Francesco Patrizi

Philosopher of the Renaissance

Proceedings from The Centre for Renaissance Texts Conference [24–26 April 2014]

CRT centre for renaissance texts

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Tomáš Nejeschleba – Paul Richard Blum (eds.)

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Contents

Preface 7

Maria Muccillo
Dall'ordine dei libri all' ordine della realtà: ordine e metodo nella filosofia di Francesco Patrizi 9

Marie-Dominique Couzinet
History and Philosophy in Francesco Patrizi's *Dialoghi della istoria* (1560) 62

Kateřina Šolcová
Philosophical Perspective of Humanist Discourse on History: Ars historica in Patrizi's and Pontano's Dialogues 89

Luka Boršić
Patrizi and history of philosophy 104

Stefano Gulizia
First Notes on Francesco Patrizi's Methods of Argumentation 118

Luc Deitz
"Il poeta è facitore del mirabile." Francesco Patrizi da Cherso on the Aim of Poetry 143

Ivana Skuhala Karasman and Luka Boršić
Patrizi and His Women 162

Paul Richard Blum
Francesco Patrizi's Principles of Psychology 185

Erna Banić-Pajnić
Marsilio Ficino and Franciscus Patricius on Love 213

Jacomien Prins
Francesco Patrizi, Unrequited Love and the Power of Music 233

Barbara Bartocci
Paolo Beni and his friendly criticism of Patrizi 261

Jan Makovský
The New Geometry of Francesco Patrizi 295

Matjaž Vesel
Franzesco Patrizi, a Renaissance Philosopher and the Science of Astronomy 314

Petr Pavlas
The Book of the Mind: The Shift Towards the Subject in Patrizi and Comenius 343

Tomáš Nejeschleba
Johannes Jessenius, Between Plagiarism and an Adequate Understanding of Patrizi's Philosophy 360

Jan Čížek
Patricius – Alstedius – Comenius. A Few Remarks on Patricius' Reception in Early Modern Central Europe 372

Preface

From the 24th through the 26th of April, 2014, the Center for Renaissance Texts at the Palacky University in Olomouc, Czech Republic, organized the international conference "Francesco Patrizi: Philosopher of the Renaissance". The conference was supported by the European Social Fund (ESF) and the Czech Government within the framework of the Center for Renaissance Texts (CRT).

The aim of the conference was to support reasearch on the philosophy of Francesco Patrizi (Frane Petrić, born in Cres / Cherso 1529, died in Rome, 1597), one of the leading thinkers of the late Renaissance period and who achieved renown for his deep knowledge of Classical literary and philosophical texts and as a radical opponent of Aristotelianism and a defender of Platonic philosophy. His writing was not only on philosophy, but dealt also with the methodology of sciences, literature, history, musicology and political thinking. About twenty scholars from Croatia, Italy, Slovenia, Germany, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, USA and Czech Republic discussed this variety of topics in Patrizi´s thought and its influence at the conference "Francesco Patrizi: Philosopher of the Renaissance" in Olomouc. This volume contains the majority of the contributions.

The editors are grateful to Anna Laura Puliafito from the University of Basel and to Jozef Matula of Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Seoul, for reviewing the conference proceedings, and to the employees of the language school UPlift at Palacky University in Olomouc, led by Ondřej Molnár, and to Zuzana Rybaříková, for proof-reading the texts.

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Dall'ordine dei libri all' ordine della realtà: ordine e metodo nella filosofia di Francesco Patrizi

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Abstract In the context of the patrizian philosophical production the theme of the order (and of the method which is to it related) is a leit-motiv which develops itself without interruption from his youth writings to his last work published in 1594, after the prohibition and inclusion in the Index of his *Nova de universis philosophia*. In this relation I will try to reconstruct some phases of the evolution of this thematic, highlighting its methodological importance, not only in the elaboration of his original ontological conception, but also as a critical and historical tool in the reconstruction of the ancient philosophical heritage. This is the use of this concept yet in Patrizi's first philosophical work, *La città felice* written in 1551, but, above all, in his *Discussiones peripateticae*, composed in the decade 1571–1581, in which the concept of 'order' becomes a formidable polemic instrument, with which Patrizi aims to destroy the very basis of the Aristotelianism, casting a shadow of skepticism on the whole of the texts of that authoritative tradition, thus claiming to the philosophical research the right to take new and different ways, than those imposed by the Stagirite's auctoritas. In the philosophical works, in which we can recognize the positive and original part of the patrizian thought, the concept of 'order', abandoned the role of critical tool, becomes a constructive method, both of inquiry and description of the reality, which gives to the proposed doctrines a logical-rational character, that is, for Patrizi, the character of truth. This is, indeed, its role, not only, very clearly, in the *Nova de universis philosophia*, but also in other works about different arguments, which Patrizi wrote before and after its publication, that is in his writings on the philosophy of love, in those about geometrical themes, and in those about the military art of the Romans. I will mention some Patrizian manuscript writings which have not yet been examined by scholars, or whose existence has remained until now unknown.

Keywords order; method; Patrizi; truth

Scrivendo nel 1587 all'amico Baccio Valori la storia della sua vita, e ripercorrendo gli anni dei suoi studi universitari, Patrizi ricorda come fosse rimasto deluso dall'insegnamento dei suoi maestri di logica e di filosofia.

Gli piacquero invece 'per il metodo di trattar le cose', solo le lezioni, che ebbe modo di ascoltare nell'ultimo dei suoi anni di studio, di un medico, Giovanni Battista dal Monte.[1] Patrizi non chiarisce qui in che consistesse il 'metodo' che attribuisce al famoso medico; ma, se si scorrono le opere metodologiche del Montano, si può avere un'idea di ciò a cui egli alludeva.[2] Sappiamo infatti che il Montano, pur rimanendo dal punto di vista filosofico, ancorato ad una prospettiva aristotelica,[3] ambiva a fornire della materia medica, ereditata dalla tradizione ippocratica e galenica, un'esposizione logica nella quale tutta la medicina potesse

1 "In fin di studio udì il Monte medico, e gli piacque per il metodo, e così Bassiano Lando, di cui fu scolare mentre stette in istudio". (Cfr. Lettera a Baccio Valori scritta da Ferrara il 12 gennaio 1587 in Francesco Patrizi da Cherso, *Lettere ed opuscoli inediti,* ed. Danilo Aguzzi Barbagli (Firenze: Nella sede dell' Istituto Palazzo Strozzi, Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, 1975), 47. In questa stessa lettera Patrizi racconta di essere stato inviato a Padova nel maggio del 1547, e quindi di avere iniziato i suoi studi di medicina in quest'anno. Tra i professori egli menziona per gli studi logici Bernardino Tomitano, e per la filosofia naturale 'un certo Alberto' (Alberto Gabriele, successore di Bassiano Lando alla cattedra di medicina) e il Genoa, il cui insegnamento non gli piacque, senza sapere dire il perché, e che lo indussero a studiare da sé queste discipline. Si può osservare come qui Patrizi fornisca un resoconto fortemente influenzato dalla sua volontà di proporsi come autodidatta in filosofia, e soprattutto, di presentare, quasi come un destino legato alla sua personalità, la sua avversione alla filosofia aristotelica. Non a caso attribuisce, nella stessa lettera, proprio a questi anni il suo incontro con la filosofia platonica, mediato dall'incontro con un religioso frate di S. Francesco, che gli consiglia la lettura della *Theologia* di Ficino. Sulla biografia di Patrizi è ora disponibile M. Palumbo, "Patrizi, Francesco", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, LXXXI (Roma: Istituto dell' Enciclopedia Italiana, 2014).

2 Mi riferisco a soprattutto al Iohannis Baptistae Montani. *De methodo docendi omnes artes et scientias* in *Medicina universa* Iohannis Baptistae Montani Veronensis, Philosophi, et Medici summi, *ex lectionibus eius, caeterisque opusculis, tum impressis, tum scriptis collecta, et in tres tomos nunc primum decenti ordine digesta, studio et opera* Martini Weindrichii Vratislaviensis (Francofurdi: apud Andreae Wecheli heredes, Claud. Marnium, et Ioann. Aubrium, 1587).

3 Mi permetto di rinviare a Maria Muccillo, "Da Monte (De Monte, Del Monte), Giovanni Battista, detto Montano," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani,* XXXI (Roma: Istituto dell' Enciclopedia Italiana, Roma 1985), 365–365; e alla Bibliografia ivi segnalata. Ad essa mi limito ad aggiungere Silvia Ferretto, "Bassiano Lando e la 'Scienza' della medicina tra filosofia e teologia nel XVI secolo," PhD diss., Universita'di Trento, Scuola di Dottorato in Studi Storici, XXII Ciclo (2006–2009), http://eprints-phd-biblio.unitn.it/323/1/(SILVIAFERRETTO._BASSIANO_LANDO_E_LA_221_SCIENZA_222_DELLA_MEDIC_205).pdf e la Bibliografia ivi segnalata.Su Montano,183-209, dove si, e *passim,*... dove si fornisce anche una ricca Bibliografia su Bassiano Lando, Giovanni Battista da Monte e la discussione sul metodo nella medicina del Rinascimento.

essere razionalmente dedotta, e così nuovamente organizzata, potesse essere più facilmente insegnata dal maestro ed appresa dagli studenti.[4]

Può essere utile, per comprendere il prosieguo del nostro discorso, riassumere qui brevemente alcuni elementi fondamentali della metodologia proposta dal famoso medico. Interessanti sono soprattutto le affermazioni di Montano a proposito del metodo da seguire in generale nell'insegnamento di tutte le arti. Egli ritiene, d'accordo con Cicerone e con Platone, innanzi tutto necessario fornire una definizione del 'metodo', che costituisce appunto l'oggetto di cui si tratta; e si rivolge per questa definizione ad Aristotele che definisce il 'metodo' una via, e una 'recta ratio' per progredire e giudicare nella dottrina. Nell'insegnamento bisogna conoscere sia il 'metodo', ovvero la via su cui progredire, sia il modo di giudicare la natura delle cose e di discernere gli 'ingegni', o capacità di chi ascolta. Occorrono inoltre degli strumenti adatti all'insegnamento, senza i quali la via o metodo non sarebbe per noi di alcuna utilità. Gli strumenti a disposizione sono per Montano quattro, 'né di più né di meno'; e ciò dipende dal fatto che gli oggetti della nostra contemplazione sono le sostanze e le passioni e affezioni delle sostanze. La definizione è lo strumento grazie al quale conosciamo la sostanza, e la dimostrazione è il mezzo con cui giungiamo alle affezioni di essa. Ma poiché la definizione consta di genere e differenza specifica, abbiamo bisogno di altri due strumenti per potere conoscere il genere e la differenza specifica. Tali strumenti sono costituiti dalla divisione, con cui investighiamo il genere, e dalla 'risoluzione' con cui arriviamo alla differenza specifica. Dei quattro 'strumenti' Montano dà una descrizione, ma soprattutto si concentra sugli ultimi due che hanno ricevuto finora, a suo dire, minore attenzione, mentre la definizione e la dimostrazione sono stati ampiamente trattati dai dialettici. Per Montano, che segue qui l'insegnamento di Aristotele, la dimostrazione è quel ragionamento (*Ratiocinatio)* da cui si origina la 'scienza'; ha la forza di concludere e produrre il vero; è la causa di tale

[4] Tale organizzazione della materia medica è presente soprattutto nelle opere a carattere metodologico come la *Methodus therapeutica;*la *Idea Hippocratica de generatione pituitae*; la *Methodus de humore melancholico* (Basileae: per Ioannem Oporinum, 1555).

conclusione. La definizione è un discorso che, brevemente ed in modo assoluto, indica o il concetto significato dal nome (definizione nominale), o la natura o essenza della cosa. Ma la divisione e la risoluzione esplicano per Montano un ruolo ancora più importante perché la divisione "est dux, et ratio inveniendae definitionis", e, continua, se volessi descriverne tutta l'utilità, dovrei scrivere un intero volume. Basterà invece richiamare quanto di essa dicono i due 'principi' della filosofia, e cioè Platone ed Aristotele:

"Quorum alter in Sophista et Philebo, et Phaedro eum habet locum Dei qui novit artem dividendi: propterea quod, ut est facilis ad discendum, ita ad usus revocari est difficillima. Nam opus est divino homine, qui perfecte ad opus revocare possit. Qui igitur hanc artem negligunt, et prorsus ignorant, illos putat esse viliores, et deteriores coquis, non dividentibus aliquam partem per suos articulos, sed potius lacerantibus, et frangentibus. Alter vero Aristoteles 10 Ethicorum, cap. I, grauiter coarguit priscos Philosophos, qui de uoluptatibus disputaturi, diuisionem neglexerunt. Testatur enim ipsam non contemni, nisi a viris indoctis, et ab imperita plebecula: et praeterquam quod, ut dixi, ad constituendam definitionem plurimum confert, etiam non parum ad scientiam et artis tum actiuae, tum factiuae perfectionem adfert momenti. Nam sine confusione omnia, in omni genere disciplinarum, et disponuntur recte, et certo ordine collocantur. Separantur enim eius ope, illa quae, nihil attinent ad artem tractandam. Huc etiam pertinet, quod a principiis exorsi, beneficio diuisionis universas partes artis speculando, et inveniendo ad notionem finis pervenimus. Ad extremum eius magna est utilitas, quia saepe multa nobis occurrunt, quae etsi videantur esse unum, tamen plura re ipsa sunt. Verbi causa, sit mihi substantia, fabrico conceptum, quem numquam exacte et bene intelligam, nisi substantiam diuidam, quae multiplex est. Diuidam per duo tantisper, donec ad speciem indiuiduam substantiae peruenero, in qua placebat Platoni quiescere."[5]

[5] Montani *De methodo docendi*, 4.

Alla divisione, benché con essa *cognata*, e spesso confusa, succede poi la *analysis* o *resolutio*, che in realtà si pone per Montano su un piano *ex diametro* opposto, soprattutto per due motivi: in primo luogo perché con lo strumento della divisione si trova il genere inferiore, mentre con la 'resolutio' quello superiore; in secondo luogo perché, mentre con la divisione si 'esplica' e si 'deduce' ciò che appare unitario, ma invece è molteplice, con la risoluzione si riduce ad unità ciò che appare molteplice solo perché è confuso, ma in realtà è uno e semplice. Si danno per Montano, inoltre, due specie di risoluzioni: la prima è quella che scioglie l'effetto nelle sue cause prossime e ultime, ed è quella di cui si servono i Matematici ed è più nota ad Aristotele e ai filosofi. Questa esordisce dalla nozione di fine e procede fino alle cause ultime, ed è questo propriamente il procedimento che insegnano i Matematici e i Filosofi. Non bisogna tuttavia confondere la 'resolutio' stessa con l' 'ordo resolutivus'.[6] La seconda specie di 'risoluzione', al contrario della prima, si serve del 'progresso', e cioè riduce le cause e i principi agli effetti. Anche questa viene confusa, secondo Montano, da filosofi e medici inesperti, con l'ordine compositivo, che è distinto dunque dall'ordine risolutivo. Ciascuna delle due 'vie' o 'metodi' non può essere separata dal suo ordine, così come l'anima non può essere separata dal corpo. La caratteristica poi dei due metodi di risoluzione sopra descritti consiste nel fatto che sono metodi di 'scoperta' delle arti e delle scienze a partire dalla nozione del fine di ciascuna di esse. E contro coloro che, errando, non separano questa seconda specie di 'risoluzione' (e cioè dalle cause e principi agli effetti) dalla 'divisione', Montano obbietta che la 'divisione' è lo strumento con cui dividiamo il genere attraverso le differenze prossime e opposte, mentre questa 'risoluzione' è uno strumento atto a dissolvere e a ridurre le cause e i principi nei loro effetti, e non ha bisogno delle differenze opposte, ma

[6] Ibid.: "Sunt enim et ordo et instrumentum valde similia, propterea quod utraque a finis notione exordium sumunt, et in ultimas usque causas excurrunt: sed ordo est dispositio partium resolutarum, ut suo loco dicam, instrumentum autem resoluendi continetur in ipso ordine, veluti via quaedam et methodus, et ideo a recentioribus Graecis hoc instrumentum resoluendi plerumque methodus dicitur resoluendi. Hanc autem rationem similitudinis et dissimilitudinis plurimi ignorantes, nihil hac in re certi constituere potuerunt."

solo di richiamare le cause nei loro effetti. Montano si diffonde qui anche sul tema dell'ordine, distinguendo un ordine accidentale o arbitrario, e un ordine essenziale o naturale. Il primo è vario e incostante, a seconda del modo diverso di concepire qualcosa: come il falegname fabbrica in vari possibili modi l'arca, a seconda delle diverse forme in cui gli viene commissionata, così la nostra mente costituì ordini diversi a seconda della diversa concezione. Dipedendo esso dalla concezione, ed essendo la concezione arbitraria, anche l'ordine è arbitrario. L'ordine naturale, ed essenziale è un ordine

"a natura insitus rebus. Idcirco iure vocatur essentia, et quasi anima rerum a Platone, constans est, et uno atque eodem semper se habet modo. Et ut animal sine anima esse non potest, neque etiam viuere: sic cognitio rerum sine hoc ordine neque constare, neque recte doceri potest: neque dici doctrina aut cognitio, sed rectius confusio. Et quoniam ordo est veluti quaedam via, ideo qui sustulerit hunc ordinem, continuo doctrinam rerum sua essentia, et quasi via privabit."[7]

Quest'ordine naturale, che la conoscenza delle cose deve necessariamente esprimere, è di tre tipi: ordine risolutivo che esordisce dalla nozione del fine, dato che la mente forma in primo luogo il concetto del fine come alcunché di buono, e subito tale concetto si unisce al soggetto in cui viene reperito, affinché si costituisca la materia universale o dell'arte o della scienza; e sebbene il concetto del fine sia uno, tuttavia si scioglie in molti principi e teoremi che a quel concetto si riferiscono, finché non si pervenga agli ultimi, e cioè a quelli che non sono ulteriormente risolvibili in altri. Infatti questo ordine risolutivo richiede tutto ciò che conduce al fine, e cioe' la conoscenza delle parti, delle cause e dei fini di esse, giacche' il fine e' come la forma della materia sottoposta. Pertanto, prima si ricercano i principi della materia soggetta, quindi quelli del fine stesso, ed è per questo che dagli Arabi talora questo ordine e'stato detto 'Ricercato' (*Quaesitum*). Esso è infatti quello che ricerchiamo con attenzione, e per cui affrontiamo il lavoro del ricercare e insegnare l'arte. Lo stesso Galeno

7 Montani, *De methodo docendi*, 7

lo chiama 'strumento' e metodo del costituire le arti. E questo stesso autore afferma di avere imparato questo 'strumento' da Platone.[8] L'ordine compositivo è il processo contrario a quello risolutivo. Infatti il principio dell'uno è il fine dell'altro, e ciò che prima fu nella definizione ovvero risoluzione, diventa ultimo nella effettuazione ovvero composizione, come ben si vede nelle cose artificiali. La mente dell'artefice concepisce che è bene difendersi dalle intemperie. Da questa concezione è mosso il fine, poichè essendo il bene appetibile, muove a effettuarlo; muove anche a ricercare tutti i principi che si riferiscono al fine concepito. Pertanto dapprima risolve quel fine in questi principi necessari, ad esempio nel tetto, pareti, fondamenta, scavamento della terra. Quindi risolto il fine in questi principi, accingendosi alla composizione, per prima scava la terra, poi pone le fondamenta, alza le pareti e pone il tetto, e finita la composizione, risulta raggiunto anche il fine cui mirava la risoluzione e cioè la difesa dall'ingiuria del cielo E così ciò che nella risoluzione era prima, nella composizione, e cioè nella cosa artificiale, si raggiuge per ultimo. E così procediamo sulla stessa strada nel risolvere e nel comporre. E questi due ordini differiscono solo per abitudine, come la discesa e ascesa delle scale. Ma è più difficile, secondo Montano, risolvere che comporre, come è più difficile ascendere che discendere. E così i gradini dell'ordine compositivo sono conosciuti attraverso l'ordine risolutivo; perciò chi sa risolvere, sa anche comporre, ma non viceversa. A ciò si aggiunge che, come il risolutivo è adattissimo alla scoperta, così il compositivo lo è all'insegnare ciò che è stato scoperto ('partorito'). Ora, è convinzione di Montano che con questo ordine Aristotele abbia insegnato tutta la sua 'Fisiologia', cioè la scienza delle cose naturali, e Avicenna tutta la sua arte medicinale.

[8] Montani, *De methodo docendi*, 8: "Est ergo resolutiuus ordo progressus ex notione finis universalis ad principia ultima ipsius artis. Nam exacto huiusmodi progressu, statim ars ex notione finis constituitur. Exigitur autem et perficitur per seriem principiorum sive partium. [Dico seriem aut simplicem et uniusmodi, aut compositam et multiplicem. Simplicem quidem aperte conspicimus in resolutione finis logicae contemplationis, cuius finis est verum. Sed veri concludendi et efficiendi est demonstratio. Demonstratio est syllogismus. Syllogismus consurgit ex propositionibus. Propositiones ex vocibus simplicibus, et hic non datur ultra progredi resoluendo."

E ribadisce, ancora una volta, che tra l'ordine e il suo strumento, ovvero il 'metodo' o 'via', vi è da porre una distinzione, ragione per cui errano coloro che identificano l'ordine risolutivo e l'ordine compositivo con la 'dimostrazione'.[9] Infine, Montano si sofferma sull'ordine definitivus, che definisce come la "relatio sive proportio multorum ad unum veluti caput et principium". Ed adduce l'esempio di una Repubblica bene costituita nella quale vi sono molte magistrature, come il consolato, il tribunato, l'edilità, la questura, che vengono però tutte riferite ad un solo dittatore; analogamente, in un esercito bene organizzato, tutti i compiti dipendono dal potere di un solo comandante. L'ordine definitivo può essere assimilato a una repubblica o a un esercito, in quanto in primo luogo si definisce brevente la cosa, poi si dissolvono e spiegano tutte le sue parti. E in questa spiegazione o dividiamo, o suddividiamo, o risolviamo le cause negli effetti, oppure, gli effetti nelle cause o nelle sue passioni; e in entrambi i generi di dimostrazione, stabiliamo che siano attraverso vere cause nel soggetto. Tale teorizzazione dovette apparire agli occhi dei contemporanei e dei suoi allievi come una 'novità' di rilievo, e, comunque, come una caratteristica positiva dell'insegnamento, se i discepoli gli attribuirono il merito di aver mostrato 'quae sit ratio docendi, discendi, exercendi methodice artem medicam'.[10]

Tornando al nostro tema principale, si comprende dunque, come si può desumere da questo nostro breve e veloce riassunto, come anche Patrizi, che seguì le lezioni del Montano nell' ultimo anno di studi,[11] dovette rimanere colpito da questo nuovo modo di disporre il contenuto della medicina, e, sebbene in seguito avesse deciso di non proseguire nello

9 Montani, *De methodo docendi*, 9: "nam demonstratio est abdita in suo ordine, quia in ipso nectitur. Et ut demonstratio, quae profitetur causam, quamobrem sit res, familiaris est ordini compositiuo, sic demonstratio per quam colligitur causa, ut sit res, resolutiuo magis est accommodata. In utroque tamen ordine utraque specie demonstrationis indiscriminatim uti licet, sed quia in compositiuo progreditur a prioribus ad posteriora, ita praestat uti instrumento etiam magis conformi."

10 Citato in Muccillo, "Da Monte," 366.

11 Patrizi, *Lettere*, 47.

studio di questa disciplina, per dedicarsi a quello della filosofia,[12] rimase legato all'idea di una 'organizzazione' logico-deduttiva dei contenuti della conoscenza, nella quale si manifestasse un ordine razionale, facilmente memorizzabile da chiunque di quelle conoscenze volesse farsi partecipe. Non stupisce dunque che egli cercasse di applicare questo metodo fin dalle sue prime esperienze nel campo della filosofia. E infatti, non molto tempo dopo l'epoca a cui si può riferire il suo giudizio su Montano, e cioé nel 1551 (data della lettera di dedica), egli compone un' operetta che può essere considerata, tra l'altro, come il suo primo tentativo di applicare un nuovo metodo alla ricerca filosofica.

Mi riferisco a *La città felice*,[13] dedicata a due giovani aristocratici destinati alla carriera politica,[14] nella quale, per sua espressa dichiarazione, Patrizi cerca di ridurre 'in bello et brieve ordine' gli ordinamenti e le istituzioni di una città che Aristotele vuole organizzata in funzione e secondo il suo concetto di 'felicità'.[15] Sebbene ad un primo sguardo il

12 Ibid.

13 Cfr. Di M. Francesco Patritio, *La città felice.* Del medesimo, *Dialogo dell'honore, Il Barignano.* Del medesimo, *Discorso della diversità de' furori poetici.Lettura sopra il sonetto del Petrarca La gola, e'l sonno, e l'ociose piume* (Venetia: per Giovan. Griffio. 1553).

14 Si tratta di Urbano Vigerio e Girolamo Della Rovere, due fratelli di nobile famiglia. Urbano Vigerio, eletto Vescovo di Senigallia, come risulta dagli *Acta graduum academicorum[Gymnasii Patavini] ab anno 1538 ad annum 1550*, era presente a Padova almeno dal gennaio 1550, e, come anche il fratello Girolamo, era studente di leggi; entrambi erano compagni di studi di Niccolò Sfondrati, futuro Papa Gregorio XIV (a cui come è noto Patrizi dedico' nel 1591, la *Nova de universis philosohia*). Si veda, per queste notizie, E. Veronese Ceseracciu, "Niccolò Sfondrati, Papa Gregorio XIV, studente di leggi a Padova (1550-1555)," in *Quaderni per la Storia dell'Università di Padova* XXIV (1991): 86–87.

15 Cfr. Di M. Francesco Patritio *La città felice*, Dedica: "Che hauendo a questi dì passati, ridotto le ordinationi, et gli statuti, che Aristotile uole che habbia una città, che debbia essere felice, in bello et brieue ordine, et concatenato in modo, che si possa facilmente uedere la necessità di quelle ordinationi… E quantunque l'altezza dei loro diuinissimi ingegni, superi di gran lunga la bassezza delle mie forze, et di questa mia fatica, non è per ciò, che ad esse che hanno ad essere felici; et hanno a gouernare Città et popoli, ella non rechi grande giouamento, et non ispiani assai, et men aspro molto faccia il camino del salire a quel monte, nella cima del quale, la felicità ha posto il paradiso delle sue delitie; al quale pochissimi uomini arriuarono giamai, o arriueranno, se non con questa, o altra simigliante guida. "

trattatello possa sembrare un 'sunto' del l. VII della *Politica* di Aristotele,[16] in essa ritroviamo già alcuni elementi che alla tradizione aristotelica non appartengono e che costituiscono una prima espressione delle idee che, con più ampiezza e chiarezza, Patrizi esprimerà nelle opere successive.[17] Oltre alla presenza infatti di una cornice ermetica nella quale tutto il discorso viene situato,[18] è già qui presente, accanto alla concezione della felicità aristotelica di cui si accentua il carattere terreno,[19] l'idea di una finalità più alta, intesa neoplatonicamente come 'indiamento' e partecipazione alla vita divina, e l'annuncio della prossima composizione di un 'artificio' che potesse guidare gli uomini, sulle 'ali' platoniche, ancora più in alto, verso una felicità superiore, celeste e divina.[20] Ma non è questa la sola nè la più importante novità che si manifesta ne *La città felice*. Ancora più significativa è, a nostro avviso, la presenza di un metodo che si differenzia notevolmente dalla esposizione presente nel testo aristotelico, così ricco di osservazioni empiriche ed esempi storici. Patrizi esegue infatti una deduzione razionale della città aristotelica, muovendo dall'idea del suo fine ultimo, la felicità, la cui essenza egli considera espressa dalla sua definizione. Da questa egli effettivamente parte per suddividerla nelle sue parti costitutive, ed individuare così, per via puramente razionale, tutte le condizioni o cause che costituiscono il presupposto della sua realizzazione. Dal punto di vista metodologico, la finalità fondamentale di questa esposizione si riassume nell'esigenza,

16 Cfr. Aristotele, *Politica*,VII (H), 1323 a–1337a.

17 Mi sia consentito, in proposito, rinviare a Maria Muccillo, "Aristotelismo, platonismo ed ermetismo ne 'La città felice' di Francesco Patrizi da Cherso," in *Utopie per gli anni Ottanta. Studi interdisciplinari sui temi, la storia, i progetti* (Roma: Gangemi Editore,1986), 553–577.

18 Maria Muccillo, "Aristotelismo", 554 e sgg.

19 Vedi *infra*, n. 23.

20 Cfr. Di M. Francesco Patritio, *La città felice*, Dedica: "Riceuano adunque le S.V con benigno animo questo dono d'un animo inamorato della bellezza delle virtù loro; ad altro tempo da lui aspettando un'artificio, di poter comporre a guisa di Dedalo due ale, con le quali, senza temere che il Sole habbia la cera loro a liquefare, elle possano leuarsi a uolo dietro al diuino Platone, il quale da queste penne portato, et a questo monte salì, et quindi sopra terra alzatosi, uolò al Cielo; et per la porta del Capricorno entrando, fra l'altre anime de beati si riposò."

che fin da ora si manifesta in Patrizi, di ricercare un 'ordine' espositivo che permetta di evidenziare la concatenazione logica e necessaria dei concetti, che esprimono le condizioni necessarie alla realizzazione della città aristotelica.[21] Tale esigenza metodologica si incontrerà in quasi tutte le opere successive, fino alla *Nova de universis philosophia* ed oltre.

[21] Cfr. Di M. Francesco Patritio, *La città felice*, f. 4v: "Dico adunque, che desiderando l'uomo, sì come tutte l'altre cose create, il ben suo, lo desidera tale, che il desiderio suo in quello habbia riposo et fine né possa continuamente desiderarne uno maggiore, ch' altramente il desiderio suo sarebbe uano et anderebbe la cosa in infinito. Questo ultimo adunque et sommo bene, nel quale egli si riposa, è la propria felicità dell'uomo della quale maggior bene alcuno egli non si può in questo mondo acquistare." Tale bene proprio dell'uomo necessariamente per Patrizi è 'riposto' in 'sette cose', di cui la prima è costituita dall'anima in quanto tale; la seconda in quanto ad essa è affidata la cura del corpo; la terza in quanto essa si deve curare delle cose che estrinsecamente riguardano il corpo; la quarta in quanto l'uomo semplicemente ha un corpo; la quinta nelle cose che sono al corpo necessarie; la sesta negli strumenti che tali cose gli procurano; la settima nel momento in cui l'anima si congiungerà col corpo. Ora, risolto così nel possesso di tali elementi, il bene di quella specifica realtà che è l'uomo come unione di anima e corpo, e cioè il suo fine proprio, Patrizi ne individua la presenza nella definizione di 'felicità' elaborata da Aristotele [*Ethica a Nicomaco* I (A), 10, 1101 a; *Politica*, IV(Δ), 11, 1295 b]:" La onde saviamente Aristotele hauendo al predetto settenario riguardo descrisse la felicità un'operatione secondo la virtù perfetta, senza impedimento, in vita compiuta". Nel primo membro ("un'operatione secondo la virtù perfetta") Patrizi legge il riferimento a tutte le virtù: le speculative, che sono nell'anima per sé presa; le morali che in parte riguardano il governo del corpo, come la temperanza e la continenza, e in parte riguardano le cose che servono al corpo come 'appunto' la liberalità, la giustizia e simili, virtù tutte che nel loro insieme, così ordinate, realizzano tutti i beni dell'anima. Nella seconda parte della definizione ("senza impedimento") sono compresi i tre beni del corpo (cioè la salute, la gagliardia, al prontezza nel compiere tutte le azioni necessarie alla sua salvezza) e di tutto ciò che è necessario per salvaguardare quei beni del corpo (abbondanza di cibo e di vestiario e di tutto ciò che gli è necessario, nonché di tutti i mezzi per procacciarseli (compresi gli strumenti 'umani', come contadini, servi, artigiani che alla produzione di tali beni sono adibiti). Nella terza parte della definizione aristotelica (" in vita compita") Patrizi vede infine un riferimento alla possibilità di compiere l'intero corso del tempo della vita, necessario al raggiungimento della 'beatitudine' propria dell'uomo, e che, come egli sottolinea, è legata al mantenimento del nesso anima-corpo e al soddisfacimento delle sette condizioni ricavate partendo dalla considerazione del fine. Patrizi si interroga allora sulle cause che permettono la conservazione di questo vincolo e su quelle che potrebbero determinarne la rottura. Esaminate tutte le possibilità, e cioè che sia l'anima a volerlo rescindere (con un atto di distacco unilaterale, concepibile solo in uomini di eccezionale natura e predestinazione ('santissimi'); o che esso si deteriori naturalmente, non resta che una terza possibilità, e cioè che lo scioglimento del legame dipenda da una azione violenta del corpo. Ed è qui che può intervenire l'umana operazione, sulla base della conoscenza di tutto ciò che preserva e di tutto ciò che distrugge la vita.

La critica ha, a ragione, sottolineato il carattere sorprendente di questa 'utopia' patriziana, e non stupisce che qualcuno[22] abbia ravvisato nella città patriziana la negazione totale di quello spirito egualitario e sociale che nella tradizione rinascimentale aveva sempre contraddistinto il filone dell'utopia. Ma il carattere brutalmente aristocratico e socialmente ingiusto dell'organizzazione della città patriziana, tutta finalizzata alla 'felicità' dei signori a spese delle altre categorie sociali che da questo 'banchetto' dovevano necessariamente rimanere escluse,[23] non costituiva, a nostro parere, lo scopo effettivamente perseguito dal filosofo nella composizione del suo trattato. L' intento di Patrizi non era di descrivere la sua idea della città ideale, bensì piuttosto quello di presentare l'esito di una sperimentazione metodologica volta a individuare la struttura logico-razionale delle istituzioni teorizzate da Aristotele nella sua opera politica e morale, mostrandole come una necessaria 'emanazione' o conseguenza logica del suo concetto di umana felicità.[24]

Anche negli scritti degli anni sessanta è possibile individuare un analogo orientamento metodologico. Sebbene infatti per la forma letteraria,

22 Cfr. Luigi Firpo, *Lo stato ideale della Controriforma* (Bari: Laterza, 1957), 254.

23 Cfr. Di Patritio, *La città felice*, f.13v–14v: "Queste sei predette maniere di huomini, che di compagnia si misero al faticoso camino, beeranno elleno tutte, dell'acque sopracelesti? certo tutte quelle saranno dell'acque satiate, et felici, a cui conuerrà la diffinitione della felicità; alla quale, per prima, non aggiunge la turba dei contadini, i quali, tutto che possano insino alla uecchiaia uiuere, non sono però priui di molti impedimenti; anzi, tutta la uita loro spendono in affaticarsi, per far uiuere et se, et gli altri; per i quali impedimenti non possono acquistarsi l'operatione, et gli habiti delle uirtù, le quali sono, quell'ultimo passo, che ci fanno alla beatitudine arriuare". In base allo stesso ragionamento, secondo quanto appunto comporta necessariamente la definizione aristotelica della felicità, saranno escluse anche le categorie degli artigiani e dei mercanti. Sicchè: "Le mie parole suonano, che l'ordine de' contadini, de gli artigiani, et de mercatanti, non possendo per le predette ragioni esser beati, non intreranno in parte della città beata; et per conseguente non goderanno di tutti i priuilegi di lei, et per ciò non saranno da chiamar cittadini; però che, soli cittadini si deono intendere ueramente esser coloro, che sederanno alle predette nozze. Et perciò le preminenze, gli agi, le comodità, saranno tutte loro, et il seruitio, gli stenti, et le fatiche saranno tutte di quegli altri."

24 Muccillo, "Aristotelismo," 561–562, 564, n.14.

il dialogo di tipo socratico,[25] e lo scopo scettico e polemico, attaccare cioé le tradizionali concezioni relative alla storia e alla retorica, il *Della Historia* e il *Della Retorica* siano stati considerati, e giustamente, a nostro parere, come una radicale espressione di pirronismo,[26] per le innumerevoli indicazioni relative al 'metodo' da seguire nella loro trattazione, le due opere possono essere riguardate anche come un contributo costruttivo al rinnovamento di queste antiche discipline, che, come ha sottolineato il compianto prof. Vasoli,[27] proprio in questo periodo stavano conoscendo un processo di rinnovamento ad opera di insigni aristotelici come lo Speroni e il Robortello. Sotto l'aspetto metodologico i due dialoghi possono essere considerati come un'alternativa nuova alla proposta proveniente dai due illustri aristotelici, con la quale Patrizi mira a porre alla base della stessa riflessione storica una concezione filosofica della natura umana, dalla quale poi con ordine consequenziale si potessero dedurre le varie conseguenze degli atti che l'uomo, proprio in virtù di quella specifica sua natura, è portato a compiere, per raggiungere il fine a lui proprio, che Patrizi individua nel suo desiderio fondamentale di 'essere, bene essere e sempre essere'.[28] Si tratta cioè di affermare il concetto che, solo partendo

25 Sull'importanza del dialogo nelle trattazioni pedagogico-retoriche rinascimentali, e in particolare in quelle di Sturm e di Eritreo, si veda, tra i più recenti contributi, il saggio di Veronique Montagne, "Jean Sturm et Valentin Erithraeus, ou l'élaboration méthodique d'une topique dialectique" *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et renaissance* 13 (2001): 492 e sgg.

26 Su queste due opere mi permetto di rinviare a Maria Muccillo, "Età dell'oro e tempo ciclico in Patrizi," in *Utopia e modernità.Teorie e prassi utopiche nell'età moderna e postmoderna* vol.II, ed. G. Saccaro Del Buffa and A.O. Lewis (Roma: Gangemi Editore, 1989), 785–825 (e alla Bibliografia ivi segnalata); e, inoltre, a Cesare Vasoli, *Francesco Patrizi da Cherso* (Roma : Bulzoni, 1989), 25–90; 91–108**;** Sandra Plastina, *Gli alunni di Crono Mito linguaggio e storia in Francesco Patrizi da Cherso (1529- 1597)* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubettino Editore, 1992)**.**

27 C. Vasoli, *Francesco Patrizi,* 30 e sgg.

28 M. Francesco Patritio, *Della Historia diece dialoghi ne' quali si ragiona di tutte le cose appartenenti all'historia, et allo scriverla, et all'osservarla. Dialogo IV Il Sanuto overo del fine dell'Historia* (Venetia: Andrea Arrivabene, 1560), 23v–24r: "SANU. Tutti i desiderij degli huomini, si conducono a tre soli, et non a più; i quali sono, et naturali, et generali a tutti. Et ciò sono, il desiderio di essere, di bene essere, et di sempre essere. I quali io comprendo con meno parole, disiderio di uiuer bene sempre. In che consiste tutta l'humana felicità. Et se ciascuno huomo, tiene questi tre disiderij nell'animo per natura; ragioneuolmente gli hanno anco tutti gli huomini insieme

da una concezione filosofica dell'uomo, e cioè dalla sua nozione o concetto, è possibile poi capire il perché delle sue azioni, e uscire fuori dal caos in cui la varietà infinita di esse rischia di caratterizzare la loro narrazione, rendendo prive di fondamento tutte quelle pretese di utilità che a questo tipo di narrazioni la tradizione classica aveva attribuito e che sono state finora acriticamente accettate.[29] Affinché lo studio delle storie risulti di utile ammaestramento è necessario per Patrizi, per quel che riguarda il passato, che esse vengano ricondotte a un ordine razionale tale che permetta di capire le ragioni che hanno spinto gli uomini a compiere determinate azioni. Riprendendo lo spirito di tutta una tradizione umanistica che, a partire dal Valla,[30] aveva richiamato l'attenzione sulla necessità di rimanere ancorati a quello che è pur sempre il fine della ricerca filosofica, e cioè conoscere la realtà delle cose, anche Patrizi considera necessario porre, alla base della 'lettura' e della 'scrittura' della storia la conoscenza di quella realtà concreta che e' l'uomo, un essere che è, e resterà per lui anche in seguito, una realtà unitaria intermedia costituita dall'unione inscindibile di 'corpo' ed 'anima', dotato di una serie di istinti e passioni che sono il motore delle sue azioni. Grazie a questa prospettiva filosofica e con l'aiuto di un determinato procedimento mentale, che non è più il procedimento sillogistico aristotelico, è possibile, per Patrizi, nonostante il suo scetticismo di fondo circa l'attendibilità delle narrazioni storiche che ci sono pervenute, portare ordine e luce negli scritti degli storici antichi, e anche di individuare in essi quegli elementi che per certi versi

nelle raguglianze loro, et nelle lor communità: quali sono le famiglie, et le città. La onde, et l'une, et l'altre deono per mira, et per fine hauere la felicità, et questo esser bene perpetualmente".

29 Si veda la critica che Patrizi effettua della definizione di Cicerone nella quale si evidenzia una grande confusione e incomprensibilità. (Patritio, *Della Historia*, 22r–23r).

30 Sul significato storico della critica filologica valliana mi limito qui a ricordare, nell'ambito della vasta letteratura, le pagine di Cesare Vasoli, *La dialettica e la retorica dell' Umanesimo "Invenzione" e "Metodo" nella cultura del XV e XVI secolo* (Napoli: La Città del Sole, 2007) (I° Edizione Milano, Feltrinelli, 1968, e la Bibliografia ivi segnalata), 67–133, in particolare sul rapporto *verba-res*, 86–89.

rivelano la scarsa plausibilità di molte loro affermazioni, e ci liberano così dal peso della loro assoluta autorità.[31]

Si tratta per Patrizi, in sostanza, di trovare un tipo di procedimento che permetta di riconoscere la logica, che non è quella sillogistica, che presiede al concreto comportamento umano, riconducendolo ai fini che gli uomini non possono fare a meno di perseguire, attraverso azioni che hanno in primo luogo di mira il raggiungimento del proprio bene individuale, il quale, a sua volta, risulta necessariamente condizionato e collegato con il bene di una comunità più vasta, la quale ,a sua volta, non potrebbe sussistere senza tutta una serie di precondizioni fisiche e sociali necessarie alla sua sopravvivenza. Bisogna dunque, nella ricostruzione degli accadimenti storici, applicare un metodo che proietti, sull'esempio della matematica che si avvale di definizioni e assiomi, l'evidenza e la chiarezza dei princìpi incontroivertibili e noti fabbricati dalla ragione umana, sulle loro più remote e particolari conseguenze, realizzando così un ordine ininterrotto'dei fatti, che restituisca alla narrazione storica la plausibiltà e la comprensibilità e ne faccia un ammaestramento davvero utile nella prassi. Mi fermerò qui, a conferma di quanto sopra accennato, su un passo del Dialogo settimo del *Della Historia*, intitolato *Il Guidone overo dell'Historia minore*, in cui si tratta della 'storia minore' (ovvero di quella in cui viene narrata una azione sola).[32] Se si vuole scrivere una 'storia minore', e cioè la storia di una azione sola, bisogna partire innanzi tutto

[31] Se consideriamo alcune delle esemplificazioni che in varie parti del suo dialogo Patrizi dà di questa sua idea del modo di procedere nella trattazione della disciplina storica, ci rendiamo della vicinanza delle sue posizioni con quelle sostenute dal Ramo nella sua. *Dialectique* del 1543 riteneva si dovesse procedere, e cioè secondo un procedimento che permette di concatenare le proposizioni secondo un 'ordine ininterrotto', tale che ogni elemento risulti concatenato e collegato con tutto il resto, senza lasciare spazi vuoti o effettuare indebiti salti. E' compito del metodo tradurre l'evidenza e la chiarezza dei principi fino alle più remote e particolari conclusioni, di modo che, da principi incontrovertibili e noti, costruiti dal pensiero stesso (e sono le definizioni e gli assiomi, i due generi di princìpi assunti dalle matematiche e da tutte le scienze certissime), discendano conclusioni altrettanto necessarie. Ma il problema dei rapporti fra le posizioni di Ramo e quelle di Patrizi è tema che richiede uno studio approfondito che non si è potuto effettuare in questa occasione.

[32] Patritio, *Della Historia*: *Il Guidone overo dell'historia minore Dialogo settimo*, 37r.

dal 'concetto' di azione; tale azione rinvia necessariamente a un 'attore', e cioè ad una persona che la effettua. Ogni 'attore' deve assolutamente operare in forza di qualche causa, e ciò che opera non può che essere un movimento,il quale, in quanto tale, non può che accadere nel tempo. Essendo poi l''attore', in quanto uomo, anche un corpo, il movimento che compie, e cioè l'azione, non può che svolgersi in un luogo, e non può che esplicarsi in un modo e con un 'ordine', e cioè in guisa tale che in essa vi sia sempre qualcosa che precede e qualcosa che segue, e quella che precede sia fatta in un modo e quella che segue in un altro.[33] Inoltre, tutti gli 'attori', ad eccezione di quelli sopracelesti, hanno bisogno di strumenti per agire: ciò vale tanto per i cieli, che per gli elementi, per i corpi misti, gli animali e gli uomini, i quali tutti si servono di strumenti per esplicare la loro azione.[34] Lo storico 'minore' dunque, in base a questo ragionamento, deve considerare tutte queste circostanze perchè da esse dipende la realizzazione del fine e l'effetto. E ce le deve presentare secondo verità, e cioè in modo tale che esse chiaramente descrivano quel fatto, così come si e' in realtà prodotto.[35] Questa è solo la prima fase dell'applicazione del

[33] Patritio, *Della Historia*: *Il Guidone*, 38r: "Ogni attione, o publica, o priuata ch'ella sia, o di pace, o di guerra, o di popolar solleuamento, è necessario che ella sia fatta da qualche persona: la quale sia l'attore di quella attione: et senza il quale non possa ella farsi a patto niuno… Et l'attore, soggiunse egli, sempre si muove ad operar la sua attione, per qualche cagione… Et l'attione humana essendo mouimento, et ogni mouimento facendosi in tempo, conuiene sempre che l'attore faccia l'attion sua in tempo; et sia ella dal tempo sempre misurata… Et anchora soggiunse egli, percioche l'attore è corpo, et si muove per far l'attione, egli è necessario, che ella si faccia in luogo….Et di più, conuiene parimente riprese egli, che con modo, et con ordine, sia dall'attore fatta l'attione, essendo che in tutte le cose, che si fanno, ui è una parte che precede, et l'altra segue, et l'una in questa guisa è fatta, et l'altra in quella.

[34] Patritio, *Della Historia*: *Il Guidone overo*, 38r: "Et auuegnadio, che gli attori sopracelesti operin le loro operationi, si come fuor di luogo, et sopra al tempo, cosi senza stromento alcuno. Tutti nondimeno gli altri, che corporei sono, non altrimenti, che con istromento fanno. Percioche pure il cielo, produce le cose di qua giù con gli stromenti suoi, mouimento, lume, tepore, et influsso. Et gli elementi parimente, con le loro semplici qualità: et i misti, con le miste: et gli animali; et gli uomini altresi con altri".

[35] Patritio, *Della Historia*: *Il Guidone*, 38r: "Ma gli stromenti dell'attioni humane, (percioché di questi al presente è ragionamento nostro) sono, o intrinsechi, et quasi parti di noi. Sì come è questo corpo stromento dell'anima, et del corpo stesso, le mani e i piedi. Ouero essi sono estrinsechi, qual'è la sega, et il martello, et tutte quell'altre mille cose, che noi adoperiamo

metodo, a cui ne seguono necessariamente altre, perchè, come afferma Patrizi, l'azione umana ha al suo interno 'diecimila ripostigli',[36] ed è come una 'cipolla' che ha diecimila involucri.[37] Bisogna dunque effettuare la completa 'anatomia' di questa complessa realtà, che abbiamo definito all'inizio, per potere non solo vedere tutto ciò che è presente al suo

per far altro.... Se adunque l'historico minore soggiunse egli à questo: ha da scriuere attione: et l'attione dallo attor si fa per qualche cagione, in alcun tempo et luogo, con modo, et con istromento: egli è necessario, se egli uuol perfetta la sua historia fare, che egli tutte queste circostantie ci racconti. Le quali et hanno fatto, et accompagnato, et condotto ad effetto l'attione. Et talmente le ci conti, che elle chiaramente esprimano quel fatto, quale lo ha uerità prodotto. Et ciò facendo, egli hauerà loda di compiuto historico meritato. Queste adunque ui sono le cose, che deono dal minore historico essere considerate, et operate."

36 Patrizi chiede infatti al suo nuovo interlocutore, l'amico Lorenzo Guidone da Crema, subentrato al gentiluomo con cui finora si era intrattenuto e che gli aveva illustrato la prima fase del procedimento, di non fermarsi a questo punto dell'analisi, ma di applicare lo stesso metodo a ciascuno degli elementi della catena di elementi ordinatamente messi in luce finora, e cioè di analizzare ulteriormente l'azione, l'attore, la causa, il tempo, il luogo, il modo e lo strumento: "Percioche, auenga ch'io sappia non so che di più, che prima; io sono però lunge dal saperne bene: percioché io ui ueggo di dense, et folte tenebre per d'intorno. Et poi questa attione humana è un gran fatto, in guisa del Chaos per poco. Et ha mille sopra diece mila ripostigli, per entro à se. Et Dio sa doue in lei sieno locate tante cose di attore, di cagione, et dell'altre. Le quali quando anco io uedessi per la faccia in lume chiaro, non sono io sicuro, ch'io le riconoscessi. Et noi facciamo come io ui dirò, disse alhor messer Lorenzo....Entriamo co' lumi dell'anime nostre, riprese egli, che secondo uoi sono accese; et si potrem cercare di queste cose per entro alle tenebre, che uoi dite." (Patritio, *Della Historia*: *Il Guidone*, 39r).

37 Patritio, *Della Historia*: *Il Guidone*, 39r: "Et così, soggiunse egli, a me paiono legate tutte insieme queste cose[scil. attione, attore, cagione, tempo, luogo, modo, stromento]. Et sarà leggier cosa che trouatane una, ci uengan di mano in mano, tirate tutte l'altre. Et si le prenderemo tutte entro una rete. O, per lo uero, io ueggo nel vostro lume, che egli è così: Et mi entra un ardire addosso, che noi ci entriamo....Or be ua dissi io, et entriamci. Et eccoti l'attione in su l'entrata, che ci si appresenta. Et portate qua il uostro lume, che ella mi pare una figura, rauuolta in mille inuogli in maniera di cipolla. Voi dite il uero rispose egli: et uolete uoi, ch'io le scorzi d'una in una queste rauolture, o pur uolete farlo uoi? Fateuel pur uoi, risposi io. Bene sta, rispose egli, et io così farò, s'io'l ui faccio in gratia. Ma mirate sottilmente, uoi anchora s'io errassi. Percioché io non sono troppo maestro anatomista di cipolle." Patrizi, come è evidente da quanto afferma, a mo' di esempio, poco più avanti, pensa alla pratica anatomica che si esegue sul corpo umano. Come questo, l'azione è un qualcosa di organico, costituito da molte parti tutte connesse e collegate necessariamente fra loro e ordinate ad un unico fine: "Mirate in questo corpo, riprese egli, il quale uoi uedete essere, un tutto. ... Et hauere le sue parti principali, che corpi sono, quale è questo capo, questo petto, questo uentre, et l'altre. Et queste parimenti hauere altre parti, che pure corpi sono, ossa, carni, nerui, et simiglianti: Et queste per fino a tanto essere composte, che si uenga a primi corpi nostri, che sono i quattro humori."

interno, ma anche lo scopo a cui ciascun elemento è preodinato affinché possa concorrere al raggiungimento del fine del tutto, che è in questo caso il fine dell'azione.[38] La definizione dell'oggetto che si vuole esaminare, costituisce inoltre un forte elemento di selezione e di filtro, nell'infinita varietà delle possibilità, e porta a circoscrivere l'indagine soltanto a un certo genere di fatti.[39] Ovviamente non possiamo seguire il discorso del nostro filosofo nella sua meticolosa disamina dei passaggi necessari per arrivare a disarticolare tutti gli elementi costitutivi dell'oggetto (in questo caso 'l'azione'); basterà avere dato un'idea del modo o metodo con cui egli riteneva potersi procedere nella trattazione della materia storica, per conferire ad essa plausibilità, razionalità, ordine e verità.

38 Patritio, *Della Historia*: *Il Guidone*, 39v–40r : "Et disse, a me par di uedere in questa prima scorza, che l'attione humana, è da alcun huomo fatta sempre. Non così sembra anco a uoi? Si sembra certamente risposi io. Et è fatta da lui talhor per caso, et talhor per isforzo d'altri. Si. Et pare, che le così fatte, procedendo dallo estrinseco dell'huomo, non è ragione, ch' altri attion sue l'addimandi. Ma le sue attioni, sono solo da dir quelle, che da principio nascono, il quale sia dentro di lui. Et i principi così fatti possono essere non più che due: secondo che due sono le parti dell'animo umano, la ragioneuole, et l'animosa. Dalla prima, intorno a gli affari della uita, nascono il consiglio, et la elettione. Alla quale, s'ella non è impedita tantosto segue l'attione. Et dall'animosa uengono gli affetti, gli appetiti, et l'altre passioni del nostro animo…".

39 Usando la metafora, già prima accennata, della pesca, Patrizi, attraverso il suo interlocutore, aggancia con l'amo 'per la coda' il secondo elemento della serie della sua 'risoluzione' primaria, cioè l' 'attore', che presenta come una preda grassa e da godere. Bisognerà aprirla e cercare al suo interno le interiora, che potrebbero essere costituite da 'arena d'oro', visto che di questa il 'pesce-attore' si nutre. Anche in questo caso bisogna delicatamente procedere alla 'disarticolazione': "Et mirate, ch'io l'apro per lo mezo; et ui trouo entro, ch'altre sono le conditioni, ch' a saper ci danno, chi, et quale altri sia: et altre quell'altre poi, che lo ci fan conoscere per attore….Le primiere sono, soggiunse egli, il nome suo, quello della famiglia, et della patria, et simili altre. Et le seconde sono tre. Il poter suo, il sapere, et l'impeto, per così dire. Le quali tre recano ad effetto la possibilità, l'occasione, et il successo dell'attione." (Patritio, *Della Historia*: *Il Guidone*, 40v–41r). Il potere dell'attore garantisce che, se l'azione è possibile, venga fatta; il sapere fa in modo che egli sappia cogliere l'occasione; e l'impeto conduce l'azione al successo, e cioè al fine che l'attore perseguiva. Il ragionamento prosegue poi con l'anatomia di ciascuno di questo concetti, e così via con ciascuno dei vari elementi volta a volta scoperti (Patritio, *Della Historia*: *Il Guidone*, 41r–43v). E lo storico deve considerare tutte queste circostanze, dedurle, fare tutto questo lavoro di scavo logico, e comportarsi dunque piuttosto da filosofo che da scrittore di azioni non comprese e non chiarite nelle loro profonde ragioni. Solo così la storia potrebbe essere veramente 'magistra vitae'.

Appare dunque comprensibile che questo testo abbia potuto costituire il fondamento di un opuscoletto che suscitò un certo interesse in Inghilterra proprio in questi anni, scritto da un esule italiano rifugiatosi per motivi religiosi in quel paese. Mi riferisco a Jacopo Acontio,[40] autore di un

[40] Cfr. Giacomo Aconcio, *Jacobi Acontii Tridentini de methodo, hoc est, de recta investigandarum tradendarumque scientiarum ratione* (Basileae: per Petrum Pernam, 1558). Ed. critica, Giacomo Aconcio, *De Methodo e opuscoli religiosi e filosofici*, ed. G. Radetti (Firenze: Vallecchi Editore, 1944), 75– 175. Giacomo Aconcio (Jacobus Acontius) nacque in un villaggio nei pressi di Trento, in Val di Sole, Ossana. Secondo alcuni documenti la sua data di nascita sarebbe da collocarsi nel 1492; ma alcuni storici propendono per una datazione più tarda, intorno al 1520. Scarsissime le notizie sulla sua giovinezza. Sembra che abbia studiato legge, anche se senza entusiasmo, e abbia praticato l'avvocatura nel suo paese di origine, e poi per qualche anno a Trento, entrando nel 1548 nel Collegio dei Notai della città da dove partì nel 1553. Di un suo servizio alla corte di Massimiliano d' Asburgo non si hanno notizie certe, anche se appare molto probabile. E' sicuro invece che fu Segretario dell' Arcivescovo di Trento, il Cardinale Cristoforo Madruzzo, dopo che questi nel 1555 era divenuto governatore di Milano. Sono questi gli anni in cui venne maturando il suo distacco dalla fede cattolica e il suo passaggio alla riforma protestante. E fu proprio a causa delle sue convinzioni religiose che Aconcio si vide costretto a prendere la via dell'esilio. L'Aconcio, insieme al suo amico Francesco Betti, gentiluomo romano al servizio del marchese di Pescara, passato anch'egli alla riforma, si rifugiò nel 1557 in Svizzera, dapprima a Basilea, rifugio e punto di incontro di molti esuli italiani e importante centro di stampa delle opere di molti esponenti del movimento riformatore italiano (uscirono proprio a Basilea, presso l'esule Pietro Perna, anche le *Discussiones peripateticae* di Patrizi nel 1581); e poi a Zurigo, dove sicuramente entrò in contatto con Bernardino Ochino, che lo ospitò nella sua casa, e con i capi della riforma zurighese, fra cui quel Johannes Wolf (1521-1572), dotto ebraista e teologo, pastore di Frauenmuester, di cui ci resta una corrispondenza con Aconcio. Al periodo zurighese risale probabilmente la composizione del *De methodo*, che pubblicò con altre due opere di argomento teologico presso lo stampatore lucchese Pietro Perna nel 1558. Con l'avvento al trono della Regina Elisabetta decise di trasferirsi in Inghilterra, dove offrì i suoi servigi alla sovrana come esperto di invenzioni meccaniche e di ingegneria militare. Aveva redatto in italiano uno scritto sulle fortificazioni, che poi fu da lui tradotto in latino nel 1562 col titolo *Ars muniendorum oppidorum*, e pubblicato forse nel 1585, di cui però non è rimasta traccia. Una traduzione inglese di questo trattato contenuta in un manoscritto recentemente scoperto, risale al 1573. Ad esso forse dovette la concessione di una pensione annua di 60 sterline e l'incarico, ottenuto verosimilmente grazie all'amicizia con il conte di Bedford, di dirigere il piano di fortificazioni della città di Berwick, di cui lo stesso Bedford nel 1563 era diventato governatore. Ottenuta la cittadinanza inglese, aveva preso contatto con le varie comunità evangeliche che raccoglievano gli esuli di vari paesi europei, incorrendo anche in difficoltà a causa della sua difesa di un discusso esponente della Chiesa olandese, Adriaan Haemstede, allorché venne accusato di sostenere tesi eterodosse, vicine cioè a quelle anabattiste, e bandito dalla comunità. Probabilmente nel 1564 Aconcio scrisse un piccolo trattato dal titolo *Delle osservationi et avvertimenti che aver si debbono nel leggere delle historie* che trasse probabilmente spunto dalla lettura dei dialoghi sulla storia e sulla retorica di Patrizi, di cui, in una lettera all'amico ed estimatore Johann Wolf,

trattato sul metodo, chiamato per lo più in causa per alcuni elementi di simiglianza con quello cartesiano,[41] ed autore tra l'altro di un' operetta dal titolo *Avvertimenti che seguir si debbono nel leggere delle historie*, in cui all'epoca si videro ripresi alcuni dei precetti formulati dal Patrizi proprio nel *Della Historia.*[42] E si spiega anche come lo stesso Aconcio, in una lunga lettera scritta verso la fine del 1562 a un suo amico e discepolo, esprima un entusiastico elogio di Patrizi di cui apprezza nel *Della Historia* e nel *Della Retorica* l' uso di un metodo che viene considerato addirittura superiore a quello adottato da Platone nei suoi dialoghi, e l'inizio quasi

tesse un significativo elogio. Del 1565 è la pubblicazione della sua maggiore e fortunata opera, famosa per la sua dottrina della tolleranza religiosa, gli *Satanae Stratagemata Libri octo. Accessit eruditissima Epistola de ratione edendorum librorum, ad Johannem Vuolfium Tigurinum eodem authore* (Basileae: Apud Petrum Pernam, 1565), che uscì, come sembra, poco prima della sua morte, di cui non si conosce la data precisa, ma è sicuro che va collocata dopo il 1566, perché in quest'anno Aconcio era ancora vivo in quanto scrisse una lettera, di cui non conosciamo il destinatario, in cui chiariva alcuni punti ambigui dell'opera. Oltre gli scritti citati, Acontio scrisse un *Dialogo di Giacopo Riccamati ossanese nel quale in proposito del Giorno del Giudicio alcune cose si considerano che chiunque non le ha dinanzi a gli occhi et molto bene impresse nell'animo in evidentissimo pericolo sta della salute sua, et sopra tutti gli altri Prencipi e Magistrati. Interlocutori il Riccamati e Mutio D.* (Basilea: Apud Petrum Pernam, 1558). (Edizione critica in *Acontiana. Abhandlungen und Briefe des Jacobus Acontius*, ed. Walter Koehler und Erich Hassinger (Heidelberg: Winter, 1932), 4–26; e una *Somma brevissima della dottrina christiana di Giacopo Riccamati Ossanese* (Basilea: Peter Perna, 1558). (Edizione critica in *Acontiana*, 28–74). Di lui sono anche rimaste alcune interessanti lettere. Per la bibliografia sul riformatore religioso mi sia consentito rinviare a Maria Muccillo, "Sui precedenti rinascimentali del metodo cartesiano: il rapporto Aconcio – Descartes nell' interpretazione di Herman J. De Vleeschauwer," in *La Ragione e le sue vie*, ed. C. Borghero e C. Buccolini, Casa Editrice Le Lettere,Firenze, in stampa.

41 Uno dei primi fra gli storici moderni a riprendere e ad analizzare il rapporto fra il metodo acontiano e quello di Descartes è stato Herman J. De Vleeschauwer in uno dei capitoli della sua Introduzione alla sua edizione e traduzione del *De Methodo di Aconcio* (cfr. Jacobus Acontius, *Tractaat De Methodo* intr. Dr. Herman J. De Vleeschauwer hoogleeraar te Gent and Eduard Champion (Antwerpen: "De Sikkel"/ Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1932), 111–135).

42 Giacomo Aconcio, "Delle osservationi et avvertimenti che haver si debbono nel leggere delle historie", in Giacomo Aconcio, *De Methodo e opuscoli,* 303–313, non pubblicata dall' autore, e risalente probabilmente al 1564. Di essa venne effettuata una parziale traduzione e riassunzione in inglese a cura di T. Blundeville, a Londra nel 1574, dove il nome di Aconcio viene accostato a quello di Patrizi (cfr. Thomas Blundeuill, *The true order and Methode of wryting and reading Hystories, according to the precepts of Francisco Patricio, and Accontio Tridentino, two italian writers, no lesse plainly than briefly, set forth in our vulgar speach, to the great profite and commoditye of all those that delight in Hystories* (London, V. Villyam, 1574).

di una rivoluzione metodologica foriera di importanti sviluppi nei vari campi del sapere.[43] La riflessione sull'ordine e sul metodo continua ad occupare Patrizi anche negli anni successivi. Già infatti nel 1571, al

[43] Si veda la lettera scritta da Londra da Aconcio a Johannes Wolf dell' 11 Novembre 1562 che reca come sottotitolo "Epistola de ratione edendorum librorum," in Giacomo Aconcio, *De Methodo e opuscoli religiosi e filosofici*, 350–354, ed. cit.): "Etsi enim multos habuit habetque aetas nostra viros praestantes, adhuc tamen videre viedor nescio quid magis futurum. Ut alia praeteream, stupore affecerunt me non ita pridem dialogi decem de historia et nuperrime totidem de rhetorica nostrate lingua a Francisco Patritio, homine (ut audio) Dalmata conscripti. Quid quaeris? Nihil hercle est propius, quam ut omnes iam Platones atque Aristoteles contemnam. Acumen est incredibile, iudicium politissimum; lepore ita condit omnia, ut satietatem afferre prolixitas nulla posse videatur. Magna audet, sed ita praestat, ut, si multo maiora polliceatur, facile sit fidem habiturus. Accedit ad istius adeo praestantis ingenii summam commendationem, quod amplissimos suos thesauros neque tegere avare, neque ostentare ambitiose, sed liberalissime, modestissimeque expositos communibus omnium bonorum ingeniorum commodis velle videatur – adeo aperto ac perspicuo utitur docendi genere. Equidem serio dico: ex iis, quae videre licuit, ita coniicio: effecturum eum, si vixerit aliquamdiu, (vix enim virilem ingressus est aetatem) ut, quod invideat saeculum nostrum antiquitati, ingeniorum quidem praestantia, habiturum non sit. Eriget, mihi crede, in spem suo exemplo multorum animos; fore, ut si gnaviter contenderint, multo pleniorem, firmioremque assequantur rerum quarumlibet cognitionem, quam posse iam quisquam videbatur. Quin etiam (nisi ego male ex ungue leonem) expeditissimam ad id monstrabit viam, demumque multa post secula intermissum disputandi genus quoddam revocabit et subtile praeter modum et accuratum. Quod si acciderit, equidem multorum librorum vitae, qui nunc magno sunt in pretio, timeo vehementer. Neque tamen non intelligo, fore, ut de Patritii toto disputandi genere plerique longe aliter iudicent ac nos facimus, et pueriles tantum argutiolas esse cavillentur. Sed ii, quod telum in Patricium iecerint, eodem sciant se per eius latus Platonem, cui is se quam simillimum esse voluit, sauciaturos. Non enim, si puerum refert Patritius, dum forte prolixius inquirit, quid sit historia, tueri Plato nomen suum potest, qui haud minus prolixe definitionem et sophistae et regis investigat. Nam si quid interest inter hunc et illum, hoc interest, quod Plato persaepe eum, quem redarguit, respondere facit, quomodo nemo nisi valde ineptus responderit. Patritius ea tantum refellit, quae etiam mediocri quodam acumine prudentiaque praeditis excidere potuerint. Ex quo, si non alius, hic certe maximus percipi fructus potest, quod sic palam fiat, quantis in tenebris versari necesse sit eos, qui omnibus in rebus tantum pingui quadam utendum putant Minerva. Deinde Plato sub Socratis persona tantum redarguit – vix unquam astruere quicquam videtur. Patritius falsas destruit opiniones, ut substituat stabiliatque veras; idque facit usque adeo accurate, ut ne impudentissimo quidem callidissimoque sophistae ullum dicturus sis relictum cavillandi locum. Puerile autem si quis appellare illud disputandi genus velit, quod imitari, ne si maximo quidem conatu enitatur, valeat, quoque efficacissime debelletur error asseratur veritas, eam ego vocem audacter non pueri solum, sed plane dementis, aut certe vehementer maligni esse hominis dixero." Dagli accenni contenuti in questa lettera si arguisce che Aconcio non conosceva personalmente Patrizi, ma che ne aveva sentito parlare nei circoli che egli frequentava in Inghilterra ("Dalmata , ut audio"); oppure, forse più verosimilmente, attraverso

ritorno dal suo soggiorno cipriota, il filosofo diede alle stampe il primo tomo delle sue *Discussiones peripateticae*,[44] nel quale, seppur con intento fortemente polemico, si impegna in un enorme lavoro di ricostruzione della

i contatti che ancora intratteneva con gli studiosi di Basilea. Patrizi, comunque, in seguito entrerà direttamente in rapporto con il circolo di studiosi che nella città svizzera si riuniva attorno a Pietro Perna, l' umanista e stampatore lucchese passato alla riforma protestante, che stampò, proprio a Basilea, come prima opera proprio il *De Methodo* di Aconcio; tra questi possiamo ricordare l'importante figura del medico e filosofo Theodor Zwinger, a cui Patrizi scrisse da Ferrara una lettera nel novembre del 1580, nella quale indica in Agostino Doni, filosofo e medico cosentino, anch'egli passato alla riforma protestante ed emigrato a Basilea, il tramite per i suoi contatti con il medico e umanista basileese (cfr. Barbagli, *Lettere*, 27; su Theodor Zwinger v. Antonio Rotondo', *Studi e ricerche di storia ereticale italiana del Cinquecento* (Torino: Edizioni Giappichelli, 1974), 404–413; Carlos Gilly, "Zwischen Erfahrung und Spekulation. Theodor Zwinger und die religioese und kulturelle Krise seiner Zeit. 2. Teil Zwingers Philosophie," *Basler Zeitschrift fuer Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 77 (1977): 57–137; 2. Teil, *Ibid.,* 79 (1979): 125–223). A queste considerazioni si può aggiungere il fatto che, secondo quanto afferma Stupanus nella "Introduzione" alla sua traduzione latina del *Della Historia* di Patrizi, fu proprio il riformatore religioso Celio Secondo Curione a incitarlo ad effettuare questo lavoro, il che significa che Patrizi era noto e apprezzato negli ambienti culturali basileensi (si veda Ioannes Nicolaus Stupanus Rhetus Philosophus et Medicus Nobilissimo Doctissimoque Viro D. Ioanni Plantae "Praefatio," in Francisci Patrici *De legendae scribendaeque Historiae ratione Dialogi decem ex Italico in Latinum sermonem conversi* Io. Nic. Stuphano interprete (Basileae: per Sixtum Henricpetri, 1570), f. 4v. Sono dunque attestati i rapporti del filosofo di Cherso con gli ambienti protestanti svizzeri. Ma Patrizi intratteneva anche in Italia rapporti con personaggi simpatizzanti per la Riforma, come dimostra una sua lettera, trovata nel *dossier* di un processo per eresia celebrato tra il 1562 e il 1563 contro un giovane cipriota studente a Padova, conosciuto forse negli anni del suo soggiorno cipriota tra il 1561 e il 1568 e proprio negli anni in cui scriveva i due dialoghi sulla storia e sulla retorica (cfr. C. Vasoli, "Errar in filosofico humore. Una lettera di Francesco Patrizi e un processo per eresia a Venezia 1562-1563," in *Francesco Patrizi de Cherso*, 109–131; e ora, Silvia Ferretto, "Bassiano Lando," 213–221, con la Bibliografia specifica ivi segnalata). A proposito del giudizio di Aconcio sopra citato, giova sottolineare l'apprezzamento del metodologo trentino dell'uso patriziano del metodo socratico. Egli non solo difende il modo del 'dialogare' di Patrizi dalle accuse di 'puerilità' che probabilmente gli venivano mosse dopo la prima diffusione dei due dialoghi sulla storia e sulla retorica; ma ne sottolinea, altresì, un elemento per lui, apostolo della tolleranza, molto importante, e cioè il garbo, la dolcezza, la modestia, il senso della misura, oltre che, come segno di superiorità rispetto al procedere platonico, l'efficacia nella scoperta dell'errore e nella ricerca della verità. Ma il problema dei rapporti fra le concezione metodologiche di Patrizi e i precetti di Aconcio è un tema nuovo che non possiamo qui approfondire.

44 Francisci Patritii *Discussionum Peripateticarum Tomi Primi, Libri XIII. In quorum lectione, innumera sane inuenient studiosi, non solum in Aristotelica Philosophia, Tironibus: sed etiam, et in ea, et in reliqua literatura Veteranis, mirabiliter, tum utilia, tum rerum veteri nouitate, iucundissima. Librorum argumenta,pagina versa indicat* (Venetiis: Apud D. de Franciscis, 1571).

biografia di Aristotele e del suo *corpus* di scritti. Anche qui, oltre all'esigenza critica e polemica, si manifesta il suo interesse all'applicazione di un preciso metodo, utile alla ricerca di un ordine logico-razionale che consentisse, non solo la comprensione, ma anche la memorizzazione della filosofia aristotelica, dispersa nell'immane caos delle sue opere. Come nel campo della storia e della retorica, anche nel campo della filosofia, a cui Patrizi ormai definitivamente e' votato, la possibilità di una utilizzazione concreta del patrimonio di pensiero e di esperienza trasmesso dall'antichità è condizionata dall'esigenza di una nuova organizzazione, che ne faccia emergere la valenza razionale e ne consenta l'insegnamento e la effettiva ricezione. E' questo un compito che appare a Patrizi non più dilazionabile, soprattutto in relazione alla deriva a cui egli vedeva destinata la cultura filosofica contemporanea, ancora tutta attestata sul fronte dell'aristotelismo acritico, indifferente al problema fondamentale e storico della biografia di Aristotele; ma anche, e soprattutto, della situazione del *corpus aristotelicum*. In questo senso l'alternativa che egli pone dinanzi al suo illustre discepolo Zacharia Mocenigo rispetto allo studio fornito dall'insegnamento universitario, è quella di una lezione che, prima ancora di passare allo studio delle dottrine dell'autore, preveda un esame della sua vita, così come risulta dalle fonti disponibili, e delle sue opere, esaminate alla luce della loro storia e dell'ordine (o meglio, disordine) in cui ci sono pervenute. In particolare, fondamentale, dal punto di vista della possibilità di giudizio e comprensione della dottrina, è per Patrizi la ricostruzione dell'ordine concettuale sotteso alla trattazione delle varie discipline (e sono quasi tutte quelle contemplate dall'enciclopedia del sapere dell'epoca) di cui Aristotele ebbe ad occuparsi. L'attenzione che Patrizi dedica alla ricostruzione dell'ordine dei libri aristotelici è densa di significato insieme pedagogico, conoscitivo e polemico. In questa fase della sua evoluzione filosofica il filosofo non scende ancora in campo contro quelle che considera le assurde concezioni aristoteliche (lo farà dieci anni dopo, con la pubblicazione dei restanti tomi dell'opera),[45] ma parte dalla

[45] Francisci Patricii *Discussionum Peripateticarum Tomi IV. Quibus Aristotelicae Philosophiae universa Historia atque Dogmata cum Veterum Placitis collata, eleganter et erudite declarantur. Operis veteri rerum nouitate gratissimi Argumenta sequens docebit pagina* (Basileae: ad Perneam Lecythum 1581); si veda anche Franciscus Patricius, *Discussiones Peripateticae*, Reprinted

concreta situazione della documentazione, caotica, confusa e disordinata,[46] e cerca di individuare in essa una via che permetta di ricostruire la struttura concettuale del discorso aristotelico, la consequenzialità e la connessione degli argomenti. Egli è convinto con ciò, di far emergere contemporaneamente le contraddizioni presenti all'interno dei testi stessi aristotelici, di mostrare la provvisorietà e superficialità di molte dottrine e l'assenza di ogni tipo di metodo nella ricerca filosofica dello Stagirita. Basterà qui fare solo un accenno[47] al metodo seguito da Patrizi per arrivare all'individuazione dell'ordine dei libri, dei capitoli all'interno di ogni libro e dei libri all'interno della disciplina trattata. Egli, dopo averne discussa l'autenticità,[48] passa a trattare del tema della 'distribuzione' dei libri in classi, che egli denomina anche 'ordini' o 'generi'.[49]

Era questo un argomento assai dibattuto nell'ambito della scuola aristotelica, e Patrizi lo vuole risolvere appellandosi alle parole stesse di Aristotele, sebbene sottolinei sovente la difficoltà dell'impresa, a causa della oscurità del modo stesso di esprimersi del filosofo. Tale distribuzione non può per Patrizi effettuarsi se non sulla base del 'soggetto' di cui,

by ed. Zvonko Pandzic (Koeln, Weimar, Wien: Boehlau Verlag, 1999); Franciscus Patricius, *Discussionum Peripateticarum Tomus tertius / Frane Petric Peripateticke Rasprave Svezac Treci*, trans. Tomislav Cepulic and Mihaela Girardi-Karsulin, intr. e ed. Mihaela Girardi-Karsulin, red. Olga Peric (Zagreb: Institut za Filozofiju, 2009) e *Discussionum Peripateticarum Tomus quartus (Liber VI-X) / Frane Petric Peripateticke Rasprave Svezak Ceturti (Knijga VI.-X.)*, trad. Mihaela Girardi-Karsulin, red. and trans. Olga Peric, ed. Mihaela Girardi-Karsulin, Ivica Martinovic i Olga Peric (Zagreb: Institut za Filozofiju, 2012).

46 Francisci Patricii *Discussionum Peripateticarum Tomi IV, Aristotelicorum Librorum enumeratio*, Tomi Primi, Liber secundus, 13–18.

47 Sull'argomento, Michael J. Wilmott, "'Aristoteles exotericus, acroamaticus, mysticus': two interpretations of the typological classification of the 'corpus aristotelicum' by Francesco Patrizi da Cherso," *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* I (1985): 67–95; Maria Muccillo, *Platonismo, Ermetismo e "Prisca Theologia". Ricerche di storiografia filosofica rinascimentale* (Firenze, Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1996), 133–193.

48 Francisci Patricii *Discussionum Peripateticarum Tomi IV...*, *Aristotelicorum Librorum disquisitio.Liber tertius*, 18–33; *Aristotelicorum Librorum diiudicatio,Liber quartus*, 34–49.

49 Patricii *Discussionum Peripateticarum Tomi IV Aristotelicorum Librorum extantium per genera distributio Liber octavus,* 101–108; *Aristotelicorum Librorum in singulis generibus distributio*, *Liber nonus*, 109–127.

secondo quanto afferma lo stesso autore studiato, si occupa la disciplina nel cui 'genere' o 'ordine' le varie opere devono essere classificate. Stabilito, infatti, secondo la definizione di Aristotele stesso, il 'soggetto' di un genere, Patrizi vi inserisce tutte le opere o parti di opere che si occupano di quel 'soggetto'. In base alla differenza dei soggetti di cui i singoli libri di occupano, si distinguono anche i generi a cui far appartenere i vari libri. Distaccandosi dalla tradizionale classificazione, e sulla base di un più analitico esame delle affermazioni aristoteliche, egli individua non quattro (Logico, Fisico, Metafisico e Morale) generi, come si voleva tradizionalmente, ma otto (Logico, De Ente, De Sapientia, Matematico, Naturale, Medico, Morale e Artificiale), in modo da potere assegnare un posto a tutti i diversi 'soggetti' trattati da Aristotele nelle sue opere. Così, in quanto i libri meccanici si occupano di operazioni, e le operazioni sono senz'altro diverse dalle locuzioni, debbono venire inseriti in un genere diverso da quello in cui vanno inserite le opere che trattano del linguaggio. E queste, o perchè si occupano di sermoni civili, come la Retorica, o perché riguardano l'educazione, come la Poetica e la Musica, perseguono uno scopo politico, e rientrano dunque nel genere delle opere morali, in cui aveva precedentemente inserito l'etica, l'economica, la politica, la poetica, la retorica e alcune sezioni dei Problemata. Analogamente, sempre muovendo dalle affermazioni di Aristotele, Patrizi individua il 'soggetto' della medicina nella sua diversità da quello della 'politica', essendo quella cura del corpo e questa dell'anima. La medicina poi si distingue dalla fisica perché la prima indaga i principi della salute e della malattia, la fisica tutti gli altri. Quest' ultima poi si differenzia dalla 'matematica' perchè indaga i corpi dotati di superficie, solidità, longitudine e punti, mentre la 'matematica' esamina questi stessi elementi, ma solo come dimensioni, astratte dalla materia. Se il matematico contempla linee e punti, separati dai corpi, la 'teologia', poi, si distingue dalla 'matematica' perchè contempla solo le sostanze separate e immobili. In sostanza la distinzione dei generi si costituisce per la presenza tra i 'soggetti' trattati nelle varie opere aristoteliche di elementi di simiglianza e dissimiglianza, che ne permettono la distinzione, ma non la totale separazione, in modo

da consentire così la costituzione di un 'ordine'. Un analogo tipo di considerazioni porta Patrizi a istituire l'ordine che lega insieme i singoli libri all'interno di ogni genere.[50] In questa parte l'ordine che Patrizi ha scoperto si presenta come un risultato dell'attenta analisi dei testi di Aristotele e delle indicazioni, seppur confuse, che dalle sue affermazioni riesce a ricavare. Nell'ultima parte di questo primo Tomo delle *Discussiones*, egli si concentra criteri di interpretazione del testo aristotelico. Dopo avere individuato le varie teorie interpretative elaborate nell'ambito della scuola aristotelica, ed averle cronologicamente ordinate nelle varie epoche, fino ai suoi stessi tempi,[51] il filosofo la sua concezione dell' *optima ex Aristotele atque in Aristotele philosophandi ratio*,[52] e cioè della 'ratio' che, attraverso un ottimo 'metodo', ci possa condurre a quella conoscenza delle cose a cui per natura tutti tendiamo. Si tratta per Patrizi di entrare nelle 'midolla' stesse dell'opinione di Aristotele,[53] esaminando tutti i passi in cui egli fa riferimento a questo problema, per estrarre da essi una teoria chiara del miglior modo di interpretare il suo pensiero. Dalle varie affermazioni del filosofo egli ricaverà una 'scala', una gerarchia di concetti di verità collegati fra loro un rapporto tale per cui il primo costituisce la condizione della possibilità del secondo e così via, fino ad esaurire ogni possibilità

50 Cfr. *supra,* n. 48.

51 Cfr. Patricii *Discussionum Peripateticarum Tomi IV*, *Aristotelicorum Interpretum variae interpretandi Rationes, Liber undecimus,* 145–151; *Aristotelicae Sectae, per varias Aetates Variae Philosophandi Rationes*, *Liber duodecimus,* 152–163.

52 Cfr. Patricii *Discussionum Peripateticarum Tomi IV*, *Optima ex Aristotele atque in Aristotele philosophandi Ratio*, *Liber decimustertius*, 163–174.

53 Cfr. Patricii *Discussionum Peripateticarum Tomi IV*, *Optima ex Aristotele atque in Aristotele philosophandi Ratio*, *Liber decimustertius*, 163: "Is enim optimus tibi, nostrorum praesentium laborum fructus erit, si pernoscas inter tot sententiarum, interpretumque varietates, quae sit ea potissimum ratio, quae nos ad rerum naturae cognitionem, quam naturaliter cupimus omnes, vera atque optima methodo perducat. Quod ut assequamur, eoque quo natura ferimur perueniamus, Aristotelis opinio est perscrutanda, eaque non leuiter attingenda, sed penitus, intimasque ad medullas perspicienda atque percipienda". Sul tema del miglior metodo di studio della filosofia di Aristotele secondo Patrizi e Zabarella, v. Antonino Poppi, "Francesco Patrizi e Giacomo Zabarella sul 'de optima in Aristotele philosophandi ratione'," *Synthesis philosophica*. 22 (1996): 357–369.

del molteplice individuato. Il suo punto di partenza è costituito dalla netta distinzione fra 'veritas rerum' e 'veritas scriptorum' che sono, rispettivamente, il primo e l'ultimo dei livelli di verità da lui teorizzati. La verità in sé è un concetto non semplice ma complesso,[54] disposta per gradi in modo tale che il grado posteriore emani da quello precedente. Il primo grado è costituito dalla verità delle cose stesse ed è quella da cui promanano tutti gli altri ordini di verità.

Da essa deriva la verità della percezione e della conoscenza, da essa dipende quella del 'discorso' e della ragione o 'dianoia'. Quest' ultima è il fondamento della verità della scienza, da cui promama quella propria degli altri abiti scientifici, che danno luogo alla verita'del discorso, e da questa scaturisce, poi, quella degli scritti che è l' ultima e conclude la gerarchia. Dall'idea complessa della verità scaturiscono dunque sei ordini di verità di cui quelli dal primo al quarto sono in qualche modo riconducibili alla 'filosofia', perchè comunque riguardano la conoscenza della natura delle cose; mentre i due rimanenti non hanno più a che fare con la 'filosofia' ma con la 'filodossia', e cioè appartengono a quel tipo di verità che si basano sulla parola, che non è la cosa stessa, ma solo un simbolo, un'immagine ('idolo') di essa. Ciò comporta, e questo è lo scopo qui dell'analisi del Patrizi, che a partire dall'epoca di Stratone di Lampsaco, la scuola peripatetica è stata piuttosto una scuola di 'filodossi' che di 'filosofi'. Egli si preoccupa, al contempo, sottolineare che questo giudizio non coinvolge gli esponenti della scuola neoplatonica, come

54 Cfr. Patricii *Discussionum Peripateticarum Tomi IV*, *Optima ex Aristotele atque in Aristotele philosophandi Ratio*, *Liber decimustertius*, 165: "Dicimus itaque veritatem non simplicem rem esse, sed sextuplicem, ita per gradus dispositam, ut posterior a priore emanet. Inter quas prima ac principalissima est rerum ipsarum veritas, a qua reliquae omnes pronascuntur. Secunda vero a prima hac nata, est perceptionis ac cognitionis veritas. Tertia a secunda orta, veritas discursionis *logou rationis ac dianoias dianoeae*. Quarta et tertia enata, veritas scientiae, aliorumque rationis habituum. Quinta veritas sermonis, ab his nata: et sexta scriptorum veritas a quinta itidem progenita. Quas omnes sigillatim, et earum naturali ordine explicabimus, Aristotelis testimonia singulis, prout poterimus afferentes." Sul tema della ricezione della tradizione aristotelica in Patrizi, si veda ora Luka Borsic, "Ta endoxa – *Probabilia* oder *Opiniones receptae* Aristoteles – Cicero – Petric," in *Interpreting Tradition and Modernity* (Zagreb: Institut Za Filozofiju, 2004), 65– 69.

Porfirio, Damascio, Simplicio, Filopono, e lo stesso Avicenna, che hanno fatto esercizio di 'filosofia' in quanto hanno mirato a conoscere la realta' delle cose, paragonandone e soppesandone il contenuto di verità.[55] Con il metodo impiegato da Patrizi i risultati della ricerca vengono esposti in maniera tale da evidenziare le articolazioni intrinseche delle idee generali, come le parti di un organismo, disponendole secondo un ordine razionale deducibile dal rapporto di identità e differenza che ciascuna di esse ha con il tutto (l' idea generale) in cui erano implicitamente comprese. E' questo orientamento metodologico che in Patrizi chiaramente si venne sempre più precisando con l'assimilazione delle sue letture platoniche e, soprattutto, neoplatoniche, e con l'ampliamento della sua conoscenza di questa tradizione, che fu forse l'unico importante e duraturo frutto degli anni, che egli considerava sprecati, trascorsi a Cipro, dove ebbe, per lo meno, la possibilità di raccogliere tutta una serie di manoscritti, di cui tenterà di far commercio, ma che comunque lesse, perchè molti di essi

55 Francisci Patricii *Discussionum Peripateticarum Tomi IV, Optima ex Aristotele atque in Aristotele philosophandi Ratio, Tomi I, Liber decimustertius*, 168: "Optimaque philosophandi ratio ea est, quae studet res ipsas, earumque existentias apparentiasque, qualitatesque ita percipere ac cognoscere, uti ipsae sunt, existuntque, atque apparent, eosque optimos philosophos ac veros philosophos, vera atque optima ratione appellandos qui res ipsas ita studuerunt percipere, atque animo componere, ac diuidere, ut res ipsae sunt, componuntur ac diuiduntur. Qui vero rebus ipsis cognoscendis non studuerunt, philosophi nullo modo sunt appellandi. ...Reliqui vero ab his profecti, qui iam non res ipsas, sed horum scripta, ac placita sunt secuti, vel interpretati, vel eorum diuersas ac differentes sententias conciliarunt, non recte philosophi, sed philosophorum interpretes, expositores, sectatores sunt nominandi, quales videntur ii Pythagorici omnes fuisse, qui eo dicterio *autòs épha ipse dixit,* usi sunt [...]. Sed obtinuit consuetudo, ut hi etiam omnes philosophi nominentur. Imo vero, huius atque superioris aetatis opinio, obtinuit: ut graui reliquarum sectarum iniuria, nemo philosophi nomine dignaretur, nisi qui Aristotelem sequeretur [...]. Quae res si uniuerso doctorum hominum gregi placet, nobis non est iniucunda: modo sciamus, eos ex Aristotelis sententia non posse recte ac vere philosophos nominari. Siquidem vera sunt ipsius Aristotelis tot locis superius citata verba: quae philosophiam veritatis rerum studium, ac philosophos eius veritatis sectatores esse declarant. Non autem huius vel illius verborum interpretationem, ac lancinationem. Verba enim, non res ipsae sunt, sed rerum symbola, idola. Quae qui expendit, verumque in iis vestigat, iam quinto gradu a primaria veritate distat. Ac veluti Plato, Poetas, quia imitationes sectarentur, tertio gradu a rebus distare dixit, ita vere dici potest, verborum philosophos, non tertio, sed quinto a rebus gradu longe esse. Omnemque a Stratone Lampsaceno, ad nostra usque tempora, Peripateticorum scholam, philodoxorum potius, quam philosophorum scholam fuisse recte quis censeat. [...]"

conservò o di cui si fece fare copia. Già infatti nella edizione completa delle *Discussiones* pubblicata nel 1581, quando Patrizi, tornato dal suo soggiorno cipriota, dopo vari tentativi di avviarsi verso un'attività di commercio di libri e manoscritti, trovò una soddisfacente sistemazione alla corte di Ferrara, e potè, come afferma egli stesso, riprendere i suoi beneamati studi filosofici, egli parla con piena cognizione della metodologia aristotelica e di quella platonica, citando non solo passi di Platone, ma anche di più tardi seguaci della scuola neoplatonica, come Damascio e Olimpiodoro, di cui egli possedeva i manoscritti trovati a Cipro.[56] In particolare sembra significativa una parte del libro IV del tomo III, in cui Patrizi espone le sue posizioni teoriche sul problema del metodo, in relazione al tema della 'discordia' di Aristotele con il suo maestro Platone. Egli menziona qui esplicitamente i quattro metodi, già elencati dal suo antico maestro di medicina nella sua opera sul metodo, che egli considera già tutti presenti nella concezione platonica ed esprime un chiaro apprezzamento per questa filosofia che si identifica ormai per lui, con la 'dialettica', e non ha niente a che fare con l'arte di argomentare in modo probabile esposta nei libri topici di Aristotele.[57]

Il suo ragionamento muove dal concetto platonico di scienza, intesa come conoscenza degli enti veri, immutabili e necessari, per sottolinearne la differenza rispetto a quella aristotelica, concepita come conoscenza

56 Sulle peculiarità della biblioteca greca di Patrizi mi sia consentito rinviare a Maria Muccillo, "La biblioteca greca di Francesco Patrizi," in *Bibliothecae selectae Da Cusano a Leopardi*, ed. E. Canone (Firenze, Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1993), 71–118.

