lucas Heinrich Wüthrich, however, a specialist in the engravings of Matthaeus Merian the Elder (1593–1650) has convincingly demonstrated that what looks like incidental scenery in the background of Merian's engravings

681 Hallacker, 'Das Bild-Text-Verhältnis', 26. See also Peter Wagner, *Reading Iconotexts. From Swift to the French Revolution* (London: Reaktion Books, 1995); idem (ed.), *Icons-Texts-Iconotexts. Essays on Ekphrasis and Intermediality* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996); Steffen Siegel, 'Bild ~~und~~ Text. Ikonotexte als Zeichen hybrider Visualität', in Silke Horstkotte and Karin Leonhard (eds.), *Lesen ist wie Sehen. Intermediale Zitate in Bild und Text* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2006), 51–73.

682 Hallacker, 'Das Bild-Text-Verhältnis', 28. As mentioned, however, in Chapter 1, there is an unusual collection of the 1609 *Amphitheatre*, or at least a collecton of its engravings plus the non-standard copies of the Imperial Privilege and the two-page *Summa*, in Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek (Signatur 2 Kst 218). Could this be a test-print or could it represent an engraving-only version?

683 This is not, of course, only limited to the interpretation of images, as Umberto Eco makes clear in 'Overinterpreting texts', in Umberto Eco, with Richard Rorty, Jonathan Culler, and Christine Brooke-Rose, *Interpretation and Overinterpretation*, edited by Stefan Collini (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 45–66.

684 Elkins, *Domain of Images*, 201–202.



FIGURE 2.166 Maier, *Atalanta fugiens* (1618), 153 Emblem 36. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, BPH O 384



FIGURE 2.167 Lambsprinck, *De Lapide Philosophico* (1625), 15 Figure 5. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH2067 A,B

for Maier's *Atalanta fugiens* (1617) as well as in Lambsprinck's *De Lapide Philosophico* (1625) can be identified as real locations, perhaps not significant to Maier, but certainly to the engraver. One such instance is the presence of two villages connected by a bridge over a river in Emblem 36 from *Atalanta fugiens*, which shows mercury as cubes that rain on the ground, on mountains, in the air, and in rivers (Fig. 2.166).[685] These villages also appear as the background to Figure 5 in Lambsprinck's *De lapide Philosophico*, included in the *Musaeum Hermeticum* (1625, Fig. 2.167).[686]

They can be identified as the villages of Berg (Fig. 2.168) and Cannstadt (Fig. 2.169) on the opposite sides of the river Neckar, in Merian's collection of emblematic landscape and village pictures, *Novae Regionum aliquot amaenissimarum delineationes* (New Depictions of some of the loveliest Regions, 1624–25).[687] In the first engraving we see 'Berck am Necker' in the image of

685 Maier, *Atalanta fugiens* (1617), 153.

686 *Musaeum Hermeticum* (Frankfurt, 1625), 15; also in *Musaeum Hermeticum et Reformatum* (Frankfurt, 1678), 351.

687 Matthaeus Merian, *Novae Regionum aliquot amaenissimarum delineationes* (Basel, 1625). See the 6th engraving 'Berck am Necker' and the 20th engraving 'Kanstatt', in the second part of the book, featuring engravings from 1624. On places that Merian knew, used and re-used in his engravings, see Lucas Heinrich Wüthrich, 'Nachwort', in his facsimile edition of Maier's *Atalanta fugiens: hoc est Emblemata nova de secretis naturae chymica. Authore Michaele Majero. Facsimile-Druck der Oppenheimer Originalausgabe von 1618 mit 52 Stichen von Matthaeus Merian d. Ä* (Basel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1964), 13; idem, *Matthäus Merian d. Ä. Eine Biographie* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 2007),



FIGURE 2.168 'Berck am Neckar' in Merian, *Novae Regionum aliquot amaenissimarum delineationes* (1624). Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (86-B27303)



FIGURE 2.169 'Kanstatt' in Merian, *Novae Regionum aliquot amaenissimarum delineationes* (1624). Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (86-B27303)

Bellerophon falling from the winged horse Pegasus, with the advice 'Ne Nimis Alta Pete' (Don't Aim Too High) and in the second we see 'Kanstatt' in the engraving 'Mundi Gratia' (The Grace of the World).

Admittedly we are talking about the independence of the artist to introduce personal elements into a commissioned engraving, but if such an extension of meaning can occur in Maier's tightly focused emblems, the same may be the case in the *Amphitheatre*'s elaborate, symbolically dense hieroglyphic figures, for which we know that Khunrath was the 'inventor'.

41 Khunrath's Visual and Symbolic Terms

> By them the Egyptians became famous, who concealed their mysteries with *hieroglyphic signs* (hieroglyphicis notis). Whence those mystical *images* (imagines), by which the Magi, with admirable skill, have represented the Divine, Theological, Political, [and] Natural mysteries, and the hidden nature of things. Whence those enigmas of the Hermetic Emerald Tablet, and the remarkable *pictures* (picturae) of the Philosophers' Stone.[688]

In the *Amphitheatre* and other texts like *On Primaterial Chaos*, Khunrath employs a humanistically educated copia of Latin, Greek and Hebrew terms in relation to pictorial representation.[689] From the quote above we have *nota*,[690]

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229. My thanks to Friedemann Rimbach-Sator for introducing me to Wüthrich's work. See Friedemann Rimbach-Sator, 'Der Künstler der Alchemisten? Matthäus Merian der Ältere und seine Mitwirkung an den alchemistischen Kupferstichen, die während seiner Zeit in Oppenheim (1616–1619) veröffentlicht wurden', *Oppenheimer Hefte* 51 (2021): 4–29. See also Michael Gaudio, 'The Emblem in the Landscape: Matthäus Merian's Etchings for *Atalanta fugiens*'. https://furnaceandfugue.org/essays/gaudio/.

688 *Amph.*II, 6 'hisce celebres fuerunt Ægyptii, qui mysteria sua *hieroglyphicis notis* occultarunt. Hinc *imagines* illæ mysticæ, quibus Magi Mysteria Diuina, Theologica, Politica, Naturalia, & reconditam rerum naturam, admirando artificio, depinxerunt. Hinc illa, Tabulæ Smaragdinæ Hermeticæ, ænigmata, & insignes lapidis Philosophorum *picturæ*.' My italics.

689 Cf. See Watson, *Achille Bocchi and the Emblem Book as Symbolic Form*, 106 'For symbolic terms, however, the Latinists preferred signum, typus, figura, imago (for pictures and icons), umbra (a more metaphoric term), enigma, and sometimes other terms such as species, exemplum, and similitudo. Signa replaced many of the Greek uses of symbolon. Figura was both a rhetorical term and a Christian term for the foreshadowing of events. Umbra could mean figura or symbol (it also meant "enigma") …'.

690 *Amph.*II, 124, 141, 155; in particular, 142 'Hi characteres Naturæ, & notæ hieroglyphicæ, certum efficiunt sensum & sententiam, quæ à Sapientibus & huius scripturæ ac literaturæ naturalis gnaris probè intelliguntur' (These characters and hieroglyphic marks of Nature

imago,[691] and *pictura*,[692] together with *hieroglyphica*, to which can be added *effigies*,[693] *figura*,[694] *forma*,[695] *habitus*,[696] *proportio*,[697] *schema*,[698] *sigillum*,[699] *signacula*,[700] *signatura*,[701] *signum*,[702] *species*,[703] *symbola*,[704] and *typus*,[705] supplemented by the Greek χαρακτὴρ (*charactēr*),[706] EIKΩN (*Eikōn* – Icon),[707] and σημεῖα (*sēmeia* – sign);[708] Hebrew אות (*Aot* – marks),[709] and German

yield a certain sense and meaning, which are rightly understood by the Wise and those expert in this natural writing and literature).

691 *Amph.*II, 179.

692 *Entrance* engraving; *Calumniators* engraving: 'symbolic HARMONY;' 'Divine character of NATURE, SIGNATURE of natural things'; 'in Scripture and Picture'. See also *Amph.*II, 141 'Ita præcipuè hæc pictura in hominis vultu & habitu cognoscenda est' (Thus this picture should be known first of all in a man's face and appearance); 'picturâ hîc significatam graduum septem Theosophicorum uerè Philosophicam'.

693 Khunrath, *Athanor*, (1603), 27; *Portrait* and *Citadel* engravings.

694 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), 20 & 39 cites two important sources of 'Figura': 1) 'Senior, lib. de figuris & imaginibus', concerning the Stone (dann es ist nur EINER: gleich einem Baum dessen Würtzeln/ Stamm/ Este/ Zweige/ Bletter/ Blüet und Früchte/ von ihme seind/ durch ihn/ aus jhme/ an jhme/ und alle von einem Samen herkommen). This is the *Tabula Chemica* of Senior Zadith, whose images also exert an influence on the *Aurora consurgens*; 2) 'Phil: Theophrastus Paracelsus, Eremita … In den Figuren seiner Propheceyungen'.

695 *Chaos* (1597), 159.

696 *Amph.*II, 141.

697 *Amph.*II, 141.

698 *Chaos* (1597), 159.

699 *Amph.*II, 10, 16, 29, 44, 67, 119, 130, 155, 207, 209, *Citadel* and *Calumniators* engravings.

700 *Amph.*II, 148 (mispaginated as 146 [T2^{v}]).

701 *Theses*, VIII.

702 *Amph.*II, 22, 124.

703 *Amph.*II, 132, 133; *Chaos* (1597), 159.

704 *Chaos* (1597), 212; *Amph.*II, 124.

705 *Amph.*II, 59.

706 *Amph.*II, 59, which he translates as 'figura', 142; *Quæstiones Tres*, sig. Bvi^{v} '1. Considerentur & SIGNATVRÆ Naturales, sive Naturæ Characterismi 2. eorum omnes.' On 'Characters' in a magical context, see Lang, 'Characters and Magic Signs in the Picatrix and Other Medieval Magic Texts'; Grévin and Véronèse, 'Les «caractères» magiques au moyen âge (xii^{e}–xiv^{e} siècle)'.

707 *Amph.*II, 209.

708 *Chaos* (1597), 212 'Vocabula Rerum *σημεῖα* & Symbola esse dicuntur'; *Amph.*II, 141 'Natura notis et signis, pictae et exornatae … signaturam, figuram, proportionem et habitum'.

709 *Amph.*II, 131: 'ASTRA sint in signa, אות hoc est, signa indicantia …'. Cf. Genesis 4:15: 'And the Lord set a mark upon Cain, that whosoever found him should not kill him'.

Abbildung,[710] *Contrafactur*,[711] *Fürbild*,[712] *Gestalt*,[713] and *Gleichnus*.[714] The engravings provide several more terms: *adumbratio* (sketch),[715] *archetypus*,[716] *designatio*,[717] and Ὑποθυπωσις (*hypotypōsis* – representation).[718] To this should be added the various verbs Khunrath employs in relation to the visual: *adumbrare*, *delineare*, *depingere*, *describere*, *designare*, *effingere*, *exhibere*, *exornare*, *inscribere*, *insignare*, *ostendere*, *pingere*, and *sculpere* (adumbrate, delineate, depict, describe, designate, represent, present, adorn, inscribe, show, paint, and fashion).

This is an impressive list, comparable, for example, to John Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica* (1564), in which we find ten terms: *hieroglyph* (3r), *character* (4r), *sigillum* (4r), *figura* (5r), *nekudoth* (5r), *nota* (6v), *diagramma* (10v), *schemata* (10v), *signum* (18r), and *forma* (20v).[719] In *On the Composition of Images, Signs, and Ideas* (1591), which appeared just a few years before the first edition of the *Amphitheatre*, Giordano Bruno (1548–1600) employed a similar list of twelve terms: 1. *idea*, 2. *vestigium*, 3. *umbra*, 4. *nota*, 5. *character*, 6. *signum*, 7. *sigillum*, 8. *indicium*, 9. *figura*, 10. *similitudo*, 11. *proportio*, 12. *imago*.[720]

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710 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), 87 'Der STEIN der Weisen CHRISTI Symbolum, bedeutung/ fürbild/ ja contrafactur, Natürliche abbildung und Gleichnus' (The STONE of the Wise Men, Symbol, sense, type, yes, imitation, natural depiction and likeness of CHRIST).

711 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), 87.

712 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), 87.

713 *Chaos* (1597), 159: 'in eine besondere Gestalt (speciem, schema, formam vel figuram externam) so den wahren Philosophis bekant ist …'.

714 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), 87.

715 *School of Nature* engraving.

716 *Circular Figure 2*.

717 *Pyramid* engraving.

718 *Citadel* engraving; *Amph.*II, 18. Cf. Petrus Lindeberg, *Hypotyposis arcium, palatiorum, librorum, pyramidum* (1592). The term is used by Calvin. See Parker, *Calvin's Old Testament Commentaries*, 'The Exposition of Prophecy', 207 'Finally, it is an *hypotyposis* in which not only is the reality explained in words but it is set before our eyes in, as it were, a visible form, *hypotyposis* (interestingly enough, this word reminds us that we are on the fringe of the *umbra* metaphor, for it means 'a general representation, an outline, *admubratio*').' Khunrath (or his engraver) uses a Greek *theta* θ instead of a *tau* τ in the spelling. According to Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 49 the term *Hypotyposis* stems from the technical vocabulary of ancient rhetoric and means 'representation'.

719 I have only provided a page reference for the first appearance of a term.

720 Lüthy and Smets, 'Words, Lines, Diagrams, Images', 423; Lüthy, 'What Does a Diagram Prove that Other Images Do Not? Images and Imagination in the Kepler-Fludd Controversy', 230. See Giordano Bruno, *De imaginum, signorum et idearum compositione, ad omnia inventionum, dispositionum et memoriae genera libri III* (Frankfurt, 1591), 97. See

Some of Khunrath's terms relate more to his cabala, some to his magic, and yet others to his alchemy.[721] The one that accords most strongly with his belief in the Doctrine of Signatures – the belief that all things reveal their inner nature by their outer appearance – is the word *Hieroglyph*.[722] While the original 1595 edition describes its four circular hand-coloured engravings as "Theosophical",[723] the 1609 edition introduces the additional five rectangular engravings as "Hieroglyphic".[724] Unlike his contemporary, the mytho-alchemist Michael Maier (1568–1622), author of the multimedia *Atalanta fugiens* (1617) with its 50 musical fugues and 50 'New Chymical Emblems on the Secrets of Nature',[725] Khunrath never uses the term *emblem*.[726] The great value Khunrath places on hieroglyphs, however, can be seen in his portrait engraving where his right hand is holding a compass (Fig. 2.170), the axial leg of which bears the adverb '*Hieroglyphicè*' (Hieroglyphically), indicating the central importance of 'hieroglyphic' thinking in his theosophical system.[727]

Here I have in mind Jan Assmann's statement that 'Egyptian "hieroglyphic" thinking presents a relation between *thing* and *written* sign similar to that

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also Mino Gabriele, *Giordano Bruno: Corpus iconographicum: Le incisioni nelle opere a stampa* (Milan: Adelphi, 2001).

721 On terms used in magic (imago, nota, forma, figura, character, sigillum), see Benoît Grévin and Julien Véronèse, 'Les «caractères» magiques au Moyen Âge (XII^{e}–XIV^{e} siècle)', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 162 (2004), 305–379, at 340–41.

722 For a discussion of the variety of symbolic terms used by Latinists, see Watson, *Achille Bocchi and the Emblem Book as Symbolic Form*, 106 and Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, 149.

723 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), title page: 'exornatum figuris quatuor Theosophicis.'

724 *Amph.*I, 6 'AMPHITHEATRICE instructum QUATUOR circularibus, aliisque hieroglyphicis FIGURIS'.

725 Maier, *Atalanta Fugiens, hoc est, Emblemata Nova de Secretis Naturae Chymica … 50 Fugis Musicalibus* (1617).

726 On Maier, see Tilton, *The Quest for the Phoenix*; De Jong, *Michael Maier's Atalanta Fugiens: Sources of an Alchemical Book of Emblems*. Maier's first publication, *Arcana arcanissima, hoc est, Hieroglyphica Aegyptio-Graeca* (London, 1614), was on hieroglyphs, but lacked illustrations. See also the digital edition of Maier's *Atalanta fugiens* (1618), with scholarly essays, edited by Tara Nummedal and Donna Bilak: https://furnaceandfugue.org/.

727 Given his familiarity with Valeriano, perhaps the use of the adverbial form is influenced by its use in the *Hieroglyphica* (1556), for example, in Valeriano's dedicatory letter to Hercules Gonzaga, cardinal of Mantua, p. 276^{r}, 'qua ratione literae et disciplinae Hieroglyphicè significentur, ex sacris Aegyptiorum literis.' The Scottish Paracelsian William Davidson (1593–1669), the first native of the British Isles to become a professor of chemistry at the Jardin du Roi in Paris, makes use of the analogy of the two legs of the compass or divider to express two kinds of motions: one leg is 'anchored at a center, and "as from one invisible point" communicates its laws, measures and ratios – its wisdom – to the other bow, which is extended and mobile.' See Jole Shackelford, *A Philosophical Path for Paracelsian Medicine: The Ideas, Intellectual Context, and Influence of Petrus Severinus: 1540–1602* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2004), 423.

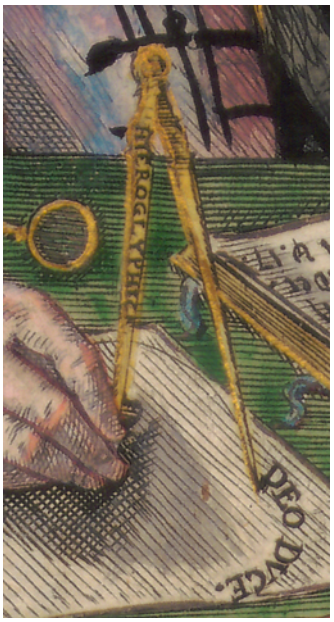


FIGURE 2.170
Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Portrait*, detail of compass



FIGURE 2.171 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Portrait*, detail of hand

between *thing* and *concept* in Greek philosophy. When Ptah *conceives* of the Ideas of things, he at the same time invents the script that Thoth has only to read. The act of thinking or conceptual articulation is represented in this mythology as an act of interior writing.'[728] Assmann develops this with a passage from Iamblichus's *On the Mysteries of the Egyptians*:

> The Egyptians imitate the nature of the universe and the divine ways of creation in that they also produce "icons" (*eikonas*) as symbols of mystic, occult and invisible conceptions, in a similar manner as of Nature (the productive principle), in her peculiar way, makes a likeness of invisible principles through symbols in visible forms and expresses in writing the truth of ideas by visible icons.[729]

728 Jan Assmann, 'Creation through Hieroglyphs: The Cosmic Grammatology of Ancient Egypt', in S. La Porta and D. Shulman (eds.), *The Poetics of Grammar and the Metaphysics of Sound and Sign* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 17–34, at 28.

