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An alchemical novel in Strasbourg

Contexts of production of the *Chemical Weddings*

A new find about the *Chymical Marriage* from the later correspondence of Johann Valentin Andreae

Une nouvelle découverte sur les Noces Chymiques dans la correspondance tardive de Johann Valentin Andreae

A New Discovery on the Chymical Wedding in Andreae's Later Years Correspondence

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Abstracts

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Les *Noces Chymiques* font partie des écrits les plus connus de Johann Valentin Andreae, mais c'est aussi le texte le plus difficile à élucider. La recherche n'a pas encore réussi, par exemple, à retrouver en détail ses nombreuses sources littéraires et alchimiques. La présente contribution tentera tout d'abord, dans une brève parenthèse historique, de présenter la collaboration d'Andreae avec ce que l'on appelle le cénacle de Tübingen ainsi que son rôle clé dans la rédaction des manifestes rosicruciens. C'est dans ce contexte que la genèse des *Noces Chymiques* sera par la suite reconstituée. Cette contribution s'attachera dans une seconde partie à l'étude de la correspondance entre Andreae et le duc Auguste de Braunschweig-Lünebourg : on cherchera à montrer comment Andreae a esquissé de nouveaux rapports personnels avec le rosicrucianisme ainsi qu'avec la pensée utopique, et comment il a parfaitement montré dans sa correspondance, preuves à l'appui, qu'il était bien l'auteur de cet écrit ou qu'il entretenait du moins une relation privilégiée avec l'auteur.

Wie kaum eine andere Rosenkreuzer Schrift hat die *Chymische Hochzeit* des Christian Rosencreutz das Interesse der Gelehrten durch die Jahrhunderte hindurch auf sich gezogen. Dennoch ist es der Forschung bisher noch nicht gelungen, die überaus zahlreichen Motive und Themen in einer kohärenten Darstellung einzubetten. Der Beitrag wird zunächst mit einem kurzen historischen Exkurs versuchen, die Mitarbeit Andreaes mit dem sogenannten Tübinger Kreis und seine zentrale Rolle bei der Abfassung der Manifeste der Rosenkreuzer darzustellen. Vor diesem Hintergrund wird die



Entstehung der Schrift anschließend rekonstruiert. Der Beitrag greift im zweiten Teil auf die Korrespondenz des alten Andreaes mit dem Herzog August der Jüngere von Braunschweig-Lüneburg zurück: Es wird gezeigt, wie Andreae sein Verhältnis zum Rosenkreuzertum und zum utopischen Denken neu beschrieben hat und wie er in seinem Briefwechseln eindeutige Beweise seiner Autorschaft der Schrift oder mindestens seine enge Vertrautheit mit dem Verfasser der Schrift vermittelt hat.

The *Chymical Wedding* is one of Johann Valentin Andreae's best known works and it is also the most difficult of all. Research has not yet succeeded in uncovering the numerous literary and alchemical sources in full detail. First of all, this contribution will try to depict, in a short historical digression, Andreae's collaboration with the so called Tübingen Cenacle and his key-role in the composition of the Rosicrucian manifestos. Against this background the genesis of the *Chymical Wedding* will be subsequently reconstructed. In a second part, the present contribution will study the correspondence between Andreae and Augustus the Younger, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg: it will point out how Andreae described his relationship to Rosicrucianism and utopian thought and how explicit proofs of his authorship of the writing have been preserved in his correspondence.

Index terms

Key words : Chemical Wedding , Rose-Croix , alchemy , utopian thought , cryptography , Augustus the Younger , Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg , correspondence

Keywords: Chymical Wedding, rosicrucianism, alchemy, utopian ideas, cryptography, Augustus the younger, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, correspondence

Keyword index: Chymic Wedding , Rosicrucianism , Alchemy , Utopian Thought , Cryptography , August the Younger , Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg , Correspondence

Full text

- ¹ *Christian Rosencreutz 's Chymical Marriage* has attracted the interest of scholars through the centuries like hardly any other Rosicrucian writing . Nevertheless, research has not yet succeeded in embedding the extremely numerous motifs and themes that are combined in this initiation narrative, which is divided into seven days, into a coherent presentation. Even the authorship, which is no longer disputed and generally Johann Valentin Andreae (1586-1654) ¹ is attributed to, raises far more questions than answers regarding the genesis of this writing. Even if the interpretation of the Scriptures must therefore remain open in many respects, research is constantly yielding new insights that can provide insightful insights - and above all retrospectives - into the cultural environment in which the *Chymical Wedding* arose, and who thus introduce, above all, into the world of thought of their author, Johann Valentin Andreae.
- ² This article begins with a short historical excursion: Based on the numerous studies that have already been published, the origin of the writing is to be reconstructed against the background of Andreae's life and his contacts with the so-called Tübingen Circle ² . We owe it to the important contributions of Carlos Gilly in particular to present a detailed description of the context in which this writing came about, to which, however, there will hardly be anything to add ³ . On the other hand, a new find from the correspondence of Johann Valentin Andreae is presented: The correspondence not only seems to prove how Andreae readjusted and described his relationship to Rosicrucianism and utopian thinking in the last decades of his life, but also how he has conveyed in his correspondence clear evidence of his authorship, or at least his close acquaintance with the author of the writing.



