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Ron Heisler - The Forgotten English Roots of Rosicrucianism

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The Forgotten English Roots of Rosicrucianism

Ron Heisler

Michael Maier, according to his own statement, first heard of the Rosicrucian brotherhood when in England. Leaving Prague in the spring of 1611, he spent some time in Amsterdam before, we can reckon, arriving in London in the winter of that year. Presumably it was in December 1611 that he wrote the Rosicrucian "greetings card", featuring a rose, which was sent to James I. The wording carries a very strong echo of a powerful speech in the play, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, which bears the unmistakable imprint of William Shakespeare's unique poetic talent. This familiarity with the Bard's play is unlikely to have been purely accidental, particularly, as I have shown elsewhere, Maier had a significant connection with Shakespeare's circle of friends.¹ The question inevitably arises, therefore, of what clear evidence exists to indicate that the traditional Germanocentric reading of the history of early Rosicrucianism - which depicts the movement as mainly gestating in the strivings of J.V. Andreae's personal circle - oversimplifies the movement's origins to the point of gross distortion?

Francis Thynne, whose cousin was Sir John Thynne of Longleat House, Wiltshire, was born c. 1545 and died in 1608. Not a literary figure of either the first or second rank, he is remarkably interesting, however, for the ethos his erratic life and interests evoke. Entering Lincoln's Inn in 1561, he made there a life-long friend in Thomas Egerton, who later rose to positions of the highest importance in both law and state. Improvidence and mental illness seem to have afflicted Thynne in his early years. At the end of 1573 he was imprisoned in the White Lion at Southwark for a debt of £100, his precious books being sold off. His pleas for help to Lord Burleigh survive among the Salisbury letters. After two years he was released from confinement, coming under the hospitality of cousin Sir John at Longleat. Sir John's first marriage, incidentally, was to the sister of Sir Thomas Gresham, a masonic Grand Master in the south, says James Anderson. In 1602 Francis was to offer a long discourse on the admirals of England to Charles Howard, the Lord Admiral, another Grand Master.²

Thynne's manuscripts are numerous, and they reveal a man who not only was a heraldic enthusiast, becoming Lancaster herald, but was an ardent delver into alchemical texts, which exist to this day in the British Library, in Longleat House and in the Ashmole collection in the Bodleian.³ At Longleat are to be found Ripley's *Compendium of Alchemy*, Thomas Norton's *Ordinal of Alchemy*, the obscure *Stella Alchymiae*, dated 1384, of "Joanne Bübelem de Anglia" and a disputation between the father and son, Merline and Marian, concerning the marriage between Sylos and Anul (Sol and Luna).⁴ A member of the Society of Antiquaries, Thynne was a hack historian, who worked with John Stow and Abraham Fleming for the editor John Hooker in expanding and revising Holinshed's famous *Chronicle*. Thynne's "A Treatise of the Lord Cobhams" was left out by order of the Privy Council.

Thynne's occultic preoccupations become very evident in the "Homo Animal Sociale", a manuscript treatise, dated 20th October 1578, which he presented to Lord Burleigh.⁵ He discusses Egyptian hieroglyphics and the Druids, the "notes, signes, tokens, characters or signes of the voyce whereby there are made generall differences of soundes", and, with evident relish, kabbalah, the "most profounde knowledge" being lost to us, as "the learned Cabaliste Mr Dee" observed in his book "entituled monas heroglyphica". He tells how Hebrew letters were unwritten before the "sonnes of Adam", who before "the generall floode were the Junitors of the same, for the sonnes of Sethe as spekeeth Josephus did write on the pillers all the knowledge of the celestiaall things". He also refers to "the confused Kingdome of trayters[?] at the Towere of Babilone" - the masons who built badly and were deprived of the original pure tongue.

Thynne's poetry is far from great; but its content is fascinating and revealing. His *Emblemes and Epigrammes* were written out c. 1600. "White heares" is a description of some sort of society meeting at the Rose tavern :

"At the Rose within newgate, ther friendlie did meete,
fower of my ould frends, ech other for to greete:"⁶

Thynne's poem "Societie" is suspiciously ambiguous: we are never quite sure whether he is lauding mutuality and social bonds in society in general, or whether he is talking of a very specific, very exclusive fraternity - a club.

Dated December 20 1600, the poem is dedicated to Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. The poet tells of,

"The purple Rose which first Damasco bredd,
adorn'd with cullor gratefull to the sight"
He links the image of a society to the image of the rose:
"Soe two faire dowries which mann doth enioye -
true perfect love, and suer fidelitie -
firmelie preserve humane societie,
their frends assisting in ech hard annoye,
when want of ech brings noe securitie;
both which, this damask rose doth well unfoulde,
as honest hart, which fayth and love doth houlde."

Thynne concludes:

"soe our societie, without love and fayth
is never perfect, as true reason sayth;
ffor where is perfect love, there trustie fayth is found,
and where assured trust doth dwell, there must needs abound."⁷

So from all this we have learned that there was a group of friends meeting at the Rose Tavern in Newgate, which almost surely included Egerton. The damask rose was their emblem. From Thynne's papers, we can guess that one of the topics their conversations regularly ran to was alchemy. But that London had at least one tavern called the Rose is unsurprising, the rose being perhaps the most popular symbol of Tudor England.

A little more need be said on Sir Thomas Egerton, who eventually became Lord Chancellor. A man of considerable intellect, he ceaselessly encouraged young men of the highest calibre. In the 1590s he was a vigorous promoter of the career of Sir Francis Bacon. John Donne the poet became his secretary. Another of his secretaries, George Carew, was presented with a copy of *Arcana arcanissima* by Michael Maier and probably provided hospitality to Maier whilst serving as ambassador in France. In 1610, when Egerton's son James was killed in a duel, Robert Fludd and his servant were interrogated by a law officer for the light they could throw on the affair. Presumably Fludd had been in attendance on the dying man. Egerton's third wife, the shrewish Alice, was the widow of Ferdinando, 5th Earl of Derby, whom Professor Honigmann argues with some trenchancy had been an early patron of the Bard. A fierce Protestant, if not quite a Puritan, Egerton – originally a good friend to the Earl of Essex before his fall from grace – was to bind himself strongly in alliance with William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke, and the Earl of Southampton, both famous patrons of Shakespeare.⁸

The Bard's poem *The Phoenix and the Turtle* was published in *Love's Martyr* (1601). Dedicated to Sir John Salusbury of Lleweni, many of the poems relate to Salusbury's marriage. Honigmann skilfully argues that Sir John had been an early patron of Shakespeare and that the Bard's poem had been occasioned before 1590. Now it happens that Sir Robert Salusbury of Rug, Sir John's cousin, on contemplating his imminent departure from this world, asked Sir Thomas Egerton to become guardian to his son. Honigmann concludes that during his last illness, Sir Robert "could probably be considered to be in the hands" of the faction in the county of Denbighshire led by Sir John of Lleweni.⁹ The Egerton of the Newgate "Rose" society, we can surmise, was on the most intimate terms with Shakespeare's best known patrons.

We must now seek for the antecedents of the crucial Rosicrucian scene in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, which depicts a ceremony in the temple of Diana at which a rose falls from its tree as a sign to the vestal virgin Emilia that she may marry.¹⁰ The origin of this scene is to be found in the story of Palamon and Arcite as related in "the knight's tale" in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Chaucer tells how,

"The fires flamed up upon the altar fair
And clear while Emily was thus in prayer;
But all at once she saw a curious sight,
For suddenly one fire quenched its light
And then rekindled; as she gazed in doubt
The other fire as suddenly went right out;
As it was quenched it made a whistling sound
As of wet branches burning on the ground.
Then, from the faggot's tip, there ran a flood
Of many drops that had the look of blood."

(Coghill translation)

Diana the huntress appears and explains to the bewildered Emily that,

"... the fires of sacrifice that glow
Upon my altar shall, before thou go,
Make plain thy destiny in this for ever."

The seeds of the idea of associating Emilia with the imagery of the rose are also planted by Chaucer:

"... one morning in the month of May
Young Emily, that fairer was of mien
Than is the lily on its stalk of green,
And fresher in her colouring that strove
With early roses in a May-time grove
- I know not which was fairer of the two -"

Shakespeare's ritual scene has also somewhat more immediate precursors in the tilt yard entertainments that constituted such a prominent feature of the annual round of the Elizabethan court. Numerous descriptions of these have survived in print and in manuscript; many more have been irretrievably lost.

Fortunately, we have a good account of the 1575 events at Woodstock. We are told that Hemetes the hermit went to the temple of Venus at Paphos and was stricken blind there as a punishment for maintaining divided allegiances: he had been a delighter in learning as well as a servant of love. Edward Dyer, alchemist and possible freemason, whom years after his death was reputed to have been a Rosicrucian of sorts (he seems to have had a connection with the Rosicrucian Cornelis Drebbel), composed the "Song in the Oak" for the entertainment, for it is ascribed to "Mr Dier" in a manuscript now lingering in the Bodleian Library. It has been speculated that Hemetes' tale may in fact be an allegorical projection of Dyer himself. What is certain is that according to a letter from the autumn of 1575, Dyer stayed on at Woodstock after the court had left.¹¹

Our next relevant description turns up in Sir William Segar's *Honor, Military and Civill* (1602). Segar's brother, Francis, it is worth noting, was to serve the great patron of the Rosicrucians, Moritz, Landgrave of Hessen-Kassel, in the capacities of captain, counsellor and English agent. William Segar paints the picture on Accession Day (17th November) 1590 at Westminster. Her Majesty "did suddenly heare a musicke so sweete and secret, as euery one thereat greatly maruelled the earth as it were opening, there appeared a Pauilion made of white Taffata, being in proportion like vnto the sacred Temple of the Virgins Vestall. This Temple seemed to consist vpon pillars of Pourferry, arched like vnto a Church, ... Also, on the one side there stood an Altar Before the doors of this Temple there stood a crowned Pillar, embraced by an Eglantine tree, whereon hangd a Table" An eglantine is a variety of rose with five petals (the sweet-brier). Sir Henry Lee, says Segar in describing more of the ceremony, "himselfe disarmed" and "offered vp his armour at the foot of her maiesties Crowned Pillar"¹² The equation had been made between Elizabeth I and a goddess.

Glynne Wickham has noted the strong connection between *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* - how characters in one text turn up again in the other. He remarks, "How singular that when Shakespeare was again called upon to write a play in celebration of a marriage, he should have chosen another aspect of the same story of Theseus and Hyppolita, and begun it at the very point where the earlier play had ended". Wickham then acutely observes that Hymen's song at the opening of the *Kinsmen* play echoes the sentiments of Oberon's song at the end of the *Dream*.¹³

But when was the Rosicrucian play written? To answer this we must first date the *Dream*. Professor Honigmann comprehensively explores the question of for what marriage the latter was run up and comes down in favour of the

Derby marriage - William Stanley, 6th Earl, to Elizabeth Vere - which took place on January 26 1595.¹⁴ The *Dream* may have already played on stage a little while and been polished up somewhat for the Derby wedding, with some topical allusions fed into the text to enliven the occasion. If the writing of the *Kinsmen* text followed that of the *Dream*, we are probably talking about the second half of 1594 as the moment of composition. We have a major clue at hand, however, in Henslowe's diary. Philip Henslowe was the most successful theatrical impresario of his day, and his diary contains a section for 1594 when entries cover the performances of both the Lord Admiral's Men and the Lord Chamberlain's, the Bard's company. Whether the companies acted together in effect, or performed separately, we cannot tell from these entries. For the 17th September 1594 Henslowe wrote "ne - Rd at palamon & arsett ljs".¹⁵ "Ne" has attracted much comment over the years in Henslowe's usage. Most commonly, it is taken to be an abbreviation for "new" - to represent a premiere performance. Could this premiere of September 1594 have been of the Bard's original text for *The Two Noble Kinsmen*? An older play of *Palamon and Arcite* certainly existed. As far back as 1566 the now lost play by Richard Edwardes, Master of the Children of the Chapel, had been performed at Christ Church Hall, Oxford.¹⁶

There is a second clue, whose import is equally difficult to determine. The *Kinsmen* text includes a ballad, "The George Aloe". On March 19 1611 there was entered on the Stationers' Register, in the name of the publisher Richard Jones, "the seconde parte of the George Aloe and the Swiftstake, beinge both ballades". We can search in vain through the Register for anything called the "first part of the George Aloe" - or the "George Aloe", for that matter. However, on January 14 1595 an entry was made in the Register for the publisher Thomas Creede (who published the first Quarto of King Lear): "the Sayers ioye, to the tune of 'heigh ho hollidaie'". In the manuscript of the Percy Papers several decades later a ballad was entered "from an ancient black-letter [printed] copy in Ballard's collection", with the following description: "The Seamans only Delight: Shewing the brave fight between the George Aloe, the Sweepstakes, and certain French Men at sea. Tune, The Sailors Joy, etc."¹⁷ Our 1595 Register entry, it would seem, is none other than the first part of the "George Aloe". The closeness of this January 1595 date to Henslowe's "ne" entry of September 1594 adds weight to the claims of Henslowe's *Palamon and Arcite* to be the torso from which *The Two Noble Kinsmen* was quarried.

There is a further riddle tied up with the ballad of "The George Aloe". The music was composed by the great lutenist, John Dowland. Diana Poulton identified this music in three surviving manuscripts: in William Trumbull's Lute Book, now in the British Library, where it probably was written in after 1613 at Brussels, where Trumbull was the English envoy; in the Euing Lute Book of c. 1600, now at Glasgow University; and in a Cambridge University manuscript containing three copies of the piece, convincingly dated at c. 1595-1600.¹⁸ Those who claim *The Two Noble Kinsmen* as a definite late work of the Bard have scrupulously refrained from tackling the question of the early date of Dowland's song in relation to dating the play. Dowland seems to have associated with the Bard in the 1590s, if we are to believe some manuscript notes by Sir William Oldys written in the mid-18th century. Oldys comments that "Shakespeare was deeply delighted with the singing of Dowland the Lutenist, but Spencer's deep conceits he thought surpassed others. See in his Sonnets *The Friendly Concord*. That John Dowland and Thos. Morley are said to have set several of these Sonnets to musicke"¹⁹ That the Bard and Dowland, the brightest stars in their respective firmaments, knew each other well would not be surprising. Both shared an illustrious patron in Ferdinando, Lord Strange. Dowland's "Ferdinando Earle of Darby, his Galliard" and "Lord Strangs March" survive to this day.²⁰

Dowland's personality is almost as puzzling as Shakespeare's, although at least with Dowland we have some personal letters to refer to. Despite the massive biographical and musical profile given in Diana Poulton's well known study, and subsequent analyses published in *Early Music* and elsewhere, I believe there is a hitherto unrecognized pattern running through his life, whose unravelling can throw substantial light on the *mentalité* in which thrived one of the leading exponents of Renaissance melancholy. Dowland's esotericism has already attracted some critical attention; but one facet of his esoteric life has up to now been completely overlooked: the recurrent interaction of his career with the lives of personalities conspicuously associated with Rosicrucianism.

We must first consider Dowland's illustrious patron, Moritz, Landgrave of Hessen-Kassel. Brought up a Lutheran, Moritz converted to Calvinism in 1604. Marburg, which he established as Germany's first Calvinist university, with its brilliant chemistry and medical faculties became the powerhouse of academic Rosicrucianism in Europe. It had a particularly close association with Exeter College, the only Calvinist college at Oxford. Bruce T. Moran's researches have uncovered the systematic way in which Moritz organized and controlled an extensive hermetic alchemical circle focussed on what were probably Europe's best laboratories at Kassel, some of whom were leading Rosicrucians. The Danish scientist Wormius discussed in a letter of the 18th August 1616 the rumour that Moritz was a Rosicrucian. On the 17th April 1604 Moritz wrote a letter mentioning the livery "made in the form of a rose" worn by many young gentlemen at Kassel and remarking that it was "plutost signe d'une bonne amitié entre eux, que de quelques autre conséquence[s]."²¹ Karl Widemann, a physician, was to send Moritz cosmological Rosicrucian

writings some years later.²² Finally, it is hard to believe that the first editions of the Rosicrucian manifestoes could have been printed in so small a town as Kassel without Moritz's explicit knowledge and consent.

An Anglophile, who assiduously pursued connections with England and maintained a company of English "comedians" at his court for years, Moritz was in a strong position to steer the marriage of Prince Frederick of the Rhine with James I's daughter, Elizabeth, an event which finally took place at the start of 1613. This marriage was intended to cement the alliance of German Protestant princes with England against Hapsburg supremacy in Europe. A skilful public relations campaign was mounted to promote the claims of Prince Frederick for Elizabeth's hand, and I would suggest that we look at the book, the *Varietie of Lute-Lessons* of 1610, in this context. Edited allegedly by Dowland's son, Robert, it features a pavan attributed to Moritz himself – although Anthony Rooley believes it is good enough to have been the product of John Dowland's genius. I am sure that its aim was to spread Moritz's "fame" at the English court. We learn in the book that the first "Pavin" was "made by the most magnificent and famous Prince Mauritius, Landgrave of Hessen, and from him sent to my father, with this inscription following, and written with his GRACES owne hand." This was surely a "pièce d'occasion", a minor political act in itself. Dowland's relationship with Moritz went back to the 1590s. On March 21 1595 Moritz wrote to the Prince of Brunswick comparing Dowland's ability as a lutenist with those of Gregorio Howet. Dowland was still working for Moritz when Henry Noel wrote to him on December 1 1596. On February 9 1598 the Landgrave wrote to Dowland offering the post at his court the musician had relinquished a year before.²³ After that nothing further is known of their relationship until the music book of 1610.

Of Michael Maier, I have said much elsewhere. To my earlier comments should be added the thought that he most probably served as an intermediary with Dowland, for it was about the time of his first English visit that he became personal physician to the Landgrave. One thing is pretty certain. In the autumn of 1613 there must have been some interaction between Maier and the dedicatee of the *Varietie of Lute-Lessons*, Sir Thomas Monson. Sir Thomas Overbury, whose murder was to rock society at its highest levels, had been gaoled in the Tower at the behest of James I, whose governor (Master of the Armoury) was Sir Thomas Monson. Traditionally, the historians of the Overbury affair have assumed that Overbury was attended in the Tower by the physician Sir Turquet de Mayerne, who signed himself "Mayernus". A careful scrutiny of letters in the British Library shows Overbury referring to the physician "Mayerus" on several occasions, which is the way Maier signed himself. Independent evidence exists to confirm that Maier was in England in May 1613.²⁴ James had insisted that no doctor see Overbury without his personal approval, and it is inconceivable that Maier could have got to Overbury without going through Monson. We can envisage, perhaps, a friendship circle consisting of Monson – a fanatical music lover – Maier and Dowland. If we cast our minds back to the probable premiering of the *Ur- Two Noble Kinsmen* in September 1594 and the first mention of Dowland's appearance at the Kassel court in late March 1595, we have good grounds to conjecture that it was Dowland himself who first brought news of *Palamon and Arcite*, to which he had contributed, to the ears of Moritz the Landgrave. No-one better, apart from the Bard himself, could have explained the play's esoteric rose symbolism, one would have thought. Other than Shakespeare, no creative mind of the period invoked the imagery of the rose so frequently as Dowland.

But what of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* as we know it, in which Shakespeare's evident contribution runs to no more than perhaps forty percent of the playing time - one hour of the 150 minutes it ran to in the recent Royal Shakespeare Company production? The surviving script is a hodge-podge that must have been assembled in a hurry. The joins certainly show. It even borrows its morris dance scene from *The Masque of Grays Inn and Inner Temple*, written by Fletcher's usual partner, Francis Beaumont, and presented earlier in 1613 in celebration of the Palatinate marriage. Beaumont and Fletcher had made three admiring references to Dowland in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1607?). Fletcher alone made a reference to him in *The Bloody Brothers* (1617) and a further one – in collaboration, it is usually thought, with Philip Massinger - in *The Fair Maid of the Inns* (1626).²⁵ This all tends to suggest an ongoing friendship between Fletcher and Dowland at a time when Dowland's contemporary reputation in England was on a definite slide. Could Dowland have actually been the organizing genius responsible for getting the King's Men to take *Palamon and Arcite* out of the prompt copy chest where it lay gathering dust and to commission a rewrite at the nimble hands of John Fletcher? We should not rule out the possibility.

Why did the play's "George Aloe" music get into the Trumbull Lute Book? I doubt it was for purely musical reasons, for William Trumbull seems to have had Rosicrucian associations. A friend of his, acting as secretary to the English ambassador at Paris in the years 1611-13, was Thomas Floyd. On December 15 1609 Floyd wrote to Trumbull that "Dr. Lloyd, my brother Jeffreys and my cousin Yonge have often remembered you." On February 23 1610 Floyd concluded a letter with "My good friend and yours, my brother Jeffreys, Doctor Floud, my cousin Floud, my cousin Yonge and myself kiss your hands." One presumes that "Dr. Lloyd" was "Doctor Floud"; and I suspect strongly that "Doctor Floud" was none other than Dr Robert Fludd, the most famous of English Rosicrucians.²⁶

By January 17 1610 a relationship between Trumbull and Moritz of Hessen-Kassel was well established, for on that day Moritz commended Dr Mosanus "unto you and your favour." And on October 17 1611 Moritz wrote to thank Trumbull for the kindness he had shown to his son Otto at Brussels.²⁷

Trumbull's daughter Elizabeth married George Rudolph Weckherlin (1584-1653), a distinguished German poet, who was appointed an under-secretary of state at Whitehall in 1624 and was a keen Palatinist. Weckherlin's diary reveals that Weckherlin knew Robert Fludd and bought a house from him. It also gives the chronology of some mysterious transactions between the poet and Lewis Ziegler, agent to Lord Craven, the main financial backer of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, which appear to partly relate to Weckherlin's initiation into Rosicrucianism.²⁸

The poet's grand-son, Sir William Trumbull (1639-1716), was a devoted friend of Alexander Pope's about the year 1706; and quite uninformed of an earlier Rosicrucian affinity in the family, it has been suggested that Pope's knowledge of Rosicrucianism was garnered through this particular friendship. Sir William was said to have received his early instruction in Latin and French from Weckherlin.²⁹

Another manuscript collection of lute pieces with Rosicrucian implications is that belonging to Philip Hainhofer, which is held today in the library at Wolfenbuettel. Hainhofer (1578-1647), who came from Augsburg, was well known both as a diplomat and as an art connoisseur. His manuscript compilation appears to have been begun in 1603 or 1604. That it contains three unique items attributed to Dowland suggests a personal link between Hainhofer – or his transcriber – and Dowland at some point in time.³⁰ Daniel Stolcius produced two of the classic Rosicrucian emblematic texts in *The Pleasure Garden of Chemistry* (1624) and *The Hermetic Garden* (1627), the first largely derived from engraved plates originally printed in works by the Rosicrucians Michael Maier and J.D. Mylius.

Stolcius, who studied at Oxford after fleeing from Bohemia in 1620, dedicated *The Hermetic Garden* to Hainhofer, who was described as counsellor to the Duke of Pomerania. Coincidentally, the younger Dowland, Robert, spent time working at the court of the Duke of Wolgast in Pomerania, where he asked permission to return to England on August 30 1623.³¹ Stolcius was indebted to Hainhofer, who "inspired me with your gentle conversation, even to the extent of thoroughly showing me your storehouse of philosophy [science and alchemy], the like of which I have never seen in my travels ..." ³² Hainhofer signed the album amicorum of the Rosicrucian Joachim Morsius and – years later - was mentioned in a letter from the Herzog August von Braunschweig to the greatest Rosicrucian (or ex-Rosicrucian) of all, Johann Valentin Andreae. Hainhofer even owned a manuscript copy of one of the manifestoes, the *Fama*, taken from an early draft that must have been in existence before 1613.³³

Henry Peacham (1578-1644) was a prolific literary jack of all trades, who even published the occasional musical composition of his own.³⁴ His drawing of a scene from Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* is the earliest illustration of a Shakespeare play known. Done in 1595, it found its way to the library of Longleat House, the temporary home of Francis Thynne. Peacham's friendship with John Dowland was clearly a strong one. He dedicated an emblem to Dowland in *Minerva Britanna* (1612) and mentions their friendship in *The Compleat Gentlemen* of 1622. Peacham also dedicated an emblem to the Landgrave Moritz in *Minerva Britanna*, to which he appended a marginal note: "This most noble Prince beside his admirable knowledge in all learning, & the languages, hath excellent skill in musick. Mr Dowland hath many times shewed me 10 or 12 several sets of Songes for his Chappel of his owne composing."³⁵

Could Peacham have known Michael Maier, introduced through the agency of John Dowland? His *Minerva Britanna*, presumed to have been published at the beginning of 1612, having been entered on the Stationers' Register on August 9 1611, contains a surprising nugget, which evokes recollection of Michael Maier's Christmas "greetings card" of 1611 to James I as well as the Bard's great rose speech in the *Kinsmen* play. In a poem dedicated to John Dowland, Peacham writes:

"Heere, Philomel, in silence sits alone,
In depth of winter, on the bared brier,
Whereas the Rose, had once her beautie shoven;
Which Lordes, and Ladies, did so much desire:
But fruitles now, in winters frost and snow,
It doth despis'd and unregarded grow."

It is poor verse and worse syntax, but all the same the poem seems to draw nourishment from Shakespeare's explication of why "a rose is best":

"It is the very emblem of a maid:
For when the west wind courts her gently
How modestly she blows and paints the sun
With her chaste blushes! When the north comes near her,
Rude and impatient, then, like chastity,

She locks her beauties in her bud again
And leaves him to base briars." (T.N.K. II.ii.)