729 Iamblichus, *On the Mysteries*, VII.1. Assmann, 'Creation through Hieroglyphs', 28. See also Dieckmann, *Hieroglyphics: The History of a Literary Symbol*, 36; Brian A. Curran, *The Egyptian Renaissance: The Afterlife of Ancient Egypt in Early Modern Italy* (Chicago:

On a somewhat more down-to-earth level of creation, given that Khunrath's portrait appears in the 1609 edition, it seems plausible to suggest that the compasses used to describe circles are a direct allusion to his 'invention' of the four circular engravings of the 1595 edition, on which much of Khunrath's contemporary reputation was founded, as well as, of course, to the circularity of a classical amphitheatre.[730]

The gesture Khunrath is making with his left hand (Fig. 2.171), with the thumb, index and little fingers splayed, while the ring and middle fingers are joined possibly intimates of some 'hieroglyphic' meaning, for, in the words of the English statesman and philosopher Francis Bacon (1561–1626), 'gestures [...] are to hieroglyphics as words spoken are to words written.'[731] The tripartite shape most likely symbolises the Trinity. As Khunrath mentions Chiromancy,[732] it is likely that he knows the symbolism of individual fingers, with the pairing of the Saturnian middle finger and the Solar ring finger possibly symbolising the alchemical union of primal and ultimate matter.[733]

It should be stated, however, that Khunrath's images never include anything even vaguely resembling genuine Egyptian hieroglyphs, such as those available in the *Hieroglyphica* (1580) of Jan Gerartsen van Gorp (1519–1572),[734] or as would be found later in the seventeenth century in Athanasius Kircher's *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (Egyptian Oedipus, 1652–54), around the time of the

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University of Chicago Press, 2007), 98; Peter Ucko and Timothy Champion (eds.), *The Wisdom of Egypt: Changing Visions through the Ages* (London: Cavendish Publishing, 2003).

730 Surely, however, there must be at least a little irony involved, given that Khunrath's 'hieroglyphic' figures are rectangular?

731 Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, 51. See also Håkan Håkansson, *Seeing the Word: John Dee and Renaissance Occultism* (Lunds Universitet: Ugglan Minervaserien 2, 2001), 147 and *passim* for his discussion of 'The Language of Symbols', in relation to emblems and hieroglyphs.

732 *Amph.*II, 91, 141.

733 The closest I have come to finding a similar gesture with an explanation is in Cosma Rosselli's *Thesaurus artificiosae memoriae* (Venice, 1579), 104^{r} in a table of hand-signs for the letters of the Roman alphabet, where the third variant for the letter M resembles Khunrath's hand shape (though Rosselli's version conceals the thumb behind the palm). M for Mercurius, perhaps? See also Germano Leal, '*Belles Lettres*: Hieroglyphs, Emblems and the Philosophy of Images', 104 concerning Francis Bacon's remark in *Advancement of Learning* (1605), Book 2, 15, 3: 'Emblems reduceth conceits intellectual to image sensible, which strike the memory more.'

734 See Johannes Goropius Becanus, *Opera, Hactenus in lucem non edita: nempe, Hermathena, Gallica, Hieroglyphica, Francica, Vertumnus, Hispanica* (Antwerp, 1580), 38–39 for hieroglyphs in an amphitheatre/hippodrome; 106–110 for images of the Egyptian gods. He also includes some ruminations on the hieroglyphic symbolism in Hebrew letters: 136 (Bet); 143 (Gimel), 152, 156 (Dalet), 159 (He), etc. A work called *Hermathena* was published with the *Hieroglyphica*.

re-edition of the *Amphitheatre* in 1653. Evidence, nevertheless, that Khunrath's work was discussed in a hieroglyphic context – indeed of Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* – can be found in the introduction to the *Harmonie Mystique, ou Accord des Philosophes Chymiques* (Mystical Harmony or Accord of the Chymical Philosophers, 1636) of David l'Aigneau (*c.*1564–*c.*1650), alchemist and royal physician to Henri IV and Louis XIII:

> I thought to teach you something in Khunrath's *Amphitheatre* and I find you busy there, as well as to uncover the truth of the simulated dream of Poliphilus, to give much better explanations to the hieroglyphs that are there in various places than have been given them by those who have translated this author.[735]

As part of this 'hieroglyphic' complement, pagan elements can certainly be found in the *Amphitheatre*.[736] At the foot of Khunrath's portrait, for example, are the deities Athena-Minerva and Hermes-Mercury, both of whom are standing on books: Athena with her spear and shield bearing Medusa's head, accompanied by her owl on a large, slender volume and Hermes with his caduceus in one hand and a caltrop raised on high in the other, with his cockerel for company, on a smaller but thicker volume (Fig. 2.172).[737] The association of serpents with Medusa's petrifying head and Mercury's caduceus must have seemed extremely fitting for an alchemist familiar with the association of

735 David l'Aigneau, *Harmonie Mystique, ou Accord des Philosophes Chymiques* (Paris, 1636), [a vi]: 'je croyais vous apprendre quelque chose dans l'Emphitheatre de Conrath, et je vous y trouve consumé, aussi bien qu'à descouvrir la vérité du songe simulé de Poliphile, à donner des explications aux hyerogliphes qui y sont en divers endroits beaucoup meilleurs que celles qui leur ont été données par ceux qui ont traduit cet auteur: Et à voir clairement quelles cendres reposent dans les sépulcres qui se trouvent relevez dans son livre.' On l'Aigneau as royal physician, see David l'Aigneau, *Traicté pour la conservation de la santé et sur la saignée de ce temps* (Paris, 1650), 199. On l'Aigneau, see Sylvain Matton, 'Vie et oeuvre de David Laigneau, alchimiste et médecin du roi', in David Lagneau, *Harmonie mystique* (Paris: Gutenberg Reprints, 1986), 7–38.

736 I disagree with Szulakowska's claim that Khunath is anti-pagan. Like Paracelsus, he is anti-Aristotelian, rejecting Aristotle for his 'heathen/pagan' (ethnicus) teaching, but like many humanistically trained scholars, he is perfectly at ease with including classical references to pagan gods, e.g., Hermes and Athena in the *Portrait*, multiple references to Harpocrates, reference to the pagan deities as symbols of the four elements, quotations from non-Christian authors like Cicero, Plutarch, and so forth.

737 On the iconographic attributes of Mercurius and Minerva, see Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* (Leiden, 1594), 312, 381, 383–4, 458. It is interesting to note that the title page of the 1678 edition of the *Musaeum Hermeticum Reformatum et amplificatum*, features Athena with her owl at the top left and Mercury with his caduceus on the top right of the page.



FIGURE 2.172 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Portrait*, detail: Athena and Hermes. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977



FIGURE 2.173 *Musaeum Hermeticum Reformatum et Amplificatum* (1677) title page, detail with Athena and Hermes flanking the upper cartouche of Apollo and the Muses. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM O 61-8362

snakes with quicksilver as primal matter. This must have been at least one reason for the presence of Hermes and Athena at the top of Matthaeus Merian's title page engraving for the *Musaeum Hermeticum* (1677, Fig. 2.173).

As Athena is sometimes considered the patron of painting,[738] the books could possibly be interpreted as representations, respectively, of the large gate-fold

738 For example, Aegidius Sadeler's print *Athena Introducing Painting amongst the Free Arts* (1595–96), and Bartholomeus Spranger's drawing *Athena with a Shield with the Mark of the Painters Guild* (1595). See Michal Šroněk, 'The Representation Practices of the

engravings and the printed text; their conjunction as the popular Renaissance symbol found in studies, libraries and museum, the 'Hermathena'.[739] The Italian scholar Achille Bocchi chose this image as the *impresa* of his academy, as well as including it in his *Five Books of Symbolic Questions* (1555; 1574, Fig. 2.174).[740] Discussing that work, Elizabeth See Watson describes the Hermathena as a combination of the '*Oratio*/*Ratio* (speech and reason) of Isocrates and the *Sapientia*/*Eloquentia* of Cicero [and] Saint Augustine', embodying the notion that 'Wisdom restrains Eloquence, and Eloquence tempers Wisdom';[741] perhaps more specifically representing 'Hermetic Wisdom' here in Khunrath's *Amphitheatre*.[742]

Taking into account Khunrath's religiosity and his self-determination as one seeking 'theosophical' wisdom, perhaps it is natural for him to display a preference for the term *Hieroglyph*, which literally translates as *Sacred* (hierós) *Incised Letters* (glúphe), a Greek rendering of the Egyptian 𓇋𓂝𓏏 (mdw-nṯr – god's

Prague painters' Guild in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period', in Kateřina Horníčková (ed.), *Faces of Community in Central European Towns: Images, Symbols, and Performances, 1400–1700* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2018), 149–193, at 160.

739 On the Hermathena, see Hansoon Lee, *Kunsttheorie in der Kunst: Studien zur Ikonographie von Minerva, Merkur und Apollo im 16. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1996), 105–35. For a publication contemporary with Khunrath, see Johannes Becanus Goropius, *Opera hactenus in lucem non edita: nempe, Hermathena, Hieroglyphica, vertumnus, Gallica, Francica, Hispanica* (Antwerp, 1580). As Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann points out in *The Eloquent Artist: Essays on Art, Art Theory and Architecture, Sixteenth to Nineteenth Century* (London: Pindar Press, 2004), 42 the *loci classici* for Hermathena, the only references to the concept in classical literature, are two passages in Cicero's *Ad Atticum* (1.4, 1.10). See also, W. Smith (ed.), *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (London: Taylor, Walton, and Maberly, 1848), 603 for other hybrid deities, whose names are compounded from Hermes and another divinity: Hermanubis, Hermares, Hermeracles (Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 1.10); Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite*, 46 Hermathena, Hermares, Hermeros.

740 Annarita Angelini, *Simboli e questioni: l'eterodossia culturale di Achille Bocchi e dell'Hermathena* (Bologna: Edizioni Pendragon, 2003), 10 n. 3; DaCosta Kaufmann, *The Eloquent Artist*, 43. See Bocchi, *Symbolicarum Quaestionum* (Bologna, 1555), Book 4, CCX.

741 See Watson, *Achille Bocchi and the Emblem Book as Symbolic Form*, 143–4. See also Thomas O. Sloane (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), Volume 1, 372–373.

742 For Khunrath referring to Eloquence and Wisdom, see *Amph.*II, 164 'SAP. *aperuit os*, &c.] Eloquentia vera cum Sapientia coniuncta est; & nascitur ex multarum rerum infallibili cognitione' (True Eloquence is joined with Wisdom; and is born from infallible knowledge of manifold things). Khunrath was in Prague with his Patron Vilém Rožmberk in 1592, so it is possible that he may have seen the *Hermathena* painted by Bartholomeus Spranger in 1585. See Sally Metzler, 'Artists, Alchemists and Mannerists in Courtly Prague', in Wamberg (ed.), *Art & Alchemy*, 129–148, at 137.



FIGURE 2.174 Bocchi, *Symbolicarum Quaestionum* (1555), Book 4, CCX 'Hermathena', with Cupid, denoting Love of Wisdom (Philosophy) and of Language (Philology). Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM O 61-9878

speech/words).[743] This is emphasised in Khunrath's portrait with the moving leg of the compass tracing a circle around which can be seen the words *Deo Duce* (With God as Guide, Fig. 2.170 above).[744] The motif of God creating the world by means of a compass could be found in the *Bible moralisée*, relating to Proverbs 8:27 'When he prepared the heavens, I was there: when he set a compass upon the face of the depth' (KJV).[745] The phrase *Deo Duce* must also have been fairly commonplace, being found, for example, in the works of Erasmus.[746] It is worth noting that Aegidius Sadeler's engravings for *Symbola Divina et Humana* (1600), already mentioned for its imprese of Rudolf II, also contains those of Rudolf's grandfather Ferdinand I (1503–1564), including the very similar motto of *Christo Duce* (With Christ as Guide, Fig. 2.175).[747]

The start of this chapter on Khunrath's images opened with his claim to novelty, that Theosophical truth had never been shown so 'orthodoxly and graphically' 'in Scripture and Picture' (*in* Scriptura & pictura) by any before him.[748] It is clear that by 'truth', Khunrath is also thinking of Christ as the Way, Truth, and Life, in his claim that intent scrutiny of the *Amphitheatre*'s images and text will make him known to his reader.[749] In the *Calumniators* Khunrath returns to this pairing in the statement that he has replied to his detractors 'both in Scripture

743 James P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 44; Richard B. Parkinson, with contributions by Whitfield Diffie, Mary Fischer, and R.S. Simpson, *Cracking Codes: The Rosetta Stone and Decipherment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 138.

744 The same words appear in *Amph.*II, 212 in the context of power over Nature and ourselves through self-knowledge, 'with God as guide'. Cf. Jacques Gohory/Leo Suavius, *Compendium* (1568), 74 signature I.G.P. "Natura Duce". See also Petrus Bonus, *Pretiosa Margarita Novella* (1546), 43^{v} '& ad id Deo duce devenies, quod optasti, de manuum labore mercedem & lucrum de rerum sumptibus rehabebis.'

745 Katherine H. Tachau, 'God's Compass and *Vana Curiositas*: Scientific Study in the Old French *Bible Moralisée*,' *Art Bulletin* LXXX (1998): 7–33. Cf. Ecclesiasticus 1:2 'Who hath measured the height of heaven, and the breadth of the earth, and the depth of the abyss?' Ecclesiasticus 24:8 'I alone have compassed the circuit of heaven, and have penetrated into the bottom of the deep, and have walked in the waves of the sea.' Khunrath cites Proverbs 8:27 on *Amph.*II, 65, providing two translations of the verse: '*Quando præparabat Cælos, aderam: quando* [manicule] *certa lege & gyro vallabat Abyssos*' and 'Quando præparabat Cælos, illic eram: quando describebat circulum in superficie Abyssi', the latter being particularly sympathetic to the image of a pair of compasses inscribing a circle.

746 Desiderius Erasmus, *Octavus Tomus Theologica ex Graecis scriptoribus theologicis* (Basel, 1540), 276; idem, *Epistolae familiaris* (Lyon, 1542), 29.

747 Typoets, *Symbola divina et humana*, plate 21 Emperor Ferdinand.

748 *Amph.*II, 182.

749 See also, cited above, *Amph.*II, 123 'si acutè intueberis & picturas & scripturas figurarum Amphitheatri huius primæ, secundæ & quartæ' (if you intently look at both the pictures and inscriptions/scripture of the first, second and fourth figures of this Amphitheatre).

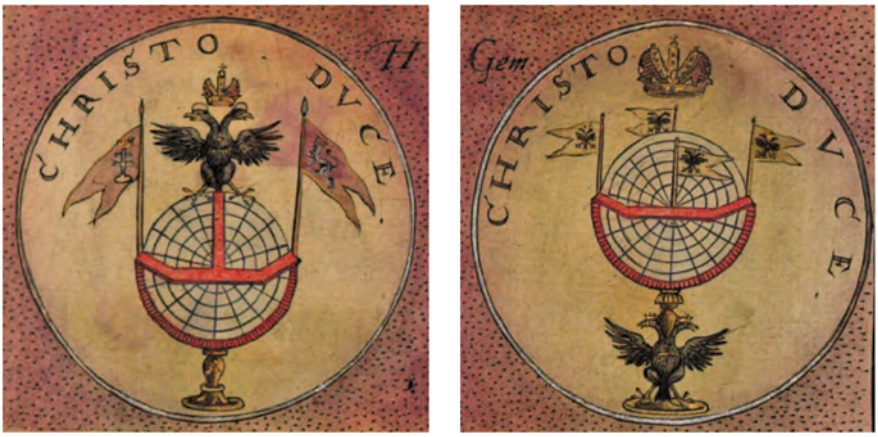


FIGURE 2.175 Typoets, *Symbola Divina et Humana* (1601), Plate 21 'Christo Duce'. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

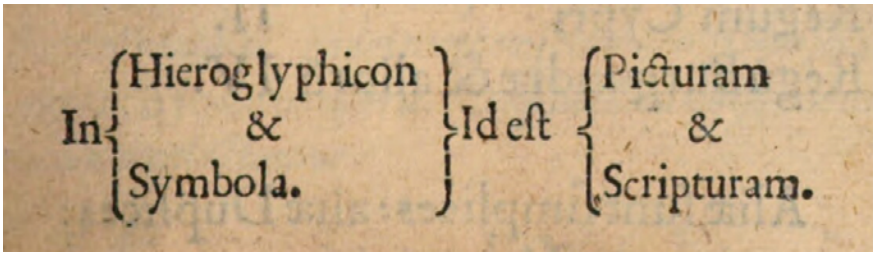


FIGURE 2.176 Typoets, *Isagoge* to *Symbola Divina et Humana* (1601), Aiij^{r} 'Pictura & Scriptura'. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

and Picture, not Offensively but Defensively'.[750] In 1601 the Flemish humanist and historian at Rudolf's court Jacobus Typotius (Jacques Typoets, 1540–1601), published an *Isagoge* to Sadeler's *Symbola Divina et Humana*.[751] The opening of his work adds an extra dimension to Khunrath's choice of phrase.

Typoets begins his discussion of Sadeler's *Symbola* with a gloss of the word *Hierographia*, as 'the more sacred (sacratior) meaning of a thing or person: in *nota* or *letters*: not so much expressed as *impressed*.'[752] He explains the comparative adjective 'sacratior' with the explanation that it means 'not so much that the *inventio* is sacred, or that all those things of the pagans are entirely

750 *Calumniators* engraving: '& in Scriptura, & in Pictura, non Offensivé sed Defensivé'.

751 See M.E.H.N. Mout, 'A Useful Servant of Princes. The Netherlandish Humanist Jacobus Typotius at the Prague Imperial Court Around 1600', *Acta Comeniana* 13 (1999): 27–49.

752 Typoets, *Symbola divina et humana*, Sig. Aiij^{r} 'Nobis est, significatio rei aut personae sacratior: notis, aut litteris: non tam expressa, quam impressa.'

sacred, … but because they are in the manner of the mysteries, they conceal more than they reveal.'[753] *Nota* are parsed as things that have been painted, engraved and concealed,[754] while *Letters* are what has been written, as letters, syllables, words and sentences.[755] Therefore, Typoets says, we can divide *Hierographia* into *Hieroglyphicon* (Hieroglyphic) and *Symbola* (Symbols), that is, *Pictura* and *Scriptura* (Fig. 2.176).

Whether Khunrath intended the same with his use of *Pictura et Scriptura* is debatable, but Typoet's idea is nevertheless a useful indication of the relevance of Khunrath's formulation to the intellectual and cultural milieu of the imperial court. In roughly the same time period, Michael Maier was one of Rudolf's physicians and such an atmosphere must have been formative on his mytho-chymical publications on emblems, *Atalanta fugiens* (1617) and symbols, *Symbola aureae mensae* (1617).