Who, how, when: recapitulative overview of the origin of the writing

As early as 1602 and 1603 I began to write something to exercise my talent. [...] What survives is the 'Chymic Marriage' – with a progeny rich in monstrosities – a gimmick curiously appreciated by some and most astutely explained, something utterly useless that reveals the inner emptiness of the inquisitive should bring.⁴

³ With this succinct and self-deprecating remark, Andreae acknowledged the composition of the *Chymical Wedding* in his autobiography, although he decried it as a *ludibrium*, a gimmick or a mockery. It is well known that he never publicly admitted his authorship of the other Rosicrucian Manifestos⁵. His contemporaries therefore knew nothing of his authorship of those writings, nor of this information in his *Vita*, which was not published until the 18th century⁶. They counted the *Chymic Marriage* therefore initially not among the Rosicrucian writings, even if the founder of the Brotherhood - Christian Rosencreutz - is said to have written them. The question of authorship initially remained open to contemporaries and with the exception of the anti-Rosicrucian writing *Esel König* (1625)⁷, the *Chymical Wedding* was nowhere associated with Andreae.

⁴ But even if Andreae's authorship, which he conceded in the context of his autobiography, is generally regarded as certain today, the answer to the question of the date of origin of this work is still obscure⁸. Andreae himself locates the *Chymical Wedding* in his short *Breviarium vel Diarium vitae*, in which he summarizes the most important events of his life and his writings chronologically⁹, in the year 1605. But as Carlos Gilly has already proved, these are autobiographical details - as in the In general, the accounts of his youth and early writings should be read with great caution. Especially such an early dating of the *Chymic Marriage* is hardly convincing. In this context, Gilly also points out that, according to the *Breviarium vel Diarium vitae*, Andreae wrote "practically his entire literary production up to at least 1612" in the same year, including his writing *De Christiani cosmoxeni genitura Iudicium*, which in turn only appears in the *Indiculus librorum* is dated 1612¹⁰.

⁵ Not only the contradictions or at least the unfounded information in the chronology of the *breviary* make it difficult to date the origin of the examined writing exactly; The outward course of this decisive phase in Andreae's life also suggests that the *Chymical Wedding* was not written until a few years later.

⁶ Shortly after beginning his studies in Tübingen, Andreae became involved in a scandal in the spring of 1607: some students had written a shameful poem about the daughter of the Württemberg chancellor Matthäus Entzlin immediately before their marriage. Andreae was also accused of this and therefore had to leave Tübingen for the time being. He undertook a study trip and went to Strasbourg, among other places, where he may have made initial contacts with his later publisher Lazarus Zetzner and with the circle of scholars around the famous Matthias Bernegger (1582-1640). In the summer of the same year, Andreae returned briefly to Tübingen, but left shortly thereafter; At the end of the year he was employed as a steward in Lauingen in the Upper Palatinate, but returned to Tübingen in the spring of 1608.¹¹

⁷ Gilly locates the emergence of the *Chymic Marriage* precisely at this time and even suspects that it could have been written down during the stay in Lauingen, since the Augsburg doctor and Paracelsist Karl Widemann named the book printer Jacob Winter under number 31 in a list of other Paracelsists¹² mentions zu Lauingen – a friend of Andreae – and announces that he "has the alchemical wedding; is known to Doctor Hessen in Tübingen"¹³. Unfortunately, however,



Widemann's inventory was written between the years 1610 and 1630, giving an accurate dating of the *Chymic Marriage* cannot be inferred from this entry. Despite all the uncertainties regarding the current state of knowledge, it can be assumed that the first manuscript circulated among private owners for a certain time before it fell into the hands of its editor Johann Friedrich Jung from Strasbourg in 1615.

- 8 However, the first actually dated proof of the existence of the manuscript of this initiation narrative coincides with the announcement of its publication. The Arnd student, engraver and publishing consultant Johann Friedrich Jung wrote a letter dated December 3, 1615, in which he not only asked for admission to the Brotherhood of the Rosicrucians, but also announced the forthcoming publication of the *Chymic Wedding* as follows:

As I finished this letter, a German booklet was placed before me for my examination, entitled *Nyptiae Chymicae sive Chymische Ehe Christiani Rosencreutz*, written in the year 1459, no doubt by the first brother and founder of your order. Here the whole alchemical art is described in enigmatic form, which I liked so much that I replied to my clients: The book is quite worthy of being printed, even if there will be no lack of envious people and scoffers.¹⁴

- 9 And indeed : during the turbulent years of the Rosicrucian controversy, the *Chymical Wedding* was printed and published in Strasbourg. As is well known, the first two editions – actually a press version – were published by Lazarus Zetzners Verlag.¹⁵ The first print shows on the title page, below the title and the engraving: “Strassburg/ | In extension/ Lazari Zetzners. | Anno M.DC. XVI.” and on the colophon: “Strasbourg/ | SIMPLEX SPES [printed signet] PRUDENTIA FIRMA. | Printed by Conrad Scher/ | In the year/ M. DC. XVI.”¹⁶ The second variant, on the other hand, shows on the title page, below the title and the copper engraving: “Strassburg/ | In extension/ Lazari Zetzners S. Erben | Anno M.DC. XVI.” and on the colophon simply: “Strasbourg/ | By Conrad Scher/ | In the year/ M. DC. XVI.”¹⁷ In the third issue¹⁸ - with a new title page but with the statement “Firstly printed in Straßburg/ | Anno M.DC. XVI.” and entirely without a colophon – according to Gilly, it is “a pirate print from the same workshop”¹⁹.

