Fig. 22.1: Visualization of the ideal city of Christianopolis. Johan Valentin Andreae, *Reipublicae Christianopolitanae descriptio*, woodcut 1619.

Walter Sparn

Chapter 22

Future Jerusalem? Johann Valentin Andreae's Vision of Christianopolis

Introduction

The Thirty Years' War (1618–48) was a religious and political disaster which had repercussions far beyond the Empire. Sweden's involvement coincided with the start of its infamous *Great Period* [Stormaktstiden] and the Danish king was affected through his possession of land in Northern Germany. Denmark's direct involvement from 1625 lasted until their defeat in 1629. In this dire situation, attempts at reform were manifold, and some of the most significant were formulated as projections of ideal societies, as future Jerusalems. One of them was Johann Valentin Andreae's *Christianopolis* from 1619, perhaps the most famous among the Protestant utopias. The literary genre raised the question of how far Andreae intended to initiate this idea in the existing society and church. Andreae, a theologian from Württemberg, had an interest in both the practical and the spiritual side of Christianity, and he fostered close relationships with millennialists, who were expecting a reign by the pious for 1000 years. Andreae's vision of *Christianopolis* as a perfect society portrayed a profound contrast to the reality of the upheaval, and served as a Protestant counter-model to the Jesuit Tommaso Campanella and his vision of a *Civitas Solis* [city of the sun]. The framework of *Christianopolis* – its storyworld, so to speak – was salvation history, where the true citizens renounced the world, followed Christ in faith and life, and oriented themselves towards the heavenly fatherland. Even if the mature Andreae broke away from the most radical aspects of his youth, he should be seen as a representative of a profound apocalypticism. Andreae expected and hoped for Christ's second advent, he believed in the consummation of the old world and time, and he waited for new Jerusalem to come down from heaven.

A Challenging Author in Hard Times

In 1619, the Strasbourg publishing house Zetzner placed an anonymous book on the literary market entitled *Rei publicae Christianopolitanae descriptio* [Plan of the republic Christianopolis]. The motto taken from Ps 84:11–12 praised wellbeing in the house of God. In the dedication, the author began by addressing the theologian Johann Arndt

(1555–1621) as “father in Christ” and proceeded to interpret his new city, the Christianopolis, as a “colony” of the “Jerusalem” built by Arndt:

This new city of ours acknowledges and respects you, because it is a small colony that has its source in the great Jerusalem that you built with your ingenuous spirit, against the wishes of the sophists [. . .].¹

Every reader knew that the author referred to Johann Arndt’s widespread *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum* [Of true Christianity] (1605–10), a work widely disputed because of its spiritualistic heterodoxy.² At the time of its publication, most readers probably assumed that the author of *Christianopolis* was Johann Valentin Andreae. In 1619, Andreae was Diaconus (second pastor) in Vaihingen, a town in the duchy of Württemberg in Southern Germany. He was known as an open defender of Arndt’s “golden booklets,” as it were. In 1615 he had published in Latin a summary of Arndt’s work (*Christianismus genuinus* [Authentic Christianity]), and in 1619 he published in German a poetic summary of the first two books. In addition, Protestant literati knew him as a (half-anonymous) author of texts of linguistic and literary complexity and of high moral and religious claims as well. The texts included *Herculis Christiani luctae* XXIV [The struggle of a Christian Hercules] (1615), the comedy *Turbo* (1616), a collection of satires in *Menippus* (1617), an analysis of human virtue and vice in *Mythologia Christiana* [Christian mythology] (1618), a double novel on a badly straying *Peregrinus* [The pilgrim] and a restituted *Civis Christianus* [The Christian citizen] (1618/1619), and a double *Invitatio Fraternitatis Christi* [Invitation to Christ’s brotherhood] in the year of the centenary of the Reformation (1617).

One of the writings from Andreae’s hand caused an enormous response among Protestant intellectuals sympathetic to theosophy, hermetical ideas, chiliasm, alchemy, or paracelsism – it triggered a public debate nurtured by almost 1,000 publications. It is considered as one of the manifestos of the Rosicrucian Brotherhood. Due to the lofty literary form of the Rosicrucian writings, debates centered on whether actual – and not merely fictive – reforms of society were possible. Andreae’s responsibility for the manifestos of this (fictive) order was not clear, however.³ They appeared anonymously: *Fama Fraternitatis, Deß Löblichen Orden des Rosenreutzes, an alle*

¹ “Haec nova Civitas nostra Te agnoscit, & respicit, nam cum ex magnam illam Hierosolyma, quam ingenti Spiritu, invitis sophistis extruxisti, minuta colonia deducta sit [. . .].” Johann Valentin Andreae, *Reipublicae Christianopolitanae Descriptio* (1619); *Christenburg, das ist: ein schön geistlich Gedicht* (1626), ed. and trans. by Frank Bohling and Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, *Gesammelte Schriften* 14 (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2018), 86–429, cit. 86, 87, 87, 88. Johann Valentin Andreae, *Christianopolis*, trans. Edward H. Thompson (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1999).

² Contextualized analysis in Hermann Geyer, “Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum,” in *Programm einer spiritualistisch-hermetischen Theologie* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001).

³ Basic information in Wilhelm Kühlmann, “Rosenkreuzer,” in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (RGG), vol. 7 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 634–35; Renko Geffarth, “Rosenkreuzer,” in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* (EdN) 11 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2010), 395–98.