42 Khunrath's Use of Symbolum

Looking at Khunrath's use of the term *Symbolum*, which he employs in the title of one of his works, the *Symbolum Physico Chymicum* (Physico-Chymical Testament, 1598) at times he appears, like Typoets, to be relating it to 'Scriptura', albeit in the context of one of his 'Hieroglyphic' figures. At one point in the *Amphitheatre*, for example, he writes: 'Let this be in place of a Symbol for you: *My help is from the* LORD, *who made heaven and earth*, Psalm 121:2.'[756] In the *Calumniators* engraving we find the same Psalmodic utterance 'My help is from Jehovah, who made heaven and earth',[757] issuing from the mouth of the journeyman figure.

The sense of *Symbola* being associated with Scripture appears, too, in Khunrath's use of Reuchlin's definition of the textual exegetical tradition of Cabala as 'Symbolic Reception of Divine revelation'.[758] The verbal or oral sense

753 Typoets, *Symbola divina et humana*, Sig. Aiij^{r} 'Sacratior. Dicitur, non tantum quod inventio sacra sit: aut res ipsae Paganis omnes fere sacrae, imò plerumque ritu divino habitae; sed quod mysteriorum instar, plus abdant, quam promant.'

754 Typoets, *Symbola divina et humana*, Sig. Aiij^{r} 'Notis. Picta, sculpta, celata intelligimus.'

755 Typoets, *Symbola divina et humana*, Sig. Aiij^{r} 'Literis. Scripta. Scribuntur Litterae, Syllabae, Voces, Sententiae.'

756 *Amph.*II, 86 'Sit tibi Symboli loco: *Auxilium meum à* DOMINO, *qui fecit cœlum & terram*, Psal.121.2.'

757 *Calumniators* engraving: 'AUXILIVM MEVM à IEHOUAH, QUI FECIT CELVM ET TERRAM.' Cf. Vulgate Psalm 120:2 'My help is from the Lord, who made heaven and earth.'

758 *Amph.*II, 147 (mispaginated as p. 145 [T2^{r}]) 'CABALA est Diuinæ reuelationis, … Symbolica RECEPTIO'. Cf. Johann Reuchlin, *De arte cabalistica*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 620

is evident in a passage, borrowing heavily from Reuchlin, immediately following his reference to the 'Pictures and Scriptures' of the *Amphitheatre*'s figures:

> The pious and learned man [Reuchlin] did not wish (because of the superficialities of scoffers and fools) to scatter the veiled mysteries and most secret symbols into the air, but rather to whisper them into the ear, to the sons of the doctrine.[759]

At the same time, in the very same passage, Khunrath continues in a far more visual mode:

> There certainly are outlined images, signs, notes and symbols of superior things, by which we are moved to think about Celestial and Spiritual substances, powers, and operations, by a certain method of abstraction, either by way of assimilation, or by some other mode and manner possible to us garbed in flesh.[760]

The same sense of a physical image appears in a passage where Khunrath writes of his enthusiasm for collecting evidence of such enigmatic images:

> enflamed with Divine fire, with a great ardour for the highest things which must be investigated, I sought and consulted myself and through others (by buying, swapping, etc.) as time and circumstance permitted, the Symbolically or mystically, hieroglyphically, figuratively, enigmatically,

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'Est enim Cabala divinae revelationis, ad salutiferam Dei & formarum separatarum contemplationem traditae, symbolica receptio.'

759 The version printed in Johannes Pistorius's *Artis cabalisticae* (1587), titles the chapters as pp. 977–979 XIX *De characteribus quibus invocitur omnipotentia divina* and XX *Quòd Christus non sit sine cruce. Amph.*II, 123–4 'Noluit vir pius & doctus (ob derisorum & stultorum leuitates) arcana velamenta & secretissima symbola in auram spargere, sed magis doctrinæ filiis in aurem insusurrare.' Cf. Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis cabalisticae*, 979 'Quae cum deceat arcana scilicet uelamenta, & secretissima symbola non in auram spargere, sed magis in aurem susurrare, accedas velim propius Sidoni, ut te afflatu inspirem.'

760 Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis cabalisticae*, 979 'Sunt certè adumbratæ superorum imagines, signa, notæ ac symbola, quibus mouemur ad cogitandum de super Cælestib[us] & Spiritualibus substantiis, virtutibus & operationibus quodam tramite abstractionis, vel assimilationis via, vel alia quadam ratione ac modis nobis carne indutis, possibili.' Reuchlin, *De arte cabalistica*, in Pistorius, *Artis cabalisticae*, 634 [on angelic orders, Seraph, elemental correspondences, etc] '& adumbratae supernorum imagines, signa, notae ac symbola quib. mouemur ad cogitandum de supercoelestibus & angelicis substantijs, virtutib. & operationisbus quodam tramite abstractionis, vel assimilationis via vel alia quadam ratione ac modo nobis carne indutis possibili.'

> parabolically, allegorically, arcanely, secretly or manifestly engraved, painted, [and] written monuments (at home and abroad) of the Philosophers of diverse peoples, as much the most ancient and antique, as the Neoteric.[761]

Khunrath concludes with a statement that calls to mind the Chaldean concept of *synthemata* used by Proclus and Iamblichus in relation to theurgy: 'For the vast choir of Heavenly Beings can Theo-Sophically follow those symbols of Divinity.'[762] In theurgy, *symbola*/*synthemata* are 'cosmic built-in devices for communication with the gods'.[763] At times they are embedded in material objects, at other times 'present in certain incantations, concoctions, characters traced [on the earth], and in the ineffable names that were able to draw souls into the presence of the gods'.[764] Gregory Shaw points out that Iamblichus also writes of 'certain melodies and rhythms that gave the soul direct (*euthus*) participation in the gods'.[765] In Khunrath's theosophy they are utterances that attract the attention of the divine go-betweens, the angels.

A prime example of a visual symbol in the *Amphitheatre* is the large rock dominating the centre of the *Alchemical Citadel*:

> The Philosophical Rock, which is the Son of the Greater World, and the great ΠΑΝ [Pan] of Nature,[766] … the symbolic Image [*Effigies … symbolica*] of Jhsvh Christ, in Nature.[767]

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761 *Amph.*II, 148 (mispaginated as p. 146 [T2^{v}]) 'Nam Ego, ad scrutandas res altissimas ardore ingente, igne Diuino inflammatus, Philosophorum variorum populorum, tam vetustissimorum & veterum, quàm Neotericorum monumenta, Symbolicè aut mysticè, hieroglyphicè, figuratè, ænigmaticè, parabolicè, allegoricè, arcanè, secretè vel manifestè, sculpta, picta, scripta (domi & foris) ego ipse & per alios (emptione, commutatione,) &c. prout fieri potuisse tempus & occasio concedebant, conquisiui, perlustraui.'

762 *Amph.*II, 124 'Theo-Sophicè enim potest illa Diuinitatis symbola Caelestium ingens chorus sequi.' Cf. Pistorius's *Artis cabalisticae*, 947 'illa divinitatis symbola, coelestium ingens chorus sequi.'

763 On *Synthemata*, see Ilinca Tanaseanu-Döbler, *Theurgy in Late Antiquity: The Invention of a Ritual Tradition* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 282, 189.

764 Shaw, *Theurgy and the Soul*, 50.

765 Shaw, *Theurgy and the Soul*, 50.

766 See *Chaos* (1597), Vorrede, sig. [Axii^{v}] 'Iohan: Picus Mirandulæ Comes: *Frustra* Naturam *adit, qui* Pana *non attraxerit*. Orpheus, *In hymnis, de* Pane'; 244 'Pan, Omnia, Alles […] Magnus Pan Naturae, der Grosse der Natur/ so Alles Ist.' See S.A. Farmer, *Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses (1486) – The Evolution of Traditional Religious and Philosophical Systems* (Arizona: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998), 514–515 10>28 'Whoever does not attract Pan approaches nature and Proteus in vain.'

767 *Citadel* engraving: 'petra philosophalis, qui Mundi majoris filius, & magnus Naturæ Πan, … Christique ihsvh Effigies, in Naturâ, symbolica.' Matthew 16:18 'And I say to

Here, by means of his visual image of an object in nature, Khunrath is communicating what he calls the 'Symbolic' – elsewhere the 'Analogous' – Harmony of Christ with the Philosophers' Stone.[768]

43 Hieroglyphic Impressions

Khunrath's earliest reference to hieroglyphs appears in his graduation theses *On the Signatures of Natural Things* (1588), when he describes the Signatures as 'Little lines and hieroglyphic marks and figures … (like signs and seals) naturally, or rather divinely impressed in them'.[769] In the second edition of the *Athanor* (1603), he provides a useful gloss of the term 'hieroglyph' as 'allusion' in a Christian context when he translates the phrase '*Judicium Mundi instans per Ignem typicè ac hieroglyphi-χῶρ*' as 'the Judgement of this world, which is already near at hand, typically and allusively [andeutungs weise], by means of Fire'.[770] In his medical work *Three Highly Useful Questions* (1607) he refers to Book 60 of the *Hieroglyphica sive de sacris Aeqyptiorum literis commentarii* (Hieroglyphica or Commentaries on the Sacred Letters of the Egyptians, 1556) of the Italian humanist Pierio Valeriano Bolzani (1477–1558) where he writes of the Egyptian pyramids in connection with primal matter and the Philosophers' Stone, conceptually linking hieroglyphs with both the beginning and the end of the world.[771]

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thee that: Thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.'

768 *Calumniators* engraving: 'HARMONIA JHSVH CHRISTI cum LAPIDE phil[osophoru]m, symbolica et contra' (The symbolic HARMONY of JHSVH CHRIST with the Philosophers' STONE, and vice versa).

769 *Theses* (1588), sig. Aij^{v}, Thesis VIII: 'Signaturas … Lineolas & Notasque hieroglyphicas atque figuras, &c. ijs (tanquam signa & sigilla) naturaliter, immò potiùs divinitùs impressas'.

770 Khunrath, *Athanor* (1603), 6 'Sonderlich j[e]tzo in diesem unserm fewrigen *Seculo* sol unnd muß es also sein/ *Judicium Mundi instans per Ignem typicè ac hieroglyphiχῶρ*, das letzte Gericht dieser Welt/ so je für der Thür ist/ fürbildungs unnd andeutungs weise/ klärer auch dardurch anzukündigen.' *Athanor* (1599), 6 does *not* have 'hieroglyphicè': 'iudicium Mundi per ignem typice an zu kündigen'; but the 1615 edition, 6 does.

771 Khunrath, *Quaestiones Tres*, sig. D1^{v} 'Immò, etiam ipsi Ægyptiorum Reges, per PYRAMIDES, ex LAPIDE πυροποικελο [sic], pyripoecelo, aus Fewers farbichen oder Rothen viel Fewer in sich führens den/ desselbigen Landes art und zuneigungen nach/ STEINEN/ ampliosissimè atque magnificentissimè extructas teste PIERIO lib.60. Hieroglypic.' Khunrath is most likely using the 1575 edition of Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica*, because many other editions divide the books up differently. In this edition there is a Book 60, which on pp. 438^{v}–439^{r} includes a chapter on the Pyramid, which variously symbolises 'The Nature

The notion of these hieroglyphs being 'carved' by God in the Book of Nature would doubtless have struck resonances for Khunrath with the early medieval Jewish account of creation, the *Sepher Yetzirah* (Book of Formation), attributed to the Patriarch Abraham, of God using the letters of the Hebrew alphabet to 'engrave' the universe at the time of Creation.[772] As mentioned above, the very centrality of these sacred symbols in Khunrath's worldview is emphasised in the *Portrait*'s placing of the adverb *hieroglyphicè* on the axial leg of the compass. The circularity of this image is presumably intended to evoke the eternity of Divine Wisdom as well as, perhaps, that most famous of Horapollo's hieroglyphs, so popular with alchemists, the *Ouroboric* serpent swallowing its own tail (Fig. 2.158 above).[773] It is no doubt a representation of the belief that all legitimate knowledge comes from God, who encompasses all things, and comes in the form of sacred symbolic images understood only by the learned or initiated, with the help of divine inspiration.[774] Given the similarity in tone and themes of Khunrath's writing to that of the Flemish Paracelsian Gérard Dorn (1530–1584),[775] whose work he mentions in the *Athanor*,[776] it is even possible that Khunrath's combination of the circle and 'Deo Duce' could be an allusion to Dorn's Pythagorean speculations and his geometrical representation of

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of Things or Primal Matter,' 'The Soul of Man', or 'Fire'. On Valeriano, see Julia Haig Gaisser, *Pierio Valeriano on the Ill Fortune of Learned Men: A Renaissance Humanist and His World* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999); Giehlow, *The Humanist Interpretation of Hieroglyphs*, Chapter 6.

772 Aryeh Kaplan (trans.), *Sepher Yetzirah: The Book of Creation* (York Beach, Maine: Samuel Weiser, 1990; repr. 1993), 5. In his article 'Sefer Yetzirah', in Lindsay Jones (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion* Vol. 12 (2005), 8221–8222, Moshe Idel discusses two diverging schools of thought about its dating, one attributing it to the second or third century CE; the other proposing the eighth or ninth century CE. On the emergence of the *Sefer Yetzirah* in the early tenth century, see A. Peter Hayman, *Sefer Yeṣira: Edition, Translation and Text-Critical Commentary* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 1. Khunrath would have had access to a Latin translation of the *Sepher Yetzirah* in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae Liber*, published in Basel in 1587 during the time of Khunrath's studies at the medical academy. The first Latin translation, by Guillaume Postel, was published in Paris in 1552; the first Hebrew printing in Mantua in 1562.

773 Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica, Ori Apollinis Niliaci, De Sacris notis & sculpturis libri duo* (Paris, 1551).

774 Szulakowska, *Alchemy of Light*, 143.

775 Dorn is mentioned in the *Athanor* (1603), 24 in the context of a quote attributed to Gratarolus '*ut habet textus* Dornej'. The quote in question does appear in a work edited by Dorn, but in a text attributed to Bernard Trevisan: Trevisanus, *De chymico miraculo, quod lapidem philosophiae appellant* (Basel, 1583), 40. See Kahn, *Alchimie et Paracelsisme en France*, 569 for Kahn's linking of the *Amphitheatre* with the magic, christian cabala and spiritual alchemy inherited from Trithemius and Dorn.

776 Khunrath, *Athanor* (1603), 24.

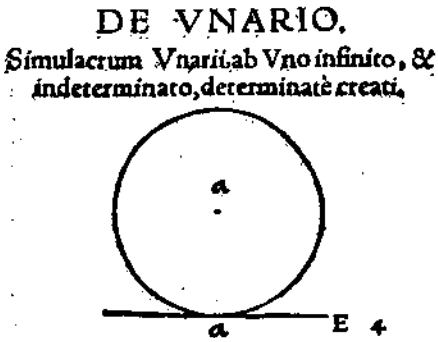


FIGURE 2.177 Dorn, *Monarchia triadis* (1577), 'On the Unary', 71. The Wellcome Library, London



FIGURE 2.178 Dee, *Monas Hieroglyphica* (1564), 28 'Intellect Judges the Truth'. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH1826 A

the 'Unarius' in the *Monarchia triadis, in unitate* (Monarchy of the Triad, in Unity, 1577, Fig. 2.177), which in its turn echoes John Dee's representation of 'Intellect' at the end of the *Monas Hieroglyphica* (1564, Fig. 2.178).[777]

Alongside occasional references in the main body of text, the *Amphitheatre* engravings show the importance Khunrath attributed to 'hieroglyphic' and 'Egyptian' traditions of wisdom. The *School of Nature* speaks of the wise being inspired and illuminated by the 'Signature or Divine hieroglyphic characters of Nature,'[778] while the *Pyramid* explicitly links the wisdom of Egypt with alchemy, most specifically that of Hermes Trismegistus and his famously enigmatic *Emerald Tablet*. Khunrath declares how the rocky pyramids have been 'divinely constructed, throughout the Globe, like most brilliant torches and truthful codexes of the very solid Doctrine of Magnesia, proper Subject of the Universal Philosophers' Stone' and of how they have been 'designed to be Holy Refuges and most safe Havens for very sincere Philosophers.'[779] Khunrath admonishes the sons of the doctrine to diligently investigate and examine their

777 Gerardus Dorneus, *Monarchia Triadis, in Unitate, Soli Deo Sacra*, in Gerardus Dorneus, *Aurora Thesaurusque Philosophorum, Theophrasti Paracelsi, Germani Philosophi, & Medici præ cunctis omnibus accuratissimi* (Basel, 1577), 65–127, at 71. The image is preceded by ths sentence: 'Horum igitur anatomiam ex utraque parte, (Deo duce) foeliciter auspicabimur in sequentibus ab unario'. See Forshaw, 'Alchemical Reception of John Dee's Monas Hieroglyphica', *Ambix* 52:3 (Nov. 2005): 247–269, at 256–7 for a reference to Dorn using the Monas. For Dorn's discussion of some of his geometrical figures, see 'De duello animi cum corpore', in *De Naturae Luce Physica, ex Genesi Desumpta* (Frankfurt, 1583), 314–341.

778 *School of Nature* engraving: 'Signatúrâ Divinisve Natúræ characterismis hieroglyphicis'.

779 *Pyramid* engraving: '… paßim in orbe Terrarum; tanquam Doctrinæ solidioris de MAGNESIA, LAPIDIS Phil[osophorum] Vniversalis Subjecto debito indeque ☿io Sapientum

use and fruit, from the 'Hieroglyphic philosophical doctrines' written on them, by means of 'Theosophic Philosophy, the Mind, Senses, Fire and Water,'[780] that is, by a combination of meditation, contemplation, empirical investigation and the fire and water of alchemical practice.

Khunrath's alchemical writings display an interest in Greco-Egyptian sources, in particular Hermes, Maria Prophetissa, Ostanes, Rosinus (i.e., Zosimos of Panopolis), together with the tenth-century work of Muhammed Ibn Umail al-Tamimi (known to the West as Senior Zadith), as a transmitter of Egyptian material in the *Tabula chemica*, which had such influence on one of the most important sequences of fifteenth-century alchemical images, the *Aurora consurgens*.[781] Khunrath's interest manifests in the *Citadel* where we find him highlighting the connection between Egypt and the Hermetic art, with the image of Hermes-Mercurius guarding the gateway to the inner city, flanked by two obelisks.[782] Two similar obelisks can be found framing the 1609 title page, at the bases of which appears the famous Hermetic maxim from the *Emerald Tablet* 'as above, so below'. The *Citadel* also features the image of the Ouroboric serpent swallowing its own tail, which appears as the first of Horapollo's hieroglyphs and in many alchemical engravings, as well as the related image, on the triumphal archway into the centre of the *Citadel* of two winged dragons, swallowing each other's tail.[783] The presence, too, of John Dee's hieroglyphic monad (or a variant thereof), sometimes called his 'Seal of

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Primateriali, Catholico ... Divinitus extructarum'; 'Philosophisque synceriorib[us] ueluti Anchoræ Sacræ & Asylæ tutiss[im]æ inuiolabiliter destinatarum.'

