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Temple of Encyclopaedia

A Symbol of Universal Wisdom in
Johann Heinrich Alsted's Works*

History of images or pictorial images as historical sources have gained particular importance in intellectual–and–cultural history in the recent past. (See e. g. Baxandall, 1985; Haskell, 1993; Burke, 2001) One of the most tantalising issues in this respect is to better understand the special role iconographic sources play in the context of cultural products of an architectural and textual sort.¹ It has recently been discussed with increasing significance whether iconographic sources are solely illustrations to architectural and written sources or, on the contrary, whether they have their own, distinctive function in intellectual–and–cultural history. In the followings, I intend to examine a case in which textual sources seem controversial enough to turn to iconographic sources instead in order to shed more light on the exciting problem of architectural symbolism in theological and philosophical discourses in the encyclopaedic culture of the early modern era. More precisely, I plan to reconstruct some of the early modern meanings of the Temple of Solomon restored in visual representations available mostly in bibles and encyclopaedias of the age.

In general, the Temple as microcosm was long regarded as a highly impressive symbol of the perfect and ideal architecture of the universe. (See e. g. Rosenau, 1979; Naredi-Rainer, 1994;

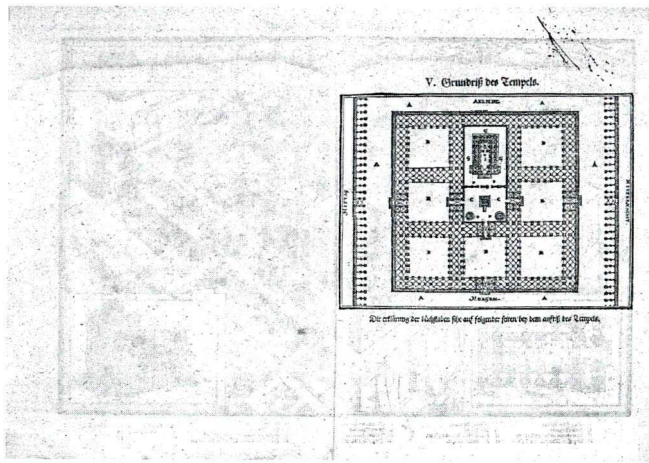


Figure 5: *Grundriß des tempels Salomonis*. Cf. *Ichnographia Templi Salomonis*. Alsted, 1620, 1593. Alsted, 1630, 2199.

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¹ Following Umberto Eco I regard every three dimensional cultural product as architectural (Id., 1986, 57).

Miletto, 2004) The reconstructed Temple, in turn, often symbolised the new Jerusalem descending from Heaven at the end of sacred history. With respect to some 17th-century reconstructions such as that of Jan Amos Comenius, however, one has to bear in mind the restoration of the Temple as a visual representation of the millenarian idea of great instauration, and in particular, the instauration of the image of God in man.² It is more than presumable that in these cases we encounter late offsprings of the medieval “monastic architectural mnemonic” tradition that were almost exclusively based on the meditative use of *picturae* or *loci Tabernaculi*. (Carruthers, 1998, 22–276)

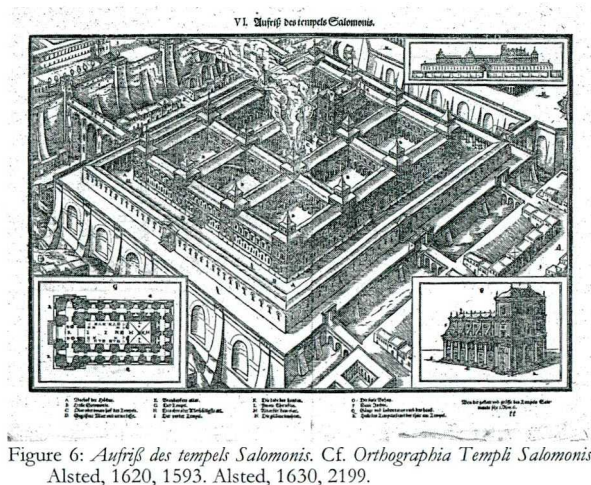


Figure 6: *Aufriß des tempels Salomonis*. Cf. *Orthographia Templi Salomonis*. Alsted, 1620, 1593. Alsted, 1630, 2199.

My concrete philological question refers to some early modern engravings reproduced in one of the most influential encyclopaedias ever published, namely, in Johann Heinrich Alsted's *Cursus philosophici Encyclopaedia*, and in its enlarged and reworked version, the *Encyclopaedia septem tomis distincta*. In the chapters devoted to architecture (*architectonica*) of these encyclopaedias one repeatedly encounters a ground-plan (Figure 5) and a bird's-eye view of the Temple (Figure 6) together with a *veduta*-like map of Jerusalem (Figure 4).³ Since in these encyclopaedias such woodcuts appear very scarcely, their function must have been of particular importance, especially in the case when images were not conceived as illustrations to geometry, geography or other disciplines of natural philosophy and mathematics. My basic aim in this paper is to understand this special function.