Gelehrte und Häupter Europae geschrieben [Fame of the Brotherhood, the laudable Rosicrucian order, written to all learned and noble men of Europe] (1614), and the explicative *Confessio Fraternitatis* [Confession of the Brotherhood] (1615). The manuscripts had been in circulation since 1611. Andreae had written them before 1610; at that time he was studying in Tübingen and communicating intensely within a circle of young intellectuals striving for a general reformation of society. The first print of the *Fama* included a translation of the satirical tract on *Generali Riforma* of the Italian anti-Machiavellist T. Boccalini (1612). Strangely enough, Andreae never admitted his authorship explicitly. On the contrary, from 1615 he distanced himself from the idea of an elitist brotherhood, in a way even in *Die Chymische Hochzeit Christiani Rosencreutz* [The Chymical wedding of Christian Rosenkreutz] (1616). In the year of the publication of *Christianopolis* he also published *Turris Babel* [The Tower of Babel]. In this book, Andreae launched his definite critique of the Rosicrucian concept of universal reform, particularly its elitist elements. Andreae's development from the esoteric Rosicrucian brotherhood opened a path for embracing more plausible models of general reform. Yet, he retained other parts of the Rosicrucian project, such as thorough educational, socio-political, and religious reform to achieve a real and perfect Christian society. *Invitatio* (1617), *Christianopolis* (1619), *Christianae societatis imago* (1620), and *Christianae amoris dextera porrecta* (1620) elaborated the program in several formats.

Andreae's vision of Christianopolis contrasted sharply with the reality of Christian Europe, which during his lifetime experienced a period of utmost political and religious turmoil. Religious diversity was made manifest through the confessionalization of Europe. The changes of doctrine, cult, and culture had profound dynamic effects for religious and social life. Since the end of the Council of Trent (1564), Protestants had shaped the definite constitution of the Anglican Church (1559), the actual separation of the Reformed (Calvinist) from Lutheran Protestantism (Palatinate 1563), and the Lutheran Formula of Concord (1577). The destructive element of this process was the increasingly close tie of religious authority and political power. The developing Early Modern states strove for a powerful position among each other and absolute sovereignty within their territory. The means of strengthening their own position were not only dynastic, but economic and political, and controversial theology was also of extreme political interest. Protestants felt increasingly threatened by a militant counter-reformation enacted by the papal, Spanish, and imperial powers. A widespread apocalyptic disposition around 1618 was intensified by many extraordinary events like comets, floods, or monstrous creatures.⁴

⁴ Heinz Schilling, "Weltgeschichte eines Jahres," (München: Beck, 1617; reprint, 2017); Robert von Friedeburg, *Luther's Legacy: The Thirty Years War and the Modern Notion of 'State' in the Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Hartmut Lehmann, *Das Zeitalter des Abolutismus: Gottesgnadentum und Kriegsnot* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1980).

After 1600, the political situation worsened in France and England, and especially in Germany where the antagonism between Emperor and Princes was superseded by not just one but two confessional antagonisms. Indeed, the reformed Palatine elector organized a Protestant military defense “Union” (1608), to which the Catholic side under the Leadership of Bavaria reacted with a “Liga” (1608) glossing over the intention to extinguish the Protestant heresy, by war if necessary. However, Saxony refused to enter the Union, strictly loyal to the Emperor. A number of aggressions of both sides and the rebellion of the Protestant nobility of Bohemia (Prague Defenestration 1618), replacing the Habsburg Ferdinand II by the Palatine Frederic V, son-in-law of the English king (1619), opened the door to a religious-political war. The defeat of Frederic V, the expulsion of all Protestants from Bohemia (1621), the defeat of the Protestants in the Danish war (1625–30), and the Imperial Edict of Restitution (1630) brought Protestantism to a near catastrophe.

Religious and Intellectual Milieu

Around the turn of the seventeenth century, mainstream Lutheran academic theology was moving in a direction where theological learning developed according to the standards of Neo-Aristotelian methodology, aiming for *accurata theologia*.⁵ However, Andreae and many other Lutherans sought a completely different direction. Instead of the revival of scholasticism, they were interested in *mysticism* and piety as a way to cope with the religious-political uncertainties and threats on the eve the Thirty Years’ War. Andreae⁶ was born in 1586 as the son of a Württemberg minister and grandson of Jacob Andreae, one of the theological architects of the Lutheran *Formula Concordiae*. From his father he inherited an interest in mechanical arts, alchemy, and medicine, both Galenic and Paracelsic. In 1602 he matriculated in the Faculty of Arts of Tübingen University; in addition to the regular curriculum he was introduced by David Magirus into *mathesis* including physics and astronomy in greater depth (MA 1605). He could not finish his theological studies before 1614, as he had been relegated from 1607 to 1612 because of a pamphlet against the chancellor of the University. His theological mentor, Matthias Hafenreffer, convinced him to continue, who combined Lutheran orthodoxy with para-scholastic philosophy, modern languages, mathematics in the study of nature, and history in the studies of politics. During these years, Andreae acquired a broad encyclopedic knowledge and widened

⁵ Cf. Walter Sparn, “Method,” in *Brill Companion to Lutheran Orthodoxy*, eds. Joar Haga and Sascha Salatowsky (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

⁶ Detailed biographical and doxographical account in Martin Brecht, *Johann Valentin Andreae (1586–1657)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008).

his horizon by voyages through Catholic Italy and France and Calvinist Switzerland; in Calvinist Geneva he observed seemingly successful social discipline.

Andreae was part of a close group of similar-minded intellectuals in Tübingen. He documented his mental and psychic profile in several autobiographical essays,⁷ so we know about his influential role of the above-mentioned group of close friends cultivating alternative and reform-oriented thought at the fringe of university and church. This group was suspiciously observed by the officials. Andreae, however, regarded himself as a *peregrinus*, alien to the world, as *cosmoxenos*. Among his friends, Tobias Hess (1568–1614) and Martin Besold (1577–1638) were most the important for Andreae. Educated as a lawyer, Hess also practiced as physician correcting scholastic medicine by Paracelsian principles. He adhered to apocalypticism – he expected the Last Judgement by 1620 in its chiliastic (millenniarist) version, expecting a “Third Age” – and to Kabbala, Lullism, and cryptography. Andreae received intense stimulation from Hess's existential piety and passionate curiosity, and he honoured Hess with a published poetic memorial. Besold was a productive jurist and a polymath as well; he owned a large encyclopedic library also used by Andreae. Besold's thinking was based on theosophy, and his piety had deep roots in late medieval mysticism. Nonetheless, a problem remained for the Lutheran mystics – there was a confessional indifference to mysticism, caused partly by its tendency to import spiritualist heterodoxy. Besold, however, solved the dilemma by converting to Roman Catholicism in 1630.