57 Cfr. Francisci Patricii *Discussionum Peripateticarum* Tomi III,Liber IIII *Platonicae Dialectices cum Aristotelica collatio et discordia*, 315–316: "Optime ergo Plato ante Aristotelem seu Eudemum, tres dialecticae usus et cognouit et exercuit longe efficacius, quam tota sua philosophia Aristoteles. Praeter hosce usus videtur Plato quartum alium perspexisse ad philosophiam pertinentem, quatenus falsas confutando opiniones purgationem animorum, velut medicus corporum exercet. [testo greco dal *Menone* e dal *Sofista*] Hanc autem purgationem, medici munus esse in corpore efficere, in anima vero philosophi celebre iam est ex Trismegisto mutuo sumptum. Purgationem falsae opinionis *didascalikés* partem, eodem Sophista facit, fierique [testo greco] *interrogantibus de iis*, id est, per interrogationem. Hoc autem munus dialectici esse clarum est. Dialecticum autem ad philosophum pertinere eodem ita statuit… At contrario modo Topicorum author haec distinxit, ut Philosophus et Dialecticus longe alii essent."

di universali ricavati dai particolari mobili, non necessari, mutevoli.[58] Analogamente, Patrizi mette in evidenza la diversità dello strumento che i due autori mettono a disposizione di essa, e cioè, da parte aristotelica, la 'dimostrazione' e, da parte platonica, la 'definizione'. La prima non si trova, secondo Patrizi, in nessun genere di enti, e cioè non ha a che fare con nessun tipo di realtà: non con gli enti separati,non con quelli matematici, né col genere delle cose umane, che non hanno nessuna necessità. Se la sola dimostrazione costituisse la scienza, una scienza non potrebbe esistere. Sicchè l'immane lavoro profuso da Aristotele nei suoi libri *Analitici priori* e *Analitici posteriori* risulta sostanzialmente inutile.[59] Del metodo, o, più esattamente, dei 'metodi' di Platone, Patrizi sottolinea, innanzi tutto, il fatto che mirano alla conoscenza di oggetti, e la sua 'definizione' di Platone, diversamente dalla 'dimostrazione' cara

58 Cfr. ivi, 318: "De opinione ergo Plato et Aristoteles conueniunt, de scientia non conueniunt. Illi scientia est entium verorum, sincerorum, semper eodem modo se habentium, necessariorum Aristoteli uniuersalium ex singularibus fluxibilibus collectorum, non necessariorum, non semper eodem modo se habentium. Atque haec secunda et maxima est huius, atque illius dialectices differentia."

59 Cfr. Ibid.: "Aristoteles scientiae instrumentum demonstrationem facit, Plato definitionem: uter melius, verum hinc colligatur. Qualem Aristoteles demonstrationem descripsit, nullo in genere rerum reperiemus. Non in primis illis entibus separatis, quae vel nullam habent causam, vel si habent ullam, ea non est per se ita nota, ut demonstrationis principium esse possit. Non in naturalibus, quae non necessaria entia sunt, sed ut plurimum euenientia, nec uniuersalia, nec per se nota. Non in Mathematicis, quae vel in anima, vel extra etiam ponantur, totis Euclideis, totis Sergaeis, Archimedicis, Ptolemaicis, aliorum Mathematicorum libris. ijs quas ipse requirit, conditionibus, nulla reperietur. Minus multo in rebus humanis, quae nulla secum habent necessitatem. Sequitur ex hisce necessario, nullam posse construi demonstrationem: atque inde, nullam scientiam, si modo sola demonstratio, uti Peripateticis fere omnibus placitum est, scientiam constituat. Atque hic erit fructus duorum Analyticorum operosissimo labore nobis traditorum: ut post infinitos labores, post inextricabiles labyrinthos, nullam scientiam nobis comparemus." Per un esame del concetto di 'metodo' nella tradizione aristotelica, v. Eckhard Kessler, "Method in the aristotelian Tradition: taking a second look," in *Method and Order in Renaissance Philosophy of Nature: The Aristotle Commentary Tradition*, ed. Daniel A. Di Liscia et al. (Aldershot, Great Britain, – Brookfield, USA: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1997), 113–142; Nicholas Jardine, "Keeping Order in the School of Padua: Jacopo Zabarella and Francesco Piccolomini on the offices of Philosophy," in *Method and Order in Renaissance Philosophy of Nature*, 183–211; Charles H. Lohr, "Latin aristotelianism and the seventeenth-century calvinist theory of scientific method," in *Method and Order in Renaissance Philosophy of Nature,* 369–380. Ma sono interessanti per questa problematica molti altri saggi contenuti in questa Miscellanea.

al suo maestro, coglie l' essenza dell'oggetto. Inoltre essa presenta il vantaggio di essere concentrata in una singola affermazione, e di essere dunque molto più breve del sillogismo che ha bisogno di molte parole e spesso presenta grandi difficoltà.[60] In varie opere[61] Platone spiega come si deve procedere per giungervi: dapprima bisogna discernere i vari significati del nome, assumendo quello della cosa che si vuole definire; poi bisogna darle la 'caccia', provvedendo a selezionare ciò in cui una molteplicità di cose convengono, cioè cio' che hanno in comune fra loro, per ricavare dai molti una unità. Perciò le 'definizioni' possono, secondo Patrizi, in virtù del procedimento adoperato per formarle, essere denominate anche 'collectiones' o 'synagogeis'.[62] Il processo o avanzamento (*progressus*) della conoscenza si sviluppa poi con la 'divisione', definita

60 Cfr. *ivi*, 318-319:" Plato definitione cuiusque rei scientiam parari multis locis asserit, ad eam inueniendam aptissimum instrumentum diuisionem esse asseuerat. Aristoteles hanc subsannat, multo opere labefactare nititur aperte, ultimo Analytico: illam per insidias eneruat. Apparet quidem ille non paruam de definitione existimationem facere, cum eam vel principium demonstrationis, vel demonstrationem situ differentem, vel demonstrationis conclusionem facit. At cum tam magnifice de ea loquitur nullam scientiam nobis ea parari dicit, quia nulla demonstratio reperiatur, non ex verbis Aristotelis hoc sumimus, sed ex re ipsa, ipso Aristotele et Platone potiore.[...]. Sed largiamur Aristoteli et suam demonstrationem reperiri, et maximum eius in scientijs usum esse: utra tandem potior? Demonstratio, syllogismus est *epistemonikòs scire faciens*. scientiam facit, quando per causam inesse ostendit propriam passionem subiecto alicui. Definitio scientiam facit essentiae cuiusque rei. Utra dignitate praestantior, essentia ne an passio, cum illa per se, haec non nisi illa existat? Utra natura prior? Definitio omnibus entibus inseruit: Demonstratio nullis alijs quam passionibus, neque his omnibus, sed proprijs. Definitio paucis verbis unica affirmatione conficitur, et perficitur. Demonstratio non nisi syllogismo, opera maiore scilicet et eo non quolibet, sed qui difficillimis, et inuentu et cognitu propositionibus conficiatur. Si quis tam caecus fuerit, qui quatuor hisce definitionem Platoni celebratam Demonstrationi, Aristotelis inuento praeferendam esse non videat?"

61 Patrizi raccoglie i vari passi in cui Platone tratta della 'definizione', da *Gli Amanti,* dal *Menone,* dal *Fedro*, e dal *Filebo*.

62 Francisci Patricii *Discussionum Peripateticarum* Tomi III, Liber IIII, 319: "In Phaedro vero aperte docuit, antequam ad definitionem descendamus, nominis aequiuocum discernendum esse, neque id praecepto solum, sed opere ipso exequitur, amoris atque furoris definitiones venaturus. Quae quomodo venemur ita docet [testo greco] *In unam vero Ideam respicientem ducere, ea quae multis in locis sparsa sunt, ut singula definiens clarum faciat, de quo semper docere velit, sicuti nunc quidem de Amore quid est, definiens.* Quo autem modo definitionem assequi queamus, in Menone ostendit, dum admonet, id in quo multa conueniunt, seligere, et ex multis, unum colligere.[testo greco] *id quod in omnibus hisce idem est.* Atque ideo definitiones in

da Platone nel *Filebo*[63] una arte divina, con la quale l'oggetto viene smembrato nelle sue articolazioni, seguendo le nervature naturali e senza lacerarne alcuna parte. Mentre Aristotele, sia pure per denigrarli, ha fatto menzione di questi elementi o 'metodi', di un quarto elemento mostra però di non avere avuto alcuna conoscenza, di quello cioé dell' 'analisi', anche se ha dato poi ai suoi libri logici questo nome.[64] Platone invece ne parla e insegna che essa si ispira al 'metodo' dei geometri e dei matematici. Infatti in essa si procede per 'ipotesi' in due possibili direzioni: o per arrivare a una conclusione, o per risalire a un principio non ipotetico.[65] Il dialettico insegna con le ipotesi, senza pretendere che siano principi noti, ma come 'gradini' che servono per procedere nell' ascensione al principio stesso.[66] Esse sono davvero punti di appoggio nell'ascesa del pensiero. Questo è il 'metodo' che, secondo Patrizi, ha utilizzato, tra i platonici, soprattutto Damascio.[67] Tale procedimento nel suo duplice percorso, dall'uno al molteplice e dal molteplice all'uno, non ha niente in comune con le dimostrazioni scolastiche *quia* e *propter quid* che partono dagli effetti per arrivare alle cause e dalle cause per derivarne gli effetti. Esse sono comunque dei sillogismi, e non procedono

Phaedro *synagogàs*. appellauit, collectiones sic etiam in Philebo, docuit, quae in multis sparsa sunt, in unum colligere."

63 Plato, *Philebus,*16 a.

64 Francisci Patricii *Discussionum Peripateticarum* Tomi III, Liber IIII, 321.

65 Plato, *Respublica*, VI, 510b–511c. Sul metodo ipotetico e dialettico in Platone si veda, tra più recenti contributi, Francesco Fronterotta, "ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ e ΔΙΑΛΕΓΕΣΘΑΙ Metodo ipotetico e metodo dialettico in Platone," in *Argument from Hypothesis in Ancient Philosophy*, ed. Angela Longo and Davide Del Forno (Napoli: Bibliopolis, 2011), 43–74.

66 Plato, *Respubblica,* VI, 511b-c; Francisci Patricii *Discussionum Peripateticarum* Tomi III, Liber IIII, 321:" Atque haec de Mathematicis analysibus. Sed Dialecticum docet hypothesibus, non uti principiis notis, sed ut vere hypothesibus. quae sibi inseruiant, veluti gradus ascensionis ad ipsum principium."

67 Francisci Patricii *Discussionum Peripateticarum* Tomi III, Liber IIII, 322: "Itaque Dialectica duplicem habet analysin, ut ab hypothesibus ad primum omnium principium ascendat, deinde ab eo per antiquos ordines descendat. Quarum apud Platonicos saepe, sed apud Damascium praecipue illustrissima habemus exempla".

attraverso più cause e più effetti tra loro coordinati e subalterni.[68] Il progresso del pensiero per Platone non muove dagli effetti, ma dalle ipotesi, senza considerare nulla di sensibile, ma solo forme e idee.[69] Dalla lettura dei commentari neoplatonici Patrizi poteva così convincersi che, quella intuizione che, senza sapere il perchè,[70] lo aveva portato ad apprezzare, ed anche a seguire, non in medicina ma in altre discipline, il metodo del Montano, era quella giusta e di ciò trovava conferma, non solo nelle opere di Platone, ma in quelle dei maggiori esponenti della sua scuola, come, ad esempio, Proclo e Damascio, Olimpiodoro e Ammonio di Ermia all' epoca non ancora tradotti. Negli scritti che compose nel decennio 1571–1581, Patrizi sembra essere rimasto fedele a questo indirizzo metodologico, applicando, a seconda dell' oggetto della sua ricerca, ora l' uno ora l' altro dei vari metodi individuati nelle opere di Platone e in quelle dei suoi commentatori neoplatonici, come dimostrano i tre tomi, successivi al I tomo, delle *Discussiones peripateticae.* Di cio' si trova riscontro, altresi', sebbene in una prospettiva assai diversa da quella che caratterizza, come si e' visto, quest' opera, ne *L'amorosa filosofia* composta nel 1577, e mai pubblicata fino al 1963.[71] Si può addurre

[68] Ibid.: "Nec vero putandum est, has analyses duplicem illam Peripateticorum demonstrationem esse. *tou oti, kai tou dioti*, quas vocant quia et propter quid. Quibus asserunt duplicem progressum illis fieri, ab effectibus ad causas, a causis ad effectus: hae enim simplices duo syllogismi sunt, non autem progressus per plures et causas et effectus, sibi ad invicem coordinatos ac subalternos."

[69] Ibid.: "Sed Plato, non tam ab effectibus priorem progressum fieri dicit, quam ab hypothesibus, nullo sensibili adhibito, sed ideis ac formis tantum."

[70] Si tratta soprattutto dei commenti di Proclo, Olimpiodoro, Ermia, e del *De principiis* di Damascio che Patrizi possedeva e che sono ora per lo piu' alla Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano (ma per piu' precise indicazioni mi permetto ancora di rinviare a M. Muccillo, " Bibliothecae Selectae", 111 e sgg.). Sulla ricezione patriziana della filosofia neoplatonica, e in particolare, di quella di Damascio, v. Thomas Leinkauf, *Il neoplatonismo di Francesco Patrizi come presupposto della sua critica ad Aristotele* (Firenze: La Nuova Italia Editrice, 1990); ed ora, Thomas Leinkauf, "Die rezeption des Damaskios im Denken des Francesco Patrizi," *Accademia*, 13 (2011): 47–65.

[71] Francesco Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia*, ed. John Charles Nelson (Firenze: Felice Le Monnier, 1963). Su quest'opera, John Charles Nelson, "Introduzione a Francesco Patrizi," in *L'amorosa filosofia*, V–XVI; John Charles Nelson, "'L'amorosa filosofia' di Francesco Patrizi da Cherso," *Rinascimento*, s. II, II (1962): 89–106; Vasoli, *Francesco Patrizi*, 181–204.

ad esempio l'esordio del quarto Tomo delle *Discussiones* peripateticae, in cui, affrontando direttamente la critica ai principi della filosofia naturale di Aristotele, il filosofo non si perita di adottare, ci sembra, il metodo stesso utilizzato da Proclo nella sua *Elementatio physica*, che in seguito pubblicherà insieme alla *Elementatio theologica* per la prima volta in traduzione latina.[72] Egli riduce cioè l'intero contenuto della fisica di Aristotele a una serie di assiomi e di tesi, che gli forniscono così lo schema su cui modellare anche l'ordine della sua discussione critica di essi.[73] Non importa, in questa sede, verificare se egli abbia poi dovunque in questo tomo, e quanto rigorosamente, seguito tale schema nella scansione del suo discorso critico; più significativa risulta invece, a nostro parere, la sua convinzione di riuscire meglio, seguendo questo ordine e metodo di discussione, ad evidenziare le profonde contraddizioni implicite nella dottrina aristotelica dei principi della realtà, e a eviden-

72 Procli Lycii Diadochi *Elementa Theologica et Physica quae Franciscus Patricius de Graecis, fecit latina* (Ferrariae: apud Dominicum Mammarellum, 1583).

73 Patrizi, avviando il suo esame della filosofia naturale di Aristotele, riduce i 70 libri e i 618 capitoli in cui si presentava costituita alla sua epoca, al massimo a nove Teoremi o Problemi che in essa sono effettivamente trattati: De principiis naturalium rerum; De communibus naturalium rerum accidentibus; De coelo; De Elementis; De actione eorum et passione; De exhalatione; De Plantis; De animalibus; De anima. Patrizi si concentra in primo luogo sul primo di questi *Theoremata*, che Aristotele e i suoi seguaci considerano il piu' importante di tutti e a cui il filosofo dedico' le piu'grandi fatiche. Nel complesso dei libri naturali, egli individua 15 tesi fondamentali che distingue in *docentes*, cioe' 'negative' in quanto negano cio'che altri hanno sostenuto; e in otto *docentes* in cui egli afferma le sue dottrine: "Ita ut fere pares sint libri ab Aristotele consumpti in docendo atque in dedocendo principia. Porro horum tot librorum mole, non plures quam 15. theses tractantur. Dedocentes quidem septem. Prima non esse unum principium, contra Parmenidem et Melissum.II. Non esse infinita. III. Non esse Chaos et homoeomerias contra Anaxagoram. IIII. Non esse atomos contra Democritum et Leucippum. V. Non esse elementa haec sensibilia, contra Empedoclem, Thaleta, Anaximandrum, Anaximenem et alios quosdam. VI. Non esse mathemata aut numeros, aut figuras contra Pythagoricos. VII. Non esse, magnum, paruum, ideas, contra Platonem. Docentes vero theses non plures quam octo. Primo principia esse finita. II. Debere esse permanentia. III. Non ex alijs generata. IIII. Non ex se invicem. V. Ex ijs omnia. VI. Esse contraria. VII. Esse tria. Contraria duo, unum contrariis subiectum, hoc materiam esse, illa priuationem et formam. VIII. Praeter haec, esse efficiens principium, et finale principium. De XV. His thesibus, septem dedocentes omnino non attingemus, cum aliquid sit de ijs pertractatum, commentationibus ijs quae praecesserunt. Sed 8. dedocentes Theses singillatim in examen vocabimus." (Francisci Patricii *Discussionum Peripateticarum* Tomi IV, Liber I, 364–365).

ziare così la necessità di discostarsi da una tradizione che, come quella aristotelica, non soddisfaceva più a quei criteri di coerenza e rigore logico, oltre che di aderenza alla realtà, che costituivano per lui i connotati propri della verità scientifica.[74] Che al problema del 'metodo' Patrizi venga sempre più collegando la possibilità di un reale avanzamento nel campo delle conoscenze filosofiche, è dimostrato anche da altre opere di questo stesso periodo, non legate alla sua polemica antiaristotelica. Ci riferiamo alla sua ricerca sulla natura dell'amore sviluppata ne *L'amorosa filosofia*. Qui, partendo da una definizione generalissima dell'amore[75] (come un 'voler bene'), attraverso l'applicazione del procedimento della divisione, egli giunge a cogliere il principio unitario sotteso alla molteplicità delle manifestazioni dell'oggetto considerato, rappresentato dall'idea dell 'amore, scoprendo così alla sua radice una realtà nuova e inaspettata, mai prima, a suo dire, da alcuno individuata, e cioè 'l'amore di sé' (o *filautia*) come principio unitario dell'amore, fonte e scaturigine di tutte le sua manifestazioni, animali, umane e persino divine.[76]

74 Sull'analisi critica della filosofia naturale di Aristotele condotta da Patrizi nel quarto tomo delle *Discussiones peripateticae* si vedano Cesare Vasoli, "La critica di Francesco Patrizi ai 'principia' aristotelici," *Rivista di Storia della Filosofia*, n. s., 51(1996): 713–787; Luc Deitz, "Falsissima est ergo haec de triplici substantia Aristotelis doctrina. A Sixteen-Century Critic of Aristotle. Francesco Patrizi da Cherso on Privation, Form, and Matter," *Early Science et Medicine*, 2 (1997): 227–250; Cesare Vasoli, "Francesco Patrizi da Cherso e la critica del concetto aristotelico dell'eternita'del mondo, del tempo e del moto," in *Sapientiam amemus*. *Humanismus und Aristotelismus in der Renaissance,* ed. P. R. Blum et al. (München, Fink Verlag, 1999), 142–179; Mihaela Girardi Karsulin, "Petric's Analysis of the Principles of Natural Things," *Studia Historiae Philosophiae Croaticae,* 4 (1999): 49–75.

75 Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia,* Dialogo Terzo, 99: "Et vedrete come da lo universalissimo dello amor cominciando, si e' venuta sempre a' suoi minori generi restringendo e tutte le spezie ritrovando et i suoi luoghi per ordine disponendo.

76 Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia,* Dialogo Terzo, 102: "*Tarq.*Bene intendete. Et dall'altro lato, la philautia e'presa per quello amore primiero, et per cosi'dire originale, che tutti gli uomini, tutti gli animali et in somma tutte le cose per natura e dal primo loro nascimento portano a se stesse, per lo quale amano l'essere proprio et il bene essere loro et il sempre essere. Et il quale e'principio e fonte et fondamento di tutti gli altri amori et di tutti gli affetti dell'animo nostro et di tutti i pensieri et di tutte le attioni, di tutte le passioni, di tutti gli studi e di tutti gli essercitij che noi facciamo, di qualunque maniera essi si sieno. "A questo principio Tarquinia Molza guida Patrizi procedendo con il metodo della divisione, a partire da una prima

Il metodo dunque si rivela qui come uno strumento di scoperta di nuove realtà, e non solo come un mezzo di razionalizzazione e di organizzazione logica di conoscenze acquisite, pervenuteci confusamente e caoticamente dal passato. Se esaminiamo il carattere degli scritti che Patrizi venne componendo nel decennio 1581-1591, data di pubblicazione della *Nova de universis philosophia*, ci rendiamo conto di quanto egli, saldato per così dire il suo conto con l'aristotelismo, si sentisse ormai maturo, anche dal punto di vista metodologico, per una nuova e globale concezione dell'universo atta a costituire una valida alternativa a quella tradizionale che, seppur ancora dominante, si rivelava sempre più incapace di soddisfare le esigenze conoscitive di un'epoca attraversata da profondi mutamenti di carattere scientifico e filosofico, e da forti tensioni e rivolgimenti nel campo religioso, politico e sociale. Ad attestare questo ardente desiderio di novità filosofiche sono chiamati i tentativi del filo-

generalissima distinzione fra 'l'amore che portiamo a noi stessi', e 'l'amore che portiamo ad altri', ma aggiungendo un terzo elemento, costituito dall'unione dei due precedenti, come terza possibilita', e cioe' l' amore che portiamo insieme 'a noi e ad altri'. E procede poi riconoscendo il 'principio' della *filautia*, precedentemente definito, in tutte le 'specie' di amore che, nel Dialogo secondo erano state individuate all'interno dell' idea complessa e generalissima di 'amore'. Si può osservare qui che il procedimento divisivo adottato da Patrizi non e'di tipo dicotomico, bensi' tricotomico, ed in questo si avvicina, ci sembra, al metodo procliano, o, comunque, a quello seguito all'interno della piu' tarda scuola neoplatonica. In questo senso e' forse possibile anche individuare un certo distacco di Patrizi dal tipo di divisione teorizzato, o, comunque, in genere ricondotto alla metodologia ramista. Non possiamo in questa sede affrontare il problema dei rapporti fra Patrizi e Ramo. Certamente Patrizi aveva letto, perche'lo effarma egli stesso in una sua lettera a Sigismondo Snizer, scritta da Ferrara nel 1588 (Francesco Patrizi da Cherso, *Lettere*, 6), le opere di Ramo contro Aristotele con ammirazione, ma aggiunge anche di non avere letto la *Geometria* del filosofo francese. E in effetti, nella sua polemica anti aristotelica si possono riconoscere molti motivi vicini alle posizioni di Ramo e alla tradizione della critica umanistica allo Stagirita; ed ugualmente, la sua interpretazione della dialettica platonica non appare lontana da quella del filosofo francese. Ma sembra che sul piano delle dottrine originali, sia per quel che riguarda il metodo, sia per quel che riguarda il suo tentativo di elaborare una nuova filosofia della natura, una 'nuova geometria', o una nuova sintesi metafisica, Patrizi percorresse vie autonome, pur rimanendo certamente nell'ambito della tradizione del platonismo rinascimentale di Ficino e Pico. Sul tema dei rapporti fra Patrizi e Ramo si vedano i contributi di Luciano Artese, "Antonio Persio e la diffusione del ramismo in italia," *Atti e Memorie dell' Accademia toscana di Scienze e Lettere "La Colombaria"* 46, *N.S.* 33 (1981): 83–116; Cesare Vasoli, "De Pierre de la Ramée à Francois Patrizi. Thèmes et raison de la polèmique autour d'Aristote", *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, 70 (1986): 87–98.

sofo di fondare, sulle orme, e forse anche un po' in competizione con Telesio, una nuova filosofia della natura basata su principi profondamente nuovi, in accordo insieme con la ragione e con l'esperienza. A questo scopo obbedisce la nuova concezione dello spazio fisico, profondamente diversa da quella aristotelica, che Patrizi elabora nel *De rerum natura libri* pubblicati nel 1587,[77] e la proposta di una 'nuova geometria'[78] su di esso fondata, capace di soddisfare, come egli stesso afferma, le esigenze di facilità e chiarezza necessarie a rendere questa 'divina' scienza comprensibile ed utilizzabile da tutte le categorie di uomini e non soltanto dai geometri di professione.[79] L'avvento poi al soglio pontificio di un papa, suo compagno di studi a Padova negli anni giovanili,[80] lo incoraggia a concepire un vero e proprio progetto culturale alternativo nel quale il platonismo si candidava a prendere il posto finora ricoperto dall'aristotelismo, diventando il fulcro della politica culturale della Chiesa con l'accettazione di un visione metafisica, e non solo fisica, più dell'aristotelismo compatibile con la concezione cattolico-cristiana. L'importanza che Patrizi attribuiva all'uso della nuova metodologia, modellata su quella platonica e neoplatonica, si manifesta nella *Nova de universis philosophia* fin nel titolo, dove egli sottolinea, come elementi caratterizzanti, la pluralità dei metodi utilizzati e afferma, in una visione quasi

77 Patritio, *Philosophiae, De rerum natura libri duo priores. Alter de spacio physico. Alter de spacio Mathematico* (Ferrariae: Excudebat Victor Baldinus, Typographus Ducalis, 1587).

78 *Della nuova geometria* di Franc. Patrici*, Ne`quali con mirabile ordine e con dimostrazioni a maraviglia piu' facili, e piu' forti delle usate si vede che le Matematiche per via Regia, e piu' piana che dagli antichi fatto non si e', si possono trattare. Al Serenissimo Carlo Emanuele Duca di Savoia* (Ferrara: Per Vittorio Baldini Stampator Ducale, 1587). Su questo testo, pochissimo studiato, si può leggere Dadic Zarko, *Franio Petris i njegova prirodnofilozofska i prirodoznanstvenamisao* (Zagreb: Skolska Knijga, 2000), 156–163 e 172–177 (with an english translation) che presenta un panorama della filosofia della natura patriziana, ed anche degli scritti matematici; ed ora V. De Risi, "Francesco Patrizi e la nuova geometria dello spazio," in *Locus-Spatium. Atti del XIV Colloquio Internazionale,* Roma 3–5 gennaio 2013, ed.D.Giovannozzi e M. Veneziani, (Firenze: Olschki, 2014). (Versione inglese in una Miscellanea di studi sullo spazio nel Rinascimento, K. Vermeir e J Regier, presso l'editore Springer.

79 *Della nuova geometria* di Franc. Patrici, Dedica.

80 V. *supra.*

sincretistica, di avere utilizzato tanto il metodo aristotelico, che il proprio, che quello platonico.[81] Al di là del tipo specifico di metodo da lui prescelto nelle varie parti di quest'opera, occorre osservare che l'esigenza di scientificità che Patrizi esprime nella sua nuova filosofia *de universis*, trova il suo fulcro nel concetto dell' 'ordine', che egli considera caratteristica intrinseca di tutto il creato e come il requisito necessario di ogni vera conoscenza di esso.[82] Individuare, con precisione e rigore, l'ordine secondo il quale necessariamente la realtà unitaria si scandisce nei suoi vari gradi e fornirne, con argomenti incontrovertibili, la dimostrazione logica, costituisce uno degli scopi fondamentali della speculazione filosofica del Patrizi nella *Nova de universis philosophia*. La pluralità dei metodi di cui il filosofo si vanta, come si diceva, fin dal titolo dell'opera, va messa in stretta connessione, a mio avviso, proprio con l' esigenza della ricostruzione e dimostrazione razionale di quest'ordine, giacchè esso risulta tanto più vero, quanti più sono i metodi con i quali esso può essere dimostrato. Nella *Nova* dunque il processo metodologico, nella sua varietà di aspetti, è in funzione dei quest'ordine che è implicito nel concetto stesso di realtà come 'universitas'; o, come con termine damasciano Patrizi la definisce, 'unomnia'. In tal modo metodo e ordine vengono ad essere strettamente connessi come lo sono il mezzo con il proprio fine. Non è difficile capire, quando Patrizi parla del metodo adottato

81 Patritio, *Nova de Universis Philosophia. In qua Aristotelica Methodo, non per motum, sed per lucem, et lumina, ad primam causam ascenditur. Deinde propria Patricii Methodo; tota in contemplationem venit Diuinitas:Postremo methodo Platonica, rerum uniuersitas, a conditore Deo deducitur. Ad Sanctiss. Gregorium XIIII. Pont. Max. Et eius successores futuros Pontt. Maxx. Omnes. Opus Rerum copia, et uetustissima nouitate, Dogmatum varietate, et veritate. Methodorum frequentia et raritate. Ordiniscontinuitate Rationum firmitate, Sententiarum grauitate. Verborum breuitate, et claritate, maxime admirandum* (Ferrariae: Apud Benedictum Mammarellum, 1591).

82 Sull'ordine che caratterizza la rappresentazione patriziana del mondo, mi limito qui a citare Cesare Vasoli, "L'ordine del mondo nella *Nova de universis philosophia* di Francesco Patrizi," in *Renaissance Diskursstrukturen und epistemologische Voraussetzungen*, ed. Klaus W. Hampfer (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993), 147–157; per un confronto con la concezione di Ficino e quella di Patrizi sul rapporto fra ordine cosmico e teoria musicale si veda ora l 'interessante contributo di Jacomien Prins, "Echoes of an Invisible World. Marsilio Ficino and Francesco Patrizi on Cosmic Order and Music Theory" (Ph. D. diss. Universiteit Utrecht, 2009), 143–204, (su Patrizi).

nella *Panaugia*, che egli si riferisce a quel metodo che già nelle *Discussiones peripateticae* aveva riconosciuto come proprio di Aristotele, ovvero quello per cui si procede partendo da ciò che a noi è più noto, per arrivare alla causa prima e necessaria di esso,[83] un metodo che è efficace, ma che ci porta a realizzare il fine solo se si *sceglie* come concetto-realtà di collegamento una realtà più valida di quella del moto, e cioè la luce, una traccia che percorsa rigorosamente ci conduce a quella fonte di tutte le luci e dei lumi, che è quell'assoluto e primo elemento di quell'ordine, oltre il quale non si potrà andare, e da cui dovrà muovere il pensiero per potere conoscere tutto ciò che da esso ordinatamente si dipana.[84] Anche nella *Panarchia*, il metodo deve seguire la traccia offerta dal fine che si vuole raggiungere, ovvero trovare quel concetto fecondo che, come 'principio' e non semplicemente come 'causa', possa effettivamente costituire il fondamento di tutta la realtà, corporea e non, e portare all'individuazione di quell'ordine quadruplice[85] che costituisce la struttura portante dell'universo e conferisce ad esso quella solidità e coesione, che

83 Patritio, *Discussionum peripateticarum* Tomi tertii, liber quartus, 314.

84 Patritio, "Panaugiae liber primus," f. 1 esgg., in *Nova de universis philosophia*, Sul tema della luce in questo trattato si vedano, oltre agli articoli della Puliafito Bleuel da me ricorrentemente *citari* in altri miei contributi, anche Luc Deitz, "Space, Light and Soul in Francesco Patrizi's *Nova de Universis philosophia* (1591)," in *Natural Particulars: Nature and the Disciplines in Renaissance Europe*, ed. A. Grafton and N. Siraisi (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1999), 139–169; Eugene E. Ryan, "The `Panaugia' of Franciscus Patricius: from the Light of Experience to the First Light," in *Francesco Patrizi filosofo platonico nel crepuscolo del Rinascimento*, ed. P. Castelli (Firenze: Olschki, 2002), 181–195.

85 Patritio, "Panarchias liber undecimus," in *Nova de universis philosophia*, f. 24r: "cur etiam, ab uno simplicissimo impartibili, in multitudinem semper maiorem, usque ad decadem laberetur et labendo cresceret. Cresceret autem uno addito; quoniam unum, omnibus sui imaginem, aliud atque aliud unum impartitur, usque quo id quod recipit, ipsius sit capax, usque scilicet ad postremum. Ad quod cum est perventum iterum a summo uno, replicet oportet is, qui ulterius velit numorando progredi. Atque hic descensus, rerum methodus est compositiva per additionem facta, unius. Ascensus vero methodus alia est principalis, quam resolutivam in sua primogenia vocant, per eiusdem unius facta subtractionem. Ipso uno a multitudine se subtrahente, et in se redeunte…" Il quadruplice ordine a cui Patrizi in queste pagine si riferisce e'quello che va dal sommo all' infimo, costituito dai *gradus*; l'ordine latitudinale, costituito dalle *series*, l'ordine in longitudine o *cathena*, e l'ordine secondo la solidita' che fornisce al tutto unitario la resistenza propria di un corpo.

mantiene in unità la molteplicità degli esseri. Il metodo che Patrizi utilizza per giungere alla conoscenza di tale ordine e che egli presenta come una sua originale innovazione, può essere ricondotto eminentemente al procedimento della divisione, e per la molteplicità e varietà quasi virtuosistica delle argomentazioni divisive si rivela assai influenzato dalla metodologia di Proclo, e, soprattutto, di Damascio, del cui *De principiis* Patrizi possedeva fin dagli anni di Cipro, il manoscritto,[86] e che considerava 'eminentissima', fra le opere di tutti i filosofi neoplatonici. Anche nella *Pancosmia* il riferimento al metodo e all'ordine è centrale. Dovendo qui affrontare il problema della produzione della realtà fisica, Patrizi richiama la necessità di orientare la ricerca verso la scoperta di quell'ordine, con cui il creatore non può non avere prodotto il mondo, essendo il caos, in un'ottica provvidenzialistica, una contraddizione in termini. Il metodo che qui Patrizi adotta è, come annunciava già in una sua lettera a Baccio Valori del 1589,[87] è il metodo platonico, che, data la molteplicità attestata dall'esperienza sensibile degli esseri naturali, impone la ricerca di quel 'primum', o prima creatura, che per essere veramente tale deve fungere da condizione dell'esistenza di tutto ciò che segue, senza che essa abbia a sua volta bisogno di altro per esistere. L'oggetto che risponde a questi requisiti è appunto lo spazio, che dunque è la realtà prima in assoluto nella realtà naturale. Con analogo ragionamento vengono sucessivamente dedotti gli altri principi della realtà naturale, facendo sempre attenzione a che le deduzioni razionali non contraddicano ai dati offerti dall'esperienza. Nel terzo libro della *Pancosmia*, che è costituito dalla traduzione latina in forma discorsiva del *Della nova geometria*, Patrizi mostra come sia possibile partendo dal principio dello spazio, e applicando il metodo compositivo e risolutivo, arrivar a dimostrare le stesse ipotesi da cui la dimostrazione aveva preso le mosse. Anche sulla base di questo veloce sguardo alla metodologia seguita da Patrizi nella sua opera filosofica fondamentale, si può rilevare

86 Muccillo, "La biblioteca greca," 114.

87 Patrizi, *Lettere*, 70.

la presenza di tutti quegli elementi metodologici che abbiamo visti applicati nelle opere precedenti e teorizzati nelle *Discussiones* peripateticae, qui tutti impiegati per arrivare a individuare e descrivere, deducendolo razionalmente, quel mirabile ordine che si esprime e non può non esprimersi nell'universo, o, anche, forse si potrebbe dire, in quella totalità di universi che è la realtà. Così il metodo aristotelico lo porterà dal basso verso l'alto a ricostruire le varie articolazioni dell'universo della luce; il proprio metodo a dedurre, partendo dal concetto di 'principio', tutta la serie ordinata della sue conseguenze, incardinando, pericolosamente, in questo sistema la dimostrazione della Trinità cristiana e la formazione dell'intero universo metafisico e fisico, secondo un quadruplice ordine di concatenazione volto a conferire al tutto la solidità e la resistenza di un corpo materiale; infine, riprendendo nella *Pancosmia* il metodo platonico della composizione e della analisi, a dimostrare la priorità ontologica dello spazio, e ordinatamente degli altri tre principi della realtà naturale.

Le vicende della censura della *Nova de universis philosophia*,[88] se indussero il nostro autore a non insistere con la sua promozione delle ragioni del platonismo nel campo della metafisica e della teologia, non gli impedirono di continuare nella sua ricerca di innovazione in altri campi, come quello dell'arte militare, una materia a cui fin dagli anni ottanta aveva già dedicato la sua attenzione, cercando di ricostruire, sulla base dei testi di Polibio, Tito Livio e Dionigi di Alicarnasso gli ordinamenti della milizia romana.[89] Anche nella sua ultima, poderosa opera pubblicata

88 Su tali vicende basterà ora vedere A. L. Puliafito Bleuel, introduction to *Nova de universis philosophia. Materiali*, by Francesco Patrizi da Cherso (Ferrariae: Apud Benedictum Mammarellum, 1591), XIX–LI. Tutta la documentazione relativa alla censura dell' opera di Patrizi è ora disponibile in *Catholic Church and Modern Science. Documents from the Archives of the Roman Congregations of the Holy Office and the Index:1, Sexteenth-Century Documents*, eds. U. Baldini-L. Spruit, Volume I, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, Città del Vaticano 2009, t.3, 2197–2264.

89 Francesco Patrizi, *La militia romana di Polibio, Tito Livio, e di Dionigi di Alicarnasso* da Francesco Patricii dichiarata, e con varie figure illustrata. *La quale a pieno intesa, non solo dara' altrui stupore de' suoi buoni ordini, e disciplina. Ma ancora, in paragone, fara' chiaro quanto la moderna sia difettosa e imperfetta* (Ferrara: per Domenico Mammarelli. A santa Agnese, 1583). Già in quest'opera (v. "Dedica" al Serenissimo Donno Alfonso II. Duca di Ferrara, di Modona,

nel 1594 -1595 dal titolo *Paralleli militari*, Patrizi, rivendicando al filosofo il diritto di occuparsi anche di materie non specificamente riconosciute come filosofiche,[90] propone la sua riflessione sull'arte militare ricorrendo

di Reggio, et di Carnuti,...) egli esprime il concetto dell'importanza della filosofia anche nel campo dell' arte militare: "Questa historia degli Scrittori di militia, mostra chiaro, con quanto poca ragione Annibale, schernisse Formione Philosopho Peripatetico, perche' alla presenza sua fosse stato oso, di ragionare della guerra. Et con quanto maggior ragione, Scipione uincitor di Annibale, tenisse gli scritti di Xenophonte Philosopho Socratico, in tanta stima, che del continuo gli hauesse in mano. E da essi prendesse ammaestramenti, et essempi, co quali posti in uso, douesse poi essere, si come fu, ad Annibale superiore. Le quali cose stando, non dovra' essere tenuta cosa nuova, ne' dourà essere tenuta cosa nuoua. né dourà ad alcuno parere strano, se io, il quale con non picciola diligenza, ho letto non pochi libri, per giouare, se potessi a qualche tempo, a me stesso, et ad altrui, mi sono posto a spiegare, quello che per accurata osseruatione, io ne ho ritratto da tutti i piu' celebri Autori, et Historici delle geste de'Romani, Dandomi a credere che se io douea alcun giouamento recare altrui nelle cose della militia: la quale e'il fondamento della pace, et de' beni della vita humana: io non douessi prendere essempio da' modi di guerreggiare deboli e oscuri, ma da eccellentiss. Et illustriss...." Ed anche qui sottolinea il valore della chiarezza nella ricostruzione, che consente di far emergere l' essenza stessa di quegli ordini, e la loro eccellenza dimostrata dai dieci 'effetti' che egli ha individuato e di cui considera 'causa' la buona organizzazione: l'essere per 642 anni stati sempre in guerra; che, pur sconfitti, non chiesero mai pace ad alcuno; non persero mai occasione di intraprendere una nuova guerra; affrontarono sempre il nemico nel caso fossero assaltati; che furono essi stessi ad andarlo a scovare; portarono sempre guerra a casa del nemico, per quanto lontana fosse; che non ebbero mai paura di affrontare subito il nemico; che ebbero sempre un esercito piu'piccolo di quello degli avversari; che in 478 anni, su 550 fatti d' armi, ne vinsero 437, e i restanti 113 persero per deficienza di senno dei loro capitani, incapaci di tenere il giusto mezzo fra l'audacia e la trascuratezza; non si lasciarono mai cacciare dagli alloggiamenti che volevano difendere.

90 Francesco Patrizi, *Paralleli Militari* di Francesco Patrizi. *Ne' quali si fa paragone delle Milizie antiche, in tutte le parti loro, con le moderne. All' Eccell.mo et illustriss.mo S. Giacomo Buoncompagno, Duca di Sora, et d' Arce. Signor d' Arpino, Marchese di Vignola, e Capitano generale de gl' huomini d'arme del Re Catolico nello Stato di Milano* (Roma: Luigi Zannetti, 1594); Francesco Patrizi, *Paralleli Militari* di Francesco Patrizi *Parte II. Della Militia riformata. Nella quale s' aprono i modi, e l 'ordinanze varie degli Antichi. Accommodate a nostri fuochi Per potere secondo la vera arte di guerra, con pochi vincere in battaglia la gran moltitudine de 'Turchi. E di varie figure militari adorna.* (Roma: Appresso Guglielmo Facciotto, 1595). La prima parte e' critica e vi si discutono posizioni sostenute da moderni scrittori di arte militare. Patrizi affronta anche qui con ordine i problemi, e raccoglie dapprima le opinioni correnti, e poi le contesta ad una ad una nella forma, che sembra evocare il titolo dell' opera di Damascio, di 'Opposizioni' e di 'Soluzioni'. Alcune di queste 'Opposizioni' (le prime elencate dal nostro autore) riguardano appunto la tesi che i libri non siano adatti ad insegnare l'arte della guerra, e che questa si possa imparare solo attraverso la pratica. E, inoltre, che non rientra nel mestiere del Filosofo scrivere di arte militare. A questo proposito (Parte I, 9) Patrizi fa osservare: "A questa direttamente si risponde, con la suddetta distinzione di teorica e di prattica. Perche' questa e' mestiero di

a quel metodo e a quell' idea dell'ordine a cui si era mantenuto fedele nel corso di tutta la sua attività filosofica, e che continuava ad essere ai suoi occhi l'unico strumento capace di dare un valore pratico al patrimonio di conoscenze ereditato dal passato e favorire le nuove iniziative di pensiero che egli riteneva, insieme a molti suoi contemporanei, di essere in grado ormai di intraprendere, purché si avesse il coraggio di liberarsi da quel principio dell'autorità di Aristotele che fino all'ultimo apparì a lui e a molti altri studiosi del suo tempo come l'ostacolo più grande alla realizzazione di qualsivoglia forma di progresso, non solo scientifico e filosofico, ma anche politico e militare. Proprio in relazione al problema militare, reso così acuto dal sempre più incombente pericolo dell'espansionismo turco, egli ritiene urgente e necessaria una riflessione ad ampio raggio sull'attuale organizzazione degli eserciti occidentali, per individuarne gli elementi e le cause di debolezza. Anche qui egli parte da quello che l' erudizione antica, non solo classica ma anche bizantina e medioevale, ci ha trasmesso in questo specifico campo, per sondare la possibilità di ricavare dalla sua lezione una serie di indicazioni, che, organizzate in un sistema razionale di 'principi' o 'assiomi', potessero diventare il fondamento di una vera e propria scienza, valida universalmente, e quindi utilizzabile con successo anche nel mondo occidentale e nel tempo presente.

Dal confronto fra l'arte militare antica esposta nelle opere dei grandi storici antichi, da Dionigi di Alicarnasso, a Polibio, e Livio, all'imperatore Maurizio, adeguatamente riordinate, secondo i principi metodologici già teorizzati nelle pagine del *Della Historia*, in modo da far emergere la profonda razionalità sottesa all'organizzazione degli eserciti vittoriosi dell'antichità, doveva, nell'intento di Patrizi, apparire chiaramente non solo la situazione disastrosa in cui versava la milizia europea

soldati, e quella di filosofi. E si come la teorica insegna piu' assai, mettendo innanzi tutti i fatti, et tutte le cagioni, e le maniere di condurli, e la pratica e' solamente condotta, piu' mestiere di filosofo sara' lo scriuerne, che di soldato. Ed in fatti è così stato. Percioche di LI. Antichi scrittori di milizia, soli otto sono stati, capitani, o soldati, e tutti gli altri suti sono filosofi, et letterati." Ancora una volta Patrizi attribuisce al filosofo ,innanzi tutto, l' attenzione ai fatti piu' che alle parole, ma anche, altresì', la capacita' di individuare le ragioni dei fatti stessi e la 'maniera' (il miglior metodo) per realizzarli.

contemporanea, ma anche la causa necessaria di essa, individuata da lui appunto nell'assenza di una vera e propria scienza capace di ispirare l'azione del comandante nell'organizzazione e nella condotta dell'esercito. E' profonda convinzione del nostro filosofo, che la milizia antica, così come egli la ricostruisce ordinando secondo considerazioni razionali le narrazioni spesso lacunose delle fonti, fosse sostanzialmente il risultato dell'applicazione della 'scienza' del capitano, inteso da lui come l' Uno, la 'Mens' che ha in sè già presente l'Idea dell'esercito, e che ad essa si ispira nella sua organizzazione.[91] Le regole che il capitano segue nella realizzazione della sua idea, si fondano, per Patrizi, tra l'altro, su una profonda conoscenza dei meccanismi che operano nella natura e nel mondo delle passioni umane, ed è su questa base che egli riesce a ideare una disciplina tale da far funzionare l'esercito come un organismo vitale, di cui gli uomini sono le articolazioni cooperanti ad un unico fine comune. A ben vedere, comunque, in concreto, la scienza che Patrizi attribuisce al capitano non è altro che la capacità di procedere secondo i momenti di quel metodo risolutivo o'analisi', tanto da lui apprezzato, che muove dalla considerazione del fine ultimo e ne promuove la realizzazione attraverso la ordinata catena delle condizioni necessarie alla effettuazione dei fini particolari, ad esso preordinati. L'importanza di questa

[91] Patrizi, *Paralleli Militari, Parte I*., l. II, cap. V, p. 38-41; l. III, cap. I, 43–45; l. III, cap. IX, 62 (ma 64, per salto di numerazione)-69;. *Parte II.,* l. I, Cap. I, 3–4; l.VII, cap. II, p. 108-109; l. XVII, cap. I, 189–191; l. XVIII, cap. I, 307–17. Come ogni vera e propria 'scienza' anche l' organizzazione della milizia trae il suo piu' solido fondamento dalle idee o principi di cui e' l' incarnazione visibile, che non possono che trovare la loro sede nell' 'anima' o nella 'mente' di chi l' ha pensata e realizzata, e cioe' nell' anima del capitano. Tali principi, infatti, in forma di 'disciplina' vengono trasmessi dal comndante all' esercito, sulla base di un rapporto simile a quello che si instaura, come il termine stesso 'disciplina' suggerisce, fra 'insegnate' e 'discepolo'. In quanto prima e necessaria 'manifestazione' della scienza del comandante, la 'disciplina' costituisce lo strumento attraverso il quale il fine dell' esercito, cioe' la vittoria, può trovare la sua realizzazione. In questo senso essa e' 'madre' delle vittorie e il vero 'nervo' di un esercito, perche' permette la realizzazione dei dieci principi che sono alla base della 'scienza' militare. Non possiamo qui addentrarci nell' esame dei dieci densissimi capitoli nei quali Patrizi affronta la discussione di problematiche squisitamente tecniche in cui esibisce, insieme, la sua competenza teorica nella materia militare e la sua enorme erudizione storica. Ma bastera' qui rilevare che Patrizi giunge ad elencare ben 161 'regole' o 'assiomi' generali, che riassumono nel complesso tutta la ' scienza' militare.

teorizzazione patriziana non consiste nella originalita' delle regole in cui viene riassunta, perche'esse possono essere tutte rintracciate nell' opera dell' imperatore bizantino Maurizio, grande stratega militare, che costituisce la fonte più importante dei maggiori scrittori di arte militare come Onosandro, Vegezio, Leone III. Isaurico, e la più completa sintesi dell' esperienza militare degli antichi storici greci e latini; la vera originalita' della trattazione patriziana va posta, a nostro avviso, nell' 'ordine' in cui tali regole vengono disposte, un 'ordine scientiale' nel quale i molteplici e confusi precetti ricavati dalla storiografia vengono collegati secondo il filo di una rigorosa consequenzialita' logica, nella quale soltanto l'arte del capitano può costituirsi in scienza, divenendo così suscettibile di insegnamento, memorizzazione ed applicazione, per la la realizzazione del proprio fine. Dell'interesse costante di Patrizi verso il tema del metodo e dell'ordine si sarebbero potuti addurre numerosi altri esempi, sia per quel che riguarda il problema dell' ordine dei libri pervenutici dall'antichita', sia in relazione alla ricerca di strumenti di 'scoperta'di nuove verita' e nuove teorie. Ma si e' ritenuto necessario per ora trascurarli, per ragioni di tempo, di spazio e di rispetto per qualche eventuale lettore.[92]

Ma prima di conludere questo contributo,mi sembra opportuno a conferma delle ipotesi interpretative che si sono fin qui esposte, far menzione di un manoscritto finora, a quanto mi risulta, da nessuno ricordato, che si conserva nella Biblioteca Palatina di Parma. Si tratta del Manoscritto Palatino 909, citato da Kristeller nel suo *Iter Italicum*, la cui esistenza mi e'nota da molti anni e di cui da tempo posseggo il microfilm, ma che

[92] Pensiamo allo scritto sull' ordine dei libri di Platone che Patrizi pubblico' in "Appendice" alla *Nova de universis philosophia* (su cui si veda ora Erna Banic-Pajnic, "Petric's view of Plato and Aristotle According to the Appendix of *Nova de universis philosophia*," (sull' ordine dei libri di Platone, 25–29), in *Interpreting Tradition and Modernity* (Zagreb: Institut Za Filozofiju, 2004), 9–34; o all' ancora inedito *De numerorum mysteriis* conservato alla Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano (Ms. H 180 INF.), frutto di una completa destrutturazione e riorganizzazione logica del contenuto di una serie di scritti di autori neopitagorici, da cui risultasse una chiara esposizione, didatticamente efficace, dell'antica dottrina pitagorica dei numeri e delle loro proprieta', ad uso dell' illustre discepolo Federico Borromeo.

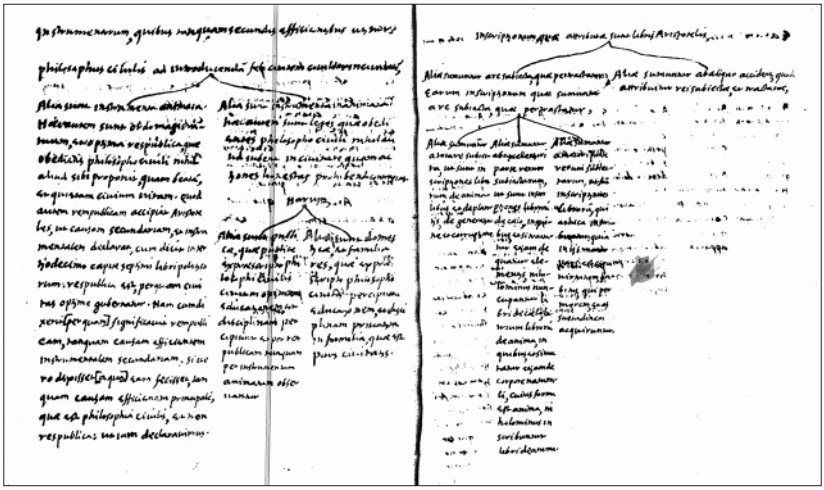

Fig.: Manoscritto Palatino 909, Biblioteca Palatina di Parma.

finora non ho avuto il tempo di trascrivere e di studiare. Si tratta di un manoscritto di 142 fogli, privo del primo, e di cui quindi non si conosce ne'la data di composizione ne'un titolo. Un esame, sia pure ancora molto sommario del testo, mi indurrebbe a pensare, contrariamente a quanto afferma il Kristeller, che si tratti di un autografo, in alcune parti chiaramente incompiuto, scritto forse in gran fretta, ragione questa per cui si presenta anche di faticosa e non facile lettura. In esso sono raccolti verosimilmente trattatelli diversi, che potrebbero anche essere ritenuti capitoli di un'unica opera, il primo dei quali inizia con la seguente intestazione: "Eorum quae considerari debent loco praefationis in philosophia humana, actiua, et ciuili ante legitimam pertractationem" (f.2 r). Non sembra vi siano riferimenti polemici ad Aristotele; anzi l'impressione e'che Patrizi stia cercando proprio di 'decomporre', o di 'riorganizzare' il contenuto di trattati politici e morali dello Stagirita. Si evidenzia anche qui l'esigenza di un ordine', che presentasse anche visivamente, attraverso le varie distinzioni distribuite in colonna in forma sinottica, l'articolazione delle concezioni. Altre indicazioni non sono in grado al

presente di fornire; ma, soprattutto l'assenza di riferimenti polemici allo Stagirita indurrebbe a pensare che l'opera possa essere riferita al periodo giovanile di Patrizi, e ai suoi primi studi nel campo della retorica, che egli intraprese, secondo quanto afferma nei suoi dialoghi dedicati a questa disciplina, dopo avere abbandonato quelli di medicina alla morte del padre. Solo la completa trascrizione e un approfondito esame del testo potrebbe favorire la formulazione di qualche ipotesi più fondata sulla natura e sulla cronologia di quest' opera.[93]

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[93] Per fornire un'idea delle procedure messe in campo da Patrizi in questo manoscritto, e' parso opportuno riprodurre qui l'immagine di una sua pagina. Il modo di procedere patriziano sembra presentare analogie con l'uso delle tavole sinottiche utilizzate alla sua epoca dai maestri di anatomia (si veda in proposito Massimo Rinaldi, *Arte sinottica e visualizzazione del sapere nell'anatomia del Cinquecento* (Bari: Cucucci Editore, 2008)).

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History and Philosophy in Francesco Patrizi's Dialoghi della istoria (1560)

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Abstract The author's hypothesis is that these Dialogues aim at the elaboration of a more comprehensive definition of history, in the double sense of knowledge and writing, which is recognizable for the reader. This indicates a particular practice of philosophy that requires a global approach of the Dialogues, paying more attention to the practical aspects of history and to the different sources and instruments of knowledge used by Patrizi. She examines first Patrizi's uses of dialectics as a search for truth through the discussion and as free examination and confutation. She then tries to reconstruct the puzzle of history by comparing the results of the last dialogue with the previous framework into which history was presented in the beginning of the discussion. Patrizi reduced the theoretical and practical truth of history to philosophical requirements prescribed by dialectics, while a radical disjunction remains between philosophy and public usefulness.

Keywords Dialogue, Dialectics, History, Labyrinth, Memory, Philosophy, Plato, Rhetoric, Robortello (Francesco), Socrates, Truth.

Many scholars already drew attention to these fascinating *Dialogues* published in 1560 and some of their echoes in the late Renaissance.[1] I, nevertheless, consider it useful to return to the problem of the relationship between history and philosophy in order to gauge the meaning of the *Dialogues* as a whole for two reasons. First of all, in these *Dialogues*,

[1] Raffaello Franchini, "Francesco Patrizi teorico della storiografia," *Atti dell'Academia Pontaniana* XV (1965-1966): 191–199; Girolamo Cotroneo, *I trattatisti dell'*Ars historica (Napoli: Giannini, 1971), 205–267; Lina Bolzoni, *L'universo dei poemi possibili. Studi su Francesco Patrizi da Cherso* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1980), 63–95; Cesare Vasoli, *Francesco Patrizi da Cherso* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1989), 25–90; Maria Muccillo, "Età dell'oro e tempo ciclico in Francesco Patrizi," in *Utopia e modernità. Teorie e prassi utopiche nell'età moderna e postmoderna*, ed. Giuseppa Saccaro del Buffa and Arthur O. Lewis (Roma: Gangemi editore, 1989), 553–577; Sandra Plastina, *Gli alunni di Crono: mito, linguaggio e storia in Francesco Patrizi da Cherso (1529-1597)* (Soveria Manelli:

Patrizi submits history to a philosophical reflection on the basis of Plato's philosophical method and of the Platonic tradition in general (as Marsilio Ficino meant it: Plato, Neoplatonism and *prisca philosophia*). Secondly, the major interpreters dissagree on the sense of the *Dialogues*, due to the fact that it remains difficult to establish exactly Patrizi's position in the course of the exchanges between the different characters and also because, generally, they give advantage to one point or to one dialogue or another without considering the text as a whole.[2] My hypothesis is that these Dialogues draw up an integrative approach of history – in the double sense of knowledge and writing – in other words, of history and story. They thus aim at the elaboration of a more comprehensive definition of history which is recognizable for the reader of the *Dialogues*. But such a definition could only occur after Patrizi had previously broken the whole framework into which the contemporary reflection had agreed with the ancient tradition to put it. Philosophy appears at the same time as the instrument and the standard for this integration. Therefore the question is: How does philosophy achieve this process, and is it its only instrument?

Rubbettino, 1992); Maria Muccillo, "Francesco Patrizi dalla storia alla natura," in *Natura e storia. Saggi di filosofia*, ed. G. Coccoli, Ascoli Piceno, (Roma: Edizioni Sestante, 1996), 21–51; Paul Richard Blum, "Francesco Patrizi in the 'Time-Sack': History and Rhetorical Philosophy," *Journal of the History of Ideas* LXI (2000): 59–74; Eugene E. Ryan, "Franciscus Patricius on Time: New Insights into an Ancient Question," *Synthesis philosophica* XVI, 2 (2001): 243–265; Marie-Dominique Couzinet, "Mythe, fureur et mélancolie. L'inspiration historique dans les *Dialoghi della istoria* (1560) de Francesco Patrizi," in *L'Écriture de l'histoire*, ed. Daniel Ménager, *Nouvelle Revue du XVIe siècle*, 19/1 (2001), 21–35, republished as: "Francesco Patrizi et la 'fureur' historique," in Marie-Dominique Couzinet, *Sub specie hominis. Études sur le savoir humain au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Vrin, 2007), chap. xi, 209– 223; Maria Mucillo, "Platonismo e anti platonismo nel tardo Rinascimento: echi di dottrine patriziane negli scritti di Paolo Beni e Giovanni Battista Crispo di Gallipoli," in *Nuovi maestri e antichi testi. Umanesimo e Rinascimento alle origini del pensiero moderno*, atti del Convegno internazionale di studi in onore di Cesare Vasoli, Mantova, 1-3 dicembre 2010, ed. Stefano Caroti e Vittoria Perrone Compagni (Firenze: Olschki, 2012), 351–399.

[2] With the exceptions of Cotroneo, *I trattatisti*, and Muccillo "Francesco Patrizi: dalla storia alla natura".

I. The current status and nature of the problem

Scholars generally disagree on the meaning of these lively and puzzling Dialogues because they insist either on their critical and destructive, or on their constructive function. A constructive function supposes that history is put under the theoretical and methodical control of Platonic philosophy. As Patrizi himself indicates in the opening letter to the readers, the *Dialogues on history* were only a part of a major enterprise of eloquence based on "the science of causes and principles of speaking"[3] sketched by Plato, with as its ultimate aim "the formulation of a universal science of language".[4] Patrizi completes his enterprise with the *Dialogues on rhetoric* (*Della retorica*, 1562), and the *Poetic* (*Della poetica*, 1586), "in order to define the laws of speech in all its application areas, from poetry to oratory, and from history to philosophy".[5] In that context, Patrizi's motivation in the *Dialogues* must certainly be looked for in his theory of the universal language of all the creatures based on a "vitalist and panlogic vision"[6] of nature motivated by the double sense of *logos* as reason and language. In the mythic revelation of a *prisca sapientia* attributed

[3] Francesco Patrizi, *Della istoria dieci dialoghi di M. Francesco Patritio, ne'quali si ragiona di tutte le cose appartenenti all'historia e allo scriverla e all'osservarla*, Venetia, appresso Andrea Arrivabene, 1560, *in* Eckhard Kessler, *Theoretiker Humanistischer Geschichtsschreibung, Nachdruck exemplarischer Texte aus dem 16. Jahrhundert*, München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1971, A lettori [A2]. Cf. also *Francisci Patricii, de legendae scribendaequae historiae ratione dialogi decem, ex italico in latinum sermonem conversi. Io. Nic. Stupano [...] interprete*, Basileae, per Sixtum Henricpetri, 1570.

[4] Anna Laura Puliafito Bleuel, Premessa, in Francesco Patrizi, *Della retorica dieci dialoghi*, reprint of the edition of Venice: 1562, ed. Anna Laura Puliafito Bleuel (Lecce: Conte Editore, 1994), II.

[5] Puliafito Bleuel, *Retorica*. On those bases, Patrizi criticizes some of the most praised conceptions of history as a form of eloquence, based on Aristotle's *Poetics*, such as Speroni's and Robortello's.

[6] Mucillo, "Età dell'oro," 795. "*Come nel* Della Historia*, anche qui [sc. nel* Della Retorica*] Patrizi è spinto alla narrazione del mito da una profonda insodisfazione verso i modi consueti di porre e risolvere il problema del linguaggio*". *Alla "vera natura del fenomeno [...], si accede, secondo Patrizi, soltanto uscendo fuori dal campo meramente linguistico, nel considerarlo in uno scenario più ampio, ontologico e metafisico*". Mucillo, "Età dell'oro," 793.

to the ancient Egyptians in which Patrizi expresses it, Maria Mucillo identifies the way in which he grasped "a higher truth, not reachable through dialectical procedures, but by the rules of the platonic *furore* which [he] theorized in preceding books".[7] Myths fulfill here "a real function of knowledge", different from "the platonic-socratical method", that Patrizi had once defined, in the *Dialogo dell'honore*, as "the most adapted means to 'discover' and to 'make appear' the truth", "in a 'new' subject", "through the confutation of false opinions".[8] In the *Dialoghi della historia*, we find both procedures as contrasting faces of the Platonic heritage. According to Cesare Vasoli, Patrizi's recourse to myth "in order to regain the lost correspondence between 'words' and 'things'" does not indicate only the "metaphysical presuppositions of the discussion", but "the deep reasons of his polemic" against "the image of knowledge and human speech implicit even in Speroni's and Robortello's writings [...]: a discourse conceived in the terms of the ethical and political learning and based on *exemplum"*, to which he opposed a positive learning which consisted of "a cosmic vision of the human destiny, corresponding to the doctrine of the great universal cycles and of the astral movements which dominate all human events".[9]

This "attempt to expand beyond measure the notion of 'history' over the traditional limits of 'political' historiography"[10] has major consequences. It leads to a broadened definition of history as memory including past, present, and future as well as to a general theory of actions – divine, natural and human – as its objects. But one of its most striking consequences

7 Mucillo, "Età dell'oro," 787.

8 Mucillo, "Età dell'oro," 806, note 10. According to Maria Mucillo, dialectic investigation considered in its mere rhetorical dimension of confutation corresponds in fact to Patrizi's further evolution towards "*an apodictic aristotelian method*", considered "*as the 'scientific' method* par excellence". Mucillo, "Età dell'oro," 787.

9 Vasoli, *Francesco Patrizi*, 54.

10 Vasoli, *Francesco Patrizi*, 53.

is to deprive time of any signifying function.[11] For Patrizi, there could not be history without time: time is in fact the condition of actions, because it is their producer;[12] besides, "time being the measure of all worldly, celestial, natural and human actions, it must be accurately observed".[13] Here, as we may notice, time has the double meaning of the condition of actions and of the instrument that measures them. As a matter of fact, Patrizi notices that if they were not indicated by divisions of years, for example, "the human actions would fly in an infinite empty time, as you can see, in the sphere of the sun, the atoms fly, without ever settling down".[14] Thus, the historian's duty is to consider time and to use it as the measure of actions considered as movements, according to Aristotle's definition.[15] In the particular case of written history, time is not considered as producing actions, but only as measuring them; its intervention aims only at the comprehension of the narrative by the reader. Time in the Aristotelian meaning becomes a minor "circumstance" of the action, the last in fact which the historian considers, after its actor, cause, place, mode or instrument. As Patrizi's character declares in the last dialogue about the writing of different or scattered actions: "Time does not seem to be the first thing in history, but action. And one sets down time in order to make people know how this action has gone with the celestial movements, and how the movements of the microcosm have gone together with those of the major's one [macrocosm]".[16] And he gives a similar answer

11 Cf. Blum, "Francesco Patrizi in the 'Time-Sack'".

12 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 7, f. 42r–v.

13 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 7, f. 42v.

14 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 7, f. 42v.

15 Time defined as "*number or measure of movement regarding before or after*". Aristotle, *Physics*, IV, 11.

16 "*Et non è il tempo, secondo che pare, la prima cosa nell'historia. Per certo nò. Ma si l'attione. Certo si. Et il tempo vi si pone, soggiunsi io, per far saper altrui, come quell'attione sia col moto de cieli caminata, e come i movimenti del minore mondo, sieno andati di pari con que' del maggiore. Sembra certamente che non per altro. E cosi habbiamo fornità la cerca della stesa dell'attioni*

in the case of a compound action (*un attion composta*): "The writer will first develop whatever action he likes, and then the other one. And he will always have to match it with time, so that one might know how the action processed with the course of its other parts, and with the world's course".[17] Here, the historian's account did not reveal "a cosmic vision of the human destiny", but only described coordinated movements so that Patrizi made a clear distinction between the duties of the historian and the philosopher.

Another approach to the constructive function of the Dialogues takes into account the specificity of history as a knowledge. It may be found in Arno Seifert's book, entitled: *Cognitio historica. Die Geschichte als Namengeberin der frühneuzeitlichen Empirie*, (that could be translated: "History as name giver of the Early Modern empirical world"). Seifert considers that Patrizi made a significant contribution to the history of empirical knowledge, by defining history as the knowledge of facts (*Faktenerkenntnis*), which could possibly lead to Leibniz's "vérités de fait". According to Patrizi and to "all noble scholars", history may be defined as the knowledge of "the effects alone" in contrast with philosophy defined in the Aristotelian way that is as the knowledge of causes.[18] Seifert argued that this conception of "history" as descriptive knowledge originated from Aristotelian physics and zoology. He moves from the notion of knowledge of effects to that of knowledge of facts, enhancing

diversi, e delle sparse. Si, rispose egli". Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 10, f. 62v. Here in fact, Patrizi seems to reproduce Aristotle's distinction between *muthoi* and *historiai* in *Poetics*, XXIII, 59a 17–28, applying the characters of *muthos* which considers action, to his new definition of history, time remaining the unsignificant indication of succession. It corresponds to a reorientation towards action theorized by Patrizi in the last dialogue.

17 "*Si fornirà adunque la stesa di una qual piu piacerà allo scrittore tutta intera, e poi si verrà all'altra. Cosi vorrà farsi. E accompagnarvi il tempo sempre, perch'altri sappia, come ella sia corsa col corso dall'altre parti sue, e del mondo. Cosi bene starà disse lui*". Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 10, f. 62v.

18 In Patrizi's terms, Dialogue 2, f. 7v; attributed to "*tutti i nobili letterati*" in dialogue 7 ("[...] *egli si tien per fermo da tutti i nobili letterati, che mestiere di historico sia, il raccontare gli effetti soli soli. E che il ricercar la cagione di qual si voglia cosa, sia hoggimai ufficio da filosofo*". Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 2, f. 41v).

a comment made by Patrizi's partner in the seventh dialogue, Lorenzo Guidone, about the different consideration that the historian and the philosopher give to the cause: "The cause, in its true nature, even if it is cause of another fact, is a fact in itself. And as such, it falls into the historian's account. But it pertains to the philosopher, if it is inquired into, as something occult and hidden, and as the cause of something else".[19] In other words, the historian considers all his objects as facts, or as visible effects, even if they are themselves causes, whereas invisible causes remain the philosopher's exclusive field. According to Seifert, within this strong distinction, historical sensible knowledge remained finally subject to philosophical intelligible knowledge, and Patrizi's theory is hardly separable from its platonic background.[20]

Here again, the philosopher's knowledge (which concerns the causes, but also the causes and effects) includes the historian's as knowledge of the effects only. But Patrizi and Bidernuccio admit that, while the knowledge of effects pertains to any human being endowed with sense, the historian's specificity is related to them.[21] So, if historical knowledge is synonymous with human sensible knowledge, Patrizi continued to

19 "[...] *La cagione, in sua vera natura, anchor che cagione d'altro fatto sia, ella è però in se stessa, fatto. Et come tale, ella cade in narramento dell'historico. Ma ella è dal filosofo, si come occulta, e nascosta cosa, e come cagione d'altra, investigata, e ricercata*". Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 2, f. 41v.

20 *"Aber wenn keine* cagioni nascoste (occulte) *gäbe, die auch für sich, isoliert genommen, ausschliesslich die Philosophie angehen, dann liesse sich Faktenerkenntnis ebenso gut als blosse Ursachen – wie als blosse Wirkungserkenntnis qualifizieren. Insofern scheint Patrizis Theorie, wenigstens in der konkreten Formulierung, die er ihr gibt, von ihrem platonistischen Hintergrund kaum abzulösen. Der Philosoph erkennt die verborgenen Ursachen, und er erkennt die unverborgenen Ursachen, die der Historiker als Fakten nimmt, als Ursachen*". Arno Seifert, *Cognitio historica. Die Geschichte als Namengeberin der frühneuzeitlichen Empirie* (Berlin: Duncker et Humblot, 1976), 72. G. Cotroneo understands facts considered as the true nature of causes as "*an elegant solution*", sacrified later in the *Dialoghi* by Patrizi. Cotroneo, *I trattatisti*, 227–231 and 236.

21 "*P. Ma il saper l'effetto solo, di cui direte voi che sia? B. Cotesto di ogni uomo, pure che altri habbia sentimenti; i quali senza altro, prendono gli oggetti, che lor si fanno inanzi. P. Voi dite ottimamente. Ma mi dite, con qual nome chiamereste voi quello scrittore, il quale soli gli effetti vi contasse, senza alcuna cagione, o ricercarne, o dirne? B. Vorrete voi forse dire, che costui sia l'historico? P. Voi l'havete detto*". Patrizi, *Della historia*, 2, f. 8r.

consider, as Robortello does, that the historian's function is to write whereas the philosopher's is to search.[22] Moreover, the historian and the philosopher share the same theoretical and practical purpose: to know the truth and to make use of it in order to obtain happiness.[23] But in the last dialogue, Patrizi insists on the distinction between the historian's duty which is to tell the truth, while the philosopher's is to search for it.[24] In both cases, history is integrated in a general theory of knowledge, but the writing of history remains the specific object of the research. So, we have to consider to what extent Patrizi criticized the rhetorical humanist tradition and what characterized his "rhetorical philosophy" (to use Paul Richard Blum's expression).

On the other side, Julian Franklin concentrates his interpretation on the critical and destructive function of the *Dialogues* in the fifth discourse which he defined "a major contribution to historical Pyrrhonism".[25] With Patrizi, he argues, "the question is not how many historians have lied, and how often, but whether a 'good historian' is possible at all".[26] Patrizi's denial relies on the incompatibility between "the pragmatic norm of history" and "the pragmatic theory of politics. According to the former, the condition of a useful history is that the observer has the 'inside' story. But according to the latter, the prime condition of a prudent actor

22 This distinction occurs in Partizi, *Dialoghi*, 7, f. 41v. For Robortello, history's dependence on rhetoric guarantees its technical and methodical character, against Sextus Empiricus's cricism (F. Robortello, "De historica facultate disputatio," in Eckhard Kessler, *Theoretiker humanistischer Geschichtsschreibung* (München: Fink, 1971), 18–20).

23 Valerio: "*Due fini adunque sono i principali dello scrivere ogni historia e ogni vita; la cognizione del vero, e l'uso per la felicità*". Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 8, f. 45r.

24 "*[P] In stretissimo passo mi havete voi condotto, o messer Camillo, e non so com'io me ne possa uscire. Però che io credo che voi vogliate inferire, ch'ufficcio anco del filosofo sia, dir il vero. [S] Si, senza fallo rispose egli. [P] O piu tosto, ripresi io, di investigare il vero? [S] Cotesta è troppa sottigliezza, rispose egli. [P] Et io la credea per cosa di consideratione. Ma poscia che a voi non piace, lasciamola*". Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 10, f. 57r.

25 Julian H. Franklin, *Jean Bodin and the Sixteenth Century Revolution in the Methodology of Law and History* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1961, 1977), 96, note 19.

26 Franklin, *Jean Bodin*, 96–97.

is to keep his secrets to himself. The terms of 'truthful and instructive' narrative are thus exposed as incompatible. The historian may either be impartial or informed. But he cannot be both at once. And since this dilemma is 'original' no remedy can possibly exist".[27] According to Franklin, "Patrizi comes to the conclusion of [Cornelius] Agrippa: 'It is utterly and totally impossible', he says, 'for human actions to be known as they were actually done'",[28] thus breaking dramatically with his master Robortello's definition of history.[29]

Franklin's contribution seems to me determining because, despite its limitation to one dialogue, it gives fundamental insight into Patrizi's attitude towards philosophy; while continuing to agree with his master on the scope of history (that is on its final cause), he is compelled by his own practice of philosophy, in the name of freedom of thought, to discard Robortello's definition of history.[30] Franklin argues that on the side of philosophy, this break up was essentially due to Pyrrhonism, associated here as it was currently with Christian fideism (personified, in the fifth dialogue, by the young Roman). But we may notice that on the side of philosophy, freedom of thought appeared mainly as Socratism, and that on the side of history – that is on the description of political practice – Machiavelli's contribution is determining. So, we have to consider which

27 Franklin, *Jean Bodin*, 99-100.

28 Franklin, *Jean Bodin*, 100-101.

29 "[...] *Ut dicamus historiae finem esse, narrare res gestas, uti gestae fuerint, iuvandi gratia*". Robortello, *De historica facultate disputatio*, 8. Franklin identifies this conclusion as "*an indirect attack on Patrizi's master, Francesco Robortello. In opposition to Giovanni Pontano who held, in accordance with Quintilian [...], that 'history is poetry written without meter' [...], Robortello, expanding on a point in Aristotle (Poetics, 9), argued that history is 'the narration of things done as they were actually done' [...]. Patrizi's break with this perhaps explains the pathetic tone of the dialogue. Patrizi constantly takes Robortello's position and is just as constantly defeated. It is true, however, that there is no disagreement between disciple and master as to what history ought to be*". Franklin, *Jean Bodin*, 101, note 30.

30 Franklin recognizes that "*in Agrippa, the Pyrrhonistic basis is 'empirical'"; whereas "with the work of Patrizi, the skepticizing neo-Platonist, a theoretical dimension is supplied*". Franklin, *Jean Bodin*, 96.

were the respective contributions of Platonism, Pyrrhonism, Machiavellian realism and contemporary reflection on history, in Patrizi's general criticism of historiography, and if any positive lesson remains of each of them in the eventual elaboration of a definition of history. Especially, if is it possible to determine which factors – historical or philosophical, or both of them – were decisive in the divorce between history and truth, and on Patrizi's final view of historical and philosophical truths.[31]

The second problem is to identify Patrizi's position as the author of the *Dialogues* and the only character who appears in all of them. We may assume with Franklin that he dramatizes an evolution, probably from Robortello's position towards a much more pessimistic and limited one, which singles out the historical point of view as the consideration of human actions independently from the celestial causes, where Machiavelli's presence is much perceptible. Actually, Patrizi does not mention Robortello's definition of history, but we find it concealed under a definition attributed to Cicero, in the first dialogue: "History is an account of things done, as they are done".[32] Now, in the *Dialogues*, Patrizi does not appear very much as an author because he deliberately hides under the compelling progress of dialectics. Nevertheless, he remains the one

31 On that question, Federico Chabod, concentrating as Franklin on chapter 5 of Patrizi's *Dialogues*, gives a more balanced conclusion. According to him, Contile's "*scepticism*" "*è in realtà un ingenuo primitivismo, derivante precisamente dalla mancanza di un sicuro criterio critico, metodologico*" (Federico Chabod, *Lezioni di metodo storico* (1969), ed. Luigi Firpo (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 2000), chap. II (16–42), 37), particularly "*nella valutazione delle fonti*" (26). Bodin gives an answer by transfering the problem to another level: "*Con ciò lo scetticismo di fronte alla storia umana viene superato soltanto ricorrendo ad una 'verità' naturale, che stà al di fuori degli uomini e della loro storia, che condizionerebbe, anzi, essa, la storia degli uomini*" (40). We could argue that Patrizi does not search this natural truth in the climate theory as Bodin did (*Methodus*, chap. V), but in a mythical revelation.

32 Gigante: "*E per cio, prendete questa altra diffinitione dell'historia, la quale è del medesimo Cicerone. La historia è narratione, di cose fatte, si come elle sono fatte*". Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 1, f. 2r. Robortello's definition of the scope of history is completed here with the definition of the historian: "*historicum explanatorem quendam, et narratorem esse rerum, uti gestae fuerunt, ideoque illi in primis dandam operam, ut veritatem omnibus in narrationibus suis persequatur, et mendacia vitet, quae unde proveniant, et qualia sint aperte demonstravi*". Robortello, *De historica facultate disputatio*, 13.

and only representative of the continuity, in an apparently discontinuous discussion; as such, he is the memory of dialogues, that authorises no synthesis, but certainly cross checkings, choices and renouncements, as well as undeniable cumulative effects that appear only in the last dialogues. Patrizi indicates here a reading method which resorts to history and philosophy's services respectively, with memory and dialectics. Its pedestrian character recalls the pervasive interest for education that emerges from all the dialogues, with the question of the place of history in the studies.[33] But it also indicates a particular practice of philosophy mixed with history that required more precision. There appears the necessity of a global approach towards the *Dialogues*, paying attention to the practical aspects of history and to the different sources and instruments of knowledge used by Patrizi.

II. Patrizi's uses of dialectics

Right from the beginning of the *Dialogues*, Patrizi's one and only instrument is dialectics, under different forms that need some precisions. The first dialogue opens on Patrizi's confession of his ignorance of the nature and qualities of history.[34] Consequently, he criticizes precedent definitions by ancient and modern authors, in the name of a logical rule which is the impossibility to know the qualities of something without knowing previously its nature or its essence.[35] In the *Posterior analytics* (II, 1), Aristotle clarifies that to know the essence of a thing is the same as to know the cause of it.

On these bases, Patrizi undertakes to define history in the second and third dialogues, convinced as he is, on the model of Plato's *Theaetetus*, that it is impossible to infer the essence of history from its diversity, here

33 Cf. Franklin, *Jean Bodin*, 95.

34 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 1, f. 1v. Patrizi explains his ignorance by the Stoïc reduction of the Aristotelian categories to four: (*ousia*), (*to poion*), (*pros echôn*), (*pros ti pôs echôn*).

35 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 1, f. 5r.

from the listing of books that historians call "history". So, echoing Plato's "second navigation" in the *Phaedon*, he proposes to take "a step backward" (*un passo à dietro*) towards the essence of history by including it in awider question that "belongs to the philosopher", which was to "give the causes of everything that becomes in the world".[36] One recognizes Plato's question in the *Phaedon*, where Socrates identified the general problem of physics – there called natural history (*peri physeôs historia*) – as the research for "the cause of generation and of corruption in general".[37] Plato's solution lay in a "second navigation",[38] leading to the introduction of Ideas, which cause order to everything. Following Plato, Patrizi considers history as a knowledge pertaining to the philosopher as well as to the historian: as a matter of fact, in the third dialogue he proposes "a long history of the corruptions of the world and of its renascences" as an alternative to the Aristotelian treatise *On generation and corruption.*[39] Here, as Plato looks for the truth in the *logoi* – that is language as well as reason –, Patrizi's "step backward" consists a) in distinguishing the philosopher's duty (to search for the causes and their effect) from the historian's one (to know the only effects), and b) in using the grammatical instrument of etymology to establish that the historian's knowledge is a sensible one, more precisely, a vision.

Patrizi's philosophical choices seem now quite clear: he did not recognize Aristotelian physics, and substituted a revealed story; his major guide was Platonic dialectics and the theory of Ideas that, even if they do not appear directly, seemed to be imbodied in the "book of the souls", written by God, of the third dialogue, which served as a criterion to judge the "external books", written by men – here in particular, the books

36 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 2, f. 7v.

37 Plato, *Phaedon*, 96a.

38 Plato, *Phaedon*, 99d.

39 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 3, f. 15r. And for that reason, Patrizi's character assumes that Paolo Contarini won't believe it, because he is an Aristotelian.

written by historians.[40] But in this second category of books, we must make an exception for Plato's books that teach to read in the soul's book.[41] With the help of the revealed history of the great cosmical revolutions, which we already find in part in Plato here reinforced by the revelation of an older *prisca sapientia*,[42] Patrizi claims to attain the essence of history which is memory itself. As we shall see, this definition will remain as a thread in a labyrinth.

But at the very beginning of the dialogues, philosophy does not appear as the divine instrument of dialectics, but as a way of life which corresponds to the use of dialectics in the only sense of confutation. Patrizi's constant interest in education and degrees of dignity of disciplines make him stage students or young people, and define many characters through their academic and professional choices: Gigante and Bidernuccio are defined as barristers; Paolo Contarini is a politician and an Aristotelian philosopher; Contile is a poet; Donati studies antique and modern historians; and Strozzi studies philosophy before studying history. Zeno, who is in charge of the dialogue on universal history, is presented as a universal man. Patrizi's character does not escape this rule and informs us that the origin of his ignorance comes from the personal experience of his encounter with philosophy portrayed as the sorcerer and the viper of Plato's *Banquet* and endowed with medical effects in which one recognizes the symptoms of melancholy. Thus, Patrizi first presents philosophy as the mother of ignorance, which is the condition of free examination: later

40 Cf. Mucillo, "Età dell'oro," 808–809; Petr Pavlas, "The Book of Mind: The Turn to Subject in Patrizi and Comenius," infra, p. 343-359.

41 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 3, f. 13r.

42 "*Troviamo in queste pagine l'esposizione di un mito assai complesso che risulta da una sapiente contaminatio di luoghi del* Politico*, del* Timeo *e del* Crizia *di Platone, con suggestioni ermetiche, neo platoniche e neopitagoriche…*". Mucillo, "Francesco Patrizi dalla storia alla natura," 28.

on, he claims to "speak freely, because there is nothing more free in the world than ignorance".[43]

Here, philosophy is not a divine but dangerous instrument which makes the philosopher a victim. And though Patrizi's interlocutors refused to take him seriously, it is clear that his warnings against philosophy announced the most radical outcomes of his Criticism on two points: his first warning was that philosophy makes men useless for government; the second, that one has to run away from her, if one wants to preserve one's love for humanity by the excess of severity and rigidity that it will cause.[44] We are thus directly introduced to the most radical consequences of Patrizi's reflection: the absolute incompatibility between the requirements of philosophy and the practice of politics that reminds us of Socrates's destiny on the one hand and a radical criticism of the lessons of history, considered as *magistra vitae*, because of the cynicism of the rulers on the other. Further, the direct opposition between philosophy and politics (and the human community in general) led to other consequences, as the radical impossibility to know the truth of human actions, the uselessness of the philosophers' *Lives*, and the criticism of the greatest reflections on political philosophy, considered as political utopias (namely, Plato's *Republic* and Aristoteles'*Politics*).[45] These declarations throw light on an aspect of dialectics that includes two different elements: on the one hand, free examination with the risk of "doubt's boundless sea" and of radical disjunction between philosophy and public usefulness; on the other hand, an element of control, with Patrizi's "spirit" (*animo*) which reminds us of Socrates' *daimon* with its sophistical tendency to argue

43 "*E per Dio habbiatemi per iscusato, s'io vi parlo libero. Percioche egli non è cosa al mondo tanta libera, quanto è l'ignoranza*". Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 4, f. 22r.

44 "*E voi messer Giovanni, non le vi fate inamorato; anzi a piu poter ne la fuggite, se conservar vi volete cotesta vostra inestimabile amorevolezza che verso tutti gli uomini portate: Perciò che tosto, troppo piu severo e rigido ne diverreste, che à voi non si conviene, o la humanità vostra non richiede*". Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 1, f. 7v.

45 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 6, f. 32r.

(it is *argumentoso*)[46] which does not belong to a sophist because it is guided by ignorance.[47]

How do these different uses of dialectics combine in the *Dialogues*? All along, we recognize Platonic dialectic in its double function of critical instrument and ordered discussion implying the control of the interlocutors on the progression of arguments in common search for truth. Dialectics also appears in different dialogues as the dichotomous divisions of Plato's last dialogues, with direct reference to the *Sophist*, in the double sense of individuation and of construction.[48] In the first two dialogues, Patrizi's character is clearly in charge of the *pars destruens* and uses *confutatio*. In the third dialogue, he keeps the leading role, but the *pars construens*, as it is a revelation of the essence of history, pertains neither to him nor to dialectics. And when human dialectical research turned back again from the fourth dialogue on, Patrizi definitely lost his position as leader of the discussion until the devastating fourth dialogue on the impossibility for history to tell the truth and its identity with poetry. He wouldn't find a leading position again before the last dialogue. In the meanwhile, some of the interlocutors occupied authoritative positions from different origins which are generally identified, but remain sometimes anonymous. They introduced breaks or changes in the orientation of the argumentation. The major authorities were Aristotle, the experience of governors and jurists or legal practitioners, and historians. They often introduced fundamental elements into the discussion that Patrizi may have or may not have retained in the tenth dialogue where an assessment of the results of the discussions is perceptible, as I shall try to argue.

46 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 1, f. 3v.

47 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 2, f. 6v ; 4, 20r.

48 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 7, *passim*.

III. The definition of history

It should be possible to identify Patrizi's reassessment of history in the *Dialoghi della historia* by comparing the results of the last dialogue with the previous framework into which history was presented in the beginning of the discussion. This sounds possible, since a first division of history is available in the second dialogue. Patrizi presents it as the result of his "long reading of the historians",[49] that is of human books only. It is the first disposition of the whole material the interlocutors will have to deal with. As it follows Patrizi's "step backward", it seems to have a sound basis, but on the other hand, this anatomy of history is worked out while ignoring its essence because it precedes any confrontation with the soul's books of the interlocutors, theorized in the third dialogue and developed in the following ones. As a matter of fact, Patrizi judges this first anatomy of history as "a tangled and gloomy labyrinth".[50]

In order to find the way out, one needs a thread – the dialectic thread of divine origin of Plato's *Philebus*,[51] which appears only in the third dialogue. We find it reformulated in the fourth dialogue, where God reminds the partners lost in the labyrinth of definitions, of the essence of history as the "memory of human things", "guiding the humans by recalling things when one does not think of it".[52] Here, we have an important indication on the nature of historical knowledge: God's function is to be the dialectician's memory, when he risks losing his way, as well as Patrizi is the memory of the dialogues, and history is memory itself, in its essence. Memory appears in all cases as a warning and as a recall of the facts themselves, without any reference to causes. Therefore, we have maybe to understand

49 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 2, f. 7v.

50 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 2, f. 11v.

51 Plato, *Philebus*, 16c.

52 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 4, f. 21v.

memory, not as a faculty synonymous with *humanitas*, as Robortello did,[53] but as an action: a recall the action of recording something.[54] Anyway, as the image of the labyrinth appears until the last discourse, it is not sure in the end, if we can reconstruct the puzzle: that is an obvious limit for our investigation. Let us try it, anyway.

The first anatomy of history is soundly based on what we could qualify as a humanistic definition of history: the description of the effects as they appear to the view, elaborated by the grammarians and confirmed by the historians who called their books "histories",[55] naturally referring to Herodotus' and Thucydides' *autopsia*. It is characteristic of the "diversity of histories" that gives its title to the second dialogue. This labyrinthine division is based on a first general distinction between history of the macrocosm and history of the microcosm that Patrizi significantly would not retain. The history of the microcosm is divided into history (here, in the sense of description) of the whole nature, or of its different parts, celestial and elementary (earth and water), and of their combination (animals and plants). In this first part of the division, cosmography and geography present the interesting problem of non-written histories, under the form of globes and maps that represent history through images, which Patrizi develops in the third dialogue, with a particular interest in the political history. On the other hand, history of the microcosm corresponds to history of human things – a definition that is repeated in the sixth dialogue. Human things are divided (*tutte le cose degli uomini*) into conceptions of the spirit (*concetti dell'animo*), things said (*detti*) and facts

53 "*Insita est animis hominum vis reminiscendi, ac praeterita, et absentia recolligendi animo, quamvis longissime absint. Hanc qui non excolit ; qui non exornat, qui non exercet, haud equidem scio, an homo dicendus sit*". Robortello, *De historica facultate disputatio*, 14.

54 Cf. Alain Pons about the title given to Francesco Guicciardini's *Ricordi*: "*Le texte de Guichardin illustre bien cette double dimension de la notion de* ricordo, *tournée vers le passé, vers l'expérience acquise, et vers l'avenir, vers l'action future qu'il s'agit d'éclairer et de guider*". Alain Pons, "Guichardin, l'action et le poids des choses," in François Guichardin, *Ricordi. Conseils et avertissements en matière politique et privée*, trad. fr. Françoise Bouillot and Alain Pons (Paris: Ivrea, 1998), 11.

55 "[...] *L'autorità d'huomini gravissimi. I quali scrivendoci degli effetti soli, delle sensate cose, chiamarono i libri loro Historie*". Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 2, f. 8v.

(*fatti*),[56] which Patrizi distributes again, most likely as history pertains to more or only one person, thus obtaining numerous divisions. But he adds a fourth category that would return in the following dialogues for the ways of life, customs and laws of the peoples,[57] and new categories for clothes and armies, magistratures, etc. Patrizi also distinguishes two styles of writing: brief as in the annals, or extended.[58] History of one person only is, in its turn, divided into the history of public and private persons. The advantage of such a division is that it is representative of what could be considered as history in Patrizi's time. Its obvious defect is to be "infinite", without end. Let us see now which elements of the division Patrizi keeps or develops, and which ones he rejects.