Was Peacham an actual Rosicrucian or a member of a rose society? The question is unanswerable, but prompted by a provocative passage in his posthumously published *The Truth of our Times* (1638). He describes a tavern tradition: "in many places, as well in England, as the Low Countries, they have over their Tables a rose painted, and what is spoken under the Rose, must not be revealed; the reason is this; The Rose being sacred to Venus, whose amours and stolen sports that they might never be revealed, her sonne Cupid would needes dedicate to Harpocrates, the god of Silence".³⁶

Moritz of Hessen-Kassel, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, the evidence of Henry Peacham, William Trumbull and Philip Hainhofer, the hermeticist tendency of many of Dowland's greatest melancholic compositions: – all these pointers combined tell us of a man in close, knowing proximity to that typical Baroque expression of Protestant mysticism: the Rosicrucian movement. And that movement claimed its own. Alongside J.V. Andreae, Fludd and Maier, Johann Daniel Mylius ranked as one of the most eminent Rosicrucian writers. Son-in-law of Johannes Hartmann, the great professor of chemistry at Marburg University, Mylius eventually became Moritz's personal physician. Robert Fludd prescribed pills according to his prescriptions in England. In 1620 Mylius published his *Thesaurus* at Frankfurt. No printed copies appear to have survived. But there is a manuscript copy in Germany, in which Mylius pays tribute to Dowland by featuring his "Farewell" on page one under the heading "Grammatica illustris Douland." "A Fancy" by Dowland turns up on page eighteen. Undoubtedly Dowland was the favourite composer of the Rosicrucians.³⁷

Our story is almost complete and it would be timely for me to set it in a broader framework. The symbolism of the rose had evolved into a rich tradition in the culture of Tudor England, and began to develop new ideological forms in late Elizabethan times in response to court politics (tilt day entertainments) and the fashionable hermetic and alchemical ideas that the quickening English Renaissance was disseminating. The literary culture ran in tandem with the scientific-esoteric revolution. Thus Shakespeare's *Palamon and Arcite* paralleled the formation in London of Francis Thynne's "Rose" society – almost certainly an alchemical talking-shop. Alchemical societies named "the Rose" are known to have been founded on the Continent a few years later, as in France, probably in imitation of the London society, whilst Moritz of Hessen-Kassel bragged of a society at Kassel wearing "the livery" of a rose as early as 1604 and a brotherhood of the "Rose" apparently existed at Tuebingen in 1607.³⁸

The central role of England in the Protestant struggle with Catholicism and the Hapsburgs of Spain and Austria had long been appreciated. England and Wales constituted one state, and a wealthy one at that; German Protestantism was divided over many states, most of them relatively impoverished. It was therefore almost inevitable, because of the dynamic of Elizabethan England, that fresh winds generated in Britain would sweep abroad, changing the climate for the torpid German states and their mainly timid princes. The sudden brilliant outpouring of the English drama that began in the 1580s was to have unexpected political consequences overseas. By the mid-1590s, English actors – usually called "comedians" – were touring widely on the Continent. This unprecedented cultural offensive spread English influence and ideas in Germany to enthusiastically receptive audiences. Moritz of Hessen-Kassel's Anglophilism led him at this time to set up a permanent company of English actors at his court; although drawn mainly from the Lord Admiral's Men, some of the principals had previously acted in Shakespeare's productions.³⁹ With the musicians who so often accompanied them, including the young Dowland, they were the couriers of English ideas as much off-stage, we can assume, as on-stage. At least two plays with strong masonic content were acted abroad by the English companies; one for certain was performed at Kassel in the winter of 1606/7.⁴⁰ Whether the choice of these dramas reflected a widening interest, expressed even abroad, in matters masonic, I cannot say. But, as I show in a work currently in course of completion, speculative freemasonry was a far more vigorous plant in late Elizabethan England than had previously been suspected. And this very fact, combined with the thriving "underground" culture of the Family of Love, implies that a fully institutionalized "secret society" tradition had already broken ground that the Rosicrucian brotherhood, in process of establishment well before the publication of the manifestoes in 1614, would seek to occupy also.

There has been a tendency to view the early history of Rosicrucianism through a religious prism to the exclusion of a variety of seemingly autonomous cultural influences – such as the literary and musical – which moulded the imaginative arena in which the movement took flight. What I hope to have demonstrated is that these influences have their place – and their importance; and that to understand the preliminaries to Rosicrucianism proper we should think in terms of a dialectic between the capitals of London and Kassel that spanned all of two decades.

Notes

1. See R.Heisler "Michael Maier and England" *Hermetic Journal* 1989.
2. *Dictionary of National Biography. Calendar of State Papers (Dom.)* 1601-1603 p. 165.

3. Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 11, 388. Bodleian Library Ashmole MS. 766 fs. 2-88 ("Discourse upon the Philosophers Armes").
4. *Historic MSS Commission 3rd Report Appendix* p. 186.
5. Brit. Lib. MS Lansdowne 27 fs. 70-5.
6. F. Thynne *Emblemes and Epigrammes* ed. F.J. Furnivall (1876). Early English Texts Series Old Series 64 p. 75.
7. *Ibid.* p. 25.
8. *Dic. of Nat. Biog.* Public Record Office S.P. 46/75 fs. 18, 20-1, 78d. B. White *Cast of Ravens* p. 90.
9. E.A.J. Honigmann *Shakespeare: the 'lost years'* p. 96.
10. See R. Heisler "Shakespeare and the Rosicrucians" *Hermetic Journal* 33 (Autumn 1986).
11. *The Queenes Maiesties Entertainment at Woodstock* ed. A.W. Pollard (1910) p. 87.
12. Sir W. Segar *Honor, Military and Civill ...*(1602) pp.197-8.
13. G. Wickham "The Two Noble Kinsmen or A Midsummer Night's Dream, Part II?" p. 179 in *The Elizabethan Theatre VII* ed. G.R. Hibbard.
14. E.A.J. Honigmann *op. cit.* pp. 150-53.
15. R.A. Foakes & R.T. Rickert *Henalowe's Diary* (1961) pp.24-5.
16. R. Dutton *Mastering the Revels* (1991) pp. 38-9, 58.
17. *Transcription of the Registers of the Stationers' Company 1554-1640 AD.* ed. E. Arber vol. II p. 317. *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* ed. F.J. Child (1898) pp. 133-5, 285.
18. D. Poulton *John Dowland* p. 172.
19. Oldys' notes are found inscribed in the British Library copy of Gerard Langbaine *Account of the English Dramatic Poets* (1691) (Pressmark C.45d.15) vol. II f. 455. The poem in question, although originally attributed to the Bard, was shortly afterwards published in a book of Richard Barnfield's poetry. It is so good, it is better than anything else that Barnfield wrote, and is good enough to be by Shakespeare. Barnfield so regularly betrays Shakespeare's influence in his writings that he almost certainly was a personal friend. Perhaps the poem was the Bard's gift to him, which he was permitted to sign as his own.
20. D. Poulton *op. cit.* pp. 157, 168-9.
21. B.T. Moran "Privilege, communication, and chemistry: the hermetic alchemical circle of Moritz of Hessen-Kassel" *Ambix* 32 (Nov. 1985). R. Heisler "Rosicrucianism: The First Blooming in Britain" *Hermetic Journal* 1989 p. 30.
22. B.T. Moran *op. cit.* p. 117.
23. Personal communication from Anthony Rooley. D. Poulton *op. cit.* pp. 34, 47, 50.
24. See R. Heisler "Michael Maier and England" *Hermetic Journal* 1989.
25. For most of these references see D. Poulton *op. cit.* p. 132.
26. *His. MSS Com. Marquess of Devonshire MSS* vol II pp. 201, 249.
27. *Ibid.* vol. II p. 218; III 1). 154.
28. On Weckherlin see *Dic. of Nat. Biog.* and L.W. Forster *Rudolf Weckherlin* (1944). The diaries (now in British Library) have entries for Ziegler in 1636 and 1637. Relevant entries are given in R. Heisler "Robert Fludd: A Picture in Need of Expansion" *Hermetic Journal* 1989 p.143.
29. On Pope's friendship see Maynard Mack *Alexander Pope* p.104, etc.
30. Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbuettel. Guelf. 18.7 Aug.2. D. Poulton *op. cit.* p. 452.
31. *Ibid.* p. 86.
32. Useful references to Hainhofer are in H. Schneider *Joachim Morsius und sein Kreis* (1929). Regrettably, the British Library lacks a copy of this work. W.E. Peuckert *Die Rosenkreutzer* p.173.
33. *Johann Valentin Andreae*, Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, Amsterdam (1986) p. 41.
34. R.R. Cawley *Henry Peacham* (1971). *Dic. of Nat. Biog.*
35. E.K. Chambers "The First Illustration to 'Shakespeare'" *The Library* IV (1924-5) pp. 326-30. Dover Wilson "'Titus Andronicus' on the Stage in 1595" *Shakespeare Quarterly* I (1948) pp. 17-27. H. Peacham *Minerva Britannia* (1612) pp. 74, 101.
36. H. Peacham *The Truth of our Times* (1638) pp. 173-4. Peacham's Rosicrucian affiliations are underlined by the epigrams in Thalia's (1620): there are epigrams to Dowland, Ben Jonson and John Selden.
37. D. Poulton *op. cit.* pp. 485, 494.
38. The Tuebingen society is mentioned by L. Keller "Akademian, Logen u. Kammern des 17. und 18. Jahrhundert" *Comenius-Gesellschaft* vol. xx (1912) p. 17. At Amsterdam, a chamber of rhetoric had been active since the 15th century called De Eglantier – the Eglantine.
39. The indispensable work on English actors abroad is Jerzy Limon's *Gentlemen of a Company. English Players in Central and Eastern Europe, 1590-1660* (1985).

40. "Fortunatus" – obviously *Old Fortunatus*, which featured King Athelstan of masonic legend – was performed at Kassel in 1606/7. Earlier, in the 1590s, *The Four Sons of Aymon* was being performed abroad, as at Amsterdam.

Ron Heisler - John Dee and the Secret Societies

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John Dee and the Secret Societies

Ron Heisler

Man of science and magus extraordinary, and for two decades England's leading mathematician, it is only in recent years that John Dee's reputation has begun to properly recover from the obloquy attached by an age of militant rationalism to those notorious angel raising episodes in which he engaged in the 1580s. Meric Casaubon's poisonous 1659 edition of Dee's angelic diaries, which did not include all extant volumes, leaves us with little more than an impression of a rather pathetic Dee seeking to communicate with angelic spirits with frustratingly meagre results. What I am seeking to identify is the political and religious significance of these episodes and the clues they give to the secret society culture of the late Elizabethans.

Dee's religious views have always been irritatingly opaque. That he was a Protestant of some sort is beyond dispute. In the time of Edward VI he associated with reformers. The curious affair in the reign of Catholic Queen Mary, when, during investigation by the Court of Requests (a committee of the Star Chamber) in 1555, he was accused of casting horoscopes of the Queen and her Spanish husband with evil intent, is ambiguous, for some of his companions in this possibly criminal venture subsequently proved lackeys of the Catholic monarchy of the most loyal kind. In any case, Dee was released, the official suspicions presumably dispelled. 1

Did Dee go through a Familist stage? We know of his strong links with the bookseller Arnold Birckmann, for a letter of 1604 written by Johann Radermacher refers to their meeting in Birckmann's shop more than forty years before. In 1577 Dee advised the cartographer Abraham Ortelius (a Familist) that correspondence could reach him via Birckmann's servants in Antwerp. 2 Birckmann has long been suspected of being a member of the Family of Love – a secret society with several grades of membership, which seems to have taken a spiritualist turn and which recruited indiscriminately from both Catholic and Protestant ranks in England, the Low Countries, Germany and France. In 1585 Birckmann's London shop passed into the hands of the Familist Arnold Mylius, who had married his daughter. 3 Dee was an avid explorer of all frontier territories of knowledge and a flirtation with Familism would have been characteristic of him. One of Dee's pupil-friends, Sir Philip Sidney, was fascinated by the sect: there is a letter to Sidney from his intimate friend, the French *savant* Hubert Languet, written from Antwerp, where Languet was a guest of the printer, Christopher Plantin, today the best remembered of all Familists. 4 Dee's greatest patron was Queen Elizabeth, and it has been surprisingly unmentioned upon that after her death she was accused of being a favourer of the sect. 5

Was Dee ever initiated into freemasonry? There is nothing to indicate that he was, yet he seems to have been keenly interested in matters architectural, an area in which England was singularly deficient even by the mid-16th century, going by the paucity of published works available in the vernacular. Dee owned five editions of Vitruvius; his 1567 copy is laced with notes on architecture. 6 We have no direct evidence of any interest in the mysteries associated with King Solomon's Temple. On the other hand, he wrote the "History of King Solomon, every three years, his Ophirian voyage, with divers other rarities—" in 1576, of which fragments were published by Purchas years later. 7 These voyages had been undertaken by the sailors of Solomon, who had been taught seamanship by the mariners of Hiram of Tyre, without whose assistance, of course, the Great Temple at Jerusalem could never have been built, as all freemasons would have known. In the 1590s, having returned, quite prudently, from the uncertainties of Bohemia, where Kelley languished in gaol, accused of fraudulent transmutation, Dee's financial situation was precarious. He ceaselessly sought an office that would bring financial security. In his diary there is an entry for December 7 1594 stating "and on the 8th day, by the chief motion of the Lord Admirall, and som[e]what of the Lord

Buckhurst, the Quene's wish was to the Lord Archbishop presently that I shuld have Dr. Day his place in Powles [St. Paul's]." 8 Charles Howard, the Lord Admiral, and Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, have a prominent role in James Anderson's *The New Book of Constitutions* (1738): both had been Grand Masters of the freemasons.

To unlock the function of the notorious 1580s seances, I think we should first look to Dee's associates. Long overlooked is some correspondence between Dee and Roger Edwardes, whose credentials remain a trifle hazy. Edwardes was, nevertheless, exceedingly well connected: his patrons included the Earl of Hereford, Lord Burleigh and the Queen herself, it would seem. There is a letter to Burleigh of April 13 1574 in which Edwardes described the situation in the Low Countries. 9 His sole published work, *A Boke of very Godly Psalmes* (1570), was dedicated to Lettice Devereux, Viscountess of Hereford. The daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, she was the mother of the ill-fated Robert, future Earl of Essex. Edwardes mentions in his dedication that he was the "vassal" of the Earl of Hereford. On March 29 of the previous year Edwardes had written to Burleigh forwarding a treatise to be presented to the Queen. Two months later, on May 28, he was bragging to a Mr "Marche" that the book "had been well accepted" by her. 10

Edwardes's mind perpetually travelled the grooves of the apocalypse. In 1580 he wrote "A Phantastical Book", as a later owner of the manuscript entitled it, on the "Conversion of the Jews", the coming of the millenium being dependent on this particular event. Edwardes's manuscript found its way into Lord Burleigh's papers. 11 His surviving correspondence with Dee dates from between July 13 1579 and July 16 1580. In one letter, Dee addressed him as "my lovinge friende R. Edwardes". This was one of several letters apparently belonging to a circle whose members included "Thomas Lincoln" (presumably the bishop of Lincoln) and a "W. Cestren" In a damaged letter with essential words missing, Edwardes alludes to "William Herbert", which leaves us in a quandary as to which William Herbert was meant: the Earl of Pembroke or the apocalyptic poet. 12 It probably was the latter, William Harbert of St. Gillim, whom Dee records in his diary, in an entry for May 1 1577, as having passed him some notes on the *Monas Hieroglyphica*. 13 Harbert, who chided Shakespeare and Samuel Daniel 14 together in a poem, was a friend of Joshua Sylvester, the best translator of Du Bartas's *Devine Weekes*; Harbert himself produced a now lost translation of Du Bartas *Uranus*, which he presented to Lord Lumley. I argue elsewhere that the late Elizabethan popularity of Du Bartas was based on the Huguenot's masonic resonances: his *Devine Weekes* was a quasi-masonic text. 15 In *A Prophecie of Cadwaller, last King of the Britaines* (1604) the Welsh poet depicted James I as a second Brute, who had returned to reunite the kingdom of Britain, which had so famously been divided into three parts by King Lear. As Harbert put it, "Disioynted.... by her first monarches fall", Britain will be restored by a king who "shall three in one, and one in three unite", thus inaugurating a new golden age in which war will be bound in chains. 16

Similar millennial sentiments are never far from the mind of Roger Edwardes, as can be seen in *Godly Psalmes*, where he depicts the "holy citie newe Jerusalem" and projects "a newe heaven, and a newe earthe". Edwardes's influence on Dee is unmistakable, to whom a spirit discoursed freely on the 24th March 1583 on the course of nature and reason, telling how "New Worlds shall spring of these. New Maners; Strange Men..." 17 The utopianism of Shakespeare's *Tempest* was perhaps forged to a degree in the spiritual workshop of the Dee circle.

The apocalyptic ethos of the 1580s was exceptionally intense at the time – or virulent, for the overcoming of Antichrist, the Pope in Rome, was the cardinal priority in the scheme of things, coupled with the defeat of Spain. John Aylmer, who had become bishop of London, had years before assigned to Queen Elizabeth the messianic task of destroying Antichrist in Britain, and latterly James Sandford, in his 1576 translation of Guiccardini's *House of Recreation*, had developed the theme, seeing in Elizabeth "some diviner things" than "in the Kings and Queens of other countries". 18 Her role was to inaugurate a new golden age. Sandford, who profoundly believed in a millennial age or "status", was probably the "Mr Sandford" who features in Dee's angelic diaries. 19 He had translated Giacopo Brocardo's *The Revelation of S. John* (1582). Brocardo is rightly considered an important forerunner of the Rosicrucians: the 120 years that elapsed between the legendary Christian Rosenkreutz's death and the finding of his tomb is anticipated by Brocardo with his theory of three stages leading to the overthrow of Antichrist. The stages – each of forty years – represent Savonarola, Luther, and the struggle with the Pope/Antichrist. 20 The goal was to be reached in the year 1600, but the Rosicrucian manifestos shifted goalposts to 1604, when the Rosicrucian vault was discovered. Fleeing from Venice to escape the Inquisition, Brocardo travelled in northern Europe, entering England in 1577, where he almost certainly made contact with the Dee-Sidney circle.

We must now glance briefly at the occult setting that Dee was heir to, Societies with esoteric and secretive propensities were all the fashion in sophisticated Europe. The Italian Platonic academies had long flourished and continued to multiply. In France, poets and intellectuals had flocked to the Pléiade, a hub of Platonism (a home to Daniel Rogers, *ami* of Dee and Sir Philip Sidney), whilst Henry III, the epicene Valois king, first of all set up his Palace Academy, of which Walsingham had word in February 1576, and then established in 1583 at Vincennes the mysterious "Confrère d'Hieronymites". Beginning with twelve members, it was said to be a hive of drug

experimentation. It was a development of an earlier Order of the Holy Spirit, founded in 1578, to which belonged the French ambassador to England, the cultivated Michel de Castelnau de Mauvissière, who took into his London household Giordano Bruno for two years.²¹ The Family of Love, which had become alarming to authority partly because it recruited its secret membership largely outside courtly circles, possibly had as many as a thousand members in England in 1580.

Regarding Dee, there is one important posthumous allegation. It was reported to Elias Ashmole some decades after Dee's death that he was "acknowledged for one of ye Brotherhood of ye R.Cr. by one of that Fraternity,....Philip Zeiglerus..."²² Philip Ziegler, the revolutionary Rosicrucian prophet, had arrived in England in 1626 and created turmoil. Dee had died in 1608. I have not encountered any evidence to confirm Ziegler's assertion. But that Dee knew Francis Thynne, the alchemically minded poet of the London "Rose" society, is probable. In his diary, Dee noted down for March 1 1598 that "I receyved Mr. Thynne his letter".²³ Of Dee's close friend and admirer over many years, Sir Edward Dyer, John Aubrey wrote that he "labour'd much in chymistry, was esteemed by some a Rosie-crucian..."²⁴ Dyer completed his mortal coil in 1607. Veracity was not the strong point of either Ziegler or Aubrey and their claims must be accorded some caution.

However, important links with Rosicrucianism can be made through two of Dee's servants. Roger Cook worked for the magus from 1567 till 1581. They quarrelled and split, but made up again, with Cook returning into Dee's employ in 1600. Now it happens that a "Roger Cock" is recorded as having been an assistant to the alchemist-inventor, Cornelius Drebbel, whilst working for the Emperor Rudolph II at Prague up to 1612. Almost certainly "Cock" was Dee's "Cook". Drebbel was among the most important of all Rosicrucians.²⁵ From about 1603 till his death, Dee had a young pupil called Patrick Sanders, who acquired several of his manuscripts after his death. Eventually becoming a member of the London College of Physicians, Sanders edited Roger Bacon's *Epistola ... De Secretis Operibus Artis et Naturae*, which was published at Hamburg in 1618. Sanders dedicated the work to the Rosicrucian Brotherhood.²⁶

To most effectively probe into the enigma of Dee we must look to the evidence provided by his contemporaries. We can make no better beginning than with Sir Philip Sidney's curious comment to Hubert Languet on February 11 1574. After disparaging Humphrey Lhuyd's *Commentarioli Britannicae*, Sidney wrote: "But of course the important thing, ... is for you to remember that our 'unknown God' [Dee] is of the same land and substance, and will take amiss your arousing so much laughter at the expense of his blood brother; otherwise in his anger he may perhaps brandish his hieroglyphic monad at you like Jove's lightning bolt – for such is the wrath of heavenly spirits."²⁷ Sidney, who studied chemistry "led by God with Dee as teacher and Dyer as companion", was making a witty sally, at the heart of which stands a phrase – "our 'unknown God'" – which warrants being taken more seriously.²⁸ The hint of the cultivation of the *prisca theologia* – of the *original* religion within conventional religion – is clearly given by Sidney, and we have to pose the issue of whether a Dee sect was already formalized by 1574? We can't be sure about this, but one thing is clear: a cult of John Dee was a fact of life. His insatiable egotism was leavened by an intelligence and learning which commanded the admiration of other minds of stature.

It is a severe comment on the insularity of Spenserian scholarship that hitherto no Spenserian has recognized the portrait of Dee – and, by implication, the status accorded to him – to be found within the Castle of Temperance episode in *The Faerie Queene's* Second Book. Spenser describes three "honourable sages", the second of whom "could of things present best advize". Dee was certainly a practical man who organized programmes of exploration. This figure sits in the second room, its walls enlivened with "famous Wisards", as well as with "All artes, all science, all Philosophy". Spenser paints Dee as "a man of ripe and perfect age", who did "meditate all his life long, /That through continuall practice and usage, /He now was growne right wise, and wondrous sage." Dyer and Sidney's co-worker in the Areopagite poetry society was Edmund Spenser, who was at work on *The Faerie Queene* by 1580.

What went on between Dee and the Sidney circle is unrecorded in detail. But with regard to others posterity has been blessed. The awkward tango that Dee danced with the alchemist and explorer, Adrian Gilbert, the half-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh, is well written down in the spiritual diaries. On March 26 1583 Dee enquired of a spirit "Must Adrian Gilbert be made privy of these Mysteries?" In his marginal note, Dee comments that Gilbert "may be made privy, but he is not to be a Practicer."²⁹ The extent to which Gilbert was to be made "privy to our practice" was a perpetual worry for Dee. By the 1590s Dee had acquired a new set of intimates. We have notes by him on a book's flyleaf, dated May 31 1594, in which he bestowed on a "Mr Barker" (the physician Thomas Barker?) and a "Mr Alped" (undoubtedly Richard Alred) the title of "Discipulos" – disciples! Of Alred, Dee noted in the diary on March 23 the same year, "Magus disclosed by frendship of Mr Richard Alred". Alas, Dee gives no further explanation.³⁰ The greatest competing ego with Dee's within his own circle was that of the Florentine patrician, Francesco Pucci (1543-97), a utopianist of fluctuating and wayward opinions.³¹ Veering towards Protestantism, he entered England for the first time in 1572, taking an Oxford M.A. in 1574. The following year he was expelled from the University.

Passing from the Italian church in London to the French church, he was soon embroiled in controversy again. His unruly personality and brand of anti-Calvinist Protestantism must have made this inevitable. Leaving England, he made his way to Fausto Socinus in Basle by 1577, but the town soon expelled him. Returning to London in 1579-80, he encountered further persecution and departed for Holland and the company of the great scholar Justus Lipsius, whose political thought was to influence Shakespeare and who was to be exposed for Familist tendencies a few years later. Pucci returned to London, and it is presumed that it was in the capital that he completed – or wrote out – *Forma d'una repubblica cattolica* in 1581. It was some centuries before his hand was recognized in this unpublished utopian text.

Pucci proposed the organization of a *secret* "republic" of good people in all lands, who would prepare the world for a great council that would reunify Christianity. Borrowing from the notorious Anabaptists, whose implication in social and political revolution decades earlier had rendered their name anathema in all respectable circles, Pucci's scheme envisaged "Colleges" being established, whose principal officers would include a Provost, a Chancellor and a Censor, elected for terms of four years by males over the age of 25. There were to be central delegate meetings from time to time in friendly territories, which would take place *incognito* if necessary, using the guise of merchants. Outwardly the organization was to observe conformity to the laws of a land and to obey the civil magistrates, stipulations which indicate a Familist influence on Pucci's thinking. His objective was the unification of all peoples in a comity that reached even the mosque and the synagogue. His immediate target – the eradication of the Christian schism – would be effected by the calling of a general council of "spiritual persons" and "lovers of truth". At times he contemplated this council being called by the Pope.³²

The rediscovery of Pucci in twentieth century Italy created a *frisson* of excitement in academic circles. Some have been surprised by the absence of obvious utopian precursors to Pucci within the Italian tradition without considering that his utopia may reflect English conditions and thinking. We know that Sidney and Daniel Rogers were strongly influenced by eirenist impulses in the 1570s, which were not completely erased by the St. Bartholomew massacre of Huguenots in Paris in 1572. They first sought to heal schism within Protestant ranks between Lutherans and Calvinists. The religious views of these thinkers, although having a Protestant foundation, could not be reduced to any orthodox straight jacket. Although no firm evidence has surfaced to establish that Pucci knew Dee by 1581, the serious possibility remains that his utopia may actually represent a compendium of the commonplaces being exchanged within the confidentiality of the magus's circle.

What is beyond dispute is that by 1585 Pucci met up with Dee and the brilliant alchemical charlatan, Edward Kelley, at Cracow in Poland. Pucci accompanied the two on their journey to Bohemia. He was at Prague with them by August 20.³³ In July 1586 Dee noted in his diary that he and Kelley had left Pucci behind in their lodgings at Prague. Dee's spiritual diaries are enlivened by periodic bouts of obvious paranoia, but on this occasion his apprehensions appear well founded. At Erfurt he wrote, "I was sore vexed in mind to think of Pucci his return to our company, as well for his unquiet nature in disputations, as for his blabbing of our secrets without our leave or well liking or any good doing thereby".³⁴ Dee had become hypersensitive with good reason: the Papal Nuncio was baying for his blood at Rudolph II's imperial court. Of Pucci, the Welsh magus wrote, "he has laid such a bait for us with our mortal enemy, to entrap us by fair fawning words".³⁵ Pucci was trying to convince Dee and Kelley that they should make their way to Rome to conduct their angel raising sessions in the presence of the Pope. They wisely rejected such a seductive offer. By 1587 the unstable Pucci had reconverted to Catholicism. One is baffled as to why Dee did not break off such a dangerous acquaintanceship immediately, assuming that Pucci's move was sincerely meant and not a mere ploy to deceive the Catholic authorities. But he did not and the uneasy relationship continued for some time. That Dee saw his own circle as being essentially a formal sect is implied by a later comment he made on Pucci, whom he dismissed as "being but a probationer, not yet allowed of, and to us known to be cut off."³⁶ Clearly there was a grade of membership of a higher status than probationer. Dee himself had ambitions to enter a yet higher body. At a seance in Prague on August 20 1584 the Spirit Uriel had communicated with him, and Dee poured his heart out: he was "most desirous to be entered speedily into the School of Wisdom..."³⁷ Pucci decidedly belonged to the school of unwisdom: he fell into the hands of the Inquisition, who at Rome had him decapitated and burned in 1597.