His friends in the Tübingen group vigorously supported Johann Arndt, who in return cited from Andreae's *Theca gladii Spiritus* and Besold's *Axiomata philosophico-theologica* (co-edited 1616). Common to them all are two vital concerns, namely perfection and unity. First, there is the perfection of the Reformation, that is the completion of doctrinal reform by a full *reformatio vitae* according to the Gospel, implying a very critical attitude to the established church bodies which were organized as confessionalized, but were morally and politically dubious state-churches. Second, there is sincere Christian faith and rational knowledge, that is theology and philosophy should not be divided into two by autonomous realms alien to each other. They rather should correlate in a common horizon of divine wisdom, which was originally bestowed on Adam and now can and should be restored by the cooperation of practiced faith and non-scholastic, experience-oriented learning. Arndt's four books of Scripture, Life, Conscience, and Nature name the sources of a culture of knowledge, in which ‘science’ and ‘humanities’ are two aspects of one whole. This concept of wisdom was not at all marginal at Andreae's time, but rather one of several options; another was the concept of the experimental acquisition of knowledge

⁷ Johann Valentin Andreae, “Vol. 1.1 (Texts Unpublished)” in *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. and trans. by Frank Bohling and Beate Hintzen (Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 2002); Johann Valentin Andreae, “Vol. 1.2 (Texts Published)” in *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. and trans. by Frank Bohling and Beate Hintzen (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2002).

deciphered in mathematical language – in the end the more successful. Andreae himself defended the sapiential concept of science and scholarship with the pathos of Protestant freedom in *Veri Christianismi Solidaeque Philosophiae Libertas* (1618).⁸

In order to understand Andreae's progress from Rosicrucianism to other forms of general reform, two further friends should be mentioned. One was Wilhelm von der Wense (1586–1641), in Tübingen since 1612, lecturing in mathematics together with Besold (published as *Collectanea Mathematica* by Andreae, 1614). In his later obituary Andreae ascribed to him the idea of constituting a "Christianopolis." Wense on his part could refer to the other friend, Tobias Adami (1581–1643). During his voyage through Greece, Palestine, and back via Italy Adami had made friends with Tommaso Campanella (1568–1639), at that time imprisoned in Naples. Campanella gave several manuscripts to Adami, among them *Civitas Solis* (first draft written in Italian, 1602) and poems, some of which were translated and published by Andreae.⁹ German Protestants knew Campanella vaguely as a dangerous Papist, but nothing by printed evidence, as Adami only published *Civitas Solis* in 1623. Already in 1620 Besold had translated and published Campanella's tract on the Spanish monarchy as a military agent in an eschatic universal theocracy under the Pope representing Christ the monarch (*Von der Spanischen Monarchy* 1620). Andreae had already discussed this tract in the *Mythologiae* (1618). In 1619, the militant counter-reformer Kaspar Schoppe had adapted Campanella's plan in an appeal for holy war against Protestants, heathens, Jews, and Muslims (*Classicum belli sacri*, 1619). Although Protestant Europe was deeply shocked, Besold added to the second edition of 1623 a sober analysis of *Civitas Solis* discussing arguments for and against it; the latter arguments included both Lutherans' and Jesuits' axiomatic rejection of political-religious prophecy whatsoever.

Campanella's texts represented the Catholic-Hispanic version of the chiliasm of the early seventeenth century.¹⁰ Already in his *Mythologiae* (1618) Andreae had attacked the (not yet published) *Monarchia Hispanica*. Preceded and followed by the shorter texts mentioned above, his utopian vision¹¹ of a *civitas electa*, the *Christianopolis* of 1619, was the first Protestant counter-model of a perfect Christian society (See Fig. 22.1).

⁸ Johann Valentin Andreae, "Vol. 7" in *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. and trans. by Frank Bohling and Beate Hintzen (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1994).

⁹ Johann Valentin Andreae, "Welsche Sonette," in *Geistliche Kurtzweil* (Straßburg: L. Zetzners Erben, 1619).

¹⁰ Andreae, *Christianopolis*, 31.

¹¹ Andreae seems not to use this terminology, but, of course, he participates in the European tradition of imagining the future, cf. Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1979); Hans R. Velten, "Utopie," in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* 13 (2011), 1160–67; Miguel A. R. Avilés, *Utopian Moments: Reading Utopian Text* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012).

A Near-to-perfect Society on its Pilgrimage to Heaven

The short dedication to J. Arndt at the beginning of *Christianopolis* is followed by an introduction orienting the reader about the situation from which the book starts. One observation notes that there are two types of agents in the state: fierce traditionalists and reformers. Reformers tolerate much but desire emendations and propose moderate corrections. As a traditionalist, Andreae mentions the (papal) Antichrist, and as a reformer he names the “undefeated hero” D. Luther. The present situation seems to be the same as before, however: superstition and hypocrisy in the church, immorality and tyranny in politics, barbarism and sophism in the academy – Christians only by name. As present reformers the reader finds the German theologians Johann Gerhard (1583–1637), Johann Arndt (d. 1621), and Martin Moller (d. 1606), indeed leading men in the piety movement in the third generation of Lutheranism. The triad of tyranny, sophism, and hypocrisy, also used by Campanella, often occurs in Andreae's writings. Still, Campanella's name is not mentioned, and Andreae only refers to Thomas More. Andreae refers to More explicitly when he characterizes his *nova respublica* on the one hand as *ludicrum*, a funny play, and on the other hand it is an example of “Christian security.” The *ludicrum* of the Christianopolis contrasts with the *ludibrium* of the *Fama*, that is the alleged secret and omniscient (Rosicrucian) brotherhood. Andreae, referring implicitly to Wense, criticizes those plans and transforms them by his own vision.