The underlying iconographic program of the frontispiece of Alsted's 1630 encyclopaedia is now relatively clear to scholars. (See Schmidt-Biggemann, 1983, 68. Angelini, 2003, 265–266, 267, 286.) Already in its earliest form the encyclopaedia had served the intellectual program of “the

² See similar conclusions with respect to Jacob Jehuda Leon Templo (Offenberg, 1988, 101). See also Popkin, 1994, 120–121; Ramírez, 1991b, 100–103 and Szentpéteri, 2007, 55–56, 70–72.

³ “Orthographia Templi Salomonis; pertinens ad paginam 1593. sub signo D.” (Alsted, 1620, 1593) “Orthographia Templi Salomonis; pertinens ad paginam 2199. sub signo D.” (Alsted, 1630, 2199) “Ichnographia Templi Salomonis.” (Alsted, 1620, 1593–1594) “Ichnographia Templi Salomonis.” (Alsted, 1630, 2199) “Urbs Hierosolyma; pertinens ad paginam 1591. sub signo O.” (Alsted, 1620, 1591) “Urbs Hierosolyma; pertinens ad paginam 2198. sub signo O.” (Alsted, 1630, 2198) See also the posthumous edition (1649, 4 vol., 238).

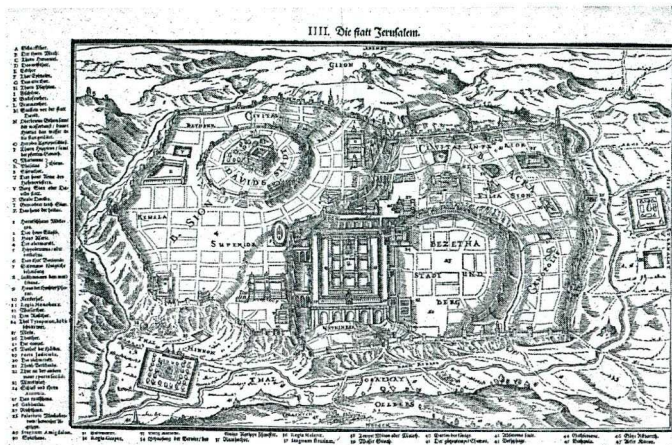


Figure 4: *Die statt Jerusalem.* Cf. *Urbs Hierosolyma.* Alsted, 1620, 1591. Alsted, 1630, 2198.

instauration of the image of God in man (*instauratio imaginis Dei ad hominem*)”, the restitution of the Adamite wisdom and moral that was partially destroyed by the fall. From the second half of the 1620’s on this idea took a new perspective of Alsted’s Millenarian hopes, therefore the instauration apparently became an effort which could prepare or even accelerate the Second Coming of Christ, in harmony with universalistic pedagogical reforms aimed at fostering an ideal society. (Hotson, 2000; 2001, Szentpéteri, 2008) According to that book of the *Encyclopaedia* which deals with the basic principles of disciplines—entitled *Archelogia*—the major goals of the disciplines are first the “glory of God (*gloria Dei*)”, then subordinated to it, the “eternal salvation of man (*salus aeterna hominis*)”, and finally the *instauratio imaginis Dei*.⁴ One could not find better proof of the fact that the perfect encyclopaedia was designed to serve these goals than the emblematic frontispiece itself which makes it clear when read vertically that the place of the encyclopaedia in the long run of sacred history is located between the Creation and the Second Coming. When read horizontally, it becomes apparent, on the other hand, that the encyclopaedia is driven by a certain perennial philosophy, in which piety and humanity, theological and philosophical truth respectively complements one another. Consequently, the emblematic message encoded in the frontispiece reveals that those who read through the pages of the topical encyclopaedia or wind the knowledge contained in it in a combinatorial fashion will move closer to salvation. It is particularly interesting how the frontispiece plays with the symbolic meanings of the geometrical forms. The very beginnings of sacred history are represented in a circular frame, whereas the Last Judgement at the end of the story finds its place in a rectangular frame. As I argued elsewhere—discussing the problems of *ratio circularis* and *memoria stabilis*—the circle in Alsted’s symbolic geometry always refers to movement, while the rectangular relates to tranquillity. (Szentpéteri, 2008, 192-194) Here, this emblematic encoding might refer to the seventh, Sabbatical millennia of the Thousand Year Kingdom of Christ on Earth that will be the final period of tranquillity, the end of sacred history. The rectangular frame could symbolize the Heavenly Jerusalem as well,

⁴ “*Omnes disciplinae suo modo faciunt ad instaurationem imaginis Dei in homine. Nam imago Dei praecipueposita est in sapientia et iustitia, seu sanitate intellectus, et sanctitate voluntatis. Jam vero propositum est omnibus disciplinis, ut alterutrum in nobis promoveant. Itaque omnes, pro sua quaeque rata, instaurant imaginem Dei, in nobis collapsam [...] Prima [causa disciplinarum] est Deus, qui imaginem suam homini comunicavit, et eam in nobis collapsam instaurat.*” (Alsted, 1630, 74)

as in the interpretation of the most influential early modern reconstructor of the Temple, Juan Bautista Villalpando: “[T]his is the new city descending from Heaven, which was seen by John the Evangelist; and its length, width and height was the same.”⁵ In the perspective provided by the frontispiece, it may not have been a simple coincidence that the reconstruction of Solomon’s Temple turned up in Alsted’s encyclopaedias.

