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‘Bilderfahrzeug’ of the Rosicrucians

Daniel Mögling’s *Speculum Sophicum Rhodostauroticum* (1618)
in Print and Manuscript

At the beginning of the 17th century, sightings of comets were a major media event prompting scientific, theological, and chiliastic interpretations. Shortly before the beginning of the Thirty Years’ War, during which an unprecedented propaganda fire was kindled, various other public debates had been fought out. Less present in today’s research, but particularly extensive in its scope, was the ‘Rosicrucian debate’ which took place at the same time and was quite comparable. After the publication of several anonymous texts referring to an alleged secret society calling themselves ‘Rosicrucians’ in the years 1614–1616, a public battle broke out over the correct interpretation of these heterogeneous pamphlets. In the initial texts, those interested in an epistemological and ethical revolution were invited to participate, without telling them to whom to address their replies. The subsequent responses were wide-ranging and numerous. Some of them affirmed the plans of the ‘Rosicrucians’ and welcomed their revelation. Many asked to be included in the secret society. Even more pamphlets criticized the supposed new grouping from a theological point of view—with Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists applying different arguments. Particularly fascinating were the responses of Friedrich Grick, who reacted to the ‘Rosicrucians’ under various pseudonyms and satirically exaggerated almost all possible positions, often in distinction to other contributions to the debate.¹ Grick’s ‘Rosicrucian’ writings attracted a relatively wide audience.

The ‘Rosicrucian debate’ is revealing because it unfolded great critical potential: The initial ‘Rosicrucian manifestos’ justified their religious-irenic, political, and above all science-political demands with a detailed analysis of Early Modern society. Several hundred responses to the initial texts then commented not only on the utopian potential of the ‘Rosicrucian’ ideas, but also on the social criticism included. In a small study, Rudolf Schlögl has examined 60 of these texts preserved by Herzog August Library Wolfenbüttel and concludes that the ‘Rosicrucian motif’ functions as a catalyst for the problems of the Early Modern period, thus allowing for the ‘Rosicrucian texts’ to be regarded as vehicles for their articulation:

Wer auch nur einen Teil der Antworten [auf die *Fama* und *Confessio*, UMK] durchsieht, wird schnell feststellen, daß es um die Manifeste und auch die Bruderschaft der Rosenkreuzer häufig nur noch vordergründig zu tun war. Im Rosenkreuzerdiskurs artikulierten sich die politischen und intellektuellen Umbrüche des beginnenden 17. Jahrhunderts, weil die Manifeste entweder die Stichworte geliefert oder Leerstellen markiert hatten, die jetzt zu füllen waren.

1 Cf. Gleis 2011; Korn 2022.

(‘Anyone who looks through even a part of the responses will quickly realize that the manifestos and the Brotherhood of the Rosicrucians were often only superficially concerned. The political and intellectual upheavals of the early 17th century were articulated in Rosicrucian discourse because the manifestos had either provided the keywords or marked blanks that now had to be filled.’)²

The versatility of the form of written responses is likewise remarkable.³ Prints and manuscripts have survived, short broadsheets and longer treatises, poorly printed pamphlets as well as lavishly illustrated, splendid prints. The anonymous character of the debate, in which only a few contributors took part using their real names, forced the authors to use the medium efficiently. If there was no author’s name to guarantee the quality of the publications and draw attention to them, illustrations and strategically placed accompanying texts had to take over.

Daniel Mögling, who published several texts on the ‘Rosicrucian’ debate, using his real name as well as pseudonyms, gained an especially prominent position within the controversy with one of his contributions standing out above all because of its excellent illustrations.

In the *Speculum Sopicum Rhodostauroticum* (‘The Mirror of the Wisdom of the Rosy Cross’),⁴ the illustrations not only serve to depict his text, but also to open further possibilities of interpretation. They were executed by Matthäus Merian the Elder, an engraver best known for the historiographical journal *Theatrum Europaeum* and his cityscapes in the *Topographia Germaniae*.⁵ Besides, Merian also created iconic images illustrating the concept of theosophy for other texts in the 17th century, most notably Michael Maier’s richly illustrated emblem book, *Atalanta fugiens, hoc est, emblemata nova de secretis naturae chymica*.⁶ One of Merian’s prints in the *Speculum* has

2 Schlögl 1999, 55. Cf. also Kühlmann 1996, 1125: “Denn was in den Rosenkreuzerschriften entworfen und von den Gegnern mit Recht kritisiert oder mit denunziatorischem Eifer verdammt wurde, war nicht die private Wunschphantasie einer belanglosen Sekte. Es war Syndrom, Konsequenz und Symptom einer tiefgreifenden Bewußtseinskrise vornehmlich der lutherischen Intelligenz in Deutschland, einer Verstörung, die sich mit einem erstarrten Staatskirchentum und einer akademischen Wissenschaftspraxis konfrontiert sah, die den Aufbruch der Naturspekulation und der Naturforschung verdrängte, wenn nicht gar ausgrenzte.” (‘For what has been outlined in the Rosicrucian writings and rightly criticized by opponents or condemned with denunciatory zeal, was not the private wishful fantasy of a trivial sect. It was the syndrome, consequence, and symptom of a profound crisis of confidence, especially among the Lutheran intelligentsia in Germany, a disturbance confronted with an ossified state ecclesiasticism and an academic scientific practice, which suppressed or even altogether excluded the awakening of natural speculation and natural research.’)

3 Cf. Gilly 1995, 43–84.

4 Although some illustrations are reproduced in this paper, it would certainly be beneficial for the reader to open two editions of the central text of the *Speculum*, a digitized print and a digitized manuscript: <https://www.e-manuscripta.ch/zuzneb/content/pageview/1033454>; https://digital.slub-dresden.de/data/kitodo/specsorhd_30298187X/specsorhd_30298187X_tif/jpegs/specsorhd_30298187X.pdf or <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/24-3-quod-3s/start.htm>.

5 Cf. Wagner 2021.

6 Oppenheim (Johann Theodor de Bry), 1618.

become particularly well known as a pictorial allegory of the 'Rosicrucian manifestos'. It shows a stone fortified tower on wheels, guided with a rope by the hand of God reaching down from the sky (cf. Fig. 2).⁷