And what can be said of Dee's religious standpoint when in Bohemia? The Lutheran Budovec described his reception by Rudolph II at the time: he "was at first well received by him; he predicted that a miraculous reformation would presently come about in the Christian world and would prove the ruin not only of the city of Constantinople but of Rome also. These predictions he did not cease to spread among the populace." The Venetian ambassador wrote of Dee in June 1586 that "He does not profess a Christian life but declares he has revelations from angels... When the Pope was informed he rightly feared the appearance of a new sect." Pucci, who assumed he was witnessing divine revelation at Dee's seances, at the *Actio Pucciana*, in which an angelic spirit was activated, "received great confirmation of my hopes for an imminent renovation of all things which God will accomplish..."

Dee recorded an angel's instructions in 1586, which underlined his non-doctrinal Christianity: "Whosoever wishes to be wise may look neither to the right nor to the left; neither towards this man who is called a catholic, nor towards that one who is called a heretic (for thus you are called); but he may look up to the God of heaven and earth and to his Son, Jesus Christ".³⁸

R.J.W. Evans's summing up of Dee as a believer in a kind of mystical universal revelation strikes me as utterly inadequate, perhaps tending to indicate the magus was a quietist, a follower of a passive Christian route.³⁹ To the contrary, we should regard him – particularly in view of his strong filiations with Roger Edwardes, a friendship which lasted till the late 1590s – as a full blown apocalyptic and millennialist, with a driving activist nature. His pursuit of angelic guidance was consciously functional, intended to steer his various enterprises – the explorations in the Americas, for example, or the rejigging of the political map of Central Europe, with Rudolph II seen as the great prize.

Dr Adam Clarke, Hebraist, alchemist, astrologer and kabbalist, was arguably the leading Methodist intellectual of the early 19th century. Tragically, his manuscript "Mysterium Liber" seems to have utterly vanished from the face of the earth. But at least we have Clarke's note describing this fascinating effort: "N.B. As it is assembled that the six books of Mysteries transcribed from the papers of Dr. John Dee by Elias Ashmole, Esq., preserved in the Sloan Library,.... are a collection of papers relating to State Transactions between Elizabeth, her Ministers and different Foreign Powers, in which Dr. Dee was employed sometimes as an official agent openly, and at other times as a spy, I purpose to make an extract from the whole work, and endeavour, if possible, to get a key to open the Mysteries. A.C."⁴⁰

In tracing the origins of Rosicrucianism, commentators have often turned to the mysterious journeyings of Nicholas Barnaud, a Huguenot alchemist around whom an enormous mystique has gathered over the centuries.⁴¹ Barnaud's fame partly rests on his authorship of one of the most controversial of all Huguenot political polemics, *Le Réveille-Matin des Français et de leurs voisins (prétendus)*, whose first edition dates from 1573 and for which he used the pseudonym of Eusèbe Philadelphie. This ultra-radical work, which was greatly expanded in subsequent editions, betrays a line of thought more consistent with the revolutionaries of 1789 than with the Huguenot aristocrats and their pet theologians of the 1570s. Virulently anti-church in sentiment, the author insists on the marriage of priests and the abolition of tithes, pursues the theme of a grand Huguenot alliance with the house of Guise to overthrow the Valois dynasty, justifies tyrannicide and the right of resistance to oppression, and outlines a novel form of political control for society with clear republican implications.⁴² Horrified, the great Calvinist writer Beza rushed to condemn the book at Geneva. Both John Dee and Gabriel Harvey owned copies of the work.

Many pseudonymous works have been linked to Barnaud's name and no satisfactory biographical sketch has ever been produced. We know for certain that he was born at Crest in Dauphiné, visited Spain in 1559, was at Paris in 1572 and fled to Geneva, where he worked as a diplomatic emissary for the besieged Protestants.⁴³ There his name was misspelt quite regularly as "Barnaud" or "Bernard". This raises an intriguing possibility, hitherto unnoticed by historians, for in the Return of Aliens for November 1571 in London we encounter "Jacques Taffyn, who was receiver to the king of France, borne at Tournay in Flanders.... Anne his wife, borne at Tournay. Guy Barnarde and Nicholas Barnarde, brothers to the aforesaid Anna,...., and came for religion about ij yeres past, and are yet of no church, but go to the French church by occasion."⁴⁴ Regrettably, we have no other information to clarify whether this was the same as our Barnaud or not. Settling in France in his autumnal years, he was excommunicated by his local church described as "that pest". His religious sentiments leaned towards those of Socinus – who rejected the Holy Trinity.⁴⁵

We must now proceed from Barnaud the politician to Barnaud the alchemist. Two of his alchemical tracts were published in Holland by Christopher Raphelengius, grand-son of the Familist Christopher Plantin; the others were brought out at Leyden by Thomas Basson, an Englishman of the Familist persuasion. It was his son, Govaert Basson – also a Familist – who published Robert Fludd's very first Rosicrucian pamphlets. The Basson edition of *Quadriga Auriferae Secunda Rota* was dedicated to Sir Edward Dyer, although it is clear from Barnaud's preface of July 1599 that he did not know the English knight personally. But it is quite on the cards that Barnaud had known John Dee as early as 1583. Contrary to A.E. Waite's claim, Barnaud nowhere says that he witnessed Edward Kelley's feat of transmuting mercury into gold at the home of Thaddeus von Hajek in Prague.⁴⁶ He does state, however, that he saw "projection" achieved by Hajek with the aid of his son at Prague in 1583.⁴⁷ Now it happens that in that year Dee and Kelley were made most welcome by Hajek, who put them up at his Prague house. Hajek appears to have known Sir Philip Sidney a few years before: his son, who was sent to England to study, was put in Sidney's charge.⁴⁸ We can infer that Barnaud probably met Dee in 1583, but we cannot prove it.

Barnaud's significance revolves around an alchemical tradition that he was a key precursor of the Rosicrucian Brotherhood, although the evidence for this contention is remarkably elusive. The tradition seems to have crystallized with J.S. Semler's *Unparteiische Sammlungen zur historie der Rosenkreuzer* of 1788, which alleged that

in 1591 Barnaud, who is known to have travelled in France and Holland that year, founded an alchemical society. Semler goes as far as to claim that a great college of the fraternity of the Rosicrucians met in 1591 and 1597, the implication being that Barnaud was possibly associated with at least the former.⁴⁹ Semler did not oblige posterity with documentation for these contentions. If they contain a particle of truth, however, Dee – who shared with Barnaud patron-friends in Bohemia and Poland – almost surely heard about such developments. But that Barnaud may have organized some alchemical sect is not quite beyond the realm of possibility, for in 1597 he produced his *Commentariolum in Aenigmaticum quoddam Epitaphium*, which contained the "alchemical Mass" originally written by the Hungarian, Nicholas Melchior. The more we know about the Renaissance alchemists, the more we have to respect them for their practical bent: what they wrote down, they attempted to carry out in their laboratories usually. Why did Barnaud edit this "Mass", as did Michael Maier two decades later, if it was not intended for collective use?"⁵⁰

Notes

1. Public Record Office. Proceedings in Court of Requests Cat. I lxxvii 48.
 2. J.E. Van Dorsten *The Radical Arts* p. 23. *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum* vol. I (1887) ed. J.H. Hessels; letter of 7/17 January 1604, pp. 157-60.
 3. Stephen Batman *The Golden Booke of the Leaden Goddes* (1577) describes three degrees of the converted: the cominality of the holy ones; the upright understanding ones; the illuminate Elders. In England, they had bishops, elders and deacons. On Mylius, see article by A. Hamilton in *Quaerendo* vol. xi(1981) pp. 278-9.
 4. J.A. Van Dorsten op. cit. p. 29.
 5. *A Supplication of the Family of Love...*(1606) p. 46: "It appeareth that she [Elizabeth] had alwayes about her some Familistes, or favourers of that Sect, who alwaies related, or bare tidinges what was donne, or intended against them."
 6. J. Roberts & A.G. Watson eds. *John Dee's Library Catalogue* p.13.
 7. Samuel Purchas *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes* vol. I (1905 ed.) 105-6. Dee's treatise ran to 70 sheets.
 8. *Private Diarv of Dr. John Dee* (1842) ed. J.O. Halliwell.
 9. British Library MS Cotton Galba C.V.
 10. *Calendar of State Papers (Dom.)* 1547-1580 p. 332.
 11. British Library MS. Lansdowne 353.
 12. British Library MS. Cotton Vitellius C.V. II fs. 312-14, 325-28. On William Herbert: f. 312.
 13. *Private Diary of John Dee* op. cit. p.3.
 14. William Harbert *Epicedium* (1594) first stanza.
 15. A.L. Prescott *French Poets and the English Renaissance* p.179.
- I analyse Du Bartas in a forthcoming history of early English freemasonry.
16. C.A. Patrides & J. Wittreich eds. *The Apocalypse* p. 181.
 17. British Library MS. Sloane 3677 f. 99v.
 18. C.A.Patrides & J.Wittreich op. cit. p. 96.
 19. Brit. Lib. MS. Sloane 3677 fs. 137v, 144v.
 20. *Johann Valentin Andreae 1586-1986*. Catalogue by Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, Amsterdam (1986) p.
 27. Andreae's friend, Tobias Hess, who possibly part-wrote the Rosicrucian manifestoes, avidly studied Brocardo.
 21. F.A. Yates *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (1947) pp. 156, 157, 171, 226.
 22. Peter French *John Dee* p. 14.
 23. *Private Diary of Dr. John Dee* op. cit. p.61.
 24. *Dictionary of National Biography*.
 25. J. Roberts & A.G. Watson op. cit. p. 4. On Drebbel, see R. Heisler "Rosicrucianism: the First Blooming in Britain" *The Hermetic Journal* 1989 pp. 38-40.
 26. *Ibid.* p. 38. J. Roberts & A.G. Watson op. cit. pp. 58. 60-2.
 27. J.M. Osborn Young *Philip Sidney 1572-1577* p.146.
 28. Roger Howell *Sir Philip Sidney* p. 137 quoting Dr. Thomas Moffett's *Nobilis*. Moffett knew Sidney.
 29. Brit. Lib. MS. Sloane 3677 fs. 104, 164(?).
 30. *Private Diary of Dr. John Dee* op. cit. pp. 48, 52. J. Roberts & A.G. Watson op. cit. pp. 101, 28.
 31. Useful comments on Pucci are to be found in E.Cochrane ed. *The Late Italian Renaissance*; also see *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* Biography in Francesco Pucci *Lettere, documenti e testimonianze* vol. II ed. L. Firpo & R. Piattoli.
 32. M. Eliar-Felden "Secret societies, utopias, and peace plans: the case of Francesco Pucci" *Journal of Medieval*

and *Renaissance Studies* vol.14 (1984).

33. On Rogers see J.E.Phillips *Neo-Latin Poetry of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1965) p. 11 re. C. Plantin the Familist publishing his Latin poems in 1565. Rogers was related to, and knew, several Familists. A Familist himself? Who knows? Also pp. 13, 16, 18, 19.

34. *True Relation of Dr. John Dee* (1659) ed. M. Casaubon p.430.

35. F. Pucci *Lettere, documenti e testimonianze op. cit.* p. 182.

36. *Ibid.* p. 187.

37. *True Relation of Dr. John Dee op. cit.* p. 206.

38. R.J.W. Evans *Rudolph II and his World* (2nd ed.) p. 224. *State Papers (Venetian) vol. VIII (1581-1591)* p. 169.

R.J.W. Evans *op. cit.* p. 103. P. French *John Dee* p. 120.

39. R.J.W. Evans *op. cit.* p. 224.

40. *List of MS formerly in possession of the late Dr. Adam Clarke.* Baynes & Son Sale Catalogue (1837), copy in British Library.

41. *Nouvelle Biographie Universelle* (1853). H. Hauser *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France XVI Siècle (1494-1610)* vol. III. A.E. Waite *The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross* pp. 75-79. Useful fresh material in R.J.W. Evans *op. cit.* pp. 200, 208, 212-13, 283. But the most important survey still remains Prosper Marchand *Dictionnaire historique* vol. I (1758) pp.82-87.

42. J.W. Allen *History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century* pp. 308-9.

43. R.M. Kingdon *Geneva and the Constitution of the French Protestant Movement 1564-1572* pp. 185-6.

44. *Returns of Aliens dwelling in.... London from Henry VIII to James I Part II (1571-1597)* ed. R.E.G. Kirk & E.F. Kirk p. 38.

45. *Dictionnaire de Biographie Francaise* (1951). Barnaud died in 1607.

46. *Theatrum Chemicum* vol III(1659) pp. 796-7. C. Nicholl *The Chemical Theatre* p. 21 quoting from Waite's edition of F. Barrett's *Lives of the Alchemists*.

47. *Theatrum Chemicum* vol III p. 749.

48. *True Relation.... op. cit.* p. 212. J.M. Osborn *op. cit.* pp. 242, 299, 313, 318, 435. Sidney was in Prague in 1575 and 1577. Hubert Languet appears to have made the introduction.

49. J.S. Semler *Unparteiische.... der Rosenkreuzer* Book I pp.89, 83, 90, 91

50. R.J.W. Evans *op. cit.* p. 200.

Ron Heisler - The Impact of Freemasonry on Elizabethan Literature

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The Impact of Freemasonry on Elizabethan Literature

Ron Heisler ©

The enthusiasm among Renaissance men for classical and Hebrew texts brought in its train a revival, and encouraged a sophisticated and creative apprehension, of numerous mystical, alchemical, hermeticist and occultist tendencies. But it was a revival that inevitably encountered resistance from powerful vested interests, especially in the theological circles. Compelled to adopt strategies for survival, seekers after "higher truths" sought immunity from reprisal and persecution in the sub-culture of the occult "underground". Thus the secret society began to proliferate.

Early in the 16th century Henry Cornelius Agrippa visited England and his friends among the Oxford Humanists - John Colet and Thomas More in particular. Some academics have deduced from his own words that he formed a society in England at this time (*circa* 1510).¹ I am led to believe that there still exist "Books of Shadows" (membership books) of witches' covens, for which the earliest entries date back to the 16th century.²

I am grateful to Roger Nyle Parisious - to whose boundless knowledge of the more labyrinthine byways of Shakespeariana I am greatly indebted - for drawing my attention to the *Memoirs* of Président de Thou, the great French historian and friend of William Camden. In 1596 a gentleman called Beaumont was found guilty of magical practices by a court at Angoulême. At a conference held in 1598, at which de Thou was present and no torture was in prospect, Beaumont made a confession regarding the magical art. De Thou reports, "That Beaumont himself held a commerce with Aërial and Heavenly Spirites... That Schools and Professors of this noble Art, had been frequent in all Parts of the World, and still were so in Spain, at Toledo, Cardona, Grenada and other Places: That they had also been formerly celebrated in Germany, but for the most part had failed, ever since Luther had sown the Seeds of his Heresy, and began to have so many Followers: that in France and in England it was still secretly preserved, as it were by Tradition, in the Families of certain Gentlemen; but that only the initiated were admitted into the Sacred Rites; to the exclusion of profane Persons..."³ We know much about the magical activities of John Dee and Sir Edward Kelley, and about Simon Forman, who at All Hallow-tide 1590 "entered the circle for necromantical spells", as he puts it in his diary. Thomas Nashe talked of "the unskillfuller cozening kind of alchemists, with their artificial and ceremonial magic." At about the same time, Roman Catholic gentry were being regularly titillated at secret conventicles where Catholic priests exorcised victims allegedly possessed by the Devil. The "Confession" of Richard Mainy in June 1602 tells of the exorcisms carried out at Lord William Vaux's house in Hackney in 1588.⁴ The staunch Catholicism of the Vauxs brought down on them repeated persecution through the years - for illicitly and secretly practicing their religion. William Vaux's son Edward commanded a regiment in the Low Countries, which in 1623 became a target for state repression with the uncovering of two secret societies within its ranks.⁵ Experiment and novelty were the order of the day. Robert Naunton wrote to the Earl of Essex from Paris on the 5th April 1597 with the hot news that Henri IV of France (formerly Henri of Navarre) was celebrating the Eleusinian mysteries that Easter. Naunton sadly added, "But these *Eleusina Sacra* are nowe grown to be miseries not to be told in Gathin no wise."⁶

But what, the reader may ask, of freemasonry? In stark contrast to the ample surviving records of Scottish freemasonry, very little has come down to us that testifies to the English masonic tradition before the later 17th century. The masonic historian Anderson's apologia on this question is worth full quotation: "But many of the Fraternity's Records of this [Charles II's] and former Reigns were lost in the next [James II's] and at the Revolution [1688]; and many of 'em were too hastily burnt in our Time from a Fear of making Discoveries..."⁷ The latter refers to the conflict between Jacobites and Hanoverians. The earliest certain English "admittances" to the Craft were those of Elias Ashmole and Col. Henry Mainwaring, of Karincham in Cheshire, at Warrington in 1646.⁸ Recently, however, I have come across some fascinating indications of masonic activity in late Elizabethan England, which are apparently quite unknown to mainstream masonic historians.

In the latter part of the 1580's a flood of pamphlets began to spew out of the London print-shops, which eventually became collectively notorious as the Martin Marprelate controversy.⁹ Martin Marprelate was the pseudonym of some fringe Puritan writers engaged in attacking the despotic practices, and abuses, of the hierarchy of bishops in the Church of England. The bishops, stung beyond endurance, and completely misfiring with their early published responses, commissioned some talented polemicists to mount an effective counter-attack; and in 1589 the printer John Charlewood produced a brilliant short tract entitled *A Countercuffe given to Martin Junior*. It was signed "Pasquill". Behind this pen-name lay most probably Thomas Nashe, possibly Robert Greene - or, equally possibly, both friends in collaboration. In one passage we read:

"In the mean season, sweet Martin Junior, play thou the knave kindly as thou hast begun, and waxe as olde in iniquitie as thy father. Downe with learning and Universities, I can bring you a Free-mason out of Kent, that gave over his occupation twentie yeeres agoe. He wil make a good Deacon for your Purpose, I have taken some tryall of his gifts, hee preacheth very pretilie over a Joynd-stoole." (A.iiij)

Pasquill definitely knew enough about freemasons to be aware that a "Deacon" was one of their office-holders (it has previously been thought that the earliest references to Deacons date no earlier than the 1730's)¹⁰; and that the Master of a lodge occupied a "Joynd-stoole". Whether we should take as factual Pasquill's comment, "I have taken some tryall of his gifts," is a moot point. If seriously meant, it seems to imply that the writer - and I suspect Nashe - had actually attended a masonic meeting at some stage. Nashe, the acutest observer of the life of the common people in his time, certainly knew something about the masons. In *The Unfortunate Traveller*, which he published under his own name, he informs us that "Masons paid nothing for hair to mix their lime."¹¹

Among the stream of anti-Martinist pamphlets that slewed into the book-stalls in October 1589 was one by John Lyly the dramatist, who used the sobriquet of "Double V", and in which, for no obvious reason, he inserted an direct attack on Gabriel Harvey, whom he reckoned a pedant "full of latin endes", who "cares as little for writing without wit as Martin doth for writing without honestie".¹² Harvey composed a reply, the *Advertisement for Papp-hatchett*, before the end of the year, which he did not publish till 1593. In it, he wrote of "Nash, the Ape of Greene; Greene, the Ape of Euphues; Euphues the Ape of Envie... three notorious feudists, drawe all in a yoke."¹³ *Euphues* was Lyly's most famous work.

In 1590 Richard Harvey, Gabriel's brother, produced *A Theological Discourse of the Lamb of God and his Enemies*, jollied along, it is widely and reasonably thought, by Gabriel. Certain passages, in fact, bear Gabriel's stylistic imprint. I see this work as intrinsically an attempt to dissociate the Puritan moderates from the activities, and ill-repute, of the fringe Martinists, whilst getting in some juicy body blows at the Grub Street literati, with their suspect morals or Catholic leanings, whom the bishops had paid gold to.

In his prefatory epistle, Richard Harvey takes a swipe at Nashe, "who taketh upon him in civill learning, as Martin doth in religion, peremptorily censuring his betters at pleasure, Poets, Orators, Polihistors, Lawyers, and whome not." In the main text, the Rev. Harvey - in a passage probably primarily aimed at Lyly - remarks, "But there remaineth yet a monstrous and a craftie antichristian practisser,... one and his mate compounded of many contraries, to breede the more confusion... is content to be ridiculous himself... he is a boone companion for the nonce, a secrete fosterer of illegitimate corner conceptions, a great orator for ruffianly purposes,... a bloody massacer and cutthroate in jesters apparrell..."¹⁴ Gabriel Harvey, in the *Advertisement*... already mentioned, called Lyly "an odd, light-headed fellow..., a professed iester, a Hick-scorner, a scoff-maister..." who disgraced his "arte with ruffianly foolery."¹⁵

The crucial passage for our purposes, however, is that where Richard (or Gabriel) Harvey in *A Theological Discourse*... - gunning for Lyly and Nashe together, no doubt - laments thus:

"But alas there are many strange errors abroad in the earth, and there are too many headstrong mainteyners of old paradoxes and new forged novelties, which either renew those antiquated trifles, or give them a colour, a devise and glosse of the makers, which are their craftes maisters and bond slaves. Such men are girded and wrapped up in with splene and brought up cheefly in the chapters *De contradicentibus* [of people opposing], and so wedded and given to alter all statutes and turkisse [tyrannize over] all states,... that they have become plaine turkish and rebellious,..."¹⁶ The choice of "craftes maisters" in one sentence and of "chapters" in the next cannot be accidental. An actual fraternity of splenetic discontents is being hinted at. A 1425 document, incidentally, refers to the "annual congregations and confederacies made by the masons in their general chapters and assemblies."¹⁷

John Lyly was prone to dark accusation. In 1582, whilst secretary to the Earl of Oxford, he fell into trouble over financial matters. He appealed to Oxford's father-in-law, Lord Burghley, in a letter of July that year. His postscript ends with the strangest of declarations: "Loth I am to be a prophitt, and to be a wiche [Witch] I loath. Most dutiful to command John Lyly." Gabriel Harvey was to attach the label of "black arts" to Lyly in print some years later.¹⁸ Matters were patched up with the erratic, somewhat paranoid Earl of Oxford, it would seem. By 1584 Lyly had gone to St. Paul's School to take over the running of the Paul's boys theatrical company - of whom Oxford was the patron. His plays were acted regularly at court - again partly through the influence of Oxford, one would suppose. Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, is the *raison d'être* of a whole sub-section of the Shakespeare industry. This is a controversy way above my head: for me, Shakespeare is the best Shakespeare we have. But I find it surprising that nothing has ever been made by the Oxfordians of a most peculiar verse in Oxford's poem *Labour and its Reward*, included in Thomas Bedingfield's "Englissing" of *Cardanus Comforte* (1573, '76):



An illustration from *The Mirror of Policie*, an anonymous translation from Guillaume de la Perrière's *Le miroir politique*. Published in London in 1598 by Adam Islip. The same author's emblem book *The theater of fine devices* was entered on the Stationer's Register on the 9th May 1593 by the printer Richard Field, Shakespeare's friend from Stratford-on-Avon. The latter translation was by Thomas Combe, the secretary of Sir John Harington. No-one has been able to establish whether or not this Combe was the same as the Thomas Combe associated with Stratford-on-Avon. But he remains a prime contender for the distinction of having translated *The Mirror of Policie*.

"The mason poor that builds the lordly halls,
Dwells not in them; they are for high degree;
His cottage is compact in paper walls,
And not with brick or stone, as others be."¹⁹

Apart from Japan, I cannot conceive of any time or clime where masons literally live in cottages "compact in paper walls". What are these "paper walls"? Is this a reference possibly to the Old Charges - the constitution and history of the freemasons - faithfully adhered to within masonic lodges? It is a teasing verse in another respect: tying in "The mason poor" with the question of "high degree". It is noteworthy that the author of *Hamlet* reverently read *Cardanus Comforte* - it is the basis of some of the finest philosophical lines ever spoken at Elsinore (Hamlet on sleep III.i). Gabriel Harvey waited till 1593 before launching his greatest broadside against Nashe and Lyly in *Pierces Supererogation*. There he writes, "it is sound Argumentes, and grounded Authorities, that must strike the definitive stroke, and decide the controversy, with mutuall satisfaction. Martin bee wise, though Browne were a foole: and Papp-hatchet [Lyly] be honest, though Barrow be a knave: it is not your heaving and hoifing coile, that buildeth-upp the walles of the Temple. Alas poore miserable desolate most-woefull Church, had it no other builders, but such architects of their owne fantasies, and such maisons of infinite contradiction."²⁰ Harvey never chose his words lightly: with him they are always carefully worked over - and, some would say, overworked. He has very expertly tarred Lyly with the brush of the "maisons of infinite contradiction".