In dialogues 6 and 7, the division between the history of the macrocosm and the history of the microcosm is abandoned to the benefit of a new division proposed by the "wonderful historian" Nicolò Zeno for which Patrizi's character shows deep respect and admiration.[59] Without denying the difficulty in judging the reliability of the historians' accounts, Zeno answers to Contile's skepticism by giving precise rules in order to establish the truth.[60] Here, he proposes a new division between universal and particular history. As he divides universal history into the history of the whole world, the history of an empire and the history of a single man, we notice that universal history includes in fact both macrocosmic and microcosmic history. But with an important difference: on Patrizi's demand, Zeno treats only of the universal history of an empire, which corresponded roughly to political philosophy. Later, in the

56 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, f. 9v.

57 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, f. 10v.

58 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, f. 11r. According to Robortello, the first style is "*amethodos*", but the second is methodical, because referred to rhetorical art. Robortello, *De historica facultate disputatio*, 20–21.

59 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 6, f. 30v.

60 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 6, f. 31v-32r. As G. Cotroneo rightly notices, Patrizi's character idenfies with Zeno's one, and not at all with Contile's. Cotroneo, *I trattatisti*, 255.

seventh dialogue, the young man who replaces Zeno, busy at the Senate, explains to Patrizi that, though the universal history of a man remains completely "separate" from the other ones, developing the history of all empires from the beginning of the world he would obtain the universal history of the world.[61] Here, the history of empires replaces history of the macrocosm, which is no more natural, but human history. This sounds like a definite reorientation of the reflection towards political history considered from the point of view of human actions in the tradition of Italian historiography, as Federico Chabod noticed:[62] the distinction between universal and particular history is doubled in fact by another distinction between major and minor history, which does not correspond to the history of macrocosm and history of the microcosm, but exposes a "technical" nature, since it depends on the major or minor difficulty of treatment whether it embraces many actions or only one.

Here, the historian Zeno proposes the category of action which Patrizi extends in the following dialogues towards a general theory of action, then presented as the result of inspiration. Patrizi's inspired theory of action of the last dialogue distinguishes three agents – God, nature, and men – which each act differently: God producing something from nothing (creation), nature much from little, and men little from much (in the arts). But he distinguishes a type of human activity which is not comparable to any divine, natural or human action, in which man, from the equal, produces the equal. Such an activity is "to say the truth" or "to express by words how something stands", neither more nor less.[63] By this new definition, Patrizi formulates the first "condition of history" which is: to tell the truth.[64] This condition is essential to him, because it is required by his etymological definition of history as the memory

61 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 7, 37r.

62 Chabod, *Lezioni*, 32. Cf. also Jean Bodin, *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem*, chap. VI.

63 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 10, f. 56v-57r.

64 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 10, f. 59v.

of human things, obtained by sight. It sounds like a new formulation of Robortello's definition of history as "an account of things done, as they were done", far from the historian's dependence on rhetorical technique. But it is not considered as achievable or not, but only as a necessary condition imposed by logic, promoted as proper to men and different from all the other arts: the dialectical activity. The historian defined as telling the truth must be a dialectician, in the same way as Castiglione's Courtier, in the last book of *Il libro del Cortegiano.*[65]

Patrizi now has a criterion for distinguishing the historian from the orator and from the philosopher: the orator says more than the truth through the use of fiction. But the philosophers also say more than the truth when they add their judgment to the fact itself. Now, Patrizi criticizes the great Polybius in the name of the second "condition of history", which was: "to tell what men seek ("*le cose tra gli uomini seguite*"), that is the ends of men's actions, as desires (that is: to be, to be well, to be always).[66] According to Patrizi, "when the historian tells things that men seek, he remains within his limits. But when he searches for the hidden causes, he becomes a philosopher".[67] Strozzi says: "I wish all the historians were a combination of philosopher and historian, as Polybius". But Patrizi's answer is: "I am not concerned with this".[68] By this remark as well as by his choice of studies – he abandoned law to study philosophy and then history –, Strozzi appears as a convinced supporter of the "conjunction" of philosophy and history, in the sense of François Baudouin or Jean

65 Cf. Claudio Scarpati, "Dire la verità al Principe" (Sulle redazioni di *Cortegiano*, IV, 4–48)," *Aevum* 57, 3, (settembre-dicembre 1983): 428–449. Robortello reflecting on the historian as a writer did not consider him as a dialectician (*De historica facultate disputatio*, 27) and considered as ridiculous the use of dialectical writing (by syllogisms) by the historian (*De historica facultate disputatio*, 29).

66 Cf. Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 4, f. 23v–24r. Cf. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, I, 6; 1097b33–1098a19; I, 8; 1098b1; IX; 7, 1168a3–19.

67 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 10, f. 59v.

68 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 10, f. 59v.

Bodin's *philosophistorici* (philosophers-historians)[69]. It is not the case of Patrizi, whose position becomes now clear enough.

In dialogue 7, Patrizi's young interlocutor proposes a theory of corporal agents, distinct of supra-celestial and incorporeal ones which acted without instruments. Corporal agents use instruments that are circumstances, which go along with the effect and produce it.[70] Guidone had explained the way in which the historian, telling all the circumstances, did not proceed as a philosopher, but described the causes as simple facts,[71] and this is the point that interested Arno Seifert. Guidone's exposition is fundamental for the meaning of the *Dialogues* because, after Contile's radical criticism of the possibility of reaching truth for the historian, he proposes a new way out to him: on the one hand, the philosopher searches for the hidden causes. On the other hand, the historian describes the circumstances, in the right order, as Zeno already claims in Dialogue 6.[72] The order of the circumstances is precisely organized, as Patrizi reveals only in the tenth dialogue, and it led from the agent and the internal cause that moves him to operate in function of the other circumstances, to a successful end;[73] in other words, it describes a complete action. Thus, the sense of the succession must not be searched for in the temporal succession of circumstances, which is marked by an absolute discontinuity, but in the will of the writer – here being, the historian.

69 Francois Baudouin, *De institutione historiae universae et ejus cum jurisprudentia conjunctione προλεγομένων* libri II, Paris, André Wechel, 1561; Jean Bodin, *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (1572), in Jean Bodin, *Oeuvres philosophiques*, éd. et trad. Pierre Mesnard, Paris, PUF, 1951, p. 138B.

70 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 7, f. 38v.

71 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 7, f. 41v.

72 "*Scrivasi adunque l'historia in quel medesimo modo, che la prudenza humana, o la providenza di Dio, o la fortuna fece uscir le cose al mondo. E le cose è necessario, che tutte habbiano principio dell'esser loro, accrescimento, stato, declinatione, e fine. Alle quali tutte cinque cose, l'historico che noi diciamo, porrà l'occhio fisamente ; perche poi sappia nell'historia distinguere, l'una dall'altra si che huom possa per entro vedere i gradi delle cose*". Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 6, f. 32v.

73 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 10, f. 61r.

Only now is it possible to understand in which sense Patrizi made a difference between the philosophical narrative of history such as Polybius' (which he condemned) and the right disposition of historical narrative; the historical narrative needs to be unified by the will of the historian, but not as Polybius did when he ascribed the unification of the theater of action to a superior principle as Fortune (*tuchè*), but in a somehow descriptive mode, integrating human actions in their temporal development, the movements of the minor world into the movements of the major world, without furnishing any causal explanation to the reader. This seems to be Patrizi's answer to Contile's criticism in the fourth dialogue and to the "consolation" that he proposes about the impossibility to reach a complete knowledge of human actions: "our only consolation is to believe that the thread of history is true in general, from the beginning of the world until today [...]. But it is impossible that the circumstances of actions be wholly true".[74]

The problem is then to know of what use would be such a history. It lies in the third "condition of history" already indicated by Sanuto in the fifth dialogue as human felicity on the side of men in general to be found in the reading of histories more than anywhere else.[75] For the historian it consists in "teaching to live a civil life, and happy, if possible".[76] The restriction comes from Zeno's distinction between "happiness according to the philosophers, which did not make happy either a city or a man" (we recall here the criticism of Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Politics*), and happiness meant as "the one that the use of human life can provide".[77] This terrestrial sort of happiness is naturally developed in the ninth dialogue about the utility of history, in the mouth of Donato: he positioned history now in the domain of Aristotelian ethics and made of Plato's union to the

74 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 5, f. 26v.

75 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, f. 23v-24r. Cf. also Robortello, *De historica facultate disputatio*, 15.

76 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 10, f. 59r.

77 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 6, f. 32v.

divinity the ultimate scope of human action, concentrated on ethics and politics and subordination of private to public. The argument is that as Platonic happiness is hardly accessible, man must search for peace as the ultimate happiness accessible to him.[78]

Here, history is not subordinated to moral philosophy, but a different method to the same purpose dealing with particulars by the means of experience whereas philosophy deals with universals by reasoning,[79] as Robortello had already suggested. But in the ninth Dialogue, it seems impossible to proceed from philosophy towards history and from history towards philosophy in order to learn a lesson for life, as Sanuto pretended to do in following Robortello, because they considered that it was possible to recognize "the same things" in both of them.[80] At the particular level of experience, the identity of situations is possible as identity of causes and effects, as well as contrary situations coming from opposite causes and effects, but only in definite situations; but as similarities are infinite, it is quite difficult to draw any teaching from history.[81] Here, Patrizi is not

78 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 9, f. 51r.

79 "*Ora, il saper la strada di pervenir a questa pace, si acquisterem noi per due vie ottimamente. Per quella dei filosofi, e per quella degli historici. Gli uni de quali la ci insegnano per via delle ragioni, stando in su gli universali: e gli altri per via de particolari, e della esperienza*". Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 9, f. 51r.

80 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 4, f. 24r. Robortello wrote: "*Siquis ante universalia a philosophis perceperit; postea eadem singillatim recognoscat apud historicos in singularibus; hic quidem est primus discendi modus; si vero singularia primum ab historicis didicerit, eadem postea in universalibus agnoscat philosophorum praeceptis; alter est et hic discendi modus. Uterque, igitur, et philosophus, et historicus optimus virtutis, ac prudentiae magister est*". Robortello, *De historica facultate disputatio*, 16. Here, the attention is no more centered on history and philosophy as *magistrae vitae*, but on the historian and the philosopher as *magistri*.

81 "*Tutte le cose, le quali più d'una sono, o sono, infra di loro le medesime, o sono contrarie, o diverse, o simiglanti; e altriamenti no. E quindi è, che tra loro si fanno i paragoni, o della medesimità (per così dire) o della contrarietà, o della diversità, o della simiglianza. [...] Et non ci possiamo noi servire ne nostri studi dell'historia, del paragone tra diversa cosa antica, à diversa moderna. Pero che tutto cio evidentemente è irregolato. Resta adunque che si faccia il paragone delle tre altre maniere. Et è ciò facil molto. [...] Conciosa cosa che in due cose medesime, sieno e le cagione medesime, e gli effetti. Le contrarie cose anchora non sono mai altro che due. [...] Agevole è adunque l'osservatione tra queste due, e medesime, e contrarie. Ma ne simili, che tra queste due sono quasi*

far from Francesco Guicciardini, who argues in the *Ricordi,* that history could not teach anything.[82] On that special point, we may recall Patrizi's reinterpretation of Aristotle's theory of imitation in chapter 4 of the *Poetics*, as an answer to its re-elaboration by the theoreticians of history: he ascribes the Aristotelian idea of the pleasure of imitation to the gods who created human beings for their entertainment, as Plato writes in the *Laws* and concludes that he did not like to read history because he suffers when he sees it full of men's misfortunes.[83] Here, Patrizi comes to a denial of his own *Dialogues* and we may wonder how this sadistic Platonic God can be the same as the one who rescues our dialecticians, lost in the labyrinth of definitions.

Conclusion

If we may now assess the result of Patrizi's dialectical enquiry, we may confirm that dialectics is the only instrument of the search concerning history, considered as the double action of writing and recording human things. But the dialectical inquiry generates a divorce between natural and human order which calls into question the possibility of reaching theoretical as well as moral truth for human knowledge. There is clearly a divide between history and natural philosophy, on the question of natural causality: time measures history, but does not confer any sense to it, and to search for one exceeds the historian's duty. It is impossible for the historian to go back from the effects to the causes. But do we have to consider this as a general condemnation of any knowledge or as only a con-

mezani, è alquanto l'osservation piu faticosa, secondo che è piu varia la simiglianza delle altre due. Et forse è vera l'opinione di Protagora, che tutte le cose habbiano infra di loro, o molta, o poca simiglianza. Ma ella però non è tanta per lo vero, quanta è la larghezza della diversità; e che di lei altri non possa commodamente osservare". Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 9, f. 53r-v.

82 Cf. Marie-Dominique Couzinet, "La critique de l'exemplarité dans les *Ricordi* de Guichardin," in Marie-Dominique Couzinet, *Sub specie hominis* (Paris: J. Vrin, 2007), 158–164.

83 Patrizi, *Dialoghi*, 9, f. 50r.

demnation of Aristotle's theory of knowledge, as Maria Mucillo suggests?[84] If the essence of history is not the result of the dialectical inquiry, here considered as the ascending dialectical movement, but of a revelation; nevertheless, dialectic is able to realize a constructive discourse on history, corresponding to the descending dialectical movement. So, it does not mean that truth, in the theoretical sense, is excluded from history. Here, we have to take some distance from Franklin's interpretation: Patrizi seemed to keep his master's definition of history, even if it was considered as unrealizable, as a requirement of dialectics. Besides, truth understood in the moral sense remains an essential condition of history, but it has become an unreachable skyline, so that it consists now in the consideration of men's desires (to be, to be well, to be always). Patrizi reintegrated truth in its theoretical as in its moral meanings, as necessary "conditions" required by dialectics, for historical enquiry. But there is still a divorce between the politician and the philosopher, who remains in the area of private life. These renouncements are the price to pay for free thinking or for obeying the unbending rules of dialectics (which is the same thing). In the end, we could say that the only thing which Patrizi does not renounce here is the requirements of dialectics.

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[84] Maria Mucillo, "Ordering Books and Reality: Order and Method in Francesco Patrizi's Philosophy," supra, p. 9-61.

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Philosophical Perspective of Humanist Discourse on History: Ars historica in Patrizi's and Pontano's Dialogues

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Abstract The renaissance revival of classical learning raised an interest in history that found expression in a new literary genre, ars historica. In this contribution I provide an analysis of two ars historica examples: The dialogue Actius (written around 1499) by the Neapolitan humanist Giovanni Pontano (1426–1503), which emphasized the literary context of history, and Francesco Patrizi's (1529–1597) Della historia. Dieci dialoghi (1560), underscoring the appropriate method with focus on the true motivations of historical events. A comparison of these two remarkable works will show in which features the humanist authors anticipated the future development that elevated history to a conceptually independent discipline.

Keywords ars historica; G. G. Pontano; F. Patrizi; historiography

I. Introduction

> *"...mirandum in modum incendor ardore audiendi aliquid de historia quae nullos adhuc preceptores habuerit cum grammatica, rhetorica, philosophia institutores quidem plurimos eosque maximos ac prestantissimos viros promeruerit."* (Giovanni Giovianno Pontano, Actius, 1499)[1]

In the dialogue *Actius,* one of the earliest works of the genre *ars historica*, we read of the burning desire to learn about history which had not as

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[1] Giovanni Giovianno Pontano, "Actius," in *Dialoge*, ed. Ernesto Grassi, Eckhard Kessler (München: Fink, 1984), 418.

of yet had any teachers, unlike grammar, rhetoric, or philosophy which had deserved many, mostly excellent, men.

It seems to me that the above presented quotation from this dialogue illustrates the situation of the 15th century onwards, when the nature and value of history became the topic of many humanist discussions. It was the revival of classical learning that raised an interest in history and historiography. These discussions, which eventually resulted in the new literary genre *ars historica* (on the analogy of the Horatian *ars poetica*), were expressed in letters, prefaces to historical works, educational treatises, and especially in dialogues. Although there was a wide range of themes discussed in the *ars historica* works, the main problem remained – how to deal with historical writing and how to determine the position of history among the other disciplines.

One of the essential moments of the renaissance *artes historicae* was the confrontation with the classical, commonly accepted philosophical view of history as being of an inferior nature to poetry[2] for it was less universal. Therefore, I think that it might be beneficial to examine this discourse from a philosophical perspective as it might shed light on the motives of *ars historica's* authors. Moreover, since the problems addressed in the works of *ars historica* contributed to the general advance in historical criticism, which later made it possible to declare the conceptual independence of history, this dissertation uniquely traces the process as to how a new discipline was established.

To do this I have decided to analyse two examples of *ars historica* that present a different response to the challenge posed by the classical view of history. Some humanists argued that if the historian adopts a poetic approach, he could make his work as universal as that of the poet. The

[2] Aristotle argues in his *Poetics,* 1451b 5–11: "*The poet and the historian differ not by writing in verse or in prose. The work of Herodotus might be put into verse, and it would still be a species of history, with meter no less than without it. The true difference is that one relates what has happened, the other what may happen. Poetry, therefore, is a more philosophical and a higher thing than history: for poetry tends to express the universal, history the particular.*"

dialogue *Actius* (ca. 1499) by the Neapolitan humanist Giovanni Giovianno Pontano (1426–1503) emphasized the relation between history on the one hand and poetry and rhetoric on the other. The historic truth is revealed, in Pontano's view, by the connection of words and things (*res et verba*) through *soluta poesis*, i.e. poetry in prose. The historian who adopts this poetic approach enables his reader to experience the events of history as an experience of admiration.

For Francesco Patrizi (1529–1597), history was an autonomous, though highly eclectic, science. He tried to extricate history from poetry or rhetoric by focusing on the epistemological and methodological issues. Primarily a philosopher, he held that if the task of a philosopher is to understand causes, a historian should understand both causes and their effects[3]. In his work *Della historia. Dieci dialoghi* (1560), he methodically and critically discusses the nature of writing history, a discipline which, in his view, should manage to fuse factual accuracy with antiquarian precision as well as formal narrative.

Finally, I intend to compare these two dialogues. Since *ars historica* presents a marked transition from the vague, generally neglected history that was left out of ancient and medieval curricula,[4] to the powerful discipline of today whose academic study is a major part of university studies, it will be interesting to see in which features Pontano and Patrizi anticipated its future development.

II. Situation of History

The initial stimulus of the development of *ars historica* can be seen in the somewhat paradoxical situation of history in the 15th century. On the one hand, the social and cultural changes provided a massive influx

[3] Comp. Donald R. Kelley, "The theory of history," in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. Charles B. Schmitt (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1988), 746–761.

[4] Ann M. Blair, "Organizations of knowledge," in *The Cambridge companion to Renaissance philosophy*, ed. James Hankins (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2007), 287–304.

of materials, many of them of a historical nature, which needed to be classified. On the other, there was a lack of appropriate methodology or theory to bring this new knowledge into a broader context. This presented a considerable challenge to the typical humanist sensibility and its ambition to organise human knowledge, resulting in attempts to integrate the newly invigorated history with traditional schemes.[5]

One of the chief reasons for this vague position of history was the commonly accepted Aristotle-oriented classification within which the level of abstraction was the strict criterion for the scientific nature of an intellectual discipline. According to Aristotle, the science (ἐπίστασθαι, ἐπιστήμη) is a certain knowledge gained by recognition of causes acquired by categorical syllogism.[6] Such knowledge is always general and necessary. At first glance it is obvious, that history, which deals with contingent singularities, can hardly be considered a science from this perspective.

However, within both Plato's and Aristotle's political writings the factual historical events provide a background for the more general reflections on the functioning of the good state.[7] These show an affinity between politics and history since both strive to overcome the passing nature of the time and to confront the cyclic decline. History, which contained many examples of past errors and successes, could usefully inform the political and ethical decisions of the current day. Also, Plato's dialogue *Timaeos* introduced the creation of time as a moving image of eternity.[8] This opening of the time horizon was important for defining the historical from the philosophical perspective, which also appealed to humanist scholars.

5 Comp. Ann M. Blair, "Organizations of knowledge," 293.

6 Aristotle, Anal. Poster. I, A, c. 2, 71 b 9–13.

7 Comp. Plato's late dialogues *Laws* and *The Republic*, or Aristotle's *Politics*.

8 Emil Angehrn, "Ansätze geschichtsphilosophischer Reflexion bei Platon und Aristoteles," in *Geschichtsphilosophie* (Stuttgart u.a.: Kohlhammer, 1995), 35–45.

Due to the aforementioned urgent need for theory, history was at first treated within its literary context. As a part of literature – the spoken and written word, history could benefit from its close affinities with poetics and rhetoric. Both poetry and rhetoric had their own models of theory such as Aristotle's poetics and Horace's *ars poetica* as well as practice expressed in many treatises. Moreover, despite many common features, poetry was clearly distinguished from rhetoric. The basic evidence was that Aristotle dealt with them in two separate treatises, whereas history is mentioned rarely and with little respect. As a result, the relations with poetics and rhetoric became a common topic of *ars historica*, because it was essential to develop clarity on the position of history.

III. Pontano´s Actius

A good example of the employment of both poetics and rhetoric in history is represented by Pontano's dialogue *Actius*. Pontano, who worked as a secretary and advisor to the Aragonese kings of Naples, was also a prominent member of Neapolitan Academy and a recognized writer – one of the best Latin authors of the 15th century. As a scholar, he was much influenced by other humanists, in particular by Lorenzo Valla, whose views on language, grammar, and rhetoric clearly formed the basis of his views. Pontano's numerous writings cover various topics and styles. His poetic writings include e. g. lullabies intended for his adored little boy Lucio, which are ranked among the most charming works in all of Italian Latin literature. He also composed astrological poetry, a special genre, quite common in his time. His dissertations in prose deal with wide range of issues, from ethics to grammar or philology. He also wrote five dialogues, one of which, *Actius*, provided perhaps a summa of the humanist conception of history of its time.[9]

[9] For general biographical information see Hana-Barbara Gerl, "Vita," in *Giovanni Pontano. Dialoge*, ed. Ernesto Grassi and Eckhard Kessler (München: Fink, 1984), 29–30.

Actius, written around 1499 and edited posthumously in 1518, depicts Pontano's academic colleagues in a lively discussion on the differences and similarities of poetry, oratory, and historical writing. The gathering, which takes place in the countryside and in the streets of Naples, is not actually spontaneous as the participants are prepared to present material for discussion. *Actius*, the leading speaker, is in fact Pontano's close friend, the poet Jacopo Sannazaro, who had assumed the classicized name *Actius* Syncerus. Although the discussion is to be taken seriously, some humorous moments also occur.

Firstly, the interlocutors deal with the nature of dreams and visions that are, in their view, the real poetic inspirations; specific for poetic creativity. The visions come to the poet from the realm outside him, infused by God's Divine Spirit. As the light of the sun enables our eyes to see, this Divine infusion enables the poet's mind to create. Poets are thus prophets who are able to foresee and foretell very distant events.

The interlocutors come to the conclusion that, due to its divine origin, poetics is divine and the most ancient of all arts. "Every other genre of expression is derived from poetics."[10] From poetry the other arts have originated and they in turn use poetics. From the analysis of the divine origins of poetry, Pontano moves on to discuss the relationship of poetry to history and rhetoric. Through a detailed comparison of poetry with history and rhetoric, Pontano develops a notion of poetry as more extensive than the other liberal arts – which, in fact, it contains.

History is, in Pontano's view, poetry in prose (*poesis soluta*),[11] following traditional reference to history as *carmen solutum*.[12] Poetics and history share a love for depicting places and people, temptation and vice. They both praise virtue and good men. They share a delight in amplification,

10 Pontano, *Actius*, 508: "*... quo fit ut omne dicendi genus a poetica manaverit.*"

11 Pontano, *Actius*, 420: "*Eam* [historiam] *maiores nostri quandam quasi solutam poeticam putavere, recteque ipsi quidem.*"

12 Quintilianus describes history as „*quodammodo carmen solutum*,"- a kind of poetry without restrictions of meter (Cf. Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria,* 10. 1. 31).

digression and effort to observe the decorum of its own content. History is, in one interlocutor's view, chaster while poetry is looser.[13] History is more sparing in words and measures therefore more dispassionate, while poetics moves and compels the admiration of events using words and measures more freely. Also, history is more concerned with expressing facts while poetry speaks of the probable or sometimes completely fictional. However, they share the same goals which are to teach, to delight, and to move.[14]

History is, according to Pontano, an expression of man's inner need to pass his memory down to other generations[15]. He states that historia consists of *res et verba* – things and words. The task of the historian is to capture events by expressing them in words[16]. To do that, historian should use an eloquent style as he is expected to illustrate the subject vividly. The detailed analysis of the writings of Livy and Sallust provided in the dialogue, shows that language is a linking matter that connects the historical narrative. The right words and stylistic figures make it possible for the past to come to life "before our eyes" so that we can experience it.[17]

History is also closely related to rhetoric in which the material is ordered and given in an eloquent, persuasive literary expression. Both rhetorician and historian should vividly describe their subjects, by creating powerful mental images that allow the listener to experience the historical event. Language thus plays an active role in shaping the way we see the past. As the power of speech is a gift of nature, the historian

13 Pontano, *Actius*, 422: "*Historia tamen est castior, illa* [poesis] *vero lascivior...*"

14 Ibid., 420: "*Itaque neutrius magis quam alterius aut propositum est aut studium ut doceat, delectet, moveat...*"

15 Ibid., 420: "*Cuius* [historiae] *mihi principium a natura ductum videtur, quando insitum est homini studium propaganda res suas ad posteros...*"

16 Ibid., 468: "*Omnino historia, ut Cicero putat ac natura ipsa docet, partibus constat e duobus, hoc est rebus et verbis.*"

17 Ibid.,472: "*Quo igitur et lectorem doceret et delectaret remque ante oculos quasi videndam exponeret...*"

should render not only historical speeches but also compositions of vividness and verisimilitude whenever possible. Speeches greatly adorn history, especially those derived directly from rulers who are depicted as speaking and acting as though one were watching the event take place.[18]

The dialogue *Actius* finishes with a celebration of poetry, the most fertile doctrine which is in opposition to human mortality through the perpetuity of its writing; a doctrine which brought people out of forests and caves; a doctrine which enables people to learn about their past; a doctrine which proceeds from God, is the first to praise God and through which we gain the knowledge of God, remain in piety and come back to Him.[19]

IV. Patrizi´s Dialogues

Pontano's *Actius* – one of the earliest works of the *ars historica* – thus clearly underscores the literary, specifically the poetic context of history. *Della historia diece dialoghi* (1560), a work by the Croatian philosopher Patrizi, on the other hand, provides quite a different response to the issues of historical knowledge. Moreover, it can be considered a turning point in the development of the genre that led to the edition of an anthology of the texts in Basel 1576 and 1579 by Joannes Wolf.[20]

Similar to the Socratic dialogues, the participants of Patrizi's *Dialoghi* come together by chance in various places in Venice to deal with

[18] Ibid., 477: " *Iam vero cum sit homini data a natura oratio magna cum excellentia...sitque orationis propria vis movere animos et quo velit flectere.... Videntur enim eiusmodi allocutiones decorare historiam et quasi animare eam.*"

[19] Ibid., 510: "*Salve igitur doctrinarum omnium mater foecundissima; salve iterum! Tu enim mortalitati occurristi inventorum ac scriptorum tuorum perpetuitate; tu e silvis homines eruisti atque e speluncis. Per te noscimus, per te praeterita ante oculos cernimus, per te Deum sapimus religionemque retinemus ac pietatem Deoque ipsi accepti supernam etiam in sedem ab eo evocamur arasque cum ipso meremur et templa.*"

[20] Anthony Grafton, *What was history? The art of history in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2007), 125.

the problems of history. Patrizi himself plays the principal role of the doubter who wants desperately to learn about history. Unlike Pontano's interlocutors who present their theses while the others basically listen, Patrizi provokes his partners to help formulate the theory throughout the communication. Their discussions then open up many issues, few of which are conclusively resolved. Nevertheless, these seemingly spontaneous interactions manage to engage the reader of Patrizi's Dialogues, which makes his dialogues an entertaining lecture.

In the first dialogue, Patrizi repeatedly confesses that he has never quite understood what history is. The answers given to him by his friends, citing the usual authorities, specifically Cicero, do not satisfy his doubts. In the end his partners suggest also consulting Pontano's view, as he was eminently learned. [21] Patrizi objects to *historia soluta poetica* – history as poetry in prose since, in his opinion, Pontano explains what the writers of poetry and history have in common without sufficiently distinguishing between them.

Nor does the conception of history consisting in *res et verba* satisfy Patrizi's desire to learn about it. This conception, in his view, describes the parts of history while not satisfying his eagerness to find its essence or form.[22] He likens himself to an audacious pupil wanting to swim without ever having experienced water. [23]

Confused by the multiplicity of views on history, rather than continue searching in external works written by knowledgeable men, Patrizi decides to consult the book of his own soul as written by divine hand.

21 Francisci Patricii, *De legendae scribendaeque historiae ratione Dialogi decem, ex Italico in Latinum sermonem conversi* (Basileae: Henricpetri, 1570), 1, 19: "*Pontanum consulamus, nam ut fuit vir ille insigniter eruditus, forte nobis satisfaciet.*"

22 Patricius, *Dialogi,* 1, 18: "*Docere quidem Pontanum, ex quibus historia constet et quid sit illius finis, sed non monstrare, quid illa sit...Videreris enim animo meo explicasse partes, ex quibus integer componatur, sed essentiam ac formam, nondum certe demonstrasse.*"

23 Patricius, *Dialogi*, 1, 17: "*Videor autem mihi similis esse natatori audaculo, qui etiamsi prius aquam nunquam fuerit ingressus, tamen ...audeat natare.*"

The comparison of these external books with the inner book enables him to correct the errors and to approach the true essence of history. His inner contemplation modifies the popular Ciceronian dictum History is the thing which is remote from the memory of our age' (*res a temporis nostri memoria remota*). In Patrizi's view the scope of memory should be enlarged by those things which have happened recently, which are currently ongoing and, surprisingly, even by those to happen in the future. In his view, history also includes dreams, visions and prophecies. The traditional philosophical definition of memory as an ability of the human soul to retain things through imagination (*facultas animae qua res imaginatione comprehensae servatur*) also includes, in his opinion, images of things happening in the future. Moreover, in Patrizi's view, history corresponds to human memory only to the point that it preserves things. But history – unlike human memory – exists outside the human soul and deals prevailingly with human affairs. The means that history uses to preserve things are not only words but also pictures and sculptures.[24]

This concept of memory relates to Patrizi's conception of time as introduced in the form of myth in the third dialogue,[25] which remotely resembles the image of Plato's dialogue from The Statesman (*Politikos*) – the myth of the dual flow of time; one course is guided by divine providence while the other is released and has reverse motion through the ages. It goes forward and backward and reveals the repeated growth and decay of human development.

Time itself is, for Patrizi, a great round animal similar to the rotating heavens. Unlike the Divine author, the authors of human events need time to accomplish their actions, which are in fact motions in time. It is

[24] Patricius, *Dialogi*, 3, 61–62: "*Quare, inquam, videtis iam manifeste, tam historiam, quam memoriam futurorum esse posse. ...nam hoc modo, historia memoriaque idem essent. Sunt utique idem, dummodo memoriam extra animam intelligas, quae litteris, sculptura aut alio modo conservatur.*"

[25] The specific nature of Patrizi's conception of time in history has been demonstrated by Richard Blum, "Francesco Patrizi in the 'Time-Sack': History and Rhetorical Philosophy," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 61,1 (2009): 59–74.

time that produces things which are consequently (after a few years) consumed by it.[26] The historian is compared to someone who has to fish-hook the human events that – similar to a salmon – would try to escape. The experience of evanescent time finds thus expression in the narrative of history which produces a record of human events. The task of the historian is to give an appropriate account of things where correct time measurement is the key factor. To do this, the historian also has to keep certain methodological rules, many of which Patrizi elaborately analyses.[27]

There are many things which are not to be forgotten by the writer of history. Patrizi is surprisingly interested in the context of every action. There must be a doer or worker and history must first mention him, give his proper name, a family name, a country, and then describe his deeds. The key focus of a historian should be the causes that moved someone to do something, taking into account his psychological and political motivations, the proper course of events, the results of his actions and the means and instruments by which the action had been accomplished.

The importance of discovering the real causes of historical events is highlighted several times.[28] Patrizi distinguishes the interior and exterior causes of human deeds, claiming that the historian should observe and record the circumstances of human actions very carefully and distinctly since every human action has its material, formal, efficient, and final cause. While the task of the philosopher is to investigate the causes through reason, the task of the historian is to take record of the causes

26 Patricius, *Dialogi*, 7, 138, 140: "*Ecce autem tempus animal illud grandissimum. Sic sane, inquam, rotundum et coeli modo efformatum: vides quomodo rotatur?… Ac tempus ipsum, quod res produxisset, parvos post annos easdem consumeret*."

27 Patricius, *Dialogi*, 8, 155: "*Itaque primum quidem explicandum esse censeo scriptori ecquis sit is, de quo scribit, alioquin in tenebris versaremur. Comodissime vero fiet id, si nomen illius, familiam, patriamque indicarit…*"

28 Especially as highlighted in Thomas Leinkauf, "Freiheit und Geschichte. Francesco Patrizi und die Selbstveranwortung der menschlichen Freiheit in der Geschichte," in *Die Renaissance und ihre Antike,* ed. Enno Rudolph (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 89.

and occasions of facts and to record them. Patrizi is aware of the infinite diversity of human events due to differing circumstances, which makes it difficult to apply the causes and effects of one action to another. Nevertheless, it is pointed out that the task of a historian is to record at least the main cause (*causa maxima*) since in some cases histories provide the instruction by predicting the effects. Therefore, it is useful to discover the causes, and a good historian should deal with them with utmost precision.[29]

Patrizi also deals with the relationship between history, poetry, and rhetoric. In the tenth dialogue he strives to show that history, rhetoric, and poetics each possesses its own specific character. To move the listener, the poet and orator choose words that make that which is less seem greater, which does, in fact, go against the historian's truth.[30] Although Patrizi does not exclude poetry or rhetoric from history, he points out that implementing them into history is not an appropriate tool for understanding historical context. In the fourth dialogue the role of comprehensive description and eloquent speech is discussed. The interlocutors come to the conclusion that these are indeed useful for writing history; nevertheless, they are rather means, or accidents whose goal is sometimes different from that of history.

It seems to me, that less than poetry or rhetoric, Patrizi's history concurs with philosophy in many respects. History, similarly to philosophy (and unlike poetry and rhetoric), expresses with words only the true content of things. While the writings of poets and orators serve human affections, historians and philosophers cultivate human reason. In the

[29] e. g. Patricius, Dialogi,7136, 137: "*...est ei* [historico] *imprimis cavendum etiam, ne causam, quae primum permovit Auctorem et ad agendum excitavit, omittat...Quoniam id quod ad aliquid agendum movet Auctorem, etsi sit alterius causa, tamen et ipsum factum quoddam est, eaque ratione sub historici cadit narrationem*."

[30] Patricius, *Dialogi*, 10, 187: "*...nam minus dicere quam res sit, imperfectum est: ex nihilo multum efficere quam res sit, poetarum opus sit: augere autem id quod minus existit, oratoribus tamquam proprium attribuitur: quare relinquitur historico ut verum profiteatur, et tantum verbis exprimat, quantum res ipsa continet*."

ninth dialogue on the utility of history, the interlocutors decide that both philosophy and history can contribute to the desirable state of *res publica*, nevertheless, use different means to do so. While philosophy teaches how to attain this peace and how to preserve it with precepts (*preceptibus*) and reason (*rationibus*), history teaches the same by means of use (*usu*) and experience (*experientia*). It is observed that some people even prefer experience to reason, yet the question if this is right remains unanswered.[31] Thus, in the last dialogue, Patrizi and his partners conclude that history and philosophy deserve the same dignity as they both deal with the true cognition of things.

The good ruler who strives to find the best way to govern *rem publicam* should, in Patrizi's view, connect the general contemplation of the philosopher with the knowledge of singularities as provided by history. The observations of various habits, laws, customs, institutions, or forms of government from the perspective of philosophy can result in the *optima ratio administrandea rei publicae* – the best way to administrate a republic, which is an inspiring idea even at present.[32]

V. Conclusion

Inspiration for subsequent development can be similarly found in some of Pontano's ideas on the social, emotive, and active function of language, which have been found philosophically relevant due to their emphasis on the sympathetic identification between orator and audience. It has also been highlighted that Pontano could be considered a source of inspiration for several eighteenth-century philosophers (such as Condillac,

31 Patricius, *Dialogi*,9, 169: "*Itaque dicenda fuerit ea [via ad pacem] partim a philosophis, partim a historicis, ii preceptis et rationibus, hi vero usu et experientia docent. Non desunt autem qui experientiam rationi praeferant, sed utrum recte id ab iis fiat, nunc non est propositum explicare.*"

32 Patricius, *Dialogi*,4, 80: "*Lycurgus autem, quem vere philosophum fuisse existimo, generales contemplationes cum singularium cogitatione coniunxit… optimam illam administrandae rei publicae ratio constituit.*"

David Hume, or Adam Smith) whose theories had a major effect on the development of linguistics.[33] Nevertheless, it seems to me that, from the perspective of history as a scientific discipline, it was Patrizi who stressed the more important points.

Patrizi's way of looking at particular disciplines, including philosophy, indicates that he considered history to be conceptually independent. His notion of time, which entitles history to preserve the memory of human events, provides the philosophical ground of the discipline. Also, his focus on the appropriate method and the search for truth prepared the way for the general advance of historical criticism which provided history with the firm footing on which its modern academic study relies.

Interestingly enough, the *ars historica* authors reflected many topics that are still being discussed by contemporary historians with an enthusiasm similar to that of the humanist writers.[34] Neither Pontano nor Patrizi provided a complex conception of history as a scientific discipline; nevertheless, their discourse certainly opened several philosophically relevant questions concerning the science as a whole. And although these questions have not been conclusively resolved, it is, in my opinion important to ask them if history should teach us to get a true understanding of our past.

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[33] Lodi Nauta, "Philology as Philosophy: Giovanni Pontano on Language,Meaning, and Grammar," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 72,4 (2011): 481–502.

[34] Comp. e.g. reflections by Czech historian Dušan Třeštík, *Mysliti dějiny* (Praha – Litomyšl: Paseka, 1999) which question the objectivity of historical research, opposed by Ivan Blecha, "Posmoderní situace v dějepisectví aneb Mysliti jako Třeštík," *Acta Universitatis Palacianae Olomoucensis, Facultas Philosophica*, Philosophica V (2002): 317–324.

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Patrizi and history of philosophy

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Abstract The paper discusses two aspects of Patrizi's philosophy. First, what is his explicit attitude towards the history of philosophy was (as much as it can be recovered from his writings in *Della historia dieci dialoghi*, *Discussiones peripateticae*, and *Nova de universis philosophia*). Second, the question is examined if his writings (especially *Discussiones peripateticae*) can be understood as a work of history of philosophy. I will argue that it cannot – neither in today's understanding of history of philosophy nor from his contemporary point of view.

Keywords Patrizi, historiography, history of philosophy.

In the book thirteen of the first volume of his *Discussiones peripateticae* Patrizi writes:

> Therefore, first, we have to know that there are two main reasons to do philosophy: the first is our attempt to cognize things themselves as well as essences; the other is our philosophizing along a tradition or an opinion of a certain man. And this latter thing one can do in a twofold way: either by approving his teachings, following them and analysing them in detail – all the Pythagoreans, Platonists, Peripatetics, Stoics and all other philosophers of other sects have been involved in this business; or by confuting and rejecting teachings of others – as Plato often did with sophists and Aristotle with older philosophers.[1]

[1] Franciscus Patricius, *Discussiones peripateticae*, ed. Zvonko Pandžić (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1999), 163: "*Itaque, principio, sciendum videtur duplicem esse philosophandi summam rationem: alteram, qua ad rerum atque entium ipsorum cognitionem nitimur; alteram, qua ad hominis alicuius traditionem, seu opinionem philosophamur. Eaque duplici, vel dogmata eius approbando, sectando, enucleando, quam omnes Pythagorici, Platonici, Peripatetici, Stoici, aliarumque sectarum philosophi omnes ingressi sunt; vel etiam aliorum dogmata confutando, reiiciendo, qua Plato adversus sophistas, qua Aristoteles adversus philosophos antiquiores saepenumero est usus.*" This sentence has also drawn attention of Antonio Poppi, "Francesco Patrizi et Iacopo

Despite some difficulties with translating *philosophari ad traditionem seu opinionem* – which I clumsily translated as "philosophizing along a tradition or an opinion"[2], at first sight it seems clear what Patrizi has in mind: one can go back "to the things themselves" (to put in anachronistically Husserlian terms) or study opinions and positions of other people. This latter business can be done in a double way: either *via positiva* – that is, by contributing to a well-established tradition; or *via negativa* – that is, by Socratic elenchtical method. This superficially simple division opens a myriad of questions, but the one that is of a special interest for us now is the following: is this second approach, that is, philosophizing *within* a tradition or *against* someone's opinion a sort of a history of philosophy? Or, to put it even sharply, did Patrizi do a history of philosophy – on his own terms or, we can even ask, from today's perspective?

Introductory remarks

From the perspective of the intellectual history, Patrizi found himself in a peculiar moment with regard to the relationship to history in general, and to the history of philosophy in particular. On the one hand, the Renaissance was a period that was especially self-conscious about its own history, and therefore it is not at least surprising that the question "what is history?" was so widely discussed, especially in the second half of the sixteenth century. Some would go as far as to claim that our understanding of history – or at least that what we today understand as history – has its roots in the Renaissance; for instance Donald Kelley writes: "History in the modern sense was from the beginning bound up

Zabarella sur 'de optima in Aristotele philosophandi ratione'," *Synthesis philosophica* 22 (1996): 360 and Paul Richard Blum, "Francesco Patrizi in the 'Time-Sack': History and Rhetorical Philosophy," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 61/1 (2000): 63. My analysis goes in a different direction than the two mentioned articles.

[2] Both Poppi and Blum paraphrased the passage. Poppi: "[...] *la connaissance des opinions des philosophes.*" (Poppi, "Patrizi and Zabarella," 360); and Blum: "*[...] the analysis of the doctrine of others.*" (Blum, "Patrizi in the Time-Sack," 67)

with the humanist movement and was indeed a charter member of the *studia humanitatis* (along with grammar, rhetoric, poetry and moral philosophy) from which that movement took its name."[3] In this quote I am emphasizing "history in modern sense" – that is, it can be argued, and rightly so, that the modern sense of history is a product of humanists' debates about the meanings of history and what it is. Of course, such a preoccupation with history easily resulted in a sort of reverence of it. Even the very name given to the period – *Renaissance*, or in a more poignant Petrarchan formulation – *renovatio Romae*, indicates a very special relationship – if not a pure adoration – of the past.

On the other hand, we should not forget that in the very same period we can find attempts of a powerful refutation of the past. One of the fiercest of fighters against tradition in philosophy was Mario Nizolio (1488–1567). In the dedicatory letter to his voluminous *De veris principiis et vera ratione philosophandi contra pseudophilosophos libri IV* he puts himself in the perspective of the history of philosophy, or rather, against it. According to his own testimony he was perceived by Marco Antonio Maioragio and other "pseudo-philosophers". He was "charged" with the crime of subverting Aristotle's philosophy – not only as it was originally founded by Aristotle, but also as it was accepted for two thousand years. Moreover, he did not hesitate to put in question Plato, Aristotle, Galen, Porphyry, all the Greek, Latin and Arabic commentators, in fact, almost all antiquity; that he has done this on grounds which they contemptuously call grammatical and rhetorical, which are vulgar and vain; that he has shown no modesty, no reverence for antiquity. To all this Nizolio replies by saying that it does not behave philosophy to be judged by the many and by long duration but the many and long duration are to be judged by the truth of philosophy. To Nizolio the history of philosophy is a story of almost unbroken decline. The decadence began notably with Socrates, and only

[3] Donald R. Kelley, "The theory of history," in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. by Ch. B. Schmitt et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 746.

Cicero attempted to check it effectively.[4] And here we should not forget that Nizolio was one of the rare approximate contemporaries of Patrizi whom he mentions in his *Discussiones peripateticae* in an affirmative context and he doubtlessly exerted a certain influence on Patrizi.[5]

A certain culmination of depreciation of history occurred with the Early Modern period. What we know today as early modern philosophy was forged in the opening years of the seventeenth century, in the writings of such thinkers as Francis Bacon and Rene Descartes. One of the distinguishing marks and reasons of putting a new historical label on this period and why this period was perceived as the beginning of a new (modern) period in the history of philosophy is because these philosophers saw themselves as the vanguard of an intellectual revolution, whose goal was to break with the philosophy of the past. Many (and especially those best known) philosophers and scientists of the seventeenth century saw the past philosophical tradition, and especially Aristotle's views as a significant impediment to the advance of knowledge, and believed that progress could only begin only once the edifice of Aristotle's system had been demolished and philosophy could begin to rebuild on solid foundations. The metaphor of demolishing the old to make room for the new is familiar from Descartes's *Discours de la méthode*. Francis Bacon had employed it some twenty years before Descartes. In his *The New Organon* (another allusion to Aristotle, whose logical works were known as the *organon*, or instrument"), Bacon declares: "It is futile to expect

[4] More details on that can be found in Breen's "Introduction" to Mario Nizolio, *De veris principiis et vera ratione philosophandi contra pseudophilosophos libri IV*, ed. Q. Breen (Roma: Fratelli Bocca, 1956), esp. LXV–LXVI: "*Nizolius identifies several periods of decadence. (a) One was about 2000 years ago, which corresponds to the middle of the 5th century B.C. It is the era beginning with Socrates. (b) Another was some 1600 to 1500 years ago, which marks the middle of the first century B.C. to the middle of the first A.D., and corresponds to the era beginning with the death of Cicero. (c) Another was about 1300 years ago, which would be the middle of the third century A.D., approximately the age of Porphyry (whom he censures frequently), (d) The last was about 1000 years ago, the middle of the sixth century A .D., the era after Boethius.*"

[5] This point I discussed elsewhere, cf. Luka Boršić, *Renesansne polemike s Aristotelom* (Zagreb: KruZak, 2013), 103–107.

a great advancement in the sciences from overlaying and implanting new things on the old; a new beginning has to be made from the lowest foundations, unless one is content to go round in circles for ever, with meagre, almost negligible, progress."[6]

On the background of such conflicting positions it is easy to suppose that a highly sensitive thinker such as Patrizi would not only have found history as a particularly fertile field of research, but also have had rather complicated relation to it. In the sixteenth century there were several writers who started thinking more systematically about the methods and theories of history and historical accounts: Sperone Speroni, Francesco Robortello (one of Patrizi's teachers), Dionigi Atanagi, Antonio Riccoboni, Giannantonio Viperano, Uberto Foglietta. But among them perhaps the most profound and novel analysis was that of Patrizi, "who rejected the Ciceronian-Aristotelian orthodoxy and tried to extricate history from rhetoric by emphasising epistemology – history as 'the memory of human things' grasped according to what Foglietta called the 'Polybian norm' (norma Polybiana) of objective truth."[7] For Patrizi the problem of history is not any more just a stylistical or rhetorical problem, but also a problem of method and searching for truth. The "use of history" is not "favellare" or "novellare" but "per sapere poi di qui regolare la mia vita".[8] This condition presents a different meaning of history than the Ciceronian *magistra vitae*, which Patrizi ironically casts away.[9]

6 Francis Bacon, *The New Organon*, ed. L. Jardine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 39.

7 This quote belongs to Kelley, "The theory of history," 754. On the role of Patrizi in introducing history into a philosophical discourse, see Anthony Grafton, *What Was History? The art of history in early modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 125–141 (cf. 125: "Patrizi played a critical role in making the *ars historica* a success.").

8 Francesco Patritio, *Della historia diece dialoghi* (Venetia: Andrea Arrivabene, 1560), 50v.

9 Patritio, *Della historia*, 22r: "*SCOL. Quello che disse Ciceron dicendo, l' historia è testimonia de' tempi, luce della verità, vita della memoria, maestra della vita, nuntia dell' antichità. PATR. Cotesta si, che è una stupenda loda dell' historia. Ma io non la intendo: ne so che essa giovamento ci dimostri fuor di quella parte, che ella sia maestra della vita.*"

It is not necessary to enter into any detailed analysis of Patrizi's *Della historia diece dialoghi*.[10] We need to pay more attention to Patrizi's understanding of history as memory.

History as memory – a sixteenth century eternalism?

In the famous and much discussed third dialogue of the *Della historia diece dialoghi* Patrizi – hidden behind a disguise of a "Platonic melancholical frenzy" – makes a few surprising statements about history. First, he claims that history is a "memory", not a "narration".[11] Further, this history is not, as one would expect, a memory of the things past, but the memory of things both past and future: it can be written about all the things – only that they must be "seen".[12] This condition – the visibility of things – is, as Patrizi mentions in many places, just another name for their intelligibility, he often connects the root *vid*– ("to see") with the etymological Greek *oid*– ("to know"). Good Patrizian historians are those who "saw" the things: those who write about the past with which they are quite closely familiar or prophets who know the future as a gift of God which cannot be put into question. This is also the reason of Patrizi's scepticism towards those who write histories about distant past: how can they be sure about what they write? Finally, the present is not time and cannot be a subject of history – only that "part of the present that

10 Patrizi's approach to history has been a subject of many studies and it would be impossible to list them all. Let me just name some: Blum, "Francesco Patrizi in the 'Time-Sack'"; Mihaela Girardi Karšulin, "Die *Discussiones peripateticae* zwichen Doxographie und Philosophiegeschichte als philosophischer Disziplin," *Synthesis philosophica* 22 (1996): 371–380. Franz Lamprecht, *Zur Theorie der humanistischen Geschichtschreibung: Mensch und Geschichte bei Francesco Patrizi* (Zurich: Artemis-Verlag, 1950); Stephan Otto, „»Moguća istina« povijesti. Deset dijalog o povijesti Frane Petrića (1529–1597) u njihovu značenju za duhovnu povijesti," in *Ogledi o filozofiji renesanse*, tr. D. Domić, ed. D. Barbarić (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2000), 5–48.

11 Patritio, *Della historia*, 14v: "*Per che l' historia dicemmo noi essere memoria, et non narratione.*"

12 Patritio, *Della historia*, 14r: "*Et si puo fare historia, soggiunsi io, di tutte quelle cose, che si veggono, o humane, od altre che elle sieno. Si. Cosi delle future, come delle passate, pure che si sien vedute. Si.*"

just passed by, and not the part of the present that is happening right now" can be described.[13]

This position makes history a synoptic vision of things from the past and from the future which possess a certain form of a parallel existence. It also corresponds to what Patrizi will write twenty and thirty years later in the *Discussiones peripateticae* (1581) and the *Nova de universis philosophia* (1591) when he will try to develop an understanding of time outside the "past – present – future" scheme. In the fourth book of the fourth volume of the *Discussiones peripateticae* Patrizi discusses and argues against Aristotle's concept of time.[14] In the *Nova de universis philosophia* Patrizi has a short discussion on time under the heading "De sempiternitate". In this mostly theological part of the *Panarchia* Patrizi reveals some of his positive ideas about time. Besides Patrizi's insistence on all sorts of differentiations among "eternities", for us the most important is that Patrizi avoids speaking of time in terms of the past, the present, and the future, but rather defines it as permanence and duration of bodies.[15]

We cannot go into a more detailed analysis of Patrizi's concept of time: not only that it would require entering into lengthy intricacies of Aristoteliansm and Neoplatonism, but would also lead us astray from our topic. Namely, Patrizi's intention ofthe *Discussiones peripateticae* and the *Nova de universis* was not to discuss time in context of history

13 Patritio, *Della historia*, 13v: "*Ma piu à dentro io veggo, ch' io ben lo posso fare di quella parte, che è gia fatta della cosa, che si fa al presenta; ma non gia di quella, che tuttavia si fa'.*"

14 Patricius, Franciscus / Petrić, Frane. *Discussionum peripateticarum tomus quartus / Peripatetičke rasprave svezak četvrti*, Vol. 1, tr. M. Girardi-Karšulin and I. Kapec (Zagreb: Institut za filozofiju, 2012), 216–260. In this lengthy passage Patrizi argues for a linear understading of time, instead of circular, as was typical for the Greeks. The most of Patrizi's criticism in this passage is concentrated around the problem of understanding time through mathematics and the *aporias* that come out of it. A thorough analysis of the passage is Mihaela Girardi–Karšulin, "Petrićeva kritika Aristotelova pojma vremena," *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 29–30 (1989), 99–126.

15 Franciscus Patricius, *Nova de universis philosophia* (Ferraria: Apud benedictum Mamerellum, 1591), 46r: "*Tempus ergo aliud non est, quam μονὴ, permanentia, et duratio corporum, rerumque corporearum.*"

and historical writings, but from a metaphysical perspective and from a perspective of establishing a new, time-less, physics. However, we should keep in mind Patrizi's insistence on timelessness because the resonances of this idea will also be heard in his words dealing with past thinkers.

Now we should return to our initial question: is that what Patrizi does in his *Discussiones peripateticae* a history of philosophy?

At first sight it may seems that the *Discussiones peripateticae* are a work of pure history of philosophy. Almost the whole first half of the book (volume one) is dedicated to Aristotle's life, books, pupils, interpreters, and, more generally to Aristotelianism. Moreover, practically every page of this densely printed, 480-page long book is swarming with quotes and names of Aristotle, Plato or any other ancient philosopher. Browsing through the twenty-seven three-column pages of the final Index is not only an experience of turning pages of a "Who is Who" in Ancient (and some Medieval) philosophy, but also a list of practically all relevant historical terms in philosophy. From this perspective – can it be anything else but a history of philosophy book?

There are several reasons why we can venture a negative answer to this question. First, at the very beginning of the whole book Patrizi took care to communicate to a reader his relationship towards his main sources. Namely, he took three different *vitae* to reconstruct Aristotle's life. The first one was Diogenes Laërtius's. The second one was by Proclus's pupils Ammonius or, in another attribution, by two generations younger Philoponus; it was a very popular *vita* in the Renaissance (and all the way to the middle nineteenth century) reprinted many times, usually as a preface to some works of Aristotle.[16] Finally the third source Patrizi used is *Vita Aristotelis* by "Guarino da Verona"; the author's name is put in quotes because it was Patrizi's wrong attribution: the *vita* is

16 Ingemar Düring, *Aristotle in the Ancient Biographical Tradition* (Göteborg, Stockholm: Almqvist och Wiksell, 1957), 119 concludes about the Greek version of this vita (the one that was available to Patrizi) that it was not Ammonius's work but rather "[...] a collective product of several generations of Neoplatonic students [...]."

actually a work by Leonardo Bruni from 1429.[17] The choice of the books is significant: not only are the sources from three different times, but also written from three different perspectives: Laërtius is a doxographical, factual, dogmatically disengaged; "Ammonius's" is written from the Neoplatonic perspective, and, finally, "Guarino's" is a philoaristotelian product.[18] By choosing these three particular sources Patrizi indicated that he was open to all major approaches to the history of philosophy as it was done in his days. Nevertheless, his reaction to the sources was not positive: Laërtius's *vita* appeared too superficial, and the other two were more of a panegyric than an attempt to write a historical report.[19]

In this context the key point of interest is our understanding what meaning the Platonic philosophical tradition bore for Patrizi. Although in secondary literature Patrizi is almost unanimously declared as one of the most fervent defenders of the Renaissance Platonism, he himself just rarely declares what the grounds for his adhering to the tradition would be. For him Platonism presents a concatenated sequence of true doctrines stretching from Noah and the Ark, over Zoroaster, Hermes Trismegistes, the Pythagoreans, Plato, Plotinus up to his own day. This

17 Patrizi's false attribution to Guarino Guarini (or Guarino Veronese, as he calls him) may be due to the fact that Guarino Guarini was the author of rather famous *Vita Platonis* which was often reprinted in along with Vita Aristotelis, often in some edition of Plutarch's *Vitae*. The "Biblioteca comunale Ariostea" in Ferrara is in possession of many works and it is likely, that Patrizi, who at the time of writing the *Discussiones* lived in Ferrara, had an easy access to them. Cf. Gino Pistilli, "Guarino Guarini": "Altre opere biografiche [di Guarino Guarini]: una *Vita di s. Ambrogio* dedicata a frate Alberto da Sarteano (nei codici II 90 e II 135 della Biblioteca comunale Ariostea di Ferrara) a metà fra compendio e traduzione; la *Vita Platonis* si trova posposta in molte edizioni delle *Vite* di Plutarco, dove si trova pure la *Vita Aristotelis* a lui attribuita (ma in realtà del Bruni)."

18 Gary Ianziti, "Leonardo Bruni and Biography: The 'Vita Aristotelis'," *Renaissance Quarterly* 55/3 (2002): 805–832.

19 Patricius, *Discussiones peripateticae*, I. Dedicatio: "*Reperi eius vitam a tribus conscriptam, Laertio Diogene, Ammonio Hermiae, seu Philopono Ioanne, Garinoque Veronense. Laertii non satis explicate res visa est; istos vero, encomia potius Aristotelica, quam vitae historiam scripsisse existimari potest. Itaque tum hos adhibendo, tum ex antiquis authoribus aliis exscribendo, Aristotelis vitam ad dimidium fere exaraveram.*"

is also how he defines his role in this tradition: the Chaldean philosophy is left only in tiny pieces, Kabbala is generally unknown and too intricate, the Pythagorean philosophy is similarly little preserved, the Elean and Ionian philosophical schools are only hardly traceable. Plato's philosophy is preserved entirely, but it contains a lot of poetic and mystic utterances, there are unfinished parts, it is generally unorderly. This is how Patrizi sees the role of his *Discussiones peripateticae* and *Nova de universis philosophia*: the *Discussiones* are meant to clear the ground of wrong and false (Aristotelian) doctrines so that on this ground a new edifice of a correct, true and right philosophy could be erected.

In this context Patrizi is not interested in reconstructing, analysing or exploring Plato's philosophy in order to understand what *Plato* may have thought – Patrizi studies Plato because Plato is one of the sources of correct philosophical doctrines. As Patrizi famously writes in his six-fold division of truth, he is interested primarily in the truth of things themselves, not in truth of speech or of text.[20] Patrizi does not approach a tradition with an antiquarian interest of an anthropological explorer, but as an engaged philosopher in search of truth. Since he is not interested in reconstruction of Platonic teachings for the sake of understanding any sort of original, he does not have feel a historical distance from Plato and the Platonists. For Patrizi the Platonic tradition *is* cognition of truth. On the other hand Aristotelianism is a sort of decadence, an aberration, the Aristotelians are philosophical outcasts in respect to the philosophy of the "old".

Patrizi's Platonism is therefore different both from the Florentine Ficinian Platonism as from the "concordist" Platonism of Giovanni Pico

[20] Patricius, *Discussiones peripateticae*, 165: "*Dicimus itaque veritatem non simplicem rem esse, sed sextuplicem, ita per gradus dispositam, ut posterior a priore emanet. Inter quas prima ac principalissima est rerum ipsarum veritas, a qua reliquae omnes pronascuntur. Secunda vero a prima hac nata, est perceptionis ac cognitions veritas. Tertia a secunda orta, veritas discursionis logou rationis ac dianoias, dianoeae. Quarta a tertia enata, veritas scientiae, aliorumque rationis habituum. Quinta veritas sermonis, ab his nata: et sexta scriptorium veritas a quinta itidem progenita.*"

della Mirandola and Agostino Steuco.[21] The "concordist" Platonism is marked by the preoccupation to reconcile Platonism, Aristotelianism, and Christianity. Thinkers like Giovani Pico della Mirandola and Agostino Steuco saw it in service of the *philosophia perennis* whose function is exactly a fusion of these three horizons. A certain motto of this school can be found in the opening sentence of Steuco's *De perenni philosophia*: "As there is one principle of all things, so there have always been one and the same knowledge about it among all people, which is confirmed by reason, monuments of many nations, and texts."[22]

From this perspective the title of the second volume of the *Discussiones peripateticae* may be confusing: "Aristotelis et veterum Philosophorum Cocordiam continens". But the *concordia* in this context means something else. Patrizi's position is not to show how well Aristotle fits into the Platonic tradition, but wants to show that Aristotle's positions are in concordance with the positions of his forerunners and contemporaries in order to denunciate Aristotle either as an unoriginal thinker or as a plagiarist. Patrizi does not want reconciliation between Plato and Aristotle under the auspices of Christianity – for him the *concordia* is a sign of Aristotle's weakness and superfluity.

On the other hand, Patrizi does care to reach the "original" Aristotle, i.e. his positions deprived of historical interpretative layers. He for instance complains that other interpreters took only one or two Aristotle's quotes and believed that from those chunks they could reconstruct an

[21] A clear and through treatment of differences between Patrizi's and Ficino's Platonism can be found in Thomas Leinkauf, *Il neoplatonismo di Francesco Patrizi come presupposte della sua critica ad Aristotele* (Firenze: La nuova Italia Editrice, 1990); Maria Muccillo, "Marsilio Ficino e Francesco Patrizi," in *Marsilio Ficino e il ritonro di Platone*, ed. G. C. Garfagnini (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1986), 615–679; Maria Muccillo, "Il Platonismo all'Università di Roma: Francesco Patrizi," in *Roma e lo studium urbis: spazio urbano e cultura del Quattro al Seicento*, ed. P. Cherubini (Roma: Ministero per i Beni culturali e ambientali, 1992), 145–184.

[22] Agostino Steuco, *De perenni philosophia libri X* (Baslileae: Per Nicolaum Brzling et Sebastianum Francken, 1542), 1: „*Ut unum est omnium rerum principium sic unam atque eandem de eo scientiam semper apud omnes fuisse, ratio multarumque gentium ac literarum monimenta* [sic! *LB*] *testantur.*").

entire Aristotle's doctrine.[23] Throughout the *Discussiones peripateticae* Patrizi quotes only original Greek Aristotle's text (which was not too common in the Renaissance when the knowledge of the Ancient Greek language was not so easily accessible), analyses this text, searches for inner contradictions or similarities to other texts (which he considered older than Aristotle's). However, this Patrizi's procedure does not imply that his attitude is anything similar to contemporary, say, analytical approaches to text which try to analyse it as objectively and impartially. His return to Aristotle's text is not motivated by the desire to understand it in the way as Aristotle understood himself, but he approaches it from the point of someone who knows the truth; his "objectivity" consists in representing an "extratextual" truth and, from this position, approaching the text *cum ira et studio*. We can almost feel Patrizi being angry with Aristotle, his "incorrectness" and his "lack of truth". As we already pointed, Patrizi cares about the truth of the things themselves, more than about the truth of the text. Even when Patrizi seemingly "objectively" analyses Peripatetic "sect" and their developments, Patrizi is motivated by a different motive than we would expect: his attempt to reconstruct the historical genesis of the cult of Aristotle's persona – exactly because it is *historical* – emphasizes the accidentality and weakness of all this Peripatetic company.

So, can that which Patrizi did in his *Discussiones peripateticae* be called a history of philosophy?

If doing so, history of philosophy is taken in a rather trivial sense – such as referring to philosophers and texts from the past then of course Patrizi was engaged in doing history of philosophy. However, if doing so, history of philosophy is taken in any other sense, i.e. in any *philosophical* sense, then it can hardly be said that what Patrizi did was history of philosophy – if for no other reason than that by doing history of philosophy he would have contradicted some of his own tenets. His main position is that what

[23] Patricius, *Discussiones peripateticae*, 173: "*Solent quidem plerique ex duobus, vel tribus Aristotelis dictis dogma integrum fabricare. Ex omnibus tamen qui construxerit, neminem vidi.*"

is good in philosophy is basically eternal, it is timeless, it does not change: from the point of cognizing the truth, Plato is equally present as Hermes Trismegistes. We could imagine that Patrizi would get offended if he were told that what he was doing was a history of philosophy.

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First Notes on Francesco Patrizi's Methods of Argumentation

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Abstract This paper represents a first step into a deeper historical appreciation of Francesco Patrizi's series of *Dialoghi della retorica* (Venice 1562), seen here at the intersection between the city's flourishing publishing industry and an underlying presence of Hellenistic preoccupations; in particular, I focus on the seventh piece of the collection, the 'Maresio', which is formally dedicated to the art of oratory and resolves into a Polybian exercise of constitutional and comparative analysis. My goal is to defend the proximity of Patrizi to Sophistic methods of argumentation, and to move from such methodological considerations to a larger area of contact of doxography and thalassography, which, as I argue, characterizes Venice's sixteenth-century historiography.

Keywords Francesco Patrizi da Cherso, historiography, Sophistic rhetoric, Dialoghi della retorica, Maresio, thalassography, doxography, history of philosophy, antilogia

1. Introduction

Patrizi's views on specific rhetorical issues have been studied from different angles. These discussions range from an evaluation of relative chronology to an inquiry of the philosopher's findings vis-à-vis the humanistic theory of history.[1] One fairly recent line of investigation, by Paul Richard Blum, makes uses of a particular temporal construction in which Patrizi's speculation is seen at the same time as deeply embedded in history and looking at it from beyond.[2] This has proven useful in many ways, but has also necessitated not a minor theoretical leap (including

[1] Two classic treatments, among others, are H.-B. Gerl, "Humanistische und geometrische Sprachphilosophie. Ein paradigmenwechsel von Leonardo Bruni zu Francesco Patrizi," *Zeitschrift für philosophische Forschung* 36 (1982): 189–207, and C. Vasoli, "Francesco Patrizi and the 'Double Rhetoric'," *New Literary History* 14 (1983): 539–551.

[2] P.R. Blum, "Francesco Patrizi in the 'Time-Sack': History and Rhetorical Philosophy," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 61 (2000): 59–74.

the adoption of important scholars of the urban form, like Siegfried Kracauer). Since his formulation is crucial as a framework for what I am proposing to consider here, it is convenient to cite Blum at some length: "History, as memory, suspends time. Evidence for this is found in the Egyptian myth that speaks of the dual flow of time, which goes both forward and backward and thus cancels out the decadence and progress of human development. The knowledge about this time-flows is preserved in (undecipherable) hieroglyphs on columns."[3] As he observes the enduring interest for Egypt in the Renaissance,[4] Blum also suggests that Patrizi's theory of history is essentially palimpsestic--a time-flow that has become time-knot, or a polytemporal past-in-the-present.[5] Blum's conclusion, it seems to me, takes on at least two basic corollaries: first, Patrizi engages with history in such a way as to emphasize how it is both endlessly morphing *and* frozen in time; second, in this struggle to meet the *kairos* and then move away from it, Patrizi also replicates the sixteenth-century discourse of ethnography, in which an exotic geography is commodified and the observer uses the medium of printing to illustrate the central tenets of such spatial semiotics.[6]

My objective in this paper is immediately straightforward and ideally twofold: (1) I will explore the possibility of defining the label 'antilogic'

3 Blum, "Francesco Patrizi," 68.

4 This subject has been treated within an explicitly Warburgian framework by the recent monograph by B. Curran, *The Egyptian Renaissance. The Afterlife of Ancient Egypt in Early Modern Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

5 J. G. Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2009), espec. 15–19, 150–152, distinguishes a supersessionary and an explosive moment in the temporalities of the palimpsest, which in itself is seen as a powerful network of agency.

6 The literature on ethnography is vast. For rasons of space I sacrificed a full discussion of print culture and the ways in which Greek models overlapped Venetian and early modern practices. A basic orientation includes L. Horodowich, "Editors and Armchairs Travelers: The Venetian Discovery of the New World," *The Sixteenth-Century Journal* 36 (2005): 1039–1062, B. Wilson, *The World of Venice. Print, the City, and Early Modern Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), and S. Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany. New Worlds in Print Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2010), espec. 10–13 on text technology.

in relation to Patrizi's dialogues on rhetoric and history more accurately than has been customary so far, and (2) I will argue that Patrizi's method of argumentation not only by enhancing its visual and ekphrastic disposition, like in the painterly commentary on Egyptian hieroglyphs cited earlier, but also by offering a model of return to Hellenistic preoccupations, offers a valuable template to assess trends in the discourse of Venetian and Mediterranean historiography.

These are very general ways of clarifying my approach, which is based for the most part on a few passages in Patrizi's series of Italian dialogues on rhetoric, published in Venice in 1562 (mainly the programmatic ones on ethnography and the birth of different political forms).[7] Among several illustrative examples which might be adduced for this purpose, my discussion focuses on preliminary issues of philosophical lexicon and privileges the account of the *Maresio*, the seventh piece in the *Dialoghi della retorica*.[8] The general features which make Francesco Patrizi stand out in the sixteenth century as a Central European intellectual *ante litteram* and as a genuine Hellenist, are well-known and hardly need rehearsing here. Our understanding, though, may profit from some aspects of a more technical nature: I will maintain in this paper that the selection and presentation of earlier *doxai* by Patrizi is specifically related to the larger Renaissance revival of "Protagorean" techniques, and I will therefore treat such instances as distinct from the preliminary and didactic function

[7] Francesco Patrizi, *Della retorica dieci dialoghi, nelli quali si favella dell'arte oratoria con ragioni repugnanti all'openione che intorno a quella hebbero gli antichi scrittori* (Venice: Appresso Francesco Senese, 1562); hereafter cited directly from this edition, but I have also taken in consideration the reprint edited by Anna Laura Puliafito Bleuel (Lecce: Conte, 1994). Even though the *princeps* of *Della retorica* came off the shop of Francesco Senese, not the same printer of Patrizi's previous dialogues on history, Andrea Arrivabene, it is useful to consider the suggestion of P. M. Tommasino, *L'Alcorano di Macometto. Storia di un libro del Cinquecento europeo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2013), 71–73, on how Patrizi's historiographical reflection is embedded in a commercial agenda of Mediterranean studies, which is turn divided and structured through an inchoate organization of editorial lines and series.

[8] The text has been translated into English in *Renaissance Debates on Rhetoric*, edited by W.A. Rebhorn, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 183–202.

of dialectic discussed by Aristotle in the *Topics*.[9] In addition, I will call attention to some aspects of early modern geopolitics, namely, among a few others, the relation between thalassocracy and doxography in Patrizi's hands,[10] which to my knowledge have been relatively neglected. Finally, I hope to achieve in what follows a neutral and pragmatic style of analysis in deliberate contrast to Patrizi's flamboyant diction in Italian, which constitutes a 'dialectical' problem on its own.

2. A note on technique and terminology

Since it may not be apparent underneath Patrizi's luxurious and over-confident style what, exactly, can be termed 'antilogic' (as opposed to 'Aristotelian', 'Platonic', or rather 'neo-Platonic'), some introductory remarks on terminology are called for. In my view, the central question is anchored around a correct interpretation of the doxographical tradition.[11] And, by applying to doxography connotations that are neither anachronistic nor inappropriate, one may actually improve our general understanding of

[9] While the discussion of the *Topics* remains canonical, I am rather interested in a 'polemical' interpretation of rhetoric which, if I am not mistaken, is felt in the commentary of Proclus, when the second part of Plato's *Parmenides* is considered as a parody of Zeno's argument (*In Parm.*, col. 631.22), or, more precisely, a form of "controversy" (ἀντίρρησις) that twists a method on its own head. Proclus also expands on this technique, seen as something both radical and sophisticated, when he defines the satirical intent of Thucydides's speech in the *Menexenus* (*In Parm.*, col. 632.27–34). See R. Robinson, *Plato's Earlier Dialectic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), and A. De Pace, *La scepsi, il sapere e l'anima. Dissonanze nella cerchia laurenziana* (Milano: LED, 2002), 67–109. On Patrizi and Aristotle, see L. Deitz, "Francesco Patrizi da Cherso's Criticism of Aristotle's Logic," *Vivarium* 45 (2007): 113–124.

[10] For a searching essay on antiquarianism and early modern thalassocracy, see P. N. Miller, "Two Men in a Boat: The Braudel-Goitein "Correspondence" and the Beginning of Thalassography," in *The Sea: Thalassography and Historiography*, ed. P. N. Miller (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2013), 29–59.

[11] On Patrizi as a historian (or collector) of philosophy, see M. Muccillo, "La storia della filosofia presocratica nelle *Discussiones Peripateticae* di Francesco Patrizi da Cherso," *La Cultura* 13 (1975): 48–105; on Greek doxography in general, see G. Cambiano, *Storiografia e dossografia nella filosofia antica* (Turin: Tirrenia-Stampatori, 1986), and J. Mansfeld, "Theophrastus and the Xenophanes Doxography," *Mnemosyne* 40 (1987): 286–312.

Patrizi's actual practice in the context of the Renaissance dialogue as a genre and his intellectual formation in Venice.

There could be no doubt that Patrizi engaged in critical debates aimed at scrutinizing contrasting views, along the lines of the *logos exekastikos* defined by Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1354 a 5).[12] And no doubt it also correct to state that Patrizi had great interest in all kinds of transmitted knowledge. But in contrast to Aristotle's method, which tries to assemble good (*endoxic*) support for an argument and to solve a problematic issue in a persuasive, long-lasting manner, Patrizi's recollection of disagreement is different. His embrace of discordant voices, however temporary, is not just a polyphonic effect but, I submit, a specific case of *diaphonia*, resembling collections of views and contrary arguments from the sophistic period.[13] Nor is Patrizi's method intended simply as a historical anthropology, setting itself up in search of *archai* in all fields of research. Which is to say, Patrizi's rhetoric is not a pure offspring of logic and dialectic (if anything, it may be regarded as the offshoot of a sophistic stem), and it deserves to be appreciated for the patterns it creates and the fragments it assembles. In a similar way, the ridicule heaped by Lucretius on Anaxagoras in a section of *De rerum natura* responds to an underlying desire for clustering: an architectural design of antithesis.[14] What Lucretius seems to have in mind is a *logos antilogos* of corporeal vs. incorporeal, which is characterized

12 In the Aristotelian context, the term seems to describe the starting point of a philosophical investigation anchored on scientific commonplaces, at least according to the reconstruction offered by H. Baltussen, "A Dialectical Argument in *De Anima* A 4," in *Polyhistor. Studies in the History and Historiography of Ancient Philosophy*. Presented to Jaap Mansfeld on his Sixtieth Birthday, ed. J. Mansfeld et al. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 333–344.

13 While M. Untersteiner, *Problemi di filologia filosofica* (Milan: Cisalpino-Goliardica 1980), 51-101, recalls how the Socratic dialogue was sustained by a form or another of *logomachia* (p. 72), whether through declamation or diatribe, E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, (Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchges, 1974) (originally 1923), 129, 557–558, attributes to a specific Sophistic matrix different kinds of stylistic exercises based on personification.

14 R.D. Brown, "Lucretian Ridicule of Anaxagoras," *The Classical Quarterly* 33 (1983): 146–160.

and perhaps even set aside by a remarkable (and very Patrizian) display of sarcastic verve.[15]

Patrizi is very selective in what he thinks is useful for his own purposes, but each side of the story is historicized--not so much contextualized than surrounded by thick layers of contingency. Good examples of such technique, like one would expect, are to be found especially at the outset of individual dialogues; in the case of the *Maresio*, for instance, a bit of fictional hesitancy between the two interlocutors, the characters of Maresio and Patrizio, sets up a return to the ancient problem of the decadence of oratory and the treatment it received by Roman writers such as Cicero and Tacitus.[16]

Admittedly, these modes of discussion seem warranted in a very general way by the traditional conventions of dialogue as it was understood in the early modern period. In the *Maresio*, however, to remain within our chosen example, the scale, commitment, and refinement in the structuring of arguments and *doxai* substantially exceed the available specimens of this particular literary genre. Our evidence can hardly support the view that Patrizi was either a heir or a predecessor of other dialogic giants,

[15] Sarcasm is only one of the many affinities between Lucretius and Patrizi; here I shall have something more to say about the use of Lucretian 'archeologies' from late republican Rome, though a full engagement with Lucretian physics is beyond the compass of this study. For recent and useful summaries, respectively, of the theory of the *simulacra* and of cultural anthropology, see B. Holmes, "*Daedala Lingua*: Crafted Speech in *De Rerum Natura*," *American Journal of Philology* 126 (2005): 527–585, and G. Campbell, "Lucretius and the Memes of Prehistory," *Leeds International Classical Studies* 1 (2002): 1–32.

[16] Despite the fact that the dialogue's agenda appears to be set against Ciceronian forms, and a direct quotation from the *Brutus*, the *Maresio* encourages correspondences with Tacitus's description of oratory under the empire in the *Dialogus de oratoribus*, and specifically with Aper's defense of 'modern' style; in fact, even the dialogue's premise, "gli oratori haveano hoggi al mondo poco luogo" (38r), presents a studied resemblance to Tacitus's very first statement in the *Dialogus*: "nostra potissimum aetas deserta et laude eloquentiae orbata" (Ed. Winterbottom, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1975, 65). See T. Luce, "Tacitus' Conception of Historical Change," in *Past Perspectives: Studies in Greek and Roman Historical Writing*, ed. Moxon et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 143–158.

like Bruno and Galileo.[17] This is partly why I would prefer to use the term 'antilogic' in reference to specific features of Patrizi's treatment. And while it is relatively easy to see how against the general background of his day, Patrizi's dialogism stands out as something strikingly pluralistic, if perhaps inconclusive or eccentric, it remains difficult to pinpoint with precision if there was, in fact, an overarching goal, political or philosophical, to orient his dazzling representation of discordant voices.[18]

It could be argued that Patrizi's examination of the strict linkage between public oratory and political constitutions, which continues to be rigorous throughout all the *Dialoghi della retorica*, betrays his half-buried nostalgia for a form of stable, rational order, which could only be identified with a form or another of imperial monarchy–Ottoman or Venetian, Eastern or Western. This opinion was first advanced by Eugenio Garin, with his customary breadth and penetration.[19] My claim, though, is simply that the embryonal organization of *doxai* into contrasting speeches is so strong and effective that the general effect onto the reader is one of saturation. Those who advocate for a reason or its opposite in Patrizi's texts, as for the *giusto* (or the *vero*) and the *contrario* mentioned in the *Maresio*, do not cancel each other out in a straightforward, skeptical way,

17 Here I am only discussing some specific aspects of the early modern theory of dialogue; things would be different on the issue of mathematization of space, for which see the observations of A. Saiber, *Giordano Bruno and the Geometry of Language* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 15–16.

18 I find little basis in the *Maresio* for the frequent claim (see, for instance, M. A. Del Torre, "Di alcuni problemi dell'*historia* in Francesco Patrizi," in *Atti del XXIV Congresso nazionale di Filosofia* (Roma: Società Filosofica Italiana, 1974)) that in it Patrizi doubles up on Plato's originary critique of rhetoric, and that his pessimistic view is as much a function of its neo-Ciceronian genre as its subject. It seems to me that Patrizi's intentions can be understood most fully if we respect the way in which, in his series Della retorica, the power of speech shapes opinion and thus constructs the 'reality' within which both human beings and political institutions must live their lives; in other words, Patrizi's modernity derives precisely from the paradox that, by adapting himself to the weakening of rhetoric—and following Socrates's characterization of forensic orators as speakers involved in the verb *agonizomai* (Plato's *Euthydemus*, 305B)—he is in reality celebrating and strengthening rhetoric's paradigmatic usage.

19 E. Garin, "Note su alcuni aspetti delle Retoriche rinascimentali e sulla Retorica del Patrizi," in *Testi umanistici su la retorica*, ed. E. Garin (Roma: Fratelli Bocca, 1953), 13–15.

and neither do they just fight endlessly like a face off of two historical nemeses; but the result of their passionate advocacy is a kind of 'balancing' act in the end. And we should try to be attentive to Patrizi's logic in choosing to emphasize this neutralizing procedure, to which he readily admits when he uses (as did Montaigne) the metaphor of the speaker who, like an unrestrained horse, rushes at breakneck speed when he is set to a gallop, trampling everything in his wake.[20] The horse might be loose and uncontrolled, but the spectacle of the beast's acceleration is momentarily more important than the fact that he is running to a dead end.[21]

In other words, Patrizi may be less goal-oriented than Garin would have liked, and his dialogues might not actively endorse a view in which the presence of a king or an emperor safeguards rhetoric from corrupting or spinning out of control. Still, Garin's intuition presents an implication with vast consequences for Patrizi's methodology: for the *Maresio* does not only provide a template in which to a republican regime corresponds a flourish of rhetoric, and conversely a degradation in the art of speech-making signals the presence of tyrannic power.[22] The dialogue also establishes a frame within which an entire season of humanistic pursuit is reinterpreted in neo-Hellenistic terms, to the

[20] These are the exact words in Patrizio's answe to Maresio: "Certamente voi dite vero et io conosco che fo male. Ma quando io sono in corso di parlare, io sono quasi un cavallo sfrenato, che per molto tirare il freno, che il cavalliere faccia, non si rallenta punto, fino che egli non da di capo, in muro od altro, si che egli si fiachi il collo" (40r).

[21] For an argument about antagonism of speech as a sophistic spectacle, see E. MacPhail, *The Sophistic Renaissance* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 2011), 61–63; Patrizi's images such as the trampling horse could be easily subsumed under the genre of epideictic exercises, whose importance for the Renaissance dialogue has been strongly defended by B. Vickers, "Epideictic and Epic in the Renaissance," *New Literary History* 14 (1983): 497–537, espec. p. 511.

[22] Though Patrizi's discussion is framed as a response to classical antiquity, his observations also summarize the polemic between Petrarch and Boccaccio, who bitterly remarked upon his friend's acceptance of hospitality at the Visconti court in Milan; "ubi tyranni desunt, tyrannizant populi," replied Petrarch, so that "nullus tyrannide locus vacat." On this see H. Baron, *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism*, vol. I (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), 276.

effect that Pico and Poliziano, in Patrizi's view, become the Gorgias and Hippias of their time.[23]

This reinterpretation of the Italian Quattrocento in light of the Greek experience of the city-states is a relative anomaly, with the potential of provoking a revolution in our understanding of the transition between the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, and of course with deep reverberations over Patrizi's own practice as a historian and polymath.[24]

By paying close attention to Patrizi's identification of the humanist with the sophist, for instance, it would be possible to uncover actual antilogic techniques in classic texts such as Landino's *Disputationes Camaldulenses* (where the characters of Lorenzo and Alberti defend a contrastive *logos* of the contemplative life vs. the active life) or Bruni's *Dialogi ad Petrum Histrum* (where Niccoli speaks in praise and blame of Dante). Given the limitation of the present purposes, however, it is sufficient to underline how Patrizi mobilizes a rich tradition of antilogic discourse, too often obscured by Platonic idealism, and how the rhetorical layout of his dialogues responds and opens up to the physiognomy of the *disputatio*. And, since Patrizi's method involves, to use a paradox, a deep game of surfaces, it is important to test his treatment of sources and *doxai* against the Hellenistic tradition which he himself invokes as a key to the humanistic rhetoric.

In modern studies 'doxography' typically refers to a summary of what the philosophers have said, and there is a telling oscillation between *doxai*

[23] C. S. Celenza, "Late Antiquity and the Florentine Renaissance: Historiographical Parallels," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 62 (2001): 17–35, has developed an interesting thesis based on parallelism; A. Momigliano's 1959 essay "Atene nel III secolo a.C. e la scoperta di Roma" (now in his *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1977), 39–56) still is an indispensable treatment of this particular Hellenistic issue.

[24] It is certainly no coincidence that Patrizi, in his exposition of the opportunities created by democratic governance, reached a similar conclusion to J. de Romilly, *The Great Sophists in Periclean Athens* (Oxford: Clerendon Press, 1992), 213: "the development of their teaching programme was linked with that of the Athenian democracy. The rhetorical and political training that they purveyed only made sense if the skill of public speaking truly did make it possible for individuals to play an effective role."

as collection and *doxai* as discussion. In Patrizi's case, it is easy to see that his interest goes equally to the assemblage and reporting of the *doxai* as to the interpretation of the ideas per se. Apart from studied effects of Roman/Greek parallelisms, so that to an opinion of Cicero follows one attributed to Demosthenes or Gorgias, the *Maresio* raises an internal voice of admiration for the speaker's masterful technique: "Et l'havete voi, o Patritio, in maravigliosa maniera, fatto pessimamente arrivare con le vostre argutie."[25] Technical issues surround also the introduction of the term, which supposedly was first used by Hermann Diels in his 1879 edition of the *Doxographi Graeci*. While explaining his usage,[26] Diels makes clear that his attention is directed not necessarily to the philosophical doctrines but to the way each entry was treated under a specific 'chapter heading', or, more generally, how a new and coalescing genre of 'history of philosophy' (which, in Hellenistic times, is still an anachronistic idea) could be distinguished from a contemporary development of historical biography--two branches associated with the activity of the Peripatus. Our evidence seems to suggest that Aristotle and Theophrastus kept themselves closer to the model of biological investigations, which they called *istoriai* and whose first impulse was based on a descriptive collection of facts, but their method was further refined by an application of dialectical principles that appear to be quite different from Patrizi's use.[27] Further examinations of the doxographical tradition would fall beyond the scope of my brief observations in this paper, and the complexity of the topic would

25 Arguably, Maresio's observation is modeled after Crassus's speech in Cicero's *De Oratore* (2:18), "Omnium autem ineptiarum, quae sunt innumerabiles, haud sciam an nulla sit maior quam, ut illi solent, quocumque in loco, quoscumque inter homines visum est, de rebus aut difficillimis aut non necessariis argutissime disputari." Patrizi's words are very close to Cicero's formulation here. In the Latin dialogue, Crassus rejects the vain sophistication of Greek disputations, only to be rebuked by Caesar that "recusatio disputationis disputatio quedam fuit mihi quidem periucunda" (2:26).

26 *DG*, 145–146.

27 See R. Zoepffel, *Historia und Geschichte bei Aristoteles* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1975), and C. Collobert, "Aristotle's Review of the Presocratics: Is Aristotle Finally a Historian of Philosophy," *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 40 (2002): 281–295.

make any conclusion at this point fuzzy. We should note, in any event, that programmatic formulations such as *orthos legein* (or, alternatively, *kalos* and *ikanos*) are used prominently in Patrizi's dialogues, and can be said to have emigrated from Greek, endoxic contexts;[28] however, Patrizi is neither interested in dealing with the parts-and-whole scheme, which complies to Aristotelian standards, nor with a philosophical criticism based entirely, or prominently, on inadequacy of definition. Moreover, we should also note that certain Aristotelian conventions--namely, the disjunctive problem shaped as a *proteron*. . . *h* question and the options of the metaphysical *diairesis* following through one after another--are respected in the *Dialoghi della retorica*,[29] but the most interesting point in Patrizi's discussion is precisely how these procedures are reshaped and realigned within a larger pattern enhancing contrasts and antilogic discourse. It remains characteristic of Patrizi's rhetoric that opinions are far from impartially argued, but no decision is given *ex cathedra*.

As Virginia Cox, among others, observed, the Renaissance revival of rhetoric in Venice was associated with a pronounced return to Hellenistic modes of argumentation.[30] More specifically, one could observe in Venice the birth of a local historiography which took full advantage of the tradition of Roman annalistic writers, by maximizing the resources that they offered as far as contrasting in a series of 'paradoxical' portraits, to use a Sallustian image,[31] Roman leaders and their foreign opponents, and by encapsulating these sketches in an even more exemplary set of antithesis

[28] I would also like to point out, however, that the concept of *orthos logos* (beyond Prodicus' interest in definitions) was central in sophistic word-wisdom as an ideal of appropriateness, that is to say, adeptness in the use of time and selection of the right words when speaking. On this, see C. L. Johnstone, "Sophistical Wisdom: *Politike Arete* and Logosophia," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 39 (2006): 265–289.

[29] One example of this Aristotelian procedure is in *De Anima* 408a 20–24, which discusses the theory of the four elements in polemic with Empedocles.

[30] V. Cox, "Rhetoric and Humanism in Quattrocento Venice," *Renaissance Quarterly* 56 (2003): 652–694.

[31] A. La Penna, "Il ritratto 'paradossale' da Silla a Petronio," in *Aspetti del pensiero storico latino*, ed. A. La Penna (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1978), 193–221.

between tales of Roman past decline and tales of Venetian present virtue.[32] Such atmosphere of *collatio imperii* is both a wonderful template for understanding Patrizi's speculation, in rhetoric as in historiography, and a fertile ground for the cultivation of *antilogia*. In this context, it should not surprise that Patrizi wanted to discuss privileges and shortcomings of public and private, as he did in the fifth of the *Dialoghi della Historia*, or that he spent time with the complementary facets of oratory across different constitutions, as he did in the *Maresio*. The *Maresio*, it is worth stressing, is essentially an exercise of *Verfassungdebatte*,[33] a debate on the comparative advantages of different political regimes, like the oration Nicocles by Isocrates (which had imitators in Venice).[34] Having established, as I hope, a historical and terminological framework for Sophistic features of argumentation that goes, with obvious caveats, from neo-republican Venice back to the Greek city state, I will now proceed to deal as briefly as possible with some examples of how such features are applied in a systematic context.

3. A case in point: Retorica 7

The following aspects in the *Maresio* seem to me indications for Patrizi's use of 'antilogic' tactics (or, failing that, of 'sophistic exercises' similar to those established by Hellenistic standards).

(I) The dialogue itself, once it reaches the final movement, which I would still hesitate to consider a conclusion in the conventional sense of the word, explicitly advertises its own innovation. Patrizi puts this idea in Maresio's mouth, perhaps to avid the affectations of heroic self-fashioning

32 Here I am adapting the useful suggestions advanced by A. Rossi, "Parallel Lives: Hannibal and Scipio in Livy's Third Decade," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 134 (2004): 359–381.

33 M. S. Sapegno, "Il trattato politico e utopico," *Letteratura italiana*, vol. III, t. 2: Le forme del testo. La prosa (Turin: Einaudi, 1984), 949–1010.

34 See T. G. M. Blank, "Isocrates on paradoxical discourse: An analysis of *Helen* and *Busiris*," *Rhetorica* 31 (2013): 1–33.

in the courtly discourse that he openly refused:[35] "Voi intendete, o Patritio, queste oratorie cose per altra molto diversa via da quello di tutti gli altri huomini che studiano all'eloquenza." The situation could--and indeed, should--be put in direct relation with the atmosphere of competition in the Venetian marketplace in print, which forced each edition to signal its novelty.[36] The business of printing books notwithstanding, a certain degree of methodological inference appears to be equally sustainable. And Maresio's amazement at Patrizi's rhetorical display might then signal the presence of *disputatio* techniques within the dialogue.