In order to better understand how and why these images found their way into the encyclopaedias, one first has to locate their origins. It is now clear that the woodcuts were recycled when they first appeared in Alsted’s *Cursus* in 1620. (Szentpéteri, 2007, 57) Originally they were published in an appendix to Johannes Piscator’s bible translation, the famous *Piscatorbibel*.⁶ (Piscator, 1602-1610) The two volume *Anhang des Herbornischen Biblischen werkes* were first published in 1610 and consisted of one volume with a biblical commonplace-book and another one with a biblical chronology by Johann Jacob Hermann, a biblical numismatics by Tobias Adami and a series of seven woodcuts among which one finds the above mentioned Temple representations and the map of Jerusalem as well. Due to its pagination the chapter providing the series of woodcuts could be regarded at first sight as an illustration to Hermann’s *Chronologia: Das ist Jaarrechnung oder Zeitregister*. (It is worth mentioning that Alsted’s brother, Justus, delivered his *disputa* under Hermann, see Justus Alsted, 1611. See also Hotson, 2001, 17.) “Folgen die Landtafeln”—so

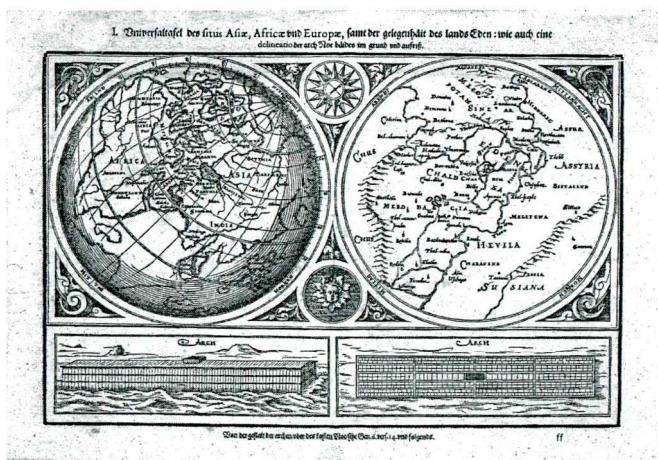


Figure 1. Ein universaltafel des situs Asiae, Africae, und Europae, samt der gelegenheit des lands Eden, wie auch eine entwerffung der Arch Noe, baides im grund und auffriß. Cf. *Planisphaerium Geographicum, exhibens situm Europae, Africae et Asiae*. Alsted, 1620, 1412. Alsted, 1630, 1136.

⁵ „Haec est enim nova civitas, quam descendente de caelo vidit Sanctissimus Ioannes Evangelista: cuius longitudo, latitudo, et altitudo aequalia sunt.” Prado, Jerónimo—Villalpando, Juan Bautista, 1596–1604 [recte 1605], 2. vol., 476. See the modern edition in Spanish: Antonio Ramirez, 1991. On Villalpando in general see Taylor, 1952, 1967, 1992. Kravtsov, 2005. Alberto Pérez-Gómez, 1999. Compare Villalpando’s above citation with Alsted’s views on the Heavenly Jerusalem: „Quadrata figura valde convenit iis rebus, quae debent esse immota vel stabilia. vers. 16. [scil. Rev. 21. 16]”. (Alsted, 1625, 160-161)

⁶ The *Chronologia* and *Landtafeln* mentioned in the title of the *Piscatorbibel* is not available in the first and second editions. The first *Piscatorbibel* was actually published between 1602 and 1604, the volumes of the second edition saw the light between 1605 and 1606 and finally in 1610 the two volumes of the *Anhang* followed (Piscator, 1610). This edition was then republished in an unaltered version in 1624 (Piscator, 1624).

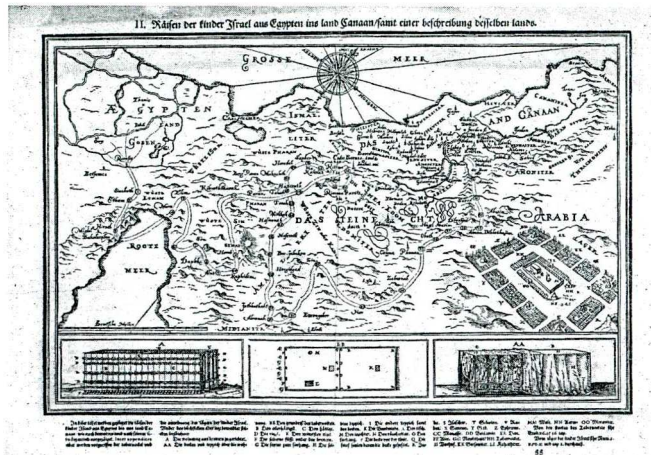


Figure 2: *Räufen der kinder Izrael aus Egypten ins land Canaan, samt einer beschreibung desselben lands. In welcher auch ist der Tabernakel, und die anordnung des laegers der Kinder Izrael.*