Neither Lyly nor Nashe ever penned a denial of the accusation. But Nashe, on behalf of himself and his friend, went to a great length to turn the accusation. He seized his chance in the devastating *Have with you to Saffron-Walden, or, Gabriel Harveys Hunt is up* of 1596, a viciously effective exposé of Harvey's life and literary pretensions. Using his already famous sobriquet of Pierce Pennilesse, Nashe at one point gives himself the observation, "...notwithstanding all which Ideas of monstrous excellencie, some smirking Singularists, brag Reformists, and glicking Remembrancers (not with the multiplying spirite of the Alchumist, but the villanist) seeke to bee masons of infinite contradiction..."²¹

What on earth is this all about? The section is actually a parody of Harvey's writing style - all the more effective because it strings together various overwrought phrases that Harvey had coined. Nashe proceeds to give the phrases a second airing. Using the persona this time of Don Carneades de boune compagniola, Nashe gives Harvey as follows:

"As, for an instance: suppose hee were to sollicite some cause against Martinists, were it not a jest as right sterling as might be, to see him stroke his beard thrice & begin thus? ...may it please you to be advertised, how that certain smirking Singularists, brag Reformists, and glinking Remembrancers, not with the multiplying spirit of the Alchumist, but the villanist, have sought to be Masons of infinite contradiction, and with their melancholy projects, frumping contras, tickling interjections... against you, & the beau-desert & Idees of your encomiasticall Church government..."²²

What does this amount to? Is it simply aimed at Harvey's overripe prose? I doubt it. To begin with, there is more than one clue in the passage that the attack on Lyly was a prime concern. In *Pierces Supererogation* Harvey, in abusing Lyly, remarked that "A glicking *Pro*, and a frumping *Contra*, shall have much-adoe to shake handes in the *Ergo*."²³ Nashe has slyly included the expression "frumping contras", which surely only an inner circle of readers could have been expected to recall was aimed at Lyly. In the *Supererogation* Harvey had also attacked the Nashe-Lyly group in these terms: "Certes other rules are fopperies: and they that will seeke out the Archmystery of the busiest Modernistes, shall find it nether more, nor lesse, then a certayne pragmaticall secret, called Villany, the verie science of sciences, and the Familiar Spirit of Pierces Supererogation... it is the Multiplying spirit, not of the Alchumist, but of the villanist, that knocketh the naile on the head, and spurreth out farther in a day, then the quickest Artist in a weeke."²⁴

The play off between "Alchimy" and "Villany" in the *Supererogation* reached its apotheosis when Harvey wrote: "and in the baddest, I reject not the good: but precisely play the Alchumist, in seeking pure and sweet balmes in the rankest poisons... O Humanity, my Lullius, or O Divinitie, my Paracelsus, how should a man become that peece of Alchimy, that can turne the Rattes-bane of Villany into the Balme of honeste..."²⁵

The sophisticated Elizabethan follower of the Harvey-Nashe feud (and there were many such), accustomed to Harvey's penchant for paradoxical overstatement, would have gleefully remembered his preference for "seeking pure and sweet balmes in the rankest poisons". It was of a piece with that fashionable "School of Night" movement, exemplified in the poet George Chapman, which lauded darkness and night and associated connotations. If Nashe was not depicting Harvey as babbling nonsense, what then? I think we are given a hint when Don Carneades suggests that Harvey would "stroke his beard thrice" - for stroking one's cheek or face with a finger was a mark of recognition among secret orders. *A Mason's Confession* of 1727 describes how "he gives the sign, by the right hand above the breath, which is called the fellow-crafts due guard." *The Grand Mystery of Free-Masonry Discover'd* (1724) describes a masonic sign thus: "Stroke two of your Fore-Fingers over your Eye-Lids three times." Don Carneades' speech has, in actuality a deep meaning which is the opposite of the surface meaning of individual phrases. Nashe, in other words, is portraying Harvey not as deploring, but as commending those who "sought to be Masons of infinite contradiction".

What was Nashe getting at? There are mysteries even in the past of Gabriel Harvey. Circa 1578-80 he won immortality by forming, with Edmund Spencer, Sir Edward Dyer and Sir Philip Sidney, a small literary circle devoted to reforming English poetry, which Harvey described as a "new-founded areopagus" that was better than "two hundred Dionisii Areopagitae". Dr. Moffet's memoir of Sidney describes him as seeking out the mysteries of chemistry "led by God with Dee as teacher and Dyer as companion". Harvey was, in fact, briefly secretary to Sir Edward Dyer, the loyal confidante of John Dee and the "gold making" Edward Kelley. Harvey was probably too much of a dilettante to indulge overmuch in serious chemistry. However, astrology was to his taste, as was magic. He acquired the "secret writings" of Doctor Caius [of Caius College fame] and a Key of Solomon. He described one of his manuscripts thus: "The best skill, that Mr Butler physician had in Nigromancia, with Agrippas occulta philosophia: as his coosen Ponder upon his Oathe often repeated, seriously intimated unto mee". Harvey also owned "A notable Journal of an experimental Magitian"; and, above all, he acquired the actual working papers in magic of Simon Forman, most notorious and most successful of English magicians.²⁶

That Harvey concealed some great secret is clear enough from his own manuscript notes. At the start of 1583 his brother Richard published *An Astrological Discourse upon the... Conjunction of the two superiour Planets, Saturne & Jupiter, which shall happen the 28. day of April, 1583*. He predicted, perhaps a little overoptimistically, the Second Coming of Christ for that day. Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, a Roman Catholic, bore no good will towards the Earl of Leicester, or his Puritan clique, which included the Sidney circle. Howard rushed out in 1683 *A defensive against the poyson of supposed Prophesies*, a brilliant spiking of the three Harvey brothers (all ardent astrologers). In his Epistle Dedicatorie, Howard writes, "I have both heard and read of certaine persons, who for the space of many yeeres... have challenged unto themselves withall, a peremptorie censure in all matters, aspiring only

to this point at height of credite, that presumption may prescribe against desart, & and their voices be regarded as Apollo's oracles". Howard goes on, "They persue with eager appetite into the knowledge of such matters as are farre above their reach", but since "the learned judges of their skill desire no Company with Crassus they are wont smile in Temple and to whine in Angulo". Disingenuously, Howard urges them to "looke into the workes of God, with eyes of humblenesse, not pore into the secretes of his purpose with the spectacles of vaine glorie". In his main text, Howard makes a curious barbed remark which seems to foreshadow the "School of Night" controversy that flourished about the start of the 1590's. He states, "if wee will exemplifie these Antichrists in persons of this age, I find not any more like to support their feates, then our Astrologers, who set up a new plot of Heaven, and a new Schoole of earthe, and a new kinde of providence".²⁷

Gabriel Harvey wrote down on the 20th July 1583 apropos Howard's venomous book, "I wis it is not the Astrological Discourse, but a more secret mark, whereat he shootith. A serpent lies hidden in the grass: and it will remain concealed even now by me. Patience, the best remedy in such booteles conflicts. God give me, and my Friends, Caesars memory, to forget only injuries, offered by other..."²⁸ I have found nothing to throw further light on this tantalising statement. But in *Pierces Supererogation* a decade later Harvey inserts a resonant passage, which stands on its own, apparently unrelated to the rest of his material. Harvey writes, "Compare old, and new histories, of farr, & neere countries: and you shall finde the late manner of *Sworne Brothers*, to be no mere fashion, but an ancient guise, and heroicall order; devised for necessity, continued for security, and mainetayned for proffite, and pleasure".²⁹

Alas, the censorship of the bishops brought a premature end to the feud with its promising future. In June 1599 they decreed that "noe Satyrs or Epigrams be printed hereafter" and "That all NASHES bookes and Doctor HARVEYS bookes be taken wheresoever they be found and that none of their bookes be ever printed hereafter".³⁰ A truly savage decision. Perhaps the bitter exchanges had let too much out of the bag - revelations with wider implications. In February 1601 John Lyly offered to spy on the Essex rebels for Sir Robert Cecil, promising to "turn all my forces and friends to feed on" them.³¹

Shakespeare was a glover's son, and a son to boot who spoke the language of gloves as if it were as natural for him as breathing.³² No other writer in imaginative literature has made so much play with the imagery of the glove. But, of course, the glove had a status in Elizabethan-Jacobean England hard to understand today. It was a luxury item, replete with status and complex symbolic meanings - and made a highly regarded gift.³³

Robert Higford, in 1571, sent harvest gloves to the wife of Lawrence Banister. In 1609 J. Beaulieu told William Trumbull that "My Lord hath bestowed 50s. in a pair of gloves for Monsr. Marchant in acknowledgement of his sending unto him the pattern of stairs". At New Year 1605/6 the royal musicians presented "each of them one payre of perfumed playne gloves" to King James. In 1563 the Earl of Hertford, direly out of favour with the Queen, beseeched Lord Robert Dudley thus: he desired "a reconciliation, and begs he will present the Queen, on his behalf, with a poor token of gloves".³⁴

Gloves were a customary New Year's gift, sometimes being substituted for by "glove-money". And gloves were the traditional gift of suitors - of lovers - to their betrothed. In *Much Ado about Nothing* Hero, daughter to Leonato, mentions, "these gloves, the count sent me, they are an excellent perfume" (III. iv.). The glove signified a deep reciprocal bond between giver and receiver in many situations. The Clown, in *The Winter's Tale*, remarks that "If I were not in love with Mopsa, thou shouldst take no money of me; but being enthralled as I am, it will also be the bondage of certain ribbons and gloves" (IV. iv.). In *Henry V* the King exchanges gloves with the lowly soldier Williams (IV. i.).

But gloves also played a part in the customs of formal fraternities. Robert Plot, in *The Natural History of Staffordshire* (1686), tells that it was the custom among the freemasons "when any are admitted [into membership], they call a meeting... which must consist at least of 5 or 6 of the Antients of the Order, whom the candidates present with gloves, and so likewise to their wives..."³⁵ At Canterbury College, Oxford, in 1376-7, the Warden recorded in the accounts the "even twenty pence given" for "glove money" ("*pro cirotecis*") to all the masons engaged in rebuilding the College.³⁶ This points to an old tradition with the masons of providing gloves. George Weckherlin, poet and under-secretary of state at Whitehall, sent gloves to Lewis Ziegler, agent to Lord Craven, in February 1634. In December 1637 Weckherlin drew the sign of the Rosicrucians 5 above Ziegler's name.³⁷ Perhaps the freemasons were being imitated. The glove giving habit was already actually codified in the Schaw statutes³⁸ of December 1599, approved at Lodge Kilwinning in Scotland, which laid down that all fellows of the craft, at their admissions, were to pay the lodge £10 Scots with ten shillings worth of "gluiffis".

Love's Labour's Lost has kept Shakespeare buff's rhapsodically frustrated for several generations. It is perhaps the most teasing of his plays, constantly hinting at hidden meanings. Even worse, it appears to be the only one of his plays whose plot he thought up himself! It provoked Frances Yates to write an entire book about it, a book which

remains, after half a century, still the best thing on the subject. The basic situation of the play is made clear in the very first speech that Ferdinand, King of Navarre, intones:

"Our late edict shall strongly stand in force:
Navarre shall be the wonder of the world;
Our court shall be a little academe,
Still and contemplative in living art.
You three, Berowne, Dumain, and Longaville,
Have sworn for three years' term to live with me,
My fellow-scholars, and to keep those statutes
That are recorded in this schedule here:
Your oaths are pass'd; and now subscribe your names,
That his own hand may strike his honour down
That violates the smallest branch herein:-"

(I. i. 11-21).

Despite the "votaries" of the academe pledging themselves to three years celibacy, the visiting ladies, led by the Princess of France, finally subvert their resolution by winning their hearts. The allusions flash by in a constantly jesting manner. But I wish to single out one allusion in particular, which to my knowledge has never been unbottled before.

The glove makes its appearance in the final scene (V. ii.) - twice. The Princess says, "But, Katherine, what was sent to you from fair Dumain?" Katherine replies, "Madame, this glove". The Princess retorts, "Did he not send you twain?" to which Katherine answers, "Yes, Madam; and moreover, / Some thousand verses of a faithful lover;" (47-50). All this, at least, is plain sailing: the suitor Dumain has sent a pair of gloves, which Katharine has accepted. Rather more complex is the case of the love-stricken Berowne, who proclaims:

"and I here protest,
By this white glove (how white the hand, God knows),
Henceforth my wooing mind shall be express'd
In russet yeas and honest kersey noes."

(410-13)

Berowne's white glove has not materialized in the play before. And it probably would have been totally improper or unthinkable for a lady to have sent him a pair. So what was the function of the glove? He proceeds in the very next line to swear to Rosaline, "My love to thee is sound, sans crack or flaw", and the joke, I believe, lies in his swearing an oath of love on a white glove that the courtly audience would have assumed to have been received within the circle of his fraternity. They would have automatically related it to an initiation. In saying, "how white the hand, God knows", Berowne is confessing that he has put in jeopardy his virtue by breaking his oath of initiation. But there is a double irony - for what is the value, or sincerity, of a love pledge made upon such a glove?

For an authority on the relationship of hands to oaths, I would turn to Thomas Dekker. In his play *Satiro-Mastix...* of 1602 he has Sir Walter Terill exclaim,

"An oath! why 'tis the traffic of the soul,
'Tis law within a man; the seal of faith,
The lord of every conscience; unto whom
We set our thoughts like hands:..."

(V.i.)

Berowne's glove problem, I suggest, hints at Navarre's "little academe" being a utopianistic masonic lodge, and this raises fascinating possibilities. Ferdinand King of Navarre puts one in mind of Ferdinando Lord Strange, patron of a theatrical company with which Shakespeare was closely associated up to at least the Autumn of 1592. As Professor Honigmann, among others, has pointed out, *Love's Labour's Lost* is replete with allusions to Shakespeare's patron.³⁹ The name Ferdinand attached to the King was most likely a conceit chosen to humour him, as well as possibly relating to the origins of the play in a private entertainment for Lord Strange's coterie of friends. Ferdinando was unquestionably keen about theatre. Oddly, Navarre is never actually called Ferdinand in performance, although he is so named in the stage directions and speech prefixes of the first Quarto. Presumably it was thought in bad taste to draw the groundlings' attention in the public theatres to the resemblance between Navarre and Lord Strange.

In the mythology of the play one allusion has stood out beyond all others this century. In Act IV Scene iii the King exclaims - thus launching a thousand academic foot-notes - "Black is the badge of hell, / The hue of dungeons and the school of night". To what or whom was he referring? Was it to Sir Walter Raleigh and his alleged "school of atheists"? Raleigh, by the way, had intervened to protect some of the Martin Marprelate conspirators. Was it to the poet George Chapman - whom Shakespeare overtly scorned in two remarks - and his pals such a Matthew Roydon?

Chapman had published in 1594 his long poem *The Shadow of Night*. Its dedication to Roydon contains the famous passage,

"I remember my good Mat. how joyfully oftentimes you reported unto me, that most ingenious Darbie, deepe searching Northumberland, and skill-embracing heire of Hunsdon had most profitably entertained learning in themselves, to the vitall warmth of freezing science,..."

The occult ethos implied by those few lines is a rich quarry indeed! Were these the patrons of the School of Night?

"Most ingenious Darbie" was Ferdinando Lord Strange, his father having died on the 25th September 1593. It is a vein of inquiry that I shall not pursue, except to add one fresh observation to the ongoing debate. Lord Strange's men acted at court on the 27th December for three successive years from 1589.⁴⁰ That day is the day of St. John the Evangelist - and the traditional assembly day of the freemasons.

The masonic legend of King Athelstan was somewhat polished up by James Anderson for *The New Book of Constitutions* of 1738. He tells how Athelstan "at first left the Craft to the Care of his Brother Edwin" and how Edwin "purchased a Free Charter of King Athelstan his Brother for the Free Masons having among themselves a CORRECTION, or a power and Freedom to regulate themselves, to amend what might happen amiss, and to hold an yearly Communication in a general Assembly". Edwin "summon'd all the Free and Accepted Masons in the realm, to meet him in a Congregation at YORK, who came and form'd the Grand Lodge under him as their Grand Master, A.D. 926."⁴¹

Apart from the relation of this tale in the Old charges of the freemasons, no independent evidence has ever been found to substantiate the story. The "1583" version of the Old Charges - commonly known as *Grand Lodge MS No. I* - has been subject recently to a rigorous scrutiny by Dr S.C. Aston, who in casting around for contemporaneous Elizabethan references to Athelstan, has come up with only one (apart from mentions in historians such as Speed and Stowe).⁴² Thomas Dekker, a facile playwright with a penchant for magical themes, produced a version of the *Fortunatus* story, derived from the minor sub-Faustian German book first published in 1509, which had possibly been "Englished" by the well known hack writer Thomas Churchyard ("T.C."), an old friend of Oxford's. In 1600 William Aspley entered the play with the Stationers' Register as "A comedie called Fortunatus in his newe lyverie". Dekker worked on the revision, or expansion, of the play in the late 1599, which had first been seen a few years earlier. He was paid £6 from the 9th to the 30th November for "the hole history of Fortunatus", was given £1 on the 31st November for "altering the Booke" and £2 on the 12th December "for the ende of Fortewnatus for the corte".⁴³ By the standards of the time these are extraordinarily high payments for what appears to be play doctoring. Henslowe, the financial brains of the Lord Admiral's men, never paid a penny more than necessary for anything. This court commission evidently had extra-special significance attached to it.

What relevance Athelstan, the 10th century Anglo-Saxon monarch, had to the late Medieval tale of *Fortunatus*, which is exclusively centred on events in Cyprus and Asia, is hard to imagine. The original geographical and historical locale has been given a violent wrench by Dekker in order to introduce a British context, which is preposterously unhistorical, even in its own terms, weirdly mixing Athelstan with Scottish as well as English characters - unless, that is, "Athelstan" is a guise for James VI of Scotland, who, as happens in the play, had been the object of magical workings. The North Berwick witchcraft trials took place in 1590-1; the complicity of the Earl of Bothwell had emerged in April 1591.⁴⁴

It is a poor play and soon forgot. What was its function? I strongly suspect that play in the version we know was a masonic *pièce d'occasion*. Dekker - or a man at court - insisted on having Athelstan, the legendary patron of the freemasons, for the King, when he could have chosen almost anyone. Was he making an analogy between Athelstan and James of Scotland because he was aware, among other things, of James' links with freemasonry? The famous Schaw statutes were promulgated at Lodge Kilwinning in Scotland in 1598 and 1599. One doubts they would have proceeded so far without James' foreknowledge and approval. William Schaw, after all, was James' Clerk of Works. The play has another path to secret ritualism: there is a character called Shadow, servant to Fortunatus, and it becomes progressively clear that he owns his name in virtue of the mythology of the Eleusinian mysteries of ancient Greece. The Shadows or Shades were the spirits of the Dead in Hades. Shadow may have been the germ from which sprang the scene with the Shades in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. *Old Fortunatus* displays one striking affinity with *Love's Labour's Lost*. Both plays feature a French nobleman called Longaville.

But there are other aspects of the play with clear masonic implications. The court performance of 1599 took place on the night of the 27th December, St. John the Evangelist's day - the annual assembly - and feast day of the freemasons, and later of the Rosicrucians. It was acted by the Edward Alleyn-Philip Henslowe company, the Lord Admiral's Men. According to James Anderson (but alas, no independent corroboration of his genealogy has ever surfaced), the then Lord Admiral, Charles Howard, Lord Effingham, was the Grand Master of the freemasons in the South of England until 1588.⁴⁵ Nor can we ignore the strong masonic resonance of the "Epilogue for the Court".

The expression "God the great Architect of the Universe" has become a masonic platitude. Close to it in spirit are these lines from the Epilogue, which refer to the length of Elizabeth's reign:

"And that heaven's great Arithmetician,
(who in the Scales of Number weyes the world)
May still to fortie two, add one yeere more".

Finally, there are two speeches belonging to Fortunatus in Act II Scene ii, which seem designed to permit the ventilating of a markedly pointed image. Fortunatus first says, "Boyes be proud, your Father hath the whole world in this compasse...", and then later boasts, "Listen, my sonnes: In this small compass lies,/ Infinite treasure..." The compass - a prime symbol among the freemasons - was surely introduced to produce a frisson of excited appreciation among the assembled masons at court!

If, as I suspect, *Love's Labour's Lost* was performed at court on St. John the Evangelist's day, then we have probably stumbled on a common seam running through productions arranged for that date. *Old Fortunatus* was expensively revised for the court performance; and the Shakespeare piece, besides being played at court "this last Christmas", was "Newly corrected and augmented", according to the first Quarto. Many plays were done at court; few were expressly revamped for the occasion. These were special occasions undoubtedly. I have come across two other St. John's day events which seem to conform to the pattern. On December 27th 1604 a masque was held at court to celebrate the marriage of Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery, to Lady Susan de Vere, daughter of the Earl of Oxford. Philip Herbert, together with his elder brother William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, was dedicatee - famously so - of the First Shakespeare Folio of 1623. According to James Anderson, William Herbert became a Grand Warden of the English masons in 1607 and their Grand Master in 1618.⁴⁶ Although this particular masque has not survived as far as we know, we have a description of its participants. Among "The Actors were, the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Willoughby, Sir Samuel Hays, Sir Thomas Germain, Sir Robert Carey, Sir John Lee, Sir Richard Preston, and Sir Thomas Bager..."⁴⁷ Sir Robert Carey was the youngest son of the first Lord Hunsdon. He had been a friend at Oxford of Thomas Lodge, who later became the collaborator of Robert Greene. Charles Nicholl suggests that Carey was Thomas Nashe's benefactor in 1594 and that the character Domino Bentivole in *Have with you to Saffron-Walden...* was based on him.⁴⁸ Sir Richard Preston, better known as Lord Dingwall, maintained a chemical laboratory; in 1613 Michael Maier the Rosicrucian presented him with a copy of *Arcana arcanissima*. Out fourth notable St. John's day event at court was the betrothal of the Elector Palatine and the Princess Elizabeth on the 27th December 1612. It has been suggested that *The Tempest* was played on that date. Certainly, it is almost indisputable now that the masque scene in the play was inserted to celebrate their wedding.⁴⁹ The Elector Palatine and his bride were to become the de facto patrons of the Rosicrucians, and the St. John's day betrothal points to a remarkably early convergence of masonic and Rosicrucian interests. More research has still to be done on St. John's day court activities; I cannot believe it will be entirely unproductive.

There is one other particularly interesting Elizabethan personality, whom Anderson makes mention of in *The New Book of Constitutions*. He recounts how Elizabeth, "being jealous of all secret Assemblies", sent "an armed Force to break up" the freemason's Grand Lodge at York on St. John's day 1561. But Sir Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, the Grand Master, "took Care to make some of the Chief Men sent Free-Masons, who then joining in that Communication, made a very honourable Report to the Queen; and she never more attempted to dislodge or disturb them..." Sackville allegedly gave up the Grand Mastership in 1567.⁵⁰

Anderson - as if himself uncertain of the veracity of the tale - guards his position by uniquely writing in a marginal note, "This Tradition was firmly believ'd by all the old English Masons". Since 1738 nothing has surfaced to give it credence. But circumstantial evidence does point to the 1560's as being a period of masonic activity. The Levander-York manuscript of the Old Charges was copied circa 1740 from a manuscript dated 1560.⁵¹ Dr Aston, in analysing the "1583" Old Charges known as *Grand Lodge MS No. 1*, asserts that the mention there of "Naymus Grecus clearly derives, I think, from Alcuin's *Carmen*", which came into print in 1562 and 1564. And the Earl of Oxford poem, *Labour and its Reward*, with its mysterious masonic reference, was published in 1573.

The implications of Sackville being a freemason would be tremendous. Giordano Bruno published *La Cena de le Ceneri* in 1584. He relates how he was introduced to Sackville by John Florio, the linguist and great translator of Montaigne, and Matthew Gwinne, the later friend of Robert Fludd, and how he supped at Sackville's house before proceeding to a philosophical disputation.⁵² Sackville was a major early Elizabethan poet and part author of the seminal play *Gorboduc*. And John Dee recorded in his diary for the 7th December 1594 that "by the chief motion of the Lord Admiral [Lord Effingham - a Grand Master according to Anderson], and somewhat of the Lord Buckhurst, the Queen's wish were to the Lord Archbishop presently that I should have Dr. Day his place in Powles".⁵³



Copy of a drawing recently discovered in British Library Mss Harley 1927 f. 76 verso. The manuscript belonged to Randle Holme III, the 17th century Chester freemason and herald. Showing a hand with a compass, and with the inscription of "Constantia et labore", it is drawn on a page with the dates "1621" and "July 1639" on the back. Randle Holme III probably was the artist.

Appendix

List of companies performing at the court of Elizabeth I on St. John the Evangelist's Day - December 27th. Taken from "Dramatic Records in the Declared Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber 1558-1642" *The Malone Society 1961* (1962).

- 1579 Earl of Sussex's men
- 1581 Lord Hunsdon's men
- 1583 Children of the Earl of Oxford
- 1584 Lord Admiral's men
- 1586 Earl of Leicester's Players
- 1587 Children of Paul's (John Lyly's company)
- 1589 Lord Strange's men
- 1590 Lord Strange's men
- 1591 Lord Strange's men
- 1595 Lord Hunsdon's men
- 1596 Lord Chamberlain's men (possibly *Love's Labour's Lost*)
- 1597 Lord Admiral's men
- 1598 Lord Admiral's men
- 1600 Lord Admiral's men

Comment: There are many omissions in the "Declared Accounts", and among them is a listing of the performance (of *Old Fortunatus*) by the Lord Admiral's men in December 1599, although the Quarto implies this happened. The Quarto of *Love's Labour's Lost* of 1598 states "As it was presented before her Highnes this last Christmas". But Shakespeare's company, the Lord Chamberlain's men, did not perform at court in December 1597, if we are to believe the "Declared Accounts". However, the Lord Chamberlain's men did perform at court on 26th December 1597 (E.K. Chambers *The Elizabethan Stage IV*. p.111).