780 *Pyramid* engraving: 'ex Hieroglyphici illarum dogmatici p[ræ]scripto ... Philosophiâ Theosophicâ, Mente, Sensib[us], $\triangle^{e}$ et $\triangledown^{a}$ [igne et aqua].'

781 For references to Senior, see, for example, *Chaos* (1597) 4, 15, 17, 20, 21, 58, 119, 126, 128, 165, 179, 193, 222, 235, 284, 362, 387, 398, 408; *Athanor* (1603), 32, 33, *Quaestiones Tres*, sig. A6^{v}; to Hamuel, ben Zadith, *Chaos* (1597), 17, 103, 125, 165, 167, 269, 362, 408; *Magnesia*, 129; *Quaestiones Tres*, A6^{v}; Maria Prophetissa, *Athanor* (1603), 7; Rosinus [i.e., Zosimos], *Chaos* (1597), 12, 28, 36, 211; *Amph.*II, 101. On the corpus of Greco-Egyptian alchemy, see Michèle Mertens, 'Graeco-Egyptian Alchemy in Byzantium', in Paul Magdalino and Maria V. Mavroudi (eds.), *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium* (Geneva: La Pomme d'or, 2006), 205–230, at 208. For more information, see A.J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, I, *L'astrologie et les sciences occultes*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Gabalda, 1950), 217–40; Robert Halleux, *Les textes alchimiques: Typologie des Sources du Moyen Age Occidental* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979), 60–64. On the identification of Rosinus as Zosimos, see Heike Hild, 'Zosimos von Panopolis', in Claus Priesner and Karin Figala (eds.), *Alchemie, Lexicon einer hermetische Wissenschaft* (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1998), 380–381.

782 Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 96 calls them pyramids.

783 Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica* (1551). Cf. Leonhart Thurneisser zum Thurn, *Quinta Essentia* (Leipzig, 1574), Clxxxviij image: two vessels, left lunar with two dragons biting tails; right solar with one dragon biting its own tail; left labelled Aqua Fort; right Aqua Regis.

Hermes',[784] from the *Monas Hieroglyphica* (1564), within the circle formed by these two serpents represents a model for the association of hieroglyphs with alchemy and occult philosophy.[785] On the same theme, the 'Cave of Nature' in the *Calumniators* features the 'Hieroglyphic – Dragon of the Wise of the wisest and most secret SPIRIT of the World, by which All things in the Universe are animated, vivified, generated, regenerated, and preserved',[786] and urges the 'wise investigation and application of HIEROGLYPHS, in which many secret Mysteries of the Wise lie hidden.'[787] Shortly after the appearance of the 1609 edition of the *Amphitheatre*, France was to see the publication of the famous *Le Livre des Hiéroglyphs de Nicolas Flamel* (The Book of the Hieroglyphs of Nicolas Flamel, 1612),[788] purporting to be the copy of a kabbalistical book by Abraham the Jew in which Flamel provides theological interpretations for his highly alchemical hieroglyphs.[789] Count Gustav Bonde the Younger (1682–1764), member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, author of a seventeenth-century Latin and Swedish manuscript in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, containing an alchemical analysis of the *Amphitheatre*, evidently considers the two works participants in a form of hieroglyphic alchemy and compares the *Amphitheatre* at one point to Flamel's work in a marginal annotation.[790]

784 John Dee, *Monas Hieroglyphica* (Antwerp, 1564), 4r. See also Josten, 'A Translation of John Dee's "Monas Hieroglyphica,"' 123.

785 *Amph.*II, 6.

786 *Calumniators* engraving: 'EGO DRACO Sapientum – HIEROGLYPHICON – SPIRITVS Mundi sapientissimi et secretissimi, quo Vniversa animantur, vivificantur, generantur, regenerantur, ac conservantur.'

787 *Calumniators* engraving: 'HIEROGLYPHICORVM, in quibus Mysteria Sapientum multa delitescunt recondita, sapiens indagatio et applicatio.'

788 For more details, see Frank Sherwood Taylor, *The Alchemists* (London: William Heinemann, 1952; repr. St Albans, Herts: Paladin, 1976), 25–133 and Eric John Holmyard, *Alchemy* (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1957; repr. 1968), 239–249.

789 Dieckmann, *Hieroglyphics: The History of a Literary Symbol*, 71. On Flamel, see Claude Gagnon, *Description du Livre des Figures Hiéroglyphiques attribué à Nicolas Flamel* (Montreal: Les Éditions de l'Aurore, 1977).

790 Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Old Royal Collection Ms. GKS 250 'Opus animadversionum ad Henr. Khunrath Amphitheatrum', f. 45r 'vide Flamell: figuram secundam'. Lindroth has linked this with the practising alchemist and leading Swedish politician of his time, Gustav Bonde (1682–1764). See Sten Lindroth, *Paracelsismen I Sverige till 1600-Talets Mitt* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1943), 108 n. 6. My thanks to Håkan Håkansson for this information and for his suggestion that the manuscript dates from the 1730s–40s. On the phrase 'hieroglyphic alchemy', see Stolzenberg, *Egyptian Oedipus: Athanasius Kircher and the Secrets of Antiquity*, 132, 222.

44 Part IV: the Roles of the Images

Following this introduction to the *Amphitheatre*'s images, the question inevitably arises as to what Khunrath saw as their purpose and how they related to the accompanying text. In *The Power of Images*, David Freedberg discusses 'the need to consider all possible uses of images', suggesting that we may be 'calmed by them, stirred by them', moved to 'wonder, desire, fellow-feeling, … to fury, stirred with disdain … moved to true piety, drawn to devotion and reverence', to 'hatred of sins, disgust of vanity, shrinking from bad companions.' Images, moreover, serve as aids to memory and recognition, they inspire awe and rouse piety.[791] In the following chapters, various uses of the *Amphitheatre*'s images (devotional, sacramental, meditational, magical) will be considered in relation to Khunrath's occult and theosophical practices.[792] Here we shall discuss their more general pedagogical and polemical roles.

45 1. The Synoptic Role

As should be evident by now, the *Amphitheatre*'s images at times bear only a tangential relation to the main body of text, which is itself an occult-theosophical commentary on, predominantly, Solomonic verses from the Bible. As has been suggested, the *Oratory-Laboratory* and *Calumniators* engravings serve as verbal and visual indexes to the major components of Khunrath's theosophy, acting as visual glosses of the book in the absence of a separate textual index. Daniel Russell's description of pictures serving as a 'series of landmarks', providing the 'spatial metaphors necessary for the diagrammatic organisation of the text into mnemonically effective presentation' is a useful way of conceiving the relation of Khunrath's images to the *Amphitheatre* text.[793] Although Frances Yates's idea that the title of the *Amphitheatre* refers to some form of 'occult memory system through which he was visually presenting his ideas' is not really borne out by

791 David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 1–5, 44, 49. See Julien Véronèse, 'Magic, Theurgy, and Spirituality in the Medieval Ritual of the *Ars Notoria*', in Claire Fanger (ed.), *Invoking Angels: Theurgic Ideas and Practices: Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 37–78, at 63 where he refers to Freedberg's notion of 'the practice of image-assisted meditation', also found in Christian mysticism.

792 On various types of image, see Láng, *Unlocked Books. Manuscripts of Learned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe*, 137 concerning Lull's volvelles as 1. facilitating understanding; 2. didactic; 3. representative; 4. classificatory; 5. memorizing; 6. meditative.

793 Russell, *Emblematic Structures in Renaissance French Culture*, 22.

the main-text, various references to the 'eyes of the mind',[794] allow for speculation that some form of mnemotechnical significance is perhaps intended.[795] As mentioned in the previous chapter, the title page of the 1608 *Amphitheatre* announced that through daily reflection on the engravings and text, 'the whole work of the AMPHITHEATRE can be completed and fixed in the memory in the space of a year.'[796] As mentioned above, in the Epilogue to both the 1608 and 1609 edition Khunrath explains that the *Amphitheatre* was constructed among other things as a 'Μνημοσυνον [*mnēmosynon* – Record] of charity for my NEIGHBOUR, Memorial for MYSELF, aiding my fleeting memory'.[797]

Jean-Pierre Dubost argues that 'the mental disposition of givens in the memory in a virtual space "ante oculos mentis" makes of the space imagined … a visual and mental mnemotechnical support'.[798] Such could be the case in Khunrath's use of the phrase in two passages: he desires that his images may appear 'before the eyes, not only of your body, but also of your Mind (ante oculos … mentis), by day and by night',[799] and employs the same phrase in a passage concerning those who seek to unite with wisdom:

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794 'Oculos mentis', *Amph.*II, 63, 82.

795 See Jean-Pierre Dubost, 'Iconolâtrie et iconoclastie de l'écriture libertine', in Wagner, *Icons, Texts, Iconotexts: Essays on Ekphrasis and Intermediality*, 43–57, at 47 'La disposition mentale des données de la mémoire dans un espace virtuel "ante oculos mentis" fait de l'espace imaginé ou d'un élément quelconque (formae quaedem et notae et simulacra: des formes, des marques, des portraits) un support mnémotechnique visuel et mental.'

796 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1608), title page: 'Jam noviter, diu desiderata, EXPLICATIO SINGULARIS, eiusdem Authoris P.M. qua NOVEM tabulae in aes incisae dilucide explicantur, & ita tractantur ut singulis diebus, una saltem periodo observata, totum opus AMPHITHEATRI unius anni spacio absolvi, & memoriter infigi possit.'

797 *Amph.*II, 220 'PROXIMO Μνημοσυνον Charitatis; MIHI IPSI Memoriale, labili inseruiens memoriæ meæ'; Cf. Sven Rune Havsteen, 'Lutheran Theology and Artistic Media: Responses to the Theological Discourse on the Visual Arts', in Andrew Spicer (ed.), *Lutheran Churches in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 221–240, at 238 'Equipped with a *memoria labilis*, living in *terra oblivionis*, man is in need of instruments that support his memory.' Cf. Wisdom 8:13 'Because of her, I shall attain immortality, and shall leave behind an everlasting memory for those who come after me.' Note the similarity of Khunrath's expression with that of another author concerned with Eternal Wisdom, the German Dominican friar Heinrich Suso (d. 1366), *Dialogus de Veritate*, in *Opera* (Cologne, 1588), 343 'Sed dicta haec mihi satis obscura perquam velim sub quibusdam expressis similitudinibus pro tua intelligentia declares, ut ea plenius capiam, & quae hactenus fuse dicta sunt, in compendium contrahas, ut *labili memoriae meae* firmius inhaereant' (my italics).

798 Dubost, 'Iconolâtrie et iconoclastie de l'écriture libertine', 47.

799 *Amph.*II, 167 '*Ab oculis tuis.*] Ante oculos non tantùm corporis, verùm & Mentis diu noctuque tibi obuersentur. *Legem*] In qua doctrina sana veritasque ipsa quiescit.'

> Just as those who wish to enter into marriage start from friendly conversation, just so those who seek marriage with Eternal Wisdom engage in pious, holy, most beautiful and most pleasant thoughts about her, and they set before the eyes of [their] mind (ante oculos mentis) that most lovely image of Wisdom, such as the Most Wise King depicts in the first chapters of Proverbs, and in book 7 of Wisdom.[800]

46 The Amphitheatre's 1609 Title Page

There is the sense that the full series of circular and rectangular figures in the 1609 edition represents the synopsis of not just the *Amphitheatre*, but the whole corpus of Khunrath's works. This is particularly the case with the 1609 title page (Fig. 2.179).

The *Amphitheatre*'s title is flanked by two obelisks on pedestal bases.[801] Like those in the *Citadel* engraving they have slight variations. While the *Citadel* obelisks are topped by the Sun on the left and the Moon on the right, here that on the left is topped by a sphere surmounted by three tongues of fire;[802] that on the right by a triangle or possibly a pyramid, while the Sun and Moon in the heavens preserve the same positions (Fig. 2.181).

Some of the features on these two monuments seem to have more in common with Khunrath's other publications, or at least appear to contain allusions to them. The half Greek, half Latin expression 'ΧΑΟΣ Magnesiae' (Chaos of Magnesia) in the small sphere balanced on the top of the left-hand obelisk calls to mind Khunrath's two main works on alchemical primal matter, *Vom hylealischen Chaos* (On Primaterial Chaos, 1597) and *Magnesia catholica philosophorum* (Universal Magnesia of the Philosophers, 1599), as well as anticipating the large central ΧΑΟΣ in the dark sphere of the earth in Circular

800 *Amph.*II, 113–4 'Vide verss.18. &142. Quemadmodum qui coniugium inire volunt, à colloquio amico initium faciunt: ita qui sapientiæ Æternæ coniugium ambiunt, pias, sanctas, pulcherrimas, amabilissimas de ea suscipiunt cogitationes, & ante oculos mentis proponunt sibi imaginem illam sapientiæ formosissimam, qualem sapientissimus Regum, in prioribus Prouerbiorum capitibus depingit, & in lib. Sap.7.'

801 Khunrath's right-hand obelisk resembles style Q in Sebastiano Serlio, *Il Terzo Libro di Sabastiano Serlio Bolognese, nel qual si Figurano, e Descrivono le Antiqvita di Roma, e le altre che sono in Italia, e fuori de Italia* (Venice, 1544), 67 found broken in three pieces in San Rocco. Khunrath's left-hand obelisk looks extremely similar to the variant of style P immediately above obelisk Q (Fig. 2.180).

802 Cf. variant P in Serlio's engraving, *Il terzo libro* (1544), Libro Terzo, 67 which is in the Vatican, of Egyptian stone, on top of which are said to be the ashes of Gaius Caesar.



FIGURE 2.179 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Title Page*. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977

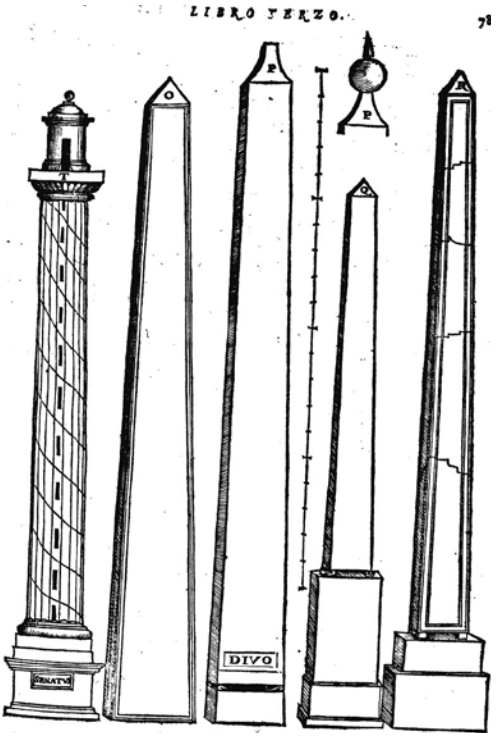


FIGURE 2.180 Serlio, *Il terzo libro* (1544), 67 Columns. Univertitäts-Bibliothek Heidelberg



FIGURE 2.181 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Title Page*, detail: top of page. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977

Figure 3 of the *Rebis*.[803] The Hebrew words אש [*Esch* – Fire], within tongues of fire, and שמש [*Shemesh* – Sun], in a radiant sun, in the top-left corner of the page evoke Khunrath's work on the fire of the mages and sages, *De Igne Magorum* (1608).[804] The Hebrew words אורים יה [*Urim Yah* – God's Lights] in the triangle or pyramid perched on the apex of the right-hand obelisk, could be alluding to the as yet undiscovered *Urim & Thumim Christiano-Cabalistica* (1607);[805] while, as mentioned above, its triangle or pyramid anticipates an identical one bearing the Hebrew word אבן [*Aben* – Stone] above the large dragon in the *Citadel* engraving.

Moving down the obelisks, there are then two sets of plaques, rectangular above and circular below. It is likely that their shapes allude to the *Amphitheatre*'s four circular Theosophical figures and the five rectangular Hieroglyphic figures. The rectangular plaque on the left bears the imperial cryptogram mentioned above, ADSIT; that on the right has the Hebrew words *Ruach Hhochmah El*, the two combining to mean: 'May the Spirit of the Wisdom of God be present', a suitable sentiment for a work on *Eternal Wisdom* and one encapsulating the Cabalistic tone of the work. Beneath these rectangular plaques stand two round ones, which promote a prominent message in the *Amphitheatre*, the two-fold recommendation *Orando* (By Praying) and *Laborando* (By Working), the combination of Cabala and alchemy. As these round plaques obviously relate to the exhortation to 'Pray' (Ora) and 'Work' (Labora) on the arms of the second circular figure of *Adam-Androgyne*, and to the fourth circular figure of the *Oratory-Laboratory*, it is tempting to interpret the message of the rectangular plaques as implying that the Spirit of the Wisdom of God is present in different ways in each of the five hieroglyphic engravings, from the *School of Nature* through to the *Calumniators*.

On the pedestals of the obelisks we read on the left 'Memoriae honestae' (For an honourable Memory) and on the right 'Immortalitati Laudandae' (For a Praiseworthy Immortality), presumably Khunrath's wishes for himself and his work. With these phrases he is no doubt alluding to Solomonic verses discussed in the *Amphitheatre*, most notably Wisdom 8:13, 'Because of her, I shall attain immortality, and shall leave behind an everlasting memory for those

803 For more, see Chapter 6 on Khunrath's alchemy.

804 The Hebrew אש and the Greek ΧΑΟΣ both also appear in the *Amphitheatre*'s third circular engraving, the *Rebis*.

805 Heinrich Khunrath, *Urim & Thumim Christiano-Cabbalistica ex Macrocosmo & S.S. Scriptura Biblica desumta* (Magdeburg apud Johannem Franck, 1607), mentioned by Adelung, *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit*, 103; Jean-Jacques Manget, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medicorum*, 4 vols. (Geneva, 1731), Vol. II, Pars Prima, Lxxxvi. Kunratus (Henricus).



FIGURE 2.182 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Title Page*, detail: Tetraktys above



FIGURE 2.183 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Title Page*, detail: triangular Stone below. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977

who come after me',[806] and Wisdom 6:19–20 'Love, moreover, is the observation of her laws; and the observation of her laws is the preservation of immortality. Furthermore, immortality makes us approach very near to GOD.'