- 10 The reception of this work, especially against the background of the flood of writings for or against the Rosicrucians in the first three decades of the 17th century, has already been well researched. Ultimately, however, the exact date of origin of the writing, its cultural environment and the practical conditions of its publication remain unclear in many respects, even to the best of our current knowledge. Unexpectedly, however, new retrospectives and insights into the *Chymic Wedding* emerge from the later correspondence of its author: Within this immense body of sources, evidence can actually be found for the long-term connection between Johann Valentin Andreae and this work, which dates from his earlier period of literary activity.

The correspondence of Johann Valentin Andreae

- 11 It is obvious that Andreae's letters are a cultural-historical source of the first rank, a hitherto untapped treasure of intellectual history of the 17th century. Driven by the spirit of reform and the dream of the ideal Christian society, Andreae had spent his life working to build an academic network that would counteract his vision of an extensively networked Christian community.²⁰ This Europe-wide network was established primarily with the medium of the letter.



Andreae himself attached great importance to his correspondence: in his autobiography he published euphoric lists of his correspondents²¹.

12 Although the early correspondence and Andreae's entire library burned down in the war-related city fire of Calw in 1634²², Andreae collected letters from and to his numerous correspondence partners and contacts throughout his life, until he decided in 1653 to publish his valuable manuscripts together with his various correspondence to the library of his correspondent Duke August von Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1579-1666), where they would be kept far more protected than in private possession and where they are preserved to this day²³. With this intention, he probably also intended the sorting and ordering of his manuscripts, which were stored in Stuttgart at the time. First he wrote of seven Latin folio volumes, then, in October 1653, of eight *tomi in folio* and announced his intention to hand over the manuscripts to the ducal library during his lifetime, preferably in the spring of 1654, so that they would not end up in the wrong place hands fell²⁴.

13 The contact between Johann Valentin Andreae, at that time court chaplain and consistorial counselor in Stuttgart, and the Duke of Brunswick was arranged by Philipp Hainhofer²⁵, who had been corresponding with both of them for a long time: at that time Augustus the Younger needed a theological adviser for his work on of his *Evangelical Church Harmony* and found a helpful and loyal contact person in Johann Valentin Andreae²⁶. In the years that followed, the two developed such an intimate relationship through a constant exchange of letters, which soon settled down to a weekly rhythm, that their correspondence today, with around 1,295 letters, represents Andreae's most extensive correspondence²⁷. In total, the holdings of the Herzog August Library – according to Andreae's bequest in 1653/54 and through further successive acquisitions²⁸ – comprise around 5,672 sheets, which today are spread over a total of 42 volumes. There are also around 500 letters and other autographs that are currently in other libraries and archives.

14 A sorting of the manuscripts attributed to Andreae was first undertaken by Paul Oskar Kristeller in *Iter Italicum*²⁹. The first modern listings were made by Otto von Heinemann³⁰ and by the catalogs of the Wolfenbüttel collections *Codices Extravagantes* and *Codices Novissimi*³¹. However, they all remained incomplete and incomplete in many respects, especially with regard to the correspondence. All of the 5,173 letters identified so far have only recently been fully indexed³². With their development, a network of more than 300 identified letter writers came to light, at the center of which stood Johann Valentin Andreae. In the period from 1614 to 1653, his correspondents were geographically spread across the entire Old Kingdom, mainly in the Württemberg region, in Strasbourg, Augsburg, Nuremberg and, of course, in Wolfenbüttel.

15 This immense correspondence not only provides a valuable and irreplaceable insight into Andreae's public and private interests and activities, but is also a kaleidoscope of contemporary history - from major historical events such as the Thirty Years' War or contemporary theological debates to the minimal chronicle of everyday life. These sources are undeniably highly relevant for research into the history of culture and piety in the 17th century and the Hermetic tradition, as well as for early modern German studies, research into pietism, and for the history of mentality and war. In addition, the incipient indexing of this corpus has already shown