References

1. Although not a freemason, I have received invaluable assistance in my inquiries from John Hamill and his staff at United Grand Lodge Library. R.F. Gould *A Concise History of Freemasonry* (1903) p.60.
2. I am grateful to Mr Jack Shackleford for this information.
3. *Monsieur de Thou's History of His Own Time...* (1730) ed. B. Wilson vol. II p. cxxix. Roger Nyle Parisious would

- wish me to point out that he encountered the de Thou reference in Abel Lefranc, the great French literary scholar.
4. A.L.Rowse ed. *The Case Book of Simon Forman* (Picador ed.) p. 53. T. Nashe *The Terrors of the Night...* in *The Unfortunate Traveller and other Works* ed. J.B. Steane p.230. S. Harsnett *A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures...* (1603) p. 258 ff.
 5. G. Anstruther *Vaux of Harrowden. A Recusant Family* pp. 163-4, 440-2.
 6. G. Ungerer *A Spaniard in Elizabeth's England: the Correspondence of Antonio Pérez's Exile* vol. II p. 409.
 7. James Anderson *The New Book of Constitutions* (1738) p. 105.
 8. J. Hamill *The Craft* pp. 30-1. This is the best short introduction to the history of freemasonry - with a strongly sceptical approach to sources.
 9. On the controversy a very good introduction is to be found in Charles Nicholl *A Cup of News*, from which I plagiarize unashamedly.
 10. J. Hamill *op. cit.* p.70. "Deacons are first heard of in Ireland in the early 1730's" writes Hamill. It would seem, on our new evidence, that they had been exported to Ireland from England, then re-exported back from Ireland to England.
 11. *The Unfortunate Trav.* ed. Steane p. 274.
 12. Quoted in Nicholl *op. cit.* p. 74.
 13. *Ibid.* p. 175. 14. *Ibid.* p. 80.
 15. *Ibid.* p. 54. E.G. Harman *Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Nashe* p. 154. In *Pierces Supererogation* Harvey made explicit that he knew Lyly was Papp-hatchet: "Surely Euphuus was someway a pretty fellow: would God Lilly alwaies been Euphuus and never Paphatchet."
 16. R. Harvey *A Theological Discourse of the Lamb of God and his Enemies* p. 117.
 17. See *Oxford English Dictionary; Rolls of Parliament* vol. IV p. 292.
 18. R. Warwick Bond *Complete Works of John Lyly* vol. I. pp. 28-9.
 19. *Cardanus Comferte* was a work by Jerome Cardan. The Oxford poem is most conveniently to be found in *Shakespeare Identified* 3rd ed. vol. I p. 572 by J. Thomas Looney ed. Ruth Lloyd Miller. The failure of the Oxfordians to have made anything of such a major allusion printed in their current "Bible" says something, I suppose, about the quality of Oxfordian research.
 20. *Works of Gabel Harvey* vol. II p. 133 ed. A.B. Grosart.
 21. R.B. McKerrow ed. *Works of Thomas Nashe* (1966) vol. III p. 45.
 22. *Ibid.* p. 46. 23. *Works* vol. II p. 133.
 24. Quoted in E.G. Harman *op.cit.* p. 148.
 25. *Works of Gabriel Harvey* vol. II p. 293.
 26. D. Knoop, G.P. Jones & D. Hamer *The Early Masonic Catechisms* (1943) pp.99, 74. Hugh Platt, *The Jewell House of Art and Nature* (1594), p. 43-4, writes: "How to speake by signes only without the uttering of any word... the rest of the letters which be consonants, may be understood by touching of several parts of your body, of several gestures, countenances, or actions." Platt knew Alexander Dicson, who taught the Art of Memory, well. Dicson had been a friend of Bruno's. *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia* ed. G.C. Moore Smith pp.214-5.
 27. Henry Howard *A defensative against the poyson of supposed Prophetes* (1620 ed.) p. 112. This very fine, revised edition was probably brought out to counter-attack the wave of Rosicrucian prognostication.
 28. V.F. Stern *Gabriel Harvey* pp. 72-3.
 29. *Works of Gabriel Harvey* vol. II p. 77.
 30. Quoted in T. Dekker *A Knights Conjuring* (1607) ed. L.M. Robbins p. 30. Even the barest mention of works published by the feudists brought on the wrath of the censors, as Dekker discovered.
 31. *Marquess of Salisbury MSS* vol. XI Feb. 27, 1600-1.
 32. S. Schoenbaum *William Shakespeare* pp. 16-17 & 75. E.I. Fripp *Shakespeare: Man and Artist* i. pp. 79-80.
 33. A Valuable account of glove customs is given in John Brand *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* (Bohn ed.) vol. II pp. 125-7. R. Chambers *The Book of Days* vol. i. p. 31 has interesting tales also. On gloves and freemasonry see Harry Carr "Two Pairs of White Gloves" in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* vol. LXXV (1962).
 34. *Marquess of Salisbury MSS* vol. I p. 512. *Marquess of Downshire MSS* vol. II J. Beaulieu letter of Nov. 12 1609. D. Poulton *John Dowland* p. 409. *Cal. of State Pap. (Dom.) 1547-80* p. 221.
 - 35 J. Hamill *op. cit.* p. 35.
 36. *His. MSS Com. 5th Report Appendix* pp. 450-1. "Cirotecis" would be correctly written today "chirothecis".
 37. Weckherlin Diary among the Trumbull Papers recently acquired by the British Library (no classification no. at time of writing).
 38. Harry Carr article *op. cit.* p. 117.
 39. It should be mentioned that in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (I.i.) Slender swears to Falstaff "by these gloves"

that Pistol had picked his purse. E.A.J. Honigmann *Shakespeare: the "lost years"* pp. 64-5.

40. On the "School of Night" see Frances A. Yates *A Study of 'Love's Labour's Lost'* (1936). The British Library has recently acquired an extraordinary manuscript in an unknown hand which contains notes on the thought of Thomas Harriot, the leading mathematician and alleged "atheist" in the Raleigh circle, as well as 63 lines from *Henry IV Part I* by Shakespeare, Brit. Lib. Add. Ms. 64,078. On these performance dates see Appendix.

41. J. Anderson *New Book of Constitutions* pp. 63-4.

42. Dr Aston's benchmark paper is due for publication in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* in November 1991.

43. Shakespeare's friend, the printer Richard Field, entered *The History of Fortunatus* on the Stationers' Register on 22nd June 1615. Churchyard contributed "addresses" to *Cardanus Comforte* (1573). In 1591 he hired lodgings for the Earl of Oxford, giving his own bond for payment. But the penniless Oxford decamped, leaving the luckless Churchyard having to seek sanctuary to avoid jailing for debt. That a man with Oxford's moral sense could have written the Shakespeare plays strikes me as a dubious proposition. *Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* vol. I ed. Fredson Bowers p. 107. Cyrus Hoy *Introduction...* in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* vol. I p. 71.

44. Caroline Bingham *James VI of Scotland* pp. 130-2. Athelstan, however, did defeat the Scots in battle.

45. J. Anderson *op. cit.* p. 81.

46. *Ibid.* pp. 98-9.

47. John Nichols *The Progresses of King James the First* vol. I pp. 470-1. "Bager" was almost certainly Sit Thomas Badger. He and Sir Thomas Germain appeared regularly in court masques over the years.

48. C. Nicholl *op. cit.* pp. 223,240.

49. F.A. Yates *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* p. 3. *The Tempest* ed. Frank Kermode pp. xxi-xxii.

50. J. Anderson *op. cit.* pp. 80-1. Anderson's list of Grand Masters also has: "Francis Russel, Earl of Bedford in the North; Sir Thomas Gresham in the South 1570"; after Charles Howard, Lord Effingham, George Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, was G.M. till the death of Queen Elizabeth. Inigo Jones became G.M. in 1607. Or at least, so Anderson claims.

51. D. Knoop and G.P. Jones *The Genesis of Freemasonry* p. 76.

52. Frances Yates' *John Florio* is excellent. On Gwinne, see *Dictionary of National Biography*. Gwinne's brother was apothecary to Charles Howard, Lord Effingham, a Grand Master, says Anderson. Gwinne was medical fellow at St. John's College, Oxford, when Robert Fludd studied there. Gwinne was made M.D. at Oxford in July 1593 on the recommendation of Sackville.

53. *Private Diary of Dr. John Dee* ed. J.O. Halliwell (1842).

Ron Heisler - Robert Fludd: A Picture in Need of Expansion

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Robert Fludd: A Picture in Need of Expansion

Ron Heisler ©

William H. Huffman's *Robert Fludd and the End of the Renaissance* largely replaces J.B. Craven's erratic, and sometimes unreliable biography, which has dominated the field since 1902. However, Huffman's book has an anti-climactic feel to it, if only for the fact that it does not seem to mark much advance on the excellent article the author published in *Ambix* a decade ago. **1** This reader's insatiable desire to know as much as possible about the fascinating Elizabethan polymath is, I admit, quite unreasonable. But since it will probably be a very long time before we see a fresh biography of Fludd emerge, perhaps I can be excused for indicating some of Huffman's omissions.

There are key identities that Huffman has not clarified. The most significant of these is that of 'Jean Balthasar Ursin Bayerius'. Quite inexplicably, Huffman indexes a 'Jean Balthasar', whilst inconsistently not indexing 'Ursin Bayerius'. Fludd quotes this individual in *Declaratio Brevis*, which was prepared at the request of James I, as commending his work. The letter is dated February 3rd 1618 and was sent from Vienna, the author (who is better known in Germany as Johann Bayer) signing himself off as "Your most obliged friend and servant". Huffman has missed the very important letters, one signed 'Janus Balthasar Ursinum Bayerius', Bayer sent to William Camden, the doyen of the Society of Antiquaries and encourager of Fludd's friends, John Selden and Sir Robert Cotton. Bayer's letter to Camden, dated January 1618 and emanating from Vienna, discusses the Bohemian political scene and refers to the London based apothecaries, Paul de Lobell and Wolfgang Rumbler, the latter being the King's own servant. He mentions Fludd, and Thomas Davies of the College of Physicians, in discussing the planned *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis*, which the King was to allude to in his 1618 proclamation of the Apothecaries' Charter. **2** There are two letters by Bayer addressed from London, one dated September 1615, the other December 1616. **3** In an undated letter, which seems to belong to early 1618, Bayer makes several references to Fludd and his 'Microcosmo'. **4**

That Bayerus was the same man as Bayer can be gauged from the fact that Fludd mentioned his friend was "a certain Doctor of Law" and Bayer is known to have been a professional lawyer in Augsburg. The only town Fludd is known to have visited for certain in Germany happens to have been Augsburg. **5** Bayer, I suspect, carried Fludd's early manuscripts to their Continental publishers. Bayer (1572-1625), who had spent time in Hungary, produced a landmark in the history of astronomical chart-making in the great *Uranometria* of 1603, which clarified the mapping of the stars. The British Library has another book in which Bayer was involved, of the greatest rarity: a small but epoch making logarithmic tract by John Napier of Merchiston, which was published at Strasbourg in German translation in 1618, the year after Napier's death. The frontispiece tells the work was brought to completion by 'Frantz Keszlern' under the 'inspiration' [encouragement] of Bayer. **6**

The prospect of a Fludd link with Napier is alluring. Of course, Dr John Craig, Napier's personal friend, was a fellow colleague of Fludd's in the London College of Physicians to begin with. Then there are the conferences Napier had in 1607 and 1608 with the alchemist Dr Daniel Mueller in Edinburgh. His son Robert referred to him as 'D.D. Mollierus'. **7** Gregor Horst, a notable physician in attendance on the Landgrave of Hessen-Darmstadt, was a Fludd enthusiast, whose commendatory letter Fludd quoted to James I. Now it happens that in 1607, at Wittenberg, was published a medical disputation under the presidency of Horst; it included a certain 'Mollerus Lub-Saxo' responding on 'De venae Sectione'. In the 1609 reprint of the disputation, this person became 'Daniel Mollero Lubecensis'. **8** The chances of Fludd having known Napier, who visited London, are quite high. Interestingly enough, Shakespeare's son-in-law, Dr John Hall, whose patients included Michael Drayton the poet, recorded Horst's vessicatory remedy for an eye condition in his manuscript notes. Another of Hall's patients was John Thornborough, Bishop of Worcester, Fludd's particular friend. **9**

Who actually wrote *Summum Bonum*, allegedly from the pen of 'Joachimus Frizius', which was published at Frankfurt in 1629, and which many have assumed to be by Fludd himself? As Huffman points out, Fludd stated on page 26 of *Clavis Philosophiae & Alchymiae* (1633) that he had translated part of the Frizius book from the Scottish into the Latin and made some minor additions of his own. Fludd actually says it was by a Scot. But Huffman does not pursue the point apparently unaware of the existence of a letter written by Henry Oldenburg, secretary of the Royal Society, to Georg Franck von Franckenau on the 9th August 1677: "As for your question about the Maxwell manuscript, I wish you to know that by our more sound philosophies there are judged to be things of greater worth than those are, which were produced by him and by Fludd". **10** Thus we learn the allegation of written collaboration between Maxwell and Fludd. Franck von Franckenau published William Maxwell's *De medicina magnetica libra III* at Frankfurt in 1679. Huffman makes no mention of this book, in which Maxwell is described as 'Scoto-Britano' and as the friend of Robert Fludd. The manuscript had come to the editor through the agency of Stephanus Polier, 'Dominus de Botans'. In the preface, apparently composed by Maxwell, there is a reference to Sir Edmund Stafford, of Mount Stafford in Ireland. Elias Ashmole knew Fludd's nephew, Dr Levin Fludd, quite well, and records that he met Levin with Sir Edmund Stafford on one occasion. The book is regarded today as a forerunner of the theories of Dr Mesmer. The British Library has some medical recipes provided to a Dr 'Maxwell' by the apothecary Joseph Hall in 1652. **11**

Huffman is totally foxed by the commendatory letter Fludd quotes from 'Justus Helt', who reported on the reaction of the Jesuits at the Frankfurt book fair to Fludd's *Macrocosmus*. It is a pity, by the way, that Huffman has not picked up the fact that *Utriusque Cosmi Maioris...* (1617-23) was placed on the Papal Index. **12** I have encountered only two references to Helt. The Wellcome Medical Library owns the *liber amicorum* of Johann Elichmann. There are two entries for Frankfurt for the 7th April 1626, one being Helt's. His companion (assuming they signed in the same room at the same time) was the scandalous Weigelian Rosicrucian 'Henricus Philippus Homag[i]us, alias

Morius (Gottlieb)', who had created furore at Geissen university three years earlier. **13** The album amicorum of Christopher Conrad Nithardi of Augsburg has some resonance in our context. Homagius signed it in 1591. Daniel Moegling, the author of the Rosicrucian classic, *Speculum sophericum Rhodo-Stauroticum*, for which he used the pseudonym of Theophilus Schweighardt (of which three illuminated manuscript copies exist in Britain), signed the album in 1593. In 1609, presumably during a London visit, Paul de Lobell the apothecary signed it; on the reverse of the leaf with Lobell's inscription is the signature of the apothecary Wolfgang Rumbler. **14** Thus Nithardi's circle took in two prominent Rosicrucians and perhaps the two most esteemed apothecaries in London in the reign of James I. The other Helt reference is to be found in the diary of the distinguished German poet, Georg Rudolf Weckherlin, who had dealings with Fludd in the 1630's. On the 14th December 1636 Weckherlin wrote to "Mons. Helt, at Hamburg". **15**

Jacobus Aretius will mean little even to the most thorough reader of Fludd's works, or even to Jacobean literary specialists, so Huffman is to be pardoned for not mentioning him. However, *Sophiae cum Moria Certamen* (1629) has verses supportative of Fludd, which savagely attack his critic Mersenne. One is signed 'Jacobus Aretius, Oxoniensis', the other 'I.M. Cantabrigiensis'. Aretius was the pen-name of James Martin, who styled himself 'Germano-Britannus', and I suspect that 'I.M.' was Aretius's *alter ego*, since he was a member of both English Universities. An intimate friend of Dr Prideaux, the head of the Calvinist Exeter College, Oxford, Aretius had dealings with Isaac Casaubon, and there is a letter to William Camden with a note to indicate that it was written in 'Mr Selden's Study'. **16** His other friends included Sir Kenelm Digby, the Roman Catholic Rosicrucian, and Patrick Junius (Young). After Fludd's death, he started up a correspondence with Mersenne. **17** In the British Library, one of the most important verse compilations of the 1620s-1630s has the inscription on the cover 'J.A. Christ Church'. In view of the fact that Aretius matriculated from Christ Church, Oxford, in 1604, and the political attitudes in the poetry - which are plentifully expressed - are so consistent with his known beliefs, I don't doubt for one moment that he was the volume's owner at some stage. The name of 'Robert Killigrew' is written on the book, **18** and Aretius probably inherited it from Sir Robert Killigrew, who died in 1633 and whose name is attached to a 1613 letter mentioning Michael Maier (Mayerus). Aretius presented a book he published in 1613 to Robert Burton, whom I believe was of the Rosicrucian enthusiasm, and he appears to have been married to the niece of the poet Michael Drayton. **19**

Fludd, in his defence to James I, invoked the names of 'my worthy freinds Mr Dr Andrew and ... Mr Seldein', claiming that 'Andrews' had read his macrocosmical history four or five years before news of the Rosicrucian Fraternity had pierced his ears. Huffman, in considering the identity of 'Dr Andrews', has uncritically assumed it was Richard Andrews the physician. The evidence points strongly to it being the distinguished theologian and translator of the Bible, Dr Lancelot Andrewes, successively Bishop of Chichester, Ely and Winchester, a man highly esteemed by the King. Michael Maier presented the Bishop with a copy of *Arcana arcanissima*, with a unique printed dedication leaf, which implies that Andrewes was his financial patron. **20** Francis Bacon mentions that Andrewes engaged in chemical 'experiments'. Andrewes was a close friend, and ardent protector, of Fludd's intimate, John Selden, and was wont to discuss his Bible translations with Selden. **21** Intriguingly, Andrewes paid for the expenses of William Bedwell whilst he lodged in Leiden in 1612 at the house of the Familist printer-publisher, Thomas Basson - the Basson house published Fludd's *Apologia* (1616) and *Tractatus* (1617). **22** Selden lent books to Bedwell. Thomas Basson's son, Frederick, incidentally, was described as a 'Doctor of Medicine in London' in 1617. **23** In his will, Andrewes named William Backhouse, Elias Ashmole's alchemical 'father', as one of the beneficiaries at Pembroke College, Cambridge.

An important source of information on Fludd's latter years overlooked by Huffman is the diary of Georg Rudolf Weckherlin, an under-secretary of state at Whitehall concerned with foreign correspondence. **24** His dealings with Lewis Ziegler, the agent of Lord Craven, principal financial backer of the Queen of Bohemia, are noteworthy. On the 1st December 1636 the under-secretary drew the Rosicrucian sign above Ziegler's name. In February 1634 he had written, 'To Mr Ziegler sending him gloves'. This last gesture seems undecipherable until we realise that Robert Plot, in a work published in 1686, said it was the freemasons' custom that a new initiate sent gloves to all the members of a lodge. **25** We are probably detecting here indications of Weckherlin's initiation into a Rosicrucian society; he certainly permitted books intended for Sir Kenelm Digby, the well-known Rosicrucian, to be left at his home.

I have come across three references to Fludd. On the 27th January 1636 Weckherlin noted down, "I wrote an answer to Mr Cliff, to accept of Mr Fludds house for 3 years - paying present money 50 St. or else the most 20 St. p. ann." On the 12th October 1636 he noted, "I did write a letter to Mr Cliff, giving him notice that I had bargained with Mr Flud (as I did the day before in the presence of his brother Mr. Hamlet), to give him near 20 St. p. an. for his house..." On the 27th May 1637 Weckherlin commented, "I received a letter from Mr Fludd with the enclosed from one Barthol: Nigrinus from Danzig, with commendation from Martin Opitius". Opitius is better known as Martin

Opitz, the best German poet of the age, who lodged with Bartholomaeus Nigrinus (1595-1646), pastor of the St Peter and Paul Church in Danzig. The pastor had worked with Comenius in Elbing on the Czech's 'pansophie'; on occasion he acted as a diplomatic agent for King Wladislaus IV of Poland. **26**

At the end of *Summum Bonum* a letter is appended written by a member of the order of the Rosy Cross. This must have been Fludd's addition. There is an explanatory note to the effect that the letter had been "written and sent by ye Brethren of R.C. to a certain Germaine, a copy whereof Dr. Flud obtained of a Polander of Dantziche, his friend". Almost certainly this is a reference to Nigrinus. A little more ought to be said about Opitz, who in 1627 had been enrolled as a member of the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft (fruit bearing Society) at Koethen. When Opitz died in 1639, Nigrinus with two collaborators, including the Socinian Martin Ruar, who had visited England over twenty years before, edited Opitz poetry in an edition published by Andreas Huenefeld. Huenefeld had published the Danzig editions of the Rosicrucian manifestos. Opitz's chief patron and employer in the 1620's had been the great nobleman Karl Hannibal von Dohna. Dohna had signed the album amicorum of Selden's friend, William Bedwell, on the 18th August 1606. A relative, Burgrave Achaz Dohna, the Bohemian envoy, signed the album amicorum of the Rosicrucian enthusiast Joachim Morsius whilst in London on the 25th January 1620.

Fludd's Baltic links must have extended beyond the Nigrinus circle. At Rostock, Joachim Jungius founded the most distinguished German scientific society, the Gelehrte Gesellschaft, in 1622. Jungius, who associated with J.V. Andreae, and who was rumoured decades later to have had a hand in the Rosicrucian manifestos, has left us extensive papers discussing Fludd's theories. Among the membership lists of his society is to be found the name 'Joh. Seldener' - surely none other than Fludd's intimate, John Selden. **27**

Weckherlin's father-in-law was William Trumbull, who served in the English embassy at Brussels from c. 1605 to 1625, where he rose to become envoy. A friendship between him and Moritz of Hessen-Kassel seems to have existed by January 1610. A further friend of his was Thomas Floyde, the secretary to the English ambassador at Paris 1611-13. On December 15th 1609, Floyde wrote to Trumbull that "Dr. Lloyd, my brother Jeffreys and my cousin Yonge have often remembered you". And on February 23rd 1609-10 Floyde wrote "My good friend and yours, my brother Jeffreys, Doctor Floud, my cousin Floud, my cousin Yonge and myself... kiss your hands". **28** A music lover, Trumbull's music manuscripts included 'The George Aloe' theme by John Dowland, taken from what I argue elsewhere to be the Rosicrucian play by Shakespeare and John Fletcher, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. **29**

One of Huffman's most interesting oversights relates to the duel on the 21st April 1610 in which James Egerton, son of the Lord Keeper Egerton, was killed by Edward Morgan. A demand for a trial for murder arose. Fludd was interrogated on the 26th April by Henry Spyller. His servant, John Nicholas, was also examined. This scandal may have been the origin of the malicious jibe at Fludd being an 'armigerous' physician, i.e. one entitled to bear arms. **30** It is a pity that Huffman does not recount the story of how Fludd took the penniless orphan Robert Wright into his household, where he learned some philosophy and pharmacy. Wright was responsible for the tale that when sick Fludd relied on the advice of the Galenist Dr Goulston. **31** Huffman, whilst detailing Fludd's success with the steel patent, misses the complaint of the widow of John Rocher, "the inventor of transmuting iron into steel", on May 23rd 1625. She claimed he had died of grief, being defrauded of the third part of the benefit of his patent by Fludd and Caleb Rawlins. **32**

Huffman speculates at length on the likelihood that Fludd had recourse to the library of his friend, Sir Robert Cotton. An inspection of Harleian Ms 6018 f.180 in the British Library would have confirmed the fact. There we learn that Fludd had borrowed a 'History of Asia and Tartary' as well as 'A book on Arabian Astronomy'. Rather more irritating an omission on Huffman's part is his failure to make any reference to 'A Breife Treatise or hipothesis of one Booke called Speculum Universi or Universall Mirror', and eighteen page manuscript, long owned by the Wellcome Medical Library. Whether or not it was composed by Fludd is worth serious consideration. Ending with, "And thus committing the rest to the industrie of the speculator, I abruptly concluded this analiticall abstract, untill the publication of the volume itself...", it has marginal references to what was obviously a much larger manuscript. The tenor of Ms 147 is much in line with Fludd's published writings. Written in a mixture of English, Latin and occasional Greek, there is even a Hebrew quotation. The superabundant biblical references in the margins, including some for the Book of Genesis, have the familiar Fludd stamp to them. The manuscript reveals a sort of ur-text, from which the overall schema of Fludd's macrocosmical and microcosmical works developed. Much is said about 'analogy'. Nothing comparable by other English writers of the period springs to mind. The transcript probably belongs to the 1600's. **33** Another well-known manuscript which Huffman, almost unforgivably, overlooks completely is Sloane Ms 870 in the British Library: twenty seven pages on 'De Instrumentis et Machinis', which are to be found in the *Macrocosmus*. With its numerous diagrams and illustrations, this is almost certainly done in Fludd's own hand.

Huffman glosses over the comment by Anthony à Wood in Athenae Oxonienses regarding the physician necromancer Simon Forman (died 1611), that "the latter used much tautology, as you may see if you'll read a great

book of Dr Robert Flood [in Musaeo Ashmoleano], who had it all from the MSS of Forman". **34** À Wood is not always reliable, but was less credulous than John Aubrey; and this claim is worth pursuing. To start with, it is indisputable that Fludd's sister-in-law, the nymphomaniac Jane Fludd, was a client of Forman. **35** Forman had once been the servant of John Thornborough, Fludd's friend. Dr Richard Napier of Lynford had been an assistant of Forman's, and according to William Lilly acquired the "rarities, secret manuscripts, of what quality soever", left by the scandalous physician. **36** Ms 1380 in the Ashmole collection is a pocket-book of Sir Robert Napier, the nephew of Richard Napier, containing the recipe "Dr Fluds d: of dr.- Pilulae proprietatis Mynsichti - Pil. rosatae Myns". In the same collection, Ms 1492 contains "Exact Notices of 32 Latin alchemical tracts contained in 'Dr Flood's Ms' ". Bound with these are letters of Richard Napier. We can't be sure on what principle these papers were bound together, yet they do imply some sort of association between Fludd and the Napier family. Sir Richard had been bequeathed his uncle's books.

In Ms 1492 there is also a letter from Dr Edmund Deane directed "To his loveing brother Mr Theodorus Gravius, at Mr Rich. Napierus, at Linford". Gravius was Napier's assistant. Deane probably belonged to Fludd's circle we can deduce, if only for the fact that the eight quarto pamphlets of works written by the alchemist Samuel Norton, which he edited were brought out by William Fitzer, Fludd's publisher at Frankfurt on Main. **37** Fitzer published *Tractatus de natura elementorum* (1628), written by the English based Dutch Rosicrucian Cornelius Drebbel. The finest thing in Fitzer's rather small list was the epoch-making work on the circulation of the blood, *De motu cordis* (1628), written by Fludd's close friend, Dr William Harvey. Fitzer turns up in the English State Papers; he evidently was an English intelligence agent. In 1632 the whole edition of Fludd's *Clavis Philosophiae & Alchymiae* was destroyed at Frankfurt by the militia. On July 31st that year Fitzer wrote to Vane pleading, "I pray your Lordship that you will remember me about Heidelberg and that I may have a note, under the secretary's hand, for bookselling and printing books..." The *Clavis Philosophiae...* was reprinted in 1633; Fitzer still had 300 copies in stock in 1639. It is a fascinating possibility that the publication of Fludd's later works were financed by the English government. Towards the end of May 1633 John Dury told Sir Thomas Roe that he had sent a letter by means of Fitzer, which he hoped Roe would show to Samuel Hartlib. Fitzer is notable in one other regard. He published the second impression of the complete theological works - anathema to the Calvinists - of the Remonstrant Arminius. The first edition had been brought out in the greatest secrecy at Leiden by Govaert Basson, Robert Fludd's first publisher. **38**

Huffman deal quite inadequately with the Mss left by Dr Levin Fludd, who died in 1678, although observing that "Since Levin received his uncle's library and was a graduate of Trinity, it is possible that he donated the 'Philosophical Key' Ms to his alma mater". **39** Levin's generosity to his old college can be in no doubt. Two Mss there have his inscription on them: 'Le: Fludd'. **40** Ms 1376 is noteworthy for sustaining the claim that Fludd had access to the Mss of Simon Forman the necromancer, for it binds together an alchemical note-book described as 'Notae Roberti Fludd' and a 'Dream' of Forman's. The college library also owns an astrological Ms of Forman's, some notes and receipts attributed to him, and Ms 1419 *Magica Simonis Forman* is definitely in the magician's own hand. **41**

The remainder of Levin's Mss appear to have ended up in the collection of Elias Ashmole, who is unlikely to have ever met Robert Fludd, Fludd dying when Ashmole was but twenty years of age. In fact, Ashmole's interest in alchemy and the occult seems to have been born in the late 1640's. The Ashmole collection has not only Robert Fludd's 'Truth's Golden Harrow' in his autograph, but also a 13th century Ms with 'Edward Grovely' written on it several times, as well as the inscription 'Robert Fludd 1612'. **42** In the margins of various other Mss Ashmole wrote 'Dr Flood', it rarely being clear whether he was referring to the uncle or the nephew. Ashmole had numerous Simon Forman papers, some of which were probably in the possession of Robert Fludd at one stage.