At the top of the page, the Pythagorean *Tetraktys* containing the Hebrew *Tetragrammaton* יהוה YHVH anticipates that in Circular Figure 1 of Christ Cruciform, while the phrase 'Id quod inferius sicut quod superius' (That which is below [is like] that which is above), on the earth beneath the obelisks, connects with the text of the *Emerald Tablet* in the *Pyramid* engraving. This message of reciprocity between the celestial (or supercelestial) above and the terrestrial below is reinforced by the way the triangular *Tetraktys* at the top of the page (Fig. 2.182) is mirrored by the rough triangular alchemical Stone at the foot of the page (Fig. 2.183). This echoing or paralleling of themes is found, too, in the presence of the *Tetragrammaton* in the heavens and the mainly Hebrew phrase between Khunrath's coat-of-arms and the Stone: 'רוח אלהים mediantibus שמים' [*Ruach Elohim* mediantibus *Schamaim*] (Spirit of the Lord with the Heavens Mediating).[807]

The cornucopia and palm leaves of victory surrounding the *Amphitheatre*'s title surely represent the rewards of the victor in the amphitheatral stadium, be that in the arenas of cabala, magic or alchemy, the leaves echoing those in the victor's laurel wreath held by a divine hand bearing the word 'Omnia' (All Things), descending from a cloud in the heavens, over the cameo image of Khunrath's head. Khunrath's motto 'Nec Tumide, nec Timide' (Neither recklessly, nor timidly) stands in two oval plaques just above where the palm leaves

806 See *Amph.*II, 160. See also Wisdom 15:3 'your power [is] the root of immortality'.
807 For more on *Ruach Elohim*, see Chapter 3 on Khunrath's Theosophy.



FIGURE 2.184 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Title Page*, detail: Cameo. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977

merge with the cornucopia of abundance. Given their placement by the circular plaques there is the possibility that one should combine the elements of the circular and oval plaques to read the messages of humility in the Oratory, 'By praying not haughtily' and confidence in the Laboratory, 'By working not apprehensively.'

The phrase encircling Khunrath's head in the cameo (Fig. 2.184), 'Non, certe, haec sine numine Elohim' (These, certainly, are not possible without the divine will of Elohim), may well be an echo of Virgil's statement from the *Aeneid* (beginning 'Non haec sine numine'), that 'These things do not happen without the will of the gods'.[808] If such is the case, then Khunrath has modified the pagan reference to multiple gods by substituting the Hebrew divine name Elohim (which itself can be translated in the plural as 'gods').

808 Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book 2, l. 777 'Non haec sine numine divum eveniunt' (These things do not happen without the will of the gods). See Susan Ford Wiltshire, *Public and Private in Vergil's Aeneid* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1989), 72.

The author is well aware that his claims to the exceptionally rare nature of the theosopher, in the phrase 'E Millibus Vix Uni' (To scarcely one out of thousands), calling to mind similar declarations by Reuchlin, Trithemius, Paracelsus, and, apparently, Pythagoras,[809] will provoke the ire and objections of many. The accompanying 'Rumpantur et ilia Momo' (And may Momus's sides burst) shows his resolution to withstand such carping criticism.[810]

Khunrath intimates of negative reception of his work in a phrase encircling his coat of arms, at the point from which the two cornucopias spring forth. There appears the phrase 'Virtutis comes, invidia' (Virtue's companion, Envy), from the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (Rhetoric for Herennius), where Cicero continues, 'Envy, who art wont to pursue good men, yes, even to

809 *Amph.*II, 215 'At vereor è millibus vix vnum. Non enim contingit cuiuis, credite veridico, portum appellere veritatis' (But I fear scarcely one out of thousands. For it does not fall to everybody, believe that I speak truly, to reach the harbour of truth). See also *Magnesia*, 45 'Es nicht erkennen; nur allein die jenigen wenigen Erkennen/ die GOTT aus seiner sonderbaren GUTE und BARMHERTZigkeit es wil erkennen lassen; Ja wol unterzehen/ oder viel viel mehr Tausenden kaum einen.' Cf. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 56–57 'sed firmior ac validior notitia … illius quidem notitiae possessio est non humana, tum ut conspicimus quia raro & vix è millibus uni contingit, quasi vidatur magis divinitus illabi quam humanitus acquiri' (It is a more reliable, more robust form of knowledge … the possession of such knowledge is not something human; because it is rarely achieved – scarcely one man in a thousand has it – it seems to sink in by divine agency more than be acquired by human means); Theophrastus Paracelsus, *De Lumine Naturae*, in Johann Hüser (ed.), *Opera, Bücher und Schrifften* (Strasbourg: Lazarus Zetzner, 1603), Vol. 2., 682–686, at 684 'Darumb wo er zu suchen sey/ haben die Philosophi gar heimlich gehalten/ das under 1000. kaum einem offenbart wirdt/ ich wils aber anzeigen/ durch nachfolgende rede'; Trithemius, letter to Germain de Ganay, in *De Septem Secundeis, id est, intelligentijs, siue Spiritibus Orbes post Deum mouentibus, reconditissimae scientiae & eruditionis Libellus* (Cologne, 1567), 74 'Inde menti assumenda similitudo unde venit. … quis autem mihi dabitur ex millibus unus, qui harmoniam hanc intelligat coelestem? ad supercoelestem mens nata est, cuius similitudine vivit'. For Pythagoras, see Khunrath, *Lux in Tenebris*, 15 'Darauff antwort Pythagoras: Diß ding ist heimlich/ und doch offenbar; verborgen/ und doch jederman bekandt: Und wie die andern Philosophi sagen/ So kennets die gantze Welt/ Sie hat es vor jhren Augen/ und weißt es mit seinem eygenen Namen/ den es in gemein hat/ zunennen: Aber Gottes will und beschluß ist/ daß es unter zehen/ oder vielmehr Tausenden kaum einer/ ja nuhr allein die jenigen wenigen/ recht kennen und erkennen sollen/ denen Er es auß sonderbarer güte und barmhertzigkeit/ vergönnet und nachgelassen.' It also recalls the message of the 'Arbor Raritatis' in Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica* (Antwerp, 1564), 3.

810 Μωμος [Mōmos], the god of carping criticism, fault-finding personified. See Cary, et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 578. Cf. Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I–VI*, Eclogue VII.26 'inuidia rumpantur ut ilia Codro', trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, 2 Vols, Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann, 1932), Vol. I, 51 'that Codrus' sides may burst with envy;' Martial, *Epigrams*, trans. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, Book IX.XCVII.12 'rumpatur quisquis rumpitur invidia', 317 'Whosoever is bursting with envy, let him burst'.

persecute them', providing the phrase as a rhetorical example of 'Correction', of how to transform a bland statement into one that 'makes an impression upon the hearer'.[811] Readers of the *Amphitheatre* who were familiar with alchemy would possibly also have drawn a connection with one of the best-known early translations from Arabic, the *Turba Philosophorum* (Assembly of Philosophers), well-known for its praise of the Wise men for communicating their ideas without envy.[812]

None of the aspects of this title page are haphazard, with visual and verbal elements being in such a state of balance that it is possible that the sentiment around the coat-of-arms counterbalances that in Khunrath's cameo. It may well also be alluding to the famous dialogue from Plutarch's *Moralia* 'On Love', where a far more uplifting companion than Envy is discussed:

> For herein there is nothing foul, nothing forced nor by constraint: but that gentle perswasion and attractive grace, which yielding in truth a pleasant and sweet labour, leadeth all travell whatsoever unto vertue and amity; which neither without a god can attain unto the desired end which is meet and convenient, nor hath any other god (non sine numine) for the guide, master and conductor, than Love which is the companion of the Muses, Graces and Venus.[813]

Khunrath's title page is indeed a veritable iconotext, in which a considered selection of visual and verbal sources has been chosen to attract (and possibly reassure) the potential reader with familiar classical sources studied at university, such as Virgil, Plutarch and Cicero, all of whom make their appearance in

811 See Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, IV. xxvi. 36 'O virtutis comes, invidia, quae bonos sequeris plerumque atque adeo insectaris!', 318–319.

812 Ruska, *Turba Philosophorum: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Alchemie*, 146 Sermo XXXVIII 'Respondit Turba: Illuminasti, Eliste, et optime quid dixisti, et liber factus es ab invidia'; 131 Sermo XXII 'Inquit Theophilus: Bene dixisti, Nofice, et pulchre, ac ab invidia liber factus es'; 157 'Nonne videtis, quod philosophi invidia carentes dixerunt'; 123 Sermo XIV 'Ait Pitagoras. Et te, Arsuberem, liberet Deus ab invidia'.

813 Plutarch, *Moralia*, Vol. IX, Table-Talk, Books 7–9. *Dialogue on Love*. See Plutarch, *Of Love*, in Philemon Holland, *The Philosophy, commonly called, The Morals written by the Learned Philosopher Plutarch of Chaeronea* (London, 1657), 931. Plutarch, 'Sermo & disputatio amatoria', in Plutarch, *Ethica, sive Moralia, Opera quae extant, omnia* (Basel, 1573), 106 'Nihil enim hic turpe est, nihil coactum, sed lepos & urbanitas: quae subministrans laborem revera suavem, aerumnam deducit ad virtutem & amicitiam: quae non sine numine finem convenientem accipit, neque alium habet ducem & dominum deum, quam Musarum, Gratiarum & Veneris sodalem Cupidinem'.

the *Amphitheatre* engravings, rubbing shoulders with more arcane elements drawn from Christian Cabala, magic and alchemy.

47 Retrospective Synopsis in the Rectangular Figures

The alchemical malpractices and mistakes featured in the *Citadel* relate far more to Thrasybulus Ricenus's 'Treuhertzige Warnungs-Vermahnung' (True-Hearted Warning-Admonition) appended to *On Primaterial Chaos* (1597), than they do to anything in the *Amphitheatre*'s text.[814] It seems acceptable to suggest that following their successful reception – attested by the praise meted out to "Cunradius's" warnings by Michael Maier in his *Examen fucorum pseudo-chymicorum* (Swarm of Pseudo-Chymical Drones, 1617) – Khunrath decided to increase the appeal of his updated *Amphitheatre* by including a visual representation of them in a new engraving.[815] The same could be said of his discussion of the above-mentioned Hebrew word 'Aben', first discussed in *Chaos* and subsequently appearing above the dragon's head in the *Citadel*. The inclusion of Latin and German versions of the *Emerald Tablet* in the *Pyramid* engraving could be seen as an attempt to appeal to a wider readership, and more closely resembles the bilingual nature of Khunrath's other works, which display a preference for the German vernacular, or at least for Latin with German paraphrases, in contrast to the predominantly Latin *Amphitheatre*. Far from being simple complementary illustrations of the text, these additional rectangular engravings provide supplementary or alternative rubrics, encouraging the generation of further levels of meaning. In this way the *Amphitheatre* Prologue and figures act almost like one extended emblematic tableau in that only by long and repeated reflection on the, at first sight, puzzling relationship between image and text, does the reader eventually arrive at the author's intended meanings.[816]

814 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), 440–469.

815 Michael Maier, *Examen Fucorum Pseudo-Chymicorum detectorum* (Frankfurt, 1617), 31–45 *passim*. This was recognised by the author of the *Cato Chemicus* in Manget, *Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa*, 2 vols. (1702), Vol. 1, 374, Caput VIII 'De Phreneticæ fraudulentis Magisteriis': 'Fuci cum suis Magisteriis: Illas sophistarum technas, fraudes dolosque, quibus utuntur veluti queant, in unum quasi fasciculum congessit Cunradus in quodam Germanicò Tractatu, cujus verba in latinum sermonem transtulit Michael Majerus.'

816 Dieckmann, *Hieroglyphics: The History of a Literary Symbol*, 58.

48 Raising up and Defending Truth

Khunrath does give us some indication of the intended purpose of his figures, when at the beginning of the *Amphitheatre* he tells us that the book has been provided with engravings 'for the purpose of raising up and defending [...] TRUTH, openly everywhere shamefully suffering the most iniquitous violence, and as it were groaning under the wearying weight of calumnies, from the ruin [to which it is] almost [...] succumbing'.[817] The pictures, therefore, are primarily introduced for didactic and polemical purposes. As such the engravings share much in common with the moral content of emblem books and the satirical images of popular propaganda in the German Reformation.

49 2. Didactic, Pedagogical, Instructional Roles

In *L'Emblème à la Renaissance*, Yves Giraud points out that the emblem cannot simply be reduced to an intellectual game, but in the case of the *Devises heroiques* (1557) of Claude Paradin (*c*.1510–1573) and the *Recueil d'emblemes* (Collection of Emblems, 1638–39) of Jean Baudoin (*c*.1590–1650), for example, it acts instead as a vehicle for moral instruction and the cultivation of the love of virtue and the scorn of vice.[818] This is surely also the case in Khunrath's *School of Nature*, where we see hermits practising *Precatio* (Prayer), *Ieiunia* (Fasting) and *Eleemosyna* (Alms-giving); in the *Entrance*'s first oracular saying (Isaiah's 'Wash yourselves, be clean'), and in the *Citadel*'s rejection of misguided, misleading and fraudulent laboratory practice and its advocation of *Opera Bona* (Good Works) as the prerequisite for access to the central mystery. Although Szulakowska is undoubtedly correct in suggesting that the rectangular engravings have more of a narrative, didactic nature, while the circular figures serve as revelatory images, 'structured to illuminate the viewer's

817 *Amph*.I, 6–7 'VERITATIS, passim Locorum, sine pudore vim publicè patientis iniquissimam, & Quasi sub calumniarum pondere fatiscendo ingemiscentis, ferè (proh!) succumbentis, ab interitu, ... vindicandæ ac erigendæ causa'.

818 Giraud, 'Propositions', in idem (ed.), *L'Emblème à la Renaissance*, 12. On Paradin and Baudoin, see Alison Saunders, *The Seventeenth-Century French Emblem: A Study in Diversity* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2000). On Baudoin, see Marie Chaufour, 'Jean Baudoin, le "translateur" et le portrait du prince idéal', in Pierre Zoberman (ed.), *Interpretation in/of the Seventeenth Century* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 119–135.

understanding by "gnosis," that is, by engaging the empathetic faculty',[819] I would argue that the circular figures function on both levels.[820]

Writing of symbolic images in his studies on iconography, art historian Ernst Gombrich drew distinctions between those images which were fundamentally iconic (revelatory) and those in narrative mode (didactic).[821] Khunrath's figures certainly contain elements that relate to what Gombrich terms 'didactic diagrams', stemming from the 'love of system, characteristic of medieval didacticism'.[822] What could be more instructional, after all, or as Elkins puts it 'informational',[823] than the presence of the Ten Commandments and the lists of divine and angelic names in Circular Figure 1, the ten virtues by which man can imitate the archetype, together with the Ladder of Union with God and the Aristotelian Grades of Cognition in Circular Figure 2, the compilation of essential alchemical themes and motifs in Circular Figure 3, or the memorable illustration of the absolute necessity of combining work and prayer in Circular Figure 4?

One of the rare instances when a passage from the *Amphitheatre*'s text can be directly linked with a rectangular engraving can be found in the *School of Nature*, where an intent viewer will notice the ants' nest close to the figure of the adept at prayer on the islet in the river (Fig. 2.185). This should remind the reader of a passage in which Khunrath comments on Proverbs 6:6 'Go to the ant, O sluggard, and consider her ways, and learn wisdom', the verse from Proverbs 30:24–25 concerning the 'four very little things of the earth' that are 'wiser than the wise', including 'the ants, a feeble people, which provide themselves food in the harvest', and the notion of the ant as a hieroglyphic symbol for Understanding and Providence.[824]

In this little scene, the pious adept at prayer and industrious ants already epitomise the rest of the engraving, indeed the message of the *Amphitheatre*: Ora et Labora.[825] In the same *Amphitheatre* entry (90), Khunrath then moves on to discuss the stork as symbolising chastity, the dog fidelity, and the elephant

819 Szulakowska, 'Phy Diabolo!', 175–185.

820 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 126.

821 Gombrich, *Symbolic Images*, 123–25.

822 Gombrich, *Symbolic Images*, 130.

823 Elkins, *The Domain of Images*, 3 scientific and 'informational' images.

824 See Umberto Eco, 'Overinterpreting texts', 46, where he refers to Cosma Rosselli, *Thesaurus artificiosae memoriae* (Venice, 1579), 117: 'Formica: Cognitionem & Providentiam'. Cf. Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica* (1551), 75 'Cognitionem pingentes, formicam pingunt. Si quid enim homo tuto occultarit, haec cognoscit.'

825 In the margin, *Amph.*11, 38 we read 'The lazy [man] is roused to work and the study and investigation of Wisdom' (Excitatur piger ad laborem & Sapientiae studium atque inuestigationem).



FIGURE 2.185 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *School of Nature*, detail: Islet with Adept and Ants. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977

magnanimity, thereby alluding to classical discussions of the rationality and moral superiority of animals found, for instance, in essays in Plutarch's *Moralia, De sollertia animalium* (On the Cleverness of Animals) and *Bruta animalia ratione uti* (Whether Beasts are Rational).[826] The *School of Nature* engraving also includes a direct quote from one of the most famous compilations of moral and proverbial sayings from classical authors, Desiderius Erasmus's *Adages*, first published in 1500. On the way up to the summit of the mountain, Khunrath's reader encounters the advice given to the Theban, Polycrates, by the oracle at Delphi, concerning his long and fruitless search for buried treasure: ΠΑΝΤΑ ΛΙΘΟΝ ΚΙΝΕΙ [*Panta Lithon Kinei*], 'Leave no stone unturned'.[827] Apollo's advice was heeded and a great hoard of gold was found. Here Khunrath is doubtless intimating of both spiritual, theosophical riches as well as the gold sought for in transmutational alchemy.

As the adept in Circular Figure 4 is pictured at prayer before the *Amphitheatre*'s first two circular figures, it is likely that they were meant to serve as images for personal meditative practices, as visual stimuli for what Richard McCabe

826 *Amph.*II, 38–39. The first book of Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* is devoted to the Elephant.

827 See Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, Vol. 31, 340 'Omnem movere lapidem' (To leave no stone unturned): ΠΑΝΤΑ ΛΙΘΟΝ ΚΙΝΕΙ, Leave no stone unturned: that is, try everything, leave nothing unattempted. This advice was important enough for Khunrath to include it in his table 'Summa of the *Amphitheatre*,' followed by the encouraging declaration 'Elohim omnia vendunt laboribus', a modification of the saying 'Dii laboribus omnia vendunt' (The Elohim/gods give all things for works).

calls a 'system of "divine Opticks".'[828] The Christian emblems of the French Protestant Georgette de Montenay's (1540–1581) *Emblemes, ou devises chretiennes* (Emblems, or Christian Devices) had appeared in 1571.[829] Khunrath's patron in Bohemia, Vilém Rožmberk (1535–1592), had been the sponsor of a Jesuit college in 1566,[830] and it is possible that Khunrath considered his *Amphitheatre* and its images as a sort of theosophical equivalent to the *Spiritual Exercises* composed by Ignatius Loyola in the years 1522–1524,[831] as was to be the case later with the German reformed theologian Heinrich Oraeus's (i.e. Heinrich Maul, 1584–1646) two collections of emblems, both of which appeared in 1619, *Viridarium hieroglyphico-morale* (Hieroglyphico-Moral Pleasure-Garden) and *Aeroplastes theosophicus* (A Mystically Interwoven Theosophical Composition).[832]

In one place in the *Amphitheatre*, for example, Khunrath speaks of the theosophers offering to 'the eyes of their minds a most lovely image of wisdom',[833] while elsewhere he advises his readers to picture not just themselves before their eyes, but also their guardian angel, and if possible God himself.[834] It may be the case that by locating the first two circular figures on the altar table in the Oratory, where an appeal is made to the more intuitive faculty of *Mens* rather than the discursive processes of *Ratio* in the Laboratory, Khunrath regarded these images as contributing to inspectival practices, whereby the mind meditating on such figures could receive knowledge as revelation, as a form of imprint from the divine,[835] in accordance with Augustine's notion that while a text must be read to be understood, it is sufficient to simply gaze

828 Richard A. McCabe, *Joseph Hall: A Study in Satire and Meditation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), cit. Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, 165.