(II) It is almost certainly far-fetched to imagine behind the *Maresio* a marriage to the sea of the Venetian type,[37] but it would not be impossible to demonstrate that the primary way in which Patrizi presented his antiquarian research on rhetoric was indeed a form of thalassography[38]--or, more precisely, a doxography that depended on Mediterranean order, structurally or ideologically, and written at a time and space in which maritime sovereignty was crucial, along with the cultural forms by which it was expressed. Patrizi's topic is presented as a journey in which the investigator is shuttling from example to example as through an extended archipelago or an interconnected trading hub. At the beginning of the dialogue, Patrizi is comparing different traces of constitutional

35 Of course, one should also be aware that self-presentation was essential for the sophists: M. W. Gleason, *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

36 After all, the title of the printed collection (cited in note 7) promises "ragioni repugnanti" to the common sense of classical antiquity. On the conventions of the marketplace, see P. Trovato, *Con ogni diligenza corretto. La stampa e le revisioni editoriali dei testi letterari italiani (1470-1570)* (Ferrara: Unife press, 2009) (originally 1991).

37 The classic study of the ceremonial intricacies of the Venetian marriage to the sea, ranging from unpretentious to imperial prerogatives, is E. Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), espec. 127–129.

38 P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2000).

arrangements ("vestigio di republica"),[39] and the order of the discourse is geographical: first, we meet Sicily, then Zaragoza, and finally Asia.[40] It is worth emphasizing here that because *historia* as disinterested travel was naturally conducted to a large extent along the normal trade routes, juxtaposition of the terms *emporia* and *historia*—'trade' and 'inquiry'--was a commonplace in Sophistic literature.[41] As for Patrizi's purpose in dwelling on this Greek tradition of passion for *historia*, one needs only to remember the case of the "mago Tianeo," that is Apollonius of Tyana, in another dialogue of 1562, the *Lamberto*.[42] What is the specific cultural force of the opening formula *adunque* (therefore) in this context? On the one hand, this ubiquitous trait guarantees the proper connection between

[39] In this context, Maresio rectifies an unusual mistake by his interlocutor, who soon admits to his own blunder, concerning the status of public speaking under the emperors: "Si fu, mentre vi rimase vestigio di republica, ma nello sciemamento continuo sciemò, et con quel vestigio, insieme si estinsero" (38v). Patrizi's use of the term *vestigio* should give us pause. Lucius Cicero, a young cousin of the author of *De finibus*, and apparently a fan of Athenian oratory, understands the practice of strolling, common among the Roman elite, as a way of reliving the past: "in aliqua historia vestigium ponimus" (*Fin*. 5.5). What I am suggesting here is that Patrizi adapts to his rhetorical analysis of political constitutions in the *Maresio* an ancient model that reunites intellectual activity and bodily movement; this is a clever solution, and most suited to Venice, because in a brand of dialogues that refuses the Platonic convention of a narrative frame, Patrizi could actually revive the old sophistic idea of a walk which serves as an intellectual warm-up. For the Ciceronian nexus between speech and perambulation, see *Att*. 1.18.1 ("unius ambulationis sermone exhaurire posse," emphasis mine); more in general on the philosophical project of walking, A. W. Nightingale, "On Wandering and Wondering: *Theôria* in Greek Philosophy and Culture," *Arion* 9 (2001): 23–58, and T. M. O'Sullivan, "The Mind in Motion: Walking and Metaphorical Travel in the Roman Villa," *Classical Philology* 101 (2006): 133–152.

[40] The textual transition is from "estinti i Tiranni in Cicilia" (38r) through "lo stato a popolo in Saragosa" (38r) till "parimente nelle citta Asiane" (38v). It is significant that soon after this excursus, the dialogue moves to discuss the speaker's task as a habit of "orare in contrario" (38v), as though Patrizi wanted to blend and conflate a mercantile view of Mediterranean geography with a rhetorical tradition of historiography.

[41] It is also important to keep in mind that some of the evidence surrounding *historia* as a practised inquiry, is either savagely polemical, as in the case of Heraclitus B35 and B40, or openly political, as for Plutarch, *Solon* 2.1, which is concerned with the idea that early travels allowed the legislator to re-organize the Athenian *nomos*. See also R. Thomas, *Herodotus in Context: Ethnography, Science, and the Art of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[42] On this episode, see A. L. Puliafito, "Francesco Patrizi e la ragione degli animali," *Bruniana & Campanelliana* 17 (2001): 129–138, at 134.

the parts of the argumentation,[43] but on the other it also fulfills a sort of deeper navigational function, as recognizable landmark between arteries of discourse and Mediterranean space.[44]

(III) As we have already noted, macrohistorical comparisons such as those in which Patrizi juxtaposes the Tuscan *commune* of Lucca, the sea power of Genoa, and the land-locked republics flourishing in the territories of Germany and Switzerland continue a strongly Hellenizing tendency.[45] Even the fact that an orientalized *basileus* retains the authority to exert a direct influence in shaping the public discourse is best understood in the dynastic contexts following the death of Alexander the Great, that is to say, within an organic template of Mediterranean history which gives ample space to the Greco-Roman East.[46] As with Polybius and other classical historians, the key point in Patrizi is the source of rhetorical legitimacy.

It is more than likely that macro-comparisons like Patrizi's were heavily influenced, as a method, by the Peripatetic school;[47] by all means, though, the literature of the Sophistic movement is entirely consistent with this pattern. In Hellenistic Antiochia, for instance, the orator Libanius composed a praise of the city whose language, content and form of dedication is markedly and consciously Greek.[48] It is possible that future research on

43 A particularly clear case of this in the dialogue is at 41v–42r.

44 For an important application of the "spatial turn" to history, see P. J. Kosmin, *The Land of the Elephant Kings. Space, Territory, and Ideology in the Seleucid Empire* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2014); also, on the deep intellectual stakes of cultural division, see F. Trivellato. "The Port Jews of Livorno and their Global Networks of Trade in the Early Modern Period," in *Jews and Port Cities, 1590-1990*, ed. D. Cesarani and G. Romain (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2006), 31–48.

45 Patrizi's exposition is at 41v.

46 For a Hellenistic example, see A. Primo, *La storiografia sui Seleucidi. Da Megastene a Eusebio di Cesarea*, (Pisa: Serra, 2009), 19–52.

47 As it was demonstrated by A. Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1993).

48 G. Downey, "Libanius' Oration in Praise of Antioch (Oration XI)," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 103 (1959): 652–686.

Patrizi's dialogues would confirm this form of reversed *philia* in which a process of gradual emancipation of rhetoric (violent or peaceful, like in the case of Florence, as Patrizi remarks in the *Maresio*[49]) depends on the weakness of royal authority, until, in the end, the humanist/sophist places himself in the place of the king. Certainly, while the *Maresio* tries to demonstrate the consistency of oratorical decline under satrapal or monarchic rule, the history of the Seleucid Era shows ample evidence of a lack of penetration for the imperial discourse originated and diffused from the capital's bureaucracy, particularly in the provincial regions directly facing the Aegean sea.[50] In all these situations, the withdrawal of imperial reach is the other side of a Hellenistic coin whose *recto* shows rhetoric's affirmation. Patrizi sees this process as a predictable transformation unfolding in a coherent geospace. And the logic of praise and blame, which is one of the oldest forms of the ancient Protagorean discourse,[51] provides him with the type of 'gateway' analysis that he needs to explain to his readers how a structural juncture of rampant rhetoric tends to expand and calcify over administrative vacuum. Quickly, almost epigraphically, Patrizi summarizes his position when he assures that "la loda," or praise, is truly a Sophistic feature ("veramente del sofista").[52]

(IV) Tied to my last observations is the related issue of the ferocious little vignettes in which Patrizi describes the mob's aping of the freedom of speech. These episodes of rhetoric's licentious, unhinged power punctuate the analysis of the *Maresio*, representing turning points of crisis in the narrative. From an 'ecological' point of view, they also threaten the delicate balance between nesiotic space and land-masses on which Patrizi's historical reconstruction is ultimately based.[53] As such, these kernels

49 At 41v.

50 Kosmin, *The Land of the Elephant Kings*, 257–268.

51 MacPhail, *The Sophistic Renaissance*, 45–58.

52 The sequence in question (38v–39r) examines the role of forensic oratory, and the ability of its practitioners to feign ignorance of subject in front of their audiences.

53 C. Ginzburg, *No Island is an Island* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

of dangerous, social anarchy may very well follow Hellenistic models; and since they temporarily desecrate the enclosure of public speech, through Patrizi's condemnation they simultaneously re-sacralize the Sophistic reasoning of rhetoric as a network of communication and control.

The *Maresio* privileges internal causes of change in the analysis of rhetoric and political systems. In Patrizi's exposition, the struggles of royal power and the eventual breakdown of kingship are followed by a period of almost unspeakable, general violence, which is described by an expression charged with sarcasm: "quella famosa turba di oratori."[54] The emphasis is here on the *turba* as technical shorthand for the democratic republic, as in the similar reconstruction by Lucretius in *De rerum natura* (5.1143-1147).[55] In ancient sources, the disorder caused the lowest fringes of the mob corresponds and embodies the degeneration of democracy into ochlocracy.[56] It is hardly surprising to find in Patrizi traces of the well-known theory of "change of constitutions," or *metabole politeion*, which was developed and systematized by Polybius in his famous digression on the advantages of mixed government in Book 6.[57] It is my opinion, however, that since Patrizi does not specifically emphasize or even refer to the idea of cyclic return (*anakyklosis*), which Polybius combines to the doctrine of political change, his *Maresio* is not directly dependent on the *Histories*: maybe Patrizi's source is Lucretius, after all, or better still, the type of Hellenistic or Peripatetic 'archeologies' which Lucretius

54 The dialogue presents at this juncture a longer disquisition by Patrizio, who spends some time distinguishing Solon's action in Athens from previous experiences of tyrannical power, to then conclude about civic uprising: "onde ne sorse quella famosa turba di oratori la quale si estinse poi tra primi, o tra secondi monarchi, successori di Alessandro"(42v).

55 For a different and oriental tradition behind this term, related to alchemy, see P. Kingsley, "From Pythagoras to the *Turba Philosophorum*: Egypt and Pythagorean Tradition," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 57 (1994): 1–13.

56 G. Arrighetti, "Aristotele e il metodo storico dell'*Athenaion Politeia*," *Studi Classici e Orientali* 37 (1987): 97–107.

57 F. W. Walbank, *Polybius, Rome, and the Hellenistic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 178–230.

and his late-republican, noble readers were acquainted with.[58] In short, once again I am persuaded that Patrizi's originality is not be found on a particular source he was able to uncork, but on the overall arrangement of his argument, his care about structural details, and the remarkable ability to adapt to Venice certain antiquarian trends which originated in the Greek *polis* or in the Roman *urbs*.[59]

(V) Hardly enough has been said about whether the way in which Patrizi proceeds is or not in keeping with the traditional arrangements of topics in ancient philosophical and medical texts, such as the *Corpus Hippocraticum* or Aristotle's *Historia animalium*.[60] While a comprehensive treatment is beyond this paper, a short section of the *Maresio* dealing with the consequences of the orator's necessity of being ignorant of what is going to speak about might provide a preliminary account. In approaching the proofs of this rhetorical 'ignorance', we are given a testimony by Gorgias and then one by Cicero; and we are alerted to these possibilities:[61]

1) The logic is tight.
2) It is articulated by corresponding or contrastive terms.
3) An argument may be linked to its predecessor by the repetition or inversion of terms from that predecessor.

Patrizi is no otiose writer, every word in the phrase is a cog in his argument. On the other hand, his style is at times lush and high-flying, though never purely ornamental. If I am raising the notion of Alexandrian

58 See P. H. Schrijvers, "Lucretius on the Origin and Development of Political Life (*De rerum natura* 5.1105–1160)," in *Polyhistor. Studies in the History and Historiography of Ancient Philosophy*, 220–230.

59 The literature on this remains extensive, but for an overview see at least M. L. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), and J. S. Grubb, "When Myths Lose Power: Four Decades of Venetian Historiography," *Journal of Modern History* 58 (1986): 43–94.

60 D. Manetti, "Doxographical Deformation of Medical Tradition in the Report of the Anonymus Londinensis on Philolaus," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 83 (1990): 219–233.

61 At 42r.

techniques of writing, it is certainly not in an attempt to play down his philosophical research.[62] In the end, what remains characteristic of Patrizi's inquiry is how the buttonholing technique of the ancient didactic poet and sophist is combined with the tone of the individual speaker in the dialogues, who is seen from time to time hectoring, wheedling, emphasizing, teaching, teasing and persuading.[63] In comparison with Lucretius, where the piecemeal logic and the dislocation of 'normal' word order goes even further, Patrizi tampers down the violence of linguistic separation, but he, too, makes the syntactical shapes of his dialogues correspond to intellectual patterns of thought and argumentation.[64] All in all, this confirms that Patrizi is a conspicuous writer in the Venetian milieu, a writer of difficult literature, but powerful literature nonetheless.

4. Conclusion

To arrive at the principles of a philosopher's epistemology by checking some of the rhetorical traits of a somewhat thorny series of dialogues in Italian would have been a foolhardy enterprise. An adequate investigation would need to examine individual works, such as the *Nova* or the *Paralleli militari*, themes and contexts in detail comparable or superior to that in which I have treated the long survey of constitutional change and the art of speaking in the *Maresio*. And, given Patrizi's extraordinary intellectual range, that would require not a single paper, but a book.

62 As E. J. Kenney famously did in "Doctus Lucretius," *Mnemosyne* 23 (1970): 366–392.

63 K. Volk, *The Poetics of Latin Didactic: Lucretius, Vergil, Ovid, Manilius* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

64 The classic argument of P. Friedlander, "Pattern of Sound and Atomistic Theory in Lucretius," *American Journal of Philology* 62 (1941): 16–34, has been revised by several scholars in recent years, including S. Hinds, "Language at the Breaking Point: Lucretius 1.452," *Classical Quarterly* 37 (1987): 450–453.

I have little notion of what the results of such an investigation would be in reference to doxography, for instance, and the problem of historiographical compilations, not to mention the complex yet promising relation of Patrizi to the Lucretian cosmos as a metamorphic environment in which mimesis mediates between binaries. But I am prepared to wager that in any such study the contemporaries and near-contemporaries of the sophists will continue to loom large as they have already done in this paper. It may be this special affinity that underlines Patrizi's preferential treatment of antilogic and contrastive structures, highlighting conflict, or *diaphonia*, in a catalogue of available views.

In fact, I think that the situation of Patrizi resembles some of the interpretative problems of Sextus Empiricus. Like Sextus, Patrizi is a collector of *doxai*.[65] (In particular, like many ancient collectors of opinions and despite the Hellenistic preference for verbatim quotation, Patrizi is ready to break up what has been transmitted as a continuous passage in order to interject his own glosses.) He is at times obscure, no doubt because of a certain degree of degradation or distortion in the filter of our media, while in other occasions he is an almost transparent figure, to the effect that, in long doxographical passages, when you try to focus on Patrizi, you find yourself looking straight through him, and what you see is the fourth century B.C. bustling with Hellenistic interpreters. One might try to identify the sources and emphasize continuity or, on the contrary, try to assess how Patrizi's own passages come across when taken in their own right. A more accurate reading, as I suggested, would be to combine these two activities with the knowledge that each side of every antithesis is focused on, and meant to bring out a different aspect of the *logos* in question; or that, in other words, no overarching *logos* is left standing above the conflict in a prominent, isolated position.[66]

65 D. Sedley, "Sextus Empiricus and the Atomist Criteria of Truth," *Elenchos* 13 (1992): 21–56.

66 The Herodotean effect of displacement and exoticism in Patrizi's reading of the past is so striking that one is tempted to use a passage of Petrus Ramus from the *Institutionum dialecticarum*, printed in Paris in 1549: "Alius in Asia praefectus, alius in Aphrica, in Europa sit

Again and again, Patrizi's message seems to be that you can read certain rhetorical or philosophical positions as logical choices, but other readings are always available. The invocation to *orthos logos*, which is a distinguishing feature of the *Dialoghi della retorica* as a whole, pushes us back to Greek doxography, but it hardly makes any interpretation mandatory (unless a form of doxastic *logos* is in itself the ultimate *logos*). Even when the source attribution is reasonably correct, it need not necessarily follow that we can read Patrizi's passage entirely in the light of that rediscovered classical context. As we saw, the *Maresio's* topic can fruitfully be described as a Polybian exercise of constitutional analysis, but the possibility of making the dialogue consistent with Polybius suddenly recedes, leaving inits wake little other than a syncretistic tendency and a fascination with the like-by-like principle (both beloved in Venice).

Then who is Patrizi as a historian? What is his relation to Renaissance antiquarianism? A full answer must be worked out in detail. For the moment, it is preferable to repeat some ideal points of tension between Patrizi's method and Venetian historiography: two points of entry in Blum's dual "flow of time" of ethnographic research. Patrizi's pluralistic style of history-writing makes an interesting contrast with his identification of the humanist with the sophist, which reorients and telescopes fifteenth-century Florence onto Ptolemaic Alexandria, and especially with his own imperial sympathies.

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alius. . . licet subiecta materies in qua versatur et exercetur varias in partes diversasque secta sit, pars alia mathematis, alia naturis rerum, alia moribus hominum" (186r).

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"Il poeta è facitore del mirabile." Francesco Patrizi da Cherso on the Aim of Poetry

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Abstract This article presents Francesco Patrizi's views, as expressed in his *Della poetica*, on what poetry should try to achieve and how poetry's aims can be reached. The key element of poetry is *mirabile* (not *mimesis*), which is the result of a tension between what is credible and what is not. The *mirabile* inherent in the work of art produces *maraviglia* (translated as "marvelment") on the part of the reader; it is this state of mind that poets should try to bring about. The detailed instructions given by Patrizi on how to achieve the desired effect are briefly analyzed, and a number of examples mentioned. The article concludes on some comparisons with later developments in literay theory and practice (*das Unheimliche*; OuLiPo), as well as in philosophical ontology (Meinong's *Gegenstandstheorie*), and suggests that Patrizi was one of the most insightful literary critics Europe has had during the last 500 years.

Keywords Aristotle, *Poetics*; Francesco Patrizi, *Della poetica*; poetics; marvelment; poetic imagination; 16th century literary criticism; Alexius Meinong.

Francesco Patrizi (as I will call him in this paper[1]) needs no introduction to this distinguished audience. Barely known outside the – traditionally rather small – circle of historians of Renaissance philosophy half a century ago, he has now become one of those figures who are beginning to receive the scholarly attention that they amply deserve.[2] His works attract specialists from many different fields, for besides being a philosopher

[1] For other forms of his name see "BnF catalogue général," accessed August, 6. 2014, http://catalogue.bnf.fr/servlet/RechercheEquation;jsessionid=57980425AB75B1E90984E15FFD1A580C?TexteCollection=HGARSTUVWXYZ1DIECBMJNQLOKP&TexteTypeDoc=DESNFPIBTMCJOV&Equation=IDP%3Dcb121840069&host=catalogue.

[2] For recent assessments, see Fred Purnell, "Francesco Patrizi," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2008 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta, accessed August, 6, 2014, http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2008/entries/patrizi/, and Marisa Ciceran, "Prominent Istrians: Francesco Patrizi," accesed August, 20, 2014, http://www.istrianet.org/istria/illustri/patrizi/bio-eng.htm (accessed 20.08.2014). Especially in Croatia, Patrizi studies are flourishing – witness

in the technical sense of the word, Patrizi, in true Renaissance fashion, also was a poet, a polemist, a literary critic, and a theoretician of rhetoric and poetics. It is with the latter aspect of his work that I am concerned in this paper.

In order to take our bearings, allow me to recall a few well-known facts.[3] Patrizi is writing in the heyday of the reception of Aristotle's *Poetics*. This text did not leave any traces in Antiquity that would be clearly discernible to us, and the two Latin translations of it that were produced during the 13th century had almost no influence in the Renaissance; hence, they need not retain our attention here. A third, rather garbled, Latin version of the *Poetics* due to Giorgio Valla was published in Venice in 1498 and reprinted at least two times during the 16th century, but just like the two Medieval versions, Valla's seems to have been ignored by most Renaissance critics. Famously absent from the five-volume *Opera omnia* edition of Aristotle's works published by Aldus Manutius between November 1495 and June 1498,[4] it was in fact the *editio princeps* of the Greek text that sparked the Renaissance discovery of Aristotle's *Poetics*. Buried among fifteen other texts of major and minor importance in the first of two sizeable folio volumes of *Rhetores Graeci* edited by the Byzantine scholar Demetrios Doukas, and issued by the Aldine Press in 1508, Aristotle's short and only partly preserved treatise was set to dominate poetological discussions for at least a century and half, if not for more.[5] Translations, paraphrases, and commentaries immediately

the Dani Frane Petrića ("Days of Petrić"), which the very active Hrvatsko filozofsko društvo ("Croatian Philosophical Society") started to organize on a regular basis from 1992 onwards.

3 For what follows, see the comprehensive overview by Thomas Busch, "Chronologische Übersicht zur Textgeschichte," in Aristoteles, *Poetik* (Aristoteles: Werke in deutscher Übersetzung 5), ed. Arbogast Schmitt (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2008), XVII–XXVI.

4 Digital facsimile of vol. 1 available from München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, accessed August 20, 2014, at http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00045766/image_1.

5 *Rhetores Graeci* [conventional title for:] *Rhetores in hoc volumine habentur hi. Aphthonii sophistae Progymnasmata. Hermogenis Ars rhetorica. Aristotelis Rhetoricorum libri tres. Ejusdem Rhetorice. Ejusdem Ars poetica. Sopatri rhetoris Quaestiones de componendis declamationibus [...] Cyri sophistae Differentiae statuum. Dionysii Alicarnasei Ars rhetorica. Demetrii Phalerei De*

saw the light in great number, Alessandro de' Pazzi's much improved Latin version (which was published posthumously in 1536, together with the Aldine text) probably being the most widely known.[6] A conservative estimate would seem to indicate that in Italy alone, more than 260 *Artes poeticae* were published in the 50 years following upon de' Pazzi's edition.[7] For most of their authors – suffice it to mention Vettori (1560), Castelvetro (1570), or Riccoboni (1587) –, the authority of Aristotle reigned supreme and could not be called into question: What the "maestro di color' che sanno" had said in his *Poetics* simply had to be true, even if it was unintelligible and had little or no bearing on contemporary literary practice.[8] Thus, from being virtually unknown for nearly two millennia, Aristotle's *Poetics* had moved to centre stage within the span of less than two generations. The time was more than ripe for a thorough scrutiny of its tenets, and it was none other than Patrizi who would take upon himself this daunting challenge.

interpretatione. Alexandri sophistae De figuris sensus et dictionis. Adnotationes innominati De figuris rhetoricis. Menandri rhetoris Divisio causarum in genere demonstrativo. Aristeidis De civili oratione. Ejusdem De simplici oratione. Apsini De arte rhetorica praecepta, ed. Demetrios Doukas (Venice: Aldus, 1508). See on this Martin Sicherl, "Die Aldina der Rhetores Graeci (1508-1509) und ihre handschriftlichen Vorlagen," in *Illinois Classical Studies* 17 (1992): 109–135; reprinted in idem, *Griechische Erstausgaben des Aldus Manutius* (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums. N.s. 1: Monographien 10) (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1997), 310–340.

6 Alessandro Pazzi de Medici, *Aristotelis Poetica per Alexandrum Paccium [...] in Latinum conversa* (Venice: heirs of Aldus Pius Manutius and Andrea Asolano, 1536).

7 For this figure, see Luc Deitz, "Einführung," in Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem*, vol. 1: bks. 1-2, ed. Luc Deitz (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1994), XXXIII, n. 40.

8 Pietro Vettori, *Commentarii in primum librum Aristotelis De arte poetarum* (Florence: heirs of Bernardo Giunti, 1560); facsimile reprint: Poetiken des Cinquecento 9 (Munich: Fink, 1967). – Lodovico Castelvetro, *Poetica d'Aristotele vulgarizzata et sposta* (Vienna: Gaspar Stainhofer, 1570); facsimile reprint: Poetiken des Cinquecento 1 (Munich: Fink, 1968); 2nd expanded ed. published Basel: Pietro de Sedabonis, 1576; facsimile reprint: Kessinger Publishing's Legacy Reprints (Breiningsville, PA: Kessinger Reprints, 2010); critical ed. of the 2nd ed. by Werther Romani, 2 vols. (Scrittori d'Italia 264–265) (Rome: Laterza, 1978-1979); abridged translation of the 2nd by Andrew Bongiorno (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 29) (Binghampton, NY: SUNY, 1984). – Antonio Riccoboni, *Poetica Aristotelis Latine conversa. Compendium Artis poeticae Aristotelis* (Padua: Paulus Meietus, 1587); facsimile reprint: Poetiken des Cinquecento 22 (Munich: Fink, 1970).

While Patrizi had already published the little-read *Discorso della diversità de' furori poetici* in 1553,[9] his first great work entirely devoted to the arts of language, *Della retorica dieci dialoghi*, came out in 1562 and had the great good fortune to be re-issued as a reprint edition with a preface by Anna Laura Puliafito in 1994.[10] His *Della poetica*, on the other hand, to which I am now turning, fared less well: only two of the seven books were published during Patrizi's lifetime (Ferrara, 1586); the remaining five had to wait for nearly 400 years until they were identified in the 1950s by Paul Oskar Kristeller in the Biblioteca Palatina at Parma, and brought out in a not always perfect, but generally reliable three-volume edition by Danilo Aguzzi Barbagli between 1969 and 1971.[11] It is with one of the books contained in the *Della poetica* that I will mainly be concerned with in the rest of this paper – I mean the *Deca ammirabile*, a title that I would tentatively translate as *The Ten Chapters on Wonder*, or *The Ten Chapters on the Marvelous*, probably written in the course of 1587.[12]

Patrizi had already given free rein to his rabid anti-Aristotelianism in his extraordinarily learned *Discussiones Peripateticae* of 1581,[13] and continued his *Striking Asunder of* or his *Onslaught on* (this is how I render *discussio*) *Peripatetic Philosophy* in the book immediately preceding the *Deca ammirabile*, called the *Deca disputata*.[14] These *Ten Chapters on Contro-*

9 The *Discorso della diversità de' furori poetici* originally appeared in Franceso Patrizi, *La città felice* (Venice: Giovanni Griffio, 1553; I have not seen this edition), and was reprinted by Aguzzi Barbagli (see note 11 below), vol. 3, 447–461.

10 Franceso Patrizi, *Della Retorica dieci dialoghi* (Venice: Francesco Senese, 1562); facsimile reprint, with an introduction by Anna Laura Puliafito: Aurifodina philosophica 2 (Lecce: Conte, 1994).

11 Francesco Patrizi, *Della poetica*, ed. Danilo Aguzzi Barbagli, 3 vols. (Florence: Istituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento, 1969-1971); henceforth referred to as *Poetica*, indicating volume and page. All translations from this work are my own.

12 *Poetica*, 2:[231]–368. On the date of composition, see p. 368, n. *.

13 Francesco Patrizi, *Discussiones peripateticae* (Basel: Perneas Lecythus, 1581); facsimile reprint ed. by Zvonko Pandžić (Cologne: Böhlau, 1999).

14 *Poetica*, 2:[1]-230.

versial Issues are entirely devoted to refuting, some, if not all, of the main tenets propounded by Aristotle in his *Poetics*. Thus, to give but a handful of examples, Patrizi maintains against Aristotle that the infamously famous imitation (*mímesis*) is not a distinctive characteristic of poetry, for there can be poetry without imitation, and imitation without poetry; he argues that verse is a conditio *sine qua non* for poetry, whereas myth is not; he sets out to prove that Empedocles is at least as much of a poet as Homer is, that poetry is not more philosophical than history, or that historical events such as military campaigns or civil wars can indeed become the subject matter of good poetry. I have recently dealt with all these issues in some detail elsewhere; suffice it for now to remember that Aristotle's *Poetics* is the negative foil, as it were, against which Patrizi is writing and arguing in what could be considered as the constructive part of his *Della poetica*.[15]

Patrizi's own approach to poetry rests on two pillars: one that could be called 'anthropological' and one that could be called 'phenomenological'.[16] The first deals with the origins and sources of poetry, the second with its generic characteristics. As far as the origins of poetry are concerned, Patrizi says – not surprisingly for a Platonist – that there are (i) those who are divinely inspired, the enthusiasts, who do not know what they are doing when a god or a demon takes possesion of them – seers, prophets, or Sibyls, who would be hard pressed to explain their verses once they have uttered them. Further, he says, there are (ii) those who have a natural gift for poetry, such as Ovid, who said of himself that he simply

15 Luc Deitz, "Francesco Patrizi da Cherso on the Nature of Poetry," in *Neo-Latin and the Humanities: Essays in Honour of Charles E. Fantazzi*, ed. Luc Deitz, Timothy Kircher, and Jonathan Reid (Essays and Studies 32) (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2014), 179–205.

16 For the anthropological aspect in the general context of Patrizi's philosophy, see now the very fine article by Thomas Leinkauf, "Francesco Patrizis Poetik des Wunderbaren. Zur anthropologischen Funktion der Dichtung in der Frühen Neuzeit," *Comparatio. Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft* 3 (2011): 189–207; reprinted in idem, *Cusanus, Ficino, Patrizi. Formen platonischen Denkens in der Renaissance* (Frankfurter kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge 17) (Berlin: Trafo, 2014), 331–350.

could not do otherwise than write in verse – *quidquid conabar dicere, versus erat* ("whatever I tried to say turned out to be verse").[17] Most poets, however, belong to a third group: (iii) those who are conscious "creators", as the words *poietés*, derived from the verb *poieîn*, clearly indicates, the main stimuli for writing poetry, so Patrizi claims, being joy and pain, as well as praise and blame, in short: strong emotions translated from the realm of subjective, pre-linguistic, emotional chaos into that of objective, articulate, rational order.[18]

On the purely phenomenological side, Patrizi, mainly relying on Strabo, Plutarch, Hermogenes, and Quintilian, says that the distinctive qualities of poetry can be subsumed under one or several of 20-odd headings. I would like to give them in full, as they are worth quoting. Poetry

> speaks in riddles, does not care for truth, tells many lies, uses variety, uses figures of speech, uses shining language, invents things, tells fables, makes gods feel like human beings, speaks paradoxically about men and animals, represents supra-human events as if they had really taken place, pretends that the gods avail themselves of inanimate things by way of servants, invents impossible and unbelievable monsters, diminishes things, renders them visible, makes them greater, strives for sweetness, uses verse, pretends that it is the Muses themselves that are speaking, and speaks like a foreigner – all in all 22 characteristics, to which singing in verse ought to be added.[19]

17 Ovid, *Trist*. 4.10.26, as quoted by Patrizi, *Poetica*, 2:33; our editions read *et quod temptabam scribere versus erat*.

18 *Poetica*, 2:243. A similar idea is expressed by Scaliger, *Poetice* (as in note 7 above), bk. 1, chapter 4 ("Pastoralia"), see 1:98, lines 3–23 (ed. Deitz). For the probable origin of this notion in the works of Cristoforo Landino, see Eugene N. Tigerstedt, "The Poeat as Creator: Origins of a Metaphor," *Comparative Literature Studies* 5 (1968): 455–488.

19 *Poetica*, 2:235–236: "Ora tutte le […] proprietà poetiche dagli antichi ricordate si riducono in somma: parlare in enimma, non curar del vero, dire molte menzogne, usare varietà, usare ornamento, usare splendore, fingere cose, favoleggiare, fare i dei alla umana passionati, dire paradossi d'huomini, dire paradossi d'animali, casi soprumani quasi succeduti, inanimati

The point about this rather rhapsodic list is twofold: it aims at exhaustivity and comprehensiveness; and by doing this, it aims at showing how deficient, and, by implication, how wrong Aristotle's own jejune treatment of poetry had been.

Once all of this has been established, Patrizi takes us one step further and asks what the role and function of the poet is, and it is at this juncture that his theory starts to become really interesting. Indeed, had he stopped at a mere descriptive listing, however exhaustive, of the origins, properties, and qualities of measured speech, he would only have been one in a long list of theoreticians reaching from Theophrastus over Hermogenes to George of Trebizond, who had all tried in a more or less circular way to define the essence of effective speech by pretending to discover a set of priorly defined qualities in texts chosen precisely because they happened to illustrate *in concreto* what they were supposed to prove *in abstracto*. But Patrizi does make the decisive leap from description to prescription, and it is to this that I am now turning.

All qualities just listed, Patrizi says, have one thing in common (I paraphrase): "One can distinguish yet another quality that is common to all the others and gives colour and life to them. And this quality, we call 'the wonderful' (*mirabile*), meaning by 'the wonderful' everything which causes *maraviglia*" (a word which is, I think, best translated by the slightly old-fashioned "marvelment").[20] Thus, sweet song, mellifluous language, powerful imagery, unusual contents, elevated and paradoxical

ministri di dei, mostri di impossibili, incredibili, sminuzzar le cose, fare evidenti, aggrandirle, studiare a dolcezza, usare il verso, far vista che parlino le Muse, parlar quasi straniero, che sono ventidue in novero. Alle quali si aggiunga il cantare il verso." For a discussion of these properties, see ibid. 2:249–255.

20 *Poetica*, 2:257: "[S]i manifesta ancora certa altra qualità, che a tutte [le proprietà] sia commune e tutte del suo color le ritinga, e del suo calor le avvivi. Alla quale ed esse tutte come ad un capo si riducano, e tutta la poesia indi penda, e forme prenda e vita. E questa qualità noi chiamiamo col nome di mirabile. E mirabile intendiamo che sia tutto quello che in altrui o muove, od è a muovere atto maraviglia." See also ibid. 2:343: "E ciò si è il mirabile per fine universale intrinseco, che forma anco si chiama, e la maraviglia per fine estrinseco." In the jargon of the of the *Poetik und Hermeneutik* school, the "mirabile" would thus correspond to the realm of *Produktionsästhetik*, and the "maraviglia" to that of *Rezeptionsästhetik*.

subject-matters and so on all aim at, and succeed in, provoking marvelment – witness Orpheus, who, as a practitioner of song, was able to charm wild beasts and make mountains move; or witness that fine critic Longinus, who also knew that real poetry would lead to ecstasy;[21] witness many other ancient and contemporary poets and critics who all concurred in saying that poetry provoked *thauma*, *thambos*, *kelesis*, and so forth – all Greek words denoting wonder, bewitchment, and enchantment.

It is obvious that all of this is a far cry from Aristotle's flat concept of *mimesis*, whether the latter be taken to mean 'imitation' or 'representation'. In fact, as I have already hinted at, according to Patrizi, the poet does neither imitate, nor represent, but he does *create*, he brings new and unheard-of things into being – in Plato's words: "All kind of *poietike* is a capacity causing things that were not in existence previously to come into existence later on."[22] Or to put this differently, but still in Plato's words, it is poetic imagination, the so-called φανταστική, not εἰκαστική, which is at the root of creatures such as winged horses, centaurs, chimeras, or Medusa with her serpent hair.[23] (Let me add in parentheses that, according to Patrizi, for once even Proclus, normally one of his great heroes, but criticized by him in this context, got this wrong when he wrote in his *Commentary on the Republic*: "The poet is an imitator, for the aim of every imitator is to create something resembling its exemplar",[24] for the very simple reason that poetry has strictly nothing to do with paradigmatical exemplars, but with "concetti e parole maravigliose".[25])

But what precisely is this marvelment that poetry aims to achieve?

21 (Ps.-)Longinus, *Subl.* 1.4: οὐ γὰρ εἰς πειθὼ τοὺς ἀκροωμένους ἀλλ' *εἰς ἔκστασιν* ἄγει τὰ ὑπερφυῆ (quoted *Poetica*, 2:259 and 304).

22 Plato, *Soph.* 265b: ποιητικὴν ... πᾶσαν ἔφαμεν εἶναι δύναμιν ἥτις ἂν αἰτία γίγνηται *τοῖς μὴ πρότερον οὖσιν ὕστερον γίγνεσθαι*.

23 See *Poetica*, 2:278-279; cp. 2:78.

24 Proclus, *In Platonis Rempublicam* 1.67 (ed. Kroll): ὁ ποιητὴς μιμητής· πᾶς δὲ μιμητὴς τέλος ἔχει *ὅμοιον ποιῆσαι τῷ παραδείγματι*; quoted *Poetica*, 2:281.

25 *Poetica*, 2:284.

First of all, Patrizi makes what seems to me to be a very fine psychological point. In order to be able to marvel at somethimg, he says, the reader or listener has to be aware of an incongruity between cause and effect, of a chasm between what he expected to happen and what actually happens, of a rift between what he thought to be the case and what he now learns truly to be the case. Interestingly, this excludes two types of people from the possibility of appreciating poetry, namely total fools and perfect sages, for the insensivity of the former makes them impermeable to it, whereas the aloofness of the latter makes them indifferent to it. All of the remaining categories of people (and Patrizi specifically mentions children, illiterates and seekers for wisdom, philosophers) are potential candidates for poetic marvelment.[26]

Now it would be a mistake to think that Patrizi was alone in the 16th century to talk about the *mirabile* and the ways in which it is produced. Indeed, he quotes a number of contemporary authorities dealing with the same topic, but only ultimately to reject them. Castelvetro, who is repeatedly referred to by Patrizi, for instance stated that the poet "should write about likely things if he wants to create marvelment, because incredible or unbelievable things are unable to bring it about", and Tasso similarly held that that a poet who did "not stick to what is likely and possible could not achieve wonder".[27] It is obvious that for these, and for

[26] *Poetica*, 2:291–292: "Nè la somma sapienza adunque, nè la somma ignoranza di maraviglia sono capaci, quella perchè ne supera tutte le cagioni, e questa perchè non le arriva. Tutti gli altri huomini, che fra questi due stati sono posti, maraviglia non possono fuggire [...]: i fanciulli, i non ammaestrati, quelli che mezzanamente hanno imparato, i prudenti, ed i filosofi."

[27] Lodovico Castelvetro, *La poetica d'Aristotele vulgarizzata et sposta* (Basel: Pietro de Sedabonis, 1576), 612: "Et si dice che si permette la fittione delle cose incredibili al poeta, se le cose incredibili operano il fine piu marauiglioso, che non fanno le credibili. *Et io dico, che le cose incredibili non possono operare marauiglia.* Come, per cagione d'esempio, se io ho per cosa incredibile, che Dedalo volasse, non mi posso marauigliare, che volasse, non credendo io, che volasse"; referred to *Poetica*, 2:293. – Torquato Tasso, *I discorsi dell'arte poetica, e in particolare sopra il poema eroico*, ed. Angelo Solerti (Torino: Paravia, 1901), 6–7: "[M]ancando [il poeta] il verosimile ed il possibile, mancava il maraviglioso"; quoted *Poetica* 2:293 ("probabile citazione a memoria", according to Aguzzi Barbagli a.l.).

other distinguished critics referred to by Patrizi, *maraviglia* is indeed a constituent part of poetry, but it has to be strictly subordinated to the *verosimile*, or the *credibile*, which corresponds to the πιθανόν of classical rhetoric (best translated as "plausible"; British lawyers might say "that about which 'no reasonable doubt' can be raised").

This is precisely the point where Patrizi's criticism sets in. Opposing most of the tradition, and, as far as I can see, all of his contemporaries who held a view on the matter, Patrizi not only rejects the notion that the poet is bound by the limits of plausibility if he wants to achieve marvelment, but he maintains on the contrary that the implausible is part and parcel of, and in fact the *conditio sine qua* non for the creation of *maraviglia*. For how could we enjoy stories such as that of Cadmus sowing warriors from the teeth of dragons; of Pegasus flying high up into the sky; of Astolfo traveling to the moon in Elijah's flaming chariot; or of Tiresias changing sex twice in a lifetime, unless we agree with a statement ascribed to Hermogenes that "to tell marvels about impossible and unbelievable things is poetical and sweet".[28] Of course, one must not think that it is enough simply to tell implausible and unbelievable stories and that then, hey presto! the result will be poetry, just as it would be wrong to maintain that it is enough to tell possible and likely stories in order to write convincing history. Implausibility is a necessary, but not a sufficient cause for marvelment. Rather it is the mix and intertwining of the two orders, of the order of believable and plausible and of the order of unbelievable and implausible events, that is responsible for creating in us a sense of wonder, and hence of poetry. In Patrizi's own words:

> [I]l maraviglioso, per sua natura, nè dall'ordine solo de' credibili, nè dall'ordine solo degli incredibili nasc[e], ma *nasce allora quando l'un ordine si mescola con l'altro* [my italics], e che un credibile paia

[28] *Poetica*, 2:234: καὶ τὰ ἀδύνατα καὶ τὰ ἄπιστα τερατεύεσθαι καὶ ὅλως τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιητικὰ καὶ ἡδέα ἐστίν (attributed to Hermogenes by Patrizi, but not to be found in his works).

> haver preso faccia di incredibile, o uno incredibile paia haver preso faccia di credibile. Adunque il mescolamento di ambedue, credibile e incredibile, farà la maraviglia, ed il mirabile sarà non altro che un cotale congiugimento, di che di incredibili divengano credibili, o di credibili divengano incredibili.[29]

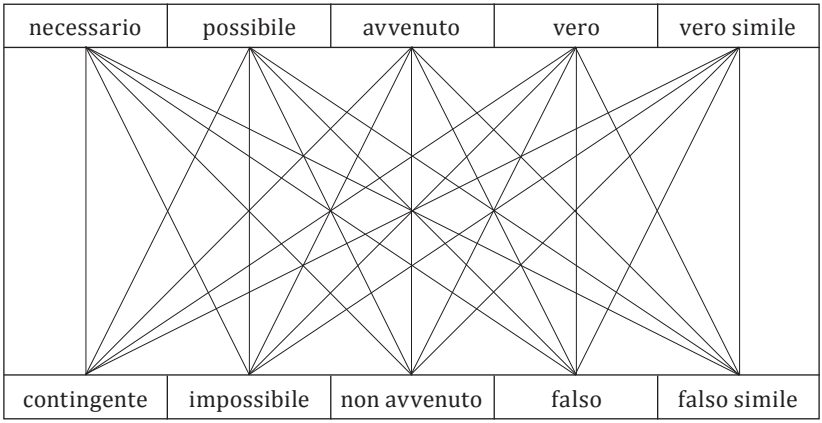
Having established this, Patrizi still takes us one step further and propounds what I think is the most complex and comprehensive theory of the *mirabile* of the 16th century, and possibly of all times. For this alone Patrizi deserves a place of honour in all histories of literary theory, from most of which he has been so conspicuously absent up to the pesent day.

What is strange, bizarre, unusual, and so forth: in short, what is implausible, unbelievable, and unlikely can only be defined in relation to what is known, common, run-of-the-mill, in short: to what is plausible, believable, and likely. Of the latter, there are five kinds. The first two kinds belong to the logical category of judgment and are defined as "true" and as "likely" (*vero* and *verosimile*). The remaining three kinds belong to the ontological category of modality and seem to be harkening back to a well-known passage of the *Analytica priora*, where Aristotle says that facts are either "necessary", "possible", or "established" (*necessario*, *possibile*, and *avvenuto*).[30] These five belong to the realm of the *credibile* and have as their natural contraries the "false" and the "unlikely" in the category of judgment, and the "contingent", the "impossible", and the *non avvenuto* in the category of being. Patrizi uses the following diagram to summarize this:[31]

29 *Poetica*, 2:310.

30 *Poetica*, 2:308–309: "[D]iciamo che due ordini si ritrovano di cose, l'una seguente l'altra, l'uno tutto credibile e l'altro tutto incredibile, ed il primo de' credibili è il necessario, e il possibile, e l'avvenuto, il vero, il versisimile. Per li quali tutti capi corre il credibile di sua natura." For the reference to Aristotle, see *Analytica priora* 2.25a1–2: ἐπεὶ δ ὲ πᾶσα πρότασίς ἐστιν ἢ τοῦ ὑπάρχειν ἢ τοῦ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὑπάρχειν ἢ τοῦ ἐνδέχεσθαι ὑπάρχειν. Of course, Patrizi nowhere admits his debt to this passage.

31 *Poetica*, 2:312.



Since there are

10 double ways [i.e., necessario-possibile, necessario-avvenuto, necessario-vero, and so on],

10 threefold ways [i.e., necessario-possibile-avvenuto, necessario-possibile-vero, and so on],

5 fourfold ways and

1 fivefold way

i.e. 26 ways in which the terms of the *credibile*-row can combine with each other, and since there are five more (5 simple, 10 double, 10 threefold, 5 fourfold, and 1 fivefold ways), i.e. 31 ways in which every single or combined term of the *credibile*-row can combine singly or in combination with those of the *incredibile*-row, there is *a first total of 26 × 31 = 806 abstract matrix points at which, or ways in which, poetic marvelment can be produced*.[32]

But this is not all. As Patrizi further points out, the categories of both the realms of the *credibile* and of the *incredibile* have no "subsistence in

[32] This figure and the following (which I hope to be correct) differ from the ones given by Patrizi, *Poetica*, 2:312–314, but then Patrizi's figures are always very approximative and can never be trusted.

the abstract" but must be predicated of underlying substances.[33] There are three orders of these: the divine (also called providence), the natural (known as fate), and the human (familiar under the name of fortune), with their possible interactions.[34] Thus, when Jupiter transforms himself into a bull or an eagle, we have an interplay between the divine and the natural reigns, but when Pallas changes young Arachne into a spider, we assist to an interweaving between the divine, the natural, and the human reigns. As one can easily see, there are seven possible combinations between these three orders of substances, which thus gives us *a second total of 7 × 806 = 5,642 primary matrix points where marvelment can originate*. These are what Patrizi calls its "remote sources" (*lontani fonti*) of marvelment.[35]

Obviously none of the three substances just mentioned, and none of their combinations, must be conceived of as a monolithic, amorphous, homogeneous mass, but within each, Patrizi distinguishes what I ultimately take to be – but I have not yet been able to prove this in detail – Proclean triads, tetrads pentads, and enneads such as "substance, power, and knowledge", or "will, action, passion, and effect", as well as others, which it would lead to far to rehearse in detail.[36] The point is that one can go on multiplying all the 5,642 primary matrix points already defined by the factors three, four, five, nine, fifteen, or twenty-five, and will thus arrive at ever new secondary possible combinations of the interplay between the two main basic orders of believable and unbelievable, thereby defining

33 *Poetica*, 2:312: "[Q]uesti due ordini non hanno sussistenza in astratto, ma di forza a soggetta materia sono congiunti."

34 Ibid.: "[L]e materie universalissime sono tre, cioè: divina, o naturale, o umana, le quali necessariamente hanno tra loro l'una dall'altra lontananza."

35 *Poetica*, 2:311.

36 *Poetica*, 2:314: "Questo dico sono tre universali cagioni regitrici e de' tre generi, e delle essenze, e delle potenze, e delle conoscenze loro, e delle volontadi, e delle azioni, e delle passioni, e degli affetti." See the synopsis in *Poetica*, between pages 314 and 315, as well as 320.

ever new aspects, or matrix points, of what Lina Bolzoni once felicitously called *L'universo dei poemi possibili*.[37]

And it is with this universe of possible poems and its implications that I wish to conclude. Patrizi is well aware of the fact that within the context of 16th century writings on poetics, his approach is unique and goes against the grain of most of the received wisdom. When one compares his *Della poetica* to the most influential treatise on poetics written in the Renaissance, Scaliger's *Poetices libri septem*, the publication of which predates Patrizi's by a mere 25 years,[38] one cannot help feeling that, despite having quasi-identical titles, the two works deal with totally different subject matters. Historians of Italian literature such as Cesare Vasoli or Micaela Rinaldi have argued that Patrizi's *Poetica* ought mainly to be seen within the general context of the literary feud that opposed the supporters of Ariosto (1474–1533) to those of Tasso (1544–1595) in the wake of Camillo Pellegrino's 1584 *Carrafa, ovvero della epica poesia*, in which Tasso was proclaimed superior to Ariosto mainly because the *Gerusalemme liberata* was thought to be more in line with what literary critics deemed to be Aristotelian precepts than the disorderly *Orlando furioso*.[39]

Since Patrizi is obviously writing within a context and is not unaware of the debates going on in his day, I do not want to deny that there is some truth in this, but according to me, there is much more to Patrizi's theory.

First, he develops what I think is the earliest theoretical foundation of the fundamental psychological process underlying our (i.e., the readers')

37 Lina Bolzoni, *L'universo dei poemi possibili* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1980). Although technically feasible, it would be practically useless to try to enumerate all possible combinations in detail, see *Poetica*, 2:316. "De' quali congiungimenti de' lontani [fonti] essendo il numero salito quasi allo infinito, infinito sarebbe e sanza pro e vano il volergli tutti esemplificare."

38 Which Patrizi knew: *Poetica*, 2:250.

39 See Cesare Vasoli, "Francesco Patrizi e il dibattito sul poema epico," in *Ritterepik der Renaissance*, ed. Klaus W. Hempfer (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1989), 315–332, and Micaela Rinaldi, *Torquato Tasso e Francesco Patrizi: tra polemiche letterarie e incontri intellettuali* (Ravenna: Longo, 2001). The treatise referred to: Camillo Pellegrino, *Carrafa, ovvero della epica poesia* (Florence: Sermartelli, 1584); see *Poetica*, 2:316.

response to fantastic literature. Indeed, our reactions to the weird, the marvelous, the mysterious, the disturbing, in short: the uncanny (what Freud would later analyze as "das Unheimliche") can be explained, at least in part, with the help of Patrizi's brilliant insight into the necessary interplay between *credibile* and *incredibile*.[40] Thus, it is precisely the "rift" (*rupture* or *déchirure*) between the normality of our day-to-day experience and a different world obeying different laws mentioned by Patrizi[41] that has been singled out by theoreticians such as Roger Caillois or Louis Vax as one of the essential characteristics of fantastic literature.[42]

Second, Patrizi gives us some sort of poetic ontology that explicitly includes non-existing objects as logical possibilities. I do not wish to press this point too far and would only like what I am saying to be taken as a mere hint for possible future research, but it would seem that Patrizi's ontology, when taken seriously, has many points of contact with the *Gegenstandstheorie* developed by the unjustly forgotten Austrian philosopher Alexius Meinong (1853–1920), who believed in the possibility of intending non-existing objects.[43] One of the issues at stake is how to imagine and judge about something which is not. I am not sure that

40 Sigmund Freud, "Das Unheimliche," *Imago* 5/6, 1919; reprinted in idem, *Werke aus den Jahren 1917-1920* (Gesammelte Werke 12), 6th ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1986), [227]–268.

41 See note 29 above.

42 Roger Caillois, "De la féerie à la science-fiction," preface to *Anthologie du fantastique*, vol. 1, ed. Roger Caillois, 2nd ed. (Paris: Gallimard, 1966), 8: "Le fantastique […] manifeste un scandale, une déchirure, une irruption insolite, presque insupportable dans le monde reéel." See also the fundamental works by Louis Vax, *La séduction de l'étrange* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1965), and idem, *L'art et la littérature fantastiques*, 4th ed. (Que sais-je? 907) (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1974).

43 See, for example, Alexius Meinong, "Über Gegenstandstheorie," in *Untersuchungen zur Gegenstandstheorie und Psychologie*, ed. Alexius Meinong (Leipzig: Barth, 1904), 1–50; reprinted in idem, *Abhandlungen zur Erkenntnistheorie und Gegenstandstheorie*, ed. Rudolf Haller and Rudolf Kindinger (Gesamtausgabe 2) (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1971), 481–530. English translation of this milestone by I. Levi, D. B. Terrell, and R. M. Chisholm, "On the Theory of Objects," in *Realism and the Background of Phenomenology*, ed. Roderick M. Chisholm (Glencoe: Free Press, 1960), 76–117 (I have not seen this publication).

Patrizi gives us an answer, but let it be said to his eternal credit that he at least raised the question.

Third, Patrizi's structural approach clearly anticipates some of the ideas developed by the mathematical mastermind of the *Ouvroir de littérature potentielle*, the great Raymond Queneau (1903-1976). Queneau famously published a set of 10 sonnets, each line of which can be combined with every single line of all the others, thus enabling every reader to enjoy precisely 100,000 billion of different poems – at least in theory, for in practice, and at average reading speed, it would take some 200,000,000 years to plough through the lot.[44] Although I confess to being unable to calculate the precise number of poetic combinations possible in Patrizi's universe,[45] he clearly opens the door to an oulipien (or oulipotic) world of experimental combinatory poetry, inasmuch as he maintains that there is strictly no subject-matter in the known universe that cannot be treated poetically, provided that one or more basic laws of construction and their corollaries be strictly observed and rigorously applied.

And finally, it might be worth pointing out that, well over 200 years before Samuel Taylor Coleridge did so, Patrizi's polemic against Aristotle led him to advocate something closely resembling Coleridge's famous "willing suspension of disbelief" with which the latter reacted against the anaemic rationalizing turn that classicizing poetry had taken during the 18th century. Of course it would be a total anachronism to see Patrizi as the conscious forerunner, as it were, of something he could not even guess would ever happen. But I do not think that one is doing him unjustice when one salutes in him one of the most insightful literary critics and one of the most daring theoretical innovators whom Europe has had during the last 500 years. At least it is in this quality that I would like to put him back on the map.

44 Raymond Queneau, *Cent mille milliards* [= 10^{14} = 100,000,000,000,000] *de poèmes*, in idem, *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 1, ed. Claude Debon (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 358) (Paris: Gallimard 1989), [331]–344, here 334. On OuLiPo ['Ouvroir de littérature potentielle'] in general, see for example Hervé Le Tellier, *Esthétique de l'Oulipo*, 2nd ed. (Bordeaux: Le Castor Astral, 2006).

45 See note 37 above.

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Patrizi and His Women

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Abstract We have very little information about Patrizi's emotional life. In our paper, we shed more light on his relationship towards women in example of his attitudes towards four women: Irene di Spilimbergo, Tarquinia Molza, Lucrezia d'Este, and the unknown *Madama*, presumably Dianora Pugliese. It is known that in Ferrara he had met the famous singer and poet Tarquinia Molza, a granddaughter of poet Francesco Maria Molza and wife of Paolo Porrino to which he dedicated the third volume of his *Discussiones peripateticae*. She also played a role in his text *L'amorosa filosofia*. Patrizi wrote two sonnets dedicated to the Venetian female painter Irene di Spilimbergo, who died at the tender age of 21. Moreover, Patrizi dedicated the *Deca istoriale* of his *Della poetica* to the noblewoman Lucrezia d'Este in which one can see his attitude towards a woman of a socially higher rank. Finally, there are traces of his business relationship with a woman of whose identity we cannot be sure (presumably Dianora Pugliese) and about which he writes in his personal correspondence. By analysing Patrizi's above-mentioned works we will show what kind of relationship he had with Molza and di Spilimbergo in particular and what motivated him to write about and to them. We intend to bring a little more light into Patrizi's emotional life as well as to discuss his general attitude towards women.

Keywords Patrizi, poetics, Tarquinia Molza, Irene di Spilimebergo, Dianora Pugliese, Lucrezia d'Este.

"Quel che destina il ciel non può fallire." (Irene di Spilimbergo)[1]

[1] "That which is destined by heaven cannot fail." According to her biographer Dionigi Atanagi (Dionigi Atanagi, "Vita della Signora Irene," in *Rime di diversi nobilissimi, et eccelentissimi autori, in morte della Signora Irene delle Signore di Spilimbergo* ed. Dionigi Atanagi (Venetia: Domenico et Giorgio Battista Guerra, 1563), n. pag.), this motto was written by Irene on the door of her painting studio.

Introduction

We know little about Francesco Patrizi's personal life and our ignorance is particularly deep in respect to his emotional ventures, dilemmas, and ups and downs. This fact stands out as especially surprising if we remember that the places where he lived and the time when he lived were populated by people who have remained famous – among other things – for their turbulent emotional escapades and adventures. One just has to think of the unbridledly jealous composer-murderer Gesualdo da Venosa whose second wife was Leonora d'Este, the niece of Duke Alfonso II, one of the most important of Patrizi's patrons; or Patrizi's friend and competitor, poet Torquato Tasso who suffered from so many emotional ("melancholical") episodes that he ended up in a mental institution; or even cardinal Luigi d'Este, the younger and recalcitrant brother of the Duke, whose spirit was far more libertine and vivacious to be suited for the scarlet biretta. Surrounded with such an atmosphere in which an exaggerated public display of emotions was more a rule than an exception, it is rather unexpected and unusual to have nothing of it from someone as prominent as Patrizi.

Intellectual relationships between Francesco Patrizi and some of his contemporary male colleagues, like Torquato Tasso, Teodoro Angelucci, Francesco Muti, and Jacopo Mazzoni, have been relatively extensively discussed in secondary literature.[2] However, his relationships to some contemporary women have not been sufficiently explored.[3] Despite the

[2] See for example Micaela Rinaldi, *Torquato Tasso e Francesco Patrizi. Tra polemiche letterarie e incontri intellettuali* (Ravenna: Longo Angelo, Ravenna, 2001); Federick Purnell, "Francesco Patrizi and the critics of Hermes Trismegistus," in *Das Ende des Hermetismus: historische Kritike und neue naturphilosophie in der Spätrenaissance*, ed. Martin Muslow (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 105–126; Mihaela Girardi-Karšulin, "Polemika između Frane Petrića i Teodora Angeluccija," *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 59–60 (2004): 103–117; Maria Muccillo, "Un dibattito sui libri metafisici di Aristotele fra platonici, aristotelici e telesiani (con qualche complicazione ermetica): Patrizi, Angelucci e Muti sul 'soggetto' della Metafisica," *Medioevo: Rivista di Storia della Filosofia medioevale* 24 (2009): 221–304; Luka Boršić, *Renesansne rasprave s Aristotelom – Nizolio, Petrić, Mazzoni* (Zagreb: KruZak, 2013).

[3] Among more recent scholarship works, there are some that mention these women in connection to Patrizi. A selection of these works include: Cesare Vasoli, "Francesco Patrizi e la

above-mentioned scarcity of the sources it is nevertheless still possible to extract some knowledge about these relationships from the extant text. We will be particularly interested in Patrizi's attitude towards four women: Lucrezia d'Este (1535–1598), Irene di Spilimbergo (1538–1559), Tarquinia Molza (1542–1617), and Dianora Pugliese. Our interest is focused on how Patrizi saw them and what kind of information about their relationship we can collect from his writings. Of course, at the outset it should be stressed that the communication was one-way: we have no information about the women's attitude (if there was any) towards Patrizi.

Irene di Spilimbergo and Francesco Patrizi – two sonnets for a student of Titian

Irene di Spilimbergo was born in the castle town of Spilimbergo near Udine into a wealthy and intellectually oriented family.[4] Her father, Adriano di Spilimbergo, died a few years after Irene's birth and she was first raised

cultura filosofica ferrarese del suo tempo," in *La corte di Ferrara & il suo mecenatisimo del suo tempo/The Court of Ferrara & Its Patonage*, ed. by Marianne Pade, Lene Waage Petersen, Daniela Quarta (Copenhagen, Ferrara: Renaessancestudier, Edizioni Panini, 1987), 247–266; Cesare Vasoli, *Francesco Patrizi da Cherso* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1989), 181–204; Joanne M. Riley, "Tarquinia Molza (1542–1617): A Case Study of Women, Music and Society in the Renaissance," in *The Musical Woman*, ed. Judith Zaimont et al. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 470–493; Antonio Corsaro, "Dionigi Atanagi e la silloge per Irene di Spilimbergo. (Intorno alla formazione del giovane Tasso)," *Italica* 75/1 (1998), 41–61; Tonko Maroević, "Tko je Irene di Spilimbergo?," *Dubrovnik* X/1–2 (1999): 293–296; Germaine Greer, *The Obstacle Race: The Fortunes of Women Painters and Their Work* (New York: Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2001), 70–72; Maria G. Cavallari, "L'insegnamento del Patrizi in alcuni madrigal di Tarquinia Molza," in *Francesco Patrizi filosofo platonico nel crepuscolo del Rinascimento,* ed. by Patrizia Castelli (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2002), 129–138; Christopher Ulffers, "A Study of the Musical Influence of Tarquinia Molza on Patrizi's *L'amorosa filosofia*," in *Francesco Patrizi filosofo platonico nel crepuscolo del Rinascimento*, ed. by Patrizia Castelli (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2002), 139–164. These texts, however valuable they may be, do not really explore the relationship of Patrizi to women in general and to those women in particular – except from the point of view of music.

[4] About Irene di Spilimbergo's biography we rely on Anne Jacobson Schutte, "Irene di Spilimbergo: The Image of a Creative Woman in Late Renaissance Italy," *Renaissance Quarterly* 44/1 (1991): 42–61. In older literature the year of Irene di Spilimbergo's birth is given as 1540. In general not much information about Irene di Spilimbergo is known: the main source remains Dionigi Atanagi, "Vita della Signora Irene", in *Rime di diversi nobilissimi, et eccelentissimi autori,*

and educated by her mother Giulia, born da Ponte, a member of a rich and influential Venetian family. Since the age of fifteen or sixteen she lived with her maternal grandparents in Venice to whom she moved after her mother remarried and started a new family in which she gave birth to ten more children. Irene must have displayed a variety of talents from her early age since her family took care to hire the best teachers available to train Irene: in music it was the composer Bartolomeo Tromboncino, and the lutenist Bartolomeo Gazza. In letters she is reported to have read the works of Plutarchus, *Della instituzione morale* by A. Piccolomini, *Il cortigiano* by B. Castiglione, the works of Petrarca, etc. "not for a simple pastime or casually, but with a judicious and particular attention to the content […], making notes"[5]; and, most importantly, in painting she was tutored by "the Sun amidst small stars", Titian.[6] It is not really clear why Titian, who was not young anymore (he was well over sixty when Irene must have approached him), and who was with age becoming ever more withdrawn and unwilling to accept pupils, accepted Irene in pupilage. Was it because of Irene's unusual talent or as a favor to her mother, to whom Titian might have had certain family connections (according to some sources)?[7] Irene studied with Titian for two years and she was exceptionally diligent so that, according to Atanagi, it took her only six weeks to master color, shadows (chiaroscuro), anatomy and the handling

in morte della Signora Irene delle Signore di Spilimbergo, ed. D. Atanagi (Venetia: Domenico et Giorgio Battista Guerra, 1561), n. pag.

5 Atanagi, "Vita della Signora Irene", n. pag.: "[…] i quali [libri] ella leggeva non come il piu delle donne et anco de gli huomini fanno, per semplice passatempo, o come a caso; ma con giuditioso et particolare avvertimento delle materie, che trattano de concetti et delle elucutioni: osservando tuttavia et facendo estratti delle cose piu belle […]."

6 This famous epithet of Titian originates in nearly contemporary Giovanni P. Lomazzi, *Idea del tempio della pittura* (Milano, Paolo Gottardo Pontio, 1590), 50: "Ma fra tutti risplende come Sole fra picciole Stelle Tiziano, non solo fra gl' Italiani, ma fra tutti i pittori del mondo […]."

7 Cf. Benedetto Croce, "Scrittori del pieno e tardo rinascimento. XVIII. Il Bonfadio – XIX. Irene di Spilimbergo," *La critica* 41 (1943): 124 and 129. Croce here recalls the words of Vasari, according to whom "una bellissima giovane chiamata la signora Giulia da Ponte" was a "comare" of Titian.

of drapery.[8] She did copies of her master's paintings; a fine Titianesque painting of Saint Sebastian (in the church of St. Mauro and Donato in Izola, Slovenia) was first attributed to her but today the attribution is highly disputed; in the nineteenth century Count Maniago claimed to possess three small paintings ("quadretti") by Irene (Noah and the Ark, the Flood, the Flight into Egypt)[9]; and allegedly there existed a Bacchanal[10].

Irene died in 1559 at the tender age of only twenty-one after three weeks of illness. Her death was seen as a cruel necessity that came as a consequence of her workaholic life and an utter despise of the things of this world. On the occasion of her death, the Venetian nobleman Giorgio di Andrea di Taddeo Gradenigo (1522–1600), sixteen years Irene's senior, urged Dionigi Atanagi (1504–1573), quite a renowned polymath who happened to have arrived from Rome to Venice just in the year of Irene's death, to publish a honorary volume dedicated to Irene.[11] The consequence of this urging is a volume entitled *Rime di diversi nobilissimi et eccellentissimi autori, in morte della Signora Irene delle Signore di Spilimbergo*,

8 Atanagi, "Vita della Signora Irene," n. pag.

9 Fabio di Maniago, *Storia delle belle arti friulane* (Udine: Fratelli Mattiuzzi, 1823), 127: "[...] io ne conservo in tre quadretti, che rappresentano la fuga in Egitto, Noè ch' entra nell' arca, e l' universale diluvio: composizioni ricche di figure, e condotte con franchezza di pennello, con intelligenza di disegno, con gusto e forza di colorito, e che uscir sembrano dalle mani di provetto artista, e non di giovin donzella che toccava da pochi mesi la tavolozza." Jacobson Schutte, "Irene di Spilimbergo," 53 n. 45 writes about these paintings: "[They are] seen early in this century in the palazzo of the Counts d'Attimis-Maniago in Maniago, province of Gorizia; the present count did not respond to my letter of inquiry about the paintings."

10 Anna Franchi, "Donne artiste," *Emporium* LXIX (1919): 323: "[...] dalla scula del Tiziano uscì quella Irene di Spilimbergo che dicesi fosse maestra di colore. Ma il grande maestro della scuola veneta non riuscì a infonderle la forza del disegno. Fino a poco tempo fa in Alboodo [sic] certi signori Claudi conservarono di lei un baccanale, ove sembra fosse realmente trasfusa quella forza di colore che fa della pittura veneta una festa degli occhi."

11 It is unclear what the nature of Giorgio Gradenigo's relationship to Irene di Spilimbergo was. In lack of a better knowledge we can certainly embrace the inspired description given by Croce: "[Gradenigo era] un uomo che era forse in quel delicato e dolce stato d'animo tra di amico e di innamorato, tenero piu che l'amicizia non comporti, reverente piu che non comporti l'amore, rivolto ora in devozione e adorazione verso la donna che ci appartenne e non ci appartenne, e che sta a noi vicina ma insieme ci supera e distanzia." (Croce, "Scrittori," 124.)

published in Venice in 1561. The book contains a seventeen-page long biography of Irene di Spilimbergo written by Atanagi and a collection of 279 Italian and 102 Latin poems written by 143 contributors.[12] This memorial volume has been analyzed often enough in scholarly literature and there is no need to enter into any further discussion about it. Let it suffice to say that – generally – the poems in the volume have not received a special reception and are mostly criticized for their antiquarianism, i.e. a strong adherence to the Petrarchan tradition which was already considered a matter of some past times at the time when the book was composed. Contrary to that, the introductory *vita* by Atanagi is generally praised as a fine and out-of-the-box essay.[13]

In this memorial volume Atanagi took care to gather the crème de la crème of the Italian (not only Venetian) intellectual and literary circles and it seems it was a matter of prestige to contribute in this volume.[14] In the year of Spilimbergo's death, Patrizi wandered through Italy; after the publication of his work on history, *Della historia diece dialoghi,* in Venice in 1560 he might have been trying to settle down academically. In the year when the book *Rime di diversi nobilissimi et eccellentissimi autori* was published, Patrizi stayed in Venice. At the time his fame must have been already spread throughout Italy and he was invited to contribute to the memorial volume. For that occasion he composed two sonnets[15]:

La diva IRENE, che di ciel discese
In compagnia, di mille gratie eterne
D'Angeli mille, e mille sempiterne
Idee, ch'ella con propria man si prese,

The divine IRENE, who descended from heaven
In company of thousand eternal Graces,
Of thousand Angels, and thousand sempiternal
Ideas, that she brought with her own hand,

12 Some of the poems are anonymous, but it is generally supposed that they were written either by some of the 143 contributors or by Giorgio Grandenigo, who is not listed among the authors.

13 It is unlikely that Atanagi ever met Irene – it is believed that he based his biography on stories of other people, most notably Giorgio Grandenigo, his employer in the project.

14 The openness and good taste of Atanagi as editor can be seen on the fact that he recognized the talent of Torquato Tasso and invited him to contribute to the volume along with well established poets and *letterati* – at the moment of the publication of the book Torquato Tasso was only seventeen years old and the sonnets in the volume were his first published poems.

15 Atanagi, *Rime*, 39–40.

Venne questo mortal' empio paese
A paradiso far: e le sue interne
Parte aiutar[16], et adornar l'eterne:
E 'l potea[17] far: che sola tutto intese.
Privo 'l ciel di sue prime immortal doti
Restò di pace privo; e i be' suoi giri
In contrario senza ordine rivolse.
Ond' ella per tornar ne divin moti
Il piu bello mondo, a lui ratta si volse:
E lasciò questo a morte, et a martiri.

Came to this mortal and empty region
To make it a paradise, and to save its internal
Parts, and to adorn it with the eternal:
It was her only intention to make it this way.
Heaven, deprived of her primary immortal virtues,
Remained restless; and its beautiful circles
Revolve in contrary, without order.
Thus to restore its divine movements
Captured by it she returned to the more beautiful world
And left this one to death and to martyrs.

Mentre con le sue man la diva IRENE,
Pon in tela mortal l' eterena Idea
De la beltà, ch'n mente, e 'n volto havea
Per pareggiar con Dio l' opre terrene,
E con ombre, e colori, e lumi piene
Fa tutte parti; quella viva Dea
Suo spirto lor spirò, che vita ardea
Vera spirar in adombrate vene.
Ma l' opra fral, che vera havea sembianza
De l' eterna beltà, non prese vita:
E 'l spirto sciolto a dio levossi a volo.
O mirabil, e acerba rimembranza:
Vita altrui dar e far da se partita:
Fosse almen l' una a consolar il duolo.

When the divine IRENE with her own hands,
Puts onto a mortal canvas the immortal Idea
Of beauty, that she holds in her mind and her appearance
To equate the terrestrial things with God,
And with shadows, and colors, and full lights
She makes all parts: this alive Goddess
Inhales her spirit into them, because she ardently desires
To breath in the true life into pale veins.
But this fragile work, that has a true resemblance
To the eternal beauty, did not catch life:
And the unraveled spirit rose up flying to god.
O what a marvelous and bitterly memorable fate!
To give life to others and let make one's own part:
If it were at least one left to console the grief.

Here is an original poetical rendering of Patrizi's poems offered by the American poet Shawn Sturgeon (b. 1965).[18]

Diva Irene, descended from heaven,
with her thousands of eternal graces,
with her thousands of angels, her thousands
of everlasting ideas, dispensed from her
own hand—came here, to this mortal and empty
place, to make a paradise, to save what was
inside, to ornament all with forever:

When the Diva Irene, with her very own
hands gives her everlasting beauty to
mortal flesh, when what is in her mind, when
what we see of her, makes a heaven
out of earth, out of shadows, out of colors,
out of bright lights, Irene, a goddess,
an aliveness, tongue kissing, putting life

16 Corr. ex *auiuar*

17 Corr. ex *poteo*

18 These English versions of the sonnets have never been published before and are composed for the occasion of this text. The authors are deeply greateful to dr. Shawn Sturgeon for generously giving his poetical work to be published here.

what she did was everything she wanted.
But Heaven, no longer with her virtue,
was restless, turning two ways at once,
unordered and out of whack. To save it,
to save heaven, Irene returned to that
world and was trapped, leaving us, leaving this
world without her—to death and to martyrs.

into pale veins.... But, this breakable work,
this everlasting flesh, did not come to life,
so that her spirit, shaken, rose to God:
how bitter the memory, bitter the thought
of what will never be our fate! O, to give
life to others, to do one's part. If only
there were someone here now to console me.

From the available textual sources it is impossible to conclude whether Patrizi ever met Irene di Spilimbergo or not, whether he was familiar with her paintings or not. It is probable that just like the majority of the contributors to the volume, Patrizi did not know her in person: this is also noticeable in the style of these two sonnets. In them we cannot find warmth or affection: they are more pensive than personal. It seems that Patrizi used the Petrarchan form to express a sort of Neoplatonic poetry. Besides some common Neoplatonic *topoi* (likeness to God, intellect possessing the Ideas, immortal vs. mortal, order vs. chaos, beauty of the immaterial world vs. ugliness of the material world etc.), Irene di Spilimbergo becomes a metaphor for a paradox of the artist: she gives life to dead things, but cannot save herself from death, as though she literally gives life to things and leaving behind her own.

Patrizi's sonnets are harmonious and they try to interpret the essence of Irene di Spilimbergo's life in terms of Neoplatonic philosophy. That was of course expected, since Patrizi had already showed an interest in poetry, and his *Lettura sopra il sonetto del Petrarca: La gola, e'l sonno* was published in Venice in 1553. Moreover, since at the time of the composition of these poems he was not yet a fully-established philosopher, he might have used this opportunity to take part in the common volume with some of the most prominent intellectuals of his time to make a sort of a philosophical declaration: to make known in public that it is a Platonism that he is going to pursue. However, though the poems he wrote are neither emotional nor personal, nevertheless there is some tenderness, respect, and *l'esprit de finesse* in his approach.

Tarquinia Molza and Francesco Patrizi – good old friends

If the relationship between Patrizi and Irene di Spilimbergo is a story of a *distant* respect, the relationship between Patrizi and Tarquinia Molza is the opposite. We possess three different sources for reconstructing this relationship: first it is *L'amorosa filosofia* (*Love philosophy*), an unfinished text which Patrizi composed in 1577 and never published during his lifetime,[19] then there are four remaining letters addressed to Tarquinia Molza written by Patrizi between 1577 and 1578,[20] and finally we have Patrizi's dedication at the beginning of the third volume of his *Discussiones peripateticae* under the title "Ad Tarquiniam Molziam, divam mulierem" ("To Tarquinia Molza, the divine women"), published in 1581.

The life and relatively few remaining poems by Tarquinia Molza were the object of much scholarly research and there is no need enter into a detailed description of her life and work. Let us just point out some most relevant moments. Tarquinia Molza was, similarly to Irene di Spilimbergo, born into a noble and intellectual family from Modena. From her early age she was tutored by an excellent teacher, Giovanni Bertari "il Poliziano". After his death in 1558 Tarquinia continued education with different and outstanding teachers: Giovanni Maria Barbieri and Lazzaro Labadini instructed her in Latin and Greek, Antonio Guarini was her instructor in mathematics and astronomy; she also studied Hebrew, and several (at least six) different musicians and composers taught her music.

She was highly appreciated mostly as a poetess and a singer although besides poetry and madrigals she also wrote a series of epigrams, several religious texts, letters, and there also circulated her translations

[19] This is also the main source on Tarquinia Molza's life. The modern (and to our knowledge only) edition of the text is done by John Charles Nelson in 1963.

[20] Published by D. Aguzzi Barbagli in his *Francesco Patrizi da Cherso – Lettere ed opusculi inediti* in 1975.

of Plato's dialogues *Charmides* and *Crito* (incomplete).[21] Already during her lifetime she was made a protagonist of Torquato Tasso's dialogues *Il Ghirlinzone overo l'epitafio* and *La Molza overo de l'amore* and Patrizi's *L'amorosa filosofia*; many outstanding composers put her verses into music[22]; and she was inserted among "illustrious women and men" in several "encyclopedias" of her time.[23] In 1600 she was also given the honorary citizenship of Rome, which was the first occasion that this privilege was extended to a woman. This event was also the occasion when she acquired her nickname "Unica".

Tarquinia Molza and Francesco Patrizi knew each other personally quite well. According to his own testimony, Patrizi knew Molza since she was a child.[24] In 1575 Patrizi returned from Spain; his initial plan was to

21 For her works see: Pierantonio Serassi, editor, *Delle poesie volgari e latine di Francesco Maria Molza* (Bergamo: Pietro Lancellotti, 1750 and 1754) and Domenico Vandelli, *Opusculi inediti di Tarquinia Molza* (Bergamo: Pietro Lancellotti, 1750).

22 P. Vinci, M. A. Pordenon, P. Isnardi, G. L. Primavera, R. Vecoli, P. Cavatoni, A. Trombetti, and G. P. da Palestrina

23 Cf. Camillo Camilli, *Imprese illustri di diversi* (Venetia: Francesco Ziletti, 1586), III 48–51; Iulius Caesar Capacius, *Illustrium mulierum et illustrium litteris virorum elogia* (Neapolis: Io. Iacobus Carlinus & Constantinus Vitalis, 1608), 211–212; Pietro Paolo Ribera Valentiano, *Le glorie immortali de' trionfi, et heroiche imprese d'ottocento quarantacinque donne illustri, antiche, e moderne, dotate di conditioni, e scienze segnalate* (Venetia: Evangelista Deuchino, 1609), 324–329.

24 In her article "L'insegnamento del Patrizi in alcuni madrigali di Tarquinia Molza" Maria Giovanna Cavallari claims that Patrizi met Molza in 1569. On the other hand Joanne M. Riley in her text "Tarquinia Molza (1542–1617): A Case Study of Women, Music and Society in the Renaissance" and Christopher Ulffers in his article "A Study of the Musical Influence of Tarquinia Molza on Patrizi's *L'amorosa filosofia*" maintain that Patrizi knew her since she was a child. In this matter we agree with Riley and Ulffers for several reasons: first, as we can find out from his biography, in year 1569 Patrizi did not visit Modena where Tarquinia Molza lived, and second in *L'amorosa filosofia* Patrizi claims to loves her as a little daughter and that he knows her for a long time, since she was "a little girl" (cf. Francesco Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1963), 59: "Quindi è che ella mentre fu fanciulletta mostrò sì grande vivacità di ingegno in apparare senza una minima fatica tutto ciò che in leggere et in grammatica le fu dal suo maestro insegnato." Also on p. 12: "Poi che la mia buona fortuna mi ha fatto il primo a dire in lode della signora Tarquinia Molza, la quale io già molti anni, pieno di stupore, amo come figliuola, riverisco come padrona, e adoro come terrena dea, io potrei tante verissime cose dire di lei che per avventura poco campo lascierei a quelli che dopo me da dire hanno." Also in the

go to Milan, but because of the plague he changed his plans and went to Modena, the hometown of the Molzas, where he spent several months.[25] During that period, he must have enjoyed the hospitality and company of Tarquinia and her husband, the rich nobleman Paolo Porrina. Around that time, Duke Alfonso II d'Este (1533–1597) visited Modena. The Duke's secretary Antonio Montecatino persuaded him to offer Patrizi a teaching post in Ferrara, which he accepted. The text of *L'amorosa filosofia* is a product of Patrizi's sojourn in Modena. During his stay in Modena, Patrizi also tutored Tarquinia Molza in Greek, philosophy and probably some basic Spanish. After Patrizi left Modena, he continued "teaching" Tarquinia in his letters, of which four are preserved.

Later Molza and Patrizi also lived in Ferrara at the same time.[26] She arrived to the court of the Duke Alfonso II d'Este in 1583 where she was a part of *concerto della donne*,[27] founded by the Duke himself in 1580. It is not clear what the exact role of Tarquinia within this group of professional women musicians was. In the company of other prominent women (such as Laura Peverara, Anna Guarini, and Livia D'Arco) Tarquinia might have been a singer, a composer, an instructor or any combination thereof. But we know that in 1589 she was expelled from the group (as well as from Ferrara) when her sexual affair with the famous and outstanding

same work he gives us lot of information about her childhood and her parents which definitely lives an impression of the first-hand evidence about her youth.

25 His autobiographical letter to Baccio Valori, Patrizi (in the 3rd person) finishes with the following words (Patrizi, *Lettere*, 51): "Ma trovò la peste a Milano e in Lombardia, onde si fermò a Modena alcuni mesi; fino che, andato il Signor Duca in visita dello stato, per lo mezzo del segretario Montecatino, che l' havea conosciuto in Ferrara del 1556, fu chiamato a questo servigio l'anno 1577, ove da quel temo si riposa, studia, e scrive."

26 About Patrizi and his time in Ferrara see the article of Cesare Vasoli, "Francesco Patrizi e la cultura filosofica ferrarese del suo tempo," in *La corte di Ferrara & il suo mecenatisimo del suo tempo/The Court of Ferrara & Its Patonage*, ed. Marianne Pade et al. (Copenhagen, Ferrara: Renaessancestudier, Edizione Panini, 1987), 247–266.

27 For a detailed analysis of Tarquinia Molza's musical education and significance, see Joanne M. Riley, "Tarquinia Molza (1542–1617): A Case Study of Women, Music and Society in the Renaissance," in *The Musical Woman*, ed. Judith Zaimont et al. (New York: Greenwood Press), 470–493.

Flemish composer working in Mantua and Ferrara, Giaches de Wert, had been made public.

In 1577 Patrizi started teaching Platonic philosophy at the University of Ferrara (the "Studium") where he stayed until the beginning of 1592. It was a good period for him: he was "resting, studying and writing"[28], and, moreover, enjoying lively conversations and disputes with the poet Torquato Tasso (1544–1595), philosopher and erudite Jacopo Mazzoni (1548–1598) and philosopher Teodoro Angelucci (1540–1600). During that period he finished all four volumes of his *Discussione peripateticae* (printed in Basle in 1581), and also his most important "positive" philosophical work, *Nova de universis philosophia*, printed in Ferrara in 1591. So, Patrizi and Molza, who was not only a lady-in-waiting at the Este court, but also a most famous female musician and poet in Italy of her times, had a lot of chances to spend time together, especially since they belonged to the same circles.

We learn about Tarquinia Molza's life and her relation to Patrizi from his *L'amorosa filosofia* which is also the main source of information about her. This treatise was written at Modena in 1577. There are seventeen participants in this dialogue, which at first sight resembles a Platonic dialogue.[29] The unfinished text is divided into four days, the first of which occupies about a half of the whole text. The setting of the first day is the following: Antonio Querenghi refers to nine speeches that were held in the house of Patrizio Patrizi, a distant relative of Francesco, in Rome. All of the speeches are descriptions and praises of Tarquinia Molza.

At the beginning of the first dialogue Patrizi gives us some information about Molza's life: she started as an autodidact in Greek, she could write beautiful letters and sonnets, and from the time she was a young

[28] See fn. 25 above.

[29] Besides Tarquinia Molza and Francesco Patrizi, other interlocutors listed in the beginnign are: Antonio Querenghi, Lodovico Fuligno, Vincenzo Cantoni, Bernardino Telesio, Benedetto Manzuoli, Fabrizio Dentici, Ortensio Grillenzoni, Marco Felini, Giulio Carrato, Patrizio Patrizi, Sperone Speroni, Carlo Sigonio, Gasparo Silingardi, Maffeo Venier, and Giovanni Falloppia. Tarquinia's husband joins in the later parts of the dialogue.

girl, before she even knew the alphabet, she showed interest in books and reading.[30] She "[...] learned by heart the whole Vergil and the whole *Canzoniere* by Petrarca and in all ways she tenaciously keeps this stored in her memory."[31] Besides her classical education, Patrizi gives testimony about her exquisite musical abilities. In the section entitled "Melpomene", Patrizi described the visit of Duke Alfonso II to Modena in 1568 and his fascination with Molza's singing (besides her virtuosity in playing the viola da mano, lute and clavier).[32] On an occasion Molza was singing various things for Duke and his wife Duchess Barbara, and, among other things, her favorite Petrarch's sonnet "Hor ch'il ciel et la terra e 'l vento tace".[33] This performance must have impressed the ducal couple so much that, several years later, it opened the door of their palace to Molza, who had found herself involved in many unpleasant events after her husband's death had happened in 1579. Patrizi also provides us with information about Molza's husband, Paolo Porrino, and her feelings toward him.[34] According to Patrizi she was deeply in love with her husband, and he supported Molza's intellectual endeavors. Such a mutual devotion of spouses must have impressed Patrizi who himself was never married.

30 Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia*, 18–19. "Il quale ella andò fuggendo sempre che potè, perciò che avanti che conoscesse lo A. B. era si vaga di tenere un libricciuolo in mano e di mirarvi su e di leggervi quando la madre non era presente, che tratto fuori un libro che di continuo portava di nascosto e posto giù l'aco, si dava a leggere, tutto che fanciullina per ancora non conoscesse lo A. B. Nel quale nobilissimo furto fu più volte colta e dalla madre, che dispiacere ne sentiva, e dal padre, che infinito piacere ne prendeva. Il quale fu tanto dalla Tarquinia pregato che a lei facesse insegnare ciò che don Giovanni insegnava a' fratelli, che co' suoi vezzi gratiosissimi fu sforzato a compiacerle."

31 Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia*, 60.

32 Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia*, 38–42.

33 Laurie Stras, "Recording Tarquinia: Imitation, Parody and Reportage in Ingegneri's *Hor che 'l ciel et la terra e 'l vento tace*," *Early Music* 27/3 (1999): 358: "[r]emarkably the story of the performance is recorded in two quite different sources – a polyphonic madrigal by Marc'Antonio Ingegneri and a philosophical treatise by Francesco Patrizi."

34 Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia*, 51. "[...] et ha tutti i suoi pensamenti tenuto volti alla sua pudictia, et allo amore del cavaliere Paolo suo marito; la qual dopo xvii anni che ella è seco, dopo tante battaglie e dopo tanta conversatione et dopo tanta libertà di vita, ella ha conservato intatta e santa e da ogni anco minimo sospetto immacolata."

Moreover, there are several pages dedicated to the description of her physical appearance.[35] Since the whole first day of the dialogue is dedicated to laudatory description of Tarquinia Molza (more than 70 pages in Nelson's edition of *L'amorosa filosofia*) it would be tedious to list all of her virtues here.

All in all, Tarquinia Molza is represented as a sort of a superior being in all aspects: a "harmony of praiseworthy and rare perfections"[36]. Perhaps for this reason she is also described with dominant androgynous qualities: her beauty is a sort of mixture between male and female qualities, which are so mixed together that one cannot really distinguish her masculinity from her femininity,[37] her face is covered with "an ineffable and incomprehensible beauty, between male and female",[38] her musical talents are equal to a talent of a man of an excellent intellect[39] etc. This sexual ambiguity culminates in the last (and unfinished) part of the text in which the character of Tarquinia Molza defends a bold, anti-Platonic and anti-Augustinian thesis according to which the root of all love – even the love of God – is *philautia*, the love of oneself.

An interesting contrast to this picture of Tarquinia Molza is to be found in Patrizi's letters which he sent to her after having left Modena for Ferrara.[40] In the four preserved letters he obviously wanted to continue his lectures: all four letters are mostly concentrated around astrological/

35 Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia*, 25–32.

36 This phrase belongs to Camilli (Camilli, *Imprese*, 50: "[...] armonia di perfettioni lodevoli et rare.") who must have had access to the manuscript of Patrizi's *L'amorosa filosofia*.

37 Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia*, 6: "Dicono essi la bellezza della signora Tarquinia essere un soavissimo temperamento di donnesco e di maschile, il quale è si in se stesso confuso o misto, che non se ne può discernere parte niuna sinicera o dell'uno o dell'altro, et apparere però l'uno e l'altro in ogni parte in maniera ineffabile et incomprensibile."

38 Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia*, 31: "[...] viso [...] comperso di una incomprensibile tra maschile e donnesca bellezza et ineffabile."

39 Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia*, 38: "Et appresso cantò le parole in meno di due altri mesi, cosa che non havrebbe potuto fare, secondo il giudicio mio, verun huomo per d'eccellente ingegno che fusse potuto essere [...]."

40 Patrizi, *Lettere*, 13–22.

astronomical observations, "la cosa de' cieli".[41] After some introductory remarks, which deal with everyday events, Patrizi continues explaining the elementary structure of the universe and some astrological basics. What is striking about these letters is that they look so *introductory*, as though they were written for a tyro, and not for a person who incorporates a *summum* of intellectual and corporeal virtues, as Tarquinia Molaza was described in *L'amorosa filosofia*. This leaves one to think that *L'amorosa filosofia* has more of a symbolic or generic approach, whereas the letters present their relationship in flesh and blood as it really was: a relationship between a teacher and a pupil, a teacher who also has a sort of an avuncular role. E. g. the letter of 17 October 1578 opens with very concerned remarks about Tarquinia Molza's fever – this opening has a strong overtone of someone who is as close as a parent or a relative. Moreover, the letters are accompanied with chit-chat observations which leave an impression of a close friendship between the two, like a continuation of a dialogue that started a long time ago.

In an indirect way this impression is also supported by the latest of Patrizi's mentioning Tarquinia Molaza. It is Patrizi's dedication in the third volume of his *Discussiones peripateticae*. There, in the prefatory poem he wrote, paraphrasing Catullus:

Cui dono sapidum, novum libellum
Docto Graiorum pumice expolitum?
Tarquinia tibi. Namque tu solebas
Sophorum nimium amare chartas.[42]

To whom do I give this wise new booklet,
smoothed with a learned pumice of the Greeks?
To you, Tarquinia. For you were accustomed
to excessively cherish books of wise men.[43]

The rest of the two-page dedication continues along a similar vein: Tarquinia Molza was well educated women. Calling her "most learned

41 Patrizi, *Lettere*, 21.

42 Franciscus Patricius/Frane Petrić, *Discussionum peripateticarum tomus tertius/Peripatetičke rasprave svezak treći*, ed. Mihaela Girardi-Karšulin et al. (Zagreb: Institut za filozofiju, 2009), 6.

43 There is a pun on words in the first two lines that can also be understood as "To whom learned among the Greeks should I give [...]."

of all past, present, and future women",[44] Patrizi praises her excellent knowledge of the Greek, Latin and Italian languages, logic, moral philosophy, catholic theology and of course music. In his opinion she also did improve her knowledge of physiology. Patrizi claims that she learnt Greek when he had been teaching about Plato for just three months.[45] According to Patrizi she could read not only Plato in original Greek[46], but also Pindar – and all classical scholars know about infamous difficulties of Pindar's language and style. Besides the previously mentioned virtues she was also eloquent, witty, humorous, pleasant in conversation, humane and well-mannered.[47] Patrizi emphasized her noble origin, exceptional character, modesty – and outstanding beauty.[48] Indeed, if we look at her portrait as a young girl, as well as the later portrait of her as a young woman, we can be astonished by the beauty of her face – big eyes, full lips, intelligent look, long curly hair. She was not only admired by the citizens of Modena, but also by the Duke Alfonso II d'Este and his sisters Lucrezia and Leonora.[49]

In his dedication Patrizi has briefly presented Molza's life, virtues, education, physical features, ancestry, tendencies and talents. The overall tone of the dedication is completely friendly and somewhat paternal: Patrizi puts himself in the position of someone who is entitled and fully justified to praise Tarquinia because, as her tutor and friend, he had a full insight into her virtues.