The introduction leads to the report of a sea passage under the flag of the Cancer [an emblem for conversion to clear insight]; the “I” of the report is allegorical for every Christian pilgrim. The 100 [symbolic] chapters start in Chapters 1 to 3 with the occasion of the journey and the wreckage of the “ship of fantasy” on the “Academic sea” [!]; he lands alone at the island of *Capharsalama* (place of peace [indicating Jerusalem]). Situated far away in the Antarctic (given dates hint to an island on Martin Behaim's world globe), it is rather small but shows a paradise-like agriculture and a splendid city to be found nowhere else on earth. In chapters 4 to 6 the stranger is handed over to guards for an examination of his religious and moral severity, his physical constitution, and his *cultura ingenii*. He confesses to knowing nothing but striving for what he was asked, and passes the exam.¹² Three guides

¹² Here the author sums up his program: “Volebat ex me, sed blandissimis verbis, scire, quid didicissem mihi imperare, fratri servire, Mundo rebellare, morti consentire, spiritui obsequi, quid in coelo terraeque contemplatione, naturae perscrutatione, artium instrumentis, linguarum nomenclatore, omnium rerum harmonia saperem, quid cum Ecclesiae societate, Scripturae compendio, coeli patria, Spiritus schola, Christi fraternitate, Dei familia haberem commercii?” Andreae, *Christianopolis*, 124–26. The pilgrim often reports the realized program, e.g. in matters of pre-eminence: “. . . hic nonnisi virtutis praerogativa est eo ordine, ut devotionis in Deum maximum pretium, exinde temperatorum morum, post ingenii subacti, demum roboris humani sit; et quo quisque Dei voluntati propinquior, eo regendis aliis aptior credatur.” Andreae, *Christianopolis*, 160.

(their names from the Old Testament) help him to learn in detail about the plot of ground and the architecture of the city (chapter 7). There are four concentric quadrangles of 700 feet in outer lateral length, with rows of three-floor houses and many towers with halls; a quadratic marketplace and a church in the middle, which also serves as the council hall (inserted engravings of the view and the plot of ground are not quite exact). Four fountains provide fresh water, while sanitary facilities for waste water and excrement secure physical healthiness. Moving from the outside to the middle we find the areas of nutrition, education, and contemplation; amidst all this 264 apartments house about 400 persons.

Chapters 8 to 13 describe agriculture and stock farming on the Eastern side, mills and bakeries on the South side, butcheries on the North side, and “practical physics” (metals, minerals) on the Western side. There are all kinds of handicraft, which is highly esteemed, with textile work that is being done by women. Work does not need much time, about six hours, because it corresponds to the will of God and is done voluntarily and without salary; as well, it is near to the arts and gives much opportunity for silent spiritual contemplation. Chapters 14 to 25 deal with public order. All inhabitants meet three times a day for public prayer, and the families take their meals in their apartments, although the same food for all is distributed centrally; all economy including public works is centrally planned and supervised. However, no division of princes and subjects takes place – nobility is strictly virtue, and superiority just give examples of best practice. Correspondingly, virtue is its own remuneration and punishments are superfluous: Christian liberty tolerates no commandment and no menace¹³; although sometimes coercion of the flesh is useful. Public authority allots the family apartments, furnished strictly functionally; crockery is placed in an orderly manner, and men and women respectively wear the same clothes. To avoid darkness, they illuminate the city overnight – for security, but also for the self-distinction from the dark world of outrages.¹⁴

More important is the inner constitution of the polis. It is represented by a council of three persons (also “princes”) coopting a group of advisors (also “senators”, described by allegories and named with Old Testament figures), in chapters 26 to 38. The council is itself a religious practice, and guarantees religion based on the Nicene Creed [!], justice based on the Ten Commandments (also considered as natural law), and erudition; their interpreter is rhetoric. Religion is the task of the first councillor, a priest, who unlike the Pope reigns solely spiritually by preaching, catechizing, and meditation; his wife is “conscience,” his daughters are “truth” and

13 “. . . libertas Christiana ne praecepta quidem, nedum minas fert, sed in Christum suum libere fertur.” Andreae, *Christianopolis*, 162.

14 “O utinam lychnus cordis nostri crebrius accenderetur: non toties conaremus Dei lucidissimos oculos fallere, nunc dum Mundum tenebrae excusant et in turpissima quaeque solvunt, dum quorum cum pudet caecitatem iis obtendit. Quid faciet, cum sole Christo reverso caligo omnis despelle-tur apperabitque foeditas eius, quam tot involucris obtegit?” Andreae, *Christianopolis*, 180.

“frankness;” a deacon assists in practical matters. The judge looks rigorously after weights, measures, and correct calculations, he is married to “ratio” and is assisted by an economic expert; this order is a prelude of eternal life. The third councillor is a scholar, responsible for erudition (*eruditio, scientiae humanae*); his wife is the unvarnished and chaste “truth.” The acme of his wisdom is the crucified Christ, he makes citizens the disciples of the Holy Spirit, and he refers nature and culture to the church in the hope of augmenting science in heaven. The chancellor, whose wife is “temperance,” interprets the councillors and hereby acts in the society like Christ in the universe: “Everywhere God sounds, Christ speaks, the Spirit breathes, man is erected, nature is commanded, Satan gnashes his teeth, the World laughs, death becomes tame, heaven opens.”¹⁵

The hub of Andreae's perfect state is the education and formation of all citizens, in contrast with the actual reality of schooling of his time. The pilgrim first describes twelve arched halls hosting materials (chapters 39–50). The tour starts in a universal library, which does not serve arrogant human knowledge, however; Holy Scriptures and the book of life and Christ are esteemed much more highly. The armoury belongs to education as well, demonstrating human cruelty. Citizens wear weapons for sentry duty and self-defense only, and rely more on spiritual weapons of virtue. The archive provides true reports of events, laws, practices, and exemplary persons, with no fake biographies like elsewhere. It follows the printing press – an ambivalent medium, which they use here mainly for religious literature. A huge treasury is for external use only, for example taxes to the Emperor, financing guests, legations, or mercenary soldiers [!]. The laboratory – abhorring alchemical quackery – explores, purges, and intensifies the powers of nature. It provides medicine for the pharmacy, which on its part is a compendium of nature, but in practical use, not in abstract theory. The same applies to the theatres for anatomy and natural history and, referring to political history, for painting. The tour ends at the collection of optical instruments such as the telescope and the astronomical theatre.