begins the chapter with woodcuts on the 39th page though without pagination, and then comes the contents of the *Landtafeln* on page 40. After this comes Adami's numismatics, the *Bericht von den Münzen, deren in der H. Schrift meldung geschicht* with a completely new pagination. In so doing, the series of seven woodcuts has a clear-cut iconographic program; it summarizes the sacred history registered by Hermann's previous *Zeitregister*. The first engraving represents the globe with the Ark of Noah. (Figure 1) The second depicts the Exodus in the desert with the Tabernacle of Moses with the Jewish tribes around it. (Figure 2) The third stands for Palestine before and after the settlements of the Jews together with images of the High Priest and ritual instruments. (Figure 3) The fourth is the previously mentioned map of Jerusalem. (Figure 4) The fifth is the ground-plan of the Temple (Figure 5), the sixth (Figure 6), the above mentioned bird's eye view

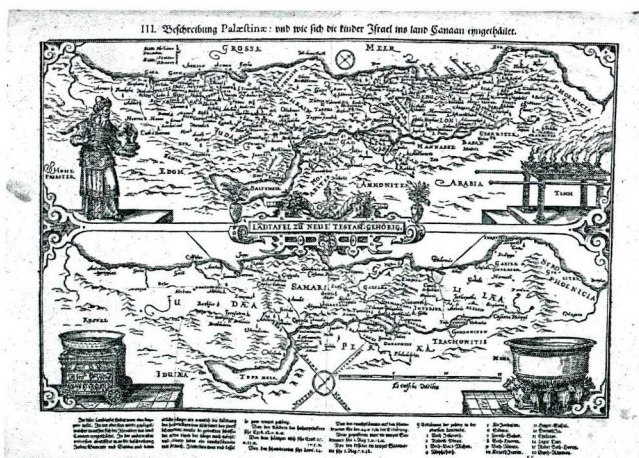


Figure 3: *Beschreibung Palaestinae: und wie sich die kinder Izrael ins land Canaan eingethaelet. Dabei etliche anbaenge, als nemlich, die klaeidung des Hohenpriesters, der tisch samt den zwelf schawbroeten, das gegossene meer und kessel im tempel Salomonis.* Cf. *Descriptio Palaestinae*. Alsted, 1620, 1416. Alsted, 1630, 1138.



Figure 7. *Tafel ueber die räisen der Aposteln*. Cf. *Hydrographia maris mediterranei*. Alsted, 1620, 1412. Alsted, 1630, 1136.

together with a side elevation, a ground-plan and a perspective of the sanctuary. Taken together, the series provides a kind of visual summary of the Old and New Testaments, and it is perhaps no coincidence that this series of symbolic images numbered seven. Just like the medieval *biblia pauperum*, this *Landtafel* is also a theological aid that not only visually retells the story of the bible, but also elucidates it in a symbolic language. This is at least one possible interpretation of the *Landtafel* to which its subtitle alludes as follows: “some maps and also other images serving to explain Holy Scripture (*etliche Landtafeln, und auch andere figuren, so zu erklaerung der H. Schrift dienlich*)”. The “useful (*dienlich*)” interpretation of the *Landtafel* could also be regarded as a memory aid by which one could visually memorize and recapitulate the salvation story. Not to mention that the direct textual context of the woodcuts is nothing else than an appendix to the *Piscatorbibel* that helps the reader to better understand the bible itself.

On six of the seven woodcuts we encounter the major topoi of biblical architecture—or to put it in Alsted’s terms, the *architectura sacra*. The Ark of Noah on the *mappamundi*, the Tabernacle of Moses on the map depicting the Exodus, the map of Jerusalem and the three images of the Temple follow each other in sequence. Here we are dealing with different versions of the very same archetype: the Ark, the Tabernacle, the City and the Temple all stand for the microcosm, the miniaturized form of the universe, or as Villalpando put it following Jerome’s commentary to Ezekiel, the Tabernacle and the Temple are nothing other than models, “images (*imagines*)”, “resemblances (*similitudines*)” or “figures (*figurae*)” by which we can imagine the spiritual edifice of the Heavenly Temple.⁷ This conception perfectly harmonizes with Villalpando’s ideas concerning the particular importance of pictorial visualization in Ezekiel’s vision embodied in the reconstruction of the Temple: “According to Mathematicians this vision could not be perceived