In a way, the most fascinating relationship that Huffman has missed is that between Fludd and Dr John Everard. There are three letters from Everard to Sir Robert Cotton amid the Cotton papers in the British Library, which none of the several recent writers on this dissident clergyman (often sent to goal by James I) have stumbled upon. Everard, in a letter dated 23rd December 1626, told Cotton that he was sending a messenger to locate 'Mr Harrison' to obtain "that Booke whereof I have so often spoken to you". In a letter dated merely 'Jan 15' Everard announced to Cotton that "though a stranger I shall be troublesome unto you. There is a Manuscript wch is entitled the way to Bliss". It belonged to a Mr Harrison "who was lately a Schoolmaister in Red-croffe street (for as Dr Floud of the Black-friars assureth me, he hath it)". Everard wanted Cotton to use his influence with Harrison to allow Everard to copy the manuscript. The third, undated letter reports that "Doctor Floud assured me yesterday of Mr Harrison's being in town & withal that he told him that he hath the booke...". **43**

The *Way to Bliss*, written by an anonymous English alchemist probably between 1600 and 1620, is a classic that has somehow become annexed to the Rosicrucian tradition through being (a) plundered by the Rosicrucian charlatan John Heydon and (b) being published in an excellent edition by Elias Ashmole in 1658 as a conscious riposte to Heydon's effrontery. Ashmole's preface explained that the marginal notes he printed alongside the text were by

Everard. Ashmole had "obtained those Notes (they being added to a transcript of this Work, and both fairly written with the Doctor's hand) from a very intimate Friend... [Thomas Henshaw, the patron of Thomas Vaughan]...". **44** In his notes, Everard quotes both Michael Maier and Fludd. In fact, Everard's copy of *The Way to Bliss* in the British Library is bound with several of his papers, including his translation of a section of Maier's *Themis Aurea* (1618), which is dated August 8 1623. **45**

Everard's notoriety was accumulative. His cardinal sin under Archbishop Laud's regime was to be perceived as a central focus for the activities of the Family of Love, even if it has not been proved to this day that he was an actual member. He certainly was the most distinguished and learned energiser of this remarkable underground movement, with its mystical and spiritualistic tendency, whose supporters, like the Rosicrucians, were directed to deny their membership. Everard, like Fludd and the Familists, believed the Bible was to be interpreted allegorically and figuratively. **46** Now we should be careful not to read too much into the association of Fludd and Everard. However, we should recall that in *Declaratio Brevis* Fludd felt impelled to repudiate allegations of sexual license. He declared the Rosicrucians were "batchelors of avowed virginity" and was still rebutting allegations of libertinism in *Clavis Philosophiae & Alchymiae* in 1633. **47** One of the popular assumptions about the Familists was that they practised free love. Fludd also felt impelled in *Declaratio Brevis* to affirm his religious orthodoxy. He was no Calvinist, he claimed, but a loyal Anglican. The problem was, members of the Family of Love were known to be enjoined to outwardly maintain membership of the official church whilst secretly attending their Familist conventicles. In 1623 there were allegations of Familist activity among the staff, primarily musicians, of the Chapel Royal. Fludd boasted of his links with the musicians, English and French, at the court. **48** That the Rosicrucians evolved out of the Family of Love has been argued before.

Finally, I find it a trifle disappointing that Huffman does not throw any new light on Craven's well-known but uncorroborated assertion that Michael Maier got on well with Robert Fludd. In fact, Huffman is content to perpetuate the mystification by claiming "Another tie between Landgrave Moritz [of Hessen-Kassel] and Fludd was the physician and fellow mystical philosopher Michael Maier". **49** I am not alone in observing that in their published works neither eminent writer ever directly refers to the other. Bruce T. Moran's researches in the Kassel archives have uncovered a letter by Maier, dated April 17th 1618, addressed to Moritz the Landgrave, which refers to Fludd. Moran's translation reads: "I see that the author [Fludd] is pretty insolent in his censure concerning nations... while tractate 2, part 6, book 3 on the organisation of the army in the field makes German princes... out to be sluggards, negligent and slow men, but portrays the English as magnanimous, brave, but not squeamish etc. Indeed I would like to take the stick to these immature censors and show them who, of what sort and how many are the Germans". **50** I am grateful to Professor Dr. Karin Figala for pointing out in a private communication that Maier's *Verum Inventum* was "a sort of response to the derogatory allegations of Fludd and others about the Holy [Roman] Empire". **52** Fludd's congenital insensitivity, it would seem, had created yet another bitter critic in the shape of Michael Maier, who, like so many, would have liked "to take the stick" to him.

Notes

1. Routledge & Kegan Paul (1988). W.H. Huffman & R.A. Seelinger, Jr "Robert Fludd's 'Declaratio Brevis' to James I" *Ambix* xxv (1978).
2. Bayer has no satisfactory biography. But there is Franz Babinger-Muenden's article in *Archiv fuer die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik* 5 (1915). British Library. Ms Cotton Jul. C.V. f. 153, f. 225.
 3. *Ibid.* f. 154.
 4. *Ibid.* f. 226.
 5. *Mosaical Philosophy* (1659) p. 100.
6. John Napier of Merchistoun *Kuenstliche Rechenstaeblein... Auss anleytung des ... Herrn D. Bayrn durch F. Kesslern zu Werck gericht* (1618).
7. John Small 'Sketches of Later Scottish Alchemists' *Proc. of Soc. of Ant. of Scot.* vol xi (18760 pp. 412-13, 418.
8. *Disputationum Medicarum* (1607) Praeside Gregorio Horstio. *Disputationum Medicarum viginti* (1609). Both are held in the Brit. Lib.
9. H. Joseph *Shakespeare's Son-in-Law: John Hall, Man and Physician* p.62. p.4 Joseph notes a William Harvey prescription. Harvey was Fludd's close friend. John Hall *Select Observations on English Bodies* (1657) p. 243.
 10. *Corr. of Henry Oldenburg* vol. XIII (1676-1681) p. 340.
 11. Elias Ashmole ed. C.H. Josten vol. II pp 89, 490. Brit. Lib. Ms Sloane 3505 fs. 218v-239v.
 12. F.H. Reusch *Der Index der Verbotenen Buecher* I (1883) p. 177. Clement 8, 377.
 13. Wellcome Ms 257.
14. Brit. Lib. Ms Egerton 1212 fs. 100,32,69v,69. Rumbler (f. 69) wrote the libertine sentiment "Women and win[e], as they be amiable,/ even so their poison is delectable". f.79v has the signature of the Scot 'Robty Olyphantus'.
 15. Berkshire Record Office. Trumbull Ms Misc. LXI. Unfoliated.

16. See biog. in *Alumni Cantabrigienses. Athenae Oxonienses* vol II "Fasti Oxonienses" 342 (1611) & 355.
17. *Corr. du P. Marin Mersenne* vol. VIII p. 318, letters pp. 313-20, 355-9, 402-6.
18. Sloane Ms 1792.
19. Brit. Lib. Harleian Ms 7002 f. 281. The letter was actually written by Sir Thomas Overbury. N.K. Kiessling *Library of Robert Burton* p. 10. B.H. Newdigate *Michael Drayton and his Circle* p.9.
20. Huffman p. 25. Copy in Dr William's Library.
21. D.S. Berkowitz *John Selden's Formative Years* p. 28.
22. J.G. Bishop *Lancelot Andrewes Bishop of Chichester 1605-1609* . p. 21. See A. Hamilton *William Bedwell the Arabist 1563-1632* . Jan van Dorsten 'Thomas Basson (1555-1613), English printer at Leiden', *Quaerendo* vol. xv/3 (1985).
23. A. Hamilton *William Bedwell* p. 52. J. van Dorsten *ibid.* p. 219.
24. Berk. Rec. Off. Trumbull Ms Misc. LXI.
25. Robert Plot *Natural History of Staffordshire*.
26. B. Ulmer *Martin Opitz* (1971) pp. 34-5. Various references to Nigrinus are made in M. Blekastad *Comenius*, including pp. 239,350,357-8.
27. A. Hamilton *op.cit.* p. 22. Ludwig Keller *Comenius und die Akadamien der Naturphilosophen de 17. Jahrhunderts* (1895) p. 60. Christopher Meinel ed. *Der Handschriftliche Nachlass von Joachim Jungius* (1984) p. 125.
28. *Marquess of Downshire Papers II* pp. 201,249.
29. R. Heisler 'Shakespeare and the Rosicrucians' *The Hermetic Journal* (Autumn 1986).
30. Public Record Office S.P. 46/75 fs. 18,20-1,78d. Huffman p. 4. Parson Foster's attack on Fludd included the sarcasm that Fludd "...being a weapon-bearing Doctor, may well teach the weapon-curing medicine".
31. Brit. Lib. Sloane Ms 2149 Baldwin Hamey the Younger 'Bustorum aliquot Reliquae'. Also J.J.Keevil *The Stranger's Son* p. 53.
32. His. Mss Com. *XII Report App. I.* p. 197. Also Brit. Lib. Add. Ms 64, 883 f.60.
33. Wellcome Ms 147. The British Library has other Fludd extracts among its Mss: i.e. Sloane 2283 f. 28, Sloane 3645 f. 169, and the letter to Paddy in Sloane 32. Almost certainly, none of these are in Fludd's own hand.
34. Huffman comments p. 169 "Fludd never mentioned either of them [John Dee and Simon Forman] in his own writings... but this did not prevent him from being associated with them by others in a negative way..." À Wood's statement in *Athenae Oxonienses* ii p. 100 is taken from William Lilly's *History of His Life and Times*.
35. A.L. Rowse *The Case Books of Simon Forman* (Picador) pp. 29-30,251-2.
36. Lilly *Life and Times* p. 44.
37. Bod. Lib. Ashmole Ms 1380 fs. 84b-85. Ashmole Ms 1492 VI 19a-22b. On Fitzer see E. Weil "William Fitzer, the publisher of Harvey's *De motu cordis*, 1628 "Trans. of Bibl. Soc. 4th ser. xxiv (1944).
38. Pub.Rec.Off. S.P. 81/38/f. 344. Cal. of State Papers. (Dom.) 1633-34 p. 68. Papers given by Theo Boegels: "Govert Basson, English Printer at Leiden".
39. Huffman p. 228.
40. Trinity College Lib. Mss 1160 and 1287.
41. Trinity College Lib. Ms 1117, Ms 1163 and Ms 1419.
42. Asmole Ms 1462.
43. Brit. Lib. Cotton Ms Julius C III f. 172, f. 171, f. 173.
44. Quoted in R.M. Schuler 'Some spiritual alchemies of seventeenth-century England' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 41 (1980) p. 311.
45. Brit. Lib. Sloane Ms 2175 fs. 1-51,145-7. There is also a translation of Michael Sendivogius *Novum Lumen Chemicum* (1604).
46. There is a good chapter on Everard in Nigel Smith *Perfection Proclaimed* (1989). The best survey is Alastair Hamilton *The Family of Love* (1981).
47. *Clavis Philosophiae & Alchymiae* pp. 22,59.
48. Edmund Jessop *A Discovery of the Errours of the English Anabaptists* pp. 90-1. P.J. Amman 'The Musical Theory and Philosophy of Robert Fludd' *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Inst.* (1967) pp. 218-9.
49. Huffman p.31.
50. Letter from Bruce T. Moran of 13.8.1986.
51. Letter from Professor Karin Figala of 23.1.1987.

Ron Heisler - Michael Maier and England

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Michael Maier and England

Ron Heisler ©

Michael Maier's sojourns in England appear to have been more eventful than his biographer, J.B. Craven, ever imagined. But first, some background description. Craven says that Maier stayed at Amsterdam, a natural departure point for England, in 1611. He certainly inspected the natural history collection of Petrus Carpenterius, the Rector of a Rotterdam school, in that year. Carpenterius was Rector at the Walloon school in Norwich in 1598. At Christmas 1611 Maier sent greetings cards to both James I and Henry, Prince of Wales - that to James taking the form of an eight petal rose with a cross. **1** We can't say whether Maier actually conveyed these across the Channel himself. Maier's friend, the great Marburg chemist, Johann Hartmann, wrote to Borbonius on the 1st (11th) July 1612 that Maier had gone to London with a "Carmen gratulatorium" for the Elector Palatine and his bride to be, the Princess Elizabeth. **2** On the 6th November that year Maier appears to have been included among the Elector Palatine's "gentlemen", who attended the funeral of Prince Henry in London. **3** On the 28th May 1613 *Arcana arcanissima* was registered with the Stationers' Company, having been approved by the censors. Presumably Thomas Creede, who brought out some first editions of Shakespeare, published the book within a few months. **4** Maier presented copies to Sir William Paddy, head of the London College of Physicians; Lancelot Andrewes, the Bishop of Ely; Lord Dingwall, a good looking favourite of King James with an interest in alchemy; and Sir Thomas Smith. A further copy went to Dr Francis Anthony, the inventor of a fraudulent *aurum potabile* that was extremely fashionable; a particularly good friend of Maier's, to whom *Lusus Serius* was dedicated. **5** Anthony's *Panacea Aurea* ... (1618) contains a letter from Alexander Gill (this must have been the elder Gill) to Maier lauding Anthony's medicine. **6** Gill was high master of St. Paul's school; his pupils included John Milton from 1620 to 1625. **7** Gill appears to have fallen under Maier's spell and then reacted hostilely. He comments in *The Sacred Philosophie of the Holy Scriptures* (1635, p. 66), "I had beene more than once gul'd with such titles, *Arcana arcanorum arcanissima arcana*, and the like, wherein these writers sweat more, than for any thing in the booke beside: yet being interpreted, a pious and very profound meditation of the deepe mysteries of the Apostles Creed, I supposed that such bumbast would never be quilted into a treatise upon the grounds of our Religion..." The British Library owns two versions of *Arcana arcanissima*. One has the common fine engraved frontispiece; the other has a cruder frontispiece dated, absurdly, "CXIII". This copy's owner was "Johannis Morris". **8** Cornelius Drebbel, the Rosicrucian inventor, most probably met Maier either in the Netherlands or in England. His *Tractatus duo* (two distinct editions in 1621) is enlivened by a page of Maier's commending the Rosicrucian enthusiast Joachim Morsius.

In Maier's associations there is a pattern of an unexpected dimension. Sir Thomas Smith was Treasurer of the Virginia Company, which was engaged in developing the colony of Virginia. Francis Anthony was appointed to a committee of the Company in 1619. **9** George Sandys, who became Company treasurer in 1621, in his 1632 *Commentary* on his own translation of Ovid's *Metamorphosis* remarked, apropos alchemical interpretations of the legend of Jason and the golden fleece, "But he who would know too much of this, let him read Mayerus; who that way allegorizeth most of the fables." **10** Finally, John Selden, the Company's legal adviser, owned two works by Maier. **11** *Atalanta Fugiens* (1617) may have been deeply inspired by the utopian vision of America. Elias Ashmole, in describing how Maier came "to live in England; purposely that he might so understand our English Tongue, as to Translate Norton's *Ordinall* into Latin verse...", ventured the cryptic remark that "Yet (to our shame be it spoken) his Entertainment was too coarse for so deserving a Scholler." **12** The reader is left floundering in the air. What did Ashmole actually mean by this? The answer, I would suggest, is to be found in the correspondence of Sir Thomas Overbury.

The Overbury affair is the greatest murder scandal of the seventeenth century. Overbury, a talented literary man who specialised in creating enemies, was a close friend of the royal favourite Sir Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester -

maintaining an extraordinary dominance for a time over this mediocrity. Overbury had schemed himself into becoming a crucial player in the plottings of the parliamentary radicals, the so-called "Patriots". By getting Rochester to exert his charms over the King, they hoped that their man, Sir Henry Neville of Billingbear, Kent, would eventually be appointed to the key office of Secretary of State.

Frances Howard, Countess of Essex, had set her cap at Rochester - and Overbury, for a while, acted as their intermediary. But soon he developed a passionate loathing for the "base" woman and the idea of her marrying Rochester, which he made abundantly and naggingly clear to the infatuated Viscount. With the King's enthusiastic compliance, her marriage to the Earl of Essex was finally annulled, on the unconvincing ground of his claimed impotency. In the meantime, to rid Rochester of his embarrassing companion, it was proposed that Overbury be sent off abroad as an ambassador. Overbury refused the offer, provoked the King's wrath - and was sent to the Tower. Rochester dissimulated somewhat: Overbury long after believed their friendship still held. Perhaps apprehensive that Overbury could still strike back at them from a distance, Rochester and his lover arranged to have various officials at the Tower replaced by their friends. A correspondence was maintained between Overbury and Rochester, the letters being hidden in tarts and jellies. Alas, with the connivance of Sir Robert Cotton most of these were later destroyed.

James I arranged for his own personal physician, Sir Theodor Turquet de Mayerne, to attend Overbury. The apothecary officially appointed was de Mayerne's brother-in-law, Paul de Lobell. However, unofficial aid reached Overbury. His health had begun to decline, and desperate to emerge from the Tower, he thought up the stratagem of simulating extreme sickness in order to impress the official doctors and gain the King's sympathy. Sir Robert Killigrew, an amateur alchemist, prepared potions for him and other potions reached him through the agency of Mrs Anne Turner, a black magician and associate of Simon Forman, and discreditable characters such as Richard Weston and the apothecary James Franklin. He even obtained some *aurum potabile* from Maier's friend, Dr Francis Anthony, as an antidote to poison. **13** Overbury died on the 14th September 1613. Few wept for him. Any suspicions about the manner of his death were suppressed for almost two years. But at the start of September 1615 the King was persuaded to order an official investigation into the affair.

Sir Gervase Elwes, the lieutenant of the Tower, Mrs Anne Turner, Weston the gaoler, and Franklin were executed for their parts in the poisoning. Rochester and Frances Howard were tried and found guilty. But with that exquisite sense of justice prevailing under Jacobean despotism they were eventually pardoned. A large number of manuscript reports of the case have survived, as well as many minutes of the three hundred examinations. Remarkably, although the King ordered that de Mayerne be examined by Sir Edward Coke, no record of his examination is known. Nor was he even called to give evidence at any of the public trials. Modern historians of the affair have voiced the suspicion that something was being concealed. Strangely, not one of them has realised the fact that besides de Mayerne, who signed himself "Mayerus", another physician was present in London in 1613 (assuming he was around when Creede entered *Arcana arcanissima* with the Stationers in May that year), who signed himself "Mayerus" - i.e. Michael Maier. **14**

A careful examination of letters owned by the British Library, written by Overbury and bound in manuscript volume Sloane 7002, reveals several references to "Mayerus" by Overbury. Written in a clear hand, there can be no mistake in this respect. If fs. 281-2, Overbury, using the false name "Robert Killigrew", writes "I have now sent to the lieutenant to desire you Mayerus being absent to send young Crag hither, and Nessmith, if Nessmith be away, send I pray Crag and Alllen." The following item (f. 282) indicates a scheme of Overbury's for his letters to be got out of the Tower "under unknown names by May: [f]or the Apotecary, now he is sicke is a fitte time to urge a commiseration of my sickness [with the King]." In f. 286 Overbury explains that "whiles I was abroad [I] was never well however as Mayerus knows, which made me returne so soone..." Overbury was absent from England by October 1608 and did not return till August 1609. He traveled in the Netherlands and France. he certainly stayed at Paris and Antwerp. **15** In f. 286b Overbury claims that "for my sickness of Consumption and Flatus Hypochondriacus, Mayerus may be cald upon his oath if they doubt your presence..." In f. 287 Overbury complains of a "loathing of meat and my water is strangely high, which I keep till Mayerus com." One concludes Overbury had not only the services of Sir Theodor Turquet de Mayerne but also of Michael Maier. The apothecary de Lobell alleged whilst under examination that Rochester "willed him to Dr Maiot concerning physic to be given to Overbury". **16** Is "Maiot" a misspelling of "Maier"?

James Franklin, after he was condemned, began to make curious allegations of wider plots, particularly about the premature death of young Henry, Prince of Wales, in November 1612. A paper of the Attorney-general, Sir Francis Bacon's, relates that "Mrs Turner did at Whitehall shew to Franklin the man, who, as she said, poisoned the prince, which, he says, was a physician with a red beard". **17** Sir Theodor Turquet de Mayerne had tended the prince during his sickness. Mayerne has left five portraits. In none of these is there an indication of red hair. But the engraving we have of Maier by a contemporary shows a man with the bristly, wiry hair consistent with a type of red headed man.

Of course, these are vague allegations, quite uncorroborated by any other known evidence. But recent research by Professor Karin Figala and Ulrich Neumann has revealed a rather more complex Michael Maier than J.B. Craven ever imagined. At Padua, in July 1596, Maier seriously wounded a fellow student, was arrested, fined and fled. And from 1618 he acted as an "intelligence" gatherer for Moritz, Landgrave of Hessen-Kassel. **18**

But there are other facets of Maier to consider. In *Symbola Aurea* (1617), after stating that he had first heard of the Rosicrucian Brotherhood whilst in England, he tells how the Rosicrucian Brothers had traveled from the Barbary Coast (North Africa) to Spain. **19** He discusses the prophets, with their magic, of Morocco and Fez, and links them to "Mullei Om Hamet Ben Abdela" and "Mullei Sidan". Perhaps he was thinking of the Sufi mystics, who were already being reported by Elizabethan visitors to Muslim lands. Now it happens that in 1609 a sensationally popular book had been published in London, *A True Historicall Discourse of Muley Hamets rising to the three Kingdomes of Moruecos, Fes, and Sus*, which gave a particularly detailed account of events of 1602 to 1604. Dedicated to the great friend of Robert Fludd, John Selden and William Camden, Sir Robert Cotton, the anonymous author related the "adventures" of Sir Anthony Sherley, his sons and other English "gentlemen" in the Moorish regions. John Davies of Hereford, whose Rosicrucian ties I explain elsewhere, dedicated commendatory verses in various works to several of these travellers, some of whom were his personal friends. One feels that Maier had been privileged with anecdotes from these travels that never saw print in England. Even George Sandys, who later recommended Maier's works, had spent time in the Middle East.

1616 appears to have been Maier's last year in England. *Jocus Severus* (1617) was written on his road from England to Bohemia, whilst the dedication of *Lusus Serius* was written in September 1616, "having returned from England, on my way from Prague." The dedication of *De Circulo Physico Quadrato* was dated Frankfurt on Main, August 1616. It should be noted - perhaps it is relevant - that the final trial arising from the Overbury affair began on May 25th 1616 and was concluded within a day or two.

Although Fludd appears to have got on the wrong side of Maier, who wrote harsh things about him in a private letter, Maier seems to have had access to a manuscript by the English Rosicrucian, the "Tractatus de tritico", which Morsius noted in his *album amicorum*. **20**

Maier's fame in England burned bright for many years. In 1625 *Arcana arcanissima* was either reprinted or reissued in London; but by a society of booksellers, not by an individual publisher. An English translation of *Atalanta Fugiens* was made, which never saw print, but has all the signs of being a printer's fair copy and has been related to the watermark of a paper made in 1625. John Everard was translating part of *Tripus aureus* in 1623. A further MS translation of *Atalanta Fugiens*, with some of the verse left uncompleted, was done, possibly in the 1670's or 80's; whilst in 1676 a MS translation was made of *Silentium post Clamores* by Richard Russell, who was possibly the brother of Charles II's apothecary. A full MS translation of *Tripus aureus* meanwhile had been made, which has been dated at about 1640. **21**

The first work by Maier that was actually seen through the press in English translation was *Lusus Serius* (1654). Behind the translator's pseudonym of J. de la Salle was one of the most brilliant intellectuals of the era, John Hall (1627-1656). My guess is that he was both a Baconian in scientific aspiration and a *sub rosa* Rosicrucian. He translated two works by J.V. Andreae, *The Right hand of Christian Love Offered* and *A Modell of a Christian Society* (each remaining in manuscript only). A friend of Thomas Hobbes, as had been, it would seem, Aretius, he was a highly valued member of the Hartlib circle - that energizing network of friendships that gave birth eventually to the Royal Society. He wrote an outstanding tract on the reform of the universities. It has not been previously realized that several of the designs in his *Emblems with Elegant Figures* of 1648 are inferior copies of some of the magnificent illustrations to be found in the works of Robert Fludd. Hall died, it is sad to report, of a combination of debauchery and fatness. **22**

Two years after *Lusus Serius*, in 1656, *Themis Aurea* was brought out in English translation. Dedicated to Elias Ashmole, this edition was registered with the Company of Stationers on the 2nd October 1655. The translator was "Tho: Hodges, gent", who appears to have been a rich royalist Puritan with a loathing for "Heterodox Preachers", whose funeral was held on the 1st May 1656. A "Thomas Hodges" had been among the "Adventurers" of the Virginia Company in 1612. **23**

The greatest honour done to Maier came late in the century. Isaac Newton studied his writings meticulously, leaving 88 respectful pages of notes. **24**

Notes

1. J.B. Craven *Count Michael Maier* p. 3. *Tractatus de Volucris Arborea* (1619) p. 43. On Carpentarius see H.W. Rotermund *Das Gelehrte Hannover* (1823) vol. I. A.McLean "A Rosicrucian Manuscript of Michael Maier" *The Hermetic Journal* 5 (Autumn 1979). Scot. Rec. Off., Edin., GD 241/212. British Library Royal MS 14B XVI.
2. G. Gellner *Zivotopis Lékane Borbonia a vyklad jeho deníka* p. 96.