Second, the pilgrim is made familiar with the education of the young, precious and eternal treasure of the state, for God, nature, reason, and the common welfare (chapters 51–81). Auditoria (in the first floor) are ample and festive, while teachers are most honoured mature persons of authority, integrity, industry, and liberality. From the age of six, children learn and live at school, cultivating mind and body in three classes (prepubescent, pubescent, postpubescent). Boys are in class in the morning, girls in the afternoon instructed by women no less erudite than the men. Leisure activities are mechanical, such as textile arts; punishments are deprivation of meals, additional work and, if necessary, blows and (rarely) detention. Eight auditoria house eight fields of knowledge, each corresponding to the age of pupils: first,

15 “Ita Deus undique resonat, Jesus colloquitur, Spiritus spirat, homo erigitur, naturae imperatur, Satan frendet, Mundus ridet, mors mitescit, coelum panditur.” Andreae, *Christianopolis*, 220.

grammar and classical languages, rhetoric, and other languages; second, dialectic, metaphysics, and theosophy [!]; third, arithmetic, geometry, and mystical numbers (a biblical numerology resembling Kabbala); fourth, musicology, instruments, and choral singing; fifth, astronomy, astrology, and Christian heaven [!]; sixth, physics, history (“the narration of human tragedy”), and church history; seventh, ethics, politics, and Christian poverty (“joyous self-abandonment”); and eighth, theology (hermeneutic and homiletic study of the Holy Scripture), theological practice in prayer and contemplation, and (evaluation of biblical) prophecies. On the same floor lie rooms for medicine (diagnostic, chirurgic) and jurisprudence (interpretation, notary). These are not very important because the citizens live healthfully and they never litigate. On the second and third floors are the apartments for the young, strictly supervised by adult men and women.

The visit ends at the centre of Christianopolis, the Church. First, the pilgrim reports the ecclesial features (chapters 82–87), describing the building as magnificent and beautiful in architecture (round, centered, bright), furniture (pulpit, altar, two semi-circles of seats for the congregation, that is the princes and senators; images of salvation history), and use (services, non-theatrical ceremonies in white clothes, sacred comedies). He praises a church which has called ministers who abhor earthly benefits, and rather sacrifice their lives for the congregation’s salvation, praying for “inner movements of the heart,”¹⁶ and are familiar with the charisma of the Holy Spirit. Besides prayers, hymns, and often vocal and instrumental music, services include the preaching of the life of Christ throughout the year (by the priest) and catechizing (by the deacon), which is in no way alien from “our” Augsburg Confession: “they don’t criticize our religion but our morals.”¹⁷ The pilgrim admires the vivid emotions and gestures of the assembled – fooling around or sleeping are offences. They practice Trinitarian infant baptism and celebrate the Lord’s Supper often, devoutly and elegantly. Church discipline is highly esteemed and is realized by private confession (possibly to friends) and absolution or excommunication – the latter means civil expulsion.

The report finally covers the social institutions and their policy (chapters 88–100). Marriage is a sacred act [not a sacrament] uniting virtuous and well-educated young people. Their life is sure and easy since they are kindly and seriously helped by other couples and there is little occasion for adultery (the worst crime). A wife is highly honoured within the boundaries of a neat and cultivated household, serving her husband and bringing up two or three children, with sexual activity focusing on procreation. Whereas maids and wet nurses are exceptional, widows regularly help the families and are examples of devoutness and diligence; orphans are provided for by public care. Acts of state take place in solemn, albeit rare conventions in the magnificent council

16 “. . . vocationis coeleste simul et Christianum nuntium advenit, quod interno cordis motui correspondet et in officii spiritualis confidentiam suscipit.” Andreae, *Christianopolis*, 350.

17 “. . . nec enim religionem nostram, sed mores improbant.” Andreae, *Christianopolis*, 354.

hall at the top of the temple; spiritual counselling of twenty-four senators (pastors, judges, teachers) is supported by a gallery of the best princes and judges. The administration has to look after the gardens, water supply, and baths. The state as father of all citizens cares perfectly for elderly people, strangers, the poor (there are no beggars, that is those who are utterly needy), and the sick. This means the best medical treatment, well-equipped hospitals, the best food, and personal care by women and widows; it is likewise important that all citizens respect, help, and comfort the needy mentally, emotionally, and bodily, thus restoring their Christian courage (*fortitudo Christiana*). Mentally ill and malformed persons are embraced in a likewise benign manner – God does the same with us all.¹⁸ It is undoubted that citizens who live well also die well, and all who die well will live someday. Therefore, dying is a public performance of a transition to sleep – no reason for lament. Burial (in white and with face visible, hymns but no address) and the cemetery (beautiful, outside of the city) correspond with Christian orientation toward the afterlife.¹⁹

Christianopolis: A religious-political Heterotopy

Although Andreae knew Thomas More's *Utopia*, he did not use the term for *Christianopolis*. He locates this city on a faraway island but expresses the hope that others will follow him and visit it; the citizens live very differently from the world outside but they instruct visitors truly and obligingly. The description and geographical location of the city is allegorical, of course; nevertheless, it claims realism in a way – the praise of ideal Christians and an ideal Christian society supports the critical impact of how the author complains of the evil reality outside Christianopolis, that is, in his own world. Therefore, we may read *Christianopolis* as a religious-political heterotopy, to use a term of M. Foucault, characterizing a place or space which has a double relation to other places. The inner world of Christianopolis is different from other cities and is not substantially related to them – it might be an illusionary utopia. However, the author imagines Christianopolis as a possibly real alternative to the societies in the world outside – it is not a Platonic idea. This raises the question of how far Andreae intended to initiate changes in the existing society and church. While some institutional elements like the family and in particular the religion of Christianopolis can be identified in his contemporary reality, Andreae gives no advice for viable routes to socio-political improvements; he even

¹⁸ “Id enim ratio iubet, ut quibus natura fuit iniquior humana societas benignior esse velit; nam et nos Deus non quales vult habet, sed quales sumus infinita mensuetudine et longanimitate sustinet.” Andreae, *Christianopolis*, 402.