Cryptography and the Key to Secret Writing in the *Chymic Marriage*

- 16 Cryptography played a prominent role among the many common interests of Duke August zu Braunschweig-Lüneburg and Johann Valentin Andreae. At the end of the 16th century, Duke August acquired the most important books on secret writing for his library and began working with these materials in 1620. Finally, in 1624, under the pseudonym Gustavus Selenus, he published his *Cryptomenytices et Cryptographiae Libri IX*³³, which included both a detailed overview of the history of cryptography (from Trithemius to Giovanni Battista Porta)³⁴ as well as a systematic analysis of its basic principles. As is well known, the work was even considered a reference work for this field of knowledge well into the 18th century³⁵.
- 17 Johann Valentin Andreae had also dealt with encrypted messages and coding systems in his earlier years in Tübingen. Under the influence of Tobias Hess, who was constantly inventing new naometric calculations of time, biblical number games and secret writings, Andreae read Trithemius' *Clavis Steganographiae*, at the time a standard work in the field of cryptography and one of Tobias Hess' favorite readings³⁶. Andreae's early familiarity with cryptograms and cipher character encodings is expressed in, among other things, his writing *Theca gladii spiritus* - in Aphorism 372³⁷ - and even in the *Chymic Wedding* - namely on the fourth, fifth and sixth days.
- 18 This common interest in cryptography is also clearly reflected in the correspondence between Duke August and Andreae, although this already lacks the hermetic content that still prevailed in the early statements of the young Andreae. This finding could be explained, among other things, by the distance Andreae had gained in the last decades of his life from his earlier participation in the Rosicrucian Manifesto and the polemics connected with it.
- 19 The correspondence between Johann Valentin Andreae and Duke August, which began towards the end of 1640, progressed very slowly at first³⁸, but a close friendship between them began to develop as early as 1642³⁹. Andreae made short and general allusions to his past projects more and more often: Andreae had already officially distanced himself from the Rosicrucian reform program in the 1920s - possibly because his proximity to the Rosicrucians as a newly promoted deacon in Vaihingen seemed too dangerous or because his world of thought had developed in a different direction. The rare references to the Rosicrucians and their writings in Andreae's letters do not suggest malicious rejection, but at least ironic mockery and a certain devaluation. For example, at one point the Duke wants Andreae's opinion of Aegidius Gutmann's *revelation of divine Mayestat*⁴⁰ experienced, the theologian replies succinctly that the book, whose author belongs to the Rosicrucians, might be interesting, but was not of much use⁴¹.
- 20 Andreae also wants to clearly separate his utopian plans⁴² drawn up in the 1920s from the Rosicrucian heresy. On July 7, 1642, for example, he reported to the Duke about his attempts to found a *Societas Christiana* and also sent him the related writings he had written, which were probably the *Christianae societatis imago* and *Christianae amoris dextera porrecta*⁴³. This Christian brotherhood, which was intended as a contrast to the Rosicrucian gimmick, was intended to unite like-minded people who wanted to work for a renewal of the church and of all Christianity (or the world) through piety, education and virtue. An extremely pious and educated prince was to be at the head of this society and, as Andreae writes in his letter, they had already thought of Duke Augustus of Brunswick-Lüneburg⁴⁴. Andreae even added a list of the members at that time to this request, in which he without any particular consideration mentioned his former friends, the Tübingen circle and the followers of the Rosicrucian Manifestos - including even Tobias Hess and Christoph Besold -⁴⁵. On July 26, Andreae received the Duke's reply. He wrote that he had not only read through the books, but that it had also become clear to

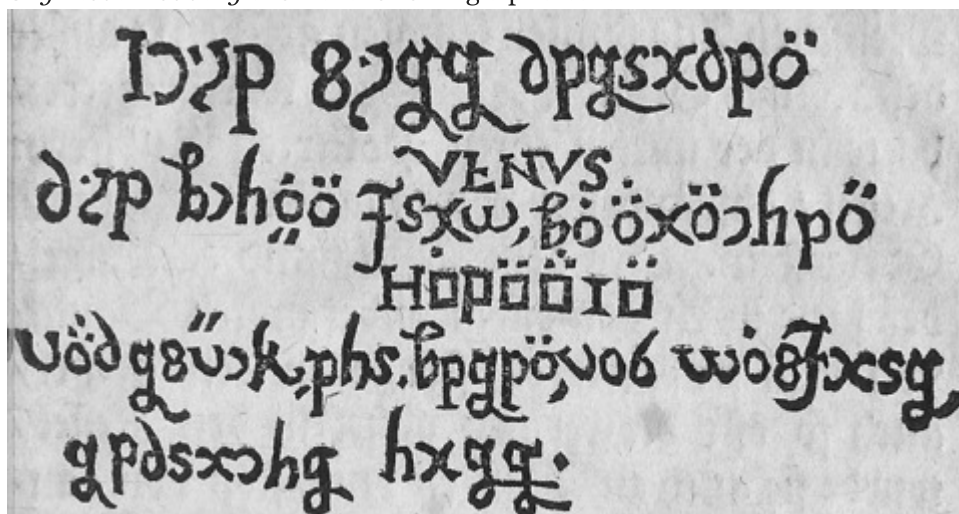


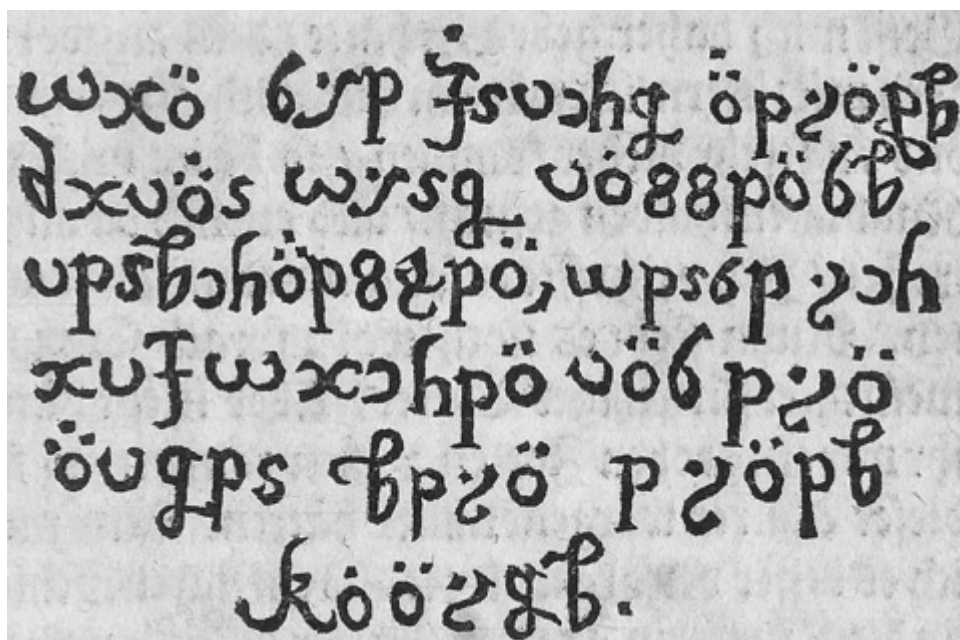
him immediately that these writings were deliberately opposed to the Rosicrucian manifestos⁴⁶. Andreae responded to the Duke on August 17 with great joy, also because he was relieved to learn that Duke Augustus, after the last letter regarding his plans for a Christian society, had separated them from the *vanitatum Rosecrucianarum et fanaticorum*⁴⁷.