44 Patricius, *Discussiones*, 6: "[...] viragnium omnium, quot sunt, quot fuerunt, quotque alios erunt in annos, doctissimae."

45 Patricius, *Discussiones*, 6: "Hanc tu, quod omnium hominum admirationem vincat, in Platone tribus mensibus me praelegente edidicisti."

46 E. g. the *Phaedrus* (Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia*, 13).

47 Patricius, *Discussiones*, 8: "Sed dii boni, quae eloquentia? Quae argutiae? Qui sales? Quae iucunditas in conversando? Quae humanitas? Quae urbanitas?"

48 Patricius, *Discussiones*, 8: "His tot tantisque ingenii ornamentis comites sese addiderunt nobilitas generis, pulchritudo eximia, mores animi insignes [...]."

49 Patricius, *Discussiones*, 8: "Quanti te serenissimus Alphonsus Atestinus II. principes noster? Quanti te Principes mulieres Lucretia atqe Leonora, sorores eius, facinut?"

Due to this fact we can conclude the nature of their relationship. They were truly good friends, Patrizi is full of admiration and respect for Tarquinia Molza. It is again interesting to note that although they were both passionate people (Patrizi in his work and debates, and Molza in music and private relationship) there is not trace of any erotic tension or commitment.

As a *curiosum* one may notice that Molza also inspired Torquato to write two treateses on love. During his stay in Ferrara Patrizi had quite polemical conversations and disputes with Torquato Tasso. They didn't share similar attitudes in poetics, but they shared the same fascination with Molza, and eventually they shared the same tomb in the church of Sant'Onofrio in Rome.

Another *curiosum* is that Tarquinia Molza is one of those rare women whose fame survived even the darkest periods of antifeminisms, such as the 19th century. In Samuel Mossman's *Gems of Womanhod*, Tarquinia Molza is listed among only three "Contributors to Literature and Art" and is the only non-English woman included in this list (the other two being Letitia Elizabeth Landon and Anne Damer).[50] An interesting detail is that in his description of Tarquinia Molza he mentions Patrizi as her teacher of the art of poetry (calling him "Francis Patricio", and "the learned Professor Patroni" who allegedly taught her philosophy and the classics.[51]

A mysterious *Madama* – Dianora Pugliese?

In his letter to Giovanbattista Strozzi the Younger (1551–1634), the famous madrigalist, intellectual, patron of arts and an important public figure in Florence, one of the founders of the "Accademia degli Alterati" whose

[50] Samuel Mossman, *Gems of Womanhood; or: Sketches of Distinguished Women, in Various Ages and Nations* (Edinburgh: Gal and Inglis, 1870), 134–143.

[51] Mossman, *Gems*, 135: "In the art of poetry, she was initiated by a famous poet [sic!] and philosopher named Francis Patricio; and in logic, including the philosophy of the ancients and a perfect knowledge of the Greek language, she was taught by the learned Professor Patrini."

death was also the end of the Accademia, Patrizi mentions a *Madama*.[52] There are certain intrigues, problems with investments and payments in connection with the publication of the book *Le imprese illustri con espositioni et discorsi* by Girolamo Ruscelli whose editor was our Patrizi.[53] The book was published in two volumes, and Patrizi referred to the publication of the first volume in 1572 which was obviously financially supported by Strozzi.[54]

Girolamo Tiraboschi, in his monumental 16-volume *Storia della letteratura italiana*, offers a conjecture about the identity of this mysterious, anonymous *Madama*.[55] He claims to have found an authentic document written in Venice on 25 May 1570 in Venice about a litigation between Patrizi and otherwise unknown Dianora Pugliese, "colla quale pare ch' egli avesse stretta società per fare a comuni loro spese stampare le *Imprese e l' Indice degli Uomini illustri del Ruscelli*."[56]

It seems plausible to suppose that Dianora Pugliese and Patrizi stroke a financial deal to publish Ruscelli's *Imprese* and that for some reason she denied Patrizi his share of the money meant for publication of the book. If we take into account Patrizi's letter to Giovanbattista Strozzi, it seems that Dianora Pugliese was collecting money from others and was supposed to share it with Patrizi who must also have invested into the book. Since the sharing had not taken place, Patrizi raised a lawsuit against her. Unfortunately we could not find any new or more comprehensive data either about the lawsuit or about Dianora Pugliese – this *Madama*

52 Patrizi, *Lettere*, 28–29.

53 Girolamo Ruscelli, *Le imprese illustri con espositioni et discorsi. Con la giunta di altre imprese tutto riordinato et corretto da Francesco Patritio*, ed. Francesco Patrizi (Venezia: Comin da Trino di Monferrato, 1572).

54 Patrizi, *Lettere*, 29: "[...] quanto capitale pose Vostra Signoria et quanto essa [Madama], et come dovea essere partito il guadagno tra ambidue, et che cosa seguì poi dalla parte di Madama, che mi pare di intendere non so che intrichi e non so con chi."

55 We have consulted the following edition: Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. VII 2 (Firenze: Molini, Landi etc., 1824).

56 Tiraboschi, *Storia* VII 2, 422.

remains a mysterious – albeit intriguing – figure. If these suppositions are correct, she must have been one of the earliest female book entrepreneurs (or publishers?) in the history of books.

Lucrezia d'Este – the recalcitrant sister of the patron

At the end we should mention Patrizi's dedication of the *Della Poetica la Deca istoriale*.[57] Eight small octavo pages present an introductory dedication to Lucrezia d'Este ("Lucrezia da Este Duchessa d'Urbino") published in Ferrara in 1586. Tiraboschi praises this short text as the most magnificent eulogy offered to the dukes Este in the 16th century, whereas the fact that it is explicitly addressed to Lucrezia he interprets as a symbolic act.[58] And indeed: the structure of these pages suggest its symbolic meaning: Patrizi begins by praising Lucrezia's family and its merits in promoting arts and sciences, he mentions the foundation of *lo Studio* in 1392 by Albert V, the great teachers who taught at this university (Guarino Veronese, Teodoro Gaza who introduced the studies of Greek language and culture, then also Bessarion and Gemistos Pletho, who introduced Platonic philosophy), he also mentions the studies of mathematics, medicine, music, and poetry with all the accompanying names of eminent teachers who were brought to Ferrara thanks to the Estes. In the second part of the dedication Patrizi expectedly praises Ferrara as a place of flourishing sciences and arts in general – again listing all the famous people who contributed to it so that so far the text looks like a "who-is-who?" of the intellectual history of Ferrara. Patrizi probably wanted to justify his position at the University of Ferrara: he presents himself as perfectly fitting into this intellectual tradition typical of Ferrara under the patronage of the Este family, and his work presents a

57 Francesco Patrici, *Della Poetica la Deca istoriale* (Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini, 1586), n. pag.

58 Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. VII 1 (Firenze: Molini, Landi etc., 1824), 79: "Fra tutti però gli elogi in questo secol renduti a' principi Estensi, il più magnifico è quello di Francesco Patrizi sanese [sic!] poc' anzi citato, e professore allora in Ferrara, nell' atto di offrire a Lucrezia d' Este figlia di Ercole II la sua Deca istoriale della Poetica."

continuation of the scholarly endeavors that the ancestors of the present Estes so magnificently and farsightedly supported.

In the last two pages Patrizi turns to Lucrezia more specifically. He praises her promptness to support "tutti gli huomini di spirito, e letterati"[59], her fondness of performing music, and her inclinations to poetry. However elegantly and with good measure he balanced between a genuine admiration for this educated lady and an adulation that was expected from him as a public servant, it is nevertheless rather obvious that Patrizi is far less enthusiastic in approaching Lucrezia d'Este than he was when he wrote about Tarquinia Molza. Unfortunately we possess no further evidence about his relationship to this powerful and intriguing woman.

Conclusion

Once again we have to emphasize the difficulty of reconstructing the relationship between two people. Nevertheless we thought that this part of Patrizi's life is unfairly neglected and it was our desire to bring a little more light into this segment of his life. What kind of person was Patrizi in his personal life and relationships? He was passionate in his work and debates, it is sufficient to remember his commitment in writing his *Discussiones peripateticae* and later *Nova de universis philosophia* or all the passionate outbursts he had in discussions with Torquato Tasso or Teodoro Angelucci. He had little sense for business, one just has to remember his efforts to sell cotton and rare books which both failed miserably. But he was a good friend, as it comes out from his relationship with Tarquinia Molza; he showed compassion in the occasion of the premature death of Irene di Spilimbergo (whom he probably did not know in person); and he showed a sense of a well-balanced mixture of sincerity and diplomacy among the powerful but not always reliable Estes. In this context, these women had a different symbolic significance for Patrizi: Irene di Spilimbergo is a sort of Petrarchan muse, Tarquinia Molza is both a perfect student (in the *Letters* and in the first day of

59 Tiraboschi, *Storia* VII 1, n. pag. [6].

L'amorosa filosofia) and a perfect teacher (in the remaining three days of *L'amorosa filosofia*), Lucrezia d'Este presents an ideal female aristocrat. On the other hand it is also noticeable that there is no trace of any erotic inclinations toward any of the women about whose relationships we possess some textual evidence. It is impossible to say whether he was sexually interested in them or not or if he just wanted to keep his privacy to himself. A further – and maybe the most important thing – is that there is no trace of any kind of misogyny in his approach; he treated women as perfectly equal to men.

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Francesco Patrizi's Principles of Psychology

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Abstract Patrizi's *Pampsychia* incorporates the notion of soul into the overall cosmology. One remarkable feature of this book is that it declines to discuss the human soul. Hence, it draws attention to Patrizi's philosophical method of speaking of the soul. The major components of Patrizi's method are an explicitly philological attitude towards tradition, argumentation based on strict analysis of concepts, and Neoplatonic patterns, such as emanation. The leading question, thus, will be: what is the philosophical problem Patrizi is about to solve? We will see that his attitude towards his predecessors is to find the conditions of truth in all of them; and in a deliberately analogous way he sees 'soul' as the condition for the universe to be a totality of members; hence, the human soul is not only an instantiation of something like a world soul but also the paradigm for the functioning of the universe.

Keywords Psychology, soul, world soul, intellect, hierarchy, hypostases, Giordano Bruno.

Patrizi's use of the history of philosophy

Giordano Bruno famously brushed aside Francesco Patrizi's philosophy with the remark that Patrizi was "pedant scum" ("sterco di pedanti"), the lowest level of an anti-philosopher possible with the bestial air of an ass ("mostra aver molto del bestiale et asino"); he complains with regard to Patrizi's *Discussiones Peripateticae*:

> it is impossible to say whether he understood Aristotle either well or badly, but it can be claimed that he has read and re-read him, taken him apart, stitched him up again, and compared him *pro* [for] and *con* [against] with a thousand other Greek authors, going to the greatest lengths not only without any profit whatsoever, but *etiam* [even] to great loss. Whoever wants to see how far into insanity and

> presumptuous vanity a pedantic way of thinking can sink us has only to read this one book, before it disappears without a trace.[1]

Obviously, Bruno knew only the *Discussiones Peripateticae*[2], whereas the *Nova de universis philosophia*[3] came out only about the time of Bruno's imprisonment. However, I am confident that the *Nova philosophia* would not have changed his judgment. What is striking from a Brunian point of view? Obviously, it is the enormous philological apparatus in which Patrizi gives a detailed and balanced account of each and every doctrine of the Platonists and of Aristotle as to their history and differentiation among the sources. Other Renaissance thinkers may not have agreed with Patrizi's findings in detail, but it is clear that Patrizi aims at supporting and proving his own 'new philosophy' with reliance upon paradigms in the history of philosophy, thus making his philosophy appear both new and solidly grounded upon tradition and historical research.

1 Giordano Bruno, *Cause, Principle, and Unity and Essays on Magic*, trans. Robert de Lucca and Richard J. Blackwell. Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy. (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1998), III, 54. Bruno, *Dialoghi italiani*. *Causa* III, 260–261: "Del secondo [i.e., Patrizi] non possiamo dir che l'abbia inteso [sc. Aristotele] né male né bene; ma che l'abbia letto e riletto, cucito, scucito e conferito con mill'altri greci autori, amici e nemici di quello; e al fine fatta una grandissima fatica, non solo senza profitto alcuno, ma etiam con un grandissimo sprofitto, di sorte che chi vuol vedere in quanta pazzia e presuntuosa vanità può precipitar e profondare un abito pedantesco, veda quel sol libro, prima che se ne perda la somenza."

2 Edition used for this paper: Patrizi, *Discussionum peripateticarum tomus secundus*. Idem, *Tomus tertius*, ed. Tomislav Ćepulić and Mihaela Girardi-Karšulin (2009); Idem, Tomus quartus I-V, ed. Mihaela Girardi-Karšulin and Ivan Kapec (2012); Idem, VI-X, ed. Mihaela Girardi-Karšulin (2012) (online accessible at http://www.ifzg.hr/digitalnaBastina/digitalnaBastinaFranciscus-Patricius.htm).

3 Patrizi, *Nova de universis philosophia*. Ferrariae: Benedictus Mammarellus, 1591. This is the edition used in this paper, cited using the section titles (e.g. *Pampsychia*) with their individual paginations. Cf. also the digital edition http://www.ifzg.hr/digitalnaBastina/readOnline/Franciscus_Patricius/Franciscus_Patricius-Nova_de_universis_philosophia/Franciscus_Patricius-Nova_de_universis_philosophia.html#1/z and the reprint: Patrizi, *Nova de universis philosophia = Nova sveopća filozofija [Latin-Croatian]*. Patrizi, Francesco. *Nova de universis philosophia = Nova sveopća filozofija [Latin-Croatian]*, ed. Vladimir Filipović, trans. Tomislav Ladan and Serafin Hrkač (Biblioteka Temelji 2. Zagreb: Liber, 1979).

That was certainly not Bruno's style of argument. For instance, in his *De la causa, principio et uno*, he emphasizes the agreement of distinct philosophers upon his own findings. So, for instance when speaking about forms he has Dicsono say:

> So that, in some way, you allow Anaxagoras' notion, … and you approve, in part, that of Plato, … and, in part, that of Empedocles, … and, in certain measure, that of Aristotle …[4]

And on another occasion he praises a great number of ancient thinkers:

> …, the same thing may be understood from different points of view. The Epicureans have said some good things … Heraclitus has shown us some excellent things … Anaxagoras manages to make progress in the study of nature, claiming to recognize … an intellect which is the same as what Socrates, Plato, Trismegistus and our theologians call God. Thus, those who begin from an experimental analysis of simple elements (as they call them) make as much progress in discovering the secrets of nature as those who start from a rational theory.[5]

We need to state the obvious: Bruno agrees with Patrizi on some notion of uniformity of philosophical wisdom; but he squarely opposed doxographic differentiation. We are tempted to invoke the famous *philosophia perennis*, which Patrizi occasionally explicitly endorsed;[6] however, we need to look at the differences between him and Bruno. For Bruno, the ancient wisdom

4 Bruno, *Cause*, II, 49.

5 Ibid., III, 64.

6 In *Panarchia* 17, fol. 38vb, he surmises that the theory of angelic hierarchies was "perennis quaedam … philosophia". Cf. Maria Mucillo, "Aspetti della terminologia filosofica nella Nova de universis philosophia di Francesco Patrizi da Cherso (1529-1597)," in *Lexiques et glossaires philosophiques de la Renaissance*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse and Marta Fattori (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Etudes Médiévales, 2003), 176.

is eternal, although for lengthy periods eclipsed and hidden, so that *veritas* shows itself as *filia temporis*; nevertheless, the point is to be on top of things and to invoke vaguely whatever and whoever would support his thought. He famously had the following exchange in his *Cena de le ceneri*:

> "in antiquity is wisdom" and … "in many years is prudence" … that is to say that we are older and have a more extended age than our predecessors.[7]

Patrizi would obviously have agreed with Bruno that wisdom was in antiquity. But Bruno purported to bring it to completion and therefore exercised a prudential and pragmatic approach to the wisdom of the ancients while integrating it into a unified system. However, the fact that Bruno insulted Patrizi as pedantic was probably a misunderstanding. I surmise that Patrizi did not exhaust himself and his philosophy in 'reading and re-reading, taking philosophers apart, stitching them up again' (as Bruno would have it). His effort seems to aim at making his philosophical thought evident in and through his sources. In order to make this reading plausible, let us look at Patrizi's theory of the soul and at the way he introduces ancient authorities.

'Animus' in the universe

Patrizi's *Pampychia* opens with etymological observations on the term *psyche* (*anima*, *animus*). Here, his sources are not mentioned but he is referring to the generic meanings of the Greek and the Latin terms. He is concerned with the association of psyche and soul with wind and coolness and states that he does not intend to invent anything new because he is rather concerned with the things, *res ipsas*, which lie under the meaning of

7 Bruno, *Dialoghi italiani*, Cena I, 39: "'nell'antiquità è la sapienza'. … E soggionge: 'in molti anni la prudenza'. … voglio dire, che noi siamo piú vecchi ed abbiamo piú lunga età, che i nostri predecessori."

the words.[8] It is from this starting point that he claims to speak only about soul in general, equivalent with Latin masculinum *animus*, whereas the treatment of *anima*, that is, the human soul, shall be reserved to a special treatise, *De humana philosophia*.[9] This treatise was not completed and not included in the *Nova philosophia*, and we will come back to this point. What is of interest here is Patrizi's gesture to investigate the thing itself by analyzing its meaning.

So, if it is true that "*animus* refers to the souls of all other things, such as plants, animals, and others, if there are such in the universe," then this is a topic for elaboration after the treatment of *mens* and *intellectus*.[10] That is to say, souls come from the mind, and this is a proposition in the double sense of the word, namely an affirmation and a proposal, which needs to be unfolded, explained, and demonstrated.[11] In contrast to what Bruno had alleged, Patrizi is not reducing philosophy to a set of propositions, to a doctrinal doxography, he rather postulates that concepts need to be thought through, if they are to have any meaning. And so a demonstration follows.

The demonstration does not consist in a logical inference but, rather, in a series of hypostases: the first unity or oneness encompasses, and is surrounded by, all unities; from this follows the first essence with all essences in and around it, and hence, life and mind or intellect. This is a crucial figure of thought, which will require our close attention: something superior contains the lower levels and is – paradoxically – said to be

8 *Pampsychia* 1, fol. 49rab: "Nos iisdem, quoniam in tam vetusta re, nova fingere non liceat, abutemur. Non nomina, sed res ipsas nominum sifnificatu indagabimus."

9 Ibid. fol. 49rb; cf. *Pampsychia* 3, fol. 53va and b.

10 *Pampsychia* 1, fol. 49rb: "Posthac distincte usuros, ut anima dicat nobis humanam tantum animam. Animus vero, reliquarum rerum animos significet, plantarum, brutorum, et si qui sint in universitate, alii."

11 Ibid. fol. 49va: "Verum quod est, et in naturae universitate latet, ei est aperiendum, explicandum, et demonstrandum."

surrounded by it.[12] Eventually, Patrizi lists nine hypostases of Neoplatonic tradition: *unitas, essentia, vita, intellectus, animus, natura, qualitas, forma, corpus*.[13] "If there is any order in nature," Patrizi claims, "then necessarily from the Mind and the intellects derives the first animus and in it and outside of it are all souls."[14] In other words, hypostatic inference serves the purpose of logical inference. The demonstration is compelling only if the reader accepts the formulaic procedure of "first bears many" combined with "higher proffers lower." In modern parlance we would call that top-down emergence or causation.[15] Now this procedure – whatever Neoplatonic orthodoxy from Plotinus through Ficino may hold – is merely logical and, at the same time, it is the epitome of the *logical* figure that claims *ontological* validity. We may even surmise that this hypostatic inference is probably the only logical inference capable of establishing metaphysical order.[16] A study of Plotinus would probably yield that he

12 On the Neoplatonic and mystical implications see Erna Banić-Pajnić, "Plotinus – Petrić; Can There Be Talk of Mysticism in Petrić?" *Academia.edu*. Accessed June 8, 2014. https://www.academia.edu/6541144/Plotinus_-_Petric_Can_there_be_talk_of_mysticism_in_Petric., 5.

13 *Pampsychia* 1, fol. 49rb.

14 Ibid.: "Si in universitate, est rerum ordo: et ab ea semota est omnis cofusio, necesse est, ut a Mente, et a Mentibus sit primus animus, et in eo, et extra eum, sind animi omnes." In the preceding sentence he had said that "mentes" (minds) is equivalent to "intellectus" (intellects). On Patrizi's concept of *mens*, especially in *Panarchia*, see Maria Mucillo, "Il concetto di 'mens' in alcuni autori tardo rinascimentali: Annibale Rosselli e Francesco Patrizi," in *Per una storia del concetto di mente*, ed. Eugenio Canone, Lessico intellettuale europeo 99 (Firenze: Olschki, 2005), 265–284.

15 Cf. John Culp"Panentheism." *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 2013. Last accessed December 2, 2014. http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2013/entries/panentheism/, Jordi Cat, "The Unity of Science." *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 2013. http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2013/entries/scientific-unity/, and Alicia Juarrero, "Downward Causation: Polanyi and Prigogine," *Tradition & Discovery* 40, no. 3 (2013-2014): 4–15.

16 Cf. the polemical remarks on Plotinus in Franz Brentano, *Was für ein Philosoph manchmal Epoche macht. Vortrag zum Besten des Lesevereins der deutschen Studenten Wiens* (Wien: Hartleben, 1876), 15–16. Cf. Also Franz Brentano, *Psychologie vom empirischen Standpunkte. Von der Klassifikation der psychischen Phänomene*, ed. Thomas Binder and Arkadiusz Chrudzimski. (Sämtliche veröffentlichte Schriften; Abt. 1., Schriften zur Psychologie; Bd. 1. Frankfurt: Ontos-Verlag, 2008), Bd. 1, Buch 2, Cap. 1, §5, p. 106, note 67.

eventually had nothing more in mind than repairing Aristotle's logic insofar as it failed to secure ontology. I hope we will see that this was also Patrizi's aim in re-working Aristotelian psychology.

Indeed, Patrizi now reflects on the status of each of the hypostases and remarks, with satisfaction, that even according to the "Peripatus" the first mover would not descend down in order to set the sphere of Saturn in motion, which is supposed to confirm that on the one hand each level retains its undiminished dignity, on the other, however, the higher level dispenses some, but not all, of its properties to the lower level.[17] What kind of argument is this? In order to understand the concept of soul, we need to understand the dialectics of hypostatic hierarchies. This dialectic consists in the thought that there are lower levels that receive properties (and essential ones) from the higher realm in a way that the higher level is not tainted by dispensing those properties. Here we have a tension between static and dynamic that is entailed in the hierarchical thought; and this very tension serves to explain the notion of *animus*. At this point, the abovementioned reference to the Aristotelian theory of the cosmic spheres is crucial: willingly or not, Aristotle had admitted such dialectics when he conceived of the spheres of the universe as driven by a prime mover that, by definition, must remain outside the celestial spheres and yet set them in motion. This minute example shows how Patrizi uses historic explanatory patterns with methodic awareness.

After rehashing the hypostases Patrizi endeavors to prove that *animus* is not the principle, and certainly not the first principle, of the universe, as Theophrastus and Democritus are said to believe.[18] (We should not overhear the fine point that Patrizi makes an Aristotelian and an atomist bedfellows.) Let us look at Patrizi's argumentation from the methodical

17 *Pampsychia* 1, fol. 49va: "De suis proprietatibus quasdam non tamen omnes inferis largiuntur. De sua dignitate non dimoventur. Nam neque Peripatus permittet, Primum illum suum, primi coeli motorem intellectum ad Saturni sphaeram movendam descendere."

18 Ibid., 49vb: "… Animum in rerum universitate (quod tamen Theophrastus, ac Democritus voluerant) neque esse primum onmium, neque omnium principium, necesse esse, fuit demonstratum, supra animum aliud ens esse, quod Mentem et intellectum appellavimus."

point of view: how does he prove that the soul is not the first principle, and why is it important? We are confronted with a chain of definitions that proceeds from the Good via making, acting, power, and essence to the implications of productivity, pregnancy, and life, which is defined as "essence that bears action" (*essentia parturiens actionem*); from there the chain continues to causation and the degrees of properties that are conveyed in the line of causation. What is crucial is the technique of defining essences by way of analyzing their relations. And those relations are, for the most part, mutual implications, so that anything is defined by dwelling in or bringing forth something else. From a logical point of view, this is blatant nonsense. Or, putting it more friendly, it is a clear alternative to the mode of defining as taught by Aristotle and schematized in the Porphyrian Tree. For example, after having stated that every single thing imitates God's goodness, Patrizi defines:

> It is the property of goodness to do good (*benefacere*). Hence things 'do' something. 'Doing', here, is action. Any action comes from powers (*a viribus*) and powers from essence. Consequently, all beings, down to the least and lowliest, have this doing-good (*benificam*) essence. And since every essence is doing-good, it bears out the powers by itself.[19]

This chain goes on, of course. What we can observe is a flaw in terms of standard logic, because a property, goodness, is turned into essence, and such essence, which according to the logic of definition should be stable and static, is taken to be dynamic and active. That means we

[19] Ibid.: "Nullum entium Dei bonitate caret. Quaecumque enim fecit. fuere valde bona. Si bona sunt, Dei bonitatem quatenus poterunt, imitabuntur propria eorum bonitate. *Bonitatis omnis, proprium est benefacere. Facient ergo aliquid. Factio, haec, actio est. Actio omnis a viribus. Vires ab essentia. Essentiam ergo beneficam cuncta entia ad usque minima, et vilissima habent. Et quia essentia omnis benefica, in se prius vires parturit.* et per vires, actiones parturit ad extra. Et praegnans prius est in se, et extra se necessario foecunda. … Ostensum enim est vitam veram, motum infra essentiam esse. Hoc vero, quia vita, nihil est aliud, quam *essentia parturiens actionem*, tum in se ipsa, tum ex se ipsa." In italics the translated part.

are not expected to read the text in terms of Aristotelian logic. And we are obviously challenged to keep seeing differences where ontological distinctions appear to be blurred over, such as substance and accident or essence and activity. What makes this passage and the surrounding argumentation compelling are figures of thought that are similar to the just observed "first bears many" and "higher proffers lower"; here it appears to be the mutual implication of levels, relations, properties, actions, and essences. This Neoplatonic logic is a Russian matryoshka doll that repeats identical features in every size. There is nothing derogative in this comparison, as it just shows that this pattern of thought is well acceptable. We also should not fail to mention Raymond Lull's method of 'correlatives,' in which the 'dignities' of God are played out along the scale of being so that, for instance, the good produces the good thing in an act of doing good etc.,[20] whereby it is implied that God, and consequently any essence dependent on Him, cannot possibly be 'idle.'[21]

Hence, we may infer that it is the main purpose of the treatment of soul to soften the very dividing line. I mean the dividing line between logical definition and essential properties, between essence and appearance, between the levels of hierarchy, and even between things in themselves and in relation to other things, that is, the fundamental distinction between the category of relation and all the other categories.

At this point, we may take into consideration that Patrizi justified the stability of the levels of hierarchy by their function: the hypostases, he says, "must abide on the level where God had placed them, each in its

[20] "Actus bonitatis dico bonificativum, bonificabile, bonificare; actus etiam magnitudinis sunt magnificativum, magnificabile, magnificare, et sic de aliis omnibus divinis dignitatibus." Quoted from Charles Lohr, "Raymond Lull", in *Philosophers of the Renaissance*, ed. Paul Richard Blum (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2010), 12–22; 15.

[21] Cf. on this topic in Lull cf. Paul Richard Blum, *Philosophy of Religion in the Renaissance* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010),12 f. Cf. Mucillo, "Terminologia," 159. On the dynamics of substance in Patrizi cf. Thomas Leinkauf, "Franceso Patrizi" in Paul Richard Blum, *Philosophers of the Renaissance*, 205–218; 214f., with reference to *Pampsychia* 1, 59vb.

proper duty (*munere*)."[22] We are reminded that the nine degrees are no shelves but functions within the whole. And we should not overlook the paradox – inherent in Neoplatonic cosmology – that the hypostases serve the purpose to establish relations or functions, both epistemologically and ontologically.

Causality and essence

One disturbing consequence of this downward emergence is Patrizi's axiom that cause exceeds effect. This seems to be counter intuitive, because in modern epistemology cause has to be equivalent to effect to the extent that knowing the causes guarantees knowing the effects. Both Aquinas' *a posteriori* proofs of the existence of God and Laplace's demon[23] depend on the validity of this axiom, precisely because both of them stretch its applicability: Aquinas to the absolute and Laplace to the empirical. But Patrizi states:

> Essence, insofar as it is the root of powers and action, and source of the effects born from it, is – on its level – the primary cause. And every cause … is prior and more potent than what it causes, since it brought forward that which had not existed before.[24]

Patrizi applies this axiom at this point because it expresses the logical relationship between cause and effect in such a way that both cannot be mistaken to be convertible or coextensive, and that means, in Patrizi's logic, cause would lose its explanatory power if it were equivalent to the

22 *Pampsychia* 1, fol. 49va: "Sed in suis quaeque gradibus, quibus eas Optimus Maximus. Conditor mundi Deus locavit, in suo quaeque munere, manere perseverabunt [sc. substantiae]."

23 See for example Wigner, "A Physicist Looks at the Soul."

24 *Pampsychia* 1, fol. 49vb: "Essentia autem quae virium, et actionis radix est, et fons, de se parti effectus, primaria sui ordinis est causa. Causa autem omnis, uti est antea demonstratum, et prior est, et potentior, causato suo. Ut quae proferat, id quod prius non erat." He had established this axiom in *Panarchia* 11, fol. 22vb-23ra.

effect.[25] Since the objective of the whole exposition of hypostases and axioms serves the purpose to explain the nature of soul, the notion of cause merges with that of (overarching) essence. And since the notion of essence and definition has taken on the form of relation and function, the question of soul is obviously the question for its origin: "Quaerebamus unde Animi essent?"[26] Now, the concept of origin can easily turn into that of being-contained. Since we have seen that the Neoplatonic hypostases describe a relationship of mutual containedness, it is no surprise when Patrizi states:

> The souls were in the mind, and in the life, and in the essence, and in unity, and in the One. ... Hence every *animus* is one and dwells in its unity.[27]

The question of the nature of the soul turns into that of its relational position; and therefore its 'whence' turns into its 'where.' Now this relational dwelling place of the soul looks quite like the Russian doll, mentioned earlier; only, it is its own matryoshka. The *animus* is nested within the hierarchy of hypostases and, at the same time, resting in its own unity. It is one by way of participating in the oneness of the supreme One. In the passage just quoted, there is no word of participation, but Patrizi will describe the same relation a few lines down in those terms.[28] By implication, the soul has all the features of the universal principle without being the universal principle itself, as had been emphasized earlier.[29]

25 *Pampsychia* 1, fol. 50ra: "Neque etiam aequales, quia effectus, causae suae non est par. Alioquin cur potius effectus quam causa esset dicendus?"

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid. fol. 50rb: "Animi ergo et in mente fuerunt, et in vita, et in essential, et in unitate, et in uno. ... Ita ut quisque animus, et unus sit et in unitate habitet sua."

28 Ibid. "... Animi a superis causis descendentes, et mentis sunt participes, ac vitae ..."

29 Ibid. fol. 49vb: "... Animum in rerum universitate (quod tamen Theophrastus, ac Democritus voluerant) neque esse primum onmium, neque omnium principium, necesse esse, fuit demon-

We are now able to ponder why Patrizi deems this to be decisive. It is his way of representing the dialectical relationship between the universal and anything that depends upon it. Once again, the *animus* is not a substance in competition with other substances (as radically simplified Aristotelianism might have it[30]); nor is it one step on an imaginary ladder of beings; rather, 'soul' is a term of a function within the universe. "It is necessary," Patrizi claims, "that there is another being above the *animus*."[31] He does not explain or justify that necessity because it is self-evident: 'soul' is shorthand for there being for everything a relation that is equivalently fundamental and superior. In more modern language, we may phrase it this way: soul is the postulate of unity of essence and understanding that makes the world both objectively existent and intelligible.

After having explained the syndrome of hierarchy and function, the dynamics of hypostases, and the epistemological and metaphysical function of the soul to connect the changeable reality with the universal principle, Patrizi concludes this first book on 'whence the soul is coming' with a quotation from what we call the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Theologia Aristotelis*:

> It is important to know that the actually existing soul is caused by the intellect. The intellect, however, which also exists actually, is produced by the first principle. This [intellect] inserts into the soul the form and potency that it received from the first principle, which inserts the universality of the things to be produced.[32]

stratum, supra animum aliud ens esse, quod Mentem et intellectum appellavimus." Already quoted above note 18.

30 As best expressed in the description of Cartesian dualism (although avoiding the term 'substance'): Gilbert Ryle, *The Concept of Mind* (London / New York: Hutchinson's University Library, 1949), 13–15.

31 *Pampsychia* 1, fol. 49vb, quoted in note 29.

32 Ibid. fol. 50vb: "Praeterea sciendum, quod anima existens, actu causata est ab intellectu. Intellectus autem, etiam existens actu, productus est a principio primo. Qui immittit animae formam potentiamque receptam ab ipso principio primo inserente rerum productibilium

Patrizi wanted this quotation from the ancient source to express the consensus of authorities from Plotinus through Olympiodorus. It not only corroborates Patrizi's exposition of the role of the intellect (the next higher hypostasis above the soul), it also sums up his principles of psychology: higher levels bestow not only existence upon lower levels; they first of all bestow universality upon them. Neoplatonic 'participation' needs to be thought as a gnoseological principle; it is far away from the image of dependence as though a thing were hooked to some power line. Participation means, both epistemologically and ontologically, the active insertion of universality into the finite. It is the more universal that of its own power "inserts" universality into the dependent. The lower level is 'dependent' in that sense that it would not even exist in and of itself if it lacked universality.

Animus and body

We can see an application of that principle when Patrizi addresses the relation of body and *animus*: after having developed the opposition between what the Latins called substance – in his language ἀυθυπόστατον (*per se substat*) – and its contrary, namely body, he declares that "Body does not stand of itself … as it stands from another [level]. So, from what does it stand? From that which makes it stand."[33] We may interpret this

universitatem." The *Theologia Aristotelis* is published by Patrizi as *Mystica Aegyptiorum et Chaldaeorum philosophia* in his *Nova de universis philosophia.* The quoted passage is in lib. 3 cap. 4 (rather than cap. 6, as the *Pampsychia* says), fol. 9va. Cf. Erna Banić-Pajnić, "Petrić's (Patricius) View of Plato and Aristotle According to the Appendix of *Nova de Universis Philosophia*." *Academia.edu*. Accessed June 8, 2014. https://www.academia.edu/6513795/Petrics_view. On the history of that work see Jill Kraye, "The Pseudo-Aristotelian Theology in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe," in *Pseudo-Aristotle in The Middle Ages: The Theology and Other Texts*, ed. Jill Kraye et al. (London: The Warburg Institute, 1986), 265–86.

33 *Pampsychia* 2, fol. 51va: "Corpus autem per se non stat, non est ἀυθυπόστατον est ἐτερόστατον, ab alio stans. A quo nam igitur stabit? Ab eo nimirum, quod ipsum stare faciat." The Greek terminology may be taken from Proclus, *In Parm.* 610S, and Philoponos, *De anima* 52.19 (Liddell/Scott, *Greek English Lexicon*, s.v.).

as saying: soul is what makes the body subsist as a body. But that is not what Patrizi says. For a stretch of about one hundred lines the word *animus* does not appear. Instead the author explains what that might be, and how it might work, which "secures the body and is able to secure it."[34] The categories he employs are those of mediation, assimilation, identity and alterity, and eventually the effectiveness of essence that we know already. He concludes that *animus* is "a median entity, an 'incorporeal corporeal'," and in support he quotes Zoroaster as having said: "It is the imitation of the [superior] Mind but has birth, in a sense, from the body."[35] As in the case of the quotation from the *Theologia Aristotelis*, Patrizi has a long-winded inference culminate in a quotation that, in and of itself, is arcane, at best. As to the question regarding the nature and function of the soul, the result is that we may say the soul gives reality and existence to the body. Body would not even be what it is without the soul. The soul's role may be described in terms of support, influence, power, or anything like that. And yet we should not overlook that, according to Zoroaster, in some sense the soul has birth from the body. For, as Patrizi repeats, we are understanding the world in terms of mutual containedness:

> Body is a bodily entirety (*universitas*). All those entireties stand each in its level and order, and yet all in all: the higher in the lower, the lower in the higher, and these in themselves so that they do not confuse others nor are confused by others.[36]

34 *Pampsychia* 2, fol. 51vb: "Quid igitur illud erit, quod corpus servet, et servare queat?"

35 Ibid. fol. 52ra: "Atque ita vere medium sit hoc ens, quod incorporeum corporeum nos appellamus. Et animum nuncupamus. De quo verissime cecinit Zoroaster. … Mentis namque imitamen est, partum vero habet quid corporis." Cf. *Pampsychia* 5, fol. 59rb. The quotation is from Zoroaster, "Anima, Natura" in Patrizi's edition in *Nova philosophia*, fol. 9r. According to Lewis/Charles, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v., *imitamen* is a term that Ovid uses for dreams that imitate true forms.

36 Ibid. fol. 52rb: "Corpus similiter universitas erit corporalis. Sed hae omnes universitates, suo quaeque gradu stant atque ordine. Sunt tamen, omnes in omnibus, superae in inferis. Inferae in superis, et quae in seipsa ita, ut nec alisas confundat, neque ab aliis confundatur."

We see that the motif of mutual inclusion is not limited to soul and higher hypostases; and the reason becomes obvious with this last quotation: the dialectics of the hierarchical thought is construed to make the existence and coherence of the world thinkable. The concluding thesis of *Pampschia* 2 is, not surprisingly:

> The essence of *animus* is one, is alive, is intelligent, is rational. It is the entirety of reasons that come immediately out of the intellect.[37]

In the context as discussed here, that means soul is what makes bodily reality intelligible. In modern language: if we cannot take for granted that the world that surrounds us is intelligible at all, that is, if we refrain from plain idealism and take skepticism seriously, we need to establish a framework that allows things to be what they are, whatever that may be, to the extent that this yields true propositions about the world and true falsifiable knowledge. Such framework could be construed in a way that truth emerges from reality not by way of hide-and-seek or hit-and-miss or any other happy guess work that goes for empiricism, but rather that we may be confident that the reasons we find in reality are the very forces that establish the universe. What Patrizi shows is that such framework has to have built in those components that appear to make it difficult to understand reality. Those components are: relation, meaning, forces, autonomy, dependency, and a few others mentioned here.

Merging sources

At this point I should come back to the function of those quotations from Pseudo-Aristotle and from Zoroaster. As they stand in the text they do not – as Bruno imputed – invoke an authority, to which Patrizi is obliged in any way such that he would be doing philology and history rather than

[37] Ibid. fol. 52vb: "Essentia animi una est, vivens est, intelligens est, rationalis est. Rationum universitas, ab intellectu proxime venentium."

real philosophy. His is, ostentatiously, a new philosophy that initiated with the *Discussiones Peripateticae* and ended with editions of supporting material from the sources mentioned and texts from Hermeticism. What is new in terms of dealing with ancient authorities is that Patrizi makes sense of them. He is not at all slavishly indebted to them. The position of the quotations, in the short section of his work which we discussed here, shows that Patrizi gives a lengthy explanation of the framework of philosophy within which such quotations may make sense. At the same time, while he is pursuing his argument concerning the universe, he builds up a line of argumentation that culminates in those quotations to the effect that the result of his inquiry into the notion of soul establishes the philosophical context that culminates in the propositions quoted from the Ancients. Reason and authority converge.[38]

If we look at his *Dialogues on History* and also at his *Rhetoric*, this is fully consistent with his approach to human thought and its expression. In his *Rhetoric*, Patrizi defines speech, among others, as making "sign of the concept of the soul of the other, and by means of this, also of the thing."[39] He then compares the sign systems of animals and adds that the meaning of those signs (*la significatione*) is the soul of it.[40] What is true in animal speech also applies to cosmology: the soul conveys the meaning of things. Accordingly, Patrizi discusses animal language also

[38] On Patrizi's use of ancient authorities see Erna Banić-Pajnić, "Značajke Petrićeve recepcije Zoroastru pripisanih Oracula chaldaica [Characteristics of Petrić's Reception of Oracula Chaldaica Attributed to Zoroaster]," *Filozofska istraživanja* 30, no. 3 (October 25, 2010): 457–466. Mucillo, "Terminologia," 132: "Non si tratta soltanto per Patrizi di integrare il procedimento sillogistico con quello della 'divisione' platonica …, ma si tratta di impiegare le dimostrazioni matematiche e … le 'sensate' esperienze, e di confermare infine le verità guadagnate per mezzo della ragione con le auctoritates filosofiche e teologiche."

[39] Patrizi, *Deset dijaloga o retorici / Della retorica* 1, fol 3r: "che il parlare sia voce d'uomo, articolata facenteci segno del concetto dell'animo altrui, et per lo suo mezzo, etiandio della cosa." On history and human thought see Caesare Vasoli, *Francesco Patrizi da Cherso* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1989), 25–90; 54.

[40] Ibid.: "Si, ma a cotesta lor [sc. animali] fauella, manca l'anima. STR. Quale anima? LAM. La significatione. STR. Ne questa manca loro, percio che elle si danno, l'un l'altro a sapere lor desideri …"

as pertinent to the nature of the animal soul in *Pampsychia* 5.[41] There might be an equivocation, here: 'the meaning of speech is its soul' vs. 'soul is what holds the universe together'. Nevertheless it is true, that in discussing the cosmological meaning of soul (its function and position) Patrizi also gives meaning to Zoroaster and (Pseudo-) Aristotle and their way of treating the soul.

When I repeatedly used the term *animus*, that was due to the fact that, as mentioned earlier, Patrizi expressly separated the concept of *anima* from that of *animus* and reserved it for the soul of humans.[42] There is obviously something special about the human soul. In *Pampsychia* 1, he mentions theological issues, without going into details.[43] In book 3 of the same work, he reports from unnamed authorities that Plato's concept of soul is divided into the soul of the entire world and the angelic, the demonic, the heroic and the human soul. Although he hastens again to defer treatment of it to a later book, he still reports a formal description of the human soul: Those sources say that any soul is composed of five 'elements', namely, essence, same, other, state, and motion, and that souls are distinct by the prevalence and combination ('complications') of some of the components. So the 'heroic' soul results from the predominance of 'same' and 'other', whereas in the human soul only 'other' is dominant.[44] Patrizi limits his comments to observing that, on the foundations of the

41 *Pampsychia* 5, 57v-58r. Details in Anna Laura Puliafito, "Francesco Patrizi e la ragione degli animali." *Bruniana & Campanelliana* 17 (2011): 131–133; Anna Laura Puliafito, "L'uomo, gli animali, il linguaggio. Alcuni aspetti della riflessione patriziana su ragione, anima umana e anima dei bruti," in *The Animal Soul and the Human Mind: Renaissance Debates*, ed. Cecilia Muratori (Bruniana & Campanelliana , Supplementi, 35, Studi, 15. Pisa-Roma: Serra, 2013), 113–30.

42 *Pampsychia* 1, fol. 49rb.

43 Ibid. fol. 50rb.

44 Ibid. 53va: "Dixerunt [sc. viri magni] ex quinque rerum omnium elementis, omnia, et inter haec animum constitui. Nimirum, Essentia, Eodem, Altero, Statu, Motu. Hisce varie complicatis, varia animorum genera formari asseruerunt. … Si vero idem simul, et alterum [prevaleret], progigni Heroicum. Si vero alterum tantum in praedominio esset, produci humanum."

Platonists and the Pythagoreans, this looks like a fair arrangement.[45] That is to say, he acknowledges that the mentioned 'elements', namely, relational properties or, rather, functions in various constellations provide a formal and methodical description of the kinds of souls. Human soul is otherness – that is what we glean from this report.

Zoroaster and Dionysius are the sources, however, Patrizi prefers. With minds, angels, souls, and demons, they appear to supply a hierarchical order, as we know it, and which complies with the rulings of the Church, as he mentions. A terminological problem seems to be attached to the notion of hero: is it only a virtue as the general public and the Aristotelians believe? Patrizi relies upon the Platonists, Egyptians, and Chaldeans, he says, who teach the heroic soul to be "contiguous with, but superior to the human soul."[46] Again, we are left without further commentary. But in this way, drawing upon specific traditions, Patrizi prepares the ground for the (at this point missing) elaboration about the human soul.

Is there a specific human soul?

So, what is specific about the human soul? Maria Mucillo, Anna Laura Puliafito, and Thomas Leinkauf have expressed the suspicion that Patrizi is unable to differentiate the human soul from the natural *animus*.[47] And

45 Ibid.: "Ex eorum, et Platonicis, et Pythagoreis fundamentis, recte haec admodum videantur disposuisse."

46 Ibid. fol. 53vb; the last quotation: "Platonici vero, veterum Aegyptiorum, Chaldaeorumque dogmata secuti, proximum quidem humano, superiorem tamen Heroicum consitutunt animum."

47 Maria Mucillo, "Il «De humana philosophia» di Francesco Patrizi da Cherso nel codice Barberiniano greco 180," *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 4 (1990): 289 note 22. Thomas Leinkauf, "Zum Begriff des ‚Geistes' in der Frühen Neuzeit. Überlegungen am Beispiel Francesco Patrizi da Chersos," in *Platonism and Forms of Intelligence*, ed. John Dillon and Marie-Elise Zovko (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 172. Puliafito, "L'uomo, gli animali, il linguaggio," 119. An important parallel text is Patrizi's comment on a poem by Petrarch; see Anna Laura Puliafito, "Petrarca filosofo platonico. Francesco Patrizi commentatore di un sonetto petrarcesco (RVF VII)," in *Para/Textuelle Verhandlungen zwischen Dichtung und Philosophie in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Bernhard Huss et al. (Berlin; New York: de Gruyter, 2011), 386–392.

that might have been, indeed, the reason why Patrizi did not complete his treatise on the human soul so that it is lacking in the *Nova philosophia*. However, thanks to Maria Mucillo's publication of large parts of the manuscript *De humana philosophia* that was intended to become part of that new philosophy, we can have an inkling, how he was approaching the main task.

In his definition of the human being, we clearly see that he is working, again, with hypostases as they applied to the natural philosophy in general. *Anima* is now part of the hierarchy at the place where one would expect it, namely, between intellect and body. But we also see noteworthy modifications.[48] The soul is placed, more precisely, between reason and spirit, whereby spirit is designated to be the "tool" of everything else. Here, the soul is the unifying principle of the human nature. The soul is one and unifies the variety of operations, which would need to be spelled out in this science, as he says. In his universal philosophy, we saw that for Patrizi *animus* exemplifies the dialectical unity and universality of everything. Here we may observe that he is considering the human soul to be the principle of unity and operation of the human being. And since

[48] Mucillo, "Il «De humana philosophia»", 293f.: "Homo ex sapientum plerorumque ex vulgi totius etiam sententia. Neque solum quod conspicitur corpus est neque sola est quae non conspicitur anima. Non solum corpus, quia non est cadauer. Neque sola est anima sine cadauere. Consensus igitur fere omnium in id uenit ut asseratur Hominem ex anima, et corpore constare... . Ex his omnibus colligimus hominem integrum constare, Mente, Ratione, Anima, spiritu, corpore / Quorum duo postrema cum brutis et plantis sunt communia. Anima in medio sita, aliquando illis fit comes / Ratio et mens propria sunt hominis.... Nos philosophis, et philosophice haec sentimus. Quinque illis Hermeticis, nos tria addimus, quae in hominis totalitate atque integritate et sensus comprehendit, et ratio ostendit calorem, humoren, naturam. Itaque homo integer octo constat omnibus inter se diuersis essentiis. Intellectu, νῷ, seu mente, λόγῳ, seu διανοίᾳ, ratione, ψυχῇ anima, πνεύματι, spiritu, calore, nam frigus nullum in uiuente corpore. Humore, nam siccum nihil in viuente corpore quod non sit concretus humor, corpore, erecto scilicet et proprio hominis. Haec omnia, uiuunt et uita sunt praedita. ... Horum omnium videtur spiritus esse intrumentum, plerorumque instrumentum calor, rationis et intellectionis instrumenta sunt cognitrices et appetitrices vires. Sed sunt haec omnia humanae animae tribuenda quae una cum sit plures habet vires, et viribus plures actiones generis eiusdem, quae omnia sunt singillatim pertractanda ordine huic scientiae proprio." (Spelling retained but, except in two cases, "/" eliminated.) Unless *intellectus* and *mens* count as two 'essences,' I see only seven levels; later Patrizi refers to seven 'essences.'

he is using the term 'essence' for intellect, reason, and even warmth and humidity, we can be sure that he thinks of essence not as substance but, rather, in terms of 'essential function.' This becomes obvious when he expressly raises the question of what might constitute unity and decrees that this is the function (*munus*) of *anima*.[49] On the one hand, Patrizi is giving here a clear physiological treatment of the human nature, and he expressly avers that his explication derives the *species hominis universa* from *singulus homo*, which is numerically one;[50] on the other hand, he describes the human being as an organism (without using the term) that obeys the soul. The most convenient interpretive tool would be to say, man is a microcosm. But if that is the case, then man does not repeat the order of the universe, rather, the theory of the universe has been extrapolated from human physiology. Patrizi repeats: the soul uses spirit, warmth, humors, and the seed-powers of the blood to accomplish seven actions: vivifying, building, and forming parts, conjoining and setting them in their places and connecting them, unifying the members, and, finally, making one man out of the unified parts.[51] These operations are nothing but descriptors of how an organism works.

And yet, in determining the specificity of the human soul, we have not made any progress, because, as we soon learn, this explanation of the soul as the directing force of an organism also applies to animals and plants. They each have their proper and specific λόγος.[52] Also in *Pampsychia* 4, he argues at length that every living thing lives by its specific soul; even more, it is the soul that is specific to the genre that

[49] Ibid., 294: "Quis haec primo congregat in unum? … Animae igitur hoc munus relinquitur, proprium ipsius / Cuius et spiritus, et calor, et humor, et solidum corpus est instrumentum. Anima spiritum, caloremque secum in humorem seminum secum [*sic*] ferens, eum in varias effingit atque efformat partes." Etc.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid. closes with "ex unitis unum facit hominem."

[52] Ibid., 293: "Ideo in nova philosophia bruta quoque et plantae, ratione formantur ἰδίῳ καὶ οἰκείῳ λόγῳ."

makes it what it is for it conveys its 'dignity': "Without a soul not one body is honorable and valuable," as he quotes from Theophrastus.[53] And in the same context, Patrizi declares that the world-body is in need of conjunction with a soul in order to continue being the world-body and being at all.[54] When comparing *De humana philosophia* with *Pampsychia*, we clearly see that the soul is what makes a thing specific and therefore, there is nothing specific to the human soul, *anima*, insofar as it is a version of the ubiquitous soul, *animus*.

If there is anything that sets the human soul apart from animal souls, it is, according to *Pampsychia*, the desire for glory and the endowment with reason and intellect that stems from the human soul.[55] With this, Patrizi appears to appease theological objections. At the same time, human pride about superiority over brutes is not a philosophical position, Patrizi adds.[56] The fact that every soul (*animus*) is rational by definition seems to touch upon the conception of people regarding their human dignity, "as though they would loose of their dignity, when the dignity of the other increases."[57] Patrizi refuses to cater to praises of human dignity because they depend either on moral claims or on theological tenets; he insists

53 *Pampsychia* 4, fol. 56ra: "Elementa … cur suis animis carebunt? Optime Theophrastus pronunciavit, Sine animo nullum corpus est honorabile, aut preciosus."

54 Ibid. fol. 56vb: "Mundi ergo corpus, ut mundi corpus esse, et esse perseveraret, animo opus habuit, qui ei iungeretur."

55 Ibid. fol. 55vb: "Homines vero, supra bruta, et gloriae desiderio tanguntur, et rationem, et intellectum possident, idque per animam."

56 *Pampsychia* 5, fol. 57rb and va; 58rb: "Sed homines, id sibi dici dedignantur. Quia videantur bruta sibi comparari. Ita et principes cum plebe. … Quasi ipsi propriam ammittant dignitatem illi, sibi surrepta dignitate, ea augeantur. Ita fiet inter homines, et bruta, ut si haec quoque rationalia sint, homo de dignitate sua deiiciatur. Sed philosopho non sunt haec exhorrenda, si vera sint, sin falsa, penitus sunt abolenda." Excerpts of the relevant sections in Puliafito, "L'uomo, gli animali, il linguaggio," 121–128.

57 Ibid. fol. 58rb: "Quocumque id intelligatur, modo, omnis animus est rationalis. Sed homines, id sibi dici dedignantur. … Quasi ipsi propriam ammittant dignitatem illi, sibi surrepta dignitate, ea augeantur."

on giving a 'natural' explanation and that means a description by way of principles that apply to the whole of nature.

In his *De humana philosophia*, Patrizi appears to emphasize the extraordinary nature of the human soul. He terms it a "supernatural form" and discusses its pre-existence before the body, thus coming close to the heresy of Origen.[58] As to the heresy he claims to avoid it because the soul has been ordained to join the body (as Hermes has it) and does so out of obedience;[59] Origen's error was not the pre-existence, but the inferences that the soul acted out of its own accord and that hence would follow the transmigration of souls from body to body, which he denounces to be a flawed syllogism.[60] His solution to the question of pre-existence and superiority of the soul comes as a solution of the paradoxes that usually arise when one thinks of the relation of body and soul in terms of some sort of conjunction of substances. And we should remember that for Patrizi, soul is no substance. Any possible version of Origenism has to explain how such conjunction of the two substances can possibly occur. Evidently, addition leads to a dead end, because it will fail to express and understand the union that necessarily results from soul and body. Patrizi weighs the alternatives in such conjunction. Does the body, after the union, remain body? Or does the soul become in some way corporeal? Certain is that in any union the components change, unless they just come together without merging in essence. Such apposition is not a total union but only the accretion of parts to parts and, hence, in the model of apposition, the soul would not animate the whole body, let alone the fact that accretion is no union. Patrizi adduces the example of wine and

58 Mucillo, "Il «De humana philosophia»", 298: "Neque anima est forma naturalis sed supernaturalis. Nec est pars hominis nisi post ad corpus a prouidentia est missa."

59 Ibid., 298: "Missa n. est a providentia … Sed providentiae obediendum." Cf. Patrizi, *Nova de universis philosophia*, Hermetis Trismegisti De mente communi, lib. 11, fol. 24 va: "Nam beatus Deus, Bonus Daemon. Animam quidem in corpore iussit esse. Mentem autem in anima, rationem vero in mente. Mentem vero in Deo. Deum vero horum patrem."

60 Mucillo, "Il «De humana philosophia»", 299: "… sed quod inde asserii, ut in propria rep.ª animas cadere … Quis n. hic syllog.ˢ?"

water: in a way both cease being wine or water when mixed; and yet it is just a merger of very minute particles to the effect that it appears like a union but it is not.[61]

In his *Discussiones Peripateticae,* Patrizi had already addressed the conundrum of body-soul relation. It is excluded that the human being is to be conceived as a composite of contrary elements, such as body and soul, because the explanatory pattern of hypostases is not that of the matching of contraries. For no substance can be such composite of contraries, as Patrizi says.[62] The explanation of the human body and the soul cannot be achieved through the thought of one thing being added to another, such as body and soul, because it simply does not explain anything. Consequently, the model of form-matter also fails, according to Patrizi. He rejects the Aristotelian definition that the soul is the form of the body and the principle of movement, because it still entails a dualism, which factually explains nothing.[63] Accordingly, in his *Panarchia*, Patrizi

[61] Ibid., 300: "Quomodo igitur corpus animae unitum, corpus etiam manet? aut anima incorporea unita corpori non corporescit? Necesse n. est uel utrumque in unione alterari, uel si non alterantur, neque uniuntur. … Sed apponi est impossibile. Nam quod apponitur una sua parte uni alterius parti apponitur et non totum toti. Si anima dicatur apponi corpori non totum corpus erit animatum, sed ea pars sola quam tangit et reliquum corpus exanime remanet neque etiam unum dici possunt quae apponuntur. Si uero ut uinum et aqua κέκραται, omnino in crasi utrumque corrumpitur neque enim acqua amplius est, neque vinum; et preterea crasis haec per appositionem fit, sed insensibilem ob partium minutiam. Quod fit manifestum, quia iterum separari possunt."

[62] Patrizi, *Discussionum peripateticarum tomus quartus I* lib. 1, p. 38: "Si dicatis: in substantia est contrarietas, corporeum et incorporeum, animatum, inanimatum, rationale, irrationale, aiam ego cum bonis antiquis: corporeum ex incorporeo non fit, neque incorporeum ex corporeo, neque animatum ex inanimato generatur, neque inanimatum ex animato, neque rationale ex irrationali, neque ex rationali irrationale, nisi forte per accidens. Non ergo in substantia ex contrariis fit generatio, sed ex simili: corporeum ex corporeo, animatum ex animato, rationale ex rationali, irrationale ex irrationali, homo ex homine. Homo enim generat hominem, ait etiam praeceptor, bos bovem, equus equum. Non ergo vere contrarium ex contrario, sed simile ex simili, natura rerum res suas generat.

[63] Ibid., lib. 2, 112: "[The Aristotelian conclusion was:] Ergo anima est principium τοῦ κινεῖσθαι, moveri, corpus organicum etc. Quo nihil absurdius, nihil inconstantius. Neque enim maior negari potest, neque etiam minor ex iis verbis: Necesse enim animam substantiam esse, ut formam corporis, quae sunt 2. *De anima*, capite 1. Ex hac ergo doctrina neque animalia, neque

rejects the notion that life in animate beings is some sort of encounter between dead and live components. "It is utterly absurd that a dead thing adds perfection to the living soul. Therefore the intellect, in which the souls participates, is alive."[64] (I admit to be plucking this passage out of a larger context on the notion of life; but it serves the purpose to confirm that Patrizi is consistently avoiding substance dualism.)

We see that Patrizi's speaking of a "supernatural form" in *De humana philosophia* does in no way mean that he buys in to the ontology of Aristotelian heritage. Therefore the solution must be, as we saw earlier, that the soul *is* the unity of the human being, that is, it is what unifies the parts of an organism. Therefore he describes the union in terms of mutual love as the best possible explanation. It is the sensual human soul that desires to submit to the material intellect; that is to say, senses and intellect love each other thanks to their individual incompleteness. This relationship is a "substantial union" and is that which brings human existence to perfection; and the same relation obtains between the agent intellect and the human rational soul "so that in order to be united they desire each other mutually and thus become almost one."[65] Again we find a strategic quotation towards the end of a chain of reasons, because this statement harkens back to the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Theologia Aristotelis*.[66]

If we were induced to believe that Patrizi succumbs to the extraordinariness of human nature, and specifically the human soul, we need to

animata, neque mixta, neque elementa principium habent in se τοῦ κινεῖν, movere, vel se ipsa vel alia."

64 *Panarchia* 14. fol. [30]rb: "At mortuam rem, animæ vivæ perfectionem dari afferere, omnium est absurdissimum. Ergo intellectus ab anima participatus, vivens est."

65 Mucillo, "Il «De humana philosophia»", 300: "Anima sensitiua hominis appetit subiungi intellectui materiali, illoque indui; et, intellectus igitur passibilis, et anima sensitiua hominis sese mutuo propter uniusque indigentiam, diligunt, simulque unione substantiali coniunguntur; qua perficitur existentia hominis. Ita quoque se habent intellectus agens, et anima rationalis sese invicem optantes pro ratione qua uniuntur, ac fiunt substantia fere una."

66 Patrizi, *Nova de universis philosophia*, Mystica Aegyptiorum et Chaldaeorum philosophia lib. 10, cap. 9, fol. 24ra.

qualify our interpretation. The language of desire and love reminds us that his approach to a natural explanation of the soul is not naturalist in a plain sense but remains faithful to the dialectics that governs the universe, in which, as we saw, each level or component is dependent on the other. The metaphor of love, it should be noted, is akin to Thomas Aquinas' treatment of human love. The "substantial union" – as distinct from other love relations – causes love because it is that sort of love in which one loves himself.[67] We may observe that Patrizi at this point takes the sensual portion of the soul to represent the body and then describes the relation between soul and intellect and between reason and the agent intellect (whether that is beyond the individual or part of it remains open) as a relation of love, self-love. This self-love relation, cosmologically speaking, expresses the function of the soul as that principle of unity that makes the universe, including humans, understandable at all. We cannot help stating that also the human soul is what makes something what it is. This soul partakes, naturally, in all the activities that are known about rationality and thought. Therefore, we may be comforted noting that the human mind ultimately transcends the natural world and unites with God,[68] but this, in Patrizi's new philosophy, is nothing extraordinary, it is the way how the universe operates.

67 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theol.*, Iª-IIae q. 28 a. 1 ad 2: "Quaedam enim unio est causa amoris. Et haec quidem est unio substantialis, quantum ad amorem quo quis amat seipsum, quantum vero ad amorem quo quis amat alia, est unio similitudinis, ut dictum est. Quaedam vero unio est essentialiter ipse amor. Et haec est unio secundum coaptationem affectus. Quae quidem assimilatur unioni substantiali, inquantum amans se habet ad amatum, in amore quidem amicitiae, ut ad seipsum; in amore autem concupiscentiae, ut ad aliquid sui. Quaedam vero unio est effectus amoris. Et haec est unio realis, quam amans quaerit de re amata."

68 Mucillo, "Il «De humana philosophia»," 306: "Mens, intellectus … est maxima animae pars et eius forma una ac summa Per quam superis insyimur, et ut Hermes ait, in Deum transimus." Cf. Leinkauf, "Zum Begriff des 'Geistes'," 175 note 43. The word *insyimur* might stand for *insuimur*: 'the mind is the highest form through which we are sewn together with the higher [forms or spirits].'

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Marsilio Ficino and Franciscus Patricius on Love

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Abstract In no other historical era has the love theme been given such prominence as in the period of the Renaissance. At the core of the renewed interest of the Renaissance authors for the love theme lies the introduction of Plato's doctrine on love into the Western cultural circle, made known primarely through the translation of Marsilio Ficino and his commentary on Plato's dialogue *Symposium*. With his views of love, Ficino influenced all later philosophers who were dealing with the topics of love as well as the renowned Croatian Renaissance philosopher Frane Petrić. In this paper we are trying to show that, despite some novel approaches in Petrić's treatment of love, the main features of his and Ficino's conceptions of love are the same. In the works of both philosophers we find the typical Neoplatonic scheme – the dualism as the basic conception of being and of love and the tendency to overcome it through the ontological hierarchy. The key point of this Neoplatonic ontological system is that "medium", that "in-between", which unites the extremes. This mediating role is by Ficino and Petrić primarily bestowed upon love.

Keywords love, Renaissance Neoplatonism, Ficino, Patricius/Petrić

One of the central themes of Renaissance philosophy is the theme of love. The backbone of the Renaissance thematisation of love is the revival of interest in Plato's doctrine of love. Ficino's translation and commentary of Plato's dialogue *Symposion* had a crucial role therein. Ficino finished the translation of this dialogue in 1469. The commentary of the same work *Commentarium in Convivium Platonis*, *De amore* was published in 1484. This commentary, which in some way follows the structure of Plato's dialogue, consists of six speeches. According to some historians of philosophy it could be considered the "Manifesto of Renaissance Platonism". Although Ficino's original intention was to write a commentary of Plato's dialogue, *De amore* is rather an exposition of his own conception of love, that is still not entirely original. In his interpretation of Plato's doctrine of love Ficino namely adopted the attitudes about love from his predecessors such as Plotinus, Augustinus, Dionysius the Areopagite, Petrarca, Dante and some other authors.

With his attitudes about love Ficino exerted influence on almost all later Renaissance philosophers who thematised love, including the Croatian Renaissance philosopher Frane Petrić (Franciscus Patricius, Francesco Patrizi), whose following works were dedicated to love: *Le Rime di Messer Luca Contile divise in tre parti con discorsi et argomenti di M. Francesco Patritio et M. Antonio Borghesi* published in Venice in 1560, *L' Amorosa filosofia* (from 1577) and *Il Delfino overo del Baccio* from the same year. Lastly he writes about love in his most important work *Nova de universis philosophia*.[1]

It ought to be stated that, although Petrić, in his elaboration on the theme of love, never mentions Ficino, the analysis of his texts shows that he adopted quite a lot from Ficino. In the present text we attempt to show that even in the part of his philosophy of love, that he considered *original and new* (namely the doctrine of *philautia* as the fundamental form of love), Petrić's notion of love does not deviate significantly from Ficino's conception of love. We will also attempt to show that there is *one* basic structure underlying both Ficino's and Petrić's view of love and that this structure represents one of the essential features of Renaissance Neoplatonism.

In order to substantiate the above arguments, we first need to outline Ficino's fundamental attitudes displayed in *De amore*.[2] There are

[1] In her text *Marsilio Ficino e Francesco Patrizi da Cherso* (published in *Marsilio Ficino e il ritorno di Platone. Studi e documenti*, ed. G. C. Garfagnini, II, (Firenze: Olschki, 1986).) Maria Muccillo compared the similarities and differences in the philosophical points of view of the two philosophers. There she partly elaborated on the topics of love. Muccillo maintains that it is possible to follow the evolution of the relationship Ficino – Petrić and concludes that Petrić developed and extended some of the basic tenets of Ficino.

[2] In this text I rely on three editions of Ficino's commentary on *Symposion*, namely: Marsilio Ficino, *Über die Liebe oder Platons Gastmahl* (Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 1994) with an introduction of P. R. Blum and with German translation of K. P. Hasse; on R. Marcel's, *Marsile Ficin. Commentaire sur le banquet de Platon* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1956), and *Marsilio Ficino's Commentary on Plato's Symposium*, with English translation and the introduction of S. Jayne, (Columbia: University of Missouri Studies 19. 1, 1944).

three key moments in Ficino's commentary of *Symposium* that need to be emphasized.

The most important part of his commentary is the third speech of the first book of *De amore*, where he introduces the topic of love, laying out the process of cosmogenesis as framed by Hermes Trismegistus, who placed love in the heart of chaos, a formless world. According to Ficino Hermes was followed by Orpheus, Hesiod, Parmenides, Acusilaus and eventually by Plato, who "in Timeo chaos describit similiter et in eo locat Amorem".

Relying on the mythical account of cosmogenesis in that speech, Ficino exposes his view of the process of creation and of the birth of love. For the Platonists, he explains, there are three worlds, which means three chaoses. According to them, chaos is namely a formless world and the world is a chaos endowed with form. First of all is God, the Good itself, who first creates the angelic mind which is in fact the first world. Then God creates the soul of the world and ultimately the body of the world. The first-created substance of the angelic mind is initially dark and formless, but because of its innate desire (*ingenito appetitu*), since it was created by God, it turns toward God, its own source. When turning toward God, the angelic mind becomes illuminated by the ray (*ipsius radio illustratur*) of divine light. Then God shapes the forms in it, that which are the basic features of all things (*creandarum rerum naturas effingit*), the exemplary forms of all that is, the ideas. Everything that is in the material world first dwells in the angelic mind. The first turning of the chaos i. e. the angelic mind toward God (*conversio in Deum*) is the birth of love (*ortus amoris*). There are three key moments related to the birth of love: the turning of the angelic mind toward God, God's illumination of it and its adherence to God. In any case, love precedes all other gods, who, as spirits of the stars, are assigned to the parts of the world, and it also precedes the world.

Although born from chaos, love represents the aspiration for orderliness, for beauty, and is manifested as the aspiration toward God as the source of forms and beauty. So at the very beginning of Ficino's talk about love two essential connections are recognizable. The first is the

connection of *love and beauty*. The essential feature of love is that it leads the mind toward beauty. Thereby three kinds of beauty are distinguished: the *beauty of the soul* which consists of the right balance of virtues, the second is the *beauty of the body* which consists of the harmony of colours and various lines and the third is the *beauty of the voice* which consists of the harmony of voices. The first kind of beauty is cognized by the mind, the second by the eyes and the third by the ears. Those three are the instruments of the cognition of love. The foundation of all of them is harmony.

In the same speech the second significant connection between light and love is revealed. The angelic mind namely becomes the world only when illuminated by the ray of the divine light. Ficino defines the beauty itself as "the splendor of ideas". The source of beauty is the ray of light which emanates from God and permeates everything that is, from the angelic mind to the world-soul, nature and matter.

Hence, love is born in that turning of the angelic mind toward its source, God. It could be said that this *turning or conversion* occurs actually within the very principle of all things, God. Love then is born in a *circular process*, that includes three phases: first the Creator creates all things, then He attracts them back to Himself, and finally He makes them perfect. "Circulus itaque unus et idem a deo in mundum, a mundo in deum, tribus nominibus nuncupatur".[3] Everything stems from the eternal source, seeking its own origin goes back to that source, and in returning to it it finally unites with it. There is one and the same *circular motion* from God to the world and from the world to God. Referring to Dionysius the Areopagite Ficino states: "Amor circulus est bonus a bono in bonum perpetuo revolutus".[4] What makes the mind return to its source is the

[3] Marsilio Ficino, *Opera omnia*, *Commentarium in Convivium Platonis De amore* (Basel, 1576, repr. Ivry sur Seine: Phénix Editions, 2000), Oratio secunda, ch. II. (latin quotations are from R. Marcel, *Marsile Ficin.*

[4] It needs to be mentioned that in his work *Theologia platonica* Ficino takes over the presentation of God in form of a circle from the book *Liber XXIV Philosophorum* ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus: "Deus est circulus, cuius centrum est ubique, circunferentia nusquam".

desire for orderliness, forms and beauty. Love is primarily the desire for beauty. Ficino then contrasts beauty and ugliness, the latter being related to the intemperate sensations, which are the *opposite* of beauty. Love has only to do with harmony and temperance. He sees love and the desire for physical union as *opposites.*

There is yet another significant moment in Ficino's definition of love in his second speech, where he, once again with referrence to the ancient theologians, depicts the totality of being by means of *four concentric circles*, that are located around the center of everything, God. So here again we find the motive of the circle that represents the relationship between God and creatures. While God – the Goodness is the center of the circles, the four circles in fact represent four regions of being or more precisely four hypostases – mind, soul, nature and matter. The crucial point of Ficino's conception is that these circles – regions of being can never be observed beyond their relation to their center, God.

As the central point of those circles, God is present in all things as their essence. All lives thanks to God's light and through this light aspires to him. This light is beauty and love is the desire of this beauty. So thanks to love, everything is connected.

The center of everything is goodness from which all proceedes and to which all aspires. Beauty is the circumference of the circle, which is the splendor of the goodness infused into everything. So is beauty the splendor of God's goodness. In this splendor there are forms of everything. In the mind these forms are ideas, in the soul they are concepts, in nature seeds (*semina*) and in the matter shapes. The divine beauty shines through all and is loved by all. The beauty is the *flower of goodness*. Who sees the beauty in the four circles, sees the beauty of God and loves it. As the universal principle love is in everything and for everything ("Amor est in omnibus et ad omnia"), it is *effector* and *servator* of everything. Its all-permeating power *unites all.* In short, love is "copula mundi", love is great God.

Everything that Ficino says about love and beauty in the following speeches, all aspects of love that he adresses in the rest of the dialogue,

is only a more detailed elaboration of the ontotheological foundation of love exhibited in the first two speeches, where he speaks of love mostly as of a cosmic and ontological principle. Ficino then describes in detail the ways in which love is manifested in all four circles – regions of being.

In the second speech (chapter III) we find the third important moment in Ficino's commentary. There he speaks about *two powers* of the soul that are represented as two Aphrodites / Venuses and correspond to the two forms of love. One is in the angelic mind, the other is the world soul. The first is the mental power that strives toward the higher heavenly region and seeks cognition of the divine beauty. The other is the power of procreation that strives to create beauty in the lower earthly region. These same powers can be found in the human soul. According to Ficino both forms of love are honorable, however if acting against the natural law man can abuse the dignity of love (e. g. if he prefers the beauty of the body or is too eager to procreate).

The most important part of Ficino's discourse on love is the sixth speech where he interprets Diotima's doctrine of hierarchy of beings according to which the soul is above the body, the angel is above the soul, and God is above the angels. There Diotima leads Socrates from the lower to the higher degrees of love, whereby degrees of love and beauty correspond to the degrees of being.

Ficino argues that the beauty of body cannot be pure beauty; it is only the outer manifestation of the inner beauty that is the beauty of the soul. This beauty is the invisible light that emanates from God. It is the truth, which remains always one and the same, but has different names according to the various names of the virtues that it acquires. Above the beauty of the soul is the beauty of the angelic mind that contains the ideas. The angelic light shines namely in many ideas. Since above every multitude there ought to be that "one" which is "the source of all numbers", so is above the beauty of the angelic mind the beauty of the light of the One that is the principle of all. Its beauty is infinite and therefore asks for the infinite love.

Wondering about the way of how to return to God Ficino concludes that it is love, as the aspiration toward orderliness and beauty and as the pursuit of perfection that leads us back to God. The goal of the human life is to reach the state where "we love all in God", where "we see God and all in God and love him and everything that is in him." [5] So according to Ficino it is not the knowledge that brings us back to God, but rather love ("Quod ergo noscelo restituit non dei cognitio est, sed amor").[6] By that Ficino thinks of one specific form of love, "furor divinus", which represents the „illustratio rationalis animae". Thanks to this furor the soul ascends "super hominis naturam" and turns into God (*transit in deum*). It is important to point out that in regard to this specific moment of Ficino's account of furor, he puts stress on the significance of the human soul. It is namely the human soul that has the capability to overview all degrees of being. Through these degrees of the being she descends and ascends ("Hec omnia respicit anima nostra. Per hec descendit, per hec et ascendit").[7] So the central role in the hierarchy of the beings belongs also to the soul, insofar as it is the soul that connects and unites everything, because in a certain way she has everything in herself thanks to her cognition of everything. So too is the soul, in a certain way, "copula mundi".

We may therefore conclude that Ficino elaborates on love primarily within the ontotheological frame. Love is the result of the process that is going on within the principle of all, God, the basic structure of this process being *circular.* This *circular process* then determines the structure and dynamics of the totality of being.

The basic feature of Ficino's interpretation of love is that love has the central position in the ontological system. Love is what connects. It connects the spiritual and material, the mortal and immortal, the divine and human.

5 M. Ficino, *Convivium*, oratio VI, ch. XIX.

6 Ibid., oratio IV, ch. VI.

7 Ibid., oratioVII, ch. XIII.

The most important thing in his conception of love is the fact that love for anything is always, in some way, love for God, God being the source of everything and that, thanks to love, He attracts everything to Himself. Like the divine light so is love, as a universal principle, present in everything.

Petrić on love

Although Petrić, as stated above, does not mention Ficino, when writing about love, Ficino's influence is already discernible in the earliest of his works dedicated to love, namely in *Le rime di messer Luca Contile divise in tre parti con discorsi et argomenti di M. Francesco Patritio et M. Antonio Borghesi*,[8] where Petrić considers love as the object of the poetic elaboration. In this book there are two Petrić's writings: *Discorso di M. Francesco Patritio* and *Argomenti del medesimo sopra la prima parte*. Petrić comments on the poems of Luca Contile dedicated to Giovanna d'Aragona. It can be said that, when writing a commentary on Contile's verses, he actually writes an essay on poetry and love, where the elements of the Neoplatonic way of philosophizing are already recognizable.

In the introduction of *Le rime* Petric announces two topics that will be addressed in the *Discourse*. The first is a comparison of Greek and Latin love poets with the Italian ones (the representatives of which are Petrarch and Contile). The other is dedicated to the development of human speech. At the beginning of his text he exposes two theses: the ancient poets did not know all about "love affairs" and they failed to grasp all the secrets of human speech. At the beginning of the text, although very concisely, he, in fact, summarizes Ficino's initial account from *De Amore*, arguing that all that is has its origin in God and that God is present in everything, thanks to the ray of light (*raggio della luce di*

[8] The full title of the text is *Le rime di Messer Luca Contile divise in tre parti, con discorsi et argomenti di M. Francesco Patritio et M. Antonio Borghesi*. The text was published in Venice 1560 by Francesco Sansovino et compagni.

Dio), that He pours out of Himself. This *raggio* of the divine light, that is *sopraintelligibile*, descends through the degrees of beings down to the physical world bestowing upon everything the splendor, that is beauty.

Beauty is therefore interpreted as the glow of divine light that God pours upon all. Beauty is good and desirable. Inspired by Ficino's account, Petrić then contrasts two forms of beauty: the beauty of the body represented as "Venere volgare" and the other, incorporeal beauty, that is "Venere celeste". The central topic of Petrić's text is but love, whereby the connection of beauty and love proceeds from the definition of love, being defined as the desire for beauty. Love that Petric adresses here is human love, „nato negli animi umani", that is "the desire to enjoy the beauty for the sake of one's own perfection." Love is primarily a feeling (*affetto*) and each feeling must be preceded by knowledge. The forms of beauty correspond to the forms of knowledge. The soul, in which the admiration for beauty arises, experiences three things: enjoyment, respect and attraction. In all of them there are two basic aspects that are contrasted: the physical and the spiritual.

In addition to the pleasure of the eyes, there are four forms of physical pleasure. The first is the pleasant warmth of a beautiful body (*soavissimo calore del bel corpo*), that releases certain vapor (*spiritus*), that gives the body a wonderful odour. The following is the pleasure of touching (*assaporamento*) which manifests itself primarily in a kiss. As the last form of physical pleasure comes "carnal congiungimento", that is ascribed to the vegetative part of the soul. It is the "most earthly" form of love pleasures. As a natural act "carnal congiungimento" is neither good nor bad. The way we will judge it depends on the way it is practiced, whether in the rational or irrational way. Since even the lowest form of love pleasure serves but the highest human goal – perfection and immortality, Petrić doesn't treat it negatively, but moreover claims that it is also a form of human love.

Beside the bodily pleasures, there are four spiritual pleasures. That in which a beautiful mind firstly enjoys is the sight, then it aspires towards the real, spiritual beauty, and that is the beauty of words. The mind

falls in love with the words of a nice spirit, then with beautiful customs, behavior, humor of the person, etc. All these are forms of spiritual pleasure in loving a person. In total, according to Petrić, there are nine *grades* (*nove gradi*) of love pleasure. The scale of pleasures extends from the enjoyments of physical beauty perceived through the physical eyes to the enjoyments of divine beauty perceived with the mind. There are two extremes on the scale of love: *amor divino* on one side and *amor bestiale* on the other. Every man has the possibility of choice: he can ascend to the contemplation of divine beauty and become divine or descend to bestial love and become an animal.

Since Petrić perceives love as the desire to enjoy beauty for the sake of one's own perfection that which most men in love want is *virtue* and *honor*. Love therefore leads to self-improvement. Lovers act in a divine way (*divinamente*), with a lot of virtues. One who is full of virtues becomes happy and perfect. Striving for perfection, the man becomes immortal and thus approaches God, because the immortality is a companion of gods. While through physical love we attain perfection and immortality by means of physical *reproduction*, through spiritual love we attain them by creating the works of art or books that preserve beauty for eternity.

With regard to the concept of love in Petrić's early work *Le rime* it can be concluded: the way we participate in the divine light conditions the forms of love we experience. The hierarchy of love pleasures follows the ontological hierarchy. The scale of beauty degrees corresponds to the *degrees* of love and love pleasures. So even in this early work on love we find, within Petrić's concept of love, a typical Neoplatonic scheme, that is apparent in the terms he uses, such as "*discendere*", "*ascendere*", *i gradi* – degrees etc. What we have here is, first of all, a *dualistic impostation* of love forms, namely a sharp distinction between the intelligible and the physical realms of the being and the corresponding forms of love and beauty. On one hand, there is divine love, thanks to which man becomes "divino" and on the other, there is the bestial one, thanks to which, through the enjoyment of physical pleasure, man loses his common sense and becomes an animal (*bestia diviene*). These two forms are represented

as two Venuses. In some way they are opposed to each other. However, since the "divine Venus" actually includes all stages of love and pleasure, we may say that here we have the ontological hierarchy, that at the same time *separates* and *connects* the two regions of being and forms of beauty and love, that correlate with them.

The starting point in Petrić's writing on the kiss *Il Delfino overo del baccio* is the question about what part of body provides the greatest pleasure in kissing. Petrić then discusses various degrees of the sweetness of a kiss (from juicy kiss to lip biting kiss and tongue kiss).

Even in this work the account of the genesis of love has ontological and cosmological foundations. The key moment, in fact, lies in the description of the descending of the soul into the body. On one hand, the birth of love is presented in terms of the astral influences or similarity of the dominant planetary influences in the souls of lovers, on the other hand, it is presented in terms of the idea of beauty, that, descending from the divine mind, enters our soul. Created by God, who is the fullness of the ideas of everything, the soul carries in itself the idea of beauty. Once embodied the soul compares that idea with perceived physical beauty.

Petrić's most important work dedicated to love is certainly *L'Amorosa filosofia* from 1577.[9] It is an unfinished dialogue that, in a way, reminds one of Ficino's *De amore.* The dialogue is composed of four chapters. In it Petrić exposes his conception of love, that he considers *new* and *original* (he calls it "novissima" and "nuova dottrina" and assignes it to the "nuova Diotima" – Tarquinia Molza).

Although Petrić claims that his conception of love is new and original, the text of *L' Amorosa filosofia* reflects the obvious influences of his Renaissance Neoplatonic predecessors, who deal with love, and, above all, the influence of Marsilio Ficino. Yet in some respects, his approach to the subject of love is indeed slightly different from Ficino's approach.

In *L'amorosa* Petrić again describes the descent of the soul into the body through the planetary spheres, whereby the Neoplatonic description

[9] Francesco Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia*, ed. J. C. Nelson (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1963).

of the ontological hierarchy is closely associated with cosmology. All this serves as the foundation for the description of the virtues of one specific person – Tarquinia Molza, whose spiritual and physical beauty Petrić describes in detail. The entire first dialogue of the treatise is a presentation of the planetary influences or rather the influences of Muses, who are related to the celestial spheres and to the virtues of the person under their influence, in *L' amorosa* it is Tarquinia Molza. Their influence in shaping the human soul is connected with the mythical account of ancient deities that govern the planets.

Besides all this, Ficino's influence is evident in many other moments of Petrić's dialogue, such as: the determination of the relationship between the intelligible and the material world, the way Petrić depicts the return of the soul to her supracelestial home, namely through music, philosophy and love, the role of planetary influences in the formation of the characteristics of the human soul, the theory of *humores* and of *spiritus*, the descending of the soul clothed in the "corpicello ethereo" through celestial spheres into the body, the theory of divine *furore*s, the teaching of beauty as of the light that the creator pours upon everything, the way he points out that it is love that leads us to the source of all light, and especially the detailed explanation of physiological effects of the feeling of love in man.

That which has often been emphasized as the key moment of Petrić's presentation of love, and in what he deviates from the traditional way of presenting love is his theory about *philautia* or self-love as the basic form of love. However, provided *philautia* is not interpreted superficially, as mere selfishness, but rather understood within a broader context and especially in regard to Ficino's account from the second book of *De amore*, it can be shown that even in this segment Petrić's conception does not differ significantly from that of Ficino.

Petrić distinguishes various forms of love and comes to the conclusion that there are two basic forms – the love for others and the love for our selves. Ultimately he claims that all forms of love can be reduced to self-love. Then he promotes a rather radical thesis that even "Caritas" – which is primarily the love for God, can be reduced to self-love. There

are some interpreters who interpret this self-love as mere egoism, yet it is possible to interpret it in another way, that brings Petrić's conception close to that of Ficino.

The support for his theory of self-love as the basis of all forms of love Petrić finds in the thesis that the basic effort of each thing is "essere, essere semper et bene essere". Self-love is based in the effort of everything to preserve its own identity (*ogni cosa se stessa in se stessa conserva*). This "essere" we have from God, who is the Goodness and the ultimate Good (*somma bonta et il sommo bene*). To love ourselves means to love the Good in ourselves that comes from God, so it means to love God inside us. Even God loves us out of respect for Himself and He creates everything out of love for His own goodness. God's love for His own goodness is His self-love. Out of this self-love He creates everything and loves his own goodness in the things that He has created.[10] In the realization of His own essence God gives the good to all. We love ourselves as part of God's goodness. Self-love is thereof the way of realization of our *essere* and at the same time it is realization of our ultimate goal, that is to become similar to God and to unite with Him.

One has to admit though, that there are some ironic tones in Petrić's account, especially when he refers to the common human behavior, that is often contrary to God's commandments (he points out that we love our enemies only "violentando la nostra natura", that is doing violence to our nature, and still we love them, because, by following God's commandments, we hope to go to the glory of God after this life).[11] But his notion of self-love can basically be reduced to the fundamental tendence of everything to "preserve" its own essence.

It ought to be mentioned that after he had exposed Tarquinia's view of love as *filautia* in the third dialogue, in the fourth unfinished dialogue,

[10] "Per amore adunque che egli porto alla sua bonta, cio e a se medesimo, egli produsse le cose." Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia,* III, 110.

[11] "...perche noi speriamo, osservando i precetti di Dio, di andare alla vita et alla gloria di Dio... ci conduciamo ad amare il nemico." Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia*, III, 115.

through the mouth of Tarquinia's husband Paolo Porrino, Petrić exposes his attitude about self-love, that is *opposed* to that of Tarquinia. So we cannot conclude unambiguously what was Petrić's opinion about *philautia*.

There is but something really *new* in Petrić's account of love compared to that of Ficino. We find it in the detailed descriptions of certain parts of Tarquinia's body, whereas physical beauty is always correlated with her intellectual and moral excellence. These detailed descriptions of the female body as the object of love really mark a shift in regard to Ficino's understanding of love. In conclusion, one could say that everything that Ficino writes about love, Petrić exemplifies in the person of Tarquinia Molza.

Based on the above we can conclude that in his early writings on love Petrić actually elaborates on most aspects of love that Ficino develops in the individual chapters of *De Amore.* In these early treatises love is primarily addressed as a human feeling.

It is only in *Nova de universis philosophia* that Petrić elaborates on love within the ontotheological framework in the way Ficino does at the beginning of *De amore*. Here Petrić thematizes love within the discussion about the principles, that he develops in the second part of *Nova* i. e. in *Panarchia*.

The first principle of all, which according to Petrić is determined as One (*unum*), is, inter alia, the "principle of the return to him-self" (*principium reditus ad ipsum*).[12] Since this first principle, *unum*, is also the good (*bonum*) to all things, then everything that comes out of it aspires to return to it and wants to unite with it. In the representation of the multitude of beings emanating from one, that is, presented as "*protensio monadis in dyadem*", love appears as the third *member* of the *triune principle*. The relationship between the first one (*primum unum*)

[12] "Principium denique reditus ad ipsum, et anagoges, et reductionis.Omnia namque ad ipsum redeunt, eique uniri, et eo frui, viribus omnibus exoptant, et adnituntur", Franciscus Patricius Patrizi, *Nova de universis philosophia*, (Latin and Croatian text, Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1979), further as NUPh, *Panarchia*, VI, 12.

and the second one (*secundum unum*), the turning of this "secundum unum" toward its source, God, is, by Petrić, defined as love. Presented within the frame of the Christian doctrine of Trinitas, this, then, is the relationship between Father and Son, whereby love is the turning (*conversio*) of the Son toward the Father. "Amor ergo hic, tertius inter duos intervenit. Atque ita tres hypostases et Trinitas beatissima et tria, uti postea videbitur, principia."[13] At the same time the Son is, in accordance with Chaldean, Hermetic and Neoplatonic traditions, equated with the mind – *intellectus / Nous.*

Petrić points out that here we are dealing with love „qui non est ut humani sunt amores, affectus et passio", but with *hyparxis*, an essentially independent member of the primordial triune principle. In this part of *Nova de universis philosophia* love is, as the third member of the triune principle, presented as a person that is equated with the Holy Spirit.[14] So is love "*hyparxis and hypostasis*", "*hypostasis tertia*". When interpreted within the *pia philosophia*, that is based on *prisca theologia,* love, as principle, corresponds to the "second mind" (*secundus intellectus*), that stems from the "first mind" (*primus intellectus*).

It seems that Petrić found a better solution for the interpretation of the relationship between God – the One and the mind, than Ficino, who, in a somewhat awkward manner, referring to the mythical account of Hermes, defined the angelic mind as chaos that God first created. It is interesting that Ficino, who from the very beginning of studying Plato's philosophy seeks to show its compatibility with Christian doctrine, did not interpret the relationship between God and the angelic mind in terms of the Christian doctrine of Trinity, the way Petrić did.

With this exposition of Petrić's views on love we wanted to show that in his works we actually find the *same basic circular scheme***,** i. e. dynamism

13 NUph, *Panarchia,* X, 21.

14 "Ea versione, et conversione, et se, et patrem agnoscit, et cognoscit... Sed ea conversione, et praeterea **amore** in Patrem, secundus processit intellectus, quem Spiritum appellamus", NUPh, *Panarchia*, XV, 31.

within the primordial principle, that then extends to the totality of being, that we found in Ficino's *De amore*. The supreme principle, according to Petrić, is the good itself – the One from which all comes out. Since it is also "perfectio", everything wants to return to that Good, the source of everything, in order to become perfect. So the eagerness to return to the One is present in all beings and this eagerness is love.[15]

A part of this universal love is the love of truth and that is: philosophy as "veritatis contemplatio". There are namely two basic forms of return to the Good itself, or perfection. From this perfection beauty comes out, while love comes out from the beauty. The two ways of return to the Good are actually two forms of love. The first "reductor ad ipsum bonum" is "furor amoris", that Petrić, following the *Chaldaean oracles*, calls *anagoge*. The second "reductor ad bonum" is "amor sapientiae" i. e. philosophy.[16] So is philosophy, as aspiration toward wisdom, even in Petrić's conception of love, the very image of the universal love. In a similar way is Socrates, a philosopher who seeks truth, in the works of Plato and Ficino, the very image of love.