¹⁹ “. . . cum omnino constet, quisquis vitae beatae consequendae habet desiderium, ei nobiscum quidem credendum, toto vero coelo aliter vivendum.” Andreae, *Christianopolis*, 408.

lowers jurisprudence, an instrument for such changes. In order to answer the question, it is useful to look at Andreae's predecessors, More and Campanella.²⁰

More's *Libellus vere aureus nec minus salutaris quam festivus de optimo reipublicae statu deque nova insula Utopia* (1516)²¹ documents a severe social critique in the context of humanism, similar to that of his friend Erasmus (*Querela pacis* 1517). Objects are monasticism, the death penalty, mercenary-lansquenets, robber beggars, and in particular the suppression of peasants by proprietors. To avoid all this, the state organizes greater families and overall groups, the leaders of which are elected annually. Life unfolds completely centralized, including frugal food and identical clothing. There is no private property and no money; the (very plain) laws need no juridical treatment. Work is obligatory for every individual, albeit only six hours a day, but there are also slaves; free time serves spiritual and corporal health. Crimes deserve forced labour, not a (useless) death penalty; armed force is mobilized against enemies from the continent. Obviously, Andreae took up some features of More's utopia, perhaps even the quadrangle ground plot of the city (More counts fifty-four cities on a considerably larger island). He probably thought of Albrecht Dürer's ideas of urban architecture, which to some extent was realized by Andreae's relative H. Schickard in the Black Forest city Freudenstadt in 1599. Like More's cities, Andreae's Christianopolis has nothing to do with the architecture of the eschatic Jerusalem.

The difference between both, however, is very clear in terms of education, specifically sciences, and religion. Whereas More imagines a formation according to the humanist view of Greek intellectual culture, Andreae represents the methodological and encyclopedical development since the Reformation including nature as a field of legitimate curiosity, and he strives for a religious finalization of arts and sciences in a Christian perspective. More thinks of a religion of nature and of natural religion in the sense of rational beliefs and moral activity; there are only a few (male and female) priests, and a plurality of positive confessions is tolerated. In full contrast, the religion of *Christianopolis*, Lutheranism, is bound to a specific salvation history with Jesus Christ as centre and goal, and a professional clergy is responsible for practical and intellectual maintenance of Christian faith.

Campanella's *Civitas solis: Idea reipublicae philosophicae*,²² which Christianopolis responded to, is a report from an island today known as Ceylon, one of the supposed

²⁰ Cf. Otfried Höffe, ed., *Politische Utopien der Neuzeit. Thomas Morus, Tommaso Campanella, Francis Bacon* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016); Thomas Leinkauf, *Grundriss der Philosophie des Humanismus und der Renaissance (1350–1600)*, vol. 1 (Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 2017), 928–38; Andreae, *Christianopolis*, 51–61.

²¹ Thomas More, *Libellus vere aureus nec minus salutaris quam festivus de optimo reipublicae statu, deque noua insula Vtopia* (Leuven, 1516). Reprints include Basel (in German), 1524; New Haven: E. Surtz, 1964.

²² Tommaso Campanella, *Civitas Solis. Idea Reipublicae Philosophicae* Frankfurt, 1613; reprints include Altenburg [in German], 1789; Torino: N. Bobbio, 1941). Concise introduction Martin Mulsow,

locations of paradise. Sun City, located on a mountain, is built in seven circles with double walls around each circle, representing seven planetary orbits, that is the universe. A round vaulted temple stands in the middle, crowned by a lantern; decoration, lusters, and an altar again use cosmological symbols. The state is governed solely by priests: the highest sun-priest “Metafisico” is assisted by three regents, allegorized as “Pon” (power), “Sin” (wisdom), and “Mor” (love), ministering three “primalties.” The first is responsible for warfare and (early) military training. The second cares for the seven branches of the mechanical arts, free arts, and sciences (including astrology) – encyclopedical paintings on the seven walls demonstrate the extension comprehensively. The (severe) education of the young, which focuses on mathematics and natural sciences, physical training, and public services, is oriented by that knowledge. The third minister is responsible for social and moral affairs, for example for optimizing the population by eugenic methods, and for excluding every form of private property, the root of selfishness and unsocial behaviour – proprietors are robbers. In Sun City, therefore, there is no money; apartments, clothing, even women and children are common property, distributed and cared for centrally. Obviously, Andreae took over basic elements of Campanella's vision, in particular the constitutional form of the commonwealth and the theocratic centralism characteristic for socio-political practice.

Nevertheless, in crucial aspects Andreae takes a position different from, or even contradictory to Campanella's concerns. First, as measured by Sun City, the basis for a real missionary and military expansion of the Spanish-Catholic monarchy on a global level, Christianopolis is a defensive place, rather small and powerless, not actively missionary, and is subject to the Emperor, to whom it pays taxes, and following the Protestant doctrine of the double reign of God, the worldly and the spiritual. Thus, Christianopolis represents the vision of an elitist society of learned and pious Christians conveying guidelines for leading members of the three estates in the actually existing Lutheran territories. Second, religion in Christianopolis has little in common with religion in Sun City. Here we have a highly speculative syncretism of natural religion and Trinitarian or rather triadic metaphysics – however, it is well applicable in heathen colonies outside Europe. Certainly, the walls of Sun City show a picture of Jesus Christ and his apostles at an honourable place, representing “supermen as it were;” salvation history is a formal tradition. Third, the strictly public role of marriage and absence of family privacy in Sun City differ substantially from Christianopolis, where marriage is matched by individual virtues (perhaps even beauty) and infants have an intimate place in family apartments, in which after all the crockery is private property. Andreae's sacralization of matrimony is typical for

“Tomasso Campanella,” in *Großes Werklexikon der Philosophie*, ed. Franco Volpi (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999) 258–64.

post-reformation orthodoxy; the norms for the councillors' families mirror the praiseworthy pastors' families in wealthy Lutheran cities.