On each side of the rope a star is depicted, representing celestial bodies that had recently been discovered in the constellations of the Serpent Bearer and the Swan. Those stars are described in the 'Rosicrucian manifestos' as well. The tower emits winged letters, while more flying letters reach it. They probably represent the diversity of the 'Rosicrucian debate'. Various figures are arranged around the fortified tower within a landscape depicted in perspective. As in his text, Mögling joins together older contributions to alchemy and theosophy with the 'Rosicrucian' idea in the 'Rosicrucian fortified tower'-etching. These contributions are heavily referenced in the further chapters and in the later prints of the *Speculum*: Knowledge of some older texts, for example by Heinrich Khunrath or Heinrich Noliuss, helps to understand and interpret both the formulations and the illustrations.⁸ Mögling's introduction and the etching showing the 'Rosicrucian fortified tower', on the other hand, are a clear reaction to the 'Rosicrucian debate'. He not only refers to the 'Rosicrucian manifestos' printed in 1614–1616 and formulated some years earlier by a group around Johann Valentin Andreae, but also takes efforts to distinguish between true and false contributors to the debate. In particular, he polemicizes against Friedrich Grick, who was one of the most eager contributors to the debate. The fact that Mögling was not only aware of Grick's special *Spiegel-fechterei* ('mirror fencing'), i. e., his play with contradictory pseudonyms, but that he even knew the empirical author of the texts, as a remark in a manuscript of the *Speculum* suggests, is a surprise since Grick's civil name was only identified late in scholarly research. Rather, most of his contemporaries did not see through his game of deceit but addressed their replies to the discussants Grick had made up and reacted to 'their' respective positions. In this way, Grick acted like the Tübingen-based pastor Andreae, who is nowadays regarded as the literary author of the 'Rosicrucian manifestos', yet was only assumed to be the author by a few people at the time.⁹

7 This mobile tower inspired the title of this paper. The term "mobile Bilderfahrzeuge" ('vehicles of images') was coined by the art historian Aby Warburg. Warburg was not describing images of vehicles in this way, but the ability of images to transport abstract ideas. In this paper I will describe how Daniel Mögling and Matthäus Merian connect to the 'Rosicrucians' through the pictorial expression of religio-philosophical ideas, but also how they differ from them.

8 Simon Brandl has recently pursued these references in text and image, cf. Brandl 2021, *passim*.

9 One fundamental conviction behind this paper is that Johann Valentin Andreae was the author or one of the authors of the 'Rosicrucian manifestos'. Contemporarily, and especially in the earlier history of ideas, the texts had been associated with a mystification of the Rosicrucian brotherhood, which was probably partly intentional. Assuming today that there was a 'deeper truth' behind the texts or that there really were Rosicrucians—and not only the group of authors—would be wrong, I think. These assumptions are not fully shared by all researchers in the field. In terms of the history of ideas, it would be appealing to describe this research controversy thoroughly. More precise findings about the actual intentions of the group of authors around Andreae (or the author Andreae) will probably remain a desideratum, although a particularly desired one. Cf. Werle 2019.



Fig. 1: *Speculum*, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3 Quod. (3), front page.



Fig. 2: *Speculum*, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3 Quod. (3), p. 21, fortified tower.

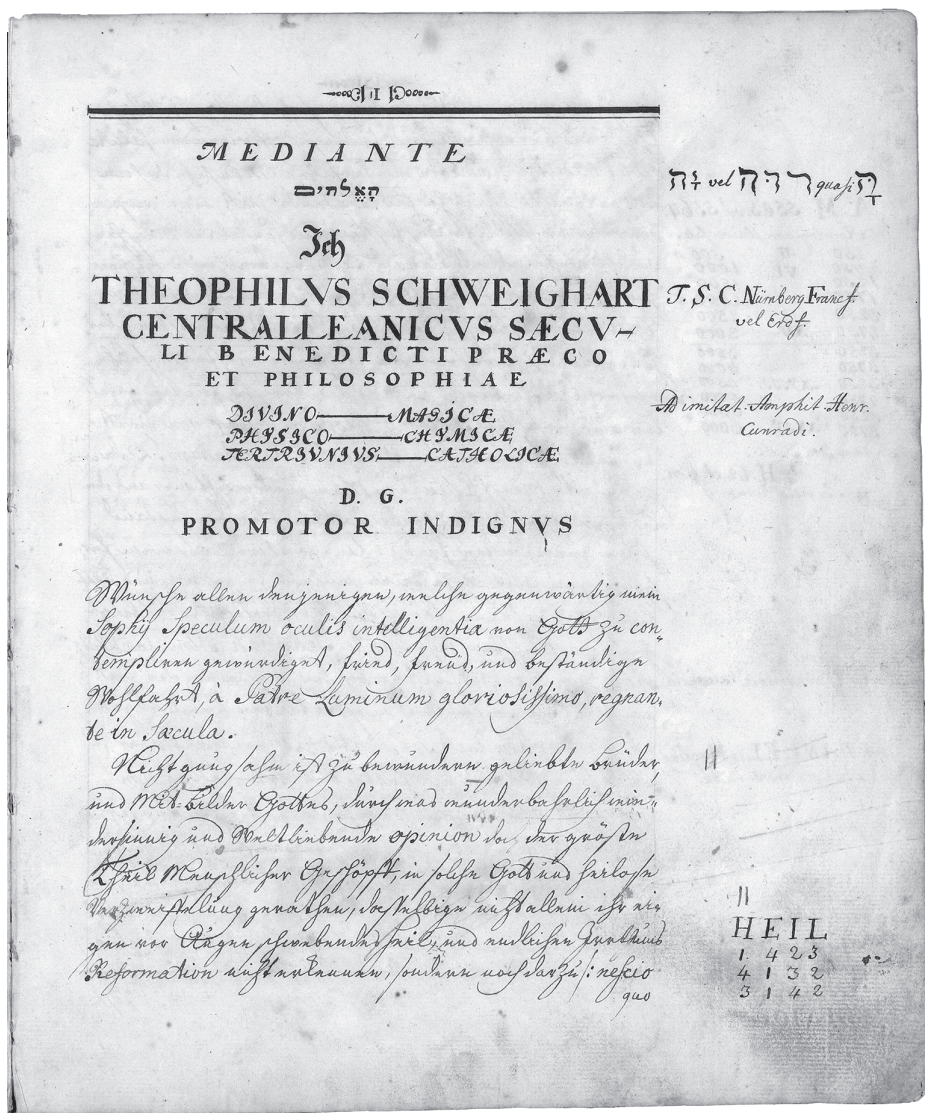


Fig. 3: *Speculum*, manuscript, Zentralbibliothek Zürich, SCH R 201, p.1.

Mögling's naming of Grick not only speaks for his intimate knowledge of the debate, but also points to the thrilling history of the *Speculum's* transmission. On the one hand, it is present in print, on the other hand, there is a handwritten version of the text that bears a close resemblance to the print and is now kept in the library of the ETH Zurich (cf. Fig. 3).¹⁰

10 It is available in digital form, however: <https://doi.org/10.7891/e-manuscripta-23267> (accessed 24/12/2021). This is cited hereafter using the siglum SSR-Manus.

The relation between the printed edition and the manuscript is not an easy one to describe; indeed, it is probably not possible to say anything with verifiable certainty. The following paper, however, is an attempt to make some plausible speculations about their levels of interdependence for the first time. The handwritten addition of Grick's name will be one of the traces I will pursue. Before that, however, basic aspects of the 'Rosicrucian' debate, Mögling's biography, and the special situation of the *Speculum*'s transmission will be explained.