21 Andreae was similarly careless in using coding systems to link him to the Rosicrucian writings. In the correspondence between Duke August and Johann Valentin Andreae, the common interest in cryptography was only reflected from the year 1643 and encrypted message transmission, which began at the beginning of this year⁴⁸, both discontinued a few years later. Within this short period, however, different ciphers were used, the corresponding keys sometimes being revealed to the correspondent. The recipient then carried out the decryption, mostly in the marginalia, so that the entire process of encryption and decryption can still be traced today. The contents of these encrypted messages vary greatly: They contain short poems⁴⁹, messages about private matters or brief reports on acts of war, such as the siege of the region by Guelph-Swedish troops⁵⁰. The variance in content suggests that this encoded correspondence served more for mutual amusement than for the transmission of sensitive or hermetic messages.

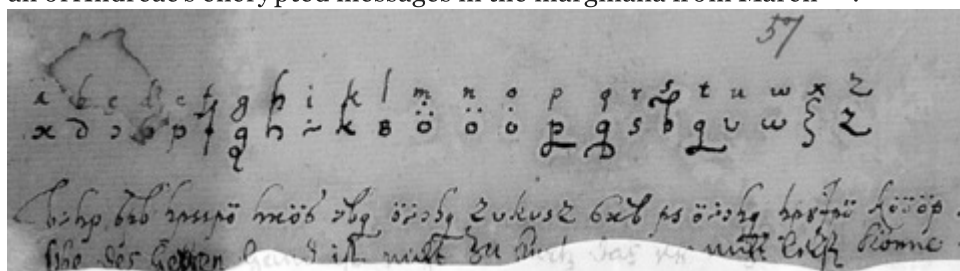
22 Duke August used his own - sometimes very extensive and complex - coding systems and revealed the corresponding key for decryption⁵¹. In the summer of 1643, Andreae also began to develop a new cipher, which combined letters, symbols and digits and thus made it possible to swap letters or replace them with digits and symbols. The key was re-selected (and usually marked red in the encrypted messages) to increase the encryption possibilities. Andreae also sent the duke a "cipher disk" for decryption. The disk consisted of two rings and was probably first made of cardboard (moving inner ring with numbers, outer ring with letters), then metal and with a reworked disk (moving inner ring with numbers and characters, outer ring with numbers and letters).⁵² The instructions for use of this decryption disc were also sent to the duke.

23 Among the many secret writings that Andreae used in his correspondence with Duke August, a code known to the readers of the *Chymical Wedding* appears for the first time. This is the cipher of the two cryptograms contained in the fifth day, the content of which Richard Kienast decrypted for the first time in 1929⁵⁴ using the explanation given in the text. The two woodcuts from the first edition of the *Chymical Wedding* show the following ciphertext⁵⁵:





- 24 This cipher was used for the first time outside of the *Chymic Wedding* by Johann Valentin Andreae in his letters to Duke August in January 1643⁵⁶ - probably even a little earlier, on a piece of paper that has no longer survived and which may have been attached to a letter dated December 24, 1642 was⁵⁷ - and up to June 1643 she kept appearing in correspondence⁵⁸. Johann Valentin Andreae also sends the key to this secret document to Duke August, probably around the beginning of 1643; it was copied onto an undated piece of paper and enclosed with a letter⁵⁹. Even if the latter attribution is still very uncertain, it can be assumed that the key reached the Duke towards the end of February 1643 at the latest, since Duke August dissolved all of Andreae's encrypted messages in the marginalia from March⁶⁰.



- 25 Although Johann Valentin Andreae never mentions the connection of this character code to the *Chymic Marriage*, it is hard to believe that it remained unknown to the duke. In any case, with the help of Andreae's key, the two woodcuts that belong to the 5th day of Christian Rosencreutz's inauguration story can now finally be resolved. The first cryptogram reads: "Hie ligt buried | VENUS | the beautiful woman, so many | HOEN MIN [|] | Umb luck, honor. blessing, uo[?=n] wolfart | brought."; and the second cryptogram: "wan the fruit of my | baumr [|] host uollends | melt, I will | wake up and a | mother be one | King's."