Conclusion

The foundation of both Ficino's and Petrić's discussions on love is a typical Neoplatonic scheme – on the one hand, a *dychotomy* as the fundamental concept of being, on the other the tendency to overcome it by means of the *gradation* of beings. In line with this tendency, the key position within the Neoplatonic ontological system has that which is "medium", which is "in between". This connecting mediating element becomes therefore crucial. Such a mediating role belongs to love. A similar position in the Neoplatonic hierarchical structure of reality has the soul. Love is "in medio" for both Ficino and Petrić, it is the element that connects the extremes – haven and earth, divine and human, immortal and mortal.

15 NUPh, *Panarchia*, XIX, 42v.

16 Ibid.

So is the basic structure of the presentation of the relationship between God – the Good itself and creature for both Renaissance philosophers – *circular*.

This is the result of the fact that both of them, as Renaissance Neoplatonists, try to solve the same fundamental problems: first, the problem inherited from Plato's philosophy – the issue of Platonic *horismós* and the possibility of it being overcome (which is the problem for all Neoplatonists), and second, the problem of how to harmonize the Neoplatonic and Christian conceptions of love.

In his work *Die Philosophie des Marsilio Ficino*,[17] Kristeller distinguishes two different kinds of the conception of the gradation of beings: one we encounter within the Neoplatonic worldview, and the other one within the medieval worldview (that, through Dionysius the Areopagite, adopted a lot from Neoplatonism). According to the Neoplatonic philosophers each subsequent degree of being on the hierarchical scale is lower than that above it, from which it proceeds. For the medieval Christian philosophers all degrees of beings are coming forth directly from God and are independent from the surrounding degrees of beings. Both Ficino and Petrić, in whose works we find the Neoplatonic *pyramidal* scheme, try to combine the above-mentioned conceptions using the *circular model* to present the relationship between God and the creature. In that model we don't have the vertical path of descending and ascending of the soul, that travels along the scale of beings, but rather a horizontal one, moving within the circle, that has its center in God, the source of everything.

We hope that, based on everything we have said, it is clear why love was one of the favorite topics of the Renaissance Neoplatonists. It is its mediating character, its role of the connecting element which makes it so attractive to the Renaissance Neoplatonists. We have also shown that, in their elaboration on the theme of love, both Ficino and Petrić can be considered real representatives of Renaissance Neoplatonism.

17 P. O. Kristeller, *Die Philosophie des Marsilio Ficino* (Frankfurt / Main: Klostermann, 1972).

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Francesco Patrizi, Unrequited Love and the Power of Music

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Abstract Of Francesco Patrizi philosophy, the parts concerning world harmony and the power of music are most fascinating as they reflect a stage in the reception history of the two doctrines in which it became increasingly difficult to combine the demanding Pythagorean-Platonic metaphysics they involve with rapidly changing ideas about the cosmos, man and music. The true challenge for Patrizi as a Neoplatonic scholar thus lies in discovering the secret harmonic master plan of creation by using the standards of idealism, without denying the given of both physical nature and musical practice. By addressing both Patrizi's critique of Marsilio Ficino and his own new ideas, this paper aims at providing insight into Patrizi's transformation of the doctrine of the harmony of the spheres. I will argue that the 'untuning of the sky' (John Hollander) provided Patrizi with opportunities to formulate a new theory about the power of music, in which the magic of the harmonic macrocosm was shifted into the realm of the self of a gifted musician.

Keywords *L'amorosa filosofia*, Tarquinia Molza, *musica humana*, harmony of the spheres, astrology

Introduction

In his *L'amorosa filosofia* (*Philosophy of Love*; 1577), Francesco Patrizi (1529–1597) reports a remarkable banquet in Modena in October 1568, where Tarquinia Molza (1542–1617), a local gentlewoman, sang and played for the duke and his guests, including Patrizi, who claimed to have been in love with her.[1] Even though she never seems to have requited

[1] For an introduction to Patrizi's philosophy, see Paul O. Kristeller, *Eight Philosophers of the Italian Renaissance* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1964), 110–126. For an intellectual biography, see Ceasare Vasoli, *Francesco Patrizi da Cherso* (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1989). It remains to be discussed whether Patrizi's love was genuine or that he merely wanted to address the topic of love, because illustrious predecessors such as Plato and Marsilio Ficino had done so before.

his love, this musical experience must have created such a deep and lasting impression on him that nine years later he dedicated a whole book to his love for her and her marvellous art of singing. The treatise provides compelling evidence of a late sixteenth-century musical practice seen through the aesthetic lens of a Neoplatonist. In addition, it gives a picture of a newly emerging music aesthetics, in which the musical art of Tarquinia Molza is described by Patrizi as "the weakest echo of the harmony of the spheres" which "reaches human ears down here on Earth" and "enters only the souls of those whose ears are so purified that they derive a most sweet delight from it".[2] Although Patrizi's text, by its very nature as an ode to his muse Tarquinia, is not necessarily reliable, he does seem to have wanted to provide as accurate a record of her transporting performances as possible. But why did he choose to articulate his, at first sight, 'modern' musical experience in the archaic metaphors from the age-old tradition of the harmony of the spheres?

To answer this question, in this article I will investigate Patrizi's reception of the Pythagorean doctrine of the harmony of the spheres. Of his complex and encyclopaedic philosophy, the parts concerning world harmony and the power of music are most fascinating, as they reflect a stage in the reception history of the two doctrines in which it became increasingly difficult to combine them. Patrizi was one of many late Renaissance writers whose interest in music arose as part of his study of related subjects, such as poetics, the philosophy of love, and astrology. His analysis of the relationship between world harmony and these subjects is unique. I will argue that the most striking feature of Patrizi's treatment of world harmony and the power of music, given his advocacy of a Renaissance Platonic tradition, is his almost complete

[2] *Della quale harmonia non perviene agli orecchi humani qui giuso più che una debolissima quasi echo. La quale entra negli animi ... di ... que'solamente che l'orecchie hanno alcun tanto purgate et ne gustano un diletto soavissimo.* Francesco Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia.* ed. by John Charles Nelson. (Florence: Le Monnier, 1963), 71. *L'amorosa filosofia* is an unpublished manuscript. Electronic version, BIVIO (Biblioteca Virtuale On-Line), http://bivio.signum.sns.it/, (Signum Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, 2006).

dismissal of Pythagorean theory, especially of mathematical proportions, in conceptualising the relationship between cosmos, man and music.

Rather than analysing music in terms of Pythagorean timeless consonances of perfect mathematical proportions, Patrizi uses the Pythagorean-Platonic doctrine of world harmony in a strategic way to evoke associations with earlier conceptions originating from the Pythagorean tradition of the harmony of the spheres. In doing so, the elusive concept of the harmony of the spheres starts to work interactively with the subject for which it stand, evoking associations between different sets of ideas and thus producing new meanings. This analysis aims at bridging and supplementing Vasoli's (1989, 181–204) philosophical and Stras's (1999) musicological analysis of *L'amorosa filosofia*. Ultimately, I will try to demonstrate that Patrizi's transfer of music from the mathematical sciences associated with the *quadrivum* to the rhetorical arts of the *trivium* moved the concept of the harmony of the spheres from the macrocosm into the microcosm of the soul of a talented musician, shifting the magic of the harmonic cosmos to the inner voice of human nature. Finally, in the conclusion I will try to answer the question of whether this attempt was successful or one of the reasons why Patrizi never completed his *L'amorosa filosofia*.

Patrizi's critique of Ficino's astrological-magical interpretation of cosmic love and the music of the spheres

During the sixteenth century, Marsilio Ficino's (1433–1499) commentaries on Plato's *Symposium* and *Timaeus* constituted an inexhaustible topic of academic conversation.[3] Patrizi was one of the many scholars who took up Ficino's Neoplatonic theory of the interconnectness of love and

[3] See Ernst Cassirer, *Individuum und Kosmos in der Philosophie der Renaissance* (Leipzig: Teubner; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963), 131.

world harmony and sought to utilize it critically in his own philosophy.[4] Notwithstanding his great admiration for Ficino, he did not blindly adopt his predecessor's interpretation of the music of the spheres, but pointed out many flaws and weaknesses in the interpretation of his predecessor. He especially criticized Ficino's habit of seeing the cosmos and man through the idealistic anthropomorphic lens of his ideas about human love and harmony in earthly music.[5]

In *De amore* (*On Love*), or *Commentarium in Convivium Platonis* (*Commentary on Plato's* Symposium; 1469) Ficino takes as his point of departure *Timaeus* 35b–36b by arguing that harmonies shared by the body and music are manifestations of the harmonies of the Soul. Accordingly, beauty in body and matter is determined by beauty in the Soul, especially in the part of the human mind which is directed toward the divine Intellect. Beauty, moreover, is defined as the internal perfection of the divine Intellect, which is equated with both the Good and with perfect Harmony. This kind of perfect Beauty is made manifest in the three perfect Pythagorean harmonic proportions (i.e. 1:2 (octave), 2:3 (fifth), and 3:4 (fourth)), be it in the World-Soul (*musica mundana*), the human soul (*musica humana*), or in earthly music (*musica instrumentalis*).

In Ficino' *De amore* the object of love, that is, Beauty, which is equated with God, and the subject of love, that is, man with his innate desire for

[4] For the dismissal of the Platonic myth of love in Patrizi's *L'amorosa filosofia* (hereafter abbreviated as *AF* in the notes), see Vasoli, *Francesco Patrizi da Cherso*, 181-204, which does not address the music aesthetics of the treatise. For the music theory of Patrizi's *AF*, see Laurie Stras, "Recording Tarquinia: Imitation, Parody and Reportage in Ingegneri's 'Hor che 'l ciel e la terra e 'l vento tace'," *Early Music* 27 (1999): 358–377, and Jacomien Prins, "Early Modern Angelic Song in Francesco Patrizi's *L'amorosa filosofia* (1577)," in *Early Modern Medievalisms*, *Intersections*, ed. Alicia Montoya et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 111–135, and Jacomien Prins, *Echoes of an Invisible World. Marsilio Ficino and Francesco Patrizi on Cosmic Order and Music Theory* (Leiden: Brill, 2014). For a comparison between Ficino's and Patrizi's philosophy, see Maria Muccillo, "Marsilio Ficino e Francesco Patrizi da Cherso," in *Marsilio Ficino e il ritorno di Platone*, ed. Gian Carlo Garfagnini (Florence: Olschki, 1986), 2:615–679.

[5] Patrizi, *Nova de Universis Philosophia* (Ferrara: Mammarelli, 1591) III, p. 49^{r}. For an introduction to this treatise, see Benjamin Brickman, "An Introduction to Francesco Patrizi's *Nova de universis philosophia*" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1941).

God, are interlinked. In his own words: "This Divine Beauty creates in everything love, that is, desire for itself."[6] Hence, desire, in the human soul and body is desire for the universal and archetypal beauty in God. Such desire causes all motion (attraction and repulsion) both in the cosmos and in man, and it is generated by the Beauty in God as a spark from a flame. In addition, Ficino defines a triple kind of beauty in *De amore*. These three types of beauty are: the beauty of the Soul, the beauty of the body, and the beauty of music, which are three manifestations of one principle, as the members of the Trinity are three manifestations of the divine. Of the three types of beauty, "that of the Soul is perceived by the mind, that of the body, by the eyes; and that of sound by the ear alone."[7]

This definition of beauty enables Ficino to link love with the harmony of the spheres. In his interpretation of the harmony of the spheres, inner music (*musica humana*) corresponds to cosmic, celestial music (*musica mundana*). So, ideally the harmonious movements of the macrocosm and the planetary rhythms are reflected in the human soul. Ficino explains

> Moreover, we think that musical harmony is born in that swift and orderly revolution of the heavens: eight tones from the eight orbits, but out of them all a certain ninth harmony is produced. … Our soul was from the beginning endowed with the principle of this music, for the heavenly harmony is rightly said to be innate in anything whose origin is heavenly. This harmony is then imitated by various instruments and songs. This gift like the rest was given us through the love of the divine Providence.[8]

In order to formulate his own astrological-magical interpretation of the harmony of the spheres, Ficino exploits the scientific possibilities implicit

6 Ficino, *De amore* II.2. In: Marsilio Ficino, *Commentary on Plato's Symposium on Love,* trans. Sears Jayne (Dallas, TX: Spring, 1944), 133.

7 Ficino, *De amore* I.4. In: Ficino, *Commentary on Plato's Symposium on Love,* 130.

8 Ficino, *De amore* V.13. In: Ficino, *Commentary on Plato's Symposium on Love,* 181.

in astrology to the full.[9] In this interpretation, the correspondences between different parts of the cosmos are conceptualized in terms of an analogy with musical strings and their vibrations. More specifically, Ficino explains the occult relationships between different parts of the harmonious cosmos in terms of 'cosmic love' or 'sympathetic vibration'.[10] Sympathetic vibration, as Ficino states in his *Compendium in Timaeum* (*Timaeus* commentary; 1496), is a harmonic phenomenon wherein a formerly passive string responds to external vibrations of an active string to which it has a harmonic likeness:

> If from one sounding lyre a tone suddenly is communicated to another lyre tuned in the same way, then immediately from this vibrating string a similar vibration is passed on to the [other] string which is equally tuned.[11]

Ficino uses this concept of 'sympathetic vibration' to formulate a world view, where the heavenly spheres embody a radiating harmonious law which links everything in the cosmos together. In his view, many cosmic events can be foreseen and are predictable because everything was preordained by a Christian God capable of interfering with His harmonious creation anytime.[12] Accordingly, the active powers inherent in the stars, stellar rays and planets influence all different forms of life on

9 See Eugenio Garin, *Astrology in the Renaissance: The Zodiac of Life*, trans. Carolyn Jackson et al. (London: Arkano, 1990), 56. The classical treatment of Ficino's astrological music is in Daniel P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* (London: Warburg Institute, 1958), 12–24.

10 The touchstones for Patrizi's theory of cosmic sympathetic vibration are, for example, Plato's *Republic* 5311-b, Plotinus, *Enneads* IV.4.40–41, Proclus, *Commentary on Euclid's Elements* 41:2, Ficino, *De vita* III.21 and *Compendium in Timaeum* XXXI.

11 *Nam si ex sonante cithara in citharam similiter temperatam resonat repente nonnihil, et ex chorda vibrata, statim in chordam aeque tentam transit vibratio similis ...*. Ficino, *Compendium in Timaeum*, in: *Commentaria in Platonem* (Florence: Per Lurentium francici de Venetiis, 1496), Cap. XXXI, p. 71[r].

12 See Garin, *Astrology in the Renaissance*, 60.

earth – including human life. Ficino is convinced that the divine harmonic movements of the heavens (*musica mundana*) communicates their powers directly to human beings (*musica humana*), and are capable of announcing the future by using the variable constellations of planets and stars, as if they are signs or letters expressing divine concepts. To his mind, it is the task of learned astrologers to read these signs, and of the *musici* among them to translate them in music theoretical terms. Ficino, moreover, believes that it is his moral task to put this knowledge into practice by drawing down beneficial cosmic influences during ceremonies in which musical healing takes place:[13]

> By the same power [i.e. sympathetic vibration], when [song] imitates the celestials, it also wonderfully arouses our spirit upwards to the celestial influence and the celestial influence downwards to our spirit.[14]

At first sight, Patrizi seems to adopt Ficino's theory of the interconnectedness of love and world harmony. In his 'Pancosmia' ('All-cosmos', the fourth book of the *Nova de universis philosophia* (*New Philosophy of the Universe*); 1591), fully in line with his predecessor, Patrizi argues that the pure celestial harmony is imitated by way of cosmic sympathetic vibration in a corrupted form on earth:

> It is said that God did not make the stars in vain ... But they act outside themselves, as far as they are able to cast their rays, and with the rays also the powers of the seeds by which they reciprocally nourish each other and favour each other and agree with each other and they breathe good things into the whole, and with the goodness

13 Marsilio Ficino, "De vita III.21," in: Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, ed. and trans. Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clark (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, in conjunction with the Renaissance Society of America, 1989), 354–363.

14 Ficino"De vita III.21," 358–359.

> (given them by the Creator) they breathe through all things and so conspire to one end that all things sound together and perform that harmony of the divine Maker.[15]

This passage seems to echo Ficino's ideas of cosmic love and sympathetic vibration. Yet, in his *L'amorosa filosofia*, Patrizi confronts Ficino's normative idealistic conception of the human soul as characterized by divine cosmic love and harmony with a descriptive naturalistic view in which man is characterized as essentially driven by self-love and egoism.[16] Inspired by Diotima in Plato's *Symposium*, in *L'amorosa filosofia* Patrizi makes the famous singer Tarquinia Molza the spokeswoman for his natural philosophical view of the human soul.[17] The most important lesson he learns from his muse is that the whole cosmos is permeated with *philautia* (self-love), a natural kind of willpower that exists in both humans and animals and that is aimed at self-preservation. Patrizi argues that love manifests itself in many ways in the cosmos, from God's divine love for His creation and human love for God to human erotic love. Yet ultimately all different manifestations of love can be reduced to the naturalistic concept of self-love. In the explanation of his theory of love, he lets Tarquinia define *philautia* as follows:[18]

> *Tarquinia*: You understand it well. And on the other hand, 'self-love' refers to the first and, so to speak, primordial love, which all human beings, all animals, and ultimately all things naturally and from the

15 *Dictat enim, Deum stellas non frustra fecisse. … Extra vero se, agant procul, quam procul lumina sua iacere possunt: et cum luminibus etiam seminum vires, quibus se se mutuo foveant, et sibi mutuo faveant, et inter se invicem conspirent, et sibi invicem, et toti, bona inspirent, et bonitate, sibi a Conditore data, omnia perspirent, et in unum ita conspirent, ut harmoniam illam divini artificis, omnia consonent, et personent.* Patrizi, *NUP*4, p. 116[v].

16 Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia*, 102.

17 *Symposium* 201d–04c.

18 For the sources of Patrizi's *AF*, see Vasoli, *Francesco Patrizi da Cherso*, 194.

> moment of birth possess for themselves, through which they love their own being, their well-being, and their preservation. This is the principle and source and foundation of all other forms of love and of all passions of the soul and of all thoughts and actions, passions, studies, and exercises we perform, howsoever they occur.
>
> *Patrizi*: What you say about this second kind of 'self-love', my lady, is great, and never have I heard about it."[19]

In Patrizi's definition of love as a kind of blind will power aimed at self-preservation, a transformation in thinking about world harmony manifests itself. His descriptive, naturalistic concept of self-love, which is present in all parts of the animated cosmos, replaces Ficino's normative, teleological concept of universal love, which, as a cosmic bond, guarantees unity and harmony among all different parts of the world, including human beings. Patrizi here deconstructs the vision of human beings as integrated parts of a cosmic network of sympathetic relationships that grants purpose and meaning to their lives. The unifying naturalistic explanation of love as blind will power that he offers as an alternative negates a model of the world in which antithetical powers manifest a kind of underlying perfect harmony.

Patrizi's tendency to strip the concept of world harmony of all anthropomorphic and musical interpretations is encountered again in his implicit criticism of Ficino's astrological and magical interpretation of the doctrine of the music of the spheres. In this passage, Patrizi questions the possibility of reading the heavens, especially the notion of foresight,

[19] *Tarq. Bene intendete. Et dall'altro lato, la philautia è presa per quello amore primiero, et per così dire originale, che tutti gli huomini, tutti gli animalie et in somma tutte le cose per natura e dal primo loro nascimento portano a se stesse, per lo quale amano l'essere proprio et il bene essere loro et il sempre essere. Et il quale è principio e fonte et fondamento di tutti gli altri amori et di tutti gli affetti dell'animo et tutti i pensieri et di tutte le attioni, di tutte le passioni, di tutti gli studi e di tutti gli essercitij che noi facciamo, di qualunque maniera essi si sieno. Patr. Gran cosa è cotesta che voi dite, o signora, di questa seconda philautia, et da me non più udita.* Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia*, 102; translation modified from Patrizi, *The Philosophy of Love*, 132.

i.e. the use of the art of predicting the future, which justifies the idea that music can be used to draw down beneficial influences from the heavens, as Ficino had argued in his *De vita* III.21. Having rethought the astrological theories of Plotinus, Pico della Mirandola and Ficino, Patrizi defends their shared belief that the heavenly circuit ensures the perpetual generation of sublunar things through the cosmic power of sympathetic vibration. Yet, in contrast with Ficino, he does not believe that it is possible to read what is written in the stars, and that this knowledge may be beneficially used to influence human lives. Ignoring problematic and ambiguous aspects of their astrological theories, Patrizi praises Plotinus, Ficino, and Pico for their natural philosophical view of astrology:[20]

> And among them [i.e., Platonists interested in astrology] Plotinus seems to have been the leading light, chief of the Platonists at the time. After him, two great men, Marsilio Ficino and Giovanni Pico [della Mirandola], were regarded as having the greatest powers of intellect among these astrological seers.[21]

Patrizi seems to endorse the astrological views of his predecessors when he argues that he does not belief that

> everything derives from anything, but that only specific parts of the universe derive from one another, and this through [the power of] *sumpnoia* – that is, harmony and sympathy between the parts of the world. These things Plotinus dealt with.[22] Ficino, however, expanded this Plotinian theory in greater detail and with great eloquence. Pico [della Mirandola], albeit broadly, imitated both: he

20 For Ficino's and Pico's view of astrology, see Garin, *Astrology in the Renaissance*, 56ff., 83ff.

21 *Inter quos, praecipuus videtur Plotinus fuisse, Platonicorum eo tempore praecipuus. Quem postea, viri magni duo Marsilius Ficinus, et Ioannes Picus.* Patrizi, *Nova de Univeris Philosophia* 4, XXI, 115[r].

22 Plotinus, *Ennead* 3.1.

> tried to revolutionize the art of astrology and its epistemological foundation entirely. They did not achieve their aim, since there are still many people who want to be astrologers, and many will exist in the future, such is the desire for foreknowledge of the future in human souls. But let us dismiss those astrologers and their followers and devotees. Let us make our case. The question has been proposed to us whether the stars are acting in a particular way. This is more universally the case, and their action is not limited to men alone, as these three great men [Plotinus, Pico and Ficino] have emphasized, that is, [they proposed the question of] whether the stars take care only of men, or [whether the stars] have any good or bad influence on them alone.[23]

Here, Patrizi indirectly criticizes Ficino's particular employment of the concepts of cosmic love and sympathetic vibration as a theoretical backdrop for all kinds of possibilities for drawing down cosmic energies in astrological and magical musical ceremonies. Ficino's optimistic notion that life on earth is influenced by the stars and that the study of astrology and music theory can help to reveal and exploit the precise nature of this relationship is classified by Patrizi as pseudo-science. Patrizi wants to make it absolutely clear that foresight based on a precise reading of the position of the planets and stars is impossible. Consequently, the belief that it would be possible to influence human life on earth by using music which imitates the music of the spheres is ill-founded. Cosmic sympathetic

[23] *Neque quodlibet a quolibet, sed hoc ab illo tantum, atque ita deinceps, ex communi scilicet mundanarum partium σύμπνοια conspiratione, et sympathia. Haec Plotinus, Ficinus vero, Plotini sensa latius ex posuit, et facundius est persecutus. Utrosque imitatus est Io. Picus, sed latissime, tum artem Astrologicam, tum eius et fundamenta, et rationes omnes funditus evertere est conatus. Non tamen effecerunt, quin adhuc innumeri, velint esse Astrologi, sintque in futurum extituri. Tanta est animis humanis insita, futura praesciendi aviditas. Sed Astrologos istos, et eorum tum osores, tum amatores missos faciamus. Rem nos nostram agamus. Quaestio est nobis proposita, utrum stellae aliquid agant. Haec quidem universalior est, quam ut ad homines solos, uti hi tres magni fecere viri, redigatur. An scilicet stellae, hominum tantum, vel curam gerant, vel ipsis Solis boni, vel mali influant aliquid.* Patrizi, *Nova de Univeris Philosophia* 4, XXI, 115^{v}.

vibration, to his mind, should be interpreted as a blind macrocosmic power. Hence, planets wander in space (*musica mundana*) irrespective of human (musical) affairs (*musica humana* and *instrumentalis*).

Another striking feature of Patrizi's reformulation of the harmony of the spheres, given his advocacy of the Renaissance Platonic tradition, is its almost total lack of Pythagorean theory, including its mathematical proportions, in the realm of his music aesthetics. In search for an answer to the question why ancient Greek music had had the power to shape and condition the human soul, Patrizi investigates its use of tuning and temperament. In the preface of his poem *L'Eridano in nuovo verso heroico di Francesco Patritio (Eridano in new heroic verse of Francesco Patrizi*, 1557) Patrizi examines the effect of pitch accent in Tuscan prose. He tries to understand how an emotional effect of speech and song on a listener is related to the height or lowness of the reciting voice's pitch. He is especially interested in the specific effect of the Pythagorean consonances used in human speech:[24]

> And while in my *Dialogues concerning the poetics of music*,[25] I already considered that nature itself made in the words of this language [i.e. Italian] the three harmonies, that is, the octave, the fourth and the fifth, which are the three purest melodic consonances of the ancient musicians, indicated respectively by the terms *diapason*, *diatesseron* and *diapente* [i.e. the Pythagorean consonances: 1:2, 2:3 and 3:4], I decided to apply them to the construction of metrical feet. … Subsequently in my attempt to compose verse with metrical feet made in this way, I saw very clearly that spoken Italian could not contain a *diatesseron* except at the beginning of a phrase; and

[24] See Francesco Patrizi, *L'Eridano: In nuovo verso heroico*. (Ferrara: Francesco de Rossi da Valenza, 1557).

[25] In this preface, he refers to his *Dialoghi della musica poetica* (*Dialogues on the Poetics of Music*), which could be either a lost treatise or the discussion of music in his *Della Poetica*.

this is because it has the sound of a dactyl, which is opposed to the *diatesseron*.[26]

Once the building blocks of musical intervals in ancient Greek and modern Italian music have been compared, Patrizi draws the conclusion that of "the octave, the fourth and the fifth, which are the three purest melodic consonances of the ancient musicians" the fourth is seldom used in modern spoken Italian. Hence, his investigation results in the conclusion that music's power to influence man's soul in his time cannot be explained in terms of the Pythagorean consonances anymore. Consequently, hardly any discussion of the Pythagorean consonances can be found in his later work on poetics and music aesthetics.

To recapitulate, whereas Ficino was convinced that bridging the gap between *musica mundana* and *humana* and *instrumentalis* had brought humanity closer to an understanding of the secret of cosmic love and world harmony, Patrizi is of the opinion that this particular interpretation has nothing to do with real natural philosophy. In order to remedy this flaw in Ficino's philosophy, Patrizi makes a clear distinction between world harmony and sympathetic vibration in the field of natural philosophy, which he contrasts with pseudo-scientific practices such as divinatory astrology, and the astrological and magical musical practices described in Ficino's *De vita*. Patrizi clearly abandons Ficino's literal belief in the existence of the music of the spheres and his peculiar magical-astrological interpretation of this doctrine. Yet, because he is keen to preserve music's cosmological range, he has to reformulate the doctrine of the harmony of the spheres in such a way that it makes sense in the scholarly and

[26] *Et havendo io già ne'miei dialoghi della musica considerato che la natura stessa avea posto nelle parole di queste lingua (italiana) le tre armonie, ottava, quarta e quinta, che sono le tre semplici consonanze de gli antichi musici, diapason, diatesseron e diapente; deliberai di servirmi di loro per piedi. ... In provando io adunque di fare i versi con così fatti piedi, chiarissimamente vidi che questa favella non pativa di ricevere, fuori che nel primo luogo, il diatesseron; e questo perché egli ha suono di dattilo, col quale ella ha tanta nemistà.* Patrizi, *L'Eridano, Sostentamenti*, quoted in: Danilo Aguzzi-Barbagli, "Francesco Patrizi e l'umanesimo musicale del Cinquecento," in *L'umanesimo in* Istria, ed. Vittore Branca and Sante Graciotti (Florence: Olschki, 1983), 72.

aesthetic context of his own time. This, in fact, is precisely the purpose of his *L'amorosa filosofia*, as I will demonstrate now.

Patrizi's transformation of the doctrine of the music of the spheres

In his *L'amorosa filosofia*, Patrizi follows Ficino's *De amore*, in which, in contrast with Plato's *Symposium* as discussed above, to music is attributed a prominent place. The similarities between the two love treatises facilitate a further comparison between Ficino's ideas on the relationship of love, world harmony, and earthly music and those of Patrizi. In Plato's *Symposium*, Diotima declares that if man uses the image of an attractive person or the hearing of beautiful music as a step in the process of spiritual growth, love has an important function in the search for absolute beauty.[27] Ficino, having followed Plato in his *De amore* in defining 'love' in terms of desire for beauty, experienced difficulty in allocating human erotic love a place in his metaphysics of love.[28] In order to remedy this flaw in Ficino's theory, Patrizi's *L'amorosa filosofia* tries to formulate a theory of love in which human erotic love as an expression of *philautia* is assigned a constructive function in the search for absolute beauty. The liberation of human erotic love is reflected in his discussion of earthly love songs. Whereas Ficino was mainly interested in religious odes, for example, the Orphic hymns, Patrizi looks for an echo of the music of the spheres in love songs about impossible, absent, or lost love, preferably sung by an unattainable lady.

L'amorosa filosofia consists of four dialogues, all concerning La Molza, who acts in the treatise as Patrizi's muse for the exposition of a new philosophy of love and transporting musical experiences. The first dialogue is a series of nine orations from a group of musicians, poets, clerics, and gentlemen, praising La Molza's many virtues and accomplishments.[29]

27 *Symposium* 204d–209e.

28 Discussed above at p. 235.

29 The first dialogue takes up nearly half of the manuscript. The second and third dialogues are conversations between Patrizi and La Molza about love. The fourth, left unfinished, is an

Patrizi's new theory of music's power to influence the soul, in which the human voice is able to express cosmic harmony, appears here.

In this first dialogue, each of the interlocutors compares La Molza to one of the Nine Muses, presenting her as the most lovable human being: an example of intelligence, musicality, and beauty, familiar with the classics and learned in all the liberal arts, the mathematical disciplines as well as the physical sciences.[30] In imitation of Ficino's astrological interpretation of the harmony of the spheres, in this part of the treatise Patrizi places particular value on Tarquinia's horoscope: in his explanation of her musical skills he notes that she was born in an astrologically beneficial moment. Her ability to express a kind of hidden knowledge about the universe is explained as an innate talent. She is presented as one of the chosen whom God has endowed with the key to the universe. The organization of the orations in the first dialogue is modelled on traditional schemes of cosmic correspondences, especially that of Ficino (table 1).

In his *De vita*, Ficino based his practical precepts for planetarily effective music therapy on a theory of cosmic correspondences between planets, muses, creatures, cognitive faculties and musical modes.[31] By and large this network of correspondences resembles the one given in the frontispiece of Gaffurius's *Practica musicae* (*Musical Practice*) (figure 1).[32] In *De vita* III.21 Ficino gave a list of seven things by which celestial influences can be attracted.[33] In this list, music was presented as being capable of attracting the beneficial influence of the Sun. For this

exchange between La Molza and her husband, Paolo Porrino, on the nature of marriage. For a detailed analysis of the manuscript, see Vasoli, *Francesco Patrizi da Cherso*, 181–204.

30 The first dialogue of the treatise reports a gathering in the style of Plato's *Symposium* held at the house of Patrizio Patrizi in Rome, probably in the autumn of 1576.

31 Ref *De vita* III.21.

32 For a detailed discussion of the Frontispiece of Gafori's *Practica musicae* (1496), see James Haar, "The Frontispiece of Gafori's *Practica musicae* (1496)," *Renaissance Quarterly* 27(1974): 7–22.

33 See Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella*, 15–16.

Sphere	*Muse*	*Attribute of Muse (traditional)*	*Attribute of Muse (Patrizi)*
(1) Moon	Thalia	comedy	birth, germination
(2) Mercury	Euterpe	music	interpretative skills
(3) Venus	Erato	love poetry	mating
(4) Sun	Melpomene	tragedy	auditory pleasures
(5) Mars	Clio	history	glory
(6) Jupiter	Terpsichore	dancing	visual pleasures
(7) Saturn	Polyhymnia	sacred poetry	memory
(8) Stars	Urania	astrology	heavens
(9) Heaven	Calliope	epic poetry	divine things, politics

Table 1. The organization of the nine orations in the first dialogue of Patrizi's *L'amorosa filosofia* (based on the reconstruction of Pastina and Crayton in Patrizi 2003, 15).

purpose, he gave descriptions of the music appropriate to each planet to be imitated in composing and improvising astrologically effective music. Following Ficino, Patrizi attributes to music a central place in the first dialogue of *L'amorosa filosofia*: in the fourth of the nine orations La Molza's unparalleled abilities as a musician are coupled with the Sun, traditionally associated with the most noble and harmonizing Dorian mode.

Unlike Ficino, Patrizi is not interested in the specific character of the music of individual planets. Nowhere in his *L'amorosa filosofia* does he specify the correspondence between planetary and earthly music.[34] He still makes use of a scheme of cosmic correspondences between planets, Muses, and human arts and sciences, but from the free adaptation of this traditional scheme, we may conclude that it is used for rhetorical, rather than philosophical or music theoretical, reasons.

[34] Patrizi expresses himself in the conservative seventh oration, in which he sings the praises of Tarquinia's intellect. His speech addresses the influence of Saturn on the character of his muse: given the fact that this planet is traditionally linked with religious poetry, this is a relatively safe point of view to express during the Counter-Reformation. Against the backdrop of the Counter-Reformation, moreover, it is interesting to notice that Patrizi attributes to Calliope, the Muse of the highest heaven, the attributes 'Divine Things' as well as 'Politics'.

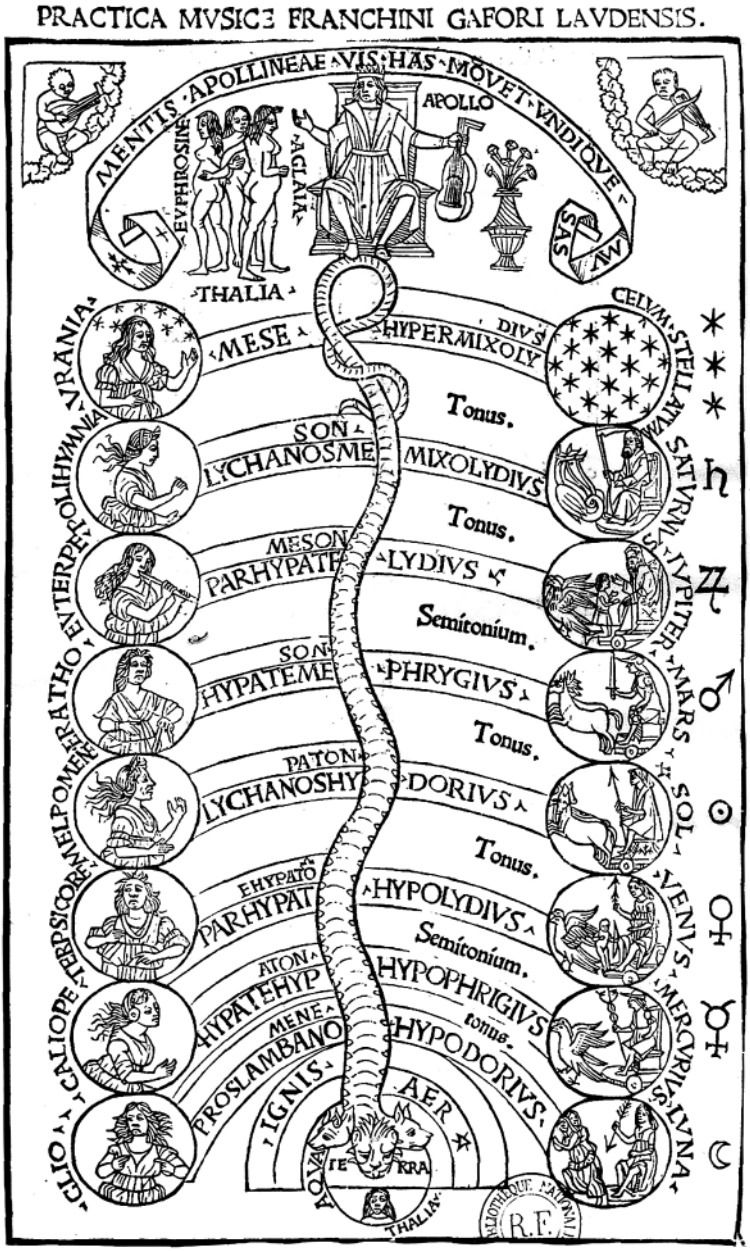

Figure 1. Franchinus Gaffurius. *Practica musicae* (frontispiece). 1496.

Whereas Ficino truly believed in the possibility of planetarily effective music, Patrizi's description of the passage of Tarquinia Molza's soul through the planetary spheres before incarnation in her body seems to be present only to provide a metaphorical explanation for her musical talent. Ficino presented a precise Neoplatonic theory of a human soul dressed in an ethereal vehicle, which during the descent from the planetary spheres is imprinted with planetary gifts. In sharp contrast, Patrizi loosely makes use of it in order to sing the praise of Tarquinia Molza's supernatural musical talent:

> Just as all things down here derive from up there, so I cannot believe that in the creation of that ethereal vehicle which the most divine soul of Lady Tarquinia chose for its garment in its descent to us, only one or two stars took part, but [I believe] that all of them – as many as there are in the heavens – each competing with the others, infused not only a part of their gifts but the whole, and not the inferior or least precious but [rather] the greatest and most excellent gifts.[35]

Subsequently, Patrizi explains that before birth, Tarquinia's soul experienced a major influence from Saturn, traditionally associated with knowledge and wisdom. Furthermore, the Muse Urania, who in the sphere of the fixed stars rules over all motion of the stars and thereby guarantees a harmonic relationship between the macrocosm and the microcosm, has had an overwhelming influence on La Molza. Therefore, her whole being, including her musical talent, can be understood as a perfect imitation of the harmony of the spheres.[36] Furthermore, she is a perfect human

35 *Et sì come tutte le cose di qua giù di lasù derivano, così non mi posso io dare a credere che nella formatione di quell'etereo vehicolo, che per sua vesta nella discesa a noi prese la divinissima anima della signora Tarquinia, concorressero non una stella o due, ma tuttutte quanto sono nel cielo, et a gara l'una dell'altra volle ogni una inforderle non parte de'suoi doni, ma tutti, et non li minori o que' di minor pregio, ma i maggiori et i più eccelen[ti]. AF*, in Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia*, 69; translation modified fom Patrizi, *The Philosophy of Love*, 97.

36 See Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia*, 19.

being, because female and male characteristics are in harmony in her.[37] This metaphorical explanation of Tarquinia's talent is accompanied by an explanation of her talent in sixteenth-century naturalistic terms of inheritance: "And you will find confirmation of what the major philosophers wrote: that, at sundry times, celestial influences, transfused into a man or woman, may pass with equal vigour into their children and grandchildren, through a long series of descendants".[38] In presenting two mutually exclusive explanations of Tarquinia's musical talent, Patrizi questions the credibility of the Neoplatonic theory of incarnation. Yet, ultimately it remains unclear whether the origin of Tarquinia's musical talent is supernatural or natural.

In order to underline the exceptional character of Tarquinia's musical talent, Patrizi contrasts her divine musical gifts with acquired musical skills:

> She [Tarquinia] does so many things, and does them so well, not simply through practice, nor because they were all shown to her by her teachers – the way it has happened to women who sing nowadays and who have sung a little – but because of the infinitely marvellous ear that she has, an ear with which she hears the smallest defect and perfections and because of the thorough understanding of counterpoint she possesses. A testimony to this is the counterpoint[39] I saw made by her on "Anchor che col partire" ["Though in departing"],

37 The chapter of Vasoli's biography dedicated to *AF* discusses Patrizi's projection of the Hermetic ideal of an androgynous being onto Tarquinia Molza. Here, he explains that Patrizi argues that Tarquinia has been blessed with infertility, because without having to care for children, she is able to develop both male and female aspects of her personality in perfect harmony. See Vasoli, *Francesco Patrizi da Cherso*, 188.

38 *Et si confermeranno in ciò che scritto hanno i principi de'filosofi, trovarsi alle fiate gli influssi celesti trasfusi in alcun huomo o donna, passare ne'figliuoli e ne'nipoti per lungo ordine di discendenza nello stesso vigore. AF*, in Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia*, 15 , translation modified from Patrizi, *The Philosophy of Love*, 43.

39 As observed by Stras, "Recording Tarquinia," 373, we must be aware that when Patrizi praises La Molza for the counterpoint he saw her make, he alludes not to her knowledge of

> the famous madrigal by Cipriano [de Rore]. From this it follows that she grasps all three kinds of music [i.e., diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic][40] to the highest degree and all three modes of singing: the Italian, Spanish, and French. When she produces the liveliness, the speed, and the volume of the French and the languishing sweetness of the Spanish and the firmness and moderation of all of the Italian modes, she always makes use, in all of them, of all her excellences mentioned above, to the wonder and amazement of those who are truly knowledgeable.[41]

The eternal harmonic laws of the universe are now associated with the innate harmonic patterns of the human soul, which are known only to elect people like Tarquinia who possess an "infinitely marvellous ear". In this description of La Molza's musicality, a transformation in traditional ideas of world harmony manifests itself: the essence of her musical knowledge is not the knowledge of the harmonic design of the

counterpoint rules as such but to her ability to improvise an embellished treble on top of an existing polyphonic madrigal.

40 Modern music theory makes use of the octave as the basic unit for determining tuning: ancient Greeks used the tetrachord (musical interval of a fourth) for this purpose. The octave was recognized by ancient Greece as a fundamental interval, but it was seen as being built from two tetrachords and a whole tone. The diatonic subdivision of the tetrachord (two tones and a semitone), became the dominant tuning in European music. The chromatic (one and a half tone and two semitones) and enharmonic (a double tone and two quarter tones) subdivisions of the tetrachord continued to be used in the classical music of the Middle East and India, and in certain types of European folk music.

41 *Et tante cose et in tanta eccellenza fa ella non per pura prattica, nè perchè tutte le siano state da' suoi maestri mostre, come alle donne che hoggi dì cantano et di poco hanno cantato è avvenuto; ma da una maravigliosa oltre modo orecchia che ella ha, con la quale sente ogni minutissimo e diffetto et eccellenza, e da una compiuta intelligenza di contrapunto che ella possiede. Di che fa testimonio un contrapunto che io vidi fatto da lei sopra «Ancorchè col partire» madrigale famoso di Cipriano. Donde viene che ella possega ottimamente tutti e' tre generi della musica, et i tre modi di cantare, italiano, spagnuolo e francese. Nè fa la vivezza e la velocità e lo streppito di questo, nè la dolcezza languida dello spagnuolo, nè la sodezza e la misura di tutti e' modi dello italiano, chè ella in tutti non adopre tutte le eccellenze sue sopranarrate, con maraviglia e stupore di ogni huomo intendentissimo. AF*, in Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia*, 40–41; translation modified from Patrizi, *The Philosophy of Love*, 68–69.

planetary spheres (i.e. the Timaean scale explained at *Tim*. 35b-36b with its three perfect Pythagorean proportions: 1:2 (octave), 2:3 (fifth), and 3:4 (fourth)), but the knowledge of the diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic species as formulated by Aristoxenus, of which the first was used as the foundation of 'modern' tonality and equal temperament (i.e., the tuning system which emerged at the end of the sixteenth century).[42] Moreover, her talent lies not in the exact intonation of the melodic intervals but in her capacity to inflect and tune them according to chords and speech patterns of different languages as well as to the emotional and intellectual concepts expressed in them.

In the last oration of the first part of the dialogue, Benedetto Manzuolo is given the most difficult task of elucidating further how La Molza's musical performances exemplify the harmony of the spheres. This oration, which is dedicated to the Muse Calliope, is associated with the Empyrean and deals with the synthesis of all virtues.[43] The synthesis of La Molza's virtues amounts to something that transcends daily experience and language. Her unsurpassed musicality can best be grasped by the indeterminate traditional concept of an echo of the music of the spheres. In the way Patrizi retells Cicero's *Dream of Scipio* in this oration, the transformation in the doctrine of the harmony of the spheres I have mentioned above manifests itself in a distinct way. It seems that even if Patrizi no longer believes in the literal existence of a music of the spheres, he nonetheless uses the concept to describe the transporting power of Tarquinia's voice in terms of an echo of heavenly music:

> Nothing but the weakest echo of this harmony reaches human ears down here on Earth. This does not enter into the souls of all men, of whom the majority have lost their hearing as [have those] at

42 For world harmony in terms of the three Pythagorean consonances, see above pp. 243-244.

43 Calliope is traditionally linked either to the planet Mercury, as in Gaffurius, or, more importantly, to the World-Soul and thus to the primum mobile, as in Ficino. In Ficino's philosophy, Calliope is the Muse of hearing, while Urania is the Muse of sight.

> the highest falls on the Nile, at the cataracts of their passions and material desires, but it enters only the souls of those whose ears are so purified that they derive a most sweet delight from it, since nothing in this world down here but the harmony of this ninth Siren of ours – or, rather, of all those Sirens united with her – can compare to it. Or rather, she [i.e., Tarquinia Molza] so diverts them from their lowly thoughts that, as if their bodies had become like senseless stones, their souls drift behind them and give themselves up to the contemplation of their music, music with which this elemental world lives and sustains itself, for scarcely another sensual fruit can be derived from it.[44]

Patrizi refers in this passage to the parable of the cataracts of the Nile from Cicero's *Dream of Scipio.* Cicero describes Scipio hearing the music of the spheres in the heavens and tells us that the ears of men "overcharged with this sound have grown deaf to it", which reminds him of an African tribe living close to the roaring cataracts of the upper Nile who are, by this circumstance, completely deaf.[45] The inaudible music of the spheres, situated by Ficino in the macrocosm, is shifted to the realm of the inner world of Patrizi's Muse, who is presented as an exception to the rule of the hearing deaf. In her ability to make her earthly music an echo of divine cosmic music, La Molza is the expression par excellence of heavenly harmony. She is a microcosm, but rather than reflect the exterior

44 *Della quale harmonia non perviene agli orecchi humani qui giuso più che una debolissima quasi echo. La quale entra negli animi non già di tutti gli huomini, de' quali la maggior parte al cadere altissimo del Nilo, alla catadupa delle loro passioni et materiali affetti, hanno assordato l'udito; ma di que'solamente che l'orecchie hanno alcun tanto purgate et ne gustano un diletto soavissimo, chè fuor che l'armonia di questa [n]ona nostra sirena – anzi di tutte quelle sirene raccolte in questa – niuna altra di questo mondo qua giuso se le può porre in paragone; anzi sì gli travia da questi bassi pensieri che quasi insensibili pietre divenuti col corpo, con l'animo dietro a loro si disviano, et alla contemplatione della loro musica con la quale questo elementale mondo vive et si sostenta, si danno, chè poco altro frutto sensuale se ne può trarre. AF*, in Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia*, 71–72; translation modified from Patrizi, *The Philosophy of Love*, 99–100.

45 Cicero, *De re publica* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928), 273ff.

macrocosm of the late sixteenth century she reflects the lost paradise of perfect harmony which was still a reality for Ficino:

> Some of these contemplative philosophers have related to us that these Sirens are the same as the Muses. They derive the name 'Muses' from the concept of contemplation and from the search for an understanding of the truth and of the essence of the first essences, and of the other essences that depend on the first ones. They derive the name 'Sirens' from the concatenation of harmony with which they tie the causes of things together and give to the whole world such a marvellous order. When we consider these things and the excellence of our Muse [i.e., Tarquinia], we can truly say that she is a perfect little world, adorned with all the celestial, supracelestial, and even elemental harmonies, which, being a concord within her and being offered to others as concordant, create a harmony that is not like the one that these gentlemen [in the eight preceding orations] have described but is like the one they intended and tried to describe, for the matter greatly surpasses both their work and mine.[46]

Although it is impossible to fully reconstruct the performance practice of sixteenth-century madrigals, Patrizi's descriptions of special aesthetic experiences create a reasonably clear picture of the musical magic of La Molza's execution. From Patrizi's text as well as descriptions of her musical art in other sources, one can infer that Tarquinia Molza must

[46] *Alcuni de' quali di cotesti contemplatori hannoci riferito quelle sirene essere lo stesso che le muse, sortend[o] delle nome di muse dalla contemplatione e dal cercamento di intendere la verità e la essenza delle prime essenze, e dell'altre pendenti dalle prime, et il nome da "sirene", dal concatenamento dell'armonia con la quale legano le cagioni delle cose et danno al mondo tutto ordine tanto maraviglioso. Il che considerando noi et considerando l'eccellenza della nostra musa, possiamo col vero dire che ella sia un perfettissimo picciol mondo, ornato di tutte l'harmonie celesti et sopracelesti et anco elementali, le quali et in se stessa concordando et verso altri porgendo concordate, ne fanno un concento, non quale questi signori hanno espresso, ma quale hanno desiderato et tentato di esprimere, sovverchiando la materia di gran lunga l'opra loro e la mia. AF*, in Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia*, 72; translation modified from Patrizi, *The Philosophy of Love*, 100.

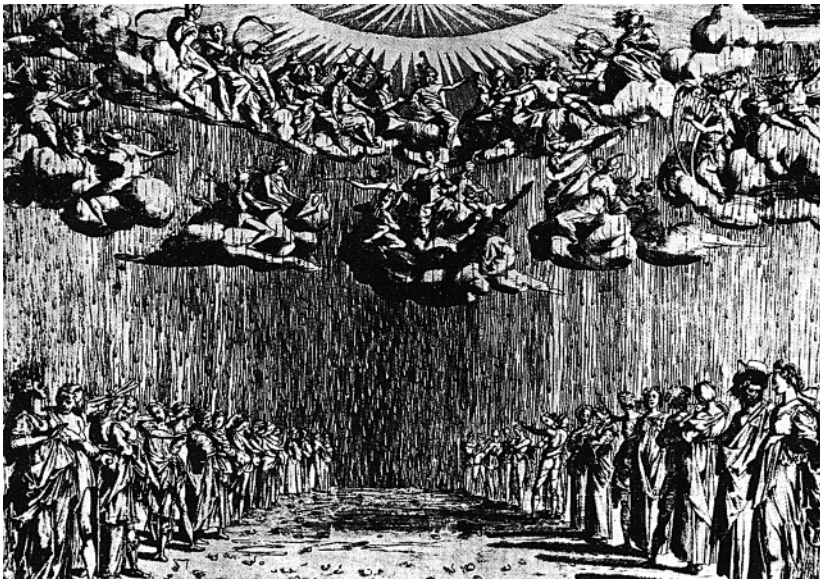

Figure 2. Epifanio d'Alfiano's "The descent of Harmony and Rhythm" in the sixth *intermedio* of La Pellegrina, composed for the wedding of Ferdinand de' Medici and Princess Christine of Lorraine, 1589.

have been a virtuosic and expressive singer, able to inspire transporting musical experiences, of which the inexpressible nonverbal content could best be described in terms of the elusive concept of the harmony of the spheres. Just as the music of the spheres is made up of the heavenly song of the Muses:

> one could say that the sweetness of her [i.e. Tarquinia's] angelic voice is moved by many divinities, as it were, that are in her spirit, throat, tongue, and lips; and through them, virtue rains on our souls whence thoughts, acts, and words are continually created, and this produces in us a sweet, constantly changing springtime.[47] (figure 2)

47 *... così ella con la soavità della sua voce angelica, mossa da tante, si può dire, deità che sono nello spirito, nella gola, nella lingua e nelle labbra sue, onde piove negli animi nostra virtù, onde*

Conclusion

Patrizi's interpretation of the harmony of the spheres is more different from the one of Ficino than their use of the same technical terms and concepts originally suggests. His use of sources, argumentation, and even prose style stands in sharp contrast to the one of his famous predecessor. Patrizi based his interpretation of the harmony of the spheres on rhetorical concepts and almost completely bypassed the mathematical and cosmological concern of the Pythagorean tradition, which had such a prominent place in Ficino's. However, I have argued that they may still best be studied as participants of the same scholarly discourse, because this enables modern scholars to make a comparison between the rationalities that are underpinning these technical terms and concepts.

Whereas harmony and music were an integral part of the Pythagorean metaphysical concept of universal order till far in the sixteenth century, the picture changes completely in Patrizi's time. In this period the aesthetic realm emancipates itself from magical, religious and scientific thinking as a result of which music has to be re-enchanted with a new form of 'secular religion or magic' in order to preserve its cosmological range. The elusive doctrine of the harmony of the spheres was ideally suited for this purpose. In Patrizi's aesthetics, music is founded in a metaphysical world which resembles Ficino's metaphysical view of world harmony. But this similarity is only superficial: Patrizi's metaphysical world is the inner world of the human soul of a musician or listener, which as *musica humana* is only loosely connected to the *musica mundana* of the macrocosm. If a composer creates music, or if a musician performs a song, they do not imitate a part of the external world but rather express a mental concept of their internal nature which might resemble something in the external metaphysical world.

si crieno sempre pensieri atti e parole, che in noi fanno una vaga e dolce primavera. AF, in Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia*, 36; translation modified from Patrizi, *The Philosophy of Love*, 65.

In Patrizi's *L'amorosa filosofia*, Tarquinia's music represents a vestige of a metaphysical world, and by listening to her, her audience truly can experience the feeling of being transported into higher spheres. But whereas Ficino's holistic view of the cosmos made it theoretically possible to move freely up and down the different spheres of the cosmos and to reach a true home during a spiritual musical journey, such a 'literal' musical ecstasy is impossible in Patrizi's dichotomized cosmos. Neither is it theoretically possible to draw down beneficial astral influences by imitating planetary music, simply because Patrizi is of the opinion that cosmic sympathetic vibration is a blind macrocosmic power, whose influence on human life on earth cannot be understood, let alone be manipulated.

The theoretical decrease of musical magical and astrological possibilities occasioned by Patrizi's replacement of the concept of cosmic love as an expression of world harmony by self-love (*philautia*) and the dismissal of divination is counterbalanced in his music aesthetics by the new theoretical possibilities offered by his dichotomized view of the world. By his dismissal of Pythagorean proportions and consonances from the macrocosm, a new kind of yearning for a lost harmonic paradise is introduced into Patrizi's philosophy: the desire for a temporary escape from daily life by means of the transporting experience of marvellously executed secular music. The transformation of the doctrine of the music of the spheres appears most strongly in Patrizi's interest in technical, musical and rhetorical devices, which may be used to create an experience of the harmony of the spheres. The rhetorical, as well as psychological, effects which, according to Patrizi, are to be used in music to produce an experience as if being in the seventh heaven illustrate a rational view of music. This view was consciously based on earlier conceptions of world harmony in order to evoke associations with the Pythagorean tradition of the harmony of the spheres. By so doing, Patrizi produced a new cosmological meaning for the secular music that emerges at the end of the sixteenth century in Italy.

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Paolo Beni and his friendly criticism of Patrizi

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Abstract Among the Renaissance scholars who developed a new reading of Plato, the philosopher and Jesuit theologian Paolo Beni da Gubbio (ca.1553-1625) holds an important place, also in view of his association with Patrizi, Galileo, and other contemporaries. In the year following his dismissal from the Jesuit order in 1593, Beni taught philosophy at the Roman Studium, thanks to Francesco Patrizi's recommendation. The two philosophers were not only colleagues at the University of Rome, but they were also members of the Accademia Aldobrandini. In addition to this, evidence of their relationship can be seen from the book-loaning between the two: as Beni wrote in various works, Patrizi provided him with the manuscripts of Proclus's *Platonic theology*, as well as Damascius' *Dubitationes et solutiones de primis principiis*. Patrizi and his *Discussiones Peripateticae* were always present to the mind of the former Jesuit. We find such a presence in the background of Beni's criticism of Aristotle, as it was developed in Books 1-3 of the first decade of his *In Platonis Timaeum*. Despite the great confidence in his colleague, Beni did not entirely accept Patrizi's positions. In examining some of Beni's works, we will consider the differences of opinion between these two philosophers, and we will focus especially on Beni's criticism of Patrizi. For example, in his Commentary on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, Beni rejected Patrizi's arguments against the attribution of this work to the Stagirite. Similarly, in the unprinted *Peripatetica Disceptatio*, Beni distanced himself from Patrizi's position concerning the authorship of *On Sophistical Refutations*. Beni's criticisms also touched upon Patrizi's conception of the history, poetic, and rhetoric. In the unpublished part of his commentary on Plato's *Timaeus* (comprising a total of 30 books, the last eighteen – which remain unedited and almost unknown – are preserved in the Vatican Archives), Beni discusses Plato's natural philosophy and especially his cosmology in the light of the interpretations of other authors as well as of the new scientific theories mostly in relation to the Paduan scientific circles. Did

* This study focuses exclusively on some of the various aspects of Beni's criticism of Patrizi. For the literary aspect of the criticism see P. Diffley, the reader who is interested in it can read: Paul B. Diffley, *Paolo Beni: A Biographical and Critical Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1988), 208-243. I would like to thank Prof. Maria Muccillo for her kind suggestions and Salvatore Vassallo, digital Archivist of the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu.

Beni accept the most innovative of Patrizi's claims in natural philosophy? We propose to see whether Patrizi played any role in the development of some of the most original of Beni's positions in natural philosophy. Finally, we will examine Beni's position on the issue of whether Plato had foreseen the mistery of the Trinity or not.

Keywords Francesco Patrizi, Paolo Beni, Commentary on Plato´s Timaeus, Platonic natural philosophy, Plato's Trinity.

A Platonist in Rome at the end of the 16th Century: an overview on Beni's life and works

Paolo Beni da Gubbio (1553–1625) is principally known by scholars as a person of letters, less as a philosopher and theologian.[1] Born in Gubbio the 10th January 1553, as a child Beni was educated at the Roman Jesuit College. For some years he attended the courses of civil law at the University of Perugia. He continued his studies at the University of Bologna, following courses in theology and philosophy, and then, from 1573 to 1576, at Padua, where he received his degree in theology. Beni participated in the cultural life of this city, getting acquainted with Gian Vincenzo Pinelli, Cinzio Aldobrandini, Antonio Querenghi and Torquato Tasso. He was also accepted as a member of the "Accademia degli Animosi", in which he had the opportunity to come in contact with personalities like Stefano Tiepolo, Antonio Riccobono, Girolamo Frachetta, Faustino Summo. It is probably in this Platonic-oriented environment that Beni coinceived the plan to translate and to comment all the dialogues of Plato, in order to propose a reading of Plato that was alternative to the predominant Neoplatonic exegesis of the *Corpus Platonicum*. Nevertheless, he completed only the commented translation of the *Eutyphro* and of the *Timaeus*. After various peregrinations to Bologna, Gubbio, Rome and

[1] On Beni's life and works, see: Diffley, *Paolo Beni*. For an updated bibliography on Beni's life and writings see Barbara Bartocci, "L'*In Platonis Timaeum* e le altre opere inedite di Paolo Beni da Gubbio", *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie médiévales* 80/1 (2013).

Urbino, he entered the Jesuit order in 1581. As a novice, Beni taught in the colleges of his order: at first he was *tutor* in Humanities at the Roman Seminary, then he spent some time in the Venetian province and during 1587, he was in Rome for a few months. Soon thereafter, from 1587 to 1593, he was sent to various Northern provinces to teach philosophy: first in Padua, then in Milan, where he lectured on Plato's Rhetoric and, finally, in Gubbio. In the spring of 1593, Beni was in Rome again while his co-friar Benedetto Giustiniani was examining Patrizi's *Nova Philosophia*.[2] In September of that same year, before delivering the solemn profession, Beni was dismissed from Jesuit Order, for unclear reasons, to the order of the General Prepost, Claudio Acquaviva. In January of the following

[2] It is worth pointing out that the Jesuit Benedetto Giustiniani, who examined Patrizi's *Nova* in March-April 1593, has not to be confused with the Cardinal of the same name, Benedetto Giustiniani (Chio 1554 – Rome 1621), along with whom the Jesuit Giustiniani was one of the members of the committee that annulled the marriage of Henry IV and Marguerite de Valois in 1599. The Jesuit Giustiniani (Genova 1550 – Rome 1622) studied Humanities at the Roman Jesuit College, then Theology in Toulouse, Messina and Rome, where he taught that same discipline. In the entry for the year '1593' of the catalogue that lists the members of the Roman Jesuit College, Giustiniani is qualified as *Rector* of the Roman College and *concionator*, viz. preacher. Hence, the Jesuit Giustiniani could not be considered unqualified for giving an opinion on the orthodoxy of Patrizi's work, despite Firpo's claim: "[il] genovese Benedetto Giustiniani, uomo di grande autorità e dottrina, ma non certo qualificato a giudicare un'opera filosofica, data la sua preparazione sostanzialmente giuridica" (in Luigi Firpo, *Filosofia italiana e controriforma* (Torino: Ed. di Comunità, 1951), 22. On the Jesuit B. Giustiniani see John P. Donnelly, "Giustiniani, Benedetto", in *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, ed. Charles E. O'Neill – Joaquin M. Dominguez (Rome-Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001). On the Cardinal B. Giustiniani see Simona Feci and Luca Bortolotti, "Giustiniani, Benedetto", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2001). Strikingly, in the catalogue of the *censurae librorum* as well as in these registering information and opinions about members of the Roman College, which are preserved at the Roman Jesuit Archive, I could not find any mention of Giustiniani's censorship of the *Nova de universis philosophia* (ARSI, Rom. 53.2, fol. 183r). More generally, on Patrizi's trial see Firpo, *Filosofia italiana*, 12-26; Tullio Gregory, "L' 'Apologia' e le 'Declarationes' di Francesco Patrizi," in *Medioevo e Rinascimento. Studi in onore di Bruno Nardi* (Florence: Sansoni Editore, 1955); Antonio Rotondò, "Cultura umanistica e difficoltà di censori: censura ecclesiastica e discussioni cinquecentesche sul platonismo," in *Le pouvoir et la plume, actes du Colloque international, Aix- en- Provence, Marseille, 14-16 mai 1981* (Paris: Université de la Sorbonne nouvelle, 1982); Francesco Patrizi da Cherso, *Nova de universis philosophia. Materiali per un'edizione emendata*, ed. Anna Laura Puliafito Bleuel (Firenze: Olschki, 1993), xx-xxx.

year, before Patrizi's trial had ended, Beni printed the first part of his commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*, the *In Platonis Timaeum*, dedicated to the Pope Clement VIII and to the cardinal Cinzio Passeri Aldobrandini. In that same year 1594, he was appointed lecturer of philosophy at the Roman Studium, thanks also to Francesco Patrizi's recommendation. While Beni had this position, he participated in the "Accademia Aldobrandini" of which the members shared Platonic sympathies. In the meetings that took place in the apartments of Cinzio, Beni again met old friends like Tasso, Pinelli and Querenghi. At the beginning of the new century, he left Rome for Padua, where he taught Rhetoric at the city University until the end of his life. Beni's time at Padua, however, was not unperturbed: his theological treatise on predestination, the *De efficaci Dei Auxilio*,[3] was condemned in 1605, and he was often involved in literary polemics. Despite these troubles, the Paduan interlude was his most prolific period, during which he wrote most of his literary works.

As it happened often during Beni's life, a seemingly unfavourable situation transformed into a favourable outcome. After his obscure dismissal from the Jesuit Order in September 1593 that seemed to have undermined his hopes to gain a good and fixed position, Beni got the chair of natural philosophy, formerly held by Alessandro Butrio, at the Roman Studium, thanks also to Patrizi's intercession.[4] The assignment of the chair to Beni happened, most likely, through a contest. Significant is the letter that was written to the Rector Tiberio Cerasio by Patrizi, in which the professor of Platonic Philosophy briefly introduced the three

[3] Paolo Beni, *Qua tandem ratione dirimi possit controversia quae in praesens de efficaci Dei auxilio et libero arbitrio inter nonnullos catholicos agitatur* (Patavii: in officina Laurentii Pasquati, 1603).

[4] Notwithstanding Beni's reconstruction of the episode, according to which his appointment as professor should have been *per elettione* or direct call from the Pope or the Rector, the archival material (rotuli, letters etc.) reveals that the assignment of the chair to him happened, likely, through a contest. See Maria Muccillo, "Il Platonismo all' Università di Roma: Francesco Patrizi," in *Roma e lo Studium Urbis. Spazio urbano e cultura dal Quattrocento al Seicento. Atti del Convegno, Roma, 7-10 giugno 1989*, ed. Paolo Cherubini (Roma: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici, 1992). For further bibliography and archival references see Bartocci, "L'*In Platonis Timaeum*".

aspirants to the chair, namely Antonio Persio, Giovan Battista Crispo and Beni. Even though we do not explicitly find Patrizi's opinion expressed, his preference for Beni shone through his words. Probably this predilection was due to Patrizi's expectation that, if the former Jesuit got the office, Patrizi himself would have had an ally to accomplish the promotion of Platonic philosophy. Indeed, Patrizi's letter had emphasised the Platonic orientation of Beni's philosophy: "Beni is now editing a great commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*, in which he put the whole philosophy of Plato on the service of the Roman Church".[5] On the contrary, in his petition to the authority, dated the 20th of December 1593, Beni had overlooked his Platonic tendency, highlighting instead his competencies in classics (Greek, Latin, Hebrew) as well as his wide knowledge of Peripatetic philosophy and scholastic theology, thus introducing himself as an aspiring traditional professor, rather than an innovator.[6] This fact does not provide irrefutable evidence to state that Beni and Patrizi knew each other before they became colleagues. But once they became colleagues and shared the same rooms at the University, it is unlikely to say that they had never met and they did not take up with each other. On the contrary,

5 "L'altro è un signor Paolo Beni, che sta in casa del Signor Cardinale Giustiniano, fu giesuita, et ha letto nel lor collegio a Milano 14 anni. Et ora fa un grande e nobilissimo comento sopra il Timeo di Platone, riducendo tutta la filosofia di Platone al servizio di Santa Romana Ecclesia. Si stampa a S. Marco". The letter is preserved at the State Archives of Rome (ASR), *Università*, vol. 89, fol. 35r. The transcription of this document is provided by Gregory, "L' 'Apologia' e le 'Declarationes'": 389-390.

6 ASR, *Università*, vol. 89, fol. 41r: "Beatissimo Padre, Intendendosi che si tratta di conferire una lettura publica di Filosofia, si supplica V(ostra) Santità che le piaccia farne grazia a Paolo Beni da Ugubbio. Egli ha con fatiche di dicidot'anni scritto 30 libri sopra tutta la filosofia naturale e soprannaturale di Aristotele e Platone: trattando (per quello che appartiene ad Aristotele) e disputando di parte in parte tutti i dogmi di questo filosofo. Appo il detto Beni ha bonissima cognizione di lingua greca e latina, e molta facilità e chiarezza nello spiegare il suo concetto: havendo anco letto quattro anni Filosofia e Theologia, et essendo dottor Theologo: con haver fatto particolare studio ne' Theologi Scholastici, i quali senza dubbio sono necessarii per trattar'i dogmi de' filosofi con quella cautela che si richiede al Filosofo Christiano. Delle quali cose tutte potrassi haver pienissima informatione da molti letterati i quali hanno in mano le sue opere: poiché già parte sotto la protettione di V(ostra) Santità è data in luce, parte anco si và stampando tuttavia. Che è il tutto".

it could be possible that Beni too, together with his friend Tasso, was among those lecturers and young students, as remembered in a letter by Giovanni Castellini, who had met each other after Patrizi's classes.[7] Both philosophers were members of the "Accademia Aldobrandini" and frequented Cinzio Aldobrandini's apartments. Furthermore, as we know from Beni himself, Patrizi, "vir humanissimus", provided him with the manuscript of Proclus' *Elementatio Theologica* and that of Damascius' *Dubitationes et solutiones de primis principiis*,[8] when he was in Rome. In the *Beniana Bibliotheca,* a catalogue that was compiled by Beni at the end of his life and that lists the numerous books and the instruments that Beni owned, Patrizi is the most present among the modern authors. On the shelves we find the volume, printed at Venice in 1553 containing the *Città felice*, along with the *Dialogo dell'honore*, *Il Barignano*, the *Discorso sulla diversità de' furori poetici* and the *Lettura sopra il sonetto del Petrarca 'La gola, e 'l sonno, e l'ociose piume'*; the Venetian edition of the *Della historia diece dialoghi*, printed in 1560, and that of the *Della retorica dieci dialoghi*, published in 1562; the *Discussionum peripateticarum tomi quattuor* printed at Basel, which Beni wrongly dates to 1561 instead of 1581; the translation of Proclus' *Elementa theologica et physica Francisco*

7 Firpo, *Filosofia italiana*, 26: "Un tal Giovanni Zarattino Castellini, rammentando parecchi anni dopo un suo soggiorno nell'Urbe durante i primi mesi del 1595, scriveva: "io allora frequentavo la Sapienza Romana, dove leggeva Francesco Patrizio filosofia platonica, che scrisse contro il Tasso, il quale nondimeno l'andava spesso a favorire; … piu volte mi son ritrovato dopo la lezione del Patrizio in circolo di lettori e giovani studiosi, dove s'intratteneva anche il Tasso".

8 Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Lat. IX. 52 (=3167) [abbreviated as Beni, *Beniana*], fol. 125: "Haec eius [*scil*. Procli] Theologia, cuius nobis copiam fecit Patritius"; *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 2, bk. 9, Archivum Secretum Vaticanum (abbreviated as ASV), Archivio Beni II (abbreviated as ABII), ms. 100, fol. 447v: "Neque vero non in iisdem longe lateque versatus est Damascius author inter Platonicos celeberrimus, ac Proclo, si me audias, facile anteponendus. Siquidem in eo libro, qui inscribitur Άποριαι και Λύσεις περι των πρώτων άρχών *Dubitationes et solutiones de primis principiis* (extat hic quoque liber calamo exaratus tantum, nec latitudine adhuc, quod sciam, donatus; nobis vero eius copiam Romae fecit aliquando vir humanissimus Franciscus Patricius)". On Patrizi's manuscripts see Emil Jacobs, "Francesco Patricio und seine Sammlung griechischer Handschriften in der Bibliothek des Escorial," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 25 (1908); Maria Muccillo, "La biblioteca greca di Francesco Patrizi", in *Bibliothecae selectae da Cusano a Leopardi*, ed. Eugenio Canone (Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 1993).

Patritio interprete, edited in 1583; then, the *Poetica* published at Ferrara in 1586; and, finally, the two volumes of the *Paralleli Militari* edited at Rome in 1594. Sometimes this library could have included even the *Nova de Universis Philosophia*.

"Denique sexcenta peccat Patritius in suis illis argumentis". Some parallels between Patrizi's Discussiones Peripateticae and Beni's works

Beni's commentary on Plato's *Timaeus* can be considered, as he himself did, his masterwork. It is probably the most extensive commentary on Plato's dialogue that was ever written: it comprises 30 books (which is more than 3,000 pages), divided into three "decades". Beni started writing this work when he was student in Padua, around 1576, and he continued to work on it throughout his entire life. Only the first decade and two books of the second were printed.[9] The rest of the work remained in manuscript and is preserved today in the Vatican Archives, as well as the major part of his numerous unpublished works.[10] In his massive commentary, Beni presented himself as a neutral interpreter of Plato's dialogue and tried to display what he believed to be the genuine philosophy of Plato, criticizing the exegesis elaborated by his predecessors, especially that of

9 Paolo Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum sive in naturalem omnem atque divinam Platonis et Aristotelis philosophiam decades tres,* Romae 1594, printed by two different publishers, Georgius Ferrarius and the printing press Gabiana (which is the edition used in the present article). The 10th of February, 1605, the 1st decade, now dedicated solely to the Pope Clement VIII, was printed again at Rome by Paulus Parisius. In 1624 the first two books of the 2nd decade were published at Padua under the title "Platonis et Aristotelis theologia. Ad illustrissimum Dominicum Molinum senatorem amplissimum".

10 The unpublished books of the *In Platonis Timaeum*, nowadays preserved in the Fondo Archivio Beni II of the Vatican Archives, are contained in the Mss. 97–108. A careful description of Beni's Fondo is provided by Pier Paolo Piergentili, *L'archivio dei conti Beni di Gubbio: note storiche e inventario* (Città del Vaticano: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 2003). See also the appendix of Bartocci, "L'*In Platonis Timaeum*," 212–219.

Ficinus and, more generally, of the Ancient and Renaissance Neoplatonists. He thus wished to show that Plato's doctrine could be a more suitable starting point for a new Christian philosophy, and especially physics, than the dominant Aristotelian doctrine. But before he could realize this comparison, Beni needed to reply first to the objections that were raised by those – mainly exponents of the sceptical tradition such as Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, Giovan Francesco Pico della Mirandola, Lilius Gregorius Giraldus – who scorned natural philosophy and considered it noxious to Christian philosophers.[11] Beni therefore devoted the first three books of the first decade, which are a sort of *sic et non*, to discuss the legitimacy, innocuousness and usefulness of the study of Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy. The main source for the arguments that was used in these initial books is the *Discussiones Peripateticae*.[12] Patrizi's work had served, for example, as the principal source for one of the objection raised against the study of Plato, namely that which stresses the weakness of Plato's method. Here, the ancient philosopher is reprimanded for having exposed his own thought in an inadequate way and this lack of method gave the chance to Aristotle to introduce many heresies in Plato's doctrine. The Stagirite, jealous of the good reputation of his master (*praeceptoris gloria commotus*) and after having persuaded Plato to retire to private life, criticized the Platonic doctrine harshly in his teaching at the Academy. And for this reason Speusippus, Senocrates and other members decided to expel him. But the Stagirite still kept attacking Plato even when he was teaching at the Lyceum.[13] This argument of Aristotle's envy of Plato as the cause that induced the Stagirite to embezzle the ideas of his master, so dear to Patrizi, was often repeated by Beni, who in many places of his

11 Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*, decade (abbreviated as dec.) 1, book (abbreviated as bk.) 1, 3.

12 For Patrizi's discussion of Aristotle's life and works see Maria Muccillo, "La vita e le opere di Aristotele nelle 'Discussiones Peripateticae' di F. Patrizi da Cherso," *Rinascimento* 21 (1981).

13 Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 1, bk. 1, 10-11.

works openly affirmed that Aristotle *usurpavit* the doctrines that were elaborated by Plato, passing them off as his own.[14]

More interesting are the objections that Beni proposed against the study of Aristotle, exposed in the first and third books of the first decade of the *In Platonis Timaeum*. In general, the most relevant criticism of Aristotle involves some basic doctrines of his philosophy that were seen as erroneous both from a philosophical and, mainly, from a religious point of view, since they undermined the fundaments of Christianism. According to Beni, Aristotle's God has not an infinite power, is not provident and is neither the creator of the world, since the world is eternal – and the eternity of the world can be considered Aristotle's gravest error, from which all the other mistakes originated in physics and metaphysics. In addiction, Aristotle wrongly assumes that the human soul is mortal.[15] Aristotle is charged with the same accusation even in the *Beniana Bibliotheca*: his

[14] This argument is used not only in the *In Platonis Timaeum*, but also in the so-called *Curriculum Platonicum*, which is an introduction to Plato's philosophy and to the works of Ancient and Modern Platonists, written by Beni at the end of his life; see ASV, ABII, ms. 116, fol. 142v: "Nunc ad eos sese conferat oratio nostra, qui diverso labore aliquo in Platone desudarint, ac nos (ut summatim dicam) in eius curriculo iuvare possint. Ac principio quidem Aristoteles collocetur: Is enim magistri doctrinam sive aemuletur et imitetur, sive carpat et labefactare nitatur, eius vestigia consectatur: quin etiam furtim multa ex illo usurpat, quibus pro suis utitur, etsi alioquin praeceptori obtrectare non desistat. Ita ut navus Philosophus ex Aristotele quoque ad Platonica decreta sibi aditum aperire possit. Quo nomine nonnulli etiam ex veteribus Peripateticis evolvendi sunt". See Francesco Patrizi, *Discussionum Peripateticarum Tomi IV, Quibus Aristotelicae Philosophiae universa Historia atque Dogmata Veterum Placitis collata, eleganter et erudite declarantur* (Basileae: ad Perneam Lecythum, 1581,) II.3, 213; II.6, 238 and 255; IV.7 437.

[15] Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 1, bk. 1, 13: "Extant enim multa in Aristotelis Philosophia, in quibus Philosophum peccare ac labi non solum indignum est, verum etiam flagitiosum ac turpe. Atque, ut ex iis, quae plurima quidem sunt; pauca quaedam attingam, divinam providentiam in suspicionem vocavit iste: Deum ipsum certo globo affinxit, quasi pistrino cuidam per omnem aeternitatem damnatum: eiusdem virtutem nescio cuius corporis vel potius circuli finibus terminavit: illumque verbotenus magis quam reipsa rerum caelestium, ipsiusque Universitatis fecit authorem. Immo vero tum arcta eum naturae necessitudine cum abstractis illis mentibus consociavit, ut (si ei credas) nullo fere discrimine distinguantur: tantum abest ut infinito interstitio eas omnes superare confessus sit. Neque vero ab his valde dissentiunt ea quibus primae materiae, supernarum mentium, Mundi denique ipsius aeternitatem introducit [...] De humano vero animo mirum est quot quantasque errorum quasi ansas importarit in Philosophiam. Primum enim de eius natura sic agit, ut quamvis interdum tentasse videatur

God seems to have a finite power and to be not provident. Moreover, the Stagirite did not admit the immortality of the soul and upheld the idea of an eternal world.[16] The errors stressed by Beni and now summed up might evoke the words written by Patrizi in his *Apology*, in which he spoke out the danger of Aristotle's doctrine for the four columns of Christian religion, pointing out that "si e theologia capita auferas quatuor, Dei omnipotentiam, mundi creationem, Dei providentiam, animae humanae immortalitatem, omnem abstuleris theologiam; at Aristotelis philosophia haec quatuor tollit funditus; theologiam ergo tollit omnemque salutis humanae rationem".[17]

More specifically, the arguments that Beni put forth against the reliability and validity of the Peripatetic philosophy in these three books call to mind the fundamental issues that were delineated in the first

eius immortalitatem statuere, apertissima tamen initia atque argumenta obtulerit, quibus eo authore, plane mortalis decerneretur".

16 Beni, *Beniana*, fol. 159-160 "Et quoniam visus est hic Author Deum coelo movendo abstingere (princeps enim νοῦς et intelligentia quae apud eum extimum torquet orbem Deus est) nec coelo impellendo tantum obstringere sed certis finibus illius vim ac facultatem circumscribere quin Naturae quoque necessitate illum implicare, quasi necessario moveat non libere: immo vero, quod multo deterrius est, rerum inferiorum curam illi adimit aliquando, nec toti Mundo facit praesentissimum; sed veluti in puncto primi orbis, ubi scilicet incitatissimus sit motus, eum collocat; quia inquam haec etsi quid huiusmodi visus est de Deo disseminare coelestium quoque mentium numerum, munera, vim, naturam, praepostere definire ac declarare, ambigue insuper atque adeo callide ac vafre de daemonibus deque humano animo suam sententiam promulgare de sentiendi et ingelligendi initio et facultate pugnantia scribere, discas qua iis occurras via; ut scilicet vel eum ab huiusmodi calumniis purges, si forte id tulerit ratio, et dilucides, aut contra ei resistas strenue, illius rationes ac paralogismos diluens. Alioquin mutes oppidum atque haereas, nec scopulos eos devites quos quemque devitasse par est atque illum maxime cui ad sacram Theologiam pergendum sit [...] data opera visus est Aristoteles a praeceptore discedere ac dissentire". And soon after: "certum est enim isthaec omnia suas salebras, atque adeo offensiones maximas habere in Aristotele: tametsi enim magnis Deum praerogativis instruit, attamen Mundi, quem conditum negat, verum Authorem inficiari omnino visus est, eidemque providentiae munus et gubernationis vel denegare, vel angustissimam attribuere: quin sapientiae et potentiae vim, si non revocet in controversiam, certis finibus circumscribit; fortasse etiam haud abfuit ut necessario illum movere atque agere iudicaverit; ut verendum sit ne operis summa, et in Philosophiae veluti Colophone imponendo, infoelix habendus sit et iudicandus".

17 Tullio Gregory, "L' Apologia ad Censuram di Francesco Patrizi," *Rinascimento* 4 (1953): 92.

book of the *Discussiones Peripateticae*. The Peripatetic doctrine cannot be trustworthy since it has been transmitted in a *Corpus* of writings that might have been counterfeited, manipulated and that is not undoubtedly authentic. Moreover, the works are written in an obscure and concise style that generates confusion. Many are the contradictions and ambiguities in the texts, mainly due to their rework by grammarians and editors, as Athaeneus, Strabo and Apellicon have narrated and Giovan Francesco Pico and Patrizi have exaggerated. Finally, Aristotle is guilty of never having elucidated fully the doubtful parts of his doctrine: he had always postponed the explanation of tricky points to future discussions that never took place. And, furthermore, he charged his predecessor of having been obscure.[18] Beni's answers to these kind of arguments are, for the most part, unsatisfactory and his defence of Aristotle is a sham defence. As it emerges from the pages of the *In Platonis Timaeum*, especially from the second decade, Beni was a Platonist rather than a Peripatetic or a conciliator of Plato and Aristotle, despite his claim of neutrality. And he had an anti-Aristotelian inclination, even though his criticism against the Stagirite was never as direct and harsh as Patrizi's antiperipatetic polemic. This prudent attitude was indeed more advisable for someone that was appointed to mainly lecture on Aristotle.

The great consideration that Beni had for Patrizi – despite some of his erroneous opinions – and his work emerges clearly not only from this implicit use of the *Discussiones* in the first part of his *In Platonis Timaeum*, but also from the various references to this text in other writings of different subjects.[19] In the *Beniana Bibliotheca* that, as mentioned before, is a catalogue raisonnée that was compiled at the end of his life, Beni

[18] For these arguments see Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 1, bk. 1, 12-13. Cf. Patrizi, *Discussiones*, I.3-4, 18 ssq.

[19] As an example, it can be considered what Beni says about the distinction between 'achromatic' and 'exoteric' writings of Aristotle in his *Commentationes ac Notae in eam Aristotelicae Philosophiae partem quae ad vitam pertinet ac mores*, ASV, ABII, ms. 89 (years 1592-93), particularly in the commentary on Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics*, fol. 115r: "Tu, si vacat, ea percurrito quae Laelius Peregrinus scribit de exothericis et Acroamaticis in sua morali <philosophia>,

listed the books and the instruments that he owned. The former Jesuit did not merely make a list of editions along with detailed bibliographical references, but he often added his comments and gave suggestions to delve deeper into the issues at hand. In the section dedicated to Aristotle, he recommended to read the *Discussiones Peripateticae*. Because of the antiperipatetic attitude of his author, the reader should approach the text cautiously and pay attention to some erroneous judgments of Patrizi. Despite that, however, the *Discussiones Peripateticae* are highly valuable for the amount of information they provide and for the neglected ancient sources they employ. Thus, the "abito pedantesco" of Patrizi that disgusted Bruno was instead praised by Beni.[20] Still in the Peripatetic section of his *Beniana Bibliotheca*, listing the Aldine edition of Alexander of Afrodisias' commentaries on Aristotle, Beni forewarns the reader that some of the works present in these volumes are suspected to be spurious, such as Alexander's commentary on Aristotle's *Topics* and *Sophistical Refutations* as well as Alexander's treatises on *De Fato* and *Meteorologicorum*,[21] which Patrizi deemed unauthentic in the final pages of the third book of the

et Franciscus Patritius integro libro in suis Discussionibus: qui tamen, quoniam infensus est Aristoteli, caute legendus est".

20 Beni, *Beniana*, fol. 155: "Francisci Patricii *Peripateticae Discussiones* in fol. Basil. 1561 [sic]. Quid quisque contineat Tomus (in quatuor enim tomos distinguitur) statim post initium declaratur. Magnus Aristotelis obsectator. Sed tamen in Peripateticis praesertim graecis ac paulo abstrusioribus, versatus est ita ut industrius lector plurimum inde utilitatis capere possit". And also Beni, *Beniana*, fol. 123-124: "Francisci Patritii Concordantia Aristotelis cum Platone in universa Philosophia Basil. 1581. Habetur in tom. 2°. Idem subinde in tom. 3° prosequitur Aristotelis cum Platone atque aliis veteribus discordiam. Hic si non recte omnino iudicat aut philosophatur, at certe ingentem nobis rerum campum ac segetem offert ex antiquis Authoribus, qua commodiore iudicio uti valeamus".

21 Beni, *Beniana*, fol. 146: "Interim tamen Franciscus Patritius Disc.Perip. to.2 lib.3 pag. 31 32 33 dubitat an liber de Fato sit Alexandri: Meteorologicos negat plane; atque esse Alexandri Egaei. Quaestiones naturales et morales ac libros de Anima non aegre tribuit Alexandro. De Communis in libro de sensu et sensatu disputationibus, de Mixtione, deque Problematis ne verbum quidem. Cum tamen de Metaphysicis et logicis iudicium suum pluribus interponat. III sine postremiis Alexandri Aphrodisei tomus continet Commentaria in XII libros Divinae Philosophiae. Sed tamen Franciscus Patritius Tom. I suarum Discus. lib. 3 p. 32 multis disputat haec Commentaria non esse Aphrodisei Alexandri: tu locum consulito".

second volume of his *Discussiones.*[22] Beni invites the reader to go over Patrizi's *Discussiones* for a precise analysis of the question, thus seeming to implicitly approve the critics and the judgments as proposed by his former colleague.[23] Nevertheless, sometimes Beni departs from Patrizi's opinion and turns Patrizi's own weapons – philology and erudition – against him. An example of this counterattack is the unedited disputation, which likely is an outcome of Beni's academic activity in Padua, on the veracity of Aristotle's authorship of the *Sophistical Refutations.*[24] Here the polemic object is Patrizi, "acerrimus obtrectator Aristotelis, ne dicam calumniator". In this public discussion, Beni upheld that the work should be attributed to Aristotle and afterwards, through the same philological and erudite criticism employed by Patrizi, Beni revealed the inconsistencies of the arguments that were proposed in the *Discussiones Peripateticae*[25] against the attribution of the *Sophistical Refutations* to the Stagirite. But the main point at issue here concerns the value of the probable reasoning rather than the Aristotelian authorship of the work, that Beni accepts. Indeed, Beni attempted to assign a philosophical value to the *tentativa ratiocinatio* or probable reasoning. Even though it does not start from the certain premises of the scientific reasoning, but from the opinion of the answerer. And even though this probable argumentation does proceed in a dialogical way, the probable reasoning has a philosophical, not only

22 Patrizi, *Discussiones*, II.3, 31-33.

23 Beni, *Beniana*, fol. 145-146 "Alexander Aphrodiseus Venet. in fol. in tria volumina. Ac primum quidem continet quae sequuntur: [...] In II libros Elenchorum [...] Commentarius vero Elenchorum, ne te id fallat, etsi integer (duo enim Elenchorum libri: nam et Graece et Latine in duos libros secti sunt in praesens) apud Alexandrum unico continentur atque illo brevissimis capitibus distributo. A capite tamen LXXXXVIII quod occurrit pagina LVIII initium ducit liber Elenchorum posteriori apud Alexandrum. Interim tamen Franciscus Patritius negat huiusmodi Commentarium, quin Topicos etiam, esse Aphrodisei Alexandri. Tu illum legito pag. 32 et 33 lib. 3 to. 1 Discussionum Peripateticarum".

24 Paolo Beni, *Peripatetica Disceptatio An Elenchorum Libri, quos terimus Aristotelis nomine, sint spurium an vero germanum, Aristotelis Opus. Ubi de tota Aristotelicae logicae ratione multa*, ASV, ABII, ms. 71, fol. 13r-16r, written around 1619-1623.

25 Patrizi, *Discussiones*, I.3, 22-23; I.4, 47.

a dialectical, importance. Answering to Patrizi's attack against Aristotle claim to have been the inventor of the eristic art, Beni repeats the words of the Stagirite and affirms that this priority does not mean a chronological precedence, but simply that he was the first one who elaborated and taught this art according to a precise method. Aristotle indeed was the first one to elaborate a complete theory of proposition and syllogisms (*apodicticus*, *probabilis* and *contentiosus*). Beni acknowledges that before the Stagirite, Plato had developed a dialectic method and that he had excellently used it within metaphysics to divide, define and grasp the essence of the *res:* through the *definitio* it is possible to know the nature of things and through the induction and the example it is possible to know the accidents or properties of things.[26] Then Aristotle seized upon this dialectical reasoning and restricted it to the logical domain, thus degrading the Platonic method, which was at the peak of philosophy, to the lowest among the philosophical disciplines, and systematized it in specific works, mainly in his *Topics*. In conclusion, Beni affirms the value and usefulness even of the probable reasoning, which is the *tentativa dialectica* exposed in the *Topics*.

It is worth noting that in his *Disceptatio* Beni holds the same original opinion about the place of the *Categories* within the Aristotelian *Corpus*, as the one that Patrizi had expressed in his *Discussiones Peripateticae.*[27]

26 ASV, ABII; ms. 71, fol. 15r-v: "Platoni tribuendum ut definitionem maxime omnium excoluerit qua naturam et essentiam declararet [...] ea quae accidunt seu proprietates declarat: nam et exemplis, et inductione (quam appellant) et partium enumeratione et analysi utitur quae omnia proprietatibus declarandis adhibet non inutiliter". Here Beni might have had in mind Patrizi's *Discussiones Peripateticae* (III.3, 318-323) as well as the *Plato Exotericus*, which is a short treatise published in appendix to the *Nova de universis philosophia* (Ferrariae: apud Benedictum Mammarellum, 1591,) 41r-44r. And particularly the 4th reason (43vb-44rb) elaborated by Patrizi to display the superiority of Plato's scientific method on the Aristotelian. According to Patrizi, the Stagirite never gives demonstrations or *rationes apodicticae*, but only probable demonstrations that do not state something indubitable and always leaves the door open to another solution. Thus, in the Aristotelian philosophy, for Patrizi, nothing is sure or doubtless; while Plato's demonstrations, mainly those presented in his *Parmenides*, are more certain than the mathematical demonstrations.