1 The 'Rosicrucian Debate'

At the dawn of the 17th century, there was a dynamic development of the sciences in Germany, especially in Protestant university towns such as Altdorf, Jena, and Tübingen, flourishing centers of the printing industry such as Frankfurt, Strasbourg, and Leipzig, and at some princely courts, such as that of Stuttgart or Hessen-Butzbach. These innovations involved developments in the field of, speaking in modern terms, medicine, optics, mathematics, and, of course, chemistry. Historically, these fields of knowledge were not all part of the scientific disciplines taught at universities, but also belonged to the spectrum of the crafts—such as optics—or to other related fields, such as alchemy.

The political polarization within the Holy Roman Empire prior to the beginning of the Thirty Years' War was exacerbated when the Protestant Union was founded in 1608: The alliance of Lutheran and Calvinist imperial states formed as a reaction to the illegal occupation of Donauwörth under Bavarian Duke Maximilian I. A short time later, the Catholic League was founded, meaning that two strong opposing parties were now confronting each other in the Empire. Within the Protestant confessions, the conflict between Lutherans and Calvinists was pressing. Additionally, with a century having passed since the Wittenberg Reformation and being in constant conflict with the Counter-Reformation, institutional weaknesses of the Lutheran regional churches had also emerged.

In two texts, the *Fama Fraternitatis* (1614, Kassel) and the *Confessio Fraternitatis* (1615, Kassel), a hitherto unknown esoteric order was described, and a universal reformation of mankind was envisaged. A little later, another short text describes a biographical revival experience witnessed by the order's founder Christian Rosencreutz (*Chymische Hochzeit Christiani Rosencreutz*, 1616, Strasbourg).

By applying different literary techniques and recourses to different textual models, these three texts publicly propagate the liberation of science under the guise of piety. According to the ideas described within them, science ought to be charitable and overcome the scholastic scientific culture found within the Early Modern university. Additionally, other fields of knowledge, such as that of alchemy, are to be integrated into it. Apparently, the texts were already available in Kassel or Strasbourg before they were printed. Since no earlier printings have survived, an earlier distribution of the texts in handwritten form is likely.

The *Fama*'s and *Confessio*'s appeal to kindred souls must be regarded as a central motor of their ability to attract wide audiences. The flood of letters of various origins, consisting of affirmation, rejection, detailed criticism, as well as admonitions from different camps, has already been described above.¹¹

Eventually, the debate slowly lost its intensity in the 1620s and its actual intellectual range has not yet been precisely measured by scholars,¹² nor has it been possible to assess its consequences thoroughly. Nevertheless, the founding of the Royal Society and other scientific associations may be counted among its direct effects. Moreover, the form of direct and sharp personal criticism that became common later in the Age of Enlightenment can be seen as a reaction to the inconclusive anonymous debates on the three 'Rosicrucian manifestos'.

But why has a debate of such astonishing scope hardly been discussed for its width in previous research, and instead has been appreciated mainly in historical alchemy studies?¹³ The idea of a holistic model of science under the banner of religious piety, which was fundamental to the *Fama* and *Confessio*, was abandoned after the publication of Francis Bacon's *Novum organon scientiarum* (1620) in favor of a small-scale and specialized science with a claim to objectivity, separated from morality and the church. As the history of science tends to focus on the concepts that prevailed, contemporary alternatives are not discussed with the same attention.

2 Daniel Mögling

Daniel Mögling was born into a distinguished family of scholars in Tübingen, which produced several professors and even one rector of Tübingen University.¹⁴ However, to the misfortune of biographers, several generations of Möglings bear the first name Daniel, thus leading to an unsatisfactory biographical and bibliographical situation.¹⁵ The father of the dynasty's youngest 'Daniel' died shortly after his son's birth in 1596. In 1611, Mögling took up his studies at the University of Tübingen. In this environment he became acquainted with some members of Andreae's circle of friends, such

¹¹ Cf. still fundamentally Schick 1942. Carlos Gilly is preparing a larger study on this—six volumes have been announced—, which has been eagerly awaited for some time.

¹² As a small-scale 'pilot study', it is worth mentioning Schlögl 1999.

¹³ Cf. on the rich literature on the questions concerning the position of alchemy and Rosicrucians Werle 2019.

¹⁴ On Mögling's biography, cf. fundamentally Neumann 1995.

¹⁵ Cf. Neumann 1995, 95. See also the German Wikipedia entry on Mögling, which actually confuses grandfather and grandson: "Daniel Mögling", in: Wikipedia—The Free Encyclopedia. Edited date: 1 January 2021, 13:17 UTC, https://de.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Daniel_Mögling&oldid=207132781 (accessed 24/01/2021). In the English Wikipedia, on the other hand, there are two articles on both Daniel Möglings; both, however, are credited with authorship of the *Speculum* (accessed 24/12/2021).

as the professor of Law at Tübingen, Christoph Besold, and, certainly before 1620, with Andreae himself.¹⁶ After obtaining a master's degree (*Magistergrad*) in Tübingen, he began studying medicine in Altdorf in 1616.¹⁷ This Protestant Academia Norica, founded near Nuremberg, was not made a university until 1622, but had already been awarding academic titles for several decades. A letter to his friend Bonaventura Reyhing shows that the young graduate Mögling was already influenced by alchemical and mechanical interests at this time.¹⁸ In Altdorf he probably also met Grick.

Starting from his first publication, Mögling defends the messages of the 'Rosicrucian' texts against Grick: *Rosa Florescens, contra F. G. Menapii calumnias*, using the pseudonym of 'Florentinus de Valentia'. In contrast, he signs his second short text from the same year with 'Theophilus Schweighardt': *Pandora sextae aetatis, sive speculum gratiae: D. i.: Die ganze Kunst und Wissenschaft der von Gott hocheerleuchten Fraternitet Christiani Rosencreutz*. ('The Whole Art and Science of the Fraternitet Christiani Rosencreutz, Highly Enlightened by God'). This small treatise is particularly worth mentioning because it can be seen as a prelude to the *Speculum* in terms of form and content, despite being much more concise and, apart from an image on the title page, not illustrated. Notably, in his *Pandora*, Mögling probably is the first person to use the word 'Pansophie'. As the Augsburg jurist Caspar Tadel reported, Mögling, whom he had met in Nuremberg, wrote the *Speculum* as an interpretation of the *Pandora*, and did so within half a day, which can probably be dismissed as a legend.¹⁹ Additionally, Tadel also reported to Landgrave Philipp III of Hesse-Butzbach, a nobleman sharing Mögling's interest in alchemy, about his 'Rosicrucian' texts, and Mögling then entered his service a few years later. Before that, he had matriculated again in Tübingen, where he was also awarded a doctorate.²⁰ Mögling then acted as personal physician and court mechanic in Butzbach until he was dismissed after a few years for lack of money.

3 *Speculum Sopicum Rhodostauroticum*

The *Speculum* is a rather challenging and presuppositional text. It neither narrates an interesting plot like the *Chymische Hochzeit*, nor offers a well-founded diagnosis of the problems of the epoch like the first two 'Rosicrucian manifestos', nor amuses by making use of subtle polemics like Friedrich Grick's pamphlets. Rather, in the *Speculum*, Mögling presents his knowledge of the 'Rosicrucians' and deduces from it demands and maxims for a theosophical doctrine of knowledge. Part of this search for truth

¹⁶ Cf. Neumann 1995, 100.