- 26 The decryption reveals clear typographical difficulties in the implementation of the cipher for the woodcuts. Individual letters – such as "g" and "t" – look so similar in the code that they can hardly be distinguished on the printing block. It seems that the woodcutter apparently mistranslated letters, possibly because he read wrong letters (in the manuscript?) - e.g. "MIN" instead of "MAN" - or because he mistook letters according to their common usage - e.g. "baum r" instead of "tree s" transmitted, where the letter "s" corresponds to an "r" in the cipher. This observation suggests that Andreae herself was involved in the publication of the *Chymical Wedding* was not directly involved. While the woodcuts in the first two editions – or the press variant – are identical, the woodcut in the third edition shows small deviations – especially in the distribution of the letters and the spaces on the lines – which suggests that the (third) woodcut was retranslated. However,



since the typographical errors have not been corrected here either, Andreae's participation in this third edition remains questionable.

- 27 Although this decoding opens up few new insights on the content level, this manuscript and with it the key to one of the secret writings used in the *Chymic Wedding* nevertheless represents an important find, which not only confirms Andreae's authorship once again, but also his long-term connection to can clearly demonstrate and prove in this document.

Notes

1 For placing Andreae in the contemporary theological and cultural context, see Martin Brecht's new biography: *Johann Valentin Andreae 1586 - 1654. A biography* . Goettingen 2008.

2 See, inter alia, Hermann Geyer: *Hidden Wisdom. Johann Arndt 'Four Books of True Christianity' as a program for a spiritualistic-hermetic theology* , 3 vols. Berlin/New York 2001, vol. 1, pp. 51-63; Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica (ed.): *Rosicrucian as a European Phenomenon in the 17th Century* . Stuttgart 2002; Tilton Hereward: *The Quest for the Phoenix: Spiritual Alchemy and Rosicrucianism in the Work of Count Michael Maier (1569-1622)* . Berlin 2003, pp. 113-179 and especially pp. 127-131.

3 Cf. inter alia Carlos Gilly: *Johann Valentin Andreae 1586-1986. The Manifesto of the Rosicrucian Brotherhood. catalog* . Amsterdam 1986; Carlos Gilly: *Iter rosicrucianum*. In: Search of Unknown Sources of the Early Rosicrucians". In: Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica (ed.): *The Legacy of Christian Rosenkreuz* . Amsterdam 1988, pp. 63-89; Carlos Gilly: *Cimelia Rhodostaurotica. The Rosicrucians as reflected in the manuscripts and prints produced between 1610 and 1660* . Amsterdam 1995.

4 Johann Valentin Andreae: *Gesammelte Schriften* , Bd. 1.1: *Autobiography and kleine biographische Schriften* . Stuttgart/Bad Cannstatt 2012 (aus dem Lateinischen von Beate Hintzen), S. 52-55: "Already from the second and third after the 1600s I began to exercise some genius, therefore, [...] They survived, on the other hand, the Chymical Wedding , with its fertile brood of monsters, a play which was esteemed by some with wonder and explained with subtle investigation, completely futile, and which betrays the vanity of the curious.

5 For the meaning and interpretation of Andreae's autobiography - also in connection with its writing as a written defense - see Carlos Gilly: *Johann Valentin Andreae 1586-1986* , p. 139; Wilhelm Kühlmann: "The Symptoms of the Private. On the autobiographical writings of Johann Valentin Andreae (1586-1654). In: Walter Berschin (ed.): *Biography between Renaissance and Baroque. Twelve Studies* . Heidelberg 1993, pp. 191-219.

6 Andreae's autobiography was not published during his lifetime. It only appeared towards the end of the 18th century in a German translation: Johann Valentin Andreae: *Autobiography of Joh. Valentin Andreae's* , translated from the Manuscripte and accompanied by notes and supplements by Prof. Seybold. Winterthur 1799. The edition of the Latin original followed from the middle of the 19th century: Johann Valentin Andreae: *Vita, ab ipso conscripta* , ed. by Friedrich Heinrich Rheinwald. Berlin 1849. Manuscript in the HAB Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Aug. 67.11 Aug. 8°. Here is quoted from the new edition of the autobiography as part of the *collected writings*, vol. 1.1: *autobiography and small biographical writings* .

7 For the text that was already conceived but not published until 1625, see Gilly: *Johann Valentin Andreae 1586-1986* , p. 78f. and Walter Ernst Schäfer: *The satirical writings of Wolfhart Spangenberg* . Tübingen: De Gruyter, 1998, especially pp. 58f.

8 A dating of the writing to 1604 was suggested, for example, in Will-Erich Peuckert: *Die Rosenkreuzer* . Jena 1928, p. 96; Richard von Dülmen, on the other hand, suspects a dating around the years 1605-1607: *The Utopia of a Christian Society. Johann Valentin Andreae (1586-1654)* , vol. 1. Stuttgart/Bad Canstatt 1978, p. 35; Carlos Gilly, on the other hand, locates the emergence of the *Chymic Wedding* within the period between 1607 and 1609, see Gilly: *Johann Valentin Andreae 1586-1986* , p. 78.

9 Partial print from a lost manuscript in Richard Kienast: *Johann Valentin Andreae and the four genuine Rosenkreutzer writings* . Leipzig 1926, p. 238. Handed down as a manuscript also in HAB Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 67.12 Aug. 8°.