829 Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, 160.

830 Tomáš Kleisner and Zuzana Holečková, *Coins and Medals of the Last Rosenbergs* (Prague: National Museum Publications, 2006), 56.

831 Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises and Selected Works*, edited by George E. Ganss, S.J., Preface by John W. Padberg, S.J. (New York: Paulist Press, 1991). See Antonio T. De Nicolas, *Powers of Imagining. Ignatius Loyola: A Philosophical Hermeneutic of Imagining through the Collected Works of Ignatius de Loyola* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986).

832 McCabe, *Joseph Hall: A Study in Satire and Meditation*, 38. For a definition of '*Aeroplastes*', see William S. Heckscher and Agnes B. Sherman, *Emblematic Variants: Literary Echoes of Alciati's Term Emblema: A Vocabulary Drawn from the Title Pages of Emblem Books* (New York: AMS Press, 1995), 11 'aeroplastes theosophicus' (a braided, i.e., mystically interwoven theosophical composition).

833 *Amph.*II, 114 '& ante oculos mentis proponunt sibi imaginem illam sapientiæ formosissimam …'.

834 *Amph.*II, 106.

835 Cf. Dieckmann, *Hieroglyphics: The History of a Literary Symbol*, 57.

at an image.[836] In *De rerum varietate* (On the Variety of Things, 1557), the Italian astrologer, philosopher and physician Girolamo Cardano (1501–1576) had spoken of how the figures on sigils were aimed at affecting the mind.[837] Paracelsus's assertion in his *Astronomia Magna seu Philosophia sagax* (Great Astronomy or Sagacious Philosophy, 1537–1538) that 'magic is impressed on the Magus as is vision on the eyes and hearing on the ears' suggests a similar sense of the possibility of knowledge being, as it were, eidetically imprinted on the attentive mind.[838] Discussing the inspectival practices of John Dee's angelic conversations, Stephen Clucas notes Dee's remark in the *Mysteriorum Libri* (Books of Mysteries, 1581–1583) that 'knowledge [is] to be infused *Ictu oculi*' (in the blink of an eye) and features Khunrath's image of the adept in the Oratory as just such an example of 'ocular infusion'.[839] In a similar way, Elizabeth See Watson speaks of creators of emblems drawing on hieroglyphs as symbols that could be understood (or intuited) in a flash.[840] Bearing the perils of ritual magic in mind, Sophie Page remarks on figures that could be activated by the gaze serving as 'a quicker stimulant of protection than the recitation of a charm or prayer'.[841]

836 Sergiusz Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 192–3.

837 Peter G. Maxwell-Stuart (ed. and trans.), *The Occult in Early Modern Europe: A Documentary History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), 124.

838 Pagel, *Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine in the Era of the Renaissance*, 63. For far more on Paracelsus's multifaceted approach to images, see Karl Möseneder, *Paracelsus und die Bilder: Über Glauben, Magie und Astrologie im Reformationszeitalter* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2009). As a radical lay theologian, Paracelsus attacked the 'Mauerkirche's' use of images, but as a natural philosopher composed the *Liber de imaginibus* in which he stated that 'the art of images originates in magic' ('Die bilderkunst gehet aus der magica,' Möseneder, *Paraceslsus und die Bilder*, 71) and further developed his notion of the efficacy of images in his magisterial *Philosophia Sagax* or *Astronomia magna*.

839 Stephen Clucas, '"Non est legendum sed inspicendum solum": Inspectival knowledge and the visual logic of John Dee's *Liber Mysteriorum*', in Adams and Linden (eds.), *Emblems and Alchemy*, 109–132, at 117f on Dee and 'ictu oculi'; 125 for the *Amphitheatre* image. For more on this, see Barbara Bauer, 'Die Philosophie auf einen Blick. Zu den graphischen Darstellungen der aristotelischen und neuplatonisch-hermetischen Philosophie vor und nach 1600', in Jörg Jochen Berns and Wolfgang Neuber (eds.), *Seelenmaschinen: Gattungstraditionen, Funktionen und Leistungsgrenzen der Mnemotechniken vom späten Mittelalter bis zum Beginn der Moderne* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2000), 481–519.

840 See Watson, *Achille Bocchi and the Emblem Book as Symbolic Form*, 101.

841 Sophie Page, 'Medieval Magical Figures: Between image and text', in Sophie Page and Catherine Rider (eds.), *The Routledge History of Medieval Magic* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), 432–457, at 440.

Comparing the *Amphitheatre*'s 1595 figures to eyes, Szulakowska suggests that their circularity 'may signify that they are intended to be "mirrors", evoking a meditative state of mind,' adducing Stephan Michelspacher's discussion of his own circular engravings in *Cabala, Spiegel der Kunst und Natur in Alchimia* (Cabala, Mirror of Art and Nature in Alchemy, 1616) in support.[842] Michelspacher's *Cabala*, on whom Szulakowska believes Khunrath's 'alchemical catoptrics' exerted the most immediate influence, describes a sequence of three visions of differently coloured mirrors, displaying, respectively, philosophical Mercury and Salt, philosophical Sulphur, and a great 'arcanum'. Significant support for the suggestion that the *Amphitheatre*'s Circular Figure 4 of the *Oratory-Laboratory* is the summation and perfectly unified vision of the previous three figures is found in the discovery that in Michelspacher's text, when his three mirrors are combined they produce a fourth in which he sees God perfectly.[843] Although Szulakowska is extremely vague concerning how these 'alchemical catoptrics' were to be practised, the idea that the circular engravings could be considered meditative mirrors finds some support in Johann Valentin Andreae's above-mentioned description of Circular Figure 1 as the 'Speculum Legis' (Mirror of the Law). The most convincing justification for such speculation appears in a manuscript dated to the seventeenth century in the British Library's Sloane collection, titled *Tabulae theosophicae cabbalisticae* (Cabbalistic Theosophical Tables), where we find large reproductions of Circular Figures 1 and 2, conforming closely to the colours of the 1595 edition, with their central images stencilled or gilded onto mirrors, clearly suggesting that their owner intended to use them as objects of reflection similar to the way they appear to be used in Figure 4.[844]

50 3. Polemical Role

The best example of an image serving both didactic and polemical purposes must surely be the *Calumniators*. Szulakowska describes this image

842 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 5.

843 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 99–100. See Stephan Michelspacher, *Cabala, Spiegel der Kunst und Natur: in Alchymia* (Augsburg, 1616), sig. B^{v}. For more on Michelspacher, see Alinda van Ackooy's contribution to Bouman and Van Heertum (eds.), *Divine Wisdom – Divine Nature*, 113–124.

844 London, British Library Sloane Ms. 181 'Tabulae theosophicae cabbalisticae', ff. 4–5. For more on this object, see Chapter 5 on Khunrath's Magic.

as containing 'groups of masqueraders wearing either court or theatrical costume'.[845] Libavius's description of the figures as representing 'various monstrous [images] of calumniators and accusers' has already been mentioned.[846] De Guaita comments on the harsh genius of the caricatures,[847] and Craven suggests that the figures are 'intended to represent fools and calumniators.'[848] Khunrath, clearly not in a mood for mincing his words, explains that the engraving is a 'Catholic Response [...] both in Scripture and Picture, not Offensively but Defensively' against the 'nigh on uncountable crowds' of those slandering him 'not at all Philosophically, much less in a Christian manner, and what is more in the foul manner of raving debauchers, with the Venom of a calumnious Tongue,' because of their 'idiotic Ignorance' and 'diabolical envy.'[849] Speaking thus Khunrath reveals himself to be a true child of his times, as polemic in the domain of religious controversy, and satire as the denunciation of vices was very much part and parcel of Reformation literary culture.[850]

A group of human and animal-headed representations of opponents of true Wisdom are described in the band of text in the margin bordering the engraving, as 'Ill-spirited, [...] worldly lying-mouths and disparagers, [and] malicious Calumniators,'[851] doubtless including the 'tyrants [...] perverse judges [...]

845 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 140. For references to Arcimboldo's designs for masquerades at the Prague court, see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Arcimboldo, Visual Jokes, Natural History and Still-Life Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 64, 77, 82.

846 Libavius, *Examen Philosophiae Novae* (1615), 105–6 'Ita *Kunrath* in penultima amphitheatri figura magisterij typum proposuit in medio: in ambitu varia monstra calumniantium, & criminantium repræsentavit.'

847 De Guaita, *Essais de Sciences Maudites*, 79.

848 Craven, *Doctor Heinrich Khunrath, A Study in Mystical Alchemy* (1997), 77.

849 *Calumniators* engraving: 'partim ex Ignorantia idiotica, partim ex Inuidia diabolica ... haud Philosophicè, nedum Christianè, imò turpi debachantium more, Linguæ Veneno calumniosæ, crudeliter insidiantium, nefarièque detrahentium ... RESPONSIONEM Catholicam ... & in Scriptura, & in Pictura, non Offensivé sed Defensivé ... innumerabiles ferè, calumniantium turbas.' See also *Amph.*II, 178.

850 See Giraud, 'Propositions', 12. See also Peter Matheson, *The Rhetoric of the Reformation* (London: Continuum, 2004), Chapter 6; James V. Mehl, 'Printing the Metaphor of Light and Dark: From Renaissance Satire to Reformation Polemic', in Robin B. Barnes, Robert A. Kolb, and Paula L. Presley (eds.), *Habent Sua Fata Libelli, or, Books have their own Destiny: Essays in Honor of Robert V. Schnucker* (Kirksville, MO: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1998), 83–92; Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, 83–92.

851 *Calumniators* engraving: 'Ungüt-geistlichen, [...] Weltlichen, Lügenmeulern un[d] Schmehern; Muthwilligen calumnianten'.



FIGURE 2.186 Khunrath, *Amphitheatre* (1609), *Calumniators*, detail: figures on left. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977

quack-doctors and academics' whose 'most pestilential authorities,' Khunrath singles out for condemnation elsewhere.[852]

852 *Amph.*II, 29 'Tyranni … iureperuersi … Pseudo-Medici & Academici … auctoritates pestilentissimæ.' See also *Amph.*II, 47 'Diabologus ille sit, aut Jureperuersus, Cacomedicus, Pseudophysicus, Sophista' (Be he *Diabologue*, or perverse Judge, Bad doctor, Quack-physician, Sophist); 216 'sophista, pseudophysicus; cacomedicus; labyrintheus;

Szulakowska considers those on the left to be Lutherans and those on the right to be 'Catholic wastrels', although no real evidence is provided for this assertion (Fig. 2.186).[853] One figure, the only human on the left, whom she identifies as a Lutheran cleric, is labelled as an 'Anti-Christian preacher' (Anti-Christischer pfaffe) and the bat hovering above his head, labelled with the phrase 'perverse spirit', literally 'spirit of giddiness' (Spiritus vertiginis) from Isaiah 19:14,[854] holding a pair of bellows, probably denotes less the act of transforming him into an 'anti-"philosopher's stone", that is, one who turns the gold of scripture into dross' as she imaginatively suggests,[855] and instead the more conventional notion of making him a lying instrument or mouthpiece of the devil.[856]

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circumforentialis; deceptorièe particularista, præstigiator seu diabolicus' (sophist, pseudo-natural-philosopher, quack-doctor, labyrinthine, circumferential, deceitfully a particularist, or devilish trickster).

853 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 141.

854 Cf. Isaiah 19:14 'The LORD hath mingled a perverse spirit in the midst thereof: and they have caused Egypt to err in every work thereof, as a drunken man staggereth in his vomit.' (KJV); 'The Lord hath mingled in the midst thereof the spirit of giddiness: and they have caused Egypt to err in all its works, as a drunken man staggereth and vomiteth' (Douay). Libavius, 'Paracelsica Sententiarum Biblicarum Depravatio ex Oswaldi Crollii Praefatione admonitoria' (The Paracelsian Depravation of Biblical Ideas from Oswald Croll's Admonitory Preface), in *Examen Philosophiae Novae* (1615), 47 (mispaginated as 41) 'Misit scilicet Deus magis istis spiritum vertiginis, vt nesciant vbi acquiescant. *Quercetanus* & alij ex *Plumbo, Antimonio, Chalchantho* & similibus etiam plura naturis suis diuersa conficiunt, ne tantopere glorieris tua Triunitate.' See also Chapter XIV 'Spiritus Vertiginis,' in Johann Valentin Andreae, *Peregrini in Patria Errores* (Strasbourg, 1618), 34–36.

855 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 140.

856 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), 409 'lügenhaffte fledermëuse.' See Urs Graf's image of the Devil with bellows in a knight's ear in Hollstein's *German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts*, Vol. XI, compiled by John K. Rowlands and edited by Fedja Anzelewsky and Robert Zijlma (Amsterdam: Van Gendt and Company, 1977), 181. On the medieval work *Pfaffe Amis*, which portrays a priest as 'the original trickster,' see Alison Williams, *Tricksters and Pranksters: Roguery in French and German Literature of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 2000), 63f. On *Pfaffe* corresponding to *Clericus*, see Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, translated by Thomas Dunlap (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 492–3 'even an educated layman could be a *pfaffe*.' See Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, 231–232 for a book illustration showing the 'statue of a heretic' with a figure atop a pedestal who is clearly intended to be Luther. A winged demon blows into his ear with a bellows, thus showing him to be inspired by the Devil. See also Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Old Royal Collection Ms. GKS 1765.1, for Johann Friedrich Jung's painting of Adam and Eve with Lucifer holding bellows and blowing air into the serpent (See Epilogue: Fig. 7.11). See also the well-known image of a devil with bellows near the fool's ear in Sebastian Brant, *Narrenschiff or Stultifera navis* (Basel, 1497), 26r.



FIGURE 2.187 Khunrath, *Amphitheatre* (1609), *Calumniators*, detail: figures on right. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977

As for the other three human figures, on the right (Fig. 2.187), one, carrying what appears to be a flail or fly-whisk over his shoulder, whom Szulakowska suggests is a court major-domo, with flies buzzing around his head, is probably, as Carlos Gilly suggests, a professor of philosophy and one of Khunrath's 'contemptuous Blowflies' (verächterischen Schmeissfliegen).[857] It resembles a detail in Johannes Cochlaeus's famous image of the *Sieben Köpffe Martini Luthers* (The Seven Heads of Martin Luther, 1529, Fig. 2.188), where the fifth head surrounded by hornets represents him as a fanatic (Schwirmer/Schwärmer).[858]

857 Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', 343.

858 For identification of the various heads, see *Luther's Lives: Two Contemporary Accounts of Martin Luther*, 43: Doctor, fanatic, fool, church visitor, churchman, criminal, and



FIGURE 2.188
Cochlaeus (1479–1552), *The Seven Heads of Martin Luther* (1529). © Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel

This figure's bespectacled neighbour, notebook and quill in hand, may, perhaps be one of the Galenic doctors frequently castigated by Paracelsus, a member of the 'Goose-quill tribe' later criticised by the American alchemist George Starkey (1628–1665).[859] Szulakowska's suggestion that this is intended to be the Emperor himself seems highly unlikely, given that Rudolf was the patron who granted Khunrath imperial privilege and protection for his publications.[860] The final human figure, wearing tattered clothes, covered by what looks like a bear skin over his head and draped down his back, wielding what seems to be a hand-pump fire-extinguisher, from which gush the words 'Scandalously-Lying Honour-stealing SONGS' (Schandt-Lüegenerische Ehren-diebische CARMINA) must be one of the 'honour-stealing, shamefully

Barabbas; Jennifer Spinks, *Monstrous Births and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (London: Routledge, 2009), 74: Doctor of theology, monk, Turk, populist priest, fanatic, church visitor (seeking to usurp the papacy), and the thief Barabbas, shown as a wild man.

859 George Starkey's declamation against the 'Goose-quill tribe' of the medical establishment in Newman and Principe, *Alchemy Tried in the Fire*, 272.

860 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 142.

lying poets' (Ehrendiebischen Schandlügenerischen Poeten).[861] Could this be an allusion, perhaps, to the vitriolic Andreas Libavius, who was made poet laureate in 1581/1588, and appointed Professor of History and Poetry at Jena in 1588?[862]

The theriocephalic symbolism of the other figures suggests various levels of interpretation: representations of devils embodying the sins or an Ovidian metamorphosis of man into beast, as in the Homeric account of Circe's potion or the biblical story of Nebuchadnezzar.[863] Some influence for this engraving should doubtless be sought in the Reformation predilection for satirical images as ammunition in the propaganda war waged between Luther and the Papacy, which provided such memorable pictures as the Monk-Calf and the Papal-Ass in Melanchthon and Luther's *Deuttung der czwo grewlichen Figuren* (Explanation of the Two Abominable Figures, 1523, Fig. 2.189),[864] the latter image also appearing in Luther's *Abbildung der papsttums* (Representation of the Papacy, 1545),[865] and the animal-headed figures of Luther's opponents as a cat, goat, lion, pig, and dog in a broadsheet from the 1520s.[866]

Such imagery was also part of Paracelsian polemic against the 'Cacomedicus' (Bad Doctor) of traditional Galenic medicine. The *De Lapide Philosophorum Drey Tractat* (Three Treatises about the Philosophers' Stone, 1572), attributed to Paracelsus, writes scornfully of the stupidity of 'Doctor esels kopff'

861 For the image of 'Nature/Diana of Ephesus' spraying creatures with a hand-pump, see the engraving by Hendrick Goltzius, 'The Magician', or 'The Deities' (*c*.1585–90), reproduced in Barbara Howard Traister, *Heavenly Necromancers: The Magician in English Renaissance Drama* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1984), 124. See Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', 343 who describes the figure as 'a versifier with a poisoned reed shooting defamatory verses'. As well as including a possible allusion to the Aesopian fable of the ass in the lion's skin, this lion-like figure evokes Khunrath's amphitheatre metaphor more than most of the other bestial figures appearing in the engraving.

862 Flood, *Poets Laureate in the Holy Roman Empire: A Bio-bibliographical Handbook*, 1130.

863 Here Khunrath uses the expression 'Phy bestii!' recalling the 'Phy diabolo' of the *Amphitheatre*'s title page and the left-hand character in the inner *Citadel*. Circe is referred to in *Amph*.II, 49 'qui bibunt ex cratere illius, repentè ex hominibus, tanquam aliquo Circæ poculo inebriati, incantantur, transformantur in beluas & sues immundas (those who drink from her cup, suddenly from men, as if drunk from one of Circe's potions, are bewitched, transformed into wild beasts and filthy swine) and *Chaos* (1597), 242–3 'Vlyxi in seiner Irrfarth zeigete/ dasselbe wieder die Zauberey Cyrces der Teuffelsbestien und Hexen … hochnützlich zugebrauchen'. For a reference to Nebuchadnezzar, see *Amph*.II, 33. While not specifically about transformation, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* are quoted in *Amph*.II, 7.