3. John Nichols *The Progresses... of King James the First* vol. 2 p. 496.
4. *Transcript of Registers of Company of Stationers* ed. E. Arber vol. 3 fol. 239b.
5. Some of these are listed in Craven. The Andrewes copy, with a special printed dedication, is in Dr Williams's Library, London. On Dingwall see Ethel Seaton *Literary Relations of England and Scandinavia in the Seventeenth Century* (1935) p. 157.
6. *Panacea Aurea...* pp. 71-73. Anthony dedicated his *Apologia veritatis... pro auro potabile* (1616) to Maier.
7. See *Dictionary of National Biography*. Also C. Hill *Milton and the English Revolution* for Milton's friendship with both the elder and younger Gill.
8. British Library Pressmark 236 k. 33. A "John Maurice, or Morres" was vicar of Blackburn about this time: *Jnl. of Nic. Assheton* ed. F.R. Raines p.99.
9. C. Drebbel *Tractatus duo* facing F5. *Abstract of Proceedings of Virginia Company of London 1619-1624* vol. II pp. 7-8,11.
10. George Sandys *Ovid's Metamorphosis...* (1632, reprinted 1981) p. 253 (333).
11. Selden owned *Themis Aurea* and *Septimana philosophica*. Both are in the Bodleian Library.
12. *Theatricum Chemicum Britannicum* A2.
13. The best work on the scandal is Beatrice White *Cast of Ravens*. But indispensable is the documentation in Andrew Amos *The Great Oyer of Poisoning* (1846). Anthony: White p, 241. Anthony was examined on October 29th 1615.
14. James's instructions re. Mayerne are noted *Cal. of State Papers (Dom.) 1611-18* p. 307. Amos p. 161 on non-examination of Mayerne.
15. There are extracts from some of these "Mayerus" references in E.F. Rimbault's *The Miscellaneous Works of Sir Thomas Overbury* (1856) p. li. Rimbault's renditions vary considerably from my readings. Sir Thomas Overbury *His Observations in his Travailes...* various editions, 1626, etc. *Marquess of Downshire Papers* vol. II pp 103, 273. Bodleian Library Selden Ms. 3469 f. 50, Degory Wheare to Overbury in France (dated London 10 Oct. 1608).
16. Amos pp. 116 and 140.
17. Amos p. 446.
18. *Atti della nazione germanica artista nello studio di Padova* ed. A. Favaro vol. 2 (Venezia 1912) pp. 81f., 100.
19. *Symbola Aurea...* p.290.
20. Source: personal communications from Bruce T. Moran and Karin Figala. C.H. Josten "Truth's Golden Harrow" *Ambix* III (1949) p. 94.
21. *Alchemy and the Occult* Catalogue of Paul and Mary Mellon Collection (Yale Univ. Lib.) vol. II p. 286. Ibid. vol. III MS 48 called "Atalanta running". British Library Sloane MS 2175 fs. 145-7. Brit. Lib. Sloane 3645 "The Flying Atalanta", bound with MSS dated "1681" (f. 107b) and "1675" (f. 176b). Held in Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, Amsterdam. *Alchemy and the Occult* vol. III MS. 56.
22. On Hall see *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* and references in C. Webster *The Great Instauration*. À Wood was confused and wrote that Robert Hegge did the translation.
23. *Trans. of Reg. of Comp. of Stat.* ed Eyre and Rivington vol. II p.14. On Hodges, see Thos. Watson *The Crown of Righteousness* (1656), a funeral sermon.
24. Keynes MS 32 King's College, Cambridge.

Ron Heisler - Two Worlds that Converged: Shakespeare and the Ethos of the Rosicrucians

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Two Worlds that Converged: Shakespeare and the Ethos of the Rosicrucians

Ron Heisler ©

In a 1986 article on "Shakespeare and the Rosicrucians", I dissected a late play that Shakespeare wrote jointly with John Fletcher, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Relying mainly on internal evidence, I found some very strong Rosicrucian affinities, particularly the striking scene in which a quasi-religious ceremony takes place in the temple of Diana, at which a rose plays a crucial role. Emilia declares that "a rose is best" and then explains:

"It is the very emblem of a maid:

For when the west wind courts her gently
How modestly she blows and paints the sun
With her chaste blushes! When the north comes near her,
Rude and impatient, then, like chastity,
She locks her beauties in her bud again
And leaves him to base briars." 1 (II. ii.)

The play as we know it probably was premiered in early 1613 and I felt it somewhat of a coincidence that at Christmas 1611 the great Rosicrucian Michael Maier sent a "greetings card" to James I, which expressed the cryptic hope "May the Rose not be gnawed by the Canker of the North Wind..."

Since 1986 I have had some leisure to explore Shakespeare's friends and acquaintances in depth, seeking for Rosicrucian clues - and hoping against hope that for once literature's greatest, most opaque and most secretive figure will have relaxed his guard. Readers must judge the results for themselves.

Richard Field

Born at Stratford-on-Avon on November 16th 1561, Richard Field is presumed to have attended the local grammar school. This probably accounted for his becoming England's outstanding printer-linguist. In 1579 he came to London to be bound to the printer George Bishop; it was agreed, however, that he should serve the first six of the seven years apprenticeship with the great Huguenot printer, Thomas Vautrollier, a decision which coloured his future career greatly. In 1587 he married Vautrollier's widow, Jacqueline, acquiring a backlist of titles of considerable quality, with an evident Protestant emphasis. He prospered: not the richest of the London printer-booksellers, he was one of the more successful by the time he died in December 1624. His status is underlined by the fact that he served as Master of the Stationers' Company in 1619 and again in 1622.²

Field's relationship with Shakespeare is illuminated, alas, by a sparsity of hard facts. His father Henry died at Stratford-on-Avon in 1592; John Shakespeare, the Bard's father, helped to value Henry's goods and chattels on the 25th August.³ On the 18th April 1592 Field entered *Venus and Adonis* on the Stationers' Register, which he printed in a fine first edition. In 1594 he printed the first edition of *The Rape of Lucrece*, which was published, however, by John Harrison the elder. The quality of both first editions has been usually attributed to Field's personal interest in doing justice to the poetry of his friend. The last "hard fact" in our litany concerns *Love's Martyr, or Rosalin's Complaint...* by Robert Chester; published in 1601, it has appended poems by Marston, Chapman, Ben Jonson and "Ignoto" - and Shakespeare's most mysterious poem, *The Phoenix and the Turtle*. Sold by Edward Blount, the frontispiece shows Fields's printing device. Strangely, he was not called upon to print the *Sonnets*.

Cymbeline was probably written in early 1610 and Shakespeare includes an allusion, which is perceived as referring to Field - a very private joke indeed. When Imogene discovers the headless corpse of what she believes to be her beloved Posthumous (IV. ii.), Caius Lucius asks her, "...say his name, good friend." She replies, "Richard du Champ" - Richard of the Field.⁴

The extent of the influence of Giordano Bruno on Shakespeare's thought has been debated for over a century now, principally occasioned by Hamlet's "To be or not to be" soliloquy. Unquestionably the phrases "the whips and scorns of time, the proud man's contumely" are distilled from Bruno's *Oratio valedictoria* on leaving Wittenberg university, where he complains of "the whips and scorns of vile and foolish men who, although they are really beasts in the likeness of men, in the pride of their good fortune, are full of evil arrogance." But many other parallels - to Bruno's general philosophical *weltanschauung* - have been detected in *Hamlet*.⁵

Field's apprenticeship to Vautrollier is important here, although mystery swathes the whole issue like Scotch mist. Bruno published at least four tracts in England in 1584/5, and his attack on the reactionaries of Oxford, although probably printed abroad, was surely aimed at an English market. But none of the tracts came off Vautrollier's printing presses. However, early in the 18th century Thomas Baker wrote to the great bibliographer Ames that Vautrollier "was the printer of Jordanus Brunus in the year 1584, for which he fled, and the next year being at Edinburgh in Scotland, he first taught that nation the way of good printing, and there staid until such time as by the intercession of friends he had got his pardon..." Alas, most of the papers of the Star Chamber have been destroyed for this period, and Vautrollier's actual offense is impossible to determine, although, according to the records of the Stationers' Company, Vautrollier "at the time of his decease was noe printer", and they link the matter to a Star Chamber decree. Vautrollier's offense must have been very great, since he had acquired over the years patrons of the greatest influence at court, including Lord Burghley. From the press of John Charlewood came the "English" tracts of Bruno - but perhaps to the commission of Vautrollier.⁶ Yet Vautrollier it was who printed the work on the "Art of Memory" by Bruno's Scottish friend, Alexander Dicson, in 1585 and who probably published Thomas Watson's tract on the same subject in the same year. Moreover, again in the same year, he published a work by yet another friend of Bruno's, the great jurist, Alberigo Gentile.

I am totally sceptical towards any argument of mere coincidence as an explanation of the fact that Hamlet's great "To be or not to be" soliloquy is clearly based not merely on writings of Bruno subsequently associated with Vautrollier, but also upon a text indisputably printed by him, Dr Timothy Bright's *Treatise on Melancholy* (1586) which eventually inspired Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. Bright is notable for more than one reason. In 1590 Rudolf Goclenius published at Marburg University, which later became a spawning ground for Rosicrucians, a compilation with a contribution by Bright. And a generation later the Yorkshireman Dr Edmund Deane published *Spadacrene Anglica. Or the English Spaw-Fontaine* (1626), in which he reminisced about "Doctor Timothy Bright of happy memory a learned Physitian (while he lived, my very kind friend, and familiar acquaintance)..."⁷ Deane was probably a Rosicrucian and almost certainly Robert Fludd's friend. He edited eight tracts by the alchemist Samuel Norton, which were published at Frankfurt on Main by Fludd's friend, William Fitzer. A letter survives in which Deane addresses Theodorus Gravius, chemical assistant to Dr Richard Napier of Lynford, the magician, as his "loveing brother".

Of all Field's later publications, the most intriguing is the *Janua Linguarum Quadrilinguis. Or a Messe of Tongues*, which his friend Matthew Lownes printed in 1617. A polyglot dictionary of phrases, originating from the Irish college at Salamanca, it was dedicated to Prince Charles and signed "Io. Barbier Parisiensis". Behind the French pseudonym stood an Alsatian, his identity revealed only in the introduction to the *Janua Linguarum Silinguis*, published at Strasbourg in 1629 by Eberhard Zetzner. Isaac Habrecht lets on in his 1629 preface that he himself had contributed sections to the 1617 London version.

Habrecht is an important figure in our ongoing discussion of international Rosicrucian cross-currents. A physician and mathematician, he died in 1633. Like the main author of the Rosicrucian manifestos, J.V. Andreae, he became vehemently anti-Rosicrucian, conducting attacks under the sobriquet of Hisiam sub Cruce Atheniensem. But his *Eines Newen ungewohnlichen Sterns, oder Cometen...* in 1618, one of a flood of works on the significance of comets, suggests to me that we should qualify our general impression of his attitude. The tract refers to the cometary observations of John Dee and Thomas Digges in 1572 and to the fall of the Earl of Somerset in the Overbury affair; it also includes three references to the Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross, including a comment on their interpretation of cometary phenomena of 1600 and 1604.⁸ The neutral tone of these suggests to me that Habrecht at the time of writing had not quite given up on the Rosicrucians. It was he who, in *VIII Miraculum Artis*, claimed that Robert Fludd was the model for the brother in the *Fama* who had cured a Duke of Norfolk of leprosy.

On the 24th June 1623 Matthias Bernegger, a member of Andreae's Societas Christiana in 1620, who, like Habrecht, worked in Strasbourg, informed Zincgref that Habrecht had obtained the poems of Georg Rudolff Weckherlin.⁹ Weckherlin's diary of the 1630's suggests that he may have been a Rosicrucian. An Anglophile, he spent three consecutive years in England between 1607 and 1614, probably in the service of the Wurtemberg ambassador. In 1616 he again visited England, marrying an English bride; in 1624 he became an under-secretary of state at Whitehall.¹⁰ Even if Habrecht had never visited England, it is conceivable that Weckherlin may have acted as his intermediary.

Field had a zest for the occasional medical book. In 1594 he published John Hester the Paracelsian's *The pearl of practice... for phisicke and chirurgerie*, which had been expended by John Fourestier. Hester had been Gabriel Harvey's friend. The book was dedicated to Sir George Carey, Sir Walter Raleigh's friend. Hester's *Hundred and Fourteen Experiments* was actually dedicated to Raleigh. In 1605 Field published Christopher Wirsung's *The general practice of physicke*, translated and augmented in the English by Dr James Mosan. Mosan was to become a personal physician to Moritz, the Landgrave of Hessen-Kassel; it is inconceivable that the first editions of the Rosicrucian manifestos could have been published in Kassel without Moritz's express approval, who was later rumoured to be a Rosicrucian.

That Field and Dr Matthew Gwinne were friends is highly probable. Gwinne was the associate of John Florio, Giordano Bruno and Robert Fludd. In 1605 Field published Gwinne's two Gresham College lectures and in 1612 he brought out Gwinne's devastating dissection of Francis Anthony's aurum potable, *In assertorem...*, done at the behest of the College of Physicians. Fludd's friend, Dr William Paddy, was one of two censors approving the book. Gwinne, incidentally, was a minor playwright. On the 27th August 1605 James I was greeted at Oxford by a Gwinne playlet in which three sibyls prophesied that the descendants of Banquo - among whom James was numbered - would reign for ever ("imperium sine fine"). Kenneth Muir accepts that this was the probable model for the prophesies of the witches in Shakespeare's Scottish play, *Macbeth*.¹¹

Two other authors in Field's list cry out for special mention. In 1604 he printed a work by Robert Fludd's patron, Dr John Thornborough, lauding the union of England and Scotland under James I. But of far greater significance is his close association with William Bedwell, a fine mathematician and pioneer Arabist. Between 1612 and 1615 Field published four of Bedwell's books, three being of a mathematical nature. Bedwell is an important link with the Rosicrucian world. Of Robert Fludd, Thomas Hearne observed in 1709 that "he was much admir'd by the famous Mr [John] Selden, chiefly, I think for this reason, because he was of the Rosa-Crucian sect, and addicted himself to Chymistry, of wch Mr Selden himself was an admirer..." Now Bedwell was in the habit of borrowing books from John Selden and vice-versa. And in 1612 Bedwell lodged at Leiden at the house of Thomas and Govaert Basson, the publishers.¹² It was from the Basson press that Fludd's first two tracts defending the Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross poured forth.

Edward Alleyn

One of the two great tragedians of his age, Edward Alleyn, the founder of Dulwich College, led the Lord Admiral's Men for many years. Between 1590 and 1593, when that troupe seems either to have merged - or gone into partnership - with Shakespeare's company, Lord Strange's Men, he played the title-role in the Bard's *Titus Andronicus*. It was the Admiral's Men who performed *Palamon and Arcite* several times in 1594, of which no text survives and for which the author is unknown, and which I strongly suspect (a) was by Shakespeare and (b) was the original script from which *The Two Noble Kinsmen* arose. Whatever the truth, Alleyn almost certainly played one of the leads in 1594. There is a mysterious Hamlet - possibly by the Bard - being played in that year also. Alleyn probably bagged the part.

An alchemist, Alleyn provided medical potions for friends. His diary record the purchase of a pewter limbeck on the 29th June 1621. He was a patient of Robert Fludd's friend, William Harvey. He bought pills made to Harvey's prescriptions in 1619 and 1620. He even dined with Harvey on the 30th May 1619. In 1619 he took a lotion prescribed by another of Fludd's close friends, Dr Gulston. On the 6th August 1620 he dined with Dr Matthew Gwinne. It is not surprising, in the light of these connections, that we find him dining on the 7th April 1620 with "doc: Fludd". Alleyn's father-in-law, again of the Lord Admiral's Men, Philip Henslowe, was paying rent to Fludd's father, Sir Thomas Fludd, on the 27th April 1599. That Alleyn was a keen Palatinist is not unexpected. His wife subscribed to the Queen of Bohemia's fund on the 8th August 1620.¹³ When fifty seven years of age, Alleyn shocked the social world by marrying the twenty year old daughter of a keen Palatinist, who had come under Rosicrucian influence, John Donne.

The Digges Family, Thomas Russell and Sir Robert Killigrew

In 1590 Richard Field produced an edition of Leonard Digges's *An arithmetical warlike treatise named Stratoticos* "revised, corrected and augmented" by Leonard's son, the great mathematician Thomas Digges. The Digges family were connected with the Bard over many years, it would seem. It has often been wondered where he got the obscure Danish names of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, those famous characters in *Hamlet*. They were in fact ancestors of the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe. In 1590 Brahe sent a letter to Thomas Savile, in which he desired to be remembered to John Dee and Thomas Digges. With the letter went four copies of an engraving done of his portrait - a portrait on which was to be found his ancestors' names.¹⁴

Thomas Digges died and his widow, Anne, married Thomas Russell, who acquired property near Stratford-on-Avon. Shakespeare named him as an overseer of his will. For some years Russell lived at Hartlebury, a close neighbour of the occupant of Hartlebury Castle, Dr John Thornborough, Bishop of Worcester. The bishop's daughter, Jane, married one Francis Finch - and Russell planned to make the young man his heir. Thornborough, and alchemical writer, was also a patient of Dr John Hall, the Bard's son-in-law. He was Robert Fludd's patron, Fludd visiting him at Hartlebury. A work Thornborough published is replete with references to Fludd's writings. Simon Forman, the magician-physician, had been Thornborough's servant at Oxford.¹⁵ Richard Field the printer - like members of Shakespeare's troupe, the Lord Chamberlain's Men - was a patient of Forman's incidentally. On the 30th August 1596 a "Richard Field", described as being 37 (actually, he was born in 1561), visited the physician: he had swallowed a gold coin which "lies in the pit of the mouth of the stomach".¹⁶

But we have digressed from the Digges family. Thomas Digges's son, Leonard, achieved immortality by contributing a good poem to the first *Folio* of Shakespeare's works, whilst his other son, Dudley, is of distinct Rosicrucian interest. He was a close friend of the radical Sir John Eliot, whom Charles I had goaled for his oppositional activities in parliament, and in whose handwriting there exists apparently a manuscript in English of the Rosicrucian manifesto, the *Fama*. When Eliot languished in the Tower, Sir Dudley Digges wrote him a letter that began with the words, "Deere Brother..." What would we not give to know for sure in what sense Eliot was Dudley's "Brother"!¹⁷

Thomas Russell's family connections were extensive, to say the least. His half-brother was the minor radical parliamentarian Sir Maurice Berkeley. Berkeley married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Killigrew, thus acquiring as brother-in-law Sir Robert Killigrew (1579-1633). Sir Robert leads right to the heart of English Rosicrucian activity. Given to making potions and cordials, Sir Robert had a strong scientific bent. Constantine Huygens, the Dutch savant and collector of Rosicrucian books, was frequently at Killigrew's home in 1622 and 1623, where he met the brilliant Rosicrucian inventor Cornelius Drebbel, the widow of Sir Walter Raleigh and John Donne.¹⁸ It is worth noting, in passing, that Killigrew had his youngest boy, Henry, educated in "grammar learning" by Thomas Farnaby;¹⁹ Richard Field published Lucan's *Pharsalia* in 1618 - and Farnaby had annotated it for him. I have recounted in some detail elsewhere the squalid scandal of Sir Thomas Overbury's murder and how Michael Maier was drawn into the affair. Sir Robert Killigrew features in the scenario. In May 1613, after visiting Raleigh in the Tower, he was hailed by the incarcerated Overbury - an old friend - from a window. James I had Killigrew committed to the Fleet prison for about a month for this illicit communication. When the scandal eventually broke into the public arena, it transpired that the principal accused, the Earl of Somerset, had obtained white powders from Killigrew for Overbury's use - and claimed that one of these had effected the murderous deed. The charge did not stand up, however.²⁰ Some of the pathetic letters the desperate, dying Overbury had smuggled out of the Tower have survived; several reveal that Michael Maier was ministering to him. At the end of one of the latter, Overbury has forged the signature of "Robert Killigrew" - obviously a ploy to fool his captors, probably done with Killigrew's foreknowledge.²¹ That Killigrew knew Maier is most likely.

When the storm broke in 1615 and the murder trials began, Sir Dudley Digges was ready to give evidence. Overbury had been sent to the Tower originally by James I for refusing to accept an embassy to Russia. Overbury's friends maintained that the refusal had been contrived by Somerset in order to get Overbury into James's bad books. Digges "voluntarily at the arraignment in open Court upon his oath witnessed how Sir Thomas had imparted to him his readinesse to be employed in an Ambassage."

A "Robert Killigrew" turns up in yet another Rosicrucian context. One of the more important verse compilations of the 1620's in the British Library is Sloane MS 1792. It includes many poems by John Donne, Dr Richard Corbett, Ben Jonson and others - and a good copy of the second of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, which is markedly different from that published in the 1609 edition, but which is, nevertheless, wholly the Bard's composition.²² On a covering leaf is inscribed "Robert Killigrew his booke witnes by his maiesties ape George Harifon." Following the Martin Marprelate furore at the end of the 1580's a "martin" became synonymous in popular parlance with an "ape". On the same page we find an inscription in a different hand: "JA Christchurch". James Martin, who contributed verses lauding Robert Fludd to *Sophia Cum Moria Certamen* (1629), was wont to use the pen-name of "Jacobus Aretius" - and certainly had matriculated at Christchurch, Oxford, in 1604. I am sure that the phrase "his maiesties ape" was a pun intended at his expense. Whether the "Robert Killigrew" mentioned was Sir Robert Killigrew the potion maker, or his son, Robert Killigrew, who matriculated at Christchurch in 1630, I cannot say.

The Salusbury Family

Over the life of Sir John Salusbury of Llewenni lay the shadow of the execution of his brother for complicity in the 1586 Babington plot. The same year, Sir John married Ursula Stanley, natural daughter of Henry Stanley, fourth Earl of Derby. The Earl's son was Ferdinando Lord Strange, with whose theatrical troupe Shakespeare was closely

associated for a time. Sir John was admitted a student of the Middle Temple in London in March 1595, and it is probably from this period that we should date his acquaintanceship with Ben Jonson, George Chapman, and other poets who contributed to the book largely written by the deservedly obscure Robert Chester, *Love's Martyr* (1601). Professor Honigmann persuasively argues that Shakespeare's offering to the work, *The Phoenix and the Turtle*, is probably of rather earlier provenance and goes back to the 1580's, for the poem is written as if Shakespeare was ignorant of the fact that Sir John had fathered children.²³ Various academic fantasies have inevitably been concocted over the years, including the notion that the poem is an allegory on Elizabeth and Essex. The truth is wrapped up in a letter which escaped Professor Honigmann's net. On the 12th November 1632 William Wynne wrote to Sir Thomas Salusbury, pleading to hear of his matching with some worthy virgin, lest he should die without issue, seeing that all his estate relied on "one branch or Phoenix, . . . your worthy self."²⁴ Clearly, it was the custom of the Llewenni Salusburies to think of the head of their branch as a "Phoenix". *Love's Martyr*, we know from its printing device, was printed by Richard Field.

I have given a description of the Rosicrucian Sir William Vaughan and his Rosicrucian tract, *The Golden Fleece*, elsewhere.²⁵ What needs to be added to our account is his relationship with the Salusburies. Sir John died in 1612 and was succeeded by his son, Sir Henry, the first Baronet. At some time between 1614 and 1617 Sir Henry remarried: his bride, Elizabeth, was Sir William Vaughan's sister. The Salusburies have left posterity a marvellous manuscript collection, consisting mainly of poetry, which amply testifies to the friendship between the Vaughans and the Salusburies. It also contains a poem written by Sir Henry "To my good freandes mr John Hemings & Henry Condall".²⁶ John Heminges and Henry Condell were senior members of Shakespeare's acting company, the King's Men; it was they who edited the great 1623 first *Folio* of the Bard's works.

The commitment of the Salusburies to the Palatinate cause - with which the Rosicrucian movement was originally inextricably bound up - is evidenced in the tragic history of Sir Henry's brother, Captain John Salusbury. The Captain led a troop of horse in the service of Frederick, the Elector Palatine, and died at Prague in 1620.²⁷ Llewenni is situated in Denbighshire, and the gentry of that county were among the clientele of one of the most effective surgeons in the land, the Scot, Alexander Read. Brother of Thomas Read (known as Rhaedus), Latin secretary to James I and close friend of the Rosicrucians Joachim Morsius and Daniel Cramer, Alexander himself donated a work by Michael Maier to Aberdeen University. There is a surviving letter of William Wynne to Sir Thomas Salusbury (31st October 1632) in which Wynnes reminds Sir Thomas of his promise to "Mr Rede, the chirurgion" made at Llewenni, of two lancets "for a memoriall of his office done there." Chester was the most fashionable centre in the region in this period, patronised by the Stanleys and Salusburies; and we know that Alexander Read was already active at Chester by January 1612, an intimate, valued friend there, it would appear, of Matthias de Lobel and his son, the apothecary Paul, who was attending Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower about the time of his murder.²⁸

Sir William Vaughan

It was in 1597 that the Rosicrucian Sir William Vaughan published *Erotopaignion pium*, the first hard evidence we have of his interaction with Shakespeare's coterie - for the book's title-page features Richard Field's printing device.

Vaughan could not help being drawn towards the charismatic figure of the Earl of Essex, for his sister-in-law was the daughter of the dangerous political adventurer, Sir Gelly Meyrick, the steward of Essex's household. Vaughan dedicated *Speculum humane condicionis*... (1598) to Meyrick and *Poematum Libellus continens* (1598) to the Earl of Essex. Meyrick played a key role in the Essex rebellion of 1601 against Elizabeth; we have on record the story of how he paid forty shillings extra to Augustine Phillips of Shakespeare's acting company, the Lord Chamberlain's;

Men, for a performance of Richard II - presumably with the notorious abdication scene included, which was censored from the published editions - on the eve of the Essex uprising.²⁹

Vaughan's theatrical connections, although he was soon to profess his contempt for stage-players (*The Golden Grove* chapter 66), are not exhausted by the Meyrick avenue. *Canticum canticorum Salomonis* has an elegy by Vaughan dedicated to the patron of the Lord Admiral's Men, Charles Howard, Lord Effingham. But this may have arisen as a consequence of Matthew Gwinne, a close friend, having a brother, Roger, who served as Howard's apothecary. Gwinne, with his intimate friend, John Florio, provided commendatory verses to Sir William's *The Golden Grove* of 1600. The traces of Florio's various writings have been convincingly detected in several of Shakespeare's works. Gonzalo's speech portraying a communist utopia in *The Tempest* was largely lifted from Florio's marvellous translation of Montaigne. Florio served the young Earl of Southampton at a time when the Earl and Shakespeare appear to have been close acquaintances: the legend goes that Southampton lent the Bard £1,000. Beyond dispute is the fact that Shakespeare dedicated both *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* to Southampton.

The murder of Christopher Marlowe in 1593 remains an enthralling mystery to this very day. Strangely, for several years no accurate descriptions of the death saw print. The notion widely circulated, in fact, that Marlowe died of the plague. Then in 1600, in *As You Like It* (III. iii. 9-12), Shakespeare makes an allusion to the murder which betrays, we know now, an insider's knowledge of the circumstances. By a startling coincidence, in the same year, in *The Golden Grove* (Chapter 3 First Book), Sir William Vaughan provided a detailed description of the deed, which is accurate in most respects. Did he and the Bard have a common source, who was at last spilling the beans? This must remain an open question.