10 Hibersta handelt es sich um ein Schriftverzeichnis, abgedruckt als Anhang in: Gottlieb Andreae: *Serenissimi et Potentissimi D. Augusti Brunsuicensium [...] / The return and entry into the ancient kingdom is followed by a vow, an omen, and a shout of applause. Valent: Andrew [...]* Stuttgart: Johann Weyrich Rößlin, 1642 (VD17 39:139832M).



11 Cf. Brecht: *Johann Valentin Andreae 1586-1654* , pp. 25-92; Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica (ed.): *Rosicrucian as a European Phenomenon* .

12 See Gilly: *Johann Valentin Andreae 1586-1986* , p. 46f.

13 Quoted from Gilly: *Johann Valentin Andreae 1586-1986* , p. 46. See Julian Paulus: "Alchemy and Paracelsism around 1600. Seventy portraits". In: Joachim Telle (ed.): *Analecta Paracelsica. Studies on the afterlife of Theophrast von Hohenheim in early modern German culture* . Stuttgart 1995, p. 385f.

14 Translation quoted from Gilly: *Johann Valentin Andreae 1586-1986* , p. 78f. The original of the work - *Scala Descensionis Virtutum Occultarum Inferiora* - is in HAB Wolfenbüttel, IE 8. Printed with explanations in Wolfgang Hams (ed.): *German illustrated leaflets of the 16th and 17th centuries* , vol. 1, *the collection of the duke August Library* , Part 1, *Ethica, Physica* . Tübingen 1985, p. 10f.

15 On Lazarus Zetzner, see the article by Olivier Deloignon in this anthology.

16 Corresponds to VD17 23:000604B - specimen HAB Wolfenbüttel, A: 134.13 Phys.

17 Corresponds to VD17 23:279666R – specimen HAB Wolfenbüttel, Rara Xb 4778.

18 Corresponds to VD17 23:241580H – specimen HAB Wolfenbüttel, Rara Xb 3020(2).

19 Gilly: *Johann Valentin Andreae 1586-1986* , p.

20 Montgomery, Dülmen and Edighoffer had already referred to Andreae's correspondence as the primary source, but it was only the studies of Martin Brecht that made progress in this respect: Martin Brecht: *Johann Valentin Andreae and Herzog August zu Braunschweig-Lüneburg. Their correspondence and their environment* . Stuttgart/Bad Cannstatt 2002. Brecht fanned out Andreae's various correspondence, but concentrated his evaluation primarily on Andreae's contacts with Duke August and his children, contextualized their relationships and embedded the correspondence in general history, in contemporary theological debates and literary discourses the epoch.

21 Also Dirk Werle: "Contingency or Consistency of Scholarly Life? Strategies of self-presentation in Johann Valentin Andreae's vita". In: Karl Enenkel/Claus Zittel (eds.): *The vita as a mediator of science and work* . Münster 2013, pp. 257-277, here pp. 262f.

22 In fact, only a few letters to Andreae from the 1620s have survived.

23 Cf. Johann Valentin Andreae to Duke August on October 5, 1653 (HAB Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 65.2 Extrav., fol. 325r); see also Brecht: *Johann Valentin Andreae and Herzog August* , p. 19f.

24 See also Johann Valentin Andreae to Duke August on October 19, 1653 (HAB Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 65.2 Extrav., fol. 327).

25 On Philipp Hainhofer (1578-1647) see Joachim Lüdtke: *The Lute Books of Philipp Hainhofer (1578-1647)* . Goettingen 1999; Barbara Mundt: *The Pomeranian art cabinet of the Augsburg businessman Philipp Hainhofer for the learned Duke Philip II* . from Pomeranian. Munich 2009.

26 See Brecht: *Johann Valentin Andreae and Herzog August* , pp. 74-84

27 Especially in: HAB Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 65.1-2 and 236.1-9 Extrav.

28 Cf. Wolf-Dieter Otte: "The Estate of Johann Valentin Andreae in the Herzog August Library". In: Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica (ed.): *Rosicrucian as a European phenomenon* , pp. 85-101.

29 Paul Oskar Kristeller: *Iter Italicum, accedunt alia itinera. A finding list of uncatalogued or incompletely cataloged humanistic manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and other libraries* . Leiden 1963-1996 (III 41a, 370a, 501a, 699a, 699b, 713a, IV 9b, 12b, V 129b, VI 516b, 540b, 547a, 548a); see also Paul Oskar Kristeller: *A cumulative index to volumes 1-6 of Paul Oskar Kristeller's Iter Italicum* . Leiden et al., 1997, pp. 24 and 292. However, this account is incomplete in many respects, especially with regard to the correspondence.

30 Otto von Heinemann: *The Manuscripts of the Ducal Library in Wolfenbüttel* , Section 2: *The Augustan Manuscripts I*. Wolfenbuttel 1890; *The Augustan Manuscripts II* . Wolfenbuttel 1895.

31 Wolf-Dieter Otte: *The more recent manuscripts of the Extravagantes group* , parts 1-3. Frankfurt am Main 1986-93 (Catalogues of the Herzog August Library 17-19); Renate Giermann: *The newer manuscripts of the Novissimi group* . Frankfurt am Main 1992 (Catalogues of the Herzog August Library 20).

32 Stefania Salvadori: *Inventory of the correspondence of Johann Valentin Andreae (1586-1654)* . Wiesbaden 2018.

33 Duke Augustus of Brunswick-Lüneburg: *Cryptomenytices Et Cryptographiae Libri IX*. [...]. Lüneburg: Stern, 1624 (VD17 23:285820R).