⁷ “Audiant huiusmodi disputatores sanctissimum Hieronymum, qui ipsis lapidibus ac lignis, non tam templum, quam templi imaginem exstructam fuisse constanter affirmat. Moyses, inquit, in tabernaculo, et Salomon in aedificio, non veritatem tentorii et templi, sed similitudinem, figuramque fecerunt: ut per haec, quae minora sunt et terrena, ea quae in caelestibus, et in spirituali aedificio sunt, intelligere possimus.” (Prado-Villalpando, 1596–1604 [recte 1605], 2. vol. 26)

without images (*Mathematicis perspectum est, sine imaginibus hanc non posse percipi visionem*)”⁸ This matches the theory of one of Alsted’s major precursors, the Swiss reformed theologian, Ludwig Lavater as well, according to which those obscure biblical places where Ezekiel applies “architectural terms (*verbis ad architectonicen pertinentibus*)” could be better understood *ex pictura*, that is, by means of pictorial images.⁹ In these cases, one finds an elaborate theoretical differentiation between the verbal and visual forms of communication. These kinds of theoretical reflections had been common to European intellectuals since the first incunabula period of print culture. Hartmann Schedel’s one folio print advertising his *Welchchronik* is telling in this respect. Schedel drew the attention of his future readers to the fact that in his world chronic they could see those things that only had been described in previous chronicles, since in his book one could not only read the flow of all times, but could also see it embodied in pictures (*est ist möglich “die Abfolge aller Zeiten nicht zu lesen, sondern leibhaftig zu schauen”*). (Schedel, [1493] 2001, 8-9) It is also true, on the other hand, that the *Landtafeln* provides an architectural mnemonic scheme which could have been used for meditative purposes as well, following the Pauline “wise master-builder” tradition still lingering on in the early modern era. (Carruthers, 1998, 16-24, 221-276)

As for the designer of the images, only partial information is available. Due to limited space here, I can only summarize my previous paper published in Hungarian stating that the seven woodcuts were most probably conceived, designed or purchased for the *Anhang des Herbornischen Biblischen werkes* as early as 1605 and as late as 1610 by Christoph Rabe—Corvinus—the Herborn printer following the suggestions of the elder Piscator who is indicated on the title page as the one who presents the engravings: *Etliche Landtafeln und auch andere figuren so zu erklärung der H. Schrift dienlich: aus angebung Johann Piscators*. (Following Schlosser and especially Bos in details see Szentpéteri, 2007, 59-60. Bos, 1932, 47-48. Schlosser, 1908, 61-63.) We do know from Heinrich Schlosser that Rabe reused these images in his quarto edition of the *Lutherbibel*, and it is also clear now that in 1620 and 1630 he recycled them into Alsted’s encyclopaedias as well. What is more important to us here - and has been overlooked both by Schlosser and Bos - is the tantalising fact that the temple representations and the map of Jerusalem are clearly stemming from the Ezekiel-commentary by the Jesuit authors Villalpando and Jerónimo Prado, the most influential temple reconstruction of the early modern era published between 1596 and 1605 in Rome. (For a detailed concordance between the *Landtafeln* and the Villalpandian images cf. Szentpéteri, 2007, 76-77.) In so doing, the series of woodcuts in the *Anhang* seems to be the earliest German example of the reception of Villalpando’s conception of the temple that were described by Robert Jan van Pelt as a “perfect Hermetic Christian utopia” and by René Taylor as a project influenced by millenarian ideas as well. (Jan van Pelt, 1988. Taylor, 1972) Though Jan van Pelt apparently omitted interpreting the odd combination between Hermeticism and millenarianism typical of the late Alsted, and Taylor’s assumption with respect to Villalpando’s possible millenarian attitude is not based on firm philological facts, one could still have a look on the *Anhang* in this perspective. The direct textual context of the seven woodcuts is not millenarian; nevertheless the *Beschluss* of Hermann’s chronology is clearly of apocalyptic and eschatological sort. (Piscator, 1610, 2. vol., 38) It is also highly important for us when trying to detect the plausible intentions of the authors of

⁸ *Op. cit.*, 38. To a certain extent this also answers why did Villalpando and his colleagues prepare fifteen detailed delineations of his reconstruction attached to his volume. Villalpando worked not only as exegete, but as an architect as well being a disciple of the famous Juan de Herrera and member of the *Escorial*-circle. Not by chance, the style of Villalpando’s reconstruction could clearly be associated with the so called *estilo herreriano*, of which the best example is, of course, the *Escorial* itself which, by the way, so much resembles Villalpando’s temple reconstruction. See Taylor, 1967; 1992. The unparalleled popularity of Villalpando’s work which went well beyond confessional boundaries could also be best regarded as a result of its set of detailed pictorial documentation. See Taylor, 1967, 90.