¹⁷ Cf. Steinmeyer 1912, vol. II, 381.

¹⁸ Cf. Neumann 1995, 98–100.

¹⁹ Cf. Van Dülmen 1972, 45.

²⁰ Cf. Neumann 1995, 111.



Fig. 4: *Speculum*, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3 Quod. (3), front page, detail.



Fig. 5: *Speculum*, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3 Quod. (3), front page, detail.

is the striving for knowledge founded in natural philosophy and connecting it to the Pansophistic ideas of microcosm and macrocosm. This striving for dissolving of dualisms already dominates the title page, where two female figures are depicted, marked as allegories of the 'Physiologia' and the 'Theologia'.

Their attributes, however, seem to be inverted: While the 'naturalist' is equipped with a burning heart and a palm frond, the 'theologian' carries a compass and ruler. Under both figures, German-language epigrams advertise to the reader the promise of great clarity and easy understanding: *Verstehstu nit mein treue leer/ Kein Buch verstehstu nimermer* ('If you do not understand my faithful teachings, you will no longer understand any book', cf. Fig. 4) and *So deutlich hab ichs expliciert/ Und mit figur vor augen gfurt* ('I have spelled it out so clearly and made it visible with illustrations', cf. Fig. 5).²¹ In a reader's preface, Mögling then reinforces his claim to provide clarification about the 'Rosicrucian' movement by distinguishing between a true 'Rosicrucian' message and false witnesses (*Zoilorum*²²). The preface is dated from March 1617 and states the location "Altpagita", which could perhaps stand for Altdorf. Following this, Mögling develops his theosophy in four subsequent sections. First, he describes some authors in more depth, focusing on Julianus de Campis and the mystic Thomas von Kempen,²³ both of whom had already published theosophical texts before 1614, that is, before the publication of the 'Rosicrucian manifestos'. In Mögling's work, they themselves become 'Rosicrucians', i. e., witnesses of how the Order would work on earth. Mögling quotes a text by Julianus de Campis, for example, to explain the path to brotherhood:

Attende was in seiner Epistel sagt Iulianus de Campis: ich durchzohe viel Königreich/Fürstenthumb/ Herrschaften/ unnd Prouinzen: ichh schlug mich gegen Auffgang/ gegen Mittag/ gegen Abend und endlich gegen Mitternacht etc. Diese Wort werden dir das Collegium deutlich genug expliciren/ und hilfft wenig/ ob du alle Reichs- und Seestätt durchlauffest/ si recipi non dignus.

('Pay attention to what Julianus de Campis says in his epistle: I wandered through many kingdoms, principalities, domains, and provinces; I turned to the sunrise, to noon and to the evening, and finally to the midnight, etc. These words will explain the Collegium clearly enough to you, and it is of little use if you wander through all the kingdoms and port cities and are not worthy of receiving it.')

²⁴

²¹ *Speculum Sophicum Rhodo-Stauroticum Das ist: Weitläuffige Entdeckung deß Collegii unnd axiomatum von der sondern erleuchten Fraternitet Christ-RosenCreutz: allen der wahn Weißheit Begirigen Expectanten zu fernerer Nachrichtung/ den unverständigen Zoilis aber zur unaußlöschlicher Schandt und Spott/ Durch Theophilum Schweighardt Constantiensem, Frankfurt 1618 (de Bry), front page. This print is cited hereafter using the siglum SSR.*

²² SSR 5. Although the pagination of the *Speculum* counts incorrectly, reference is made here to the page numbers as given in the print.

²³ On Julianus de Campis, whose pseudonym has not yet been clearly resolved, cf. Gilly 2012, 279–281.

²⁴ SSR, 6, 8.

On this page, the author also details the criticism of false brothers, the *falsarios quosdam fratres*.²⁵ This passage will be considered in more detail in the coming section. Mögling mockingly distances himself from fictional literature, i. e., texts bringing profits to the *Buchführern* ('booksellers').²⁶ He mentioned books like the *Rollwagenbüchlein*, the pranks of Till Eulenspiegel or similar *schandbare[] Gedichte[]* ('shameful poems/fictions').²⁷ Above all, however, Mögling provides an interpretation of Rosicrucianism based on the etching of the 'Rosicrucian fortified tower' by discussing the individual figures depicted in the printed version and explaining their significance to readers who wish to contact the 'Rosicrucians':

Du siehst/ das Collegium hangen in freyer Lufft/ wo Gott will/ der kann es dirigieren/ es ist beweglich unnd unbeweglich/ beständig und unbeständig/ verläst sich auff seine Alas und Rotas, unnd ob gleich mit seinen lieblichen Posaunen/ die fratres das venite ruffen/ stehet doch Julianus de Campis mit dem Schwert/ dessen Examini mustu dich subiciieren/derwegen caue? [cave, achte] Bestehestu nicht, und hast ein böß Gewissen, so hilfft dir weder Brücken noch Seil, komstu hoch, so fälstu hoch, und must in puteo erroris et opinionis sterben und verderben.

('You can see that the Collegium hangs in the air, and God can direct it where he wants. It is movable and immobile, constant and unstable, it leans on its wings and wheels, and though the brothers shout *venite* with sweet trumpets, Julianus de Campus stands with the sword, and you must submit to his test, so beware. If you fail the test and have a guilty conscience, neither bridge nor rope can help you. If you climb up, your fall will be great, and you must die and perish in a pit of error and deceit.')²⁸

Here, it becomes clear that text and image are closely connected in the *Speculum*. It would have been impossible to create the pictures as mere illustrations, without consultation of the author; at the same time, the text goes into such detail about the pictures that they must have been available to the author at least as a rough draft. Mögling summarizes the theme of this first section, the search for the 'Rosicrucians', in a brief poem at the end:

*Such nit vergebens ist dein Mühe,
Merck nun was ich dich berichte hie,
Thustu und folgst der Lehre mein,
Wirt bald ein frater bey dir seyn,
Schreib nicht, du habst dich dann probirt,
Mit betten in die Schul geführt.*

('Don't look for it, all your work is in vain,
Pay attention to what I tell you,

²⁵ SSR, 8.

²⁶ SSR, 10.

²⁷ SSR, 10.

²⁸ SSR, 8.



Fig. 6: *Speculum*, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3 Quod. (3), p. 23, Ergon and Parergon.

If you do, and follow my teachings,
A brother will soon be with you.
Do not write, if you have not proven yourself,
If you have not been admitted to the school through prayer.’)²⁹

In the second chapter, Mögling goes on to describe ‘Ergon’ and ‘Parergon’, i. e., two cognitive objectives of Theosophy: the one directed towards the inner being, which can be achieved through the study of the Holy Bible (Ergon), and the one focused on the external nature, contributing to the search for truth through the close study and manipulation of the natural environment (Parergon) (cf. Fig. 6). ‘Ergon and Parergon’ are also attached to the text as an image in a separate etching displaying the same fundamental dualism.