34 In his library he collected all the important treatises, including those by Thritemius (1462-1516), Giovanni Battista Porta (1535-1615), Girolamo Cardano (1501-1576), Blaise de Vigenère (1523-1596) and by Daniel Schwenter (1585 -1636) about the cryptography of the time, which are still available today in the HAB Wolfenbüttel. See Gerhard F. Strasser: "The cryptographic collection of Duke August: From the source material for his 'Cryptomenytices' to a focus in his library". In: *Wolfenbütteler Contributions* 5 (1982), pp. 83-121.

35 See Gerhard F. Strasser: "Herzog Augusts Handbuch der Cryptography: Apology of Trithemius and scientific compilation". In: *Wolfenbütteler Contributions* 8 (1998), pp. 99-120.

36 Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica (ed.): *Rosicrucian as a European Phenomenon* , p. 50

37 Johann Valentin Andreae: *Theca gladii spiritus* . In: Andreae: *Collected Writings* , Vol. 5. Stuttgart / Bad Cannstatt 2003, p. 136f.

38 In 1640 only 4 letters from Duke August to Johann Valentin Adreae and 10 letters from Johann Valentin Andreae to Duke August have survived.

39 Cf. Brecht: *Johann Valentin Andreae and Herzog August* , pp. 74-93.

40 Aegidius Gutmann: *Revelation of Divine Mayestat* . Hanau: Desch, 1619 (VD17 3:605845). The book was - with the agreement of the author - assigned to the environment of the Rosicrucians. See Gilly: *Cimelia Rhodostaurotica* , pp. 11-12.

41 Johann Valentin Andreae to Duke August, August 12, 1643: HAB Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 65.1 Extrav., 100r-v.

42 See, for example, Siegfried Wollgast: "Utopia and its version in Johann Valentin Andreae's Christianopolis". In: Berthold Heinecke (ed.): *Science Fiction im Barock* . Berlin 2013, pp. 61-92; Donald Dickson, *The Tessera of Antillia: Utopian Brotherhoods and Secret Societies in the Early Seventeenth Century* . Leiden 1998.

43 Reedited in Andreae: *Collected Writings* , Vol. 6, *Writings on Christian Reform* . Stuttgart / Bad Cannstatt 2010, pp. 214-275.

44 HAB Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 65.1 Extrav., fol. 22r-23v.

45 HAB Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 65.1 Extrav., fol. 21r.

46 HAB Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 236.1 Extrav., fol. 29r-30v

47 HAB Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 65.1 Extrav., fol. 27r-28v.

48 Cf. HAB Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 65.1 Extrav., fol. 47r-v and HAB Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 236.1 Extrav., fol. 46r.

49 See, for example, HAB Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 65.1 Extrav., fol. 55v.

50 S.u. Anm. 57-59.

51 Cf. e.g. HAB Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 236.1 Extrav., fol. 49r and 57v.

52 Today in the Lower Saxony State Archives in Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 22 No. 227; cf. cryptographic materials by Johann Valentin Andreae, *ibid.*, fol. 28r-v, 30r-v and fol. 89r.

53 Cf. Andreae: *Collected Writings* , Vol. 3, Rosicrucian Writings. Stuttgart/Bad Cannstatt 2010, pp. 362-365.

54 Richard Kienast: *Johann Valentin Andreae and the four genuine Rosenkreutzer writings* . Leipzig 1926, p. 68. For the complete decipherment of the cryptograms on the 4th and 7th day, which Kienast could only trigger to a limited extent, see Carlos Gilly: "From the Egyptian Hermes to the Trismegistus Germanus. Changes in Hermeticism in Paracelsian and Rosicrucian Literature". In: Peter-André Alt / Volkhard Wels (eds.): *Concepts of Hermeticism in Early Modern Literature* . Goettingen 2010, pp. 71f.

55 HAB Wolfenbüttel A 134.13 Phys. fol. 97 and 99.

56 HAB Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 65.1 Extrav., fol. 31ar, 53r-v,

57 Cf. HAB Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 65.1 Extrav., fol. 45r. In this letter, dated December 25, 1642, Johann Valentin Andreae mentions an epigram that Duke August reported as missing in his reply on January 18, 1643. Johann Valentin Andreae then sent the epigram in secret in his letter dated February 15, 1643 (HAB Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 65.1 Extrav., 54r-55v). The German cipher, which Duke August resolved in the margin, expressed the sharp criticism sent in confidence by Johann Valentin Andreae of the Württemberg governor Ferdinand Geitzkofler. See the edition of this letter in Klaus Conermann (ed.): *Letters from the Fruit-bearing Society and enclosures. The time of Prince Ludwig of Anhalt-Köthen 1617-1650*, Vol. 6, 1641-1643, arr. by Gabrielle Ball and Andreas Herz, pp. 560-565 and pp. 609-619.

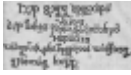
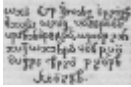

58 See, for example, HAB Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 65.1 Extrav., 48r-49v, 55r, 56v.



59 HAB Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 65.1 Extrav., fol. 57r.

60 See, for example, HAB Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 65.1 Extrav., 60r, 63r, 64r, 68v, 70v, 71r-v, 77r, 78r, 85r.

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