One thing is indisputable, however: Sir William, in Carmarthen, was part of a circle of gentlemen that were very familiar with the "atheist" ideas of Giordano Bruno, which had so taken the Marlowe-Raleigh set by storm. Astronomy was a favourite pastime amongst the gentry in the district; and we have even a letter from Sir William Lower of Trefenty - about ten miles from Carmarthen - to Thomas Hariot, the great mathematician who was alleged to be the prime "atheist" in the society of Sir Walter Raleigh, discussing Bruno's ideas. Frances Yates wonders inconclusively if Sir William Vaughan was connected with Sir William Lower.³⁰ They certainly knew each other! Lower's wife was Penelope Perrot, daughter of Sir Thomas Perrot. Lower's father-in-law was the son of Sir John Perrot. Sir William Vaughan step-mother, Lettice, was the daughter of the same Sir John Perrot. And *The Golden Grove* includes a commendatory verse by James Perrot, an illegitimate son of Sir John. Among Sir William Vaughan's friends must be counted Gabriel Powel, a Denbighshire man, who had commendatory verses in three of Vaughan's tracts. Powel became chaplain to Richard Vaughan, Bishop of London, and acted as Licensor of the Press on a few occasions. A manuscript title-page has survived for the 7th September 1609, inscribed with Powel's signature and the signatures, on behalf of the Stationers' Company, of Humphrey Lownes and Richard Field.³¹

The Stanleys

Shakespeare had intensely close connection, we suspect, with the Stanleys - the clan of the Earls of Derby - in the early 1590's, when he worked with the company of the Derby heir, Lord Strange's Men. Professor Honigmann, in *Shakespeare: the 'lost years'*, argues convincingly that Sir William Dugdale was correct in noting down the inscription on a tomb at Tonge, Shropshire, in 1664 and remarking, " These following verses were made by William Shakespeare, the late famous tragedian." The tomb was built for Thomas Stanley, second son of Edward, Earl of Derby, and his son, Sir Edward Stanley (1562-1632). ³² The fact that Sir Edward died sixteen years after Shakespeare is neither here nor there. It was commonplace at that time for people to commission their own epitaphs whilst still living, and in any case Sir Edward may have commissioned it originally simply in memory of his father, it being carried over by natural extension to himself.

Sir Edward had a famous daughter, Venetia (born 1600), a great beauty and a bit of a tart, who finally married, in 1625, Sir Kenelm Digby.³³ Digby and she had been childhood playmates. Digby, a friend of "Sandy" Napier - Dr Richard Napier of Lynford, who was given to invoking favourable spirits by the practice of angel magic on a daily basis - was a Rosicrucian, who managed to oscillate between Protestantism and Catholicism with disconcerting frequency. His Rosicrucian jewel was exhibited on occasion at meetings of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia in the early years of this century.³⁴ His close friends included John Selden, Ben Jonson and, if we are to go by various references in letters addressed to Father Mersenne, James Martin, the eccentric eulogist of Robert Fludd.³⁵ Venetia died unexpectedly in 1633. Sir Anthony Vanduyck painted a most moving death-bed portrait of her, which now hangs in the Dulwich Gallery. On her pillow lie faded rose petals.

Ferdinando Lord Strange died in mysterious circumstances in 1594 and was succeeded by William Stanley, the sixth Earl of Derby, a man even more enthusiastic about the theatre than Ferdinando. It was stated on June 30th 1599 that "Therle of Darby is busyed only in penning comedies for the common players."³⁶ William Stanley had a daughter, Anne, who in 1621 married Sir Robert Ker, who eventually was created Earl of Ancrum. Apart from being the correspondent of William Drummond of Hawthornden and John Donne's closest friend, Ker has left us an insight into his mind in the shape of a small group of medical recipes and alchemical manuscripts, of which the outstanding example is a copy of the great Rosicrucian classic, Theophilus Schweighardt's *Speculum Sopicum Rhodo-Stauroticum*.³⁷

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28. W.J. Smith *op. cit.* pp. 80-1. *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum* vol. I ed. J.H. Hessels pp. 838-9 in particular.
29. Hotson *op. cit.* pp. 163-5. On Meyrick see *Dic. of Nat. Biog.* Edward Edwards *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh II* pp. 164, 166.
30. The Vaughan quote given in F.S. Boas *Christopher Marlowe* p. 281; Shakespeare's on p. 283. F.A. Yates *A Study of Love's Labour's Lost*. p. 93. Lower, in a further letter to Hariot, mentions that its "bearer" was a "Mr Vaughan" British Library MS 6789 f.427. Alas, there are many Welsh Vaughans! The play was probably premiered in the Autumn of 1599, it is generally thought.
31. *Calendar of State Papers (Dom.) 1603-10* p. 542. Powell apparently only approved eight books between 1605 and 1611.
32. Honigmann *op. cit.* pp. 78-81.
33. *Dic. of Nat. Biog.* on both Kenelm and Venetia.
34. A.E. Waite *The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross* (1961) p. 308.
35. On Martin see my article *op. cit.* pp. 40-42.

36. On Ferdinando see *Dic. of Nat. Biog.*; Honigmann *op. cit.* pp. 150-4. Frances Yates, in *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, pp. 66-7, discusses the transmission of Edmund Spenser's Red Cross Knight from *The Fairie Queene* to J. V. Andreae's *Chemical Wedding*, which has the Rose Cross Brother. R. Johnson's *Tom a Lincolne* (1607) has the Red Cross Knight. Thomas Nashe, in *The Supplication of Pierce Penniless*, curiously addresses Amyntis (Ferdinando Lord Strange) thus: "none but thou, most curteous Amyntas, be the second mystical argument of the Knight of the Red-Crosse: Oh deus atque oeri gloria Summa tui." Quoted in *The Stanley Papers*. vol. I. p. 33 (Chetham Society 29). Quoted in J. Greenstreet "A hitherto unknown noble writer of Elizabethan comedies" *The Genealogist* (April 1891).
37. *Dic. of Nat. Biog.* National Library of Scotland Newbattle Collection MS 5774. He also owned MSS of works by Ripley and Isaac Hollander.

Ron Heisler - Philip Ziegler: The Rosicrucian King of Jerusalem

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Philip Ziegler: The Rosicrucian King of Jerusalem

Ron Heisler ©

Today, probably the least known of the leading early Rosicrucians - although certainly the most charismatic - is the prophet Philip Ziegler. **1** Sadly, for over a century now the considerable amount of material, particularly in manuscript form, on his English experiences has been largely lost sight of.

Ziegler was born in Wuerzburg in Germany in the late 16th century, possibly in 1584. His reforming parents were obliged to leave their home state about 1585, and he seems to have led a constantly wandering life. After studying law, he became a private teacher at Augsburg in 1609. Two years later he was teaching at Zurich. During this period he developed a talent for prophecy. On his account he was "called of God to be a prophet" in 1609. His brother Sebastian made prophecies about him. **2** For three years he was active "as a second Joseph". The "Philippum Ziglerum" who edited an abridgement of De Bry's *Grand Voyages* under the title of *America Erfindung* in 1617 is surely our man. The original of this work was partly compiled by Gotthard Arthusius of Danzig, often considered to be the author of the well known Rosicrucian polemic *Fortalitium Scientiae* (1617), who wrote a Rosicrucian "Reply" attached to Andreas Huenefeldt's Danzig edition of 1615 of the Rosicrucian manifestos. **3** Ziegler is known to have visited Basel, Worms, Speier and Strassbourg. The alchemist Figulus met him on the 18th December 1617. **4** Important comments were made on Ziegler by the Danish scientist, Ole Worm, who maintained a correspondence from 1616 onwards preparatory to writing a polemic against the Rosicrucian phenomenon. In 1618 Worm wrote to Jacob Fincke at Strasbourg: "I have been very pleased with your descriptions of this crazy king of Jerusalem; if these Rosicrucians regard him as their pioneer, then one can wholly deduce from him what one should think of the others... I request you in your next letter to inform me... whether he has said where the new college is situated, and whether he has tried to lure certain persons into his society". In August 1620 Worm wrote to Anders Jacobsen Langebaek, "I have once seen this Ziegler person of whom you wrote in Heidelberg; also then he pandered to such like; similar things have been written to me from Giessen as you wrote in your letter; for also there he cultivated his sweet melancholy in a similar fashion, and tried to spread it around". **5**

Ziegler was in Nuremberg in February 1619. He carried a small red rose into the wine market and began preaching to the assembled Junkers and Buergers, prophesying that Matthias, the Hapsburg Holy Roman Emperor, would die on the 18th March. The authorities had him brought to the Rathaus for cross-examination. On the 12th March he left

town. By this time he was calling himself "king of Jerusalem", the "sceptre of the Kings in Zion", and a Rosicrucian Brother. **6** His travels thereafter are dizzying: he was at Frankfurt on Main in 1620, then turned up in Holstein, Denmark, Sweden (an active Rosicrucian centre as early as 1617), Berne, France and Prague. **7** There were periods in Belgium and Holland; a manuscript of his in the Ashmole collection in the Bodleian Library tells us he was working in Groningen and Amsterdam in 1624. He managed to publish a few tracts: De Bry printed his *Harmonia doctrinae et vitae Salvatoris nostri J.C.* in 1620. In 1622 came *Anti-Arnoldus* and also *Anti-Negelius oder gruendlicher Beweis...*, which ran to four editions. **8**

Although no contemporary French writer named Ziegler specifically, we can infer that he was at the centre of the extraordinary events occurring in that country in 1623. There is an excellent report given in the *Mercur françois* (vol IX 1622-24). **9** It tells of how the Rosicrucians were to be found in all the hostelrys of Germany, and of how one "brother" had renounced baptism and belief in the Resurrection. Thirty six brothers were circulating in Europe, six each assigned to Spain, Italy, France and Germany. Four had gone to Sweden, two each to Switzerland, Flanders, Lorraine and Franche comté. Six had lodged in Paris at the "Marests du Temple" in the Faubourgs Saint Germain, but had disappeared without paying their "hosts". Gabriel Naudé wrote contemptuously of the Rosicrucians a "Torlaquis" (Sufis) and "Cingaristes" (Gipsies). A general assembly of Rosicrucians was reported to have been held in Lyons on the 23rd June 1623. **10**

Marin Mersenne accused them of following Hermes Trismegistus and practicing kabbalism. It was vaguely hinted that they had some association with the mystical Spanish sect, the Illuminati, some of whom were present in Paris. Much comment was aroused by the placard they put up in Paris in 1623, which read, "We the delegates of the Main College of the Brothers of the Rosy Cross, are making a visible and invisible visit to this City... We show and teach without books or signs how to speak all kinds of languages of the countries where we wish to be in order to draw our fellow-men from deadly error". **11** By calling themselves "delegates of the Main College" of the Rosicrucians, a tacit admittance was made of the existence of at least another, probably rival, "College" of Rosicrucians. France appears to have become too hot for the "Main College": and by June 1625 the magistrates of Harlem were being warned that the Rosicrucians who had been active in Paris had suddenly descended on the United Provinces. **12** England was Ziegler's last refuge. According to the great diplomat J.J. de Rusdorff, who served the exiled Elector Palatine, and who was writing in November 1626, the "frenetic prophet" Ziegler had been in England a year and a half, calling himself God's secretary. For a time he had been tranquil, then finally he became "enragé" and the talk of all London with his reveries. He indulged in Alchemy, claiming to make gold. He had made approaches to Risdorff, the Duke of Buckingham and the Archbishop of Canterbury. **13** The death of James I in March 1625 had come as a relief to a movement forces underground for several years. With Charles on the throne the Rosicrucians felt free again to stride boldly in the public light.

Now Ziegler was ready to make his play for fame and fortune. Rusdorff tells us that Ziegler's existence came to the ears of Charles I through the agency of a gentleman of his privy chamber, Sir David Ramsay. This rough and ready, rather uncouth Scot, sometimes known as "Ramsay Redhead from Fife", deserves extended attention in his own right. He had been a groom of the bedchamber to Prince Henry at his death in 1612. In 1631 Ramsay was ready to become the centre of intense controversy when Lord Reay accused him of trying to implicate him in a plot to overthrow Charles I and put the Marquis of Hamilton on the throne. Ramsay was goaled for a while and it was even decided at one stage to settle the matter between Reay and him-self by an anachronistic procedure of the Court of Chivalry - by a duel. This extreme was not reached. Ramsay was treated lightly, considered guilty of "wild talk" and no more, and given money by Charles to lose himself abroad. In June 1632 a correspondent wrote to the Marquis of Hamilton that "You will do yourself much right to provide some place for David Ramsay with the king of Sweden, for... the king himself is so displeased with his behaviour, that he is utterly lost in this place. He is to be set at liberty, giving in security (whereof I am one) not to meddle with Mackay [the Clan], neither at home nor abroad..." **14**

Ramsay's relationship with Ziegler must surely have arisen through his Palatinate connections. Gilbert Burnet wrote "there is a letter from the King of Bohemia in my hands, wherein he recommends him [Ramsay] to the King as one who had served him faithfully in Germany". After the Reay scandal blew up, Sir Thomas Roe wrote to Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia (Charles' sister), that "Your Majesty's name was used in court in his defense by Ramsay, in my opinion, not to purpose, and he was reprehended. He is not a man on whose discretion to rely." **15**

There is one last association of Ramsay's, who lived to 1642, worth mentioning. Among the most renowned of Scottish masonic lodges in Edinburgh Lodge (Mary's Chapel), whose surviving minutes date back to 1599. In August 1637 a group of courtiers were initiated into the Lodge's membership. Among them was David Ramsay, described as one of the King's special servants. This Lodge appears to have had ongoing Rosicrucian associations. In July 1647, Dr William Maxwell, physician in ordinary to Charles I, was admitted as a member. Maxwell is reputed to have been a close friend of Robert Fludd. A book was published under his name said to be jointly written with

Fludd. Present at Maxwell's initiation was that famous "Patron" of the Rosicrucians, Sir Robert Moray. **16** The rumour still circulated in the eighteenth century that the Rosicrucians had been absorbed into freemasonry. The record of Mary's Chapel seems strong supportive evidence for this claim.

But to return to Ziegler: a letter to the Rev. Joseph Mead (23rd November 1626) from the professional newsletter writer John Pory delightedly explained, "But the sweetest news, like marchpane, I keep for the banquet. Now the French ambassador is departed, a certain heterochta ambassador is coming upon the state. A youth he is, I hear, with never a hair on his face; and the principal by whom he is sent... is the President of the Society of the Rosy Cross; whose said ambassador, on Sunday afternoon, hath appointed to come to court, with thirteen coaches. The profers he is to make to his majesty are no small ones; to wit - if his majesty will follow his advice, he will presently put three millions... into his coffers, and will teach him a way how to suppress the Pope; how to bring the Catholic King on his knees; how to advance his own religion all over Christendom; and lastly, how to convert Turks and Jews to Christianity; than which you can desire no more in this world." **17** Some thought this all a plot aimed at the Duke of Buckingham.

Another letter given by Thomas Birch (27th November) throws further light on Ziegler: "There is a stranger hath been two years in London... who... told the Prince Palatine, at the beginning of his election to the Crown of Bohemia, of all the misfortunes and calamities which have befallen him since that time, and nevertheless advised him to accept it." **18**

Alas, the "ambassador" failed to turn up on the appointed Sunday afternoon. Rusdorff tells us who this was: "a little child, son of Dr. Web, the physician..." Dr Web, surprisingly, appears to have been a Roman Catholic. He refused to allow his boy to be party to Ziegler's plan, thus aborting the strategy. Ziegler, however, had crossed the line of decency by writing to Charles I. Rusdorff told his master, the Elector Palatine, that what he had predicted concerning Ziegler had come to pass; and that the prophet, with his secretaries and servants, had been imprisoned. All his private papers were seized, in which were found his "follies". Rusdorff speculated that after he had shown a little repentance, Ziegler's liberty would be returned to him. **19** A letter to "Dr Wunderlichium" (28th September 1632), possibly written by Hartlib, after dismissing Ziegler as a "fraudulent hypocrite", mentioned that a penniless "Hibernian" counselor to the King's son had been involved in the affair, and that the Queen (presumably Elizabeth the "Winter Queen", Charles' sister) had intervened to save Ziegler's life. **20** There is a claim that a Rosicrucian "college" was meeting in London in 1630; **21** if this was the case, it possibly means that Ziegler had again become active.

Official papers show us why Ziegler was regarded as rather more than a joke. First, however, they tell us he was apprehended with one Peter Wundertius; his association with the "legate" of the French King, Dr Rusdorff, was noted. There was a letter found addressed to Peter Count Gavria, requesting a "Bible of his Dutchman". Apparently "divers" of Ziegler's things were pawned with Dr Waganor, an Essex physician. **22**

Although there is not a trace of Ziegler's own papers at the Public Record Office, we have an excellent description of what they contained under the title of "Dangerous passages out of the Bookes & papers of Philip Ziegler... Out of the first Book titled *Origenicas Reformas totius mundi*". According to this summary, Ziegler threatened to punish all kings that would not submit themselves to the sceptre of his reformation. He threatened to depose Philip of Spain with the help of the English and the Dutch. He claimed to be of the royal blood of Scotland, and King Charles was his son-in-law. The official writer then examines Ziegler's "Anabaptistical Dreams". The prophet claimed that the use of logic and other human learning was lawful among Christians, and that a bloody reformation was intended. He supported his arguments with the testimony of the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury; and gave a transcript of De Cousin's *Tables* of the policy of the Church of England.

Other seized papers included a summons of all the establishments of Christendom for a general council to be held at Constance for the Reformation of the World. There was a proposal for the destruction of 300,000 of the nobility; and a scheme for a two fold structure for God's Kingdom on earth, ecclesiastical and civil, under which the inferior religious magistrates would rise against their superiors. Joachimite chiliasm is all too evident in Ziegler's three stage theory of history: the World's first age was that of creation; the second, of redemption; the third to come, that of sanctification. **23** With these revelations, we come to understand the basis of the accusations of Anabaptism laid at the door of Rosicrucianism by writers such as Neuhusius at Danzig. **24** The Anabaptism they had in mind, of course, was that of the German peasant revolutionary movement of the 16th century. What we see in the career of Ziegler, with its pattern of "entryism" into the liberal networks of power and influence then prevailing, is a rough equivalent of latterday Trotskyism; he certainly promoted a kind of naive strategy of permanent revolution, in which the key lever was to be the overthrow of Catholic power in Europe. His appeal was largely geared - as was the case with Rosicrucianism generally - to the university trained intelligentsias. And again, we can find a parallel to the Rosicrucian turmoil that beset various academic centres after 1614 in the Students Movements of 1968. It is no accident, surely, that Ziegler's investigators noted his activity at Oxford. **25**

Elias Ashmole had a correspondent, a Mr Townesend, who gave the great manuscript collector a brief note on the prophet: Dr John Dee "Is acknowledged for one of ye Brotherhood of ye R.C. by... Philip Zieglerus... By divers relations which I have heard, I am induced to believe that he [Ziegler] understood neither the true Theory nor Manual Operation of the great work [alchemy]. In my time in Oxford, he was accused to have stol'n the booke he called Monas Hieroglyphica [by Dee] out of All Soules College in Oxford (out of ye Library there). **26**

Ashmole's collection includes what appears to be autograph manuscripts of important tracts by Ziegler. *Responsio et Cynosura sive vera Prophetarum...*, written at Groninger and Amsterdam in 1624 and London in 1626, is a compilation of the thoughts of various prophets relating to the imminent downfall of the Holy Roman Empire. Ziegler claimed - quite absurdly - that the Hungarian Johannes Montanus Strigoniensis, who died in 1604, was of the Rosicrucian Brotherhood. He quotes from Robert Fludd's *Macrocosmos*, and mentions a work he wrote in 1621, *Alzeani*. He particularly assails a critic called Matthias Ebinger. The other tract, *Argumentum Origenicum*, is a similar prophetic compilation, which quotes William Gouge's views of the role of the Jews in the destruction of the Holy Roman Empire. Ashmole also owned a separated single sheet with a poem on it by Joan Brocatus transcribed from a book printed at Caslov. It appears to be in the same hand as the Ziegler tracts; written on the back of this leaf are the words, "To my father in law Mr Brakin." **27**

What happened to Ziegler thereafter remains a blank: either death was not long in coming or he settled for total obscurity. The other Zieglers were active in England and Scotland in the early 17th century; whether they were related at all to the prophet, I cannot say. Hans Ziegler of Nuremberg, a mining engineer, was employed by Sir David Lindsay at Edzell Castle, helping to design the gardens, with their curious hermetic ornamentations, in the 1600's. **28** At Exeter College, Oxford, a Calvinist and Rosicrucian centre, a Mark Zigler from the Palatinate was a student in 1624-5. Lastly, Lewis Ziegler, agent to Lord Craven (the principal financial backer of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia), had frequent dealings with the German under-secretary of state, George Weckherlin, in the 1630's, some of which, I believe, had a strong Rosicrucian tinge. **29**

References

1. See Joecher *Allgemeines Gelehrten Lexicon* (1751) column 2202. Also Gottfried Arnold *Unpartheyischen Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie* (1715) 96a and 99ab. Also *Das Erbe des Christian Rosenkreutz* published by Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, Amsterdam (1988) pp. 82, 83 & 88.
2. *Das Erbe des Christian Rosenkreutz op. cit.* p.83. Public Record Office State Papers 16/540 419. There is a reference to a "Philipp Ziegler" in *Repertorien des Hessischen Staatsarchivs Darmstadt* 10/1 *Schlitzer Urkunden* p.154 for Feb. 24 1592.
3. *Das Erbe des Christian Rosenkreutz op. cit.* p.83. See Kloss's masonic bibliography. Curt von Faur *German Baroque Literature* (1958) p.33.
4. *Das Erbe des Christian Rosenkreutz op. cit.* pp.83,82.
5. *Breve fra og til Ole Worm* ed. H.D. Schepeleyn vol.I pp. 34,49.
6. W.E. Peuckert *Das Rosenkreutz* (2nd ed.) pp. 129-30.
7. On Sweden, Sten Lindroth *Paracelsismen i Sverige...* (1943) p.425. On activity there in 1617 see my article "Rosicrucianism: the first blooming in Britain" in *The Hermetic Journal* (1989) p.33. P.R.O. State Papers 16/540 419.
8. Bodleian Library Ashmole MS 1149 v. *Das Erbe des Christian Rosenkreutz op. cit.* p. 88.
9. *Mercure françois* (1622-24) vol. 9. pp. 372-377.
10. G. Naudé *Instruction à la France sur la verité de l'histoire des Freres de la Roze-Croix* (1623) p. 31. "Torlaquis" can be translated as "dervishes", who were a branch of the Sufis. Roland Edighoffer *Les Rose-Croix* p.9.
11. F.A. Yates *Giordano Bruno* (Vintage ed.) p.408. W.R. Shea "Descartes and the Rosicrucians" *Annali dell' istituto e museo di storia della scienza di firenze* (1979) fas. 2 pp. 32-3.
12. *Speigel Historiae* (1967) p. 219 (A.G. Van der Steuer "Johannes Torrentius").
13. *Mémoires et Négociations secrètes de Mr. de Rusdorf* (1789) ed. E.G. Cuhn pp. 785-7.
14. Cuhn *op. cit.* o. 785. However, an anonymous newsletter given by I. Disraeli in *Curiosities of Literature* vol. iii (1866) pp. 464-5 talks of "David Ramsey of the Clock" as transmitting the letter to the King. Ramsay, a fine clockmaker to the King, was a mad alchemist and student of the occult. But Rusdorf, being close to the centre of affairs, carries much greater authority in the question. He writes of "Sir David Ramsay", whom he must have known personally, as if his Master, the Elector Palatine, knew well whom he meant. Both Ramsays are in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. I. Grimble *Chief of Mackay* (1965) p. 9.
15. G. Burnet *The Memoirs of the Lives and Actions of James and William Dukes of Hamilton and Castle-Herald* (1852 ed.). I. Grimble *op. cit.* p. 5.
16. David Stevenson *The First Freemasons: Scotland's Early Lodges and their Members* pp. 27 & 28.]

17. T. Birch *Court and Times of Charles I* vol. I pp. 172-3.
I. Disraeli *op. cit.* pp. 464-5.
18. T. Birch *op. cit.* p. 175.
19. Only one Dr Web is listed in W. Munk *The Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London* vol I, whose first name is unknown. See p.169. He came before the College's Censors in 1616, being a doctor of medicine of Padua of twelve years standing. In March 1626 the College reported him to the parliamentary commissioners as a Roman Catholic. Cuhn *op. cit.* pp. 786-7. Ziegler seems to have written more than one letter to the King. A copy of one, with translation, is in British Library MSS Cotton Jul. C.V. Cuhn *op. cit.* pp. 790.
20. British Library MSS Sloane 648 f. 148.
21. Article on Rosicrucianism in *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana*.
22. P.R.O. State Papers 46/127 f. 221. State Papers 16/540 f. 419 I. Rusdorff served both the French and the Elector Palatine.
23. P.R.O. State Papers 16/540 419 ff. For other Ziegler prophecies see British Library Add. MSS. 28,633 fs. 140-1. (Johannes Ghiselius album amicorum).
24. Henricus Neuhusius *Pia et Utilissima Admonitio de Fratribus R . . C . .* (1618).
25. P.R.O. State Papers 46/127 f. 221. There was Rosicrucian agitation at Rostock and Giessen universities. For some decades there had been a steady growth in student intakes in both German, England and Scotland, paralleling the pre-1968 student boom of Europe and America.
26. Bodleian Lib. Ashmole MS 1446 IX.
27. Bodleian Lib. Ashmole MS 1149 v, vi & viii.
28. *Proc. of Soc. of Ant. of Scotland* vol. LXV p. 134. There are chemical receipts by Hans Ziegler in the University of Leiden Library: Voss. Chymm. F. 17. p. 154.
29. *Register of ... Exeter College, Oxford* p. cvii. See Weckherlin's diary, now held in the British Library (no ref. number assigned at time of writing). The entry for an unknown day in December 1636-7 reads, "I did write a letter to Mons. Ziegler and One to Sir William Boswel". Over Ziegler's name is drawn the sign of the Rosicrucians 5. On an unspecified date in February 1634 Weckherlin wrote, "To Mr Ziegler sending him gloves." Robert Plot, writing in the 1680's, explained that it was the custom with the freemasons that a newly admitted member send gloves to the other members.