864 Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, 129. Although Khunrath makes no direct reference to either of these in his writings, he does mention Johan Fischart, called Mentzer (1550–1589), a pamphleteer known for his satirical drawings, in *Chaos* (1597), 437.

865 Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, 133.

866 Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, 74.



FIGURE 2.189 Melanchthon and Luther, *Deuttung der czwo grewlichen Figuren* (1523), 1) Papal Ass (A^{v}) and 2) Monk-Calf (Aij^{r}). Bibliotheca Electoralis Sign. 4 Theol.XLIV, 2. Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena

(Doctor Ass-Head) and the futile pill-making of 'Meister Hasendreck' (Master Rabbit-Droppings).[867] In another Paracelsian work, *The Compendium of Great Astronomy ... Concerning the best consideration of natural and supernatural secrets, mysteries, and mighty works of God, for acquiring the adept sciences and arts* (1584), compiled by Gerard Dorn, there is a passage concerning 'lion men, bear men, serpent men, pig men, and so forth, on account of their diverse spirits', due to whether the firmament flows into a man in the image (species) of a lion, thereby imprinting the nature of a lion in his mind. 'If this happens he will no longer be a man, but a beast, not in image, but in behaviour and condition.'[868]

867 Paracelsus, *De Lapide Philosophorum Drey Tractat* (Strasbourg, 1572), 3^{r}, 17^{v}.

868 Paracelsus, *Astronomiae magnae ... De Naturalium & supernaturalium arcanorum, mysteriorum, Dei quoque magnalium, ad artes & scientias adeptas consequendum optima consideratione: Compendium* (Frankfurt, 1584), 420–21 'Unde sit, ut brutales homines evadant nonnunquam, ut leones homines, ursi homines, serpentei homines, porci homines, &c. pro diversis ipsorum spiritibus, id est, spirituum in ipsis dispositionibus. Nam si firmamentum influat in hominem in specie leonis, hoc est, in eius mentem imprimat leonis

The bovine figure with mortar, pestle, scissors and bellows (bearing the adage 'Let the cobbler stick to his last') on the far left of the *Calumniators* is presumably one of the unkempt 'Mal-Chemical savage fools' (Argchymischen wilden jecken) whom Khunrath dismisses in the engraving's text as 'bunglers and daubers' (Hüdlern und Südlern).[869] As the mortar and pestle were also used by apothecaries, it might also represent bungled preparation of medicine from, for example, antimony.[870] As well as carrying allusions to the gold-greedy folly of Midas, his ass-like neighbour with bellows and axe likely represents one of those empiric alchemists commonly dismissed as 'puffers', whom Khunrath dismisses as course idiots lacking any understanding;[871] the axe perhaps implying crude preparation of materials.[872] In his *Alchimistisch Watzenbaumlein* (1605), for example, Joachim Tanckius, professor of anatomy and surgery at the University of Leipzig, writes in a similar way of the errors committed by 'coarse and crude Ass-heads'.[873] The foppish hare-headed figure, perhaps a courtier, is undoubtedly one of the 'boorish hare-brained dimwits'.[874] Georg Graman, like

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condictionem atque naturam, sive porci, vel alicuius alterius bruti, non erit amplius homo, sed brutum, non in imagine, sed moribus & conditione.'

869 Cf. Klossowski de Rola, *The Golden Game*, 43 'The first one on the left, wearing the dunce's cap, is depicted as the Egyptians (according to Horapollo) depicted Ignorance.' See also Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), 107 'arg-chymistische Püffel (solte sagen/ Pöbel oder Popul)'; 426 'Hummel geschmeiß der Arg-Chymisten.' Although in the history of theosophy and spiritual alchemy, Jacob Boehme is known for having started life as a cobbler, perhaps this proverb had been used as a personal slur used against Khunrath, whose mother was the daughter of a shoemaker?

870 See Chapter 6 on Alchemy for Khunrath's coining of the term 'Argchymisch' in relation to antimony. Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', 343 sugests this is 'a deceitful gold-maker'.

871 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), 423 'gemeinen püffel'; *Quæstiones Tres*, Av^{r} 'du Bachantischer Sophist und Eselischer Leye'; Avi^{v} 'du grober Idiota und unverstendiger Leyischer Eselskopff.'

872 Rather than being a reference to the 1601 execution of Nikolaus Krell, the former Calvinist Chancellor to Christian I, as Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 142 suggests. See *Magnesia*, 7 where Khunrath mentions the coarse judgements and stupidity of shameful and ignorant Assheads und Slanderers (ungeachtet wie schimpfflich auch unvorstendige Eselsköpffe/ und Lestermeujler/ ihrem groben judicio und unwissenheit nach/ davon mummeln oder reden möchten).

873 Cf. Joachim Tanckius, *Alchimistisch Waitzenbäumlein / Das ist Vom Stain* [sic] *der Weisen* (Leipzig, 1605), 70 'grobe und ungeschliffene Eselßköpffe'. On Tanckius, see Bruce T. Moran, *The Alchemical World of the German Court: Occult Philosophy and Chemical Medicine in the Circle of Moritz of Hessen (1572–1632)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991), 135–141.

874 *Calumniators* engraving: 'Hasenköppischen pengelischen Witzdölpeln'. Hasenköppischen, literally 'hare-headed' is a metaphor for a foolish person. According to Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm (eds.), *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm* (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1868), Vol. 5, 538 'Hasenkopf' also refers to the practice of

Khunrath a target of the controversialist Libavius's invective, refers to the latter as 'Hans Schlauraffen' from the school of 'Doctor felt-hat,' a 'Physicaco' with 'rabbit brains not to be cured with hellebore'.[875]

The supine beetle at their feet, labelled as a 'Meddlesome Gold-Beetle' (Ardelionische Gold-Kefer) presumably represents the type of Gold-beetle and black-magical treasure-seeker Khunrath condemns in *On Primaterial Chaos*.[876] One of Khunrath's contemporaries in Magdeburg, the theologian Georg Rollenhagen (1542–1609), school rector and pastor at Saint Sebastian's church, was the author of a long satirical poem, the animal fable *Froschmeuseler* (Frog-Mouser, 1595), in which an 'alchemistic gold beetle', once a goldsmith in Venice and then a monk in a mendicant order, teaches Reineke the fox how to make the Philosophers' Stone.[877] As Khunrath's *Chaos* (1597) was published by the same printer Andreas Gehn, it is possible that this is a direct allusion to Rollenhagen's story. Although Gilly describes the next figure as 'a lady with the face of a fox', to my imagination, at least, she seems more duck-headed, the German word for duck (Ente) perhaps being a pun on the word to 'discolour'

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burning a hare's head to ashes, which were then mixed with bear's fat or tallow and spread on the head to fill out thinning hair. As the hare-headed individual in the engraving is finely dressed, perhaps it is a representation of the vain follies of courtiers. Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 140–1 claims that the 'richly-dressed alchemist with a rabbit's or donkey's head [...] signifies the materialism of the misguided "puffers".'

875 Moran, 'Medicine, Alchemy, and the Control of Language: Andreas Libavius versus the Neoparacelsians', in Grell (ed.), *Paracelsus: The Man and his Reputation, his Ideas and their Transformation*, 135–150, at 142 'To cover up his ignorance, Libavius (who should better be called *Libaffe*) had gotten hold of a fog cap by means of Narristotelian tricks-of-the-air in Narragonia ... As a result, this man (Libavius) had become one of the "logiatrics" and "Grammaticuculi" ... playing the role of a Narristotelian Zoilus (Censurer of Homer).' See also Bruce T. Moran, *Andreas Libavius and the Transformation of Alchemy: Separating Chemical Cultures with Polemical Fire* (Sagamore Beach, MA: Science History Publications 2007), 144 'Hans Schlauraffen,' a name that implied a cunning, yet lazy fool.' 'The Story of Schlauraffen Land' was collected by the Brothers Grimm and is the equivalent of the Land of Cockaigne, as depicted in Pieter Brueghel the Elder's oil-painting *Luilekkerland* (1567). The neologism 'Physicaco' is a combination of the words for *Physicus* (natural philosopher) and *caco* (bad, incorrect, or evil).

876 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), 440 'Goldkefer'; 465 'betrigerische Goldkefer und Schwartz Künstige Schatzgreber.' On the use of necromancy for treasure-seeking, see Frank Klaassen, *The Transformations of Magic: Illicit Learned Magic in the Later Middle Ages and Renaissance* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), 139.

877 Theodore Ziolkowski, *The Alchemist in Literature: From Dante to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 46–50. Georg Rollenhagen, *Froschmeuseler. Der Frösch und Meuse wunderbare Hoffhaltunge* (Magdeburg, 1595).

(entfarben).[878] This figure is labelled 'Washer' and may represent charlatans who claimed to be able to turn ore into gold by 'washing' it with a few drops of their tincture, when in fact they were simply passing off impure coloured metal.[879] In a passage on the malice of imposters in his *Alchimistisch Waitzenbäumlein*, Tanckius describes Washers as confidence tricksters who convince their unsuspecting gulls by pouring, as it were, drops of gold in their ears.[880]

In a passage in *Chaos*, where he refers to 'diverse and odd judgements' of his works by others, Khunrath gives a vivid sense of the range of responses to his work:

> The Fool judges foolishly; the Uncomprehending, uncomprehendingly; the only Worldly, utterly Mundanely; the Scorner scornfully; he who is full of envy, unfavourably; the Slanderer, slanderously; the Despiser, disdainfully; each bird sings as its beak has grown.[881]

Similar ornithological imagery is found in the *Calumniators*, where we find a devilish sharp-beaked figure that seems to be playing the trumpet-beak of its companion through a mouthpiece in its ear (Fig. 2.190), resembling Erhard Schön's popular image of the *Devil Playing a Bagpipe with a Monk's Head* (Fig. 2.191).[882] This may be one of Khunrath's 'loose spit-finches' (losen Speijfincken), with the instrument of this activity, whom Gilly identifies as

878 In German 'duck' = 'Ente' and to 'discolour/bleach' = 'entfärben.' *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm*, Vol. 3 (1862), col. 516 'ENTFÄRBEN, mutare colorem'.

879 For other references, see Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), 108 'Waschgöldern/ Glass und Rothgülden Ertzen'; 381 'WaschGolde.' Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', 343–4 describes this as an 'all too clever' lady with the face of a fox'.

880 Tanckius, *Alchimistisch Waitzenbäumlein*, 69 'Impostorum malitia [...] kommen zu einem einfeltigen unverstendigen Mann/ rümen sich grosser kunst/ sagen un[d] plappern/ wie es den[n] gemeiniglich grosse Wäscher sind/ solchen armen/ einfletigen Tropffen die Ohren gantz voller golds/ machen den armen verstendigen Gauch gantz frölich etc'; 70 '... (wie denn solcher Wäscher Art ist) [...] wie solche grobe und ungeschliffene Eselßköpffe/ so grobe und grosse Irrungen thun/ in den Philosophischen Büchern [...] ihren Lügenbüchern [...] einen gläntzenden Eselskittel von wegen des ungedehneten Henckerleibes.'

881 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), Vorrede, sig. Aiiij^{r} 'Ich weis zwar wol/ das mancherley und viel seltzame iudicia von diesen jetzt gemeldeten meinen Operibus hin und wider gefallen: ... Der Narr iudiciret Närrisch; der Unverstendige/ Unverstendig; der nur Weldliche/ gar Weldlich; der Spötter/ Spöttisch; der voller Neid/ abgünstig; der Lesterer/ lesterhafftig; der Verechter/ verechtlich; Ein jeder Vogel singet/ wie jhme der Schnabel gewachsen.'

882 Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, 134 The Devil's Bagpipe.



FIGURE 2.190 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Calumniators*, detail: Trumpet-Beak. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977



FIGURE 2.191 Erhard Schön, *Teufel mit Sackpfeiffe* (The Devil with a Bagpipe, *c.*1535). Sammlung Schloss Friedenstein Gotha Inv. Nr. 37,2

a student, presumably one of the 'flippant mocking-birds' (leichtfertigen Spottvögeln).[883]

883 Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', 343. Cf. Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), Vorrede, sigs. Avij^{r-v} 'des Spottvögels unnützes speyen'; 290 'der hönische vogel seinen spöttischen gesang.' This and another aerial devil greatly resemble a type found in Bosch's 'The Haywain.' See Walter Bosing, *The Complete Paintings of Bosch* (Köln: Taschen, 1994), 47–8 'The demon who rode the haywain [...] was called Deceitful.' Compare with Peter Huys' 'Giudizio Universale', in Enrico Castelli, *Il Demoniaco nell'arte* (Milan: Electa Editrice, 1952), 69 and Martin Schongauer's 'Versuchung des Hl. Antonius', in Konrad Hoffman, 'Typologie, Exemplarik, und reformatorische Bildsatiren, aus Spätmittelalter und Frühe Neuzeit', in Josef Nolte, Hella Tompert and Christof Winhorst (eds.), *Spätmittelalter und frühe Neuzeit. Kontinuität und Umbruch*, Tübinger Beiträge zur Geschichtsforschung (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1978), Vol. 2, 189–210, fig. 25. Cf. Anon, *Das Güldne Vließ, Oder das Allerhöchste, Edelste, Kunstreichste Kleinod, und der urälteste verborgene Schatz der Weisen* (Leipzig, 1737), 57 n. (l) 'D. Martin Luther: Dieser Kunst gedencket man jetzo nicht mehr in den hohen Schulen, und wissen die Bauern schier mehr darum, denn unsere Magi, die natürlichen Meister, daß sie nicht unbillig die natürlichen Narren heissen, die mit so viel Kost und Mühe nur hinter sich lernen, und der Teufel Spott-Vögel seyn.'

Although the animal head of the figure in the right-hand group seems more canine than vulpine, it could perhaps represent one of the pedants or school-masters (Schulfüchsen und Pennalsherrn) whom Khunrath accuses of misleading their young charges,[884] perhaps with an allusion to the 'fox-dog' in Aristophanes's *Lysistrata*, a character who 'combined the shamelessness of the dog and the cunning of the fox'.[885] The long-beaked figure in a dress, wielding what looks to be a razor, possibly represents 'Foolish Know-it-all Women' (überklügen Thörinnen) and 'Gabbling Gossips' (Talcke plauder buchse). As Gilly observes, 'the noise is so deafening and the air so poisoned that the birds drop dead on the ground'; 'the only creatures that survive are those close to the two figures in the centre of the circle'.[886]

Khunrath is evidently aware of the opposition that his images will arouse in more orthodox circles, though he asks his critics to restrain themselves from slurs.[887] Even though Luther had moderated his views on private devotional images,[888] there is little doubt of the risk that Khunrath and his publishers were taking in producing a book with theosophical images like Circular Figure 1 of Christ in a period of continuing iconoclasm. The heyday of iconoclasm took place in the 1520s under the influence of Andreas Karlstadt's *Concerning the Removal of Images* (1522),[889] but there were iconoclastic incidents during Khunrath's childhood: riots in La Rochelle in 1562,[890] attacks on hundreds of churches in the Low Countries during the Beeldenstorm of 1566,

884 *Schulfuchs*, literally 'School-fox' means 'pedant' in German. See Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm (eds.), *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1868), Vol. 9, col. 1944. See Moran, 'Medicine, Alchemy, and the Control of Language', 142 ('scholastic foxes' [*vulpes scholasticas*]). See also Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', 343 who describes the figure as 'a lawyer with the face of a dog'.

885 Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, Vol. 35, *Adages* III iv 1 to IV ii 100, translated and annotated by Denis L. Drysdall, edited by John N. Grant (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 114 Adage 81 'Si leonina pellis non satis est, vulpina addenda' (If the lion's skin is not enough, a fox's must be added).

886 Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', 343–344.

887 See, for example, *Amph*.II, 147 'absit tamen calumnia de pristina figura reddenda' (Let, however, no slurs be uttered about the original figure).

888 Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 466 'Yet crucifixes and images of saints were also among the permitted images, which Luther called images of "memory or witness". He allowed images in which one "sees only past history and objects as in a mirror". Luther did not allow this genre of images to be seen in churches, but only in private "rooms and chambers." He also desired that "mottoes" be added to pictures – that is, biblical quotations, so that through their authentic words, "one can have God's work and word always and everywhere before one's eyes" (text 40, I and III).'

889 Lee Palmer Wandel, *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands: Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg and Basel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994; rpt. 1999), 8.

890 Kamil, *Fortress of the Soul: Violence, Metaphysics, and Material Life*, 148.

followed by a less violent incident in Antwerp in 1581.[891] Khunrath surely knew that he risked offending propriety by portraying Christ not only completely naked, but in what could arguably be described as hermaphroditic in form.[892] Nevertheless, he apparently felt justified in his use of such images, seemingly without irony including the Decalogue commandment not to 'make unto thee any graven image' in this controversial first circular engraving and elsewhere himself warning against idolatry,[893] advising his readers not to let their hearts stray like the idolatrous women who caused Solomon's heart to falter.[894] In his commentary on the phrase 'the image of his Goodness', from Wisdom 7:26, Khunrath seems to be referring to the first circular figure of Christ Resurrected, the *Sigillum Dei* (Seal of God), when he writes 'Let the Christian Cabalist Theosophically make use of this image. Let the images of the Black Magicians be rejected.'[895] Although Khunrath makes no mention of works including such black magical images, some contemporary readers would have been aware of the magical works condemned, for example, by the thirteenth-century *Speculum Astronomiae* (Mirror of Astronomy), attributed to Albertus Magnus, by Johannes Trithemius in the *Antipalus maleficiorum* (Adversary of Black Magic, 1508), or by Martin Delrio in *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex* (Six Books of Investigations into Magic, 1604).[896]

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891 Carlos M.N. Eire, *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986; repr. 1989), 280.

892 On Christ's genitals in the *Amphitheatre*'s circular figure, see Zadrobílek, *Opus Magnum*, 323 and Stanislas de Guaita, 'An analysis of the Rosy-Cross after Heinrich Khunrath', in *The Amphitheatre Engravings of Heinrich Khunrath*, edited by Adam McLean and translated by Patricia Tahil (Edinburgh: Magnum Opus 7, 1981), 53–67, at 53. On the subject of Christ and nudity, see Jim C. Cunningham, *Nudity and Christianity* (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2006), 429: 'There are iconographic canons that prevent the full depiction of Christ's nakedness. Some icons remove Christ's genitals completely. There existed a heresy that Christ was physically a eunuch.' See also Francisco Vaz Da Silva, *Archeology of Intangible Heritage* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 136 in late medieval piety and art, 'Christ's flesh was sometimes seen as female, as lactating and giving birth.' On propriety, see Watson, *Achille Bocchi and the Emblem Book as Symbolic Form*, 34 where she comments on the absence of nudity in Bocchi's figures. See, moreover, Rebecca Zorach, *Blood, Milk, Ink, Gold: Abundance and Excess in the French Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 68 who mentions that Christ's body is presented without visible genitalia in many International Gothic representations of the crucifixion.