²⁹ SSR, 11.

In a recent article, Simon Brandl has interpreted this image and its description in the drawing considering the contexts of theosophical, Paracelsian as well as alchemical discourses of the time, and, above all, worked out how Mögling links up with older descriptions.³⁰

The third, shorter section of the text explains Pansophy³¹ itself, the search for truth far from all authorities. It ends in a prayer in which the praying person asks for knowledge of nature. This is followed, *foelicitur* ('auspiciously'),³² by another section making up almost half of the entire text, the *PANSOPHIA RHODO-STAUROTICA*, where Mögling explains in detail the basic features of Pansophy. His objective is to reach a deep transcendental experience in the course of the independent exploration of nature. For this purpose, the author again interprets the two allusive illustrations included. In contrast to the discussion of the 'Rosicrucian' message, Mögling describes a spiritualistic concept of theosophy essentially getting along without any knowledge of the 'Rosicrucian manifestos'. The explanations about the structure of the world culminate in the instruction: *nosce te ipsum* ('know thyself'),³³ suggesting that microcosm and macrocosm are interchangeable, for the knowledge of one is applicable to the other. Mögling's depictions often seem tautological and are characterized by their circular movements of thought. Moreover, the strong interaction between text and image is noteworthy in the case of two further etchings included in the *Speculum*, thus adding to the already described 'Rosicrucian (fortified) tower' and the title picture: Firstly, there is an alchemical scene in which three seekers of truth demonstrate two paths to knowledge: A praying figure at the top is captioned 'Ergon', while two others apparently performing natural experiments, are labelled/named 'Parergon'.

The second image does not show a scene with an idealized landscape, like the Ergon-Parergon-etching and the 'Rosicrucian fortified tower'.

Rather, it depicts microcosm and macrocosm executed as circles at the bottom and top of the sheet within one diagram (cf. Fig. 7). While at the bottom a naked man is shown in the style of Leonardo da Vinci's *Vitruvian Man*, at the top the Tetragrammaton as a sign of God appears inside of a winged circle. In between, also depicted in circles, are the elements and the various realms of outwardly visible nature. Together, these last two illustrations visualize the content of the second half of the work, the *Pansophia Rhodostaurotica*.³⁴

Richard van Dülmen, who was the first to edit the *Speculum* as an appendix to a study on Mögling, characterized the text as a less comprehensible but typical 'Rosicrucian' pamphlet:

³⁰ Cf. Brandl 2021, passim.

³¹ Cf. Kühlmann 1995.

³² SSR, 15.

³³ SSR, 13.

³⁴ Cf. Simon Brandl 2021. While Brandl says little about the title page and almost nothing about the 'Rosicrucian fortified tower', he interprets these illustrations in detail. This will not be repeated here.

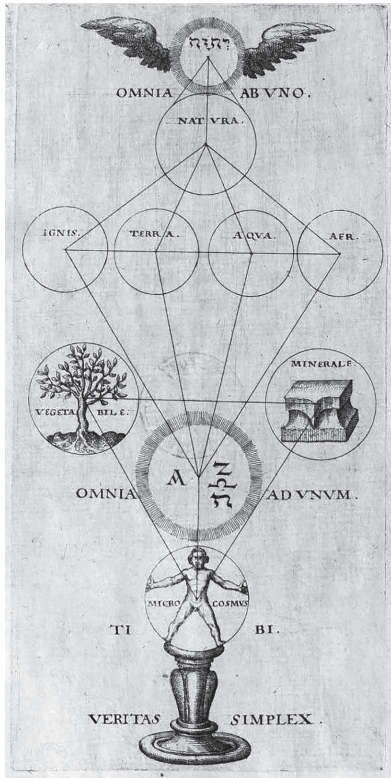


Fig. 7: *Speculum*, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3

Quod. (3), p. 27, Realms of nature.

Wenn Mögling nicht unbedingt ursprünglich und eigenständig dachte, denn die literarische Abhängigkeit ist *überall* nachweisbar, noch auch den Aufbau seiner Schriften immer *überzeugend* gestaltete, so ist er doch ein recht typischer Vertreter der Rosenkreuzerbewegung, die in der Zeit der Stagnation der Theologie und der Philosophie nach neuen Möglichkeiten rang.

(‘Although Mögling did not necessarily think originally and independently, for literary imitation is demonstrable everywhere, and did not always structure his works convincingly, he is nevertheless a fairly typical representative of the Rosicrucian movement, which was struggling for new possibilities in the time of stagnation of theology and philosophy.’)³⁵

While the *Speculum*, according to this assessment, seems little suited to contribute extensively to the elucidation of the ‘Rosicrucian movement’, its history of transmission and printing is nevertheless particularly rich and may thus serve to further illuminate the connection between manuscript and printing in the 17th century. Though the abovementioned illustrated manuscript, recently digitized by the ETH Zurich, is the most interesting textual witness, the print tradition is also informative, with various copies supplemented with handwritten annotations.

³⁵ Van Dülmen 1972, 54.

4 History of the *Speculum's* Composition and Printing

The *Speculum* has been handed down many times: Libraries in Berlin, Weimar, Erlangen, Wolfenbüttel, and Dresden possess copies. The latter have made digital copies freely available.³⁶

Additionally, one copy is preserved in Salzburg, where the private library of Christoph Besold is kept within the university library, providing insights into the intellectual horizon of a professor from Tübingen in the early 17th century who was acquainted with many authors and thinkers of 'Rosicrucianism'. Indeed, Besold's book collection has formed the basis of the Salzburg University Library since 1649. This copy of the *Speculum* contains marginal notes with corrections. Van Dülmen considered them to be author's corrections and thus incorporated them into his edition, even though there is probably no conclusive proof verifying his assumption. On the contrary, the current expert in the bibliographical recording of 'Rosicrucian' texts, Carlos Gilly, recognizes Besold's own handwriting and not that of Mögling. The only thing that can be said for certain is that Besold had a copy of the *Speculum* in his possession, which had been relieved from printing errors in the margins by a very attentive and knowledgeable reader. While researchers have been keen to appreciate the printing of the *Speculum* early on, making it an integral element in the history of 'Rosicrucian' scholarship, the *Speculum* manuscript, recently digitized in Zurich, has not yet been used for editions. In Dülmen's essential study on Mögling, which also presents the edition of the *Speculum* in the appendix, he does not discuss the manuscript, nor did Neumann and Brandl consult it.³⁷ But how did the mysterious manuscript find its way to Zurich?

The German-Swiss psychotherapist, graphologist, writer, and esoteric collector Oskar Rudolf Schlag (1907–1990) donated his important library on the subject of hermeticism to ETH, where it has since been open to the public named 'Bibliothek Oskar R. Schlag'.³⁸ Unfortunately, due to this provenance from private hands, all traces of the acquisition of the manuscript were lost, so that neither the library nor Schlag's notary were able to provide further information about the manuscript.