27 Patrizi, *Discussiones*, I.9, 109-111.

Almost literally quoting Patrizi, Beni states that the *Categories* cannot be listed among the logical works of the Stagirite, since these are mere instruments for sciences, while the *Categories* express the universal properties of beings. Therefore, they pertain to metaphysics.[28]

In his unedited Commentaries on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*,[29] Beni explicitly attacked Patrizi, particularly in the lengthy proemium to the text in which the question of the Aristotelian authorship of the work was faced. Following the "pro and contra argumentative pattern" peculiar to his writings, Beni firstly proposed some arguments against the Aristotelian attribution of the text, which rely implicitly as well as explicitly on the *Discussiones*.[30] Then, he put forward the argument in

[28] ASV, ABII, ms. 71, fol. 15v: "Et tamen Cathegoriae exiguam, fortasse etiam nullam, continent facultatis istius partem. Ut enim aedificator ab arte et natura excipit ea quibus sua insituat opera nec ea fabricat sed arripit, ita logicus arripit quidem ex communi consuetudine voces quibus praedicatum, subiectum, et copulam seu verbum uniens, conficit propositionem. Utique rursus aedificator lapides et ligna addit etiam arenam et aquam quibus calcem conflat uno verbo caementa fundamentis adhibet constituendis, quibus parietes extollit ac tectum imponit, ita logicus propositiones refert syllogismo construendo quo disserendi rationem sive Analyticam velis ac certam et exploratam sive Topicam et probabilem, sive Eristicam et contentiosam (si placet) ac fallacem perficit. Ut propterea Cathegoriae nihil ad disserendi artificium quod vel ex eo etiam constat, quia earum partitiones et definitiones ad res naturales pertinent, ita ut ab Aristotele in Metaphysicae tractatione collocentur".

[29] The commentary, which could be dated after the 1611 and should have outcome from Beni's teaching, is preserved at the Vatican Archive, ASV, ABII, ms. 89.

[30] All six objections *contra* (ASV, ABII, ms. 89, fol. 6r-v:1. "Laertius in Aristotele sive libro V refert Aristotelem scripsisse quatuor tantum libros de moribus: hi vero nostri sunt decem [...]; 2. Atticus Platonicus referente Eusebio Caesariensi lib. 15 de prae. cap. 3 Aristotelis de foelicitate sententiam turpitudine plenam facit ac muliere potius seu puero quam philosopho dignam [...] At haec cum nostris hisce libris nullo modo conveniunt: sic enim in iis philosophatur author, ut cum foelicitatem in virtute et sapientia, et summatim in perfectissima actione collocarit, nihil sublimius potuerit excogitari; 3. hi libri inscribuntur ad Nichomachum: at Nichomachus cum decessit Aristoteles (si Laertio credimus lib. V) erat omnino puer. Quare non est verisimile fuisse ab Aristotele puero immo nec filio dicatos; 4. Aristoteles lib. 6 mor. cap. 3 inquit scientia est demonstrantibus habitus sive habitus demonstrativus. Quam rem subdit a se fuisse in analyticis definitam. Haec autem scientiae definitio nusquam reperitur in analyticis; [...] 5. ordo ac methodus longe videtur abhorrere ab Aristotelis consuetudine et stylo: id quod fuse probat (si tamen probat) Franciscus Patritius lib. 9 suarum Discus. prope finem; [...] 6. Marcus Tullius lib. 6 de. fin. post initium aperte tradit hos libros scriptos fuisse ab ipsomet Nichomacho: cui sententiae videtur favere Laertius etiam qui lib. 8 in Eudoxo ait Nichomachum asseruisse

favour of the Aristotelian authorship and concluded assigning it to the Stagirite. In his replies to the con arguments, Beni applied the historical and philological method developed by Patrizi against Patrizi himself. And once again, Beni's exhortation to flip through the pages of the *Discussiones* is also a caveat: he warns his readers and students to use Patrizi's textbook as reliable source for ancient authors, but to leave aside some judgments on the material proposed.[31]

How are these ambiguous, if not contradictory, attitudes of Beni toward Patrizi to be interpreted? Which is his real opinion about his colleague? The *Disceptatio* and the Commentary on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* probably originated from an academic ambiance that could have led Beni to emphasise the value of the topic that he was starting to lecture and to legitimate his teaching, eliminating all the possible sources of incertitude and shadow. Thus, for a professor teaching Aristotle, Patrizi was one the most obvious critical target. In contrast, the *Beniana Bibliotheca* was a private work, written with extremely different aims and addressed to a small audience. Because he did not have any official restriction nor academic concerns, Beni could express his opinion freely.

summum bonum ex Eudoxo esse voluptatem: at dictum hoc Eudoxi nomine refertur lib. 1 mor. cap. 12 et li. X cap. 2. Non igitur Aristotelis sunt hi libri. Haec est prima sententia: quam in primis tuentur Marius Nizolius et Patritius Nichomacho hosce libros tribuentes: ille propter ultimum argumentum: hic propter quintum") are almost a literal transcription from Patrizi's *Discussiones*, I.3, 25; I.4, 47-48; I.9, 126.

31 ASV, ABII; ms. 89, fol. 8r: "Vos consulite Patritium lib. 2 et 3 Discus. Peripateticarum et deinceps illud tamen caventes ne tam eius iudicium ac decisionem sectemini (fuit enim Aristoteli supra modum infensus ac praeiudicata opinione de eo tulit iudicium) quam ea ipsa loca aequi bonique consulatis, quae fideliter interim ex antiquis authoribus profert […] Denique sexcenta peccat Patritius in suis illis argumentis: quod per vos ipsos intelligetis si eadem cum iis conferetis quae de proposito scopo ac materia statuemus".

A New Platonic Worldview: some cosmological remarks

Obviously, Beni knew not only the *Peripatetic Discussions*, but also the *Nova de universis philosophia.* It would have been striking if the news about this book, its printing[32] and what happened after the publication did not reach Beni's ear especially when, having just come back to Rome, he was setting out the printing of his *In Platonis Timaeum*. Even more odd would it have been if his acquaintances and friends, like Pinelli or Tasso, did not inform him, a Platonic-oriented thinker, about a newly edited Platonic work. Furthermore, it would have been much more surprising if the Jesuit Beni, who was in Rome in the spring of 1593, did not know that his co-friar Benedetto Giustiniani was revising the troublesome book of Patrizi at that time. That Beni was privied to the *Nova* emerges from some elements in his writings. In the *Beniana Bibliotheca*, Beni suggests that the student who is starting the study of Plato but is not yet capable of reading Ancient Greek, should read the *Platonica philosophia* of Patrizi, which relies mainly on the doctrines of Proclus and Damascius. Here the Eugubine refers clearly to the *Nova*.[33] Beni also referred to that book of Patrizi in his commentary on Plato. In the tenth book of the first decade of the *In Platonis Timaeum*, which is wholly devoted to Plato's sources and to the *prisca theologia*, the former Jesuit quotes some fragments of Stobaeus and other ancient authors, edited at the end of the *Nova*, while naming

[32] The *Nova de Universis Philosophia* was printed in Ferrara by Benedetto Mammarelli at the end of 1591. Some copies of the book present a faked frontispiece with different date and place of publication, viz. Venice, by Meietti, in 1593. On this point see Paola Zambelli, "Aneddoti patriziani," *Rinascimento* 7 (1967): 309-311.

[33] Beni, *Beniana*, fol. 135: "Invenias etiam inter nostra manuscripta in fol. Damasci et Procli Theologiam seu illius partem aut compendium graece tamen; quae tibi alicui usui esse possint in Platonico campo: saltem hinc quousque pertingat istorum industria Platonicorum animadvertas. Quod si graece nescias ad Platonicam Francisci Patritii Philosophiam confugias, quae maxime ex Damascio manavit et Proclo et si non tam rationibus niti, praesertim solidis et probabilibus; quam voluntariis videri potest". See Thomas Leinkauf, *Il neoplatonismo di Francesco Patrizi come presupposto della sua critica ad Aristotele* (Firenze: La Nuova Italia editrice, 1990); Thomas Leinkauf, "Die Rezeption des Damaskios im Denken des Francesco Patrizi," *Accademia* 13 (2011).

Patrizi at times.[34] Furthermore, when dealing with the Timaic cosmogony and cosmology in the unpublished ninth book of the second decade, Beni explicitly mentions Patrizi. Indeed, in a digression about the nature and corruptibility of celestial matter Beni presents the different opinions elaborated by ancient and modern authors on the issue and places Patrizi, along with Telesius, among the upholders of the fiery composition of the heavens. He refers to a 4th volume, book 6, of an unnamed work of Patrizi. Even though the title is not given, the work to which he refers is the *Nova,* the book on the *Primaevo fluore*. Then, a few lines below, he invites the reader that wants to have a more detailed account of the more important opinions on the subject to consult the same, unnamed work of Patrizi.[35]

34 Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 1, bk. 10, 671: "Ac quamvis in Mercurii monumentis quae nunc sive Apuleii sive Marsilii industria latine extant, ista Mercurii verba non reperiantur: reperiuntur tamen in Graecis codicibus in quibus [*scil*.Francisci Patricii *Hermes Trismegistus*, XX, f.51r in *Nova*] multa ad extremum leguntur, quae desiderantur apud illos [...] Ut omittam Iohannem Stobaeum; apud quem tum eadem plane verba Mercurii nomine recitantur: tum duae integrae disputationes quibus caret Appulei Poemander habentur ex veterum monumentis". In that same book, Beni quotes Patrizi's collection of Zoroaster's *Oracula* (Francisci Patricii *Zoroaster et eius CCCXX Oracula Chaldaica eius opera tenebris eruta et latine reddita*, in *Nova*): *IBID.*, 676 : "Hoc ipsum [*scil*.some doctrines exposed by Beni a few lines before] iam antea Zoroaster fecisset, quemadmodum ex iis sive oraculis, quae vocant, sive logiis intelligitur quae apud veteres disseminata, a Francisco Patritio post alios quosdam diligenti sane conquisitione ac studio collecta sunt". Patrizi's writing is cited, and in a second moment deleted and substituted with Simplicius' commentary on the *Physics*, also in a passage of the 3rd book of the 2nd decade. In that place, dealing with the arguments that, according to the Platonists, Plato would have developed in order to prove the existence of God, Beni refers to Patrizi, who in his *Panarchia* (1, 1ra) claimed that Plato elaborated three kinds of arguments for God's existence: "Sed confugient fortasse alii (Patr. XXX *delevit*, Simpl. 8 Phys et alii *scripsit Benius*) vel ad VI del Repub. librorum, ubi nobilem Solis analogiam, vel ad Parmenidem, ubi negationis viam, vel denique ad decimum de legibus, ubi motus rationem ad Deum (ut isti dicunt) inveniendum et comprobandum usurpavit Plato" (Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 2, bk. 3, ASV, ABII, ms. 97, fol. 9r-v).

35 Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 2, bk. 9, ASV, ABII, ms. 100, fol. 402v: "Secunda [*scil*. Opinio] fuit Trismegisti, qui [...] constituit coelum ex igne [...] Et hanc sententiam amplexi sunt maxime Stoici [...] Denique ex recentioribus Thilesius (Thil. Lib. 1 cap. 6) et Patritius (Pat. Tom.4 lib. 6) hanc unam videntur amplecti". After having exposed the most important views on the celestial matter, Beni lists some authors who treat extensively the issue and, among others, he cites "Franciscum Patritium tom. IV lib. V".

But these more or less explicit clues[36] are not the only proofs which testify Beni's knowledge and usage of Patrizi's *Nova*. Indeed, when the reader looks at the entire commentary, more and more signs show up that Patrizi always seems to be on the background of the *In Platonis Timaeus*.

As mentioned before, Beni's aim in his commentary on Plato's dialogue is to develop a new Christian physics based on Platonic philosophy that could rival and substitute the dominant Aristotelian natural philosophy, which was read all over Europe. At this point, Beni's scope is not too distant from that of Patrizi, who, after the attack launched against the Peripatetic system in his *Discussiones*, proposed in his *Nova* an alternative philosophy to replace the Peripatetic encyclopaedia, based on Neo– and Platonic principles. But unlike Patrizi, Beni's proposal for a new natural philosophy was not based on an original metaphysical synthesis, comparable to the one that was elaborated by Patrizi that could legitimate the order of the universe he was describing in his physics. And this explains why Beni did not nor could accept some of the most innovative aspects of Patrizi's cosmology[37] in the *In Platonis Timaeum*, even though Beni was open minded, as it is proved by his collaboration with Galileo, the consequent acceptance of the Galilean astronomical discoveries and of the use of instruments, such as the telescope, in the astronomical observations.[38]

36 An explicit reference to Patrizi's *Nova* and particularly to the *Plato Exotericus* is found in the edited 2nd book of the 2nd decade, in which Patrizi is listed, along with other modern Platonists, among those exegetes who ascribed to Plato the idea that the world was created: "Georgius Trapezuntius (quanquam hic infensissimus Platonis hostis) Augustinus Steuchus, Iacobus Carpentarius, Lucilius Philalteus, Franciscus Patritius [Patr. in exoterico et al. pas.], Franciscus Valerius, hi omnes pari consensione hanc ipsam quam nos, Platoni ascribunt opinionem" (Paolo Beni, *Platonis et Aristotelis theologia* (Patavii: typis Io. Baptistae Martini et Livii Pasquati Imp. Camer., 1624,) 117). Beni's *Platonis et Aristotelis theologia* will be abbreviated as Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 2, bk. 2.

37 See Paolo Rossi, "La negazione delle sfere e l'astrobiologia di Francesco Patrizi," *Il rinascimento nelle corti padane*, (Bari: De Donato, 1977,) esp. 405.

38 On the relationships between Beni and Galileo see Anna De Pace, "Galileo interprete del Timeo," *Storia della scienza, Storia della filosofia: Interferenze*, ed. Guido Canziani (Milano: F. Angeli, 2005). On the contrary, Patrizi seemed to be rather hesitant to use instruments: "Atque

In his *Pancosmia*, Patrizi had elaborated a conception of an infinite and absolute three-dimensional space, filled with *lumen*, beyond the material realm,[39] that departed from the medieval Aristotelian notion of space. In Patrizi's view, the external space that encloses the world is both infinite and finite. On the one hand, it is finite *ad intra*, insofar as it is limited by the outermost surface of the world. On the other hand, it expands limitlessly *ad extra* as far as it draws back from the world to the *infinitum*.[40] Among the many implications that were carried by this new thesis was the existence of an actual infinite.[41] Even though Beni praised Plato for having admitted the possibility of an extra cosmic void space that could contain matter – thus agreeing with the Christian theologians – he openly refused the hypothesis that such infinite extra-cosmic void space could actually exist.[42] Beni's geocentric universe indeed is still finite and circular-shaped[43] and it maintains other features of the Platonic

ita, si verae tamen sint omnes quas referunt apparentiae, et non sint instrumentorum errata (quod non pauci ex ipsamet Astronomiae Schola, contendunt) interdum velocius alias tardius incedere aut regredi, stare loco, attolli, demitti videantur" (Patrizi, *Nova*, IV.12, 91va).

39 On Patrizi's concept of space see Edward Grant, *Much Ado about Nothing. Theories of space and vacuum from the Middle Ages to the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1981,) 199-206. Maria Muccillo "La prima creatura: la concezione patriziana dello spazio fisico e le sue fonti". *Accademia* 13 (2011).

40 Patrizi, *Nova*, IV.1, here 64ra: "Nos alia ingredientes via, dicimus, spacium quod est extra mundum, et finitum esse, et infinitum. Finitum quidem ea parte, qua mundi extimam superficiem contingit. Non quidem proprio, et naturali fine suo, sed mundi terminis. Qua vero digreditur a mundo, ab eoque procul abit, in infinitum transit". See also IV.8, for example, 83vb; IV.9, for example, 85va; IV.14, 96vb.

41 Patrizi, *Nova*, IV.8, here 82vb: "Inferamus ergo nos, quia in universitate constrarietas finiti, infiniti conceditur, eam ex aequo, vel actu, vel potentia, reperiri. Atque ita si finitum sit potentia, etiam infinitum erit, potentia. Si vero alterum actu sit finitum, etiam alterum, actu sit infinitum".

42 Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 2, bk. 7, ASV, ABII, ms. 99, fol. 51v-56r.

43 Beni treated the question about the sphericity of the world diffusely and admitted just the foundation of the metaphysical arguments developed by Plato in favour of the sphericity of the cosmos, while he rejected the decisiveness of the Aristotelian ones. Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 2, bk. 7, ASV, ABII, ms. 99, fol. 78r-88v. Patrizi had casted some doubt on the cogency of the arguments in favour of the sphericity of the heavens ("Nullae sunt ergo et Astronomorum et philosophorum rationes, quibus caeli rotunditas adstruebatur. Caelum igitur nostris demon-

cosmos, delineated in the *Timaeus*, such as the material uniformity. The world described by Beni, unlike the Aristotelian, is not bipartite. On the contrary, it is materially homogeneous being wholly filled with the four elements (fire, air, water and earth) and mainly with the purest fire– he fiercely rejected the existence of the quintessence or ether, since for him it was introduced by Aristotle to make his opinion of an eternal world convincing and to ground the idea of celestial incorruptibility. Following on the footsteps of Plato, Beni divided the celestial region in eight orbs, thus excluding the empyrean (and the crystalline) heaven from his Platonic-oriented cosmology, since he considered this invisible heaven an invention that was elaborated by the Scholastic theologians on the basis of biblical exegesis. However, in *Il Goffredo*,[44] his commentary on Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* that was edited in 1616 but written some years before, Beni allowed the existence of this ninth orb, but only on theological and biblical basis. He pointed out that the Empyrean Heaven "non dalla Filosofia ci viene scoperto e descritto", since it is located above the sensible world and therefore cannot be grasped sensibly nor rationally. It does not seem unlikely that this reference to the impossibility of a philosophical explanation of the Empyrean could be directed against Patrizi, who had treated the *mundum empyreum* diffusely in his *Nova*.[45] In the eight celestial spheres or orbs, according to Beni, are embedded the fixed and wandering stars. One of the original features of Patrizi, expressed both in his letter of the 26th of June 1572 to Telesius[46] as well

strationibus nullo modo aut est, aut dici potest sphaericum"), while acknowledging the validity of the reasons against its angularity: see Patrizi, *Nova*, IV.10.

44 *Paolo Beni, Il Goffredo ovvero Gerusalemme liberata del Tasso col commento di P. B.* (Padova: per Francesco Bolzetta, 1616).

45 Patrizi, *Nova*, IV.1-2, 7-9.

46 In this letter to Telesius, known as *Objections to Telesio*, Patrizi rejects the idea that the stars are fixed in the heavens: "From the same [sense perceptions] it may also be concluded that the stars are not implanted and fixed in that body [of the heavens], as you think, together with Aristotle and many others [...] If it is more appropriate to the stars' excellence and is not in disagreement with your own assumptions, why do you, like Aristotle, assert that the stars

as in the *Pancosmia*,[47] concerned the motion of the stars. Patrizi excluded that the stars are bound to the spheres as if they were *knots in the sky*, and claimed that they are rather living creatures that thanks to their *animus* fly within a fluid heaven. And, as a consequence, in his system there was no need for the physical celestial spheres that move the stars.[48] In his commentary, Beni is ambiguous on the nature of the orbs and on the cause of the motion of the stars mainly because, as an interpreter, he must only explain the real doctrine of Plato, limiting his own judgments. And, according to Beni, Plato thought that the wandering stars, these celestial animals having souls, are fixed and fastened in solid orbs. Thus, in a strict Timaic cosmology there is no room for Patrizi's innovations. Nevertheless, sometimes Beni lets his exegetical proposal down and, while providing his opinions, he often took another route than that of Plato. It

are knots in the sky, rather than living creatures in the sky, in agreement with the Chaldeans, Assyrians, Egyptians, Pythagoras, Plato, and his whole school?" (English transl. by Edward Rosen, "Francesco Patrizi and the celestial spheres," *Physis* 26/3 (1984): 306-307). In this article, Rosen criticizes Rossi's claim that in the *Objections to Telesio* "Patrizi giunse a negare l'esistenza fisica delle sfere e ad affermare il carettere fluido del cielo" (Rossi, "La negazione delle sfere," 422-423), since "the physical existence of spheres in the heavens was neither asserted nor implied by Telesio in this passage [...], on which Patrizi commented. He had no occasion 'to deny the physical existence of the spheres', nor did he do so" (307). On the contrary, in his letters to Tarquinia Molza Porrina of 1577-78 that contain cosmological "lessons" to the lady, Patrizi clearly admitted the existence of 14 solid spheres; see Francesco Patrizi, *Lettere ed opuscoli inediti*, ed. Danilo Aguzzi Barbagli (Firenze: nella sede dell' Istituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento, 1975), 15-20.

47 Patrizi, *Nova*, IV.12, esp. 91va-92ra; IV.17.

48 Patrizi, *Nova*, IV.12, 90rb-92ra. On the explicit denial of the celestial spheres by Patrizi there is no agreement between scholars. On the one hand, Rossi claims that Patrizi openly rejected the existence of the physical spheres in his *Objections* as well as in the passage of the *Nova* at stake (Rossi, "La negazione delle sfere," 405). On the other hand, Rosen affirms that in these passages Patrizi does not explicitly deny the physical existence of the celestial spheres, as attributed to Patrizi by Rossi, "but it [*scil*. the denial] is implied by Patrizi's insistence that the heavenly bodies are alive and self-moving. Nearly two decades earlier Patrizi had emphasized that belief in his *Objections to Telesio*" ((Rosen, "Francesco Patrizi," 319). Prof. Muccillo draw my attention on a passage from the *Pampsychia* that seems to deny the existence of the celestial spheres: "Itaque dicamus, non solum astra et sphaeras (si modo sphaerae ullae in coelo sunt) et coelum totum esse animatum, non Angelis, qui Mentes sunt, sed animis" (Patrizi, *Nova* III.4, 55va).

happens in some passages of his commentary, in which the former Jesuit seems to have accepted a conception of the orbs as the path covered by the planet in their motion, rather than a physical interpretation of the orbs as real solid spheres.[49] And by analysing the long-standing question whether the stars move by their own power, as testified by our senses, or are carried by their respective orbs, Beni betrays his real viewpoint when he questions the real existence of orbs on the basis of the lack of empirical proofs that can testify to their existence.[50] In many other passages, he admits that the stars, being celestial animals, have their own souls or assisting forms that willingly move their bodies. And they move as servant and ministers of God's decrees.[51] Since the problem of the animation of the heavens was particularly under investigation in his age, Beni specifies that the moving souls are *formae assistentes*,[52] because if they were informing souls, this conception would run into animism and worship of the stars,[53] as underlined even by De Lugo at the end of

49 Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 2, bk. 9, ASV, ABII, ms. 100, fol. 313v.

50 Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 2, bk. 7, ASV, ABII, ms. 99, fol. 127v: "Tum verum tertiam <dubitationem motam>, qua motus stellis tribuitur: quasi vero per se illae tranent corpus aut intervallum, non ferantur in globis: globi contra, si qui sunt, immobiles perseverent. Id quod eo libentius faciam, quod et istarum tractatio quaestionum proprium opportunissimumque habent locum".

51 Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 2, bk. 9, ASV, ABII, ms. 100, fol. 238r-240r: "Tametsi quoniam nos intelligentias quoque sive beatas mentes orbibus movendis adhibemus, quae pro voluntate, non casu tamen ac temere, orbes impellunt, nihil est fortasse quod rem istam quasi ad calculum revocare moliantur. Nam istius varietatis causam in distantiam referri, et tamen intelligentiis etiam id acceptum referre quae pro arbitratu moveant, nihil prohibet: neutra enim ratio alteram destruit, sed cohaere inter se optime possunt [...] Ex quo sane fieret ut Astra illa essent Formae sive Animae impellentes Coelum, ita tamen ut singula singulos cierent orbes: atque id sane non tam naturaliter (quanquam naturaliter etiam, qua id opponitur violento) quam consilio et ad voluntatem, perinde ac servus sive administer Domini peragit mandata".

52 Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 2, bk. 9, ASV, ABII, ms. 100, fol. 440r: "Cum tamen intelligentia, quippe quae est propria forma assistens sui orbis (quicquid dicerent Peripatetici, qui in extimo fere puncto collocant Orientis aut eius pariis unde inchoatur motus) intrinsece applicet virtutem orbi, ac propterea citra omnem violentiam efficiat motum, ut iam antea explicavi".

53 Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 2, bk. 7, ASV, ABII, ms. 99, fol. 14v-15r: "Platonis ratiocinatio qua ostendebat Mundum conditum esse ad exemplum generalis animantis, artificiosa quidem

the 17th book ("On the motion of the stars") of the *Pancosmia* to correct Patrizi's position.[54] Thus, according to Beni himself, the stars move thanks to their souls, and they move in circular orbs around the centre of the universe, the earth, which is immobile. Beni refuses any kind of motion of the earth, which does not move in the heavens, similarly to the other planets (as Copernicus had said), nor rotates daily around his axis from west to east, as admitted, among others, by Patrizi.[55]

The prisca theologia and the Christian Theology: did Plato foresee the Trinitarian mystery?

The impending, but invisible presence of Patrizi could even account for some parts of the *In Platonis Timaeum* that, otherwise, would seem completely out of place in the matter at hand. As it happens when, after a cosmological discussion, Beni closes his exposition by forewarning that when Plato mentions the 'Verb' in his *Timaeus* he does not intend to refer to the Christian 'Verb' nor to the Holy Trinity, as some people had interpreted it. Similarly, whenever Plato qualifies the creator (*Opifex*)

videri possit, atque ad vulgatam illam antiquorum sententiam accomodata qua Mundum nescio quo pacto animal quoddam esse dictitabant: at vera, cum interim omnino sumat Mundum hunc esse animal, Christianisque auribus digna nullo modo sit: nisi tamen assistentem tantum esse pugnes apud Platonem, quod esset longe tolerabilius: cum interim a caelestis corporis informatione divulsa beatae illius Mentis substantia, nullo modo sit: nulla hinc Idolatriae obiiceretur occasio. Quin ubi de re potius quam de nomine disputetur, cum patribus multis Theologisque rationibus consentiret: et cum ea inprimis quae ex caelestis motus cessatione ducitur. Nam cum quiescere debeat tandem aliquando caelum, atque in sempiternum quiescere; si ab interna forma potius quam externa et intelligentia moveatur in praesentia, aeterna illa quies esset caelo contra naturam et violenta".

54 Patrizi, *Nova*, IV.17, 105r. See also Francesco Patrizi, "Emendatio in libros suos Novae Philosophiae, a cura di Paul Oskar Kristeller," *Rinascimento* s. 2, 10 (1970): 218.

55 On the earth's rotation around its axis see Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 2, bk. 9, ASV, ABII, ms. 100, fol. 303r. For Patrizi see *Nova*, IV.17, 103rb-104rb; IV.31 and "Emendatio": 218: "Quod terra revolvatur: multis rationibus et authoritatibus philosophicis id tenui. Non tamen dixi: eam de medio suo et naturali loco exire. Et D. Basilius eam stare dicit, si e suo loco non exit. Et ita salvantur omnes loci ex sacris scripturis contra me adducti. Delebo tamen si iubetis".

as supreme goodness and *optima causa* as well as when he affirms that the creator produces everything according to his will and decision (or *logos*), we should bear in mind, says Beni, that Plato often uses these words indiscriminately and not to refer to the Persons of the Trinity and to their properties. This short remark becomes less odd if it is viewed in connection with the lengthened treatment of the supposed Platonic Trinity, which the former Jesuit expounds in the second as well as in the third books of the second decade, where the literal exposition of the dialogue leaves room to the analysis of the theologies of Plato and Aristotle. In these books, even though he is never directly named, Patrizi seems to be the main polemical target of Beni, along with Proclus and the Ancient Neo-Platonists.[56]

Thus, the dumb presence of Patrizi across those volumes of the *In Platonis Timaeum* could even explain why Beni talked out, for dozens of pages, some issues that do not have a primary importance in the framework of Plato's dialogue – as is the case with the in-depth discussion of the hidden presence of the Trinitarian doctrine in the writings of Plato. Beni claims that many authors, pagan and Christian, acknowledged that Plato had an indirect knowledge of the Triune God and that he hid the Trinitarian mystery under the veil of metaphors, which, therefore should be uncovered through a careful textual reading. For Beni, however, this claim is not unquestionable. What's more, it raises justifiable doubts. According to the former Jesuit, some of the Trinitarian exegesis of the Neo-Platonists not only contradict those Doctors of the Church who asserted the impossibility of a natural knowledge of the Triune God, but

[56] Especially in the 2nd book, Beni criticizes some ideas uphold by Agostinus Steuchus in his *De Perenni Philosophia* (for example in Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 2, bk. 2, 194). His criticism, however, is always direct and *ad personam* – Beni openly names his fellow citizen and oftes gives precise bibliographical references to his *De Perenni Philosophia* - and is delimited to some, particular points. For the rest, Steuchus is referred to as a trustworthy author. On the contrary, Beni's critique of Patrizi is never direct and personal. The former Jesuit indeed either expresses his critical remarks referring to anonymous *aliqui*, or attacks Proclus and Damascius, which he identified as the main sources of Patrizi's philosophy.

can also occasion heresies such as the Aryanism and the Donatism.[57] In order to prove or disprove the presence of the Trinity in Plato's works, Beni takes as his starting point what all Neo-Platonists have acknowledged about it, viz. that the Platonic Triad is composed of Supreme Good, Mind, also called Verb or Son of the Good, and Soul.[58] This conception, Beni claims, was not elaborated by Plato himself who, being a ring in the chain of the *prisca sapientia* – the perennial wisdom that began with Hermes Trismegistus – inherited the Trinitarian idea from his predecessors.[59] Thus, Beni's inquiry goes back to the sources of this doctrine and retraces the steps by which it was formed: from the Egyptian wise Hermes[60] and the Chaldean Zoroaster to the Greek Orpheus,[61] whose Trinity was covered under the poetic veil of the Three Kings (Phanes, Uranus, Chronos) and

57 Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 2, bk. 2, 175-179.

58 Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 2, bk. 2, 179: "Nimirum Platonem omnino voluisse πρῶτον istud, δευτέρον καί τρίτον, esse summum Bonum, Mentem et Animam: quorum primum tandem unitas sit tum omnis originis expers: tum Idearum fons, tum denique originis ac productionis origo et causa: sigillatimque secundi, hoc est Mentis, sit Pater, idque ab omni aeternitate. Secundum vero a patre profectum sit ac genitum: sitque patris intellectus seu Mens, quam (ut suis quaeque locis docebo) et Verbum et Boni filium, et patris sapientiam ac δύναμιν, et minorum Deorum ac totius denique Universitatis authorem nuncupavit. Tertium quod Mundum (si Platonicis credimus) informet, temperetque ea omnia quae in generatione versantur".

59 On the *prisca sapientia* see Charles B. Schmitt, "Perennial Philosophy: From Agostino Steuco to Leibniz," *Journal of the history of ideas* 27 (1966); Maria Muccillo, *Platonismo, Ermetismo e "Prisca Theologia". Ricerche di storiografia filosofica rinascimentale* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1996); Maria Muccill., "Platonic philosophy and Orthodoxy: Value and Disvalue of the Platonic Tradition in the late Renaissance" (paper presented at the international conference *"The exigencies of the Tradition"*, Berlin, June 11-12); Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, *Philosophia perennis. Historical Outlines of Western Spirituality in Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern Thought* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2004).

60 Beni pieces together the passages of Hermes' *Pomander* and *Asclepius* that seem to describe the Triune God, analysing them, raising and, then, solving some doubts on the pretended similitude of Trismegistus' doctrine to the Threeteism. The textual analysis of the Hermetic dialogues gives the impression to rely heavily on Patrizi's *Panarchia*, bk. 9, 18vb.

61 Beni's treatment of Orpheus' Trinitarian doctrine seems to depend more on Steuchus (*De perenni philosophia* in *Opera Omnia, per tres tomos collocata* (Parisiis: apud Michaelem Somnium, 1577-1578,) bk. 1, ch. 28, 28-30), than on Patrizi, *Panarchia*, bk. 9, 19va.

was well known among the Pythagoreans and to Plato.[62] Despite the general agreement among Platonists on the prefiguration of the Holy Trinity in Plato's writings ("Trinitatem tamen a Platone adumbratam atque retentam esse affirmare non dubitarunt"), however, Beni refuses the pretended presence of a Triune God in the Platonic philosophy, since he could not find any valid, certain support in the texts.[63] For him, the arguments elaborated by Neo-Platonists, such as Proclus and Damascius, were not convincing and their exegesis went far beyond the original intentions of Plato, reading in his writings – such as the *Philebo*, *Sophist*,

62 We can resume Beni's history of the Trinitarian conceptions within the *prisca sapientia* using his own words in the *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 2, bk. 2, 189: "Ponebant primo loco Chaldaei et Aegyptii τὸ ἀγαθόν, ipsum Bonum: posuit [Epist. 2 l. 6 de Rep. et in Philebo] et hoc primo loco Plato. Idem Bonum appellabant illi nomine Patris: appellat et Plato. Constituebant illi secundo loco Noῦν, hoc est Intellectum (Mentem appellavimus non passim, ut plerique faciunt, latinitatis causa) quem et filium nuncupabant: constituit et Plato. Huic filio dabant imperium ac dominatum in Universitatem, quam ab eodem consitutam esse asserebant: idem fecit et Plato, qui filium appellavit Imperatorem et causam Mundi. Proferebant Trismegistus et Pythagorici post hanc Mentem aliam Mentem, quae tertium obtineret locum, et procreatrix esse atque effectrix: eandemque Regiam appellabant. Hanc tertio quoque loco visus est statuere Plato dum tres illos sive Reges, sive intellectus Mentesve proferret. Denique visi sunt interdum illi, sed imprimis Trismegistus, cum secunda tertiam, cum prima secundam miro quodam modo copulare: immo eas omnes unius plane eiusdemque naturae atque essentiae efficere. Idem visus est, licet paulo obscurius, fecisse Plato, quemadmodum fuse docuimus. Ut propterea iure optimo nos hac in re ad priscos istos sapientes tota revocarit. Hi igitur sunt prisci illi sapientes a quibus significat Plato se mysterium illud hausisse".

63 Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 2, bk. 2, 201: "Neque tot tantorumque Platonicorum consensus magnam authoritatem habet ad Trinitatem in Platone retinendam: neque ullus Platonis locus in Platone ipso reperitur unde perspicuum argumentum ullum ac ratio ad eandem confirmandam duci possit". The same idea is found also in the 3rd book of the 2nd decade, in which, dealing with Aristotle's Theology, Beni concisely faces the question concerning Plato's Trinity: Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 2, bk. 3, ASV, ABII, ms. 97, fol. 65v : "Trinitatis cognitionem ne Platoni quidem (praesertim si Timaeum spectemus) ullo modo concedendum esse". Furthermore, Beni rejects any Trinitarian exegesis of the *Timaeus, Ibid.*, fol. 66r: "Verissime enim dici potest in Timaeo (nisi tamen novos gryphos Timaeo affingere ac per vim suam sententiam trahere illum velint isti) non modo Platonicae istius Trinitatis vestigium extare nullum, verum etiam eam cum eodem Timaeo toto pugnare".

Timaeus, *Phaedo*, *Laws* and *Republic* (book s 6 and 7) – things that, instead, were not written there.[64]

Beni's attitude toward the tradition of the *prisca philosophia* and its importance clearly emerge from these texts. He would never agree with the words that Patrizi had written in his dedicatory letter of the *Nova* to Gregory XIV, that is, that the *Pomander* grasps the creation of the world and of the human being, similarly to Moses, and, moreover, that it explains fully the Trinitarian mystery better than Moses does.[65] Beni would also not accept that the philosophical truths that Plato had received

64 Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 2, bk. 2, 200-201: "Fieret ut magna pars Plotini, Procli, Damascii aliorumque Platonicorum Theologiae, quae tota fere in triplici isto divinarum naturarum causarumve gradu nititur et occupatur, rueret et evanesceret: siquidem dum isti ex triplici isto gradu Patrem, Mentem, et Mundi Animam eliciunt, atque hinc sexcenta deinde mysteria illa sua atque adeo commenta proferunt, vanissimis initiis fundamentisque niterentur [...] haudquaquam liceret tres illas divinas sive hypostases sive causas aut Deos ex Anima, Mente et Bono interim constituere: nam divina illa sive Regia Mens est idem plane cum Bono sive Patre, quemadmodum iam antea docui. Quod si ex nostratibus Patres non pauci iique sapientia et authoritate clarissimi in eandem sententiam discedere visi sunt; profecto ii non authores fuerunt huius sententiae, sed priscis illis Platonicis fidem interim habentes, eam interdum secuti sunt. Cum enim tres illas divinas causas proferrent Platonici, atque in hoc decreto tanquam in Palladis templo gloriarentur, nostri ad Trinitatis mysterium atque adeo rem Christianam ethnicis quibuscum agebant, probabiliorem efficiendam, idem dogma usurparunt: idque eo plane more quo alia Platonicorum dogmata multa amplecti visi sunt, apud authorem fidem relinquentes". The misleading and erroneous idea of a divine origin of Plato's wisdom has to be traced back to his followers like Amelius, Plotinus and Proclus, who presented the Trinitarian mystery as a Platonic conception: *Ibid.*, 196 "Quid si tripartita ista sive personarum, sive mentium, sive Regum, sive causarum distributio, fuerit ab ispis Platonicis excogitata: ac non secus atque alia pleraque eiusdem generis mysteria ab Ethnicis illis Platoni temere afficta?". Because of their ignorance and, what is even worse, motivated by their aversion to Christianity, these Platonists explained the supposed Platonic Trinity wrongly, if not even heterodoxly: *Ibid.*, 190: "Denique Platonici isti qui nobis [*scil.* Christianis] adversari videntur, non sibi constant quin etiam quantum ex eorum sive monumentis sive fragmentis intelligere licet, multa hac in re per inconsiderantiam, multa etiam in fidei nostrae invidiam, pleraque etiam superstitiose protulerunt". Beni's opinion seems to have a positive counterbalance in Patrizi, *Nova* II.9, 19ra-rb.

65 Patrizi, *Nova*, n.n.: "Poemander creationem mundi, et hominis, cum Mosaica fere eandem complectitur. Et Trinitatis mysterium longe apertius, quam Moses ipse, enarrat"; and also *Id.*, *Nova*, II.9, esp. 18vb-19vb, here 19vb: "Sed illud maxime omnium, videtur admirandum, quod ante Christi adventum, ante Prophetas, ante Mosem, tam clare in Aegypto atque Chaldaea, dogma hoc de Trinitate palam fuerit".

from Egyptians wises, and mainly from Hermes Trismegistus, were divinely inspired, since for Beni the wisdom that Plato inherited from his Egyptian and Greek predecessors does not have to be mixed with the Christian theology.[66] In these same books, the divergent attitudes of Beni and Patrizi towards Proclus and Damascius become clear. In Patrizi's thought these two Ancient Neo-Platonists had a prominent role. Beni instead identified them as the initiators of the exegetical trend that arrived until modern Platonists of his age and was progressively disclosing his peril. Besides, Proclus was not even better as a philosopher than as a commentator of Plato. For Beni the Proclian philosophy does not deserve the name of philosophy since it is not rational, but it is rather a mixture of dreams and hallucinations. So that the ancient philosopher was "melior mathematicus quam Platonicus (quod Patritii pace dimeri) [...] ita ut inter Mathematicos nobilis ei fortasse debeatur locus, mediocris vel potius humilis et obscurus inter Platonicos".[67] Damscius was a better philosopher than Proclus, however, he conceded too much to non rational explanations and argumentations.[68]

66 Patrizi, *Nova* II.9, 19rb. For Beni, the *prisca sapientia* is a natural knowledge, thus it has solely a philosophical value: Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 1, bk. 10, 697 :"Hic [*scil*. Moyses] enim Dei afflatu excitatus, ille [*scil*. Plato] humanis persuasionibus imbutus, ad Universitatis procreationem narrandam accessit. Ex quo etiam est consequutum, ut purissimam alter, alter non sine coeno hauserit veritatem. Quanquam non est negandum Moysem hominum quoque testimoniis de Mundo condito fuisse edoctum [...] Haec quoque testimonia [...] non tam humanum quam divinum eiusdem Mosaicae historiae veritati pondus authoritatemque tribuere debent".

67 Beni, *Beniana*, fol. 67r. Beni expressed this opinion on Proclus in several works, such as his unfinished Latin translation of Proclus' *Commentary on Plato's Timaeum* (ASV, ABII, ms. 110 [and ms. 111], bk. 1, fol. 1r-2v and fol. 19v), the *Curriculum Platonicum*, ASV, ABII, ms. 116, fol. 145r; and the whole book 2 of the 2nd decade (Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*).

68 Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 2, bk. 3, ASV, ABII, ms. 97, fol. 12v-13r: "Damascius in primis in libro quem scripsit περί των πρώτων αρχών, ubi a primo omnium principio incipiens; quod unicum et supra omnia esse disputat, de Deo non Unico solum, sed et Trino, deque divinis ordinibus verba facit: ac totam Platonis Theologiam Parmenidi inhaerens complectitur. Sed neque hanc inire rationem placet: nam praeterquamquod immensum nobis pelagus adeundum esset, in quo cum Platonis decretis Aegyptiorum, Chaldaeorumque Theologia, ne dicam Chimaere plerumque ac superstitiosissima commenta, permixta sunt; illud solemne habent isti [*scil.*

We could ask why, in the second volume of decade 2, Beni touches upon the controversial interpretations of the theology of Plato and, more generally, of the *prisca theologia*, as a prefiguration of the Christian doctrines, attempting to show the groundlessness of those readings that tracked down the Christian Trinity to Plato and to the ancient tradition of the *prisca sapientia.* If we read those pages in the light of the historical and cultural context in which they were written, that is, the end of the 16th century, we might interpret them as Beni's effort to save Plato from his ban out from the *Respublica Christiana*. Beni was aware of the dangers involved in any attempt to read the inner articulations of the Trinity on the basis of Platonic principles.[69] And more generally, he was conscious of the risks carried out by the tradition of the *prisca theologia* that, being

Proclus et Damascius], ut nova eaque ad speciem admirabilia, pronuncient multa: rationibus autem confirment paucissima".

69 Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 2, bk. 2, 178-179: " (*Dubium VI*) Quid quod Platonici aperte docent tria distincta numina, sive tres distinctos Deos, eosque longe inter se authoritate ac divinitate dissitos imparesque tribus istis Regibus designari? Certe hoc inter caeteros Porphyrius et Iamblichus tradunt, Augustino ipso (De Civ. Dei 10-11), qui horum monumenta diligenter pervolutavit, teste: hoc Plotinus in libro quem de tribus praecipuis essentiis scripsit (Est lib. 1 Enn. 5): hoc Proclus cum alibi saepe, tum maxime in sua Theologia, hoc, si quis recte (lib. 2 in illud opificem quidem et patrem etc) reputet, Numenius, Harpocratius, Amelius, Theodorus, et (quod longe deterius est) Philoponus, qui Christianus esset. Nam ut de illis taceam, quorum opinio aperta est apud Proclum; is profecto (si Nicephoro credimus [l. 18 c. 47]) qui diceret Patris, Filii et Spiritus sancti non esse unam essentiam atque naturam nisi specie, ac propterea tres Deos specie distinctos Tredeitarum haeresim peperit, ex Platone, quod viri [Genebr. l. 1 de Trinit] docti observarunt, hausit errorem suum. Quid multa? An non Cyrillus [l. 1 contra Iul. ad finem] hac una de causa Platonem appellat Arrianorum Patronum? Scholasticorum vero Theologorum vertex Beatus Thomas [Ia q. 32 a. 1 ad 1] cur obsecro Originem hac in re Arriumque ipsum damnat nisi quod Platonicorum errorem secuti sint? [...] (*Dubium VII*) Huc accedit quod si Spiritum Sanctum quoquo modo a Platone adumbratum fuisse dicamus, hunc certe Mundi animam adumbratam esse dicendum est: nam praeterquam quod Platonici ferme omnes τρίτον illud, Mundi Animam esse affirmant; quam post Bonum et Mentem collocant; Plato ipse in Philebo ac VI de Rep. animae tertium locum attribuit, eam post Patrem ac Mentem seu Bonum ac Mentem collocans. Quod si ita est, ne tibi Plato instar erit Donati illius impiissimi, quem scribit Augustinus Filium Patre minorem, minorem item Filio Spiritum sanctum diiudicasse. Nam Mundi animam in Timaeo et generat, et Mundo informando atque animando adhibet, ac summatim arctam ei cum nostris animis affinitatem intercedere affirmat (in eodem enim cratere utrasque temperat) quae de Spiritu sancto nefas est suspicari". The 6th doubt seems directed against Patrizi, *Nova*, II.9, 19vb.

based on a unique nucleus of truth for theology and philosophy, had a philosophical as well as a theological value. From the Platonic philosophy and from its interpretation, as elaborated by modern Platonists, arose a multiplicity of heresies and heterodox doctrines[70] that led the intellectuals of the Counter-Reform and the ecclesiastical elite to look on Platonism and the *prisca theologia*. In Beni's mind, the solution avoid these dangers was to cut their roots by denying the direct knowledge of the Mosaic writings by Plato and by limiting the *prisca theologia* to the boundaries of human knowledge. Beni's *prisca sapientia* did not allow for an attribution of the revelated doctrines to pagan authors and, vice versa, did not legitimate any use of Plato and of the exponent of this ancient wisdom in theology.[71] The former Jesuit hoped that, by detheologizating Plato, all problems about his orthodoxy that originated from the previous (theological) interpretations would have been overcome.

70 See Firpo, *Filosofia italiana*; Delio Cantimori, *Eretici italiani del Cinquecento* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1967); Rotondò, "Cultura umanistica".

71 Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum*, dec. 2, bk. 2, 172-174: "Filius [*scil.* Mens: nam Mundi opificem apud Platonem esse Mentem ipsumque Filium cum ex dictis interim constat: idque Platonicis mira consensione testantibus] ex Platone nullo modo est Patri inferior: idque tametsi Filium a Patre originem habere profiteatur [...] Sed et hoc testatus est Constantinus Imperator his verbis *Philosophorum mitissimus Plato qui [...] docuit recte primum Deum arbitratus est esse qui supra naturam sive essentiam sit, subiunxit autem huic et secundum; et duas substantias ita numero distinxit ut una sit utriusque perfectio: et ut essentia secundi Dei existentiam habeat ex primo, ipse enim est opifex et administrator Universi huius summus, qui vero secundum hunc iussionum eius administer est, causam constitutionis rerum universarum in illum refert. Unum itaque fuerit iuxta rationem exactam omnium curam gerens, eisque prospiciens Deus Verbum quod exornat omnia. Verbum autem ipsum Deus existens, Dei quoque filius est.* Ita Constantinus: qui tamen hac in re, quoniam Platonis sententiam cum Christiana coniungit, caute (quanquam hanc ego culpam non tam in Constantinum reiicio, quam in Eusebium Caesariensem: qui Arrianismo foedavit locum) non secus atque Origenes etiam legendus est. Atque haec nostri. Quibuscum iungi possunt Psellus, Chalcidius, atque Gemistius. Ut interim omittam Nicephorum Calistum, Marsilium Ficinum [in arg. 6 de Rep.], Coelium Rhodiginum, Bessarionem Cardinalem, Ludovicum Vives, Augustinum Steuchum, aliosque recentiores multos ex variis scriptorum classibus: qui omnes hanc habuerunt de Platone sententiam".

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The New Geometry of Francesco Patrizi

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Abstract The present paper deals with a rather peculiar and, at any rate, not too known aspect of Patrizi's thought, his New Geometry. My aim consists in determining the place of the New Geometry within Patrizi's philosophy and in pinning down conditions of intelligibility of the New Geometry as a science – despite its strange, ungeometrical, even contradictory nature. First, I consider Patrizi's views, resulting from his thorough criticisms of Aristotelianism, on the epistemological status of geometrical entities and its compatibility with the ideal of scientific knowledge. It is shown that the method of science according to Patrizi must be, precisely, the geometrical one. The second part of the paper deals with Patrizi's criticism of Aristotelian concept of continuum and its most striking feature with respect to geometry: the rejection of infinite divisibility of a geometrical quantity. Hence it follows Patrizi's finitism and actualism which determine in a decisive manner the "space and shape of Patrizi's geometry", the matter to which the third part of the paper is dedicated. A few remarks on Patrizi's (non)geometry and its paradoxical contribution to the future geometrization of nature are added as a conclusion.

Keywords Geometry, continuum, method, space, point, minimum, maximum.

"I do not recall having seen a demonstrating philosopher of the last century – except for Tartaglia who did something about movement, Cardano about proportions, and Franciscus Patritius, who was a man of beautiful ideas, but lacking the lights necessary for carrying them out. He wanted to redress the geometers' modes of proving, having noticed that something was missing in them; and he wanted to do the same in metaphysics, but he did not have enough energy for that; the preface to his New Geometry, dedicated to the Duke of Ferrara, is admirable, but

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the content is deplorable." G. W. Leibniz, *Projet et essais pour avancer l'art d'inventer*, 1688-1690.[1]

Via regia

The geometry of Euclid's *Elements* resembled, for about two thousand years, a crystal tower of intellect above all the vicissitudes of nature and the circles fading away on the surface of opinions. The sovereignty, certainty and independence of the geometry seemed to witness a superior truth, an immutable source of the reality, as well as the power of mind to free itself from the outer world and to behold the invisible fount of things. Neither earthly authority nor possession might bend its givenness and inexorable requirements, still geometry rewarded with justice anyone who deserved it by sincere submission to its rules. Otherwise they must have rejected geometry as a whole for some reason making more or less a virtue of necessity. Accordingly, it used to be called "The Queen of the Sciences", because it is *eminenter αυτάρκης*: independent and autonomous, implicating the inner speech of an unutterable all-ruling principle. That's why, to paraphrase a legend, Euclid replied to King Ptolemy that there was no royal road to geometry, for geometry holds the scales even and does not recede before insignia of worldly power. What's more, we can say that the royal road was geometry itself: the inner path of thought preparing a mind capable of self-government, through a regal effort yet having no claim for an earthly gain whatsoever, to a kind of exoneration. In this way geometry led, or helped to lead, by sure and precise steps

[1] « la preface est admirable de sa *Nouvelle Geometrie* dediée au Duc de Ferrare, mais le dedans fait pitié. » A VI, 4A, 966; the English translation of the *Projet et essais* to be found in G. W. Leibniz, *The Art of Controversies*, trans. by M. Dascal et all. (Berlin: Springer, 2006), 283. Among the works of eminent thinkers and mathematicians, this reference to the *Nuova geometria* is as unique as accurate. For leibnizian views on Patrizi's (pseudo-)Platonism, and the Renaissance Platonism in general, see A II, 1A, 86 and A VI, 4A, 479; for discussion, see G. M. Ross, "Leibniz and Renaissance Neoplatonism," in *Leibniz et la Renaissance*, ed. A. Heinekamp (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1983), 125–134 and J. Makovský, "Leibniz: mystika rozumu I," *Studia Comeniana et Historica 42* n°87–88 (2012): 126–143.

of understanding to a higher learning, a comprehension above all the exactness of analysis and finally towards an insight into the all ruling principle.

Scientia media

Geometry was traditionally regarded as *scientia media*, an intermediate and mediating science between physics and metaphysics or theology. Geometric entities (forms) according to Proclus' influential commentary to the *Elements* "imitate in their divided fashion the indivisible and in their multiform fashion the uniform patterns of being".[2] Therefore, on the level of knowledge they belong to understanding and surpass mere opinions about sensible things due to their purity and certainty. By virtue of being divisible, however, geometrical forms fall short of intellectual primary realities. It is in fact precisely to this ambiguous, borderline, connecting nature, that geometry owes its special and privileged position among all the sciences. Their history teaches us after all that geometry is affected by stimuli on the part of physics as well as that of metaphysics. On the other hand, it represents sort of a bridge or a vertical line between both realms of reality and due to its connecting nature enriches them mutually. Thus geometry constitutes a *continuum* of the thought of the entire reality because, we may say with Aristotle, the "things are *continuous* if their extremities are one". Hence the foundation of geometry consists in a certain conceptual tension between physical and metaphysical reality, between the changeable and the eternal, the visible and the invisible, the internal and the external.

Indeed, geometry is an example of science *par excellence* which develops by means of its deepening: rethinking its ontological presuppositions and consequences, justifying an appropriate geometrical method together with certainty of its conclusions, outlining new aims. Any renewal, that

[2] Proclus, *The Commentary on the First Book of Euclid's Elements*, trans. G. R. Morrow (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 4ss.

means an emendation of the geometry of *Elements* may therefore be considered as an undertaking of greatest difficulty because in a sense it presupposes picking up the elements of *Elements*. Or simply, as we have mentioned above, it presupposes a new insight into the physics and the metaphysics and a fundamental reformulation of the reality in order to make clear that which seems the most clear and obvious to everyone, i. e. geometrical axioms, suppositions and theorems. One could say that proving a thing that requires no proof is not worth of an effort even for three oboloi. Certainly, regarding from the high of the magnificent construction of the *Elements* the quest for axioms of axioms may seem so futile and senseless as the very crystal tower of geometry from the point of view of human things. But for the same reason it is obvious that this undertaking is the inner, royal road of geometrical thought itself. If we concede that the path to geometry *more geometrico* is one of the most difficult, it may be said on the other hand that it's the easiest way at the same time. For as long as it is presided by geometry the very consistency of geometry shows the way preceded by its own consequences and, in fact, does not allow any other.

Not always have efforts to reform geometry met both of these conditions. Indeed, this necessarily presupposes a meeting of a mathematical and metaphysical mind in a single person. That doesn't mean however that even a partial attempt taking wrong path for some reason would be completely worthless. To be sure, a clash with borders of geometry gives report on geometry. In addition to the fact that it breaks new ground for the thought, such attempts can be very precious for their points of departure. One of such precious starting points, in the face of indifferent majesty and rigorous beauty of ancient geometry, might consist just in introducing that question as an important one.

Starting point

In all the ambivalence aforesaid this is certainly the case of *Della nuova geometria*[3] by Frane Petrić alias Francesco Patrizi da Cherso. Everywhere the starting point is more important than the result it is necessary to reveal the initial grounds as well as the intrinsic obstacles to the journey. Therefore, my paper will concern the conditions (and ambitions) of Patrizi's geometry that are responsible for its peculiar, incongruous shape rather than the shape itself where except for a recapitulation is not much to say.[4] First of all, I'll try to give an account of Patrizi's, indeed, geometrical conception and method of science, as arising from his constant opposition to Aristotle's natural philosophy, and give some notes to the fundamental methodological importance of Patrizi's concept of space. Then, I will focus on Patrizi's criticism of the Aristotelian concept of continuum as the basis of Patrizi's rejection of infinite divisibility resulting in his actualism and finitism. And finally, I'll give, by means of the findings obtained above, a couple of points to review some of the most intriguing features of Patrizi's *New Geometry*.

I. The method of science and the nature of mathematics.

The spiritual climate of the XVI century in general may be characterized by a shift from the humanistic and rhetorical approach to philosophy and truth as arising out of speech towards the inquiry for the first notions and universal principles, and mainly by the quest for a precise method to discover the order of thought and nature. It is also the period of rereading

[3] F. Patricius, *Della nuova geometria ne' quali con mirabile ordine, e con dimostrazioni à marauiglia più facili, e più forti delle usate si vede che le Matematiche per uia regia, e più piana che da gli antichi fatto non si è, si possono trattare*, (Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini, 1587).

[4] That's in a sense what Leibniz says in the opening quotation. A good outline of the structure of *Della nuova geometria* can be found in T. De Vittori, "La nouvelle géométrie de Francesco Patrizi da Cherso," *HAL de Institut national des sciences mathématiques et de leurs interactions*. (Artois: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 2011), the date of access 5. 10. 2014, http://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/55/12/30/PDF/patrizi-HAL-v2.pdf.

Aristotle with contribution until then unknown ancient commentators of Aristotle's works as well as of their opposing views and, no doubt, the first one to mention in the field of mathematical sciences is Proclus with his commentary to the *Elements*, published in 1533. The question of the day, in the connection of Alessandro Piccolomini's *Questio de ceritudine mathematicarum* (1547), becomes that of nature and status of mathematical entities succeeded by the justification problem of the borderline between mathematics and natural philosophy. And due to Piccolomini's work, the emphasis of the discussion about validity of mathematical proofs shifts from logical aspects to ontological ones.[5]

It is well known that criticism and reviewing, *censura*, of Aristotle's (natural) philosophy represents practically the basis of Patrizi's thought and philosophy. The most startling *discordia* in Patrizi's eyes is Aristotle's inconsistency between the subject of science and the syllogistic method supposed to be its instrument. The science, according to Aristotle's own requirements, should be "a knowledge of universal", still, according to the same Aristotle, the science is gained through the abstraction from individuals as given in senses.[6] But in terms of Patrizi's essentially Platonic views this deprives the science of being universal and necessary because the concepts of science in fact occur in every mind in a contingent way – they are not more than mere *opinions*. This is the reason why the inductive, syllogistic method of *demonstratio* is to no avail. In order to be

[5] For a further introduction see G. Claessens, "Clavius, Proclus, and the limits of interpretation: snapshot-idealization *versus* projectionism," *History of Science 47* (2011): 318–323.

[6] "Nec vero videtur scientia Aristotelica sibi constare, quia universale collectum, quod scientia dicitur, non recipit eam conditionem, quam scientiae attribuit saepe: *Quod scientia quidem universalis est et pernecessaria, necessarium vero non contingit aliter habere*. Singularia autem et universale ex eis collectum nullam habet necessitatem." F. Patricius, *Discussionum peripateticarum. Tomus tertius*, trans. T. Ćepulić and M. Girardi-Karšulin, introduction M. Girardi-Karšulin (Zagreb: Institut za filozofiju, 2009), l. IV, 138 [317]. An exposition in contrast to the Platonic *divisio*, see M. Muccillo, "Il problema del metodo scientifico et la concezione della matematica in Francesco Patrizi," in *Verum et Factum. Beiträge zur Geistesgeschichte und Philosophie der Renaissance zum 60. Geburtstag von Stephan Otto*. T. Albertini, (hrsg.) (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1993), 464.

truly demonstrative it would have to come out of absolutely necessary, real and universal principles. Still none of Aristotle's *genera entis* meet such a requirement[7] and that's why according to Patrizi the Aristotelian means are inconsistent with their own goals and the syllogistic method cannot represent an instrument of any of sciences.

Also in Aristotle's thought mathematical entities enjoy the intermediate position between physics and theology.[8] Mathematics are regarded as science about quantity and objects of mathematics as unseparated, yet separable abstractions of matter (thus of movement) from the sensible entities. Not surprisingly, the nature as well as the subject accorded by Aristotle to mathematics is unacceptable for Patrizi. From his point of view, mathematics (as a science) cannot be defined as a science of quantity because quantity is but a category, *accidens*,[9] and not a substance standing between the nature and God.[10] Furthermore, according to Patrizi even Aristotle presupposes in fact an antecedent presence of mathematical entities in the matter, senses and lastly in fantasy.[11] But as long as they

7 "Non in primis illis entibus separatis, quae vel nullam habent causam, vel si habent ullam, ea non est per se ita nota, ut demonstrationis principium esse possit. Non in naturalibus, quae non necessaria entia sunt, sed ut plurimum evenientia nec universalia nec per se nota. Non in mathematicis, quae vel in anima vel extra etiam ponantur […]" *Disc. Per.*, t. III, l. IV, 140 [318].

8 *Met.* 1064 a30-35.

9 *Disc. Per.*, t. II, l. IV, 232 [223]. For a peculiar distinction made by Patrizi in the notion of *ousia*, see Ibid., 222–226 [221–222] and 242–246 [224–225].

10 "et si aliqua ratione scientia sit, medium hunc locum nequaquam occupabit; non enim est quantitas media duarum substantiarum. Et si quae mathematica circa substantiam versetur, ea fuit, uti vidimus, astrologia. At haec non immobilem substantiam meditatur, qualis ea, quae locis allatis media collocatur. Neque quantitas mobilis aut immobilis dici potest per se, nisi quatenus substantia cui inest, aut moveatur aut perstet. Non ergo mathematicae ulli immobilitas subiicitur, non ergo haecvii cum theologia communicat." Ibid., 238 [224]. Muccillo "Il problema del metodo scientifico," 465.

11 "Non enim a phantasmate, ideo nec a motu ea separat aut separare potest. Et si maxime separet, non tamen illis ea abstractio essentiam tribuit et multo minus substantiam per quas uti esse, ita etiam veritatis participia fiant. Non ergo abstractione mathematica essentiam acquirunt, aut veritatem. Non ergo quatenus abstracta scientiam sui efficient nec erunt inter scientias, nedum medio loco statuenda. Sed ut habent esse, ita etiam veritatis, ut essentiam

are abstracted, they don't stand but in thought, in an (individual) soul and they are not things, have no independent existence and are just like imaginations or even chimeras. The subject of mathematics therefore cannot be necessary and as such allows no science. Thus mathematical entities must precede natural beings, have an existence on their own, independent on any sensible realities.

It is therefore necessary, in the first place, to lay down an appropriate principle of the scientific method, a real premise involving the *knowledge* of thing (and thus allowing deduction of its properties),[12] not only a mere inductive presupposition – a principle which would impart the certainty of knowledge to all individual entities. Following Plato and Proclus, Patrizi naturally chooses *essential definition*, a statement of essential, necessary and universal properties of thing as such. But for Patrizi and a considerable part of tradition the essential definition is the very principle of geometrical method; and therefore the true science must be geometrical in its nature.[13] Patrizi's general structure of science thus consists in three levels or steps: first, it is necessary to pronounce the essential definition of the thing; then to demonstrate its essential properties; and finally, to "deduce effects from their causes".[14] Nevertheless, in order to spread the certainty of geometrical method to knowledge of non-necessary, created, contingent things of nature, in order to found science and discovery of the order of things, then the essential definition must express their

habent, habebunt quoque scientiam. At essentiam habent in physicis corporibus, in iis ergo scientiam acquirent; essentia autem eorum quantitas est." *Disc. Per.*, t. II, l. IV, 242 [225]

12 "Demonstratio syllogismus est ἐπιστημονικός, scire faciens. Scientiam facit, quando per causam inesse ostendit propriam passionem subiecto alicui. Definitio scientiam facit essentiae cuiusque rei. Utra dignitate praestantior, essentia ne an passio, cum illa per se, haec non nisi in illa existat?" *Disc. Per.*, t. III, l. IV, 142 [318]

13 B. Gerl, "'Rhetorica perfecta'. Francesco Patrizis Ideal einer geometrischen Rhetoric: ein Blick auf die Methodologie de 16. Jahrhunderts," *Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 6 (1988): 344.

14 "Scientia, namque triplex; prima, definitione essentiae rei, secunda demontratione proprietatum rei essentialium, tertia effectuum a suis causis deductione." Francesco Patrizi da Cherso, *Nova de universis philosophia*, (Ferrara: Apud Benedictum Mammarellum, 1591), *Pancosmia*, l. III, 69r.

reality in an ontologically fundamental manner, by means of necessary and universal principle, the first in the order of things. Such a principle is precisely Patrizi's *space*, the first created and the condition of existence of all the corporeal and incorporeal, spiritual and sensible things.[15] In virtue of being the common condition of all that exist, now it is the space itself which in a way assumes the intermediary position of the realm of geometry. Geometry thus becomes a matter of nature because the space is space of measure, number as well as of body and quality and so on; and there is only one space for physics as for geometry: for geometrical physics and physical geometry and all the other things.

II. The continuum against infinite divisibility.

As crucial as the determination of the subject of geometry, and of science in general, may be for understanding the shape and peculiarities of Patrizi's geometry, the concept of continuum is for that purpose of equal importance. This is not really surprising. The question of composition of continuum, both for depth of foundations and continuous presence throughout the history of science, turns out to be one of the most substantial of all. The solution to this question involves revealing general conceptual relations – between one, multiple and all; same, other and contrary; finite and infinite etc. The composition of continuum founds the conception of nature of time and movement, indeed, nature of nature, involving logical, physical and metaphysical aspects of thought. Generally it is a solution to this question through which we may be given an account of relations between geometry and physics. It's also obvious that Patrizi's point of departure in this matter has to be the first and for long time canonical Aristotle's conception of continuum. The multiform attack

15 "Id enim ante alia omnia necesse est esse, quo posito, alia poni possunt omnia: quo ablato, alia omnia tollantur. Nam sine quo aliorum nihil est, et id sine aliis possit esse, necessario primum est [...] Omnia namque et corporea, et incorporea, si alicubi non sint nullibi sunt, si nullibi sunt, neque etiam sunt. Si non sunt, nihil sunt. Si nihil sunt neque animae, neque naturae, neque qualitates, neque formae, neque corpora erunt." Ibid., 61r.

on validity of Aristotle's notion of continuous represents in fact the central and the most elaborate point in Patrizi's criticisms of Aristotelian philosophy. As for this paper, naturally only the arguments concerning the position of geometry and the nature of mathematical entities are going to be mentioned.

In accordance with the general method of *Discussiones peripateticae*, also the criticism of Aristotle's notion of continuum is undertaken by means of pointing out of intrinsic, immanent and often virtual inconsistencies in the system of Aristotelian philosophy. Although such a criticism may be unjustified, even the misunderstanding of Aristotle's notions reveals much of Patrizi's own points of view on the fundamental concepts of geometry and physics. Here this will be indeed the case. Patrizi's battlefield is naturally the ground of physics. For Patrizi believes that Aristotle actually by virtue of his conception of continuous quantity proves eternity of heavens, of time and of the world.[16] The key importance holds in this place the consequence of potential infinite divisibility of any continuous quantity and therefore the question of the nature of infinite itself. The argument according Patrizi is put as follows: from the continuity, thus infinite divisibility of movement results the infinity of the movement of heavens, the eternity of the time, hence the eternity of the heavens and the world. However, Patrizi understands the concept of continuity within Aristotle's natural philosophy – wrongly – only as

16 "Totam hanc rem brevibus ante oculos ponam, uti quo tam operosa, tam distracta disputatio tendat, facilius comprehendatur. Thesis est: Mundus est aeternus. Probatio huius unica: Quia coelum aeternum. Haec rursus probationes non plures quam quinque habet [...] Quarta, quia coelum caret contrariis, inter quae contraria generatio et corruptio versatur. Haec potentissima ratio. Eiusdem roboris quinta, quia motus coeli aeternus est: numquam coepit, numquam desinit. [...] a motus coeli continuatione, a motus successione, ab eiusdem in infinitum divisione: a tempore denique. Quod itidem ut aeternum probaret, argumentis usus est a continuitate, a successione, in infinitum divisione, infinitate [...]"F. Patricius, *Discussionum peripateticarum. Tomus quartus*, trans. M. Girardi-Karšulin and I. Kapec, introd. M. Girardi-Karšulin and I. Martinovic (Zagreb: Institut za filozofiju, 2012), l. IV, 200 [401]. An overview of Patrizi's arguments is to be found in M. Giraldi-Karšulin,"Metode Peripatetičkih rasprava i njihova uloga u Petrićevoj obrani Nove sveopće filozofije," in *Discussionum peripateticarum. Tomus quartus*, Francesco Patrizi da Cherso (Zagreb: Institut za filozofiju, 2012), XVss.

a property of (mathematical) quantity, thus, as mentioned above, without proper natural existence, whereas the motion and the time rates among natural beings.[17]

Now this is the heart of Patrizi's objection. Aristotle's proof for the eternity of the world supposedly consists in the infinite divisibility of a mathematical *quantity*. But this degrades the infinite divisibility in Patrizi's eyes to a mere supposition or a postulate. Even if the infinite divisibility could be valid for (Aristotelian) mathematical entities, it is in no way possible to prove on its grounds the eternity of the time, because Aristotle himself forbids the transgression of *genera entis*, to prove from one of them to another.[18] Therefore Aristotle is inconsistent: the potential infinite divisibility applies only to quantities in thought; and it doesn't mean that something of this kind happens in the nature. The same may be said about the primary matter as a condition for the intelligibility of movement. Nature doesn't need such conditions, because nature it is not a mere opinion.[19] For Patrizi, nature in itself represents an order and in itself is structured in an intelligible way.[20]

Everything that is in reality (or in nature), is in the space and everything which is in the space is actual. The being in potency, the potency that never actualize, that is the potential infinity, is for Patrizi "the most

17 For "naturality" of Aristotelian continuum see for example F. Kaulbach, *Der philosophische Begriff der Bewegung Studien zu Aristoteles, Leibniz und Kant* (Köln: Böhlau, 1965), 1–30.

18 "Esto numerus additione. Esto magnitudo ablatione seu divisione infinita. Rogamus nos, qui numerus additione est infinitus, quae magnitudo? Naturalesne numeri et magnitudines an mathematicae? Si mathematicas dicat, dicemus nos primo aliena, non propria esse ista principia, contra Aristotelica dogmata. Non debere, non posse ex mathematicis principiis de naturalibus rebus conclusiones concludi." *Disc. Per.*, t. IV, l. IV, 204 [402].

19 See above and *Disc. Per.*, t. III, l. IV, 138 [317]: "Unde sequitur Platonis opinionem esse Aristotelicam scientiam, quia haec versetur circa universale collectum ex singulis genitis".

20 M. Giraldi-Karšulin,"Metode Peripatetičkih rasprava i njihova uloga u Petrićevoj obrani Nove sveopće filozofije", XXVII–XXVIII.

absurd concept". The infinite is only the space, that is, "actually infinite".[21] Every natural being, every *natural quantity* has to be actual and thus finite. Nothing finite might have an infinite power to engender an infinite effect.[22] There is no power of mind or nature which could produce an infinite (natural) line or to divide a line in infinity. Patrizi regards the infinity and the infinite divisibility as having the same meaning; and no quantity is actually infinite. The infinite divisibility doesn't lie in the things themselves and thus the division must cease in something indivisible.[23] Hence only one conclusion is possible: there exist in nature the maximal and the minimal quantity, which means a quantity above which there is no bigger, respectively smaller quantity. Therefore, there is the maximal and the minimal space.

III. The space of the new geometry

The negative argument, rejection of infinite divisibility – "that ancient dogma" that "procreated so many absurdities", "Aristotle's imposture"[24] – shapes all the interpretative space for Patrizi's geometry. As a matter of fact, Patrizi "*demonstratione sermonis*"[25] tries to develop this "natural

21 Except for the first two books of *Pancosmia*, see I. Martinović, "Petrićeva prosudba Aristotelove prirodne filozofije u *Discussiones peripateticae* i njezini odjeci u *Nova de universis philosophia*," in F. Patricius, *Discussionum peripateticarum. Tomus quartus*, LXXVII–LXXIX.

22 "Neque enim animae sensus, nec phantasia, nec opinio, nec ratio, nec intellectus infinite aut dividere aut augere quicquam possunt. Quoniam et finitae potentiae sunt et terminatae actionis et essentiae itidem definitae. Finita autem vel essentia vel potentia, vel actionem infinitam habere non potest [...]" *Disc. Per.*, t. IV, l. IV, 209–210 [402].

23 "Nulla ergo ex magistri summi doctrina est naturalis magnitudo, quae aut infinita sit actu, aut potentia naturaliter infinite dividi queat. Sistetur namque divisio, ablatio, destructio, διαίρεσις, ἀφαίρεσις, καταίρεσις in minima scilicet magnitudine naturali, ut nulla possit cogitatione infinite dividi." Ibid., 214 [403–404].

24 *Pancosmia*, l. II, 66.

25 See A. Edelheit, "Francesco Patrizi's two books on space: geometry, mathematics, and dialectic beyond Aristotelian science," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 40 (2009): 247. Amos Edelheit speaks also, rather accurately, about Patrizi's "conceptual flexibility".

space" with all its properties aforesaid in a kind of genuine geometrical space. Following the lines of *De spacio mathematico*,[26] there is truly (*re ipsa*) only the infinite space identified with the *maximal* space, the "extended" (*ciò che si estende*), i. e. the continuum (in Patrizis's terms) which precedes all divisibility and "by no force of mind or nature" cannot be divided.[27] There lies in this space actually infinite, in magnitude and number, lines, planes and solids that the mind "cuts off" as finite and terminate and gives the rise to numbers at the same time. The maximal space is by the "law of contraries" mirrored by corresponding, minimal space "compared to it, there can be no smaller". And "just as maximum is infinite, so the minimum is finite; and just as the maximum can be divided as maximally (*maxime*), so the minimum can be divided only minimally [...] and just as the infinite space is infinitely divisible, so the finite space is finitely divisible." According to those "proofs", the division of space thus necessarily stops in the minimal space, with any further division the space ceases to exist: "but there is something minimal in space which is different from space that is not space". And this is the point of Ancient geometers – again a kind of mirror counterpart, contrary to the space, non-space without any measure and parts and therefore indivisible. Although it is "the smallest" the point is no space. It is a "terminus" and has to be distinguished from the minimal space because it has no dimension.[28]

Without pursuing to far logical (in)consequences – the space of geometry is prepared. For Patrizi's geometry is the science about proprieties (*affectiones*) of space, *Della nuova geometria* starts with the *demonstration of its proper elements* as resulting from the essential definition of the

26 *Pancosmia*, l. II, 66–68.

27 The closeness of the Newtonian conception of space, as referred for example by Samuel Clarke in the Leibniz-Clarke correspondence, to the *De spacio mathematico* is striking here, even on the level of terms and expression.

28 A few commentaries on Patrizi's account for the point disagree on its nature. I feel that the simplest explanation of the fact is that Patrizi's conception itself is contradictory.

space.[29] This definition is expressed by the initial "*suppozizionI*" I–V[30] summarizing the doctrine of space put forth in the *De spacio mathematico*. Then, following the order of thought and reality (i. e. according to the method), the essential proprieties of space are demonstrated as *principiata* from the first principle, the space. Those are definitions of point, line, plane, angle and solid – from the prior to posterior inasmuch as one represents condition of other. Thus, they are *known* and not only presupposed in contrast to the "Ancients", above all to Euclid himself – a fact that Patrizi never, throughout the whole of *Della nuova geometria*, forgets to recall and underline. The elements of geometry demonstrated in this step then as "causes" serve to the deduction of their "effects". These are produced by the way of repetitive absurdum proofs of each proposition with respect to the preceding one.

Perhaps someone may have expected that the *New Geometry* would shed some new light on Patrizi's ambivalent conception of geometrical (and physical) continuum we have exposed above. Then they will be probably disappointed. Patrizi's definitions of minimal, medial and maximal elements of space and their demonstrations are as inconsistent and pontifical as the essential definitions of the space themselves. His verbal "proofs" in fact can bring to light nothing more than what is explicitly stated and clearly obvious in his definitions and thus offer nothing already unknown (yes, he is a Platonist). So he states that the minimal line can become a medial and the latter then can become the maximal line. Patrizi's helplessness reveals itself the most blatantly while proving propositions about a "minimal angle". The consequence of such a minimal acute angle is proved in proportion to the whole of *New Geometry* in a seemingly credible way: if a line is disposed in the minimal acute angle and then is inclined a little bit, then it will occupy

29 See above. Cf. Muccillo, "Il problema del metodo scientifico," 470.

30 Comprising the nature of geometry (I), the space which is their subject (II) and consists in extension (III); the properties of space that is either minimum, maximum or medium (IV) and three dimensional (V). See *Della nuova geometria*, 2–3.

no angle, because nothing can be smaller than the minimum.[31] But the analogical case of surpassing the maximal obtuse angle finishes at no angle because "if the line did not lay down straight to its accompanying line, it could have not occupy the maximal obtuse angle".[32] After all, it is no way surprising that such an expert in Proclus Patrizi was completely omits the question of horn (cornicular) angle.

Nevertheless the original quality of *Della nuova geometria* as geometry does not consist in the logical firmness (that is in geometry). It is the very notion of point – according to Euclid, the first notion about which there's no science – and the conception of point that represent the most interesting feature of Patrizi's geometry as such. About the point, Patrizi claims, there is certainly science in all three of aforementioned aspects. Although, as a result of its definition, the point cannot be measured – because it is not measure of anything, because it's indivisible, because it has no parts, because it is simple, because it's the first and that's – because the point is the minimum in space;[33] still, it does have a *position* (*sito*) – otherwise it wouldn't be in space – and by this very fact, it has also relations in respect to other elements of space. The focus of Patrizi's geometry thus shifts from metric aspects of geometrical figures towards, precisely, the relations and the relational aspects of space. Patrizi's *New geometry* therefore is not only the science of elements in space but also of the space itself. Finally, it will be no other than Leibniz himself who first is going

31 Ibid., 135.

32 "La retta linea rifuggentre, perche puo tanto riffuggire, che angolo ottuso massimo venga a fare, se piu rifuggirà, al diritto della compagna perpendicolare verrà a porsi. DEMONSR. *Perche se al diritto di lei porsi non potesse, ne anche tanto rifuggire hauria potuto, che ottuso angolo massimo havesse fatto. Ma dimostrato per la precedente si è, ch'ella tanto riffuggire ha potuto, che angolo ottuso massimo ha fatto. Adunque la retta linea rifuggente, perche tanto ha potuto riffuggire, che angolo ottuso massimo ha fatto, s'elle più rifuggira, al diritto della compagna prependicolare verrà a porsi.*" Ibid., 144–145. This "demonstration" is quite enough to catch up the spirit of the *New geometry*. One can guess the amount of effort necessary to read the whole book.

33 Ibid., 18–26.

to develop a geometrical calculus of spatial relations, his *analysis situs*, anticipating thus the routes of modern topology.

Via regia?

Is Patrizi's *New Geometry* the "easy, plain, truly royal road to geometry"?[34] Perhaps it is too easy and too plain; for there is no *agevole*, *piana e* veramente *regia via*. On the other hand, the reading of *Della nuova geometria*, indeed, is a very hard road to non-geometry (to borrow humbly Patrizi's mode of demonstration). Yet the ambition of *Della nuova geometria* was everything else than humble. Sometimes it seems like Patrizi would even have restored the *primo mondo* for his own and enchanted by the truth of his proper words didn't care about their meaning or consequences. And it seems as well – in a blatant contrast to geometry of *Elements* – that without understanding Patrizi's philosophical starting points and scientific ambitions, there is no chance to avoid the feeling of incredible carelessness and inconsistency which makes his work incomprehensibly meaningless, frustrating and, indeed, "deplorable". My humble hope is to have given some clues in this paper to cope with Patrizi's geometry as with a *non-geometry*. No wonder. Patrizi's philosophical point of departure is a fierce opposition to Aristotle's natural philosophy which at least practically allowed geometry. Here, it may be said, Patrizi committed his cardinal mistake in taking Aristotle's fundamental physical notion of continuum for the mathematical one. Thus he founds, practically on opposite concepts, a physical geometry of the actual and actually-thought space refusing in a non-geometrical way the concept of potentially infinite divisibility, in fact the cornerstone of geometry. However, Patrizi thereby brings down the subject of geometry from the spiritual realm of reality, simply to the reality; that is to the "first created", "incorporeal corporeal and corporeal incorporeal" space, the subject of the geometrical method of science. What results here is the destruction of geometry, certainly

[34] Ibid., preface.

(geometry nonetheless will always fight Patrizi off) – but, more importantly, one of the most decisive steps towards platonization of nature and geometrization of the Universe. This is the step towards the world when geometry turns out to be the royal road of worldly power.

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Franzesco Patrizi, a Renaissance Philosopher and the Science of Astronomy

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Abstract Franzesco Patrizi is sometimes characterized as a philosopher who "anticipated" or prepared the way for several conceptual innovations of the Scientific Revolution and should, accordingly, be regarded as one of its more important players. One of his alleged "anticipations" regards astronomy, more specifically, Kepler's affirmation of elliptic motions of the planets. Kepler himself was of a different opinion. According to him, Patrizi was "an enemy of philosophy" and "a patron of ignorance". In order to evaluate his attitude towards astronomy and his role in the development of Keplerian astronomy, I will situate both Patrizi's views on astronomy and Kepler's criticism of him in the context of astronomical and philosophical discussions in the late sixteenth-century. This will take me from the publication of Tycho Brahe's book *De mundi aetherei recentioribus phaenomenis*, to Patrizi's negative evaluation of entire astronomical science (including Brahe's new geo-heliocentric planetary system) as "delirious" and "monstrous" and his solution of the astronomical "delusions" in his *Nova de universis philosophia*, and, finally, to Kepler's devastating criticism of Patrizi's position in *Apologia pro Tychone contra Ursum*, letter to Fabricius, and in *Astronomia nova*. I will conclude my article with a brief assessment of Patrizi's attitude towards astronomy and his alleged preparation of Kepler's discovery of the elliptical paths of the planets.

Keywords Patrizi, Brahe, Kepler, spiral motion, astronomy without hypotheses

Franzesco Patrizi is sometimes characterized as a philosopher who "anticipated" or prepared the way for several conceptual innovations of the Scientific Revolution and should, accordingly, be regarded as one of the movement's more important players.[1] One of his alleged contributions regards astronomy, specifically Kepler's affirmation of elliptic planetary

[1] See, for example, Tomislav Petković and Kristian Hengster-Movrić, "Patricius' Phenomenological Theory of Tides and its Modern Relativistic Interpretation," *Synthesis Philosophica* 42 (2/2006): 255.

orbits. In this vein, "Patrizian spirals" are interpreted as a catalyst or "a missing link" leading to Kepler's system with elliptic planetary orbits and considered to be "mathematically equivalent" to – among other systems – Kepler's system.[2] Kepler himself was of a different opinion. In one of his letters to David Fabricius, Kepler specifically attacks Patrizi – to whom he adds Johannes Craig – for his belief that stars do not move in circles but in a spiral as they appear to us. If we are to believe Kepler, Patrizi was not a catalyst or a "missing link" to Kepler's discovery of elliptical orbits, but "an enemy of philosophy" and "a patron of ignorance".[3]

In order to evaluate his attitude towards astronomy and his role in the development of Keplerian astronomy, I will situate both Patrizi's views on astronomy and Kepler's criticism of him in the context of astronomical and philosophical discussions of the late sixteenth-century.[4]

[2] See, for instance, Vladimir Paar, "A New Look at Patrizian Celestial System," *Synthesis Philosophica* 35–36 (1–2/2003): 307. Paar claims that "[s]ome ideas of Patrizian system are related to some important points of the groundbreaking discoveries of Gilbert and Kepler, and in particular of the Kepler's planetary system with elliptical planetary orbits, on the basis of which Newton discovered the general law of gravitation". In this sense Paar points out to "a missing link related to the reference frame of the Patrizian system in the Kepler's calculations of the motion of the Mars, which led to the discovery of Kepler's system with elliptic planetary orbits". He argues "that the Patrizian system with particular types of 'Patrizian spirals' may be mathematically equivalent to the Copernican, Kepler's, Newton's and Einstein's system, respectively". According to Paar, Patrizi has established a Patrizian celestial system, which "could be interpreted as a possibility to relax the circular restriction of planetary orbits in Copernican system, i. e. by allowing also other forms of geometrical orbits as, for example, ellipsoidal".

[3] See Johannes Kepler, *Gesammelte Werke* (= KGW), vol. XIV, ed. Max Caspar, n. 262 (München: C. H. Beck, 1941), 896–899. See also Nicholas Jardine and Alain-Philippe Segonds, *La Guerre des Astronomes. La querelle au sujet de l'origine du system géo-héliocentrique à la fin du XVIe siècle.* Vol. II/2: *Le Contra Ursum de Jean Kepler* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2008), 439, n. 2. I will return to this passage below.

[4] Some of the issues which I am going to tackle here were already discussed – among others – by Paolo Rossi, Edward Rosen, Nicholas Jardine and Alain-Philippe Segonds. See Paolo Rossi "La negazione delle sfere e l'astrobiologia in Francesco Patrizi," *Il Rinascimento nelle corti padane* (Bari: De Donato, 1977); reproduced in Paolo Rossi, *Il tempo dei maghi. Rinascimento e modernità* (Milano: Raffaello Cortina Editore, 2006), as "Astrobiologia: sfere celesti e branchi di gru", 185–226. I will refer to the English version of his article, which appeared under the title "Francesco Patrizi: Heavenly Spheres and the Flocks of Cranes." In *Italian Studies in the Philosophy of Science*, ed. Maria Luisa Dalla Chiara (Dordrecht: Dordrecht Reidel Pub., 1981),

This will take me from the publication of Tycho Brahe's book *De mundi aetherei recentioribus phaenomenis*, to Patrizi's negative evaluation of entire astronomical science (including Brahe's new geo-heliocentric planetary system) as "delirious" and "monstrous" and his solution of the astronomical "delusions" in his *Nova de universis philosophia*, and, finally, to Kepler's devastating criticism of Patrizi's position in *Apologia pro Tychone contra Ursum*, the above mentioned letter to Fabricius, and in *Astronomia nova*. I will conclude my article with a brief assessment of Patrizi's attitude towards astronomy and his alleged preparation of Kepler's discovery of the elliptical paths of the planets.

1.

In 1588 Tycho Brahe published a book on the comet of 1577 titled *De mundi aetherei recentioribus phenomenis.* This text contained the first published account of his new geo-heliocentric planetary system, one in which all of the planets revolve around the Sun and the Sun in turn revolves around the stationary Earth. In the Tychonic system, the paths of Mars and the Sun intersect, a feat made possible by replacing the traditional solid, real spheres or orbs with so called "fluid heavens".[5] Three years

211–230. Compare with Edward Rosen, "Francesco Patrizi and the Celestial Spheres," *Physis* 24 (3/1984): 305–324. Nicholas Jardine discussed some points in *The Birth of History and Philosophy of Science. Kepler's A Defence of Tycho against Ursus with Essays on its Provenance and Significance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), and, together with Alain Segonds, in *La Guerre des astronomes.*

5 On Tycho Brahe's work on the comet of 1577, his system, and his elimination of the solid spheres, see, for example, John Louis Emil Dreyer, *Tycho Brahe: A Picture of Scientific Life and Work in the Sixteenth Century* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1890), 158–183; John Robert Christianson, *On Tycho's Island: Tycho Brahe, Science, and Culture in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 118–124; Michel-Pierre Lerner, *Le monde des sphères*, Vol. II (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2008^2), 3–73; Miguel A. Granada, *El debate cosmológico en 1588: Bruno, Brahe, Rothmann, Ursus, Röslin* (Naples: Bibliopolis, 1996); *Sfere solide e cielo fluido: Momenti del dibattito cosmologico nella seconda metà del Cinquecento* (Milano: Guerini e associati, 2002); "Did Tycho Eliminate the Celestial Spheres before 1586?", *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 37 (2006): 125–145.

later, in 1591, Patrizi described the Tychonic system in *Pancosmia*, the fourth part of his *Nova de universis philosophia*. Patrizi's description and criticism of Tycho Brahe's geo-helicentric system appears in Book 12 of *Pancosmia*, "On the Number of the Heavens". Here he summarily presents a history of astronomy from Thales to Tycho in order to demonstrate the "chimeras", "delusions" and "monstrosities" produced by astronomers who added more and more new celestial orbs or spheres in order to "save the appearances".[6] In this history, Patrizi distinguishes three great eras of astronomical development: Ancient Greece, the Middle Ages and the modern era.

He begins the overview of Greek astronomy with Thales and the Pythagoreans. The latter, according to him, employed eccentric and epicyclical orbs in order to "save the appearances". The Pythagoreans noted that some of the stars move slower or faster than the others; that the same stars progress, retrogress and even have stations; and that they descend towards us and become bigger and ascend from us and appear smaller. However, since they did not believe that stars could produce such motions on their own, they judged that these motions are produced because the stars are "fixed" in the heavens. This is the reason why Pythagoreans attributed to one planet not one orb but several eccentric orbs. They added some smaller orbs to big ones, which they named "epicycles".[7]

Patrizi then continues with homocentric astronomy of Eudoxus, Callipus and Aristotle. Eudoxus refused eccentric and epicyclical orbs and instead of them introduced concentric ones. He elevated their number to

[6] See *Nova de universis philosophia* (= NUP), IV, 12, fol. 91r. Rossi summarizes this passage in "Francesco Patrizi: Heavenly Spheres and the Flocks of Cranes", 363–364. See also Rosen, "Francesco Patrizi and the Celestial Spheres", 313–314. For the French translation of the entire passage and discussion with references to possible Patrizi's sources, see Jardin and Segonds, *La Guerre des Astronomes*, 450–455.

[7] According to Jardin and Segonds, *La Guerre des Astronomes*, 460, Patrizi probably used Simplicius' *In De caelo*, 507, 9–14, as a source of the attribution of the eccentrics and epicycles to the Pythagoreans.

26. Callipus added another 7 orbs, so the whole number had risen to 33. Callipus' friend Aristotle added another 22 orbs, calling them *revolventes*; that is an amalgamation of 55 orbs. The representatives of homocentric astronomy were criticized by Hipparhus and Sosigenes, who brought back Pythagorean eccentrics and epicycles. Ptolemy followed them by employing eccentrics and epicycles. He also posited a ninth sphere over and above the eighth. He observed that the so called "fixed" stars do not return to the same spot, in moving they do not perform a perfect circle. It seemed that they move in spirals (*in spiras*). In a hundred years they move one grade aside. That means that the "fixed" stars make a perfect circle every 36000 years, called a great year (precession of the equinoxes). Ptolemy realized that the eighth sphere has two motions: first, daily motion in longitude, and second, oblique motion, in latitude. Since one orb cannot undergo two contrary motions, he was of the opinion that the motion of the precession of the equinoxes was the result of the force of another sphere, the ninth sphere. Finally, Patrizi reports that the ninth sphere (and thus the precession of the equinoxes) was rejected by Proclus in his *Commentary on Timaeus*.[8]

Patrizi then turns to the Arabs of the Middle Ages. Thābit ibn Qurra (*Tebitius*) added another mobile orb, the so called tenth sphere. Averroes (*Auen Rois*) ridiculed those figments and returned to eight concentric heavens. Al-Battani (*Alpetragius*) in turn claimed that eccentrics and epicycles exist and believed in eight concentric heavens. He denied that stars move in spirals, but then again he believed in the ninth sphere, which is like soul and mind of the universe and moves the other eight spheres.