893 *Amph.*II, 137. See also the reference on *Amph.*II, 97 to those who adore false wisdom like an idol.

894 *Amph.*II, 173.

895 *Amph.*II, 59 'Hac imagine Theosophicè vtitur ChristianoCabalista: absint imagines cacomagorum.'

896 See, for example, Martin Delrio, *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex* (Mainz, 1603), 47 'genus maleficorum, qui quasdam fabricantur imagines, quas vel acubus pungunt, vel

Although I have not found any contemporary evidence for such a trial, the early Freemason and putative member of the Order of the Golden and Rosy Cross, Hermann Fictuld (*c.*1700–*c.*1777) implies that Khunrath was brought before the Inquisition during his lifetime and there can be little doubt that it was because of its engravings that the *Amphitheatre*, of all Khunrath's works, was singled out for condemnation by the Sorbonne a full two decades after his death.[897] Nor did condemnation come solely from the Catholic confession; as we have already seen and shall see in the following chapters, one of the most vociferous critics of the *Amphitheatre* and its engravings was Khunrath's fellow-student at Basel, the Lutheran chemist and schoolmaster, Andreas Libavius (1560–1616).

51 A Surprising Discovery

In Chapter 1 I briefly mentioned a presentation copy Khunrath gave to Erasmus Wolfart, who was later to edit the 1609 *Amphitheatre*. The story does not end there, however, for this presentation copy contains a unique engraving that has been tipped into the edition, something never seen before in any of Khunrath's works (Fig. 2.192). The foot of the engraving shows two flights of five steps, reminiscent of the theatrical stage design illustrated in one of the first original vernacular architectural treatises, Sebastiano Serlio's *Libro Secondo d'Architettura* (1566/84).[898] Khunrath's design resembles that 'Of the Comic Stage' (Della Scena Comica, Fig. 2.193), or steps like those in Justus Lipsius's *De amphitheatro liber* (A Book about the Amphitheatre, 1584).[899] The steps on the left of Khunrath's engraving are labelled 'Christian Cabalistically', those on the right 'Physico-Chymically', leading up to a landing labelled 'Divinely Magically',

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igne liquant, vel confringunt … tales imagines designabant …'; 126 '… mox sane daemonis technas, ut araneorum telas disiicit, & innocentiam sartam tectamque tuetur, … Facilius Deus permittat eos repraesentare imagines magorum, & eorum qui aliquando hoc crimine fuerunt irretiti.' For a partial English translation see, Martín del Rio, *Investigations into Magic*, edited and translated by P.G. Maxwell-Stuart (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

897 Fictuld, *Der längst gewünschte und versprochene Chymisch-Philosophische Probier-Stein*, 69. On the Sorbonne condemnation, see Duplessis d'Argentré, *Collectio iudiciorum de novis erroribus* (1728–36), Vol. 2, 162. *Vide infra* Chapter 7: Epilogue.

898 Heuer, *The City Rehearsed*, 26.

899 Serlio, *Libro Secondo D'Architettura* (Venice, 1566), 45^{v} for which the steps lead up to the centre of the stage, as opposed to 'Della Scena Tragica', where the steps are at the sides. Serlio includes steps identical to those in Lipsius's book in *Libro secondo*, 79^{r}. Cf. Justus Lipsius, *De amphitheatro* (Leiden, 1584), 56.



FIGURE 2.192 Khunrath, *Vom hylealischen Chaos* (1597), tipped in engraving. Octagon Library, Graz. Courtesy of Hans Thomas Hakl



FIGURE 2.193 Serlio, *Libro Secondo d'Architettura* (1584), 49ᵛ 'Comic Stage'. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg

the entrance to a triumphal arch with a checkered pavement like that in the engraving of the *Oratory-Laboratory*. These three phrases of course anticipate the full title of the 1609 *Amphitheatre* as well as setting forth Khunrath's message concerning the necessary conjunction of Cabala, magic and alchemy.[900] As in the *Oratory-Laboratory* engraving, Khunrath privileges the left to the Oratory and realm of Christian Cabala, while the right is the Laboratory and domain of alchemy, with Divine Magic holding central (and highest) place.

On the pavement at the top of the steps are the words 'JEHOVAH dante bene velle, nosse, posse et esse' (with JEHOVAH granting [us] rightly to wish, know, be able and be). These resemble the German found in *On Primaterial Chaos*:

900 Khunrath, *De Igne Magorum* (1608), 87: 'KABALA, MAGIA, ALCHYMIA Coniungendae, Sollen und müssen mit und neben einander angewendet werden.'

'Wol-Wollen/ Wol-Erkennen/ Wol Können und Wol Seyn',[901] as well as a passage that appears later in the 1609 *Amphitheatre*:

> Since, therefore, Jehovah is the only one who may favour and direct our theories and practices, the acts and works of the senses, reason, mind and hands, with a supplicant mind we must (in spirit and in truth) implore his help, so that he might give and inspire us rightly to wish, know, be able and be in all things.[902]

Above the pavement rises a triumphal archway, its two ionic columns foreshadowing the two obelisks flanking the 1609 title page (Fig. 2.179). While the bases of the obelisks in the 1609 title page concern themselves with 'honest memory' and 'praiseworthy immortality', in this engraving they speak of acting 'Genio & Ingenio' (with Genius & Talent) and 'Natura & Arte' ([in] Nature and Art). Both of these phrases appear in the *Amphitheatre*:

> When therefore it has been granted someone Divinely illuminated, to philosophise Theosophically, with the power of Philosophical liberty, let him use and enjoy it *with his Genius and his talent*; and let each hear, see, observe Jehovah speaking, teaching and replying in Sacrosanct Scripture, the Book of Nature, and himself.[903]

> Seek Catholically first of all the Tri-une Catholicon (as this our *Amphitheatre* teaches), that is, to Recognise God, know Thyself, and the highest good *in Nature and Art*, that is, let me dare to assert, the Philosophical Stone.[904]

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901 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), 438; in the margin: 'Benè velle, Nosse, Esse & Posse'.

902 *Amph.*II, 82 'Cum igitur Iehovah solus sit, qui fortunet ac regat theorias & praxes, actiones atque labores nostros sensuum, rationis, mentis manuumque debemus mente supplici (in spiritu ac veritate) implorare auxilium ipsius, vt in omnibus det atque inspiret benè velle, nosse, esse & posse.'

903 *Amph.*II, 171 'Cum cuiuis Diuinitus illuminato, libertatis Philosophicæ potestate, concessum sit Theo-Sophicè philosophari, vtatur & fruatur quiuis Genio ac ingenio suo: audiat, videat, obseruet vnusquisque Iehovam loquentem, docentem & respondentem in ss.ª Scriptura, Libro Naturæ, & semetipso.' My italics.

904 *Amph.*II, 115 'Catholicè quære primùm Catholicon Triunum (vt docet Amphitheatrum hoc nostrum) hoc est, Agnoscere Devm, cognoscere Temetipsum, summumque in Natura & Arte bonum, hoc est, Lapidem Philosophicum ausim affirmare.' My italics. See also *Amph.*II, 101 and 147 (mispaginated as p. 145).

Both columns and obelisks bear the two plaques with the words 'Orando' (by Praying) and 'Laborando' (by Working), advertising the message of the *Amphitheatre's Oratory-Laboratory* engraving.[905] It is interesting to note that the arch itself is not a full semi-circle because the sides of the archway contain niches or doorways that are not identical in proportion: the pale opening on the left being shorter than the darker opening on the right, perhaps indicating that the path of contemplation is less frequented than the path of action.

Hanging from the arch are seven lamps, like the seven-branched star-shaped oil lamp in the *Oratory-Laboratory*, with their predictable associations with the seven celestial planets of 'superior astronomy' and the seven terrestrial metals of 'inferior astronomy'. By the light of these lamps we read:

> The Physico-Chymical Confession of Heinrich Khunrath of Leipzig, Lover of Theosophy and Doctor of Both Medicines, reissued, updated and expanded, Concerning Orthodox, Universal Chaos of the Physico-Chymists: In which materially dwells the Salt of Wisdom, and Universally Azoth or the First Matter of the World, and all material things in it, i.e., Mercury of the Wise: Where the conditions of Magnesia (namely, of the Universal Subject of the Philosophers' Stone) are faithfully recounted. O Spirit of God's Wisdom assist me![906]

At the top of the arch, over the keystone, can be seen Khunrath's coat of arms, surmounted by a cockerel holding a sickle, familiar to those who know the title page of the 1609 *Amphitheatre*, where his armorial bearings appear between the tips of two cornucopias. On the facade of the arch are engraved the words:

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905 Of course, it is also possible to argue that the words 'Orando' and 'Laborando' could be translated as 'for praying' and 'for working', i.e., that the *Amphitheatre* is useful for both undertakings.

906 *Chaos* engraving: 'CONFESSIO HENRICI KHUNRATH LIPSENS: THEOSOPHIAE amator et medicinae utriusque Doctor, Physico-Chymica, reiterata, renovata et bene aucta, De Chao Physico-Chymicorum catholico, orthodoxa: In quo materialiter habitat Sal Sapientiae, et Catholice Azoth sive materia Prima Mundi, Rerumque omnium materialium in eo, h.e. Mercurius Sapientum: Ubi Magnesiae (Subiecti videlicet Lapidis Philosophorum Catholici) conditiones fideliter recensentur. O Ruach Hhochmah-El adsiste mihi!'. Cf. the full title of *Confessio Henrici Khunrath Lips: utriusque Medic: Doct: De Chao Physico-Chemicorum Catholico, in quo catholice habitat Azoth sive materia prima Mundi, h.e. Mercurius sapientum: ubi Magnesiae* (*subiecti videlicet Lapidis Philosophorum catholici*) *conditiones fideliter recensentur* (Magdeburg, 1596).



FIGURE 2.194 Khunrath, *Chaos* engraving, detail: Angels and Coat-of-Arms. Octagon Library, Graz. Courtesy of Hans Thomas Hakl

'The Theosophical Gate, through which the sons of the Doctrine shall universally enter for the understanding of Physico-Chymical Truth.'[907]

At the very top of the engraving hover two angels, bearing palm leaves in one hand, and in their other holding a wreath over Khunrath's coat of arms (Fig. 2.194), similar to the hand of God holding a wreath of victory over Khunrath's head on the 1609 *Amphitheatre* title page. Although Khunrath mentions angels, particularly in his definition of Hyperphysical or Supernatural Magic as 'pious and useful conversation … with good Angels', this is the only occasion when we see their presence in one of his engravings.[908]

52 Conclusion

The *Amphitheatre* engravings were for their time some of the most detailed and sophisticated images to have ever appeared in Western occult literature, manuscript or print, and contributed to the Baroque flowering of esoteric emblematic discourse in the seventeenth century. It is true that alchemical images, for example, had already appeared in print in the *Pretiosa Margarita Novella* (New Pearl of Great Price, 1546) and the *Rosarium Philosophorum* (Rose-Garden of the Philosophers, 1550), and illustrated books of emblems and hieroglyphs, such as Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum liber* (1531) and Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica* (1505) had been available for a century, as well as publications

907 *Chaos* engraving: 'Porta Theosophica, per quam catholicè introibunt filij Doctrinae ad Veritatis Physico-Chymicae cognitionem.'

908 *Amph.*II, 147 'HYPERPHYSICOMAGEIA (respectu Naturalis & Doctrinæ causa, sic dicta) est cum Angelis bonis, flammeis DEI ministris, … pia & vtilis conuersatio.' On Khunrath and angels, see Forshaw, 'Behold, the dreamer cometh'.

containing the philosophical wheels of Ramon Lull and Giordano Bruno,[909] but none of these rivalled Khunrath's *Amphitheatre* in the complexity of its imagery. As Szulakowska remarks, the images are 'dense and involved in their iconographical programmes since they are designed to hold the viewer's attention for a prolonged period of time.'[910]

In this chapter we have considered Khunrath's choice of the image of an amphitheatre as the structuring principle of his work, following which we have introduced the two sets of circular theosophical and rectangular hieroglyphical images. In the process we have provided some preliminary description and analysis of general content of the engravings and some instances of how readers 'read' and commented on elements of their *pictura* and *scriptura*. In so doing it is hoped that modern readers have gained some idea of the level of detail brought to this task. Throughout this book we shall see that just as it is necessary to be constantly aware of how Khunrath expects his readers to be open to the nuances of his occult language, to potential polyglot interpretations or deconstructions of words, to the hidden significance of individual letters, so when viewing his images should one be aware of intricate or convoluted details, echoes, parallels, or resonances between figures, of repetitions, variations and modifications of a theme. Khunrath's figures are highly exacting *images sçavantes*, multifaceted and kaleidoscopic in the complexity of their verbal and visual combinations and allusions.[911] They are deployed to spark the interdisciplinary interests of educated courtiers, learned scholars, pious theosophers, Christian Cabalists, hermetic and occult philosophers. Frequently there is the sense that Khunrath's iconotextual images are to be viewed from a variety of perspectives, as it were from different levels, seats or indeed roles in the *Amphitheatre*. If there is a ludic element to what takes place in the *Amphitheatre*, little about it is easy, knowledge is dispersed, wisdom earned, not given (unless by divine grace).[912] The game is one of polysemy, polylogism, pluridirectionality, and multiple levels of exegesis.

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909 See Raymund Lull, *Opera quae ad adinventam ab ipso Artem Universalem … pertinent* (Strasbourg: Zetzner, 1598), containing, for example, the *Ars brevis* and *Ars Magna*, together with interpretative works: Giordano Bruno's *De Specierum scrutinio*, *De Lampade combinatoria Lulliana*, and *De Professu & Lampade Venatoria Logicorum*, as well as Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa's *Commentaria in Artem Brevem Lullianam*. For the use of a wheel in an alchemical context, see Jennifer M. Rampling, 'Depicting the Medieval Alchemical Cosmos: George Ripley's *Wheel* of Inferior Astronomy', *Early Science and Medicine* 18 (2013): 45–86.

910 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 7.

911 Germano Leal, '*Belles Lettres*: Hieroglyphs, Emblems and the Philosophy of Images', 105.

912 Cf. De Villiers, 'Commentaire sur l'*Amphithéâtre*', 459 'La theorie de sa connoissance estant diffuse et esparse par beaucoup d'endroits de ce liure …'.

Despite the fact that the notion of what constituted a hieroglyph changed greatly through the Renaissance, especially following Valeriano,[913] Khunrath's figures still retain that sense of participation in a Neoplatonic *mundus symbolicus*, a world of sympathetic signs. As shall be seen, they are an expression of the same Cabalistic spirit that believed in an essential primordial language, of a Paracelsian medical semiology that accepted the notion of Signatures; indeed part of the novelty of the engravings is the syncretic alliance of material from diverse traditions, a feat performed long before in text, for example in Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa's encyclopedic *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (1533), but not previously in visual form. The *Amphitheatre*'s images are a pictorial expression of Khunrath's theosophy – or perhaps better "occult theosophy" – of the reduction of the binary to the monad, of his preference for hieroglyphic figures that are at one and the same time both image and word, of his attraction to Hebrew characters which are simultaneously letter and number – all harmonise with the message of unity in diversity found in his engravings, particularly in the famous image of the *Oratory-Laboratory*. If, as Khunrath's pietist correspondent Johann Arndt argues in his *Judicium*, the earliest commentary on the four circular figures in the 1595 *Amphitheatre*, 'Magic reveals its mysteries through prepared images' and 'Cabala shows […] its Wisdom in dark words', then Khunrath's engravings are a potent combination of these two ways of communicating occult and theosophical mysteries.[914] While it is clear that a major concern of the *Amphitheatre*'s figures is with the arena of alchemy, spectators must constantly keep the other aspects of his theosophy in view and be mindful that, as Carlos Gilly remarks, the wonderful illustrations not only in the seventeenth-century alchemical emblems of Michael Maier and Johann Daniel Mylius, but also Rosicrucian images from the works of Robert Fludd and Daniel Mögling, to the *Geheime Figuren der Rosenkreuzer* (Secret Symbols of the Rosicrucians) in the eighteenth century would simply not have been possible without the inspiring figures in Khunrath's *Amphitheatre*.[915]

As Khunrath writes in the *Calumniators* engraving, 'It is unjust to judge from one small part of any Book, unless you have first of all read well through the whole Book, and duly understood it.'[916] Having introduced the 'Pictures'

913 Dieckmann, *Hieroglyphics: The History of a Literary Symbol*, 49.

914 [Arndt], *Judicium* (1608), 101 'die Magia offenbaret ihre Geheimnisse durch Bilder-Zurichten […] Die Cabala aber offenbaret, ja verbirget ihre Weisheit in dunkeln Worten.'

915 Gilly (ed.), *Johann Valentin Andreae 1586–1986: Die Manifeste der Rosenkreuzerbruderschaft*, 40.

916 *Calumniators* engraving: 'Incivile est, ex una Libri alicujus particula, judicare, nisi prius toto Libro benè perspecto, et ritè cognito.' This sentiment was repeated by the German alchemist and physician Otto Tachenius (1610–1680), on the verso of the title page to

that represent the condensation of his theosophical system, let us now turn to Khunrath's 'Scriptures' and see what insight they provide into these matters, beginning first with an investigation of his Theosophy and 'way of correctly philosophising.' Khunrath advises his reader: 'Learn (that you may be wise) to Wisely compare what comes before with what comes after, the Prologue with the figures of this Amphitheatre, and vice versa.'[917] The following chapters shall attempt to follow his advice, with closer analyses of the mage's images in the context of the *Amphitheatre*, the rest of his oeuvre, and relevant related works.

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his *Antiquissimae Hippocraticae Medicinae Clavis* (Key to the most Ancient Hippocratic Medicine, Leiden, 1671): 'Incivile est (inquit H. Khunrat) ex una libri alicujus particula judicare de toto, nisi prius toto libro bene perspecto, & rite cognito.'

917 *Amph.*II, 58 'Antecedentia cum consequentibus, Prologum cum Amphitheatri figuris huius, & contra, Sapienter (vt sapias) conferre discito.'

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This is the 1st volume in a 4-volume work entitled *The Mage's Images*. The work provides the first in-depth examination of the life and works of Heinrich Khunrath (1560-1605), 'one of the great Hermetic philosophers', whose *Amphitheatre of Eternal Wisdom* (1595/1609) has been described as 'one of the most important books in the whole literature of theosophical alchemy and the occult sciences'. Khunrath is best known for his novel combination of 'scripture and picture' in the complex engravings in his *Amphitheatre*. In this richly illustrated monograph, Forshaw analyses occult symbolism, with previously unpublished material, offering insight into Khunrath's insistence on the necessary combination of alchemy, magic, and cabala in 'Oratory and Laboratory'.

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