Still, the Zurich manuscript is clearly related to the printed edition with its four illustrations, even though only three aquarelles belong to the manuscript: the title page, the 'Rosicrucian fortified tower', and the 'microcosm-macrocosm' graphic. They are executed in color and are just as rich in detail as the etchings in the printed ver-

³⁶ The Dresden print is remarkable. It is heavily trimmed, so that some letters in the margin are not legible; instead, another handwritten graphic is included here. However, it is probably impossible to identify the author of this somewhat clumsy sketch. Cf. Brandl 2021, 204.

³⁷ However, the manuscript is now well known. Gilly and Peter J. Forshaw, for example, showed it in a major exhibition at the Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica (Ritman Library) in Amsterdam. The tower is also illustrated on the cover of *Divine Wisdom—Divine Nature. The Message of the Rosicrucian Manifestoes in the Visual Language of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. by José Bouman and Cis van Heertum 2017.

³⁸ Cf. Bibliothek Oskar R. Schlag.

sion. The similarity between the motifs in the print and in the manuscript, despite the different artistic techniques used, is striking. A comparative analysis of the details reveals some minor differences in the composition of the images, which are not solely due to the different graphic processes applied. The church steeple in the background of the fortified tower is somewhat less high in the print, and the ark and village are situated somewhat further into the picture's horizon and are thus making them appear smaller. Additionally, the framework of the small house on the left of the picture is executed differently; though, on the other hand, the number and arrangement of the small windows and the tiny dormers are identical.

A comparison of the two title pages leads to similar results: Here, for example, the two allegories dominating the picture ('Theologia' and 'Physiologia') display different facial characteristics and the emblem in the central lower cartouche is executed somewhat differently (cf. Fig. 8 and 9). An important variation in the microcosm-macrocosm illustration points to a fundamental problem of comparison: Here, the little Vitruvian man representing the microcosm has had a beaded vulgar stream of urine painted onto his stylized penis, probably added after the painting, and done rather clumsily in comparison to the rest of the watercolor. This somewhat foul treatment probably testifies to the fact that the manuscript has a history of its own and that later interventions are to be expected. Additionally, this finding is repeated in the text, where it is mainly comments in the wide margins distinguishing the text from the print. They are inconsistent—and were probably added at different times with many of them completing, structuring, and explaining the text. Some rather seem to use the given space for more extensive notes, though many of the notes remain incomprehensible. Obviously, naometric and cryptographic flourishes are among them, too. The writing hand differs from the oblique flow of the main text, but not to the extent that a second handwriting and a second scribe's handwriting must be assumed. Rather, the writing situation differs, making it likely that the additions in the marginal column were included at later times. Three of these additions shall be described in more detail here: In the preface and in the first chapter, the scribe of the manuscript clarifies two pseudonyms, one of them stating the author of the printed text, by adding into the margin the mention of the earlier text, the *Pandora*, as well as the name "Doct. Danielis Mogling".³⁹

Furthermore, the writer also provides the full name of Friedrich Grick at the mention of the 'false brothers', the *falsarios quosdam fratres*⁴⁰ in the margin and adds "Altdorf" as his origin as well as *Ireneus Agnostus* as one of its pseudonyms (see Fig. 10). These two entries indicate a close connection between the scribe of the manuscript and the empirical author: In 1618, Friedrich Grick's identity could not yet be determined from his writings alone. And even in later years, the identification of his real name was not part of the core of bibliographical knowledge about this author,

39 SSR-Manus, 2.

40 SSR-Manus, 5.



Fig. 8: *Speculum* (print), Zentralbibliothek Zürich, SCH R 201, illustrated page after p. 8, fortified tower.



Fig. 9: *Speculum* (manuscript), Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3 Quod. (3), p. 21, fortified tower.

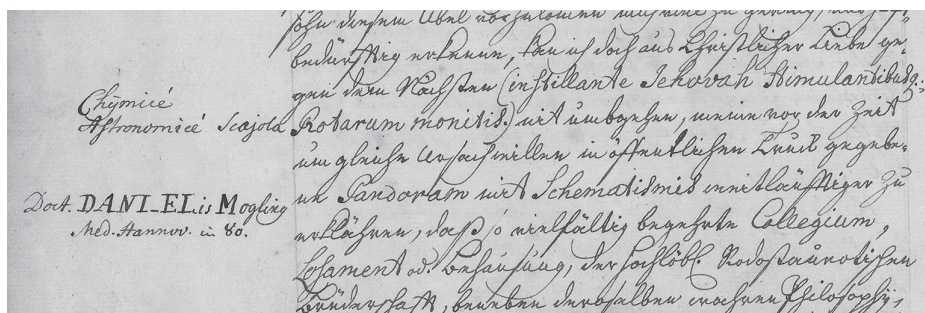


Fig. 10: *Speculum*, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3 Quod. (3), p. 2, “Doct. Mogling”.

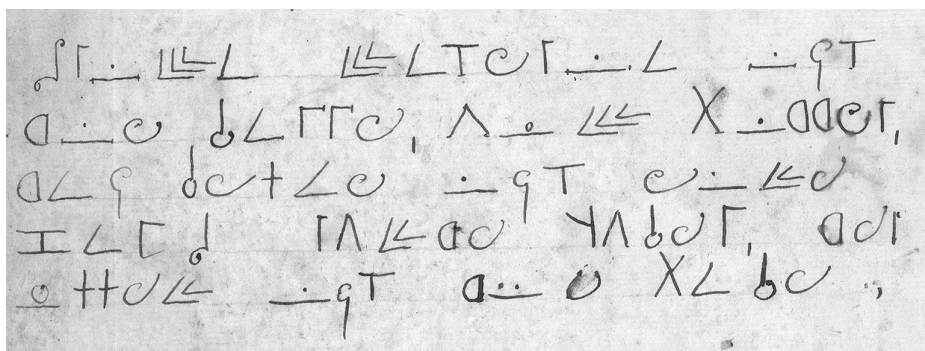


Fig. 11: *Speculum*, Zentralbibliothek Zürich, SCH R 201, p. 1, riddle.

although in texts written and published after 1620 Grick recognizably resolves several of the various pseudonyms and even uses his civil name. There are no examples so far in the 17th century in which Grick’s identity is revealed as clearly as in these marginalia. His fellow student Mögling was probably one of the few of his time who correctly interpreted Grick’s special use of pseudonyms within his ‘Rosicrucian’ criticism, clearly denouncing it, but also partly imitated it himself. In print, however, Grick is not mentioned. A third notable addition to the manuscript is a coded message on the first blank page (cf. Fig. 11).

There has been no satisfactory decryption of this so far.⁴¹ These three entries exemplify the simultaneously supplementary and enigmatic character of the handwritten additions.

The texts also vary in detail comparing the manuscript and the printed version.

⁴¹ I thank Anne-Simone Rous (Dresden) for her expertise and her attempts at solving this cryptographic puzzle. She identified the problem as a monoalphabetic substitution. Her proposed decryption is promising, but also remains difficult to interpret: FRIDA DATERIA IST/ DIE GALLE, UND WIDDER/ DAS GE*AE IST EINE/ HALB RUNDE KUGEL, DER/ O**ER IST DIE WAGE. For the asterisk, C, J, M, P, Q, V, X, Y, Z are possible substitutions, however, none of the letters leads to a satisfactory solution.