Christianopolis: A Prelude to Future Jerusalem

Andreae's heterotopic Christianopolis has basic features in common with political utopias of early modern Europe like that of More and Campanella. They are three: a strictly theocratic constitution; the crucial role of public religion; and perfectly organized education effecting social discipline.²³ Other important features of Christianopolis are specific and relate to the political and the religious conditions and intentions of Andreae: a (differentiated) confessional position; a (proto-)pietist religion of an elite; and apocalyptic (though not chiliastic) dynamics.

1. One characteristic of *Christianopolis* is its confessional standpoint, clearly that of Lutheran Orthodoxy as defined by the Book of Concord (1580), the doctrinal basis of his own Church. This position, however, is relativized to a certain degree. Andreae does not use substantial arguments of the Formula of Concord; he ascribes the status of a valid confession to more common documents like the Nicene Creed or the Augsburg Confession, and here he does not touch upon controversial aspects within Protestantism. In chapter 76 he distances himself in a way from "school theology": the professors in Christianopolis warn their pupils that in the Christian cause at present nothing is fully elaborated, and all should be related to practical piety. In addition, they avoid using sectarian names and, although they love to be called Lutherans, nevertheless they are claiming to be Christians.²⁴ A combination of cloistral community (centralism) and Imperial city (division of work between church and government), the city of Christianopolis mirrors the defensive situation of Protestants threatened by the Counter-Reformation trying to overthrow the political and religious order of the Augsburg Peace. One of the purposes of Christianopolis was to strengthen the Protestant party in the Empire now moving towards war.

²³ In a way, this applies also to Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1627): The island state bears the name "Salem" and runs a scientific institution called "House of Salomon" and "College of the Hexameron." Bacon's objective, however, is not a new social and religious order, but rather a new methodological and organizational type of science and the advancement of knowledge and technical use of nature, i.e. the improvement of the human condition. The independence of this application-oriented science alters the functions and the correlation of state, religion, and education deeply. Cf. Jean-Cristoph Merle, "Bacon (Francis)," in *Großes Werklexikon der Philosophie*, ed. Franco Volpi (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999), 130–34.

²⁴ ". . . nihil in his rebus adhuc in Christiano negotio plene effectum, omnia ad pium apparatus facere; factionum insuper nomina ut quae maxime vitant nec nisi invitissimi ea imponunt et ut Lutherane audire ament, Christiani tamen esse contendunt." Andreae, *Christianopolis*, 330.

When war became a reality which might likely be lethal for Protestantism, Andreae published in German an allegorical poem of forty chapters of fifty verses each: *Christenburg* (1626).²⁵ Following prayer and dedication to a pious prince, the first half gives an allegorical account of the history of the Reformation, presents the military power of the (morally wicked) Antichrist papistic Habsburg on the one hand, the appeasement policy of the Christenburg leaders on the other, and laments the defeat of well-equipped but careless Christenburg. The second half of the poem reports the rescue of evangelical freedom: an old pious reformer converts citizens to activities for a perfection of the Reformation, that is the fortification of the city by all virtues converging – God and Christ's cross shelter them. While they pray and fast, the army of the besieger is confused and disabled by God's immediate action, and falls apart. In the apocalyptic polemics of *Christenburg* Andreae enters the political stage; as a prophecy he anticipates a radical turn of the military situation, like Jakob Böhme and Jan Amos Comenius did at the same time. Indeed, Andreae gave up his "Lutheran" loyalty to the Emperor and turned to the Lutheran Gustav Adolf, the "lion from the North." Like Protestant unionists John Dury, Samuel Hartlib, and Comenius, he supported the Swedish entry into the war. Even after Gustav Adolf's death, he praised him in poems and by an antipapal pamphlet (1633).²⁶

2. A purpose, too, of *Christianopolis* was to promote the perfection of Luther's Reformation in Christian conduct of life corresponding fully to Christian faith as restored in the sixteenth century. Therefore, a second characteristic of Christianopolis is that theocracy is focused on the reign of Christ (on God's side) and what we may call protopietist religiosity (on the human side). The social cement holding citizens together are not primarily the institutions (legal and medical are not important anyway). Fundamental is the almost fully internalized social discipline based on a shared piety, which is characterized by freedom and joy. Christian faith here is, of course, also dogmatical belief (*notitia*) – much more, however, it is moral willingness (*assensus*) and authentic emotions (*affectus cordis, fiducia*). This is the reason why social conflicts and personal disharmonies are rare in Christianopolis; if any, they are due to the "flesh" still resisting the "spirit" and can be repented of and forgiven. In principle, however, all Christians in Christianopolis are born-again Christians²⁷; therefore, the dramatic process of getting into faith ("justification") does not play a significant role. The city is in thus an egalitarian society, differentiated adequately by an aristocracy of virtues. A society of religious-moral virtuosos is (as a whole) an elite, and lives, as heterotopy, at the same time in the present world and opposite to it.

²⁵ Andreae, *Reipublicae Christianopolitanae Descriptio*, 14, 431–512.

²⁶ Texts edited and translated by Frank Böhling and Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, "Vol. 17," in *Gesammelte Schriften*, eds. Frank Böhling and Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2016).

²⁷ *Renati* was used as a dogmatical term since the Formula of Concord, art. VI: De tertio usu legis.

Andreae himself added to Christianopolis another two short tracts concerning Christian reform: *Christianae societatis imago* and *Christianae amoris dextera porrecta* (both 1620). Andreae reduces his goal: no longer a city-state, but an elitist group of reformers, and he changes the constitution – not aristocratic but monarchic. Therefore, he drafts the organization of the group in detail; it would be able to form the motivating and orienting centre of an ever spreading reform movement. As in *Christianopolis*, the framework is salvation history, which means renouncing of the world, following Christ in faith and life, and orienting oneself toward the heavenly fatherland. The second tract adds an invitation to a Lutheran company of friends, a “consensus of the good in Christ,” who claim their Christian freedom and are devoted to radical *praxis pietatis* by fleeing from the world and converting to heaven and Christ. Here we can speak of a herotopian reform group as well. During the 1620s Andreae tried to realize such a society of friends: members should be old friends (T. Adami, v. Wense, Chr. Besold), but also reform-oriented theologians like J. Arndt, J. Gerhard, J. Saubert (Nürnberg), M. Bernegger (Straßburg), and J. A. Comenius, and “pious” princes – in particular the learned Duke August of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, with whom Andreae had corresponded since 1630. Another text promoting this ideae, *Verae unionis in Christo Jesu specimen*, written in 1628, was published in 1642.²⁸ Interestingly, John Hall translated the texts of 1620 into English instigated by S. Hartlib in 1647 – *Christianopolis*, of course, also exerted some underground effect in England, although it was translated into English only in 1916 [!].