⁹ “Vix autem alius est Scripturae locus difficilior et obscurior: utitur enim Propheta verbis ad architectonicen pertinentibus, quae ex pictura melius possent intelligi.” (Lavater, 1581, 197)

the *Landtafel* that Piscator's millenarian commentary to John's Revelations first published in 1613 had been drafted by its author since 1604—that is, during the conception of the *Anhang* itself—and his commentaries to the relevant places of the bible are also of millenarian kind, among others, in the biblical commonplace-book of the *Anhang*. (Hotson, 2001, 16-17.) It is highly possible, thus, that the editor of the *Anhang* was influenced by millenarianism when conceived and finalised the appendix to his bible translation together with the seven woodcuts as well. Therefore we could state that it may not have been a simple *ad hoc* decision by Alsted and Rabe to put these images into the 1620 encyclopaedia a decade later. In order to shed more light on their possible intentions, however, we have to highlight Alsted's conception of the temple in both theological and architectural discourses.

The first publication in which one finds a brief exposition of a theory of architecture by Alsted is the *Methodus admirandorum mathematicorum* from 1613. Within it, the author ranks the temple architecture in the highest level, but as a good Reformed intellectual he nevertheless denies that the Temple of Solomon is an appropriate model for contemporary temple architects.¹⁰ In so doing, he rejects, along with contemporary Reformed attitudes, the highly influential tradition represented by the most significant Tridentine theologian, Roberto Bellarmino. (Vogelsang, 1981, 193. On Bellarmino see Ibid., 169-171) His rejection of Bellarmino's ideas remained apparent in all the later editions of the *Methodus* (1623, 1641, 1657). That is why it is so surprising that in his 1620 encyclopaedia—in which Alsted first published the Villalpandian images of the Temple and Jerusalem originally designed for Piscator's bible project—the criticism of Bellarmino disappears from the direct textual context that repeats word by word the otherwise unchanged statements on the temple. In the chapter on *Architectonica*, Alsted republishes verbatim the passage already familiar from the *Methodus*, but instead of refuting Bellarmino, this time he states that the Temple of Solomon must be regarded as the ultimate paradigm for all sacred architecture and especially of temple architecture, since it was designed by the “wisest architect (*architectus sapientissimus*)” and has a crucial as an “image of the Kingdom of Christ (*typus regni Christi*)”.¹¹ “That is why we present the figure of that temple here (*figuram istius templi hic tibi hanc ob causam exhibemus*)”—so continues Alsted referring to the engravings. Before stating with enthusiasm that Alsted had a “Bellarminian” paradigm shift in 1620 with respect to the temple, one has to bear in mind that in the very same year he published the *Theologia polemica* as well, in which he firmly refutes the Bellarminian conception of the temple. (Alsted, 1620b, 396-397.) Nevertheless, in his 1625 biblical encyclopaedia—entitled *Triumphus bibliorum*—he endorses again ideas so much reminding us to Bellarminianism. (Alsted, 1625, 155-163)

As for the architectural discourse, it is also highly important that Alsted republished his Bellarminian version of sacred architecture in the 1630 encyclopaedia together with the Villalpandian images. (Alsted, 1630, 2199) The *Architectonica* this time ends with an appendix arranged in points of which ten directly stem from the Jesuit Antonio Possevin's *Bibliotheca selecta* summarizing the Vitruvian rules of classical architecture. The rest of the points is a mixture of Possevin and Alsted's *Triumphus bibliorum* devoted to sacred architecture, according to which the basic—Vitruvian!—principles of the perfect and ideal architecture “shine out (*elucet*)” from the Ark of Noah, the Tabernacle of Moses, the City of Jerusalem, the Temple of Solomon and the

¹⁰ “Hic occurrit quaestio, an ex templi Salomonici structura ratio architecturae sacrae petenda sit? Negamus, duas ob causas. 1. Quia sacrificiis erat dicatum, ideoque varia loca habebat illis destinata. 2. Quia porticus illius distinguebantur pro varietate gentium, itemque sacrificiorum. Mysticum itaque hoc templum non erit idea nostra.” (Alsted, 1613, 509-510) On Alsted's matchematical views with excerpts from the *Methodus* see Crapulli, 1969, 125-143, 243-273.

¹¹ “Templum Salomonis esto idea cuiusque templi, et omnino aedificii splendidi. Tametsi enim templum istud sacrificiis fuit dicatum, ideoque varia habuit loca iis destinata: negari tamen non potest, quod in eo fuerit adhibitum summum artificium: quia et a sapientissimo architecto fuit extructum, et ad eminentissimum finem fuit ordinatum, ut nempe typus esset regni Christi.” (Alsted, 1620, 1593-1594)

Temple of Ezekiel. Alsted adds at the very same time, following Possevino, that these examples could not provide all the required knowledge for contemporary architects, hence one has to have firm “reasoning power (*judicium*)” to apply these examples. (Alsted, 1630, 2206. Cf. Possevino, 1603, 287) The architectural aphorisms of the *Triumphus* could shed more light on this seemingly contradiction, since they scrutinize how contemporary architects should study the eminent examples of sacred architecture—as the Ark of Noah, the Tabernacle of Moses, the City of Jerusalem, the Temple of Solomon, the Temple of Ezekiel and the Heavenly Jerusalem—; and those illustrations that one finds in books of such distinct scholars as Villalpando, Agostino Torniello and Lavater among others.¹² (Alsted, 1625, 161-162) Having studied the ground-plans (*ichnographia*), the elevations (*ortographia*) and the sections (*sciagraphia* or *scenographia*), contemporary architects could begin to design their own plans. In the fifth aphorism, moral and spiritual issues elucidate Alsted’s views on sacred examples:

That is how the student or master of architecture contemplates the sacred examples [...] so that he translates this contemplation into moral and spiritual education truly considering how the beautifully erected buildings [...] urge us partly to the study of morals and piety as in the case of the temples and tabernacles of the Holy Spirit, in which God dwells [...] partly on the beauty and perfection of the militant and victorious Church [...] We could apply the 40th chapter of Ezekiel for example to illustrate the following spiritual wisdom: the man who set out the length, the width and the height of the walls is the Christ who set in order by his spirit the length, the width and the height of the Church to make it either more crowded or more spacious remunerating each and every member according to measurement. The rectangular wall stands for the firm state of the Church. The way emerges from the Atrium to inner parts of the Temple, that is, it unfolds from the first principles of faith to the higher mysteries. There are those who remain in the Court of the Temple, and there are those who enter the interior of the Temple, namely, a few participates in more mysteries than the others.¹³

We could encounter similar views on spiritually and morally conceived architecture at the end of the architectural chapter of the 1630 *Encyclopaedia* as well. The *Peroratio architectonices* claims that the study of architecture elevates us to the “heavenly home (*domus coelestis*)”, the architect of which is God, its foundation is Christ, its walls stand for mercy, its ceiling is glory, its inhabitants are the joyful angels and the blessed saints. (Alsted, 1630, 2208) No doubt, this spiritual conception of architecture stems from medieval traditions of monastic architectural mnemonic which was founded on a key text by St. Paul (1 Corinthians 3:10–17), where he identifies himself as “a wise master-builder”, who laid the foundation, that is Jesus Christ, upon which anyone has to build her or his own temple of God. (Carruthers, 1998, 17)

¹² The uncritical juxtaposition of Villalpando and Torniello in the typographic space is rather awkward—though very typical of the arch-eclectic Alsted—, since they were as fierce opponents of one another’s view on the Temple as Villalpando and Benito Arias Montano. Not to speak about the fact that Lavater’s conception also differs from that of Villalpando and Torniello. See Herrmann, 1967, 144-145. Torniello, 1616; 1616-1622.

¹³ “Architectonicae studiosus et magister sic versetur in contemplatione [...] exemplarium sacrorum [...] ut illa transferat ad institutionem moralem et spirituales: ita nempe, ut discipiat, quomodo aedificia [...] pulchre extructa nos admoneant partim de studio virtutis et pietatis, ut simus templa Spiritus sancti et tabernacula, in quibus inhabitet Dominus I. Cor. 3. vers. 16. et cap. 6. vers. 19. 2. Cor. 6. v. 16. partim de ecclesiae militantis et triumphantis perfectione et pulchritudine 1. Cor. 5. v. 1. Heb. 13. v. 14. Sic. v. g. ex cap. 40. *Ezech.* haec monita spiritualia possunt desumi. Vir, qui metitur longitudinem, latitudinem et altitudinem murorum est Christus, qui spiritu suo ordinat longitudinem, latitudinem et altitudinem ecclesiae, facitque ut illa nunc angustior, nunc latior existat, singulisque membris sua dona secundum mensuram largitur. Murus quadratus significat stabilem esse conditionem ecclesiae. Ab atriis ascenditur in templi interiora, hoc est, a primis fidei elementis sit progressus ad altiora mysteria. Quidam manent in atriis, quidam penetrant interiora templi, h[oc]. e[st]. uni plus incognitione mysteriorum tribuitur quam alteri.” (Alsted, 1625, 162-163)

The above discussed views of Alsted seem rather controversial. For from several publications we have learned that the Temple of Solomon could not have provided an ultimate model for the works of the early modern architects, at the very same time we have also learned that the spiritual role of sacred architecture was of particular importance for Alsted in a sense that every building finds its mystical archetype in the work of the “architect God (*Deus architectus*)”, that is, in the “building of the Universe (*opificium mundi*)” and especially in the “heavenly home (*domus coelestis*)” symbolised by such examples as the Temple of Solomon. Turning from architectural and theological discourses to iconographic sources we might have a clearer view of our case. Whereas the written sources are rather ambivalent and controversial, the story represented by the pictorial images is quite unequivocal. Both in the 1620 and 1630 encyclopaedias one finds that set of the Villalpandian images of the Temple and Jerusalem which was first prepared for Piscator’s appendix to his bible translation with a clear-cut iconographic program providing a mystical view of the temple which was so much popular among millenarian intellectuals of the age. It is absolutely not possible that Alsted had no firm knowledge of the Villalpandian origins of these images, for he proved to be a distinct, though rather critical reader of the Jesuit, referring to him several times from 1620 on. He even brought his three volume Prado-Villalpando to Transylvania as we learned from a letter by István Tolnai from Sárospatak to Prince György Rákóczi I. (Szilágyi, 1875, 619). Furthermore, parallel to this paradigm shift clearly apparent in the use of images Alsted gradually accepted millenarian ideas beginning with the quasi millenarian passages of the *Theologia prophetica* of 1622 and arriving at the full millenarianism of the 1627 *Diatrise de mille annis apocalyptici*, one of the most influential books of continental millenarianism, and that of the late Transylvanian publications such as the *Prodromus religionis triumphantis* and the millenarian commentaries of the *Trifolium propheticum*. (On Alsted’s millenarianism see Hotson, 2001.)