Unsurprisingly for the Early Modern period, when spelling was not uniformly regulated, the orthography differs greatly. However, the vocabulary also varies slightly as, for example, the beginning of the manuscript's second paragraph shows:

Nicht genugsam ist zu bewundern geliebte Brüder, und Mitbilder Gottes, durch was wunderbarlich widersinnig und weltliebende opinion doch der größte Theil Menschlicher Geschöpff, in solche Gott und herlose verzweiffelung gerathen [...].

('Not enough is it to admire beloved brothers, and fellow-images of God, by what wonderfully senseless and world-loving deceit the greatest part of human creatures have fallen into such Godless and lordless [or heartless?] despair.')

⁴²

In contrast, one reads in the printed version:

Nicht genugsam ist zu verwundern geliebte Brüder/ und Mitbilder Gottes/ durch was wunderbarlich widersinnig und weltliebende opinion doch der größte theil Menschlicher Geschöpff/ in solche Gott und herrlose verzweiffelung gerathen [...].

('Not enough is it to be wondered at, beloved brothers and fellow images of God, by what wonderfully senseless and world-loving deceit yet the greatest part of human creatures have fallen into such Godless and lordless despair.')

⁴³

Besides the variations in orthography and punctuation, the major difference between *bewundern* ('admire') and *verwundern* ('be bewildered') is particularly striking.

However, the similarities in the layout of both texts are also remarkable: The alignment and the boundaries of a page are almost identical. This may be interpreted in two different ways: The scribe of the manuscript either knew exactly what the layout of the print looked like and was able to imitate it. In this case, the printed version would have preceded the manuscript. But why would anyone copy a rather spectacular print so artfully? An obvious assumption would be that the manuscript was a product made especially for sale, subordinate to the print. This would be highly plausible given the notoriously lively autograph market in the Early Modern period and even later epochs, thus potentially making it a case of a later manuscript fiction, where the manuscript was created directly for economic exploitation. The enigmatic additions in the margin would then be a fitting coloring for this material purpose. The cost of this would have been immense, but so were the revenues that such manuscripts yielded. However, it would then be unclear how exactly the Grick-marginal got into the text. Did the author Mögling himself fake the handwriting? This must be considered a plausible option.

The second possible interpretation would be that the scribe of the manuscript was well informed about the printing craft and was able to estimate how many letters and

⁴² SSR-Manus, 1.

⁴³ SSR, 1.

words would fit on a line of print and likewise how many lines would make up a sheet in the chosen setup. In both cases, the manuscript would not be a draft manuscript and, in the second case described, it would probably be an exact model for a publisher's typesetter. But how then did the additions come to be on this master copy of a typesetter? The marginalia were not considered for the printing, and probably should not have been. I consider this interpretation of the connection between manuscript and print to be the most probable, i. e., that the manuscript was the direct master copy, but not a draft manuscript. Encouragingly, recent bibliographical research has been able to compile many results supporting this thesis.

5 Printing Process

In a 2012 essay, Carlos Gilly identified Theodor de Bry as the publisher of the *Speculum*.⁴⁴ At the same time, he identified de Bry's son-in-law Matthäus Merian as the artist. The Calvinist engraver and publisher de Bry published richly illustrated travelogues in his Frankfurt publishing house, but also alchemical and theosophical texts, such as Michael Maier's *Atalanta fugiens* (1618). Merian cooperated with him intensively and illustrated alchemical works, such as Maier's aforementioned title or Johann Daniel Mylius *Opus medico-chymicum* (Frankfurt: Lucas Jennis 1618). Heinrich Khunrath's work *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* had been written several decades earlier, but with its relationship of text, image, and text-within-an-image it could have been an important model for the illustrations of the *Speculum*.⁴⁵ In his essay cited above, Brandl (and van Dülmen before him) has shown how the Ergon-Parergon-etching takes up the imagery of the alchemical tent in Khunrath. Moreover, an art-historical research network led by Berit Wagner at the University of Frankfurt/Main has recently looked at de Bry's and Merian's alchemical prints, examining the dense network of texts and images, as well as mapping the constellation of the persons involved, which is interesting considering the relationships of praxeology, art, and publishing history.⁴⁶

Wagner described in this project an *album amicorum* from a library in Washington, where a handwritten entry by Daniel Mögling in 1616 shows that he was an able draftsman. The allegorical scene sketched there is strongly reminiscent of the representations consisting of individual elements in Khunrath's and subsequently Mögling's work. Each of these pictorial elements is charged with meaning, and some of them are lettered.

In terms of the illustration's motif, the entry in the *album amicorum* from 1616 bears resemblance to the title illustration of the *Pandora* from 1617, which in turn can

⁴⁴ Cf. Gilly 2012.

⁴⁵ It was drawn by Hans von de Vries and engraved by Paullus van der Doort.

⁴⁶ Cf. Wagner 2021.

be found slightly modified in the title page of the *Speculum*. Just as there are motivic adoptions between the entry into the *album amicorum* and the two prints published under the name Schweighart, there are several similarities between the prints in the *Speculum* or the aquarelles in the *Speculum* manuscript on the one hand and the illustrations in Heinrich Khunrath's *Amphitheatrum* on the other. Khunrath's alchemical 'emblem book' had been reprinted several times and, like the *Speculum*, contains one-dimensional diagrams and deep-perspective landscapes showing various figures and buildings. The kneeling figure, for example, in the lower right edge of the picture in the 'Rosicrucian fortified tower'-etching echoes a similar figure recurring in Khunrath's work in its clothing, posture, and also in its relationship to the viewer of the picture, who can only look at it from behind, from a diagonal angle.⁴⁷ Parts of Khunrath's pictorial composition, showing a landscape around an extensively inscribed fortress, in which various figures are scattered about, engaged in different activities, but seemingly isolated from one another, can also be found in the 'Rosicrucian fortified tower'-etching: In the *Speculum*, especially the rider, two striders, and the praying figure in the lower right quadrant, are depicted in a posture resembling some figures in Khunrath's etching. It is now still not clear to whom this clear reference to Khunrath is to be attributed: To the engraver or to the author?

Gilly has described that Merian and Mögling may have met during the autumnal Frankfurt Book Fair.⁴⁸ Since the text of the *Speculum* refers in detail to the 'Rosicrucian fortified tower'-etching as described, the author must either have had a draft before him or must have communicated precise details of his ideas to the printmaker, either orally or in writing. The Zurich *Speculum* manuscript could have taken on this task. It could be the link between the engraver Merian and the author Mögling.

The handwritten entries on the marginal edge could then date from a time when the printing had already been carried out; the manuscript had thus lost its significance and the wide marginal edge invited scribbles and secondary annotations. More important than the exact relation between manuscript and print, however, is that in each case the close working relationship between author and pictorial artist is shown. Here we can use a particularly difficult and attractive example to gain insight into the working methods of authors and printers interested in alchemy and the knowledge of nature in the early 17th century, and incidentally solve the mystery of our mysterious manuscript via detour. This succeeds only because in the manuscript knowledge was revealed that probably was accessible only to the author Mögling.