3. Andreae’s *Christianopolis* was a radical initiative, but not in a chiliastic (millenarist) sense. The third characteristic of both Christianopolis (city) and *Christianopolis* (book) is the particular apocalyptic setting. There is no doubt that the world-view of Andreae was apocalypticism: the expectation of and hope for Christ’s second advent, consummation of the old world and time, and the New Jerusalem coming down from heaven. In addition, he participated in the specific German-Lutheran version of apocalypticism, in which the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation (being the annex of the “fourth monarchy,” Dan 7) was part of the order of times.²⁹ The religious-political turbulence at the beginning of the seventeenth century intensified both the hope for and the fear of the catastrophic end of times. In this situation chiliasm, which had been damned by all Protestant churches since the Augsburg Confession (Art. 17), came up again, openly in England, as well as in a more indirect way (interpreting biblical books) in German Lutheranism.³⁰ Now, concerning both versions of (salvation-)

²⁸ Andreae’s texts mentioned here have been edited and translated by Frank Böhling: Johann Valentin Andreae, “Vol. 6,” in *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Frank Böhling (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2010).

²⁹ Cf. the introduction to this volume and Chapter 15 (Marius Timmann Mjaaland), 282–297.

³⁰ Donald R. Dickson, *The Tessera of Antilia: Utopian Brotherhoods and Secret Societies in Early Seventeenth Century*, Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History 88 (Leiden: Brill, 1998); for a short overview

history, *Christianopolis* takes a markedly moderate position. In *Christenburg* of 1626, it is true, Andreae will perform strictly catastrophically in respect to miraculous apocalypticism; in 1619 he refers to apocalypticism only indirectly and it is allegorically mitigated as a “pilgrimage to heaven.” In addition, nowhere is this pilgrimage direct political action – on the contrary, it is even less revolutionary. Rather, *Christianopolis* offers an alternative to the chiliastic interpretations of the religious-political situation on the eve of the Thirty Years' War. Andreae tries to channel, as it were, chiliastic energies to a Protestant elite who are reforming religious and social life completely, yet separately – it might have an analogous effect outside of it. In many ways, Andreae's work pointed towards the changes and reforms that are usually associated with Pietism.

There is a distinction between the revolutionary and the evolutionary function of Jerusalem in the seventeenth-century discourse of the future. Herotopian *Christianopolis*, however, does not fit into the opposition of revolutionary and evolutionary, because Christianopolis does not anticipate the future Jerusalem by evolution. Under the conditions of this world, it corresponds to the world to come. It is, as Andreae says, “a prelude to heaven.” The vigorous practice of piety indicates that faith in heart and conscience is the present place of the Jerusalem to come. This “inner Jerusalem,” as the tropological interpretation says, comprises no chiliasm – it nevertheless performs chiliastic potential: Christianopolis is a deliberately organized and best-equipped educational project. Andreae explained it again, without heterotopian claims, in the dialogue *Theophilus* (1622).³¹

It is the pedagogical impact that made Christianopolis interesting for the next generation of reformers. All of them had a so-called subtle chiliasm [*chiliasmus subtilis*] in mind, not the rude chiliasm [*chiliasmus crassus*] of the fanatics. They wanted to reform the inner life, not force change by outer revolt. This applies first to J. A. Comenius, who throughout his life saw himself as a pupil of Andreae, and applies thereafter to the reform efforts of the Dukes August of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel and Ernst (“the pious”) of Sachsen-Gotha, but also initiators of the Royal Academy. Chiliastic Lutheran pietism remembered Andreae: through Philipp Jakob Spener and August Hermann Francke, founder of the innovative pedagogical

see Walter Sparr, “Apokalyptik,” in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* 1 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2005), 491–97; Hans-Peter Großhans, “Chiliasmus,” in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* 2 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2005), 681–87.

³¹ This text, regarded as a testament by Andreae, was not allowed to be printed, because it defended J. Arndt and questioned the centrally organized church discipline in Württemberg; only in 1649 was it printed under the patronage of Herzog August, on the basis of J. A. Comenius's copy of the (meanwhile lost) manuscript. Now edited in Johann Valentin Andreae, “Vol. 16,” in *Gesammelte Schriften* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2002).

universe of Halle. Finally, *Christianopolis*, published only once, was translated into German in 1741² and 1751.³² Blended again with ‘Rosicrucian’ ideas, Andreae’s heterotopy of “Bildung” was also interesting for the Enlightenment as represented by G. W. Leibniz, G. E. Lessing, and J. W. Goethe.

Summary

Johann Valentin Andreae’s *Christianopolis* was the first full-scale Protestant vision of an ideal city. His ideas of reform were built into the city and reflected the aspirations that existed in a world full of turmoil and instability. Even if similar versions of Jerusalem were known in the Middle Ages and to some degree in Early Modern literature, new elements can be seen both in the utilization of Thomas More’s genre and the role of apocalyptic and chiliastic thought. One can hardly ignore the preparatory role it had for Pietism. The direct effect of Andreae’s work on Scandinavia is perhaps difficult to measure, but similar ideas can be observed at least on many levels. Some of the main tenets of *Christianopolis* can be traced to the architectural efforts in Sweden in city-planning in the 1620s and Christian IV’s cities in Denmark–Norway. Perhaps the greatest long-term influence of Andreae’s vision on Scandinavia was its ability to channel reform energy into an imaginative space of the perfect city.

³² *Reise nach der Insul Caphar Salama und Beschreibung der darauf gelegenen Republic Christiansburg* [. . .], ed. David Samuel Georgi (Esslingen: Christian Schall, 1741; reprint, Richard van Dülmen, Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1972).