To sum up, at the end of his career in Transylvania, Alsted as a millenarian thinker most probably regarded the allegory of the mentally restored Temple of Solomon—visually represented by the Villalpandian iconographic tradition—as an underlying spiritual and meditative symbol of the second coming of Christ. To him the reconstructed Temple of Solomon most likely became the Temple of the New Jerusalem, that is the Christ of the Revelations. More precisely, Alsted claimed that John envisioned the same temple as Ezekiel.¹⁴ It is fairly clear, nevertheless, that in written sources he explicitly refused the Villalpandian idea that Ezekiel saw the Temple of Solomon in his vision.¹⁵ At any rate, Alsted regarded the most important Old Testament topoi of the Temple of Solomon as types of Christ, that is, sacraments which are “visible signs of the invisible mercy of Christ”.¹⁶ While written sources seem to deny any identification of the Temple of Solomon with that of Ezekiel/John, the Villalpandian iconographic tradition apparent in Alsted’s encyclopaedias, however, clearly associates all of these temples.

It has to be researched yet whether the idea of the *instauratio templi* proved also to be a symbol of the *instauratio scientiarum* for Alsted, nevertheless, the above discussed architectural symbolism attributing distinct spiritual role to architecture foreshadows in many respect the ideas of Alsted’s well known disciple, Jan Amos Comenius’ conception of the “Temple of Christian Pansophy (*Templum Christianae Pansophiae*)”, which undoubtedly combines the two topoi. (Comenius, 1639,

¹⁴ “Templum Ezechielis proculdubio Johanni fuit oblatum in visione.” (Alsted, 1640, 78)

¹⁵ “Templum novum, seu Ezechielis, est figura Ecclesiae Novi Testamenti, ac imprimis illius, quae futura est tempore conversionis Iudaeorum, Apocal. 21. et 22. ut merito Pradus et Villalpandus errasse censendi sint, quando dicunt in commentario super Ezechielem, templum Salomonis fuisse ostensum Ezechiel, et ipsi ostendam esse hac visione, templi, urbis, regionis, Levitici ordinis, legis, ac reipublicae instauracionem.” (Alsted, 1641, 291)

¹⁶ “1. Reg. 7. templum Salomonis, 2. Chron. 3. erant typi Christi. Ergo erant sacramenta. Ratio consequentiae est: quia erant signa visibilia invisibilis gratiae per Christum. Antecedens probatur partim ex epistola ad Hebraeos, partim ex aliis N. T. locis. v. g. cum Christus Iohan. 2. corpus suum vocat templum.” (Alsted, 1634, 280-281)

240-281. Comenius, 1645) From this point of view, it is highly useful to return to Alsted's *Prodromus* in which the author distinguishes between two ways of the instauration of the image of God in man. (Alsted, 1641, 677) Accordingly, the instauration could be pursued in natural and supernatural ways. The first of which is nothing else than studying and learning in schools, colleges and universities conversing with erudite and wise people, or to put it differently, studying the perfect encyclopaedia.¹⁷ The second way, naturally, is to accept the "illumination driven by the Holy Spirit (*illuminatio Spiritu sancti*)" and the "Redemption (*renovatio hominis*)". In this conception the two ways of the instauration stay in beautiful harmony, for our "natural reason (*lumen naturae*)" could not grasp all the beauty and truth of the Creation without the help of the supernatural "light of mercy and glory (*lumen gratiae et gloriae*)". In the light of all these, the symbol of the Temple restored with dignity stands for the second coming of Christ, but at the very same time it could also be regarded as a symbol of the "encyclopaedia worthily restored (*encyclopaedia digne restituta*)", which is the best instrument of natural instauration of the image of God in man, that is to say, the *instauration templi* could by all means stand for the *instauration scientiarum* as well. This conception seems to be an important precursor of Comenius' pansophic temple or the "temple of encyclopaedia (*templum encyclopaediae*)" which became so popular among German Freemasons—such as Karl Christian Friedrich Krause—in the 19th century, but this is a story to be told in an other paper. (On Masonic cult of Comenius see Szentpéteri, 2008b.)

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¹⁷ Cf. with one of Alsted's late encyclopedic student guides, *Usus praecipuarum Encyclopaediae partium*. "Instauration imaginis Dei est theoretica vel practica. Haec in Decalogo, illa in quinque Encyclopaediae partibus." (Szentpéteri, 2008, 90, 470)

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