The motivic reference to Khunrath within the prints has already been described above. Mögling/Merian even adopts the basic principles of pictorial compositions, in which various, often inscribed elements are arranged in relation to each other, but these do not produce a consistent, coherent pictorial whole. The individual components,

⁴⁷ Cf. Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (image 290).

⁴⁸ Cf. also Neumann 1995, 104.

on the other hand, invite differentiated interpretation. In the ‘Rosicrucian fortified tower’-etching, for example, this concerns the mobile fortified tower, the figure inscribed with the motto *Festina lente* (‘make haste slowly’) and falling off a cliff, the praying pilgrim figure, the ark in the background, the two stars newly shining in the constellations of the Serpent Bearer and the Swan, or the flying letters.

Mögling’s text then is a descriptive interpretation of this picture in its first part as well, specifically one in which individual components are singled out. This specific image-text procedure of Khunrath and Mögling is not found in Andreae’s texts, most of which were printed in Strasbourg. Some of them contain illustrations, but they are much simpler. Especially the three ‘Rosicrucian manifestos’ cannot be compared with Mögling’s or Khunrath’s text-image artworks. Moreover, Mögling takes over from Khunrath and other earlier Theosophists and Hermetics positions on content, such as a positive relationship to alchemical research into nature, which is presented as an important path of knowledge. Andreae, by contrast, had warned against many forms of alchemy in his texts; in the ‘Rosicrucian manifestos’ he even explicitly criticized Khunrath.

Mögling thus does not simply illustrate the ‘message of the Rosicrucians’, i. e., the content above all of the *Fama* and the *Confessio*. He advertises the now famous name of the popularized group but modifies its message. In the second part of his *Speculum*, he refers to older theosophical positions. In the first part, he euphemistically presents the communicational situation around the Rosicrucians: While in the years after the first printing of the *Fama* in 1614, it was mainly the lack of answers from the Rosicrucians that reinforced the critics and brought ‘Spiegelfechter’ such as Friedrich Grick onto the scene, Mögling now presents a “mobile Bilderfahrzeug” (‘vehicle of images’) directed by God, which is reached by, and emits winged letters. The outgoing mail bears the initials “T.S.” and “I.D.C.”, which according to the names mentioned in the *Speculum* are probably Theofilus Schweighart and Julianus de Campis. Mögling thus illustrates that the communicational situation around the Rosicrucians is not a *Clamor* as Grick depicted it and not a *Silentium post Clamores* as Michael Maier described it,⁴⁹ but a functioning system—with him and Julianus de Campis as informants. The authors of the *Fama* and *Confessio* had invented a model: ‘What if there were a brotherhood that took care of all the current problems? What would it have to look like?’ The many hundreds of ‘Rosicrucian’ pamphlets work their way through this and the issue of whether the question was legitimate. Mögling now gives his own response by filling the empty shell with answers that other authors had already given a few years earlier for other questions. He thus clarifies the message of the ‘Rosicrucians’ and fixes it on theosophical and mystical-speculative questions.

⁴⁹ Cf. Maier, *Silentium* 1624.

6 Conclusion

Daniel Mögling does not explain the 'Rosicrucian' movement in the *Speculum*, but he creates an independent version of the non-existent brotherhood. The etching of the 'Rosicrucian fortified tower' deserves special attention. By intensively following the well-known Rosicrucian texts *Fama* and *Confessio* at the beginning and artistically transposing them into the etching while also including other authors, such as Julianus de Campis, Mögling succeeds in conveying his own eclectic theosophical positions, which are condensed in the word 'Pansophy', a term he coins. In terms of publishing, Mögling shows himself to be at the height of the times by engaging the printmaker Matthäus Merian as an artwork designer. But he also draws on older models in the relationship between text and image, which are referred to in the picture. The close interlocking of image and text makes an intensive collaboration between engraver and author probable, with the preserved manuscript of the *Speculum* being a possible testimony to their arrangement. The added entries suggest that Mögling himself wrote the manuscript.

With the specific text-image arrangement, Mögling joins an older tradition of writing that was particularly concentrated around the publishers de Bry and Jennis and the engraver Merian in Hesse. The 'Rosicrucian' texts of Johann Valentin Andreae, on the other hand, are less complex in design.

The large number of surviving textual witnesses to the 'Rosicrucian debate' cannot be arranged into a simple scheme that only recognizes the publication of the first texts and later testimonies of their reception. The individual actors of the 'Rosicrucian movement' have different interests, publishing strategies, and epistemic practices. In this multitude of practices Daniel Mögling's strategies take up older practices and contents and reissue them under the motto 'Rosicrucian'.

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- Fig. 1: *Speculum*, front page. SSR, front matter, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3 Quod. (3), <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/24-3-quod-3s/start.htm?image=00001> (CC BY-SA 3.0, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/>).
- Fig. 2: *Speculum*, fortified tower. SSR, p. 21, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3 Quod. (3), <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/24-3-quod-3s/start.htm?image=00021> (CC BY-SA 3.0, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/>).
- Fig. 3: *Speculum*, manuscript. SSR-Manus, p. 1, Zentralbibliothek Zürich, SCH R 201, <https://doi.org/10.7891/e-manuscripta-23267> (Public Domain Mark 1.0)
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- Fig. 5: *Speculum*, front page, detail. SSR, front matter, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3 Quod. (3), <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/24-3-quod-3s/start.htm?image=00001> (CC BY-SA 3.0, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/>).
- Fig. 6: *Speculum*, Ergon and Parergon. SSR, p. 23, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3 Quod. (3), <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/24-3-quod-3s/start.htm?image=00023> (CC BY-SA 3.0, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/>).
- Fig. 7: *Speculum*, Realms of nature. SSR, p. 27, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3 Quod. (3), <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/24-3-quod-3s/start.htm?image=00027> (CC BY-SA 3.0, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/>).
- Fig. 8: *Speculum* (manuscript), fortified tower. SSR, p. 21, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3 Quod. (3), <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/24-3-quod-3s/start.htm?image=00021> (CC BY-SA 3.0, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/>).
- Fig. 9: *Speculum* (print), fortified tower. SSR-Manus, illustrated page after p. 8, Zentralbibliothek Zürich, SCH R 201, <https://doi.org/10.7891/e-manuscripta-23267> (Public Domain Mark 1.0).
- Fig. 10: *Speculum*, “Doct. Mogling”. SSR-Manus, p. 2, Zentralbibliothek Zürich, SCH R 201, <https://doi.org/10.7891/e-manuscripta-23267> (Public Domain Mark 1.0).
- Fig. 11: *Speculum*, riddle. SSR-Manus, p. 1, Zentralbibliothek Zürich, SCH R 201, <https://doi.org/10.7891/e-manuscripta-23267> (Public Domain Mark 1.0).