Patrizi finally comes to the modern era. "In our time", he writes, "three new astronomical theories have arisen, very different from those of the

[8] Patrizi refers to Book III of Proclus' *Commentary*. As noted by Jardin and Segonds, *La Guerre des astronomes*, 453, this is a mistake. Patrizi should refer to *In Timaeum*, IV, 124, 19–126, 6. See English translation in: Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, Vol. V. Book 4: *Proclus on Time and the Stars*, ed. and trans. Dirk Baltzly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 219–221.

ancients and very different from one another".[9] First, there is Copernicus who has, according to Patrizi, reactivated the teaching of Aristarchus of Samos and "overturned the whole astronomy of the ancients and the whole order of the universe".[10] He placed the Sun in the center of the world, and around it Mercury, Venus, the great orb of Earth with four elements and the Moon, and then Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. The second theory is that of two men from Verona, Giovanni Battista della Torre and Girolamo Fracastoro, who revived the old homocentric spheres, increasing their number to 77. And then follows a brief description of Tycho Brahe's system:

> If I am not mistaken, there is still alive a Dane by the name Tycho Brahe (*Tychon Brae*), who on the basis of his own observations of the universe has established a *hypotyposin* different from Copernicus'. He places the eighth and three superior [orbs] in the same order [as Copernicus], but eccentric. But he says that the orb of Mars intersects the orb of the Sun in two places. Above the Sun he places Mercury and next Venus in two small circles, one bigger and the other smaller, which both revolve around the body of the Sun and the orb of the Sun, and both intersect the orb of the Sun in two places. In the center of the universe he places the Earth, around which is the orb of the Moon, which is enclosed by the orb of the Sun, but which the orbs of Mercury and Venus do not enclose.[11]

Patrizi is perplexed by these different and contradicting astronomical theories, and he concludes his short overview by condemning all of these astronomical theories as "monstrosities". He places special emphasis on

9 NUP, IV, 12, fol. 91r (bis), col. b.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

the monstrosity of the systems of Copernicus and Tycho Brahe, stating that "none of the ancient systems is as monstrous as these two".[12]

Why is that so? What is the ultimate cause of astronomy's innumerable "delusions" and "monstrosities", these systems which, in the end, produce what Patrizi calls "whole new Chaos"?[13]

It is, according to Patrizi, a very specific assumption, one which was and is still accepted by *all* astronomers, including Tycho Brahe:

> All those [astronomical theories and systems], these two [Copernicus' and Brahe's], and the old ones derive from that one position: that the stars are fixed in the heaven like knots or nails in a plank (*Quod stellae in coelo, ut in tabula nodi aut clavi sint infixae*). Because of this fixation they first invented eight spheres and since those were not sufficient to save appearances they added innumerable delusions and monstrosities, which in the end produced a complete perturbation of the whole world, like a whole new chaos.[14]

In other words: the cause of "a complete perturbation of the whole world" is the astronomical assumption that stars are fixed into solid, real celestial orbs or spheres as depicted in Peurbach's *Theoricae novae planetarum* and other astronomical texts of the day.[15]

12 NUP, IV, 12, fol. 91v (bis), col. a.

13 See ibid.

14 Ibid.

15 Compare with "Patrizi's letter to Tarquinia Molza Porrina, on 3 November 1577," in Francesco Patrizi da Cherso, *Lettere ed opusculi inediti,* ed. Danilo Aguzzi Barbagli (Florence: Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, 1975), 16–17. Here Patrizi explains to Molza some basic astronomy of the Moon on the basis of Peurbach's *Theoricae planetarum*. He uses almost exactly the same wording as in NUP: "Eccelentissima Signora Padrona, // il martedi passato non le potei mandare quello che seguiva della luna, intorno ai varii moti suoi come pare dalla varietà de gli orbi suoi, delle quali cose si tratta molto a lungo et non senza molto fastidio nelle *teoriche de' pianeti*, il che non è necessario riferire qui. Basteranno a Vostra Signoria, come dire, le conclusioni di tutta quella materia. // La Luna *fissa nello epiciclo come chiodo in asse, o nodo*, è portata da lui, che ha moti suoi propri, come gli altri tre orbi maggiori, da' quali è ancora protata." Emphasis

In sum: Patrizi is convinced that *all* astronomy suffers from this erroneous belief in the fixation of the stars and planets in the heavens, that is, in solid orbs or spheres; that this illness brought chimeras, delusions, chaos and monstrosity into the Universe; and that the most monstrous universes were those conceived by Copernicus and Tycho Brahe, who were both firm believers that the stars were, indeed, fixed in the heavens.

2.

Since there is a very clear statement about the elimination of solid spheres and their replacement by fluid heaven in Chapter 8 of Brahe's *De mundi aetherei*, one wonders how it happened that Patrizi overlooked one of the crucial achievements of Tycho Brahe's book. Did he read Brahe's book at all?

I have treated this confusing issue elsewhere,[16] so here I will summarize my findings – based on the Patrizi's letter written in Ferrara on 25 March 1592 to one of Brahe's assistants, Gellius Sascerides, who was in early 90ies in Padua – in a few sentences.[17] Patrizi did not read Brahe's book. He wrote his erroneous account on the basis of Sascerides' letter written to famous Italian astronomer Giovanni Antonio Magini who forwarded it to Patrizi. Brahe was very upset because of Patrizi's misrepresentation of

added. It is absolutely clear from this (and other) letters to Molza that Patrizi's basic expertise in astronomy derives from his reading of Peurbach's *Theorica planetarum* and that what he is teaching Molza does not represent his thoughts on the matter. For the English translation of *Theorica planetarum*, see Eric J. Aiton, "Peurbach's *Theoricae novae planetarum*: A Translation with Commentary," *Osiris* 3 (1987), 4–43.

16 See Matjaž Vesel, "From Denmark to Italy: Francesco Patrizi's Reception and Criticism of Tycho Brahe's Geo-heliocentric Planetary System," in *The Circulation of Science and Technology. Proceedings of the 4th International Conference of the European Society for the History of Science*, ed. Antoni Roca-Rosell (Barcelona: Societat Catalana d'Història de la Ciència i de la Tècnica), 952–958. See also Rosen, "Francesco Patrizi and the Celestial Spheres", 311–315.

17 "Patrizi's letter to Sascerides" is published in Francesco Patrizi da Cherso, *Lettere ed opusculi inediti*, 79–82. I would like to thank Prof. Maria Muccillo who, several years ago, brought the existence of this letter to my attention. See also Rossi, "Francesco Patrizi: Heavenly Spheres and the Flocks of Cranes", 370–373, and Rosen, "Francesco Patrizi and the Celestial Spheres," 312–324.

his astronomy. He asked Gellius Sascerides to clarify the situation with Patrizi. Patrizi promised Sascerides that he would compare what he has written with newly obtained information. If he later realized that he had been mistaken, he would recant.

But Patrizi was already moving to Rome where he had other things to think of: his *Nova de universis philosophia* was put under investigation by the Inquisition and was finally condemned "until corrected" by the *Congregation of the Index of Prohibited Books* in 1596. It comes as a no surprise that Patrizi, despite his promise, never revised his views on Brahe's anstronomy: he died the very next year.

Despite Patrizi's death, Brahe did not let the issue go. He returned to the matter almost a decade later in the context of his well-known dispute over the authorship of the geo-heliocentric system with Raejmar Baer, known as Ursus.[18] In 1599 Brahe, at that time at the court of Rudolf II in Prague, delegated the refutation of Ursus' claims (along with the Patrizi's misrepresentations) to his assistant, Johannes Kepler, who set to write *Apologia pro Tychone contra Ursum,* but due to Brahe's death in October, 1601, abandoned the project. However, a manuscript of four chapters is extant, and the first chapter of *Apologia*, "What is an astronomical hypothesis", contains a heavy criticism of Patrizi's views concerning astronomy.[19]

The text regarding Patrizi comes within the tenth point in which Kepler discusses and refutes Ursus' claim based upon his reading of the anonymous *Ad lectorem* in Copernicus's *De revolutionibus.* Here a "very learned person" also believed that astronomical hypotheses are not necessarily true. Kepler makes it clear that the author of the *Ad lectorem* was Andreas Osiander and not Copernicus, and then continues: "Here the very tenor of my discussion invites me to add Patrizi to Osiander and

18 On this see Jardine, *The Birth of History and Philosophy of Science*, and Jardine and Segonds *La Guerre des astronomes.*

19 See Jardine *The Birth of History and Philosophy of Science*, 87–101 and 150–158; Jardine and Segonds, *La Guerre des Astronomes,* 250–276.

to say something in reply to his attempt to deride all astronomers and reject all hypotheses."[20]

From what has been said about Patrizi's attitude towards astronomy one can understand what Kepler means by "to deride all astronomers". This background, however, is not sufficient to explain the last part of the sentence: "and reject all hypotheses". To understand this, we need to turn back to Patrizi's *Nova de universis philosophia* and see what he proposed in order to save the universe from the "whole new Chaos" that in his view emerged as a result of astronomers' assumption that stars are fixed in the heavens like knots or nails in a board.

3.

Patrizi's solution to this problem is a very simple one: remove this notion of the fixation of the stars and planets in the heavens or orbs and everything will be in order again: "If this vain and impossible position is eliminated from astronomy, everything will be clear again. The motion of the stars in the heaven will be free, and all the appearances will be saved." He posited instead that "stars are carried by their own spirit [...], moved by their proper soul and governed by the order of the intellect [...]".[21]

Divine bodies, that is, stars, cannot be without a soul. They are animated not only by the world soul, but also by their own souls. Every single star lives both by its own and by the common life. Thus it comprehends both with its proper and with a common intellect. Therefore the stars are carried by both their proper and common spirits. In conclusion: stars

[20] Quoted from Jardine, *The Birth of History and Philosophy of Science*, 154. For the Latin text, see ibid., 98–99; Jardine and Segonds *La Guerre des Astronomes*, 272.

[21] NUP, IV, 12, fol. 91v (bis), col. a. Patrizi formulated this idea already in 1572, in so called *Objections to Telesio*. For the English translation see Rosen, "Francesco Patrizi and the Celestial Spheres," 306–307. See also Rossi, "Francesco Patrizi: Heavenly Spheres and the Flocks of Cranes", 373–374. Rosen underlines the apparent contradiction between *Objections to Telesio* and Patrizi's later letters to Molza, but it seems obvious to me that Patrizi's letters to Molza do not represent his own thoughts but those of Peurbach and other astronomers.

are, according to Patrizi, living beings, divine living beings to be exact, and therefore necessarily endowed with the divine soul, divine life and divine intellect. Their intellect is linked to and participates in the first intellect and therefore depends on it. It is the first intellect (i.e. the intellect of God) that orders stars to move as they do. The stars understand and execute the will of the first, supreme intellect from the very beginning of the creation until the present day. This means that the appearances of the stars and planets as described by the astronomers[22] – the faster and slower motions of the planets, their forward and backwards motions, their stations, their ascents and descents, and even the triple motion of the stars of eight spheres (which was denied by Proclus and some other great men) – must be explained as being caused by their free execution of the will of the god's intellect and not as the result of their being fixed in orbs.[23]

This summary of Patrizi's solution to the astronomy's troubles implicitly explains what Kepler meant by saying that he needs to reply to Patrizi's "rejection of all hypotheses", but there are several other passages in *Pancosmia* which are more explicit and reveal more clearly the range and nature of Patrizi's objections towards astronomy and his alleged solution(s) to these problems. Patrizi blames this fundamental assumption and invention of astronomers – stars are fixed into the heaven like knots in a board or nails in a plank – not only for the monstrous number of orbs but for more or less everything that he sees as astronomical delusions, chimeras and monstrosities. And there are, according to Patrizi, at least two additional major astronomical issues in need of attention and correction: the round shape of the heavens and the order of the planets.

22 It is worthwhile to underline that Patrizi only conditionally accepts the appearances with which the astronomy deals. See ibid., where he says: "if all the appearances to which the astronomers refer are true and not the errors of the instruments". There are a few other similar statements in NUP.

23 See NUP, IV, 12, fol. 91r, col. a.

First error. The first error committed by astronomers as a consequence of their belief in the fixation of the stars into heaven is their affirmation of the roundness of the heavens.[24] According to Patrizi the circular motion of the heavens did not require the universe to be of a round shape – after all, many objects of various shapes can move in a circle. Historically, the most crucial astronomical argument in favor of the roundness of the heaven rested on the visual experience of the circular motion of the stars: the same stars that rise and set in the evening return again rise and set on the same spot the very next evening. This meant to earlier astronomers that "all stars are fixed into heaven like knots into planks".[25] Patrizi does not deny the circular motion of the fixed stars, but he denies their being fixed in the heavens and consequently the round shape of the heavens.[26] He does this by evoking the authority of the Bible and Zoroaster, and by examining the nature of the ethereal or heavenly body. In short: since there is nothing solid in heaven there cannot be fixed "knots" or stars in it.

Second error. Another error of the astronomers stemming from their belief in the fixation of the stars into orbs is – as has been already discussed above – the monstrous number of heavens, orbs or spheres, devised by astronomers to "save the appearances". Astronomers have endeavored to "save the heavenly appearances" on the basis of the stars and their motions as presented to the sight. Most of the astronomers considered stars to be fixed into the heavens, which led them to establish innumerable chimeras in the heaven.[27] Others – the Chaldeans, more exactly Zoroaster, and Plato – claimed that stars are living beings and not fixed into the orbs. Some – Aristotle and Hermes Trismegistus – were

24 See NUP, IV, 11: "On the Circular Motion of the Heaven".

25 Ibid.

26 See NUP, IV, 11, fol. 89r, col. b.

27 See NUP, IV, 12, fol. 89v, col. a.

more ambiguous, which led Patrizi to the conclusion that this notion was the invention of the astronomers.[28]

Within this context Patrizi presents and refutes five reasons which persuaded astronomers to establish this invention: (1) the stars of the eight orb always appear at the same reciprocal distance and all appear to rise and move from east to west; (2) the uniform circular motion of the stars around the North Pole; (3) the regular movement of the Milky Way from east to the west; (4) the motion of black spots in the heavens around the South Pole together with the other stars from east to the west; (5) the motions of the planets opposite to the motion of the eighth sphere.

The first astronomical reason follows from two observations: first, that the stars of the eighth sphere always keep the same distance from one another and secondly, that all stars move from east to west in the sky. These observations were taken to mean that the stars were fixed in their orbs; their motions were like the motion of a nail in a wheel or a knot in a plank.[29] Astronomers explained this "experiential appearance" by saying that, if the stars were moved by themselves, they could neither keep the same reciprocal distances nor maintain the same order or maintain in the same position. They would also not always proceed with uniform motion.[30] Since the stars are unequal and describe different circles, some of them would sometimes go ahead of the others.

Patrizi admits the existence of such appearances in the heavens, but describes the astronomers' explanations as extremely weak. We are already familiar with his alternative explanation of the appearances: instead of treating stars as inanimate beings, he affirms – buttressing his position with the quotation from Aristotle and referring to Plato, Zoroaster and Hermes – that they are living beings. The fact that they are alive explains how it is possible for them to move by themselves while

28 See NUP, IV, 12, fol. 91r, col. a.

29 See ibid.

30 See ibid.

maintaining the same relative positions, order and distance.[31] This is not an accidental result of the motions of inanimate bodies but is executed by moving substances endowed by reason: by stars' souls and their souls' intellects. Their order, position and reciprocal distance results from their intellect and not from their fixation into the heaven.[32] The stars are divine living beings and move themselves. They cannot wander in their motions. Their Creator imposed on them their order and circular motion at the beginning of time, and they cannot disobey God's will.[33] If we admit that stars participate in action and life and stop considering them to be inanimate being as astronomers do, says Patrizi, then we realize that they move by themselves while still maintaining "the same position, order and distance".

The notion of stars as living beings, endowed with reason and obeying God's will, explains, according to Patrizi, each and every reason or appearance evoked by astronomers as an argument of the fixation of the stars into the heavens. It explains stars' uniform, circular motion around the North Pole and their keeping the same distance from the pole and reciprocally.[34] Stars are like marching soldiers who are endowed with reason, and flocks of cranes that have only the similitude of reason; both, soldiers and cranes (and other animals, such as elephants, tunas, and others) can and do maintain their distances and order when moving. Stars' rational, divine nature also explains the motion of the Milky Way and the movement of black spots in the heavens around the South Pole reported by a contemporary living in Peru. But it is especially fit to provide an alternative explanation to the fifth reason, which astronomers believe to be the most powerful, but is, in Patrizi's opinion, the most ridiculous of them all.

31 See NUP, IV, 12, fol. 91r, col. b.

32 See ibid.

33 See NUP, IV, 12, fol. 91, col. b–91v, col. a.

34 See NUP, IV, 12, fol. 91v, col. a.

Astronomers claim that the planets move in the opposite direction of that of the eighth sphere. But it is, according to them, impossible for one and the same body to move with two different motions, especially with two opposite ones. This is only possible if the motions result from the different orbs into which the stars are fixed or attached. Patrizi – in a very important and significant assertion – vigorously denies that planets move in the opposite direction from that of the stars of the eighth sphere; the planets only *seem* to be moving in the opposite direction. Those who take this appearance as truth, do not take into account their velocity and slowness which are the cause of *the impression* of their taking over or staying behind the so called fixed stars. In other words: planets move among the fixed stars as we see them. They sometimes move slower and sometimes faster than the rest of the stars and thus overtake them or stay behind them. The reason for the velocity and motion of the planets lies in their souls and minds; they understand that this is what is needed at different times according to the nature of things. Thus, the stars are servants of divine providence.[35]

Third error. Patrizi's alternative thoughts and ideas on the motion of the stars and planets are further developed in the process of his clarifying and correcting the third error resulting from the assumption that the stars were fixed in the heavens: the erroneous orderings of the planets. But before addressing this question, he answers several other issues arising from his affirmation that the stars are flames.[36] One of them concerns the reason for the swiftness of the stars, while another one concerns their not moving rectilinearly like other flames, but in circles.[37]

[35] See NUP, IV, 12, fol. 91v, col. b. Patrizi is even clearer when he addresses the same, "primary and most powerful" astronomical argument for the second time at the end of Book 12 of *Pancosmia*, fol. 91v (bis), col. b.

[36] See NUP, IV, 15, fol. 98, col. a. This means basically fluid, which is Patrizi's fourth principle. Other three principles are: space, light and warmth.

[37] See NUP, IV, 17, fol. 102, col. a. The first four questions are: (1) If the stars are not fixed into orbs, how can they hang in the aether? (2) How do they move themselves? (3) How do they

Patrizi examines the possibility that the stars of the firmament do not move, while the so called second aether or fire, air, water and Earth rotate. He argues in favor of the Earth's rotation on the basis of the enormous swiftness of the motion of the firmament, by using relativity of motion, and arguing against Aristotle and others who argued in favor of the Earth's rest. His conclusion is that the Earth rotates from west to east and that it is moved by its own nature.[38] But on the other hand it is also obvious that the stars move. The planets definitely move, and since planets and the superior stars share the same nature – they are all flames – the stars of the firmament must necessarily move as well. Patrizi's final solution is that stars move from east to west, while the Earth rotates from west to east.

Now: If the stars are flames, how it is that they do not move rectilinearly– as can be seen in the case of the earthly flames – but in circles? Patrizi claims that the stars of the firmament move in both directions. Stars do not move only in circles but also rectilinearly, that is, upwards and downwards. They move upwards when they recede from us (until eventually seeming to disappear) and they move downwards when they return from the heights and are visible again. The existence of such stars – labeled rather inappropriately "new stars" (*novae*) since these are new occurrences of the "old stars"[39] –, is attested in the writings of Chaldeans, Pliny the Elder and Christopher Clavius. There was even a very recent example of such a star: a *nova* that appeared in the Cassiopeia in 1572. It shone for two years, became smaller and smaller and then almost disappeared. According to Patrizi this meant that the *nova* first descended from its altitude and then returned.[40]

keep the same reciprocal distance? (4) If they are flames, why they are not haired or barbed or tailed like comets?

38 The Earth does not move by forced motion but naturally.

39 See NUP, IV, 17, fol. 104v, col. a.

40 See ibid.

But this is not all. Not just the stars of the firmament move with two motions, circular and rectilinear, but also the planets:

> The same is with those [stars] which are called planets, being now in apogee and then in perigee. Although they are said to be carried by the epicycles, we do not assert this about ours at all. We say that they are carried by their nature, spirit, souls and intellects, in such a way as God-Creator's providence commands and as is beneficial for the world. For that reason – if the motions of the trepidation and of the stars north of the ecliptic and south of it in the form of a spiral (and not of the circle) are true, and all remaining other motions (if there are others) which are attributed to the non-wandering stars – they can be much more easier saved (such is the parlance of the astronomers) with this explanation than with any other. (*Qua ratione, si veri sint motus illi trepidationis, stellarumque tum in Septentrionem ab eccliptica, tum in meridiem in modum spirae, et non circuli, et reliqui omnes si qui sunt alii, qui stellis tribuuntur non errantibus, salvari (ita Astronomi loquuntur) possunt longe facilius, quam ratione alia ulla*.) Since the stars are endowed with the spirit and soul and mind, they move in such a way as they realize to be beneficial for the universe; and by doing this they are servants of God's providence.[41]

This is another extremely important affirmation. In addition to Patrizi's former explanation of the movement of the planets – they move on their own and as we see them: slower and faster, upwards and downwards – here Patrizi adds that planets are *not* moved by epicycles and that the stars do *not* move north and south of the ecliptic in the form of a circle but in form of a spiral.

Patrizi concludes his treatment of the straightforward and circular motions of the stars with the conclusion that the stars move rectilinearly,

41 Ibid.

up and down, but also circularly, from the east to the west. But since their velocity is deemed impossible it is necessary that the Earth also move, that is, rotate, in the opposite direction from that of the stars.[42] Planets, on the other hand, move – as Patrizi makes clear in the next book of *Pancosmia* – with the third, mixed motion, that is, partly from the east to the west and partly from the west to the east.

This brings us to the third error stemming from the astronomers' notion of the fixation of the stars and planets into orbs – the different orderings of the planets. It is in this context that Patrizi gives a more detailed elaboration of the motions of the planets.

For Patrizi, only Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus and Mercury count as planets – the Sun and the Moon are not planets.[43] And even they should not be called "planets" (*planetes*) or "wanderers" (*errantes*). It is true that they move north and south of the ecliptic, that they move at the time faster and then again slower, and that they also stop, move forwards and move backwards. This is the reason why they were called "wanderers" (*errones*) or in Greek *planetas*, but they do not really "wander". It only appears that they do, while in reality by executing their motions they obey the Creator and observe the harmony of the universe.[44]

After discussing the alleged differences in magnitude and color ascribed to the "planets" by the astronomers, Patrizi addresses the question of their relative positions, that is, their order. Emphasizing the discord among the philosophers and astronomers (including Crates, Metrodorus, Democritus, al-Bitruji, Plato, Aristotle, Martianus Capella, Tycho Brahe and Copernicus) Patrizi – again – explains their disagreement as a result of their belief in the fixed nature of the planets and stars into orbs.[45] He also attributes this discord to the fact that they do not have a proper method

42 See NUP, IV, 17, fol. 104v, col. b.

43 See NUP, IV, 18, fol. 105v, col. b.

44 See ibid.

45 See NUP, IV, 18, fol. 106r, col. b.

for establishing the order of the "planets". They use three methods: diversity of aspect, velocity of motion and eclipses. None of these methods survives Patrizi's critical examination, and astronomy is again proven to be completely uncertain and its claims without any firm foundation.

This being so, Patrizi offers his own solution to the important question of the order and location of the planets. He is convinced that in order to establish the truth one must rely on the sense of sight, on what is seen, on appearances.[46] At the moment he writes these words, Patrizi sees the planets – and this is confirmed by the calculations of the astronomers – in the constellations of Gemini (Saturn), Scorpio (Jupiter), Sagittarius (Mars) and Taurus (Venus). But they do not appear below these stars but appear to be at the same altitude.[47] It *cannot* be observed that some of them are higher or lower. On the authority of sight, that is, on the authority of the appearances, Patrizi concludes that "planets" have their quarters among the rest of the stars. They conduct their courses and motions among them. They do not have their own proper orbs or heavens; there are no orbs or heavens which would have only one star.

Instead, Patrizi argues, the planets move with the rest of the fixed stars in 24 hours from east to west.[48] But they also move in many different ways that are proper to each individually, though having in common that they move in a different direction than the rest of the stars. They also move forward; they have double stations in which they appear to be at rest and to have no motion; and they retrograde. They also move north and south of the ecliptic, staying nevertheless within the borders of zodiac. At times they appear smaller and at other times bigger, as if they were ascending to their highest position and then descending to the lowest position.[49]

46 See NUP, IV, 18, fol. 106v, col. a.

47 See ibid.

48 This is, of course, only with the respect to us, not *per se*. For Patrizi the Earth rotates from west to east.

49 See NUP, IV, 18, fol. 106v, col. b.

But how shall one explain these apparent movements? While astronomers explain them by eccentrics and epicycles, Patrizi ascribes all this "to their natures and spirits, and even more to their souls and minds".[50] Planets are controled by their souls and are therefore able to "execute the divine providence and conserve the harmony of the universe".[51]

4.

Apologia. Let us now return to Kepler's criticism of Patrizi's position in his *Apologia contra Ursum*. Kepler partly agrees and partly disagrees with Patrizi.[52] The points of agreement are, of course, the non-existence of solid spheres and a belief in a Creator who can impose to created bodies whatever kind of motion he chooses. In all the rest Patrizi is, according to Kepler, wrong, even ridiculous. I would especially like to underscore Kepler's criticism of Patrizi's astronomy without eccentrics and epicycles or, in Kepler's words, "astronomy without hypotheses".

Kepler's main objection to Patrizi is that although God could have ordered the planets to move in so called "spirals" as they appear to us, would not he prefer them to move "in a circle, uniform and as regular as possible"[53] instead "in composite, ever changing and irregular curved motions"?[54] Should not we seek regularity behind the irregularity that meets our eyes? Should not we try to find order behind the apparently confused motion?

Kepler's point here is completely traditional. He argues that regular, uniform and circular motions are to be discovered behind the apparently irregular motions of heavenly bodies. This is Kepler's main epistemolog-

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

52 See Jardine, *The Birth of History and Philosophy of Science*, 155–156; Jardine and Segonds, *La Guerre des Astronomes*, 271–274.

53 Quoted from Jardine, *The Birth of History and Philosophy of Science*, 155.

54 Ibid.

ical point. True astronomers, or those who philosophize correctly, must use reason in interpreting appearances. Why? Because "our deluded sight perceives those regular motions otherwise than they have in reality been ordained."[55] In other words, there is a split between appearances and reality. Patrizi's policy of "what you see is what you get" does not work in astronomy. The task of an astronomer is to discover the underlying reality, not to follow appearances. What Patrizi proposes regarding the movement of the planets is naïve empiricism; to him, astronomy should rely on appearances, on what we see. But astronomy, according to Kepler, cannot follow this precept. Patrizi does not take into account the deceptions of sight, which are due to the relativity of motion.[56]

To Kepler, that there is *always* a split between appearances and reality as far as the motion is concerned is obvious even in the most everyday situations. Even in everyday situations one needs to have "judgments of reason", that is, some referential system (= a set of hypotheses) that enables him or her to discern what is reality and what is a mere appearance. Otherwise we would just have to admit a lot of nonsense. "Patrizi philosophizes in such a way" explains Kepler, "that one who paid heed to him could not move a foot without granting that a miracle occurred."[57] Let us take the example of somebody walking through the fields. That person encounters hedges and things near to his path, and experiences or sees, if he or she walks a sufficient distance, that distant mountains are following him or her. This follower of Patrizi's philosophy "would not use the judgment of reason, nor even consult the common sense"[58] but would trust the sense of sight and say that the mountains are moving no less than he or she himself or herself. And Kepler concludes: "Clearly

55 Ibid.

56 As mentioned, Patrizi was completely aware of the relativity of motion and even used it in his argumentation for the rotation of the Earth, but he neglected it in his explanation of the motions of the planets.

57 Jardine, *The Birth of History and Philosophy of Science*, 155.

58 Ibid.

Patrizi's wisdom is no greater when he maintains that the planets run their courses among the fixed stars, just as it appears to us."[59]

Kepler's point here is very general, but very clear: in the movements of the heavenly bodies there is regularity behind apparent irregularity. One cannot rely on the appearances, on the sense of sight. Even in most everyday situations one has to use the judgment of reason to discern apparent from true movement. In order to overcome the relativity of motion one needs to use the judgment of reason. What remains implicit in Kepler's criticism of Patrizi in *Apologia* is that there is no such thing as astronomy without eccentrics and epicycles; there is no such thing as astronomy without hypotheses.

Letter to Fabricius. But this is not the end of the story. As I have already mentioned, Kepler attacked Patrizi's views a few years after he wrote *Apologia* in a letter to David Fabricius on July 4, 1603.[60] In this letter Kepler replies to Fabricius' letter from 7 February, 1603, in which he was asked about the theory developed by Abraham Scultetus in *Sphaericorum libri tres* who was relying on al-Bitruji and Nicolaus Taurellus.[61] According to Scultetus the planets do not move from the west towards the east, since one nature cannot endure the motion to the right and to the left at the same time. Similarly, the Sun does not move with its proper motion from the west to the east as the common opinion has it, but moves with a periodical motion in its declination from the south towards the north.[62]

After explaining his thoughts on the issue of the motion of the Sun, Kepler links Patrizi's ideas to those of Taurellus. If Taurellus was to speak

59 Ibid., 156.

60 For the general context of the correspondence between David Fabricius and Johannes Kepler, see James R. Voelkel, *The Composition of Kepler's Astronomia nova* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press), 170–210.

61 See *Sphaericorum libri tres* (Heidelberg, 1995) II, 18, 101–106. Scultetus mentions Taurellus' *Philosophiae triumphus*.

62 See KGW, XIV, n. 248, 523–544.

on the basis of Patrizi's ideas one should know that according to Patrizi stars are not intent/disposed (*intenta*) to move in circles, but in spirals as they appear to us.[63] Something like that was, according to Kepler, also objected to by Johannes Craig in a reference to Tycho Brahe regarding the motion of the comets.

But such a notion is, in Kepler's view, completely absurd as it errs in several ways. First: Patrizi's formulation makes the stars to be gods which can from the Creation onwards retain in their memories the incidental curvatures of motions and then execute them. Patrizi and Craig also have an absurd idea about the nature of the mind. It is impossible that the mind operates without order, as they imply, since God himself follows order. Third: Patrizi and Craig infinitely deform nature. Instead of small number of circles, which they detest, they introduce an infinite number of spirals, which are always different from each other, both as a whole and in parts. Fourth: in this way, they demolish the certitude of the astronomical doctrine. While astronomers manage to get the order from these spirals, Patrizi and Craig believe that this happens in an accidental way, just like the world of Epicurus, which is constituted accidentally by incidental concourse of the atoms. And Kepler concludes: Patrizi and Craig are enemies of philosophy and patrons of ignorance. Nature loves simplicity, but they reject simplicity, although simplicity was discovered by hard work.[64]

Astronomia Nova. It is a common knowledge that Kepler changed his views regarding the shape of the planet's trajectory from circular to elliptic in *Astronomia nova* (published in 1609 in Prague).[65] In light of that change, one wonders whether his shift from circularity to elliptic

63 See ibid., n. 262, 896–911. See also Jardine and Segonds, *La Guerre des Astronomes*, 439, n. 2.

64 See ibid: "Hostes sunt philosophiae, patroni ignorantiae. Natura simplicitatem amat, illi etiam inventam laboriossisime, tamen respuunt."

65 There is a quiet a lot of literature on this issue. See, for instance, Alexandre Koyré, *The Astronomical Revolution: Copernicus – Kepler – Borelli* (New York: Dover, 1992), 225–279.

orbits affected his attitude towards Patrizi or even forced him to give credit to Patrizi for his alleged intellectual preparation of elliptic paths of the planets. Not really. On the contrary: in the very first chapter of his revolutionary book Kepler provides yet another example of his devastating criticism of Patrizi's position. In comparison to *Apologia* and letter to Fabricius his account in *Astronomia nova* is specifically astronomical and thus nicely complements his previous texts. In Chapter One Kepler explains how astronomers came about to distinguish between the first motion and the second or proper motion, that is, how astronomy distinguished between motion of the fixed stars and the motion of the planets.

Kepler begins with the orbicular, circular motion of the planets. Their circular motion is attested by the testimony of the ages and confirmed by reason. Circles are the most perfect figures and the heavens are considered to be made of the most perfect bodies. But experience shows that planets deviate from a simple circular path. This causes a powerful sense of wonder, which in turn incites people to look into causes. This is the birthplace of astronomy. To quote Kepler:

> "It is just this from which astronomy arose among humans. Astronomy's aim is considered to be to show why the stars' motions appear to be irregular on Earth, despite their being exceedingly well ordered in heaven, and to investigate the circles wherein the stars may be moved, that their positions and appearances at any given time may thereby be predicted."[66]

Kepler explains that at the time humans began to wonder about the movements of objects in the heavens, the difference between first and second motions was not yet understood. In other words: at that time they did not distinguish between the motion of the whole heaven and of all its stars (including planets) from the east to the west in 24 hours

66 Johannes Kepler, *The New Astronomy*, trans. William H. Donahue (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 115.

(first movement) and the motion of the planets from the west to the east (second or proper movement). They noticed, however, that the comparison of the movements of the fixed stars with the movements of the Sun and the Moon on the imagined celestial sphere manifests a difference: in the time when a fixed star arrives at the same spot on the celestial sphere, the motions of the Sun and the Moon never quite return to the same path. Instead, the motions of the Sun and the Moon are "entwined one upon another like yarn on a ball."[67] According to Kepler, this is a primitive outline of astronomy, which is not based on the explanation of causes, but only on the raw experience of the eyes. From this experience one cannot explain the motion "in figures or numbers, nor can it be extrapolated into the future, since it is always different from itself, to the extent that no *spiral* is equal to any other in elapsed time, and none carries over into the next with a curvature of the same quantity."[68] There are some, continues Kepler, which are trying to restore this state of astronomy. By doing that, they are ignoring 2000 years of careful work, erudition and knowledge. They seek admiration from the mob, and have some success among the ignorant. But those with more experience judge them with good reason to be "delirious/incompetent, or, if, like that man Patricius, they want to be known as philosophers) to act mad with reasoning."[69]

Later on astronomers came to understand that two simple motions, the first (common) and the second one (proper) are intermingled, and that this mingling of two motions causes the "continuous sequence of conglomerated motions".[70] This realization "turned out to be of great profit in astronomy for grasping the simplicity of the motions. Instead of unending spirals, an entirely new one is always being added to the end of the earlier one [...], there remained little but solitary circles [...],

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid., 117. Emphasis added.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid.

and a single common [daily] motion."[71] In short, according to Kepler, it is much easier to find repeating patterns in the paths when the daily rotation of the fixed stars is removed from consideration of the motions of the planets.[72]

Conclusion

What does all this mean for the Patrizi's role in the Scientific Revolution or, more precisely, in the Astronomical Revolution? There are several possible approaches to this question – one of them would be to take a look at it from the perspective of harmony versus monstrosity[73] – but I focus here only on the question of Patrizi's alleged contribution to Kepler's affirmation of the elliptical movements of the planets.

Patrizi had significant interest in astronomy and was clearly *au courant* with the latest developments in the field. He was familiar with the latest astronomical phenomena (the appearance of a new star in 1572) and with the latest developments in astronomy as a science. He knew Copernicus' heliocentric system, Brahe's geo-heliocentric system, and was aware of the revival of the homocentric astronomy through Fracastoro. Since he mentioned Della Torre in that connection it seems that he actually read Fracastroro's *Homocentrica*, in which Giambattista Della Torre – who never published anything – is praised as a restorer of homocentric astronomy. On the other hand, we have seen that Patrizi, despite his efforts, did not actually read Brahe's *De mundi aetherei* and relied on the information procured to him by Magini, which perhaps indicates that he relied on second hand sources in other cases as well.

71 Ibid., 117–118.

72 See the comment of William H. Donahue in his *Selections from Kepler's Astronomia Nova* (Santa Fe: Green Lion Press, 2008), 32.

73 It seems that many authors defended their respective cosmological and/or astronomical system in terms of harmony versus monstrosity: Fracastoro, Copernicus, Brahe.

Be this as it may, from what has been said it is also clear that Patrizi's interests in astronomy were not astronomical. His concerns were purely philosophical or metaphysical. His main goal in the portion of *Pancosmia* in which he expresses ideas concerning astronomy is to prove the simplicity, unity and harmony of the heavens. This is to be achieved by the elimination of the orbs on the one hand and by understanding of the nature and motions of the stars and planets as free living beings endowed with the reason and participating in the highest intellect. By moving through simple, fluid aether, as they appear to us, that is, in form of spirals instead of circles, which form the principal elements of the construction of the solid, eccentric and epicyclical models (hypotheses), they preserve the harmony of the universe.[74]

But Patrizi's criticism of astronomy and his solution are astronomical nonsense. As nicely shown by Kepler, his position is completely untenable. In doing astronomy one cannot rely solely on the sense of sight. Even in the most everyday situations there are optical illusions of motion and one has to use the "judgment of reason" to discern what is real and what is mere appearance. This is even more necessary when doing astronomy; the astronomer is obliged to look behind the apparent "disorder" to discover the underlying order and simplicity. God and nature love order and simplicity. To put it in more astronomical terms: what Patrizi proposes is not based on the explanation of causes, but only on the raw experience of the eyes. From the experience (motion in "spirals" as it appears to us) one cannot explain the motion geometrically; one cannot predict the motions of heavenly objects. "The spiral", the alleged "missing link" between the circle and the ellipse, is "never the same". It does not provide the means for astronomy to do its basic job: to predict the phenomena. In summary, Patrizi's solution of the "astronomical chaos" was not a step forward

[74] In order to fully understand Patrizi's position one would have to follow the development of his cosmological thought throughout the entire *Pancosmia*, which obviously surpasses the scope of this article. For a short outline of Patrizi's cosmology, see Miguel A. Granada, "New Visions of the Cosmos," in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. John Hankins (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 275–278.

towards the elliptic motion of the planets, but a step backwards, that is, in Kepler words, towards the most "primitive state of astronomy".[75]

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[75] Despite claiming that, I believe that Patrizi's natural philosophical ideas are relevant for understanding the Scientific Revolution. As it is well known, his theory of space is very intriguing and there are some other natural philosophical issues worth of more detailed study. Rossi, "Francesco Patrizi: Heavenly Spheres and the Flocks of Cranes", 363, enumerated 13 interesting points regarding astronomy and cosmology, and Luc Deitz, "Space. Light, and Soul in Francesco Patrizi's *Nova de universis philosophia*," in *Natural Particulars. Nature and the Disciplines in Renaissance Europe*, ed. Anthony Grafton and Nancy Siraisi (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1999), 164, n. 54, noticed that Alexandre Koyré overlooked Patrizi's thoughts on the infinity of the universe, etc. I believe that this still does not exhaust the list of intriguing issues and that a more comprehensive and in-depth study of his natural philosophy is needed.

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The Book of the Mind: The Shift Towards the Subject in Patrizi and Comenius

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Abstract In his rhetoric, Augustine's metaphor of the "book of nature" works towards a full appreciation of the created world and the fight against gnosis. In Patrizi's and Comenius' use of this imagery, a similar tendency appears with respect to the human heart and intellect: Patrizi prefers the "book of the soul" to other human books, while Comenius even wishes to make its importance equal to both the Bible and Nature. This shift seems to be significant in the context of the Renaissance and the Early Modern Age, and culminates in Kant's "Copernican turn". The goal of this paper is to outline the history of the trope and to compare Patrizi's and Comenius' understanding of it.

Keywords Patrizi, Comenius, "book of the mind", conceptual history, history of metaphors, Begriffsgeschichte, Metapherngeschichte

1. Introduction

There are many images of the human mind.[1] According to ancient mnemonic art, it is ideally manifested as a house preserved in a tidy and orderly manner. According to contemporary computational theory, the mind is a computer.[2] Some modern authors attribute to the human mind a textual quality: according to Sigmund Freud, the pattern method

[1] This study was supported within the project of Education for Competitiveness Operational Programme (OPVK), Research Centre for Theory and History of Science (Výzkumné centrum pro teorii a dějiny vědy), registration No. CZ.1.07/2.3.00/20.0138, co-financed by the European Social Fund and the state budget of the Czech Republic.

[2] To be more precise, the computational theory of the mind does not assert that the mind is a modern day electronic computer, but it is a computer like Turing's machine, a symbol manipulator. Cf. Steven Horst, "The Computational Theory of Mind," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2011 Edition), accessed June 6, 2014, http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2011/entries/computational-mind/.

of interpreting dreams is a philological one. And as Jürgen Habermas critically notes, Freud occasionally compares the dream interpretation to the translation of a foreign text.[3] The mind as a text or a book – is an image with a long history dating back to Plato and the Old Testament. One such chapter of this history was written in the late Renaissance by Francesco Patrizi and John Amos Comenius.

The goal of the following article is to make a modest contribution to the conceptual history (*Begriffsgeschichte*) in general and to the history of metaphors (*Metapherngeschichte*) in particular. The starting point of my investigation will examine the research results of Ernst Robert Curtius,[4] Erich Rothacker[5] and Hans Blumenberg,[6] to which I will add some new findings of my own and which I interpret in a relatively new way; although in Comenius' case I am inspired and influenced strongly by the former interpretation of Pavel Floss.[7]

While in the first part I focus on the "book of the mind" imagery in the history of Western philosophy, in the second part I compare the use of these metaphors in Patrizi's and Comenius' works in an attempt to show that both Patrizi and Comenius strove to increase the value of the human mind in an antithetical way to the printed books of human authors. Comenius even identifies the "book of the mind" with metaphysics. I will conclude that the modern shift towards the subject and its attendant preconditions had already been anticipated by the late Renaissance.

3 Jürgen Habermas, *Erkenntnis und Interesse* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1973), 263.

4 Ernst Robert Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Tübingen: Francke, 1993).

5 Erich Rothacker, *Das "Buch der Natur": Materialien und Grundsätzliches zur Metapherngeschichte* (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann, 1979).

6 Hans Blumenberg, *Die Lesbarkeit der Welt* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1981).

7 Pavel Floss, *Nástin života, díla a myšlení Jana Amose Komenského* (Přerov: Vlastivědný ústav, 1971), 23.

2. History: selected philosophical uses of the "book of the mind" imagery

If we look back through history, we first encounter one of the most important sources for Patrizi's and Comenius' thoughts on the "book of the mind" in Plato. From now on, I will call this Platonic conception, "the epistemological book of the mind", because it is grounded in the idea that the human mind possesses some kind of innate knowledge. In the Phaedrus dialogue, Socrates recounts the Egyptian myth about the invention of writing by the god Hermes. But in this story the Egyptian King Ammon disputes his invention by answering:

> For your invention will produce forgetfulness in the souls of those who have learned it, through lack of practice at using their memory, as through reliance on writing they are reminded from outside by alien marks, not from inside, themselves by themselves [...].[8]

On the basis of this, Socrates asserts:

> So the man who thinks that he has left behind him a science in writing, and in his turn the man who receives it from him in the belief that anything clear or certain will result from what is written down, would be full of simplicity and would be really ignorant of Ammon's prophetic utterance, in thinking that written words were anything more than a reminder to the man who knows the subjects to which the things written relate.[9]

According to Socrates, there is another way of speaking, namely: "The one that is written together with knowledge in the soul of the learner

[8] Plato, *Phaedrus*, 275a. Translation: Christopher J. Rowe, trans., *Plato: Phaedrus* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1986), 123.

[9] Plato, *Phaedrus*, 275c–275d. Translation: Christopher J. Rowe, trans., *Plato: Phaedrus*, 123–125.

[...]."[10] Patrizi, who deeply admired platonic and hermetic tradition, was presumably well-acquainted with these passages from Phaedrus. Comenius most likely knew this dialogue too. But not until the 12th century would the "epistemological book of the mind" become embedded in philosophical and theological discourse.

The second obvious source of the "book of the mind" imagery is found in the Bible. From now on, I will call this Biblical conception the "moral book of the mind", because it is rooted in the idea that the human mind possesses some kind of innate morality.

At this point I have to make one important terminological observation: in fact, I consider the imagery of the "book of the mind", "book of the soul", "book of conscience", "tablet of the human heart", "book of reason" or "book of intellect" to be synonymous. There are certainly many situations and contexts where these metaphors represent different objects, e.g. the "human heart" often symbolises the emotional aspect of the human being – and "reason", on the contrary, the rational side of man. But for our purposes it is sufficient that all these metaphors stand for the inner, psychical and spiritual core of man. They always denote the subject of the process of theoretical knowledge or practical action.

In the Old Testament we encounter the notion of the human heart, upon which is written the sin of Israel: "Judah's sin is engraved with an iron pen. It is etched with a diamond point on the tablets of their hearts and on the horns of their altars."[11] In the Wycliff translation, the "book of the mind" is even made explicit:

> Then men dreading God spake, each with his neighbour; and the Lord perceived, and heard, and a book of the mind is written before him, to them that dreaded God, and thought on his name.[12]

10 Plato, *Phaedrus*, 276a. Translation: Christopher J. Rowe, trans., *Plato: Phaedrus*, 125.

11 *Jeremiah* 17:1. Translation: *Common English Bible*.

12 *Malachi* 3:16. Translation: *Wycliff Bible*.

But when we consult modern translations, it is evident that this book is translated mostly as "a book of remembrance", which is why on first inspection this passage seems to be important for the history of the investigated metaphor only. The book in question is actually the Book of Life: a heavenly list of those who are pious, god-fearing and who will be saved and resurrected on the Last Day.[13] And it is that book, about which the famous Latin hymn *Dies Irae* (Day of wrath) speaks: "Lo! the book, exactly worded, / Wherein all hath been recorded: / Thence shall judgement be awarded."[14]

Paul the Apostle twice mentions that something is written on the hearts of men. In the first instance, he calls on Gentiles to follow one Law, ignorant as they are of written Jewish Law: "They show the proof of the Law written on their hearts, and their consciences affirm it."[15] In the second, more mystical use of the metaphor, Paul the Apostle compares the Christian believer's soul to Christ's letter: "You show that you are Christ's letter, delivered by us. You were not written with ink but with the Spirit of the living God. You were not written on tablets of stone but on tablets of human hearts."[16]

In his rhetoric, Augustine's metaphor of the "book of nature" works towards a full appreciation of the created world and the fight against gnosis. Nature is God's work and a kind of revelation accessible to the illiterate. Nevertheless, Augustine too refers to God's law written in men's

13 Cf. Helmut K. Kohlenberger, "Buch des Lebens," in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie: Band 1, A–C*, ed. Joachim Ritter (Basel: Schwabe & Co, 1971), 956–957; Blumenberg, *Die Lesbarkeit der Welt*, 22–35.

14 "*Liber scriptus proferetur, / In quo totum continetur, / Unde mundus iudicetur.*" Irons translation.

15 *Romans* 2:15. Translation: *Common English Bible*.

16 *2 Corinthians* 3:3. Translation: *Common English Bible*.

hearts: "Theft is punished by thy law, O Lord, and by the law written in men's hearts, which not even ingrained wickedness can erase."[17]

Up until the 12th century in the Middle Ages, Augustine only knew the "moral book of the mind". In the Middle Ages, several other moral conceptions of the "book of the mind" were developed. Guibert of Nogent (c. 1055–1125) thinks that the sermon is more comprehensible "when anyone can read in himself, as in a book, everything about diverse temptations, about which the preacher's tongue lectures."[18] Hilbert of Tours speaks of a "book of conscience" (*liber conscientiae*),[19] which would later foreshadow the chief work of the 17th century Lutheran theologian Johann Arndt – *Vier Bücher vom Wahren Christentum* (Four Books on True Christianity).[20] From this it is clear that the "moral book of the mind" – as we call it – is not an exclusively medieval *topos*. It is present in modern devotional literature too.

The well-known medieval theologian Hugh of St. Victor uses the expression, "book of reason", although still couched in a rather moral context: "If anyone is thinking about what to do and he is holding forth rationally, it is like he is reading from a book of reason."[21] But in the 12th

17 Augustine, *Confessions I: Introduction and Text*, ed. James J. O'Donnell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 18 (II.iv.9): „*Furtum certe punit lex tua, domine, et lex scripta in cordibus hominum, quam ne ipsa quidem delet iniquitas.*" Outler translation.

18 Guibertus de Novigento, "Quo ordine sermo fieri debeat," in *PL 156*, 26 C: "[...] *ut tractatus hujusmodi nulli, ut arbitror, possit esse obscurus, praesertim cum unusquisque intra seipsum quasi in libro scriptum attendat quidquid de diversis tentationibus praedicatoris lingua retractat.*"

19 Hildebertus Turonensis, "Sermones de tempore," in *PL 171*, 349 C: "*Quadripartibus in scripturis liber invenitur. Liber primus, praedestinatio; secundus, liber doctrinae, vel inspirationis occultae per Christum, qui est forma vitae credentibus in eum; tertius, liber Scripturae, corporalis scilicet; quartus, liber conscientiae, qui facile locis suis distinguitur. Liber ergo a Job desideratur.*"

20 Johann Arndt, *Vier Bücher vom Wahren Christentum* (Berlin, 1873), Contents (no pagination): "*Das dritte: Liber conscientiae. Wie Gott den höchsten Schatz, sein Reich, in des Menschen Herz geleget hat, als einen verborgenen Schatz im Acker, als ein göttliches, innerliches Licht der Seelen: Und wie dasselbe in uns zu erwecken und zu suchen.*"

21 Hugo de Sancto Victore, "De claustro animae: Liber quartus," in *PL 176*, 1170 C: "*Cum aliquis cogitat quid agere debeat, et hoc rationabiliter disponit, quasi in libro rationis legit.*"

century, the "epistemological book of the mind" eventually resurfaces. John of Salisbury writes:

> It is more astonishing that every person carries in his heart a book of knowledge open to those subservient to reason. In this are represented not only all the things visible in nature, but also all those invisible things which the Fabricator writes with His own finger.[22]

Here we can see that the notion of the "book of the mind" moves away from the backdrop of moral theology and back to the earlier Platonic epistemological context, as we know it from Phaedros. This shift is an important moment that closely straddles Patrizi's and Comenius' use of the metaphor. The image of God's writing finger is noteworthy too, as we will see later.

Bonaventure's conception of a book written both from inside and outside is a Biblical one. *Ezekhiel* 2:9 and *Revelation* 5:1 speak of *liber scriptus intus et foris* (the book written inside and outside). But Bonaventure's interpretation of this biblical motif is definitely a Platonic reading. He believes that "there is a duplex book, the one written inside, which is the eternal art and wisdom of God, the other written outside, which is the sensible world."[23] In Christ then, both books come together.

It is significant that, according to Bonaventure, there seems to be, at least in Eden, a kind of unity between God's eternal art and wisdom and Eve's inner book, i.e. her mind: "The woman, when she heard the external

[22] Joannes Saresberiensis, *Opera omnia III: Polycratici Libri I.–V.* (Oxonii: Apud J. H. Parker, 1848), 163: "*Quodque magis mirere, quilibet quasi quendam librum sciendorum, officio rationis apertum, gerit in corde. In quo non modo visibilium species, rerumque omnium natura depingitur, sed ipsius opificis omnium invisibilia Dei digito conscribuntur.*" Translation: Joannes Saresberiensis, *Policraticus: Of the Frivolities of Courtiers and the Footprints of Philosophers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 16.

[23] Bonaventura, "Breviloquium," in *Opera omnia V: Opuscula varia theologica* (Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi) prope Florentiam: Ex Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1891), 229 (II.xi.2): *"Et secundum hoc duplex est liber, unus scilicet scriptus intus, qui est aeterna Dei ars et sapientia; et alius scriptus foris, mundus scilicet sensibilis."*

instigation of the serpent, did not make recourse to the inner book, which is suggested by itself as legible [...], but she set her mind on the outer book and began to engage in outer good."[24] However, Bonaventure's conception of the "book of the mind" is a little problematic because we can classify it neither as purely epistemological nor as strictly moral, for it includes elements of both. It is a synthesis of Plato and the Bible in this respect and either way Bonaventure's thought is not fully clear. Maybe he would not agree with our identification of Eve's inner book (from the second quote) and the "book written inside" (from the first quote), although it seems to be logically inferable from his statements.

In contrast, Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa alludes to the "book of the mind" in a clearly Platonic, epistemological way: "The mind is truly like a book of intellect, seeing in itself and in all things the writer's intention."[25] Cusanus further explains: "And as a picture is manifestation of the truth, as everything is only a manifestation of the potency itself [*posse ipsum*]."[26] The mind discovers in every material entity its triune being – width, height and depth – a manifestation of the Holy Trinity.[27] This allegorical triadism is found not only in Bonaventure, but in Comenius too.

In Renaissance thinking, the "book of the mind" imagery is often revealed in very daring contexts. For example, Valentine Weigel comes near to some kind of autotheism when he suggests that "the right book is in the most inner foundation of man and it is God himself."[28] In this way,

24 Bonaventura, "Breviloquium," 232 (III.iii.2): "[...] *mulier, audita suggestione serpentis exteriori, non recurrit ad librum interiorem, qui legibilem se praebet recto iudicio rationis; sed sensum suum circa exteriorem librum tenuit et circa exterius bonum negotiari coepit.*"

25 Nicolaus de Cusa, "De apice theoriae," in *Opera omnia XII* (Hamburgi: In aedibus Felicis Meiner, 1982), 132 (21.6–7): "*Mens vero est ut liber intellectualis in se ipso et omnibus intentionem scribentis videns.*"

26 Nicolaus de Cusa, "De apice theoriae," 132 (20.6–7): "*Et sicut imago est apparitio veritatis, ita omnia non sunt nisi apparitiones ipsius posse.*"

27 de Cusa, "De apice theoriae," 134–136 (25.1–28.8).

28 According to: Walter Lehmann, *Deutsche Frömmigkeit: Stimmen deutscher Gottesfreunde* (Jena: E. Diederichs, 1917), 162: "*Denn das rechte Buch ist im innersten Grunde des Menschen*

Weigel echoes some of Eckhart's motifs and anticipates the emancipation of man's mind in Patrizi and Comenius.

Elsewhere, Weigel compares the book written inside of man with the dead letter outside, concluding that this "book inside of man" should be followed more than the books read by scholars:

> This book is in me and in all people, in both small and large, young and old, literate and illiterate, but just enough, yes, just enough that they can read it. Yes, many well-learned people are capable of refusing and denying it, of sticking to the dead letter which is not of them, and of leaving the book of life that is written with the finger of God in the hearts of all men.[29]

Paracelsian influence is obvious here but Weigel is near to Cusanus as well: Weigel not only criticises the bookish culture of Scholasticism and Renaissance humanism, but he also uses the same image as Nicholas (and John of Salisbury before): the image of the writing finger of God. The following quote comes from *Idiota de sapientia* of Cusanus:

> Orator: "How can you be led to your *scientia ignorantiae*, when you are a layman?" Layman: "Not out of yours, but out of God's books." Orator: "Which are those?" Layman: "Those he wrote by his own finger."[30]

und ist Gott selber." Cf. Erich Rothacker, *Das "Buch der Natur": Materialien und Grundsätzliches zur Metapherngeschichte*, 44.

29 Valentin Weigel, "Der Güldene Griff," in *Valentin Weigel: Ausgewählte Werke*, ed. Siegfried Wollgast (Stuttgart–Berlin–Köln–Mainz: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1978), 433–434: "[...] *dieses Buch ist in mir und in allen Menschen, in großen und kleinen, in jungen und alten, in gelehrten und ungelehrten, aber gar wenige, ja freilich, gar wenige können dasselbe lesen. Ja, viele der Wohlgelehrten dürften dasselbe in sich verneinen und verleugnen, kleben also am toten Buchstaben, der da außer ihnen ist, und verlassen das Buch des Lebens, das doch mit dem Finger Gottes eingeschrieben ist in aller Menschen Herzen.*"

30 Nicolaus de Cusa, "Idiota de sapientia," in *Opera omnia V* (Hamburgi: In aedibus Felicis Meiner, 1937), 5: "*Orator. Quomodo ductus esse potes ad scientiam ignorantiae tuae, cum sis*

3. Comparison: Patrizi and Comenius on the "book of the mind"

The popular image of God's writing finger is also found in Comenius' *Pansophia*: "Indeed, each one carries a book from God's wisdom itself inside, written with God's finger."[31] Patrizi uses the similar image of the writing hand in the *Dialogo Terzo* (Third Dialogue) of his *Della Historia diece dialoghi* (Ten dialogues on history): "It is the book of my soul that is given by God [...]. It speaks about all because it was written with God's hand."[32] These anthropomorphic metaphors have a clear function: they indicate a direct, literally first-hand origin of the "book of the soul". While the Bible is written by sacred writers who compose in human language, the "book of the mind" – as well as the "book of nature" – come immediately from God's hand, from his finger.

The Bible and the books of human authors are all mediated in some way. The books of human authors are, furthermore, doubtful because they are prone to error. Patrizi compares all written books of the world with the "book of his soul" and when the former includes something that the latter does not, he considers the human book to be untrue:

> I look for all things that I find in written books, in the book of my soul too. Some I can find, others I cannot and still others I am not certain of. Those found I consider to be true, those not found I consider to be false, and those undecided I consider to be between truth and falsity, uncertainty and doubt.[33]

idiota? Idiota. Non ex tuis, sed ex Dei libris. Orator. Qui sunt illi? Idiota. Quos suo digito scripsit."

31 Johannes Amos Comenius, *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica I* (Pragae: In aedibus Academiae Scientiarum Bohemoslovacae, 1966), 768: "*quippe Librum ab ipsa Dei sapientia digito Dei scriptum quisque intra se gestat*".

32 Francesco Patrizi, *Della Historia diece dialoghi* (In Venetia: appresso Andrea Arriuabene, 1560), 12: "*Et io risposi, egli è il libro dell'anima mia [...]. Et io risposi, ei parla di tutte le cose. Perciò che egli è scritto per la mano di Dio.*"

33 Patrizi, *Della Historia diece dialoghi*, 13: "*Tutte le cose, ch'io ritrouo su libri scritti di fuori, soggiunsi io, uo cercando io anco in sul libro dell'anima mia. Nel quale molte ritrouo, & molte nò;*

Similarly Comenius considers God's "book of the mind", but also two of God's other books – Nature and Scripture, to be criteria of credibility for everything written in human books:

> It will be possible [by means of the light of the mind] to comprehend and to judge all human books, written anytime and by anyone, whether they contain things good or bad, true or false.[34]

According to Comenius, human books are mere copies, keys, funnels, prologues, glosses, annotations and footnotes of God's three books, which include the "book of nature", the "book of the mind" and the "book of Holy Scripture". Both Patrizi and Comenius criticise the vast humanist book production, the so-called "bookish culture".

According to Patrizi and Comenius, the content of the "book of the mind" is very telling. Despite the fact that both thinkers are proponents of the microcosm-macrocosm relation, only Patrizi concludes that, in the "book of the soul," i.e. the microcosm, all things of the macrocosm are included: "All things of the world are included in it [...]. In a form of images, as like books from Japan and China..."[35]

Comenius, perhaps influenced by the early modern mathematical enthusiasm, alludes to the deuterocanonical Book of Wisdom,[36] asserting that: "As from a book cannot be read what is not inscribed there, as from

& molte altrimenti stanti. Et quelle, ch'io ritrouo, istimo che sieno uere; & quelle, che nò, istimo false; & quelle, ch'altrimenti, istimo tra'l uero, & il falso, incerte, & dubbie."

34 Comenius, *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica I*, 215: "*Per eandem poterunt omnes humani Libri, quocunque tempore a quocunque scripti intelligi, et bonane an mala, vera an falsa contineant, dijudicari.*"

35 Patrizi, *Della Historia diece dialoghi*, 13: "*Tutte le cose del mondo, soggiunsi io, ui sono scritte entro* [...]. *In imagini, nel modo che sono i libri di quelli del Giapan, & della China.*"

36 *Wisdom* 11:20.

our mind, there cannot be drawn what is not engraved there. Thus we have indeed in ourselves numbers, measures and weights for all things [...]."[37]

Here Patrizi and Comenius, despite their common Platonic basis, fundamentally diverge. Patrizi's "book of the mind" is written in pictographic script acting as a repository for all things. On the contrary, Comenius' "book of the mind" only includes instruments that grasp the world, not images of things. Only keys, forms and norms, not things themselves: "That, what we find in us, will serve us as keys, as forms and norms of all things out of us."[38] Both Patrizi and Comenius cite the "book of the mind" when they consider it to be an arbiter of truth. Moreover, Comenius considers it to be *alphabeta rerum* and metaphysics itself. Strange conclusions for a "Platonic" philosopher!

A kind of Platonism is definitely present in the conceptions of both thinkers. Patrizi advocates Plato explicitly and charts from Plato's books a route towards the "book of the soul":

> You should honour and admire Plato as a divine man, together with the images of God's wisdom that he has discovered. [...] There has been no better student of this book [of the soul] than Plato. Everyone who wants to know the book of his soul must read Plato's books.[39]

Comenius' reception of Platonism is more critical. He accepts the Aristotelian-Thomistic theory of truth as *adequatio rei et intellectus*. According

[37] Comenius, *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica I*, 367: "*Nam ut e Libro legi non potest, quod inscriptum non est : ita neque e mente nostra elici potest, quod non insculptum esset. Habemus itaque revera in nobis numeros, mensuras et pondera rerum omnium* [...]."

[38] Comenius, *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica I*, 217: "*Eadem illa quae reperimus intra nos, future nobis ut claves, ut formas atque normas omnium extra nos.*"

[39] Patrizi, *Della Historia diece dialoghi*, 13: "*[...] honorate, riuerite, & ammirate Platone, come huom diuino, & le imagini della sapienza di Dio scoperte in quell' huomo marauiglioso. [...] Ma egli non hebbe mai migliore anatomista, ne piu studioso di questo libro, di quello che si fu Platone. La onde, chiunque disidera di saper reuolgere il libro dell anima sua, legga i libri di costui, che l'apparerà perfettamente.*"

to him, the "book of the mind" is rather a mirror of things than their reservoir. The mind is autonomous and creative, because it is God's triune image represented by an innate triadic structure. The mind contains 1) innate notions, instincts and faculties; 2) innate numbers, measures and weights; and finally 3) an alphabet of all thoughts, sentences and deeds. Here we arrive at another important juncture: abandoning the notion of the mind as a mere container of images, as a pictographic book, and turning to the mind as an alphabet of special things, literally: metaphysics. Metaphysics is "our mind itself, or the image of God imprinted into our mind, depicted by innumerable innate notions, instincts and faculties."[40] Where Patrizi accepts the metaphysics of Plato as a whole, Comenius goes further. For him, the human mind *is* metaphysics or at least intimately related to the source of metaphysics; it is, in fact, a Cartesian assumption and an indication of Kant's "Copernican" shift towards the subject, an epistemologisation of philosophy.

4. Conclusion

The "book of the mind" imagery is derived from two basic sources: Plato's epistemological conception and the Judaic-Christian moral conception. While the latter was widely used in medieval homiletics, the former was not resurrected until the 12th century by John of Salisbury. During the Renaissance, the Platonic epistemological conception – perhaps nourished by Meister Eckhart's mystical utterances about a "divine spark" in the human soul – developed almost into a deification of man's mind. While St. Augustine had fully set the "book of nature" against the background of Manichean gnostic dualism, Renaissance authors emancipated the "book of the human mind".

[40] Johannes Amos Comenius, "Via lucis," in *Opera omnia 14* (Pragae: In aedibus Academiae scientiarum Bohemoslovacae, 1974), 288: *"Physicam hanc scholam excipit alia sublimior, metaphysica, a priore illa toto genere diversa. In hac enim obiecta nostra, libri et magistri, non extra nos sunt sicut ibi, sed intra nos: ipsa videlicet mens nostra, sive impressa menti nostrae Imago Dei, innumeris innatarum notionum, instinctuum facultatumque characteribus depicta."*

Patrizi is still conservative in his statements, although his elevation of the "book of the human soul" to the arbiter of truth is, in a Christian context, quite novel and original. In spite of that, he retains an orthodox Platonic position. Comenius, probably influenced in this respect by Descartes (although otherwise he is definitely not a Cartesian), considers the "book of the mind" not only the source of knowledge equal to Nature and Scripture, but also the source of metaphysics and, as he asserts explicitly, metaphysics itself. He calls the mind *alphabeta rerum*, the alphabet of things. It is appropriate then to quote Czech philosopher Pavel Floss, who writes of Comenius:

> With his conception of an 'alphabet' of things, i.e. of metaphysical notions as mere subjective instruments for grasping the world, thus with his subjectivisation of traditional metaphysics, Comenius indicates limits of the traditional objectivistic conception of this discipline, and he remotely prepares the criticism of metaphysics that Kant carries out.[41]

However, we must also be aware of Jan Patočka's comment in the epilogue to the Czech edition of *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica* (A general consultation concerning the emendation of human affairs), where he points out that Comenius in his opus magnum "is turning from metaphysics, understood as a mere content of the mind, *lux mentium*, to the reality, to the reality understood uniformly and systematically as a chain of things."[42] Finally, we can perhaps, in a very simplified way, conclude that Patrizi remains a Renaissance Platonic, whereas Comenius takes one small step away from Platonism towards the subjectivisation of metaphysics; only to be further fleshed out by the

41 Pavel Floss, *Nástin života, díla a myšlení Jana Amose Komenského* (Přerov: Vlastivědný ústav, 1971), 23.

42 Jan Patočka, epilogue to *Obecná porada o nápravě věcí lidských III*, by Johannes Amos Comenius (Praha: Svoboda, 1992), 549.

Enlightenment and Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason". The purpose here is not to be anachronistic: Patrizi, as well as Comenius in part, obviously belong to the Platonic and Neoplatonic tradition of the Renaissance. But this revisionist analysis of the "book of the mind" imagery shows that at least Comenius had already crossed over the border into the Early Modern Age.

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Johannes Jessenius, Between Plagiarism and an Adequate Understanding of Patrizi's Philosophy

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Abstract Scholars dealing with Jessenius' attitude towards Patrizi's thoughts differ radically in their assessment of Jessenius' intentions: Jessenius' approach has been considered to be badly done plagiarism, a purely opportunistic act, an honest but not long-lasting fascination with Patrizi's Platonism, or a correct understanding of Patrizi's grasp of his own philosophy. The reason for the dissimilarities could be said to be the interpretation of the form of Jessenius' reception of Francesco Patrizi's philosophy is usually only based on an analysis of his book *Zoroaster, nova, brevis veraque de universo philosophia* (Wittenberg 1593) and on the reference to the particular historical context of its publication. This paper tries to present a different view of Jessenius' edition of *Zoroaster* and his treatment of Patrizi's philosophy. The interpretation builds on an analysis not only of Zoroaster, but of his other philosophical works as well. It seems that Jessenius adopted the idea of the concord philosophy from his Paduan teacher Francesco Piccolhomini. Thus his reception of Francesco Patrizi's work was put into the context of Renaissance endeavours for the reconciliation of Plato and Aristotle.

Keywords Francesco Patrizi, Johannes Jessenius, Zoroaster, Renaissance philosophy, concord philosophy.

In the year 1593 as a fresh graduate from Padua University and young doctor in his native town Breslau, Johannes Jessenius published in Wittenberg a book named *Zoroaster, nova, brevis veraque de universo philosophia*.[1] The book did not seem to awaken a big interest in philosophical circles of the

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1 Johannes Jessenius a Jessen, *Zoroaster, Nova, brevis, veraque de Universo Philosophia* (Witebergae: Ex Officina Cratonis, 1593).

time, though it did attain a relatively wide diffusion in Europe.[2] Only in the 20th century was Jessenius' *Zoroaster* recognized as the most important philosophical book written by its author and simultaneously as the most problematic one.[3] In my paper I would first like to summarize the different modern interpretations and estimations of Jessenius' *Zoroaster.* It will be shown that the crucial problem for modern interpretions dealing with Zoroaster have been Jessenius' attitude towards Renaissance Platonism, particularly to the thoughts of Francesco Patrizi. Simultaneously, it will be apparent that *Zoroaster* was often read separately from Jessenius' other writings and only in reference to particular historical circumstances regarding its formation and publication. It has often been stated that *Zoroaster* presents itself as a unique book within the whole of Jessenius' works, but is not in concord with them. The aim of this paper is to find ideas which links *Zoroaster* to Jessenius' other works. Secondly, I will put Jessenius' book *Zoroaster* into the context of both Renaissance philosophy and his other philosophical writings, for I am convinced that reading the text within this broad context (which was formerly often missing) could shed new light on Jessenius' philosophical thought. Finally, I will sketch a new interpretation of Jessenius' method of dealing with Patrizi.

The history of modern interpretation of Jessenius' book started with an article by Karel Svoboda. Although Svoboda did not have a copy of Francesco Patrizi's *Nova de universis philosophia,* but only the German translation of certain selected passages of it, he correctly recognized that Jessenius' *Zoroaster* is an excerpt from Patrizi's work.[4] This was already indicated by the subtitle of Jessenius' *Zoroaster*, that is *Nova, brevis veraque de universo philosophia*. Jessenius' excerpt is indeed brief

[2] The author of this paper found nearly two dozen copies widespread in public libraries in Germany, Austria, Czech Republic, UK, Netherlands, Poland and Slovakia.

[3] Cf. Friedel Pick, *Johannes Jessenius de Magna Jessen. Arzt und Rektor in Wittenberg und Prag hingerichtet am 21. Juni 1621. Ein Lebensbild aus der Zeit des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, Studien zur Geschichte der Medizin 15, Leipzig: Johann Ambrosius Barth, 1926) ; Josef Polišenský, *Jan Jesenský – Jessenius* (Praha: Svobodné slovo, 1965).

[4] Karel Svoboda, „Jana Jesenského Zoroaster", *Listy filologické* 49 (1922): 208–212.

(brevis). He omits a number of examples, citations, as well as polemics with Aristotle, explications of the doctrine of essence, life, knowledge, infinite space, and so on. Svoboda then stresses above all that Jessenius did not actually quote Patrizi as a source for his book, but he only mentioned him as the author of the edition of *Chaldean Oracles*. Svoboda therefore views Jessenius' *Zoroaster* as a plagiarized work, and a sloppily done one at that, because of the confusion in names and other inaccuracies he had found in *Zoroaster*.[5] Moreover, the aim of this plagiarism seemed to him to be purely opportunistic; more concretely, it involved the obtainment of a professorship at the University of Wittenberg.[6] Jessenius wrote *Zoroaster* after his return from Padua to his native town Breslau where he was looking for a new job. He dedicated the book to Duke Friedrich Wilhelm and the plagiarism eventually met with success, for the duke appointed him to a new post at Wittenberg University despite hostility amongst the faculty towards the appointment.

Certain twentieth century scholars have tried to moderate this judgment. Josef Král firstly pointed out the then-common practice of not citing sources.[7] The second way of mitigating Svoboda's assessment was to refer to the historical geographical context, more precisely to the Lutheran orthodoxy in this area. According to Král (whose analysis of the philosophy of Jessenius was used by Friedel Pick in his monograph) and later on according to Zdeněk Horský as well, one was not allowed to make reference to a Catholic writer in Wittenberg during that period.[8] Supposedly even the fact that Jessenius had mentioned Patrizi in the preface to *Zoroaster* with a reference to the *Oracles* was dangerous. If Jessenius had aimed to propagate Patrizi's ideas successfully, he could not have revealed the true author of them.

5 Svoboda, „Jana Jesenského Zoroaster", 212.

6 Svoboda, „Jana Jesenského Zoroaster", 212.

7 Josef Král, „Jessenius filosof", Česká mysl, časopis filosofický, 19 (1923): 213

8 Zdeněk Horský, „Kosmologické názory Jana Jessenia", *Sborník pro dějiny přírodních věd a techniky*, 2 (1955): 131.

This interpretation leads us to the question of what Jessenius actually wanted to promote and then it will turn us back to the interpretative issue of why he did it.

Jessenius' *Zoroaster* is in reality a transcription and excerpt from the book of Francesco Patrizi. Jessenius neither develops the philosophy of Patrizi nor transforms his ideas. He only adds a few marginal notes; for instance, the conviction about the latent rationality of beasts was documented by his own experience with his dog who could anticipate the recovery or death of a sick man and who would refuse to enter a room occupied by the terminally ill.[9]

If we compare, however, Jessenius' book with that of Patrizi, one finds certain differences with respect to Patrizi's new metaphysics of nature as a whole, differences which are a consequence of his reception of Patrizi's philosophy and which are characteristic of it.

The first difference is Jessenius' rejection of the first of the four books of Patrizi's work which was divided into four parts: *Panaugia*, or "All-Splendour", *Panarchia* – "All Principles", *Panpsychia* – "All-Soul", and *Pancosmia* – "All-Cosmos". *Panaugia* plays a significant part in Patrizi's philosophy because it represents an introduction to the method while attempting to define a method of elevation to the first cause – to God, via light – which had an epistemological function, that is it was a precondition of knowledge; it also played a physical role as the source of motion and life; what's more, it could also be attributed an ontological function – light is the creator of all beings. Jessenius in his abstract from Patrizi left *Panaugia* out completely, working only with the following part and he began with the speculations belonging to the second part, i.e. *Panarchia*, which dealt with the Neo-Platonic descending concept of the universe originating in the primal One. *Panarchia* was in Patrizi's work followed by *Panpsychia*, which focused on the action of the universal soul as well as on individual souls. Finally there was *Pancosmia*, which analysed the

[9] Jessenius, *Zoroaster*, 89. Cfr. Svoboda, *Jana Jesenského Zoroaster*, 212. Jessenius concludes that animals can create syllogisms.

manifestation of the One on the lowest sensual level. For Patrizi, similar to other Renaissance Platonists, the soul occupied the central position in the structure of the universe and, analogically, the theory of soul holds the central position in the exposition of this structure. The soul is an element bringing together the higher spheres (in other words, divine and angelic) with the lower sphere which has access to sensual experience. However, in Jessenius' *Zoroaster* this sequence is reversed making it the second main difference in respect to its pattern. In *Zoroaster* the central position was given to *Pancosmia*, a part dealing with the physical universe, and the treatise concludes with a section analysing the human soul. Jessenius' change in the sequence of these two books, breaking the logic of Patrizi's interpretation of reality, was by no means accidental. It clearly reflected the organisation of the sciences characteristic of Aristotelian scholars, physicians in particular. Studies of the human body and its functions were, in fact, also studies of the manifestations of the human soul and its capabilities. Thus the theory of the soul, regarded as a part of natural philosophical research, was closely related to medicine. In the hierarchy of spheres, which natural philosophy deals with, it occupied the lowest position and as the descending description of the universe was concerned, came after cosmology. In the preface to *Zoroaster* Jessenius professes this organisation of sciences. In *Zoroaster* he intends to deal with God, the Trinity, the three orders of minds, ideas, the creation of the world, the world's soul, and the elements.[10] Later he tells us that his next step would be to write another book entitled *Hermes* which will deal with the human soul, thereby introducing this work with a description of the organs of the human body and their functions;[11] however, we have no further evidence that he actually did so.

10 Jessenius, *Zoroaster*, praefatio, A6$^{v.}$

11 Jessenius, *Zoroaster*, praefatio, A6^{v}: „Humani animi, siquidem is non sine operationum, quae non absque organorum contemplatione, perfecte cognoscibilis, consumatiorem demonstrationem consulto distulimus. Exactiorem enim huius, uti et aliorum, liber alter, forte brevi, Hermetis titulo, lucem visurus, tractationem continet."

Now we can return to the question regarding the goal of the publication of *Zoroaster*. Was it indeed a conscious plagiarism or rather a necessity due to historical circumstances that Jessenius did not indicate Patrizi as the author of the pattern of *Zoroaster*?

A new interpretation has been sketched in a book on Zoroastrism by Michael Stausberg. According to the author, Jessenius understood Patrizi's grasp of his own philosophy as the revival of *prisca theologia*, specifically of the wisdom of Zoroaster. That was why Jessenius did not mention Patrizi as a source for his *Zoroaster*, for it expressed his general conviction that he was not doing anything more than reproducing the old philosophy of Zoroaster.[12]

The concept of *prisca theologia* plays a crucial role in the interpretation of Robert Barnes as well. Barnes finds the theological aspects involved in Jessenius' *Zoroaster* concur with Lutheran interests, such as the exploration of the Trinity directed against Antitrinitarian errors, or the emphasis on nature itself as the material aspect of divinity and attacking the so-called rationalist perversion of Calvinism. Jessenius' Hermetic work iss also directed against the rationalizing of Catholic theology by Aristotelianism and should help to preserve the identity of Lutheran confessions.

According to Barnes, Jessenius "certainly believed that the sort of anti-Aristotelian views he took from Patrizi would find sympathetic readers among the conservative Lutherans."[13] In my opinion, the motivation for the publication of *Zoroaster* can hardly be explained by the demand for an anti-Aristotelian philosophy in Wittenberg, for Jessenius simultaneously published an edition of Aristotle's treatise *On Generation and Corruption*

12 Michael Stausberg, *Faszination Zarathushtra. Zoroaster und die Europäische Religionsgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1998): 384.

13 Robert B. Barnes, *The Prisca Theologia and Lutheran Confessional Identity c. 1600. Johannes Jessenius and his Zoroaster*, in *Spätrenaissance-Philosophie in Deutschland 1570-1650*, ed. Martin Mulsow (Tübingen: Walter de Gruyter, 2009): 47.

and dedicated it to the most influential Wittenberg orthodox theologian of the day, Polykarp Leyser.[14]

This last note could lead us to the methodological principal which should be applied in the interpretation of the work of Jessenius: not only should the historical and geographical circumstances in his edition of *Zoroaster* be taken into account, but also the context of his other writings.

With respect to this issue, scholars have usually considered Jessenius' *Zoroaster* as a unique, one-off work. It seemed to be the only work dedicated to Neoplatonic philosophy, while Jessenius' other philosophical writings, both earlier and later, are Aristotelian. Jessenius studied in Padua, which was known as a bastion of Aristotelianism, and this orientation is apparent in Jessenius's early writings, especially in his philosophical dissertation *De humana divinaque philosophia*.[15] Only in the winter of 1592 on a journey from Padua to Prague, the city where he obtained his doctoral degree, did he buy himself a copy of *Nova de universis philosophia* by Franciscus Patritius – a work that is distinctly anti-Aristotelian. His fascination with Patrizi, if his edition was not only an opportunistic plagiarism, did not last a long time. Only three years after the publication of *Zoroaster*, Jessenius edited in the Wittenberg *Universae philosophiae epitome* by Girolamo Savonarola, whom he called the "Italian Luther".[16] This book is usually considered to be a traditional Aristotelian philosophy written in a Thomistic manner.[17]

14 Aristotle, *De Ortu et interitu libri*, Francisci Vatabli studio latini facti: Joh. Jessenii a Jessen doctoris Phil. Et Med. Opera Brevius in singula capita, indicibus et textibus disctinct. (Witebergae: Ex officina Cratoniana, 1593).

15 Johannes Jessenius, *De divina humanaque philosophia progymnasma peripateticum* Ad Divum Rudolphum II. Rom. Imperatorem, Ungariae et Boemiae Regem, Archiducem Austriae etc. (Venetiis: Apud Joachinum Bruinolum, 1591).

16 Cf. Ireneo Farneti, „Una scoperta nel campo degli studi savonaroliani? La terza edizione dei compendi o trattati filosofico–politici di Savonarola, finora ritenuta edizione fedele alle edizioni italiane, è invece una edizione largamente rifatta dal curatore della edizione stessa, (Wittembergae 1596) il medico tedesco–magiaro, Jessenius", *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Ferrara*, 28 (1951): 1–44.

17 Eugenio Garin, *La cultura filosofica del Rinascimento italiano* (Firenze: Sansori Editore, 1961): 209.

However, both his edition of Aristotle done in the same year as *Zoroaster* and his philosophical book called *De anima et corpore universi* from the year 1605[18] did not fit into this scheme of Jessenius' intellectual evolution from Aristotelianism to Hermetic Neoplatonism and then back again.

Firstly, a correction should be made regarding Jessenius' studies in Padua. Paduan Aristotelianism was not a pure and unambiguous Peripatetic philosophy, but it gained different forms with various quanta of communication with Platonism in respect to individual Paduan thinkers. Jessenius studied under Francesco Piccolomini, who was influenced by Plato to a greater extent than other Paduan professors.

An analysis of Piccolomini´s thought was made by Sandra Plastina. According to her, it is not possible to classify this Paduan professor as an Aristotelian or as a Platonist. Although he seems to be a follower of the Peripatetic tradition with respect to his teaching activities in Padua, he simultaneously incorporated genuine Platonic concepts into his system, such as the Platonic concept of science which must follow the natural order of things. On this point Piccolomini differentiated radically from his contemporary opponent Jacopo Zabarella and, which was more interesting, he became very close to Francesco Patrizi, according to Sandra Plastina.[19] Piccolomini then repeated Giovanni Pico della Mirandola`s opinion that Plato and Aristotle differed only in their words, but in meaning they were in harmony. Piccolomini furthermore was in accord with Mirandola`s development of philosophical concord, even using Hermetic texts as a source for his own cosmological ideas.[20]

Jessenius expresses himself as a real pupil of Piccolomini in his Paduan dissertation *De humana divinaque philosophia* (Venetiis 1591), when dealing with the differences between natural philosophy and metaphys-

18 Johannes Jessenius, *De anima et corpore universi, AKROASIS PERIPATETIKE*, (Pragae: Typis Haeredum M. Danielis Adamia Veleslavina, 1605)

19 Sandra Plastina, *"Concordia discors: Aristotelismus und Platonismus in der Philosophie des Francesco Piccolomini"*, in *Das Ende des Hermetismus, Historische Kritik und Neue Naturphilosophie in der Spätrenaissance,* ed. Martin Mulsow (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2002): 217.

20 Ibid.

ics. This dissertation cannot be considered as a pure Aristotelian one. Suprisingly, Jessenius also does not conceal that Savonarola's work he was publishing was an Aristotelian treatise. He recommends Savonarola's philosophy to the Saxonian duke together with the earlier-edited Chaldean wisdom of Zoroaster and explicitly professes Piccolomini's undertaking of the philosophy of concord. In the inscriptions Jessenius often refers to Plato and advocates the endeavor of establishing harmony between Plato and Aristotle, two philosophers who surpassed all others and who both achieved supreme wisdom, though in different ways. He adds that Savonarola, even though he "followed the genius of Aristotle, wished, to an equal extent, that the noble light of Plato would shine everywhere".[21]

Thus Jessenius' oscillation between the Platonism of his own transcription of Patrizi's book and the edition of Aristotle and Aristotelianism of Savonarola's philosophical compendium could be legitimized by the idea of the concord philosophy. Jessenius follows Piccolomini´s plan of reconciling Plato and Aristotle with the help of Hermetic texts which was in accord with the dimensions of Pico della Mirandola´s idea of philosophical concord. Innovatively, he involves the philosophy of Francesco Patrizi in this project, especially his *Nova de universis philosophia*, for he considers it as an expression of prisca theologia.

According to Jessenius, Patrizi´s philosophy (which Jessenius edited) is one of two parts of human wisdom which should be harmonized. Jessenius even tries to fulfill this program later in his book called *On the soul and the body of universe*. Jessenius presents a rather eclectic and then-inconsistent systematic philosophy there. He combines Aristotelian ontology and Platonic psychology, Aristotelian cosmology and Platonic metaphysics of light, referring often to Hermetic and Zoroastrian texts.

21 Hieronymus Savonarola Ferrariensis, *Universae Philosophiae Epitome*. Eiusdem *de Divisione, ordine atque usu omnium scientiarum, nec non de Poetices ratione, opusculum quadripartitum*. Omnia Johan. Jessenii a Jessen, Philosophiae, Medicinaeque Doctoris et Professoris, Opera et studio emendatiora, auctioraque edita. (Witebergae: Excusa typis Simonis Grenenbergii, sumtum impendente Andrea Hoffmanno, 1595): 768–769. „nec ab hoc consilio Hieronymus Savonarola alienus fuit. Is quanquam in tractanda philosophia genium Aristotelis sequi maluit: nihilominus tamen sublime Platonis lumen ubique micare voluit."

One cannot consider it as a serious attempt for the reconciliation of Plato and Aristotle, which could be comparable with the works of Francesco Piccolomini.

Thus, Jessenius' attitude towards Patrizi's thoughts cannot be considered either as plagiarism or as an adequate understanding of Patrizi's philosophy. Jessenius' approach must be put into the context of the seeking of concord between Aristotelianism and Platonism in the late-Renaissance and interpreted as such, particularly within the framework of concord philosophy. Only then can one grasp the specificity of Jessenius' *Zoroaster* revealing the unique way of Patrizi's reception.

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Patricius – Alstedius – Comenius. A Few Remarks on Patricius' Reception in Early Modern Central Europe

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Abstract The talk deals with the question of the reception of Franciscus Patricius and his philosophical work in early modern Central Europe, especially in two cases – of Jan Amos Comenius and his teacher Johann Heinrich Alsted. Based on the analysis of *Nova de universis philosophia* by Patricius and *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica* by Comenius, I have earlier stated that Comenius' work resembles that of Patricius in many aspects, which shows an obvious influence of the Croatian thinker. First and foremost there is the metaphysics of light and its central concept *panaugia*, which Comenius no doubt takes over from Patricius, whereas the reception of the concept further influenced his methodology, in which light features as a fundamental principle. If we accept that Comenius was strongly influenced by Patricius, we ought to establish when and how Comenius encountered Patricius' views. Apparently, Johann Heinrich Alsted, Comenius' teacher in Herborn, may be considered the mediator of Patricius' work.

Keywords Francesco Patrizi, Johann Heinrich Alsted, John Amos Comenius, the Renaissance philosophy, the metaphysics of light, panaugia, encyclopedism

Patricius – Comenius

In the first part of my paper I will deal with John Amos Comenius (1592–1670) and his relation to Franciscus Patricius (1529–1597). Many historians of philosophy have supposed that John Amos was influenced by Patrizi's greatest work, *Nova de universis philosophia*.[1] This was the reason

[1] This study is a result of the research funded by the Czech Science Foundation as the project GA ČR 14-37038G "Between Renaissance and Baroque: Philosophy and Knowledge in the Czech Lands within the Wider European Context".

Franciscus Patricius, *Nova de universis philosophia, in qua Aristotelica methodo, non per motum, sed per lucem, et lumina, ad primam causam ascenditur. Deinde propria Patricii methodo, tota in*

why I decided to compare this treatise with Comenius' *opus grande*, *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica*[2] which was worked on from the 1640s until Comenius' death; it was never finished and was only published for the first time as late as in 1966. This treatise is regarded as Comenius' most mature and most complex work of all.

Based on analysis of these major works of both philosophers, I state the following:[3] Comenius' work resembles Patrizi's in many aspects, which seems to show his obvious influence. In the philosophical systems of both thinkers *the metaphysics of light* and the concept of *panaugia* both play a very important role and are used by both in the very same way. It is without doubt that Comenius adopted the basic principles of his conception of *the metaphysics of light* as well as its central concept from Patricius.[4] Light

contemplationem venit Divinitas. Postremo methodo Platonica, rerum universitatis, a conditore Deo deducitur. (Ferrara: Mammarelli, 1591), Second edition, (Venice: Meietti, 1593). Further quoted as *Nova de universis philosophia* or *NUP*. In the textual apparatus I refer to each quotation from the work using abbreviated notation, e.g. *NUP* I, 2, 14b, where the first Roman numeral stands for one of the four books of *Nova de universis philosophia*, the second, Arabic numeral stands for the chapter number, and, finally, the third, Arabic numeral refers to the original pagination and the particular column in the original text (a–d).

2 Iohannes Amos Comenius, *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica* (Praha: Academia, 1966), Tomus I–II. Further on I refer to the title as *Consultatio.* In the textual apparatus I refer to the particular quotations using abbreviated notation, e.g. *CC*, *Panaugia*, II, 3, where *CC* stands for *Consultatio catholica*, *Panaugia* for one of its books, a Roman numeral for a chapter, and an Arabic numeral for a section, paragraph or article. Despite the fact that Comenius's notation of each parts of *Consultatio* is inhomogeneous I follow it in every case. In parts that are marked ambiguously or have no pagination at all I provide in parentheses the corresponding reference to the volume and the page number of the Latin original. For the Czech translation, see Iohannes Amos Comenius, *Obecná porada o nápravě věcí lidských* [General Consultation on an Improvement of All Things Human] (Praha: Svoboda, 1992), Vol. I–III.

3 Cf. Jan Čížek, "Filosofie Franceska Patriziho a Jana Amose Komenského ve světle jejich vrcholných děl [The Philosophy of Francesco Patrizi and John Amos Comenius in the Light of Their Greatest Works]," *Studia Comeniana et Historica* 40 (2010): 21–45. The following paragraphs are to a certain extent an abridged and reworked version of this study.

4 Cf. Čížek, "Filosofie Franceska Patriziho a Jana Amose Komenského," 24–25. Further cf. Jaromír Červenka, *Die Naturphilosophie des Johann Amos Comenius* (Praha: Academia, 1970), 76, 145 and 192; Elisabeth von Erdmann-Pandžić, "Panaugia: Zur Herkunft des Begriffs bei Patricius und Comenius," in *Slavistische Studien zum XI. Internationalen Slavistenkongreß in Preßburg/ Bratislava*, ed. Karl Gutschimdt, Helmut Keipert, and Hans Rothe. (Köln: Böhlau, 1993), 115,

is crucial not only for the metaphysics of both authors; it also figures as a central part of their epistemological conceptions, which are *de facto* identical.[5] Patrizi's epistemology is based on sensual perceptions which derive primarily from the perception of the visible – i. e. the light.[6] Sight is therefore the most reliable and noblest of all senses.[7] From this point of view, we can see an intense association of the ontological level (*light metaphysics* and the ontological concept of light) with the epistemological level (based on the priority of sensual perception, primarily vision).[8] Finally, sensual perception, the correctness of which is guaranteed by the metaphysical power of light, is the basis of the whole cognitive process.[9]

According to Comenius, the cognitive process is based on a sensual foundation, with priority attributed to the perception of the visible.[10] Also for Comenius the correctness of these sense *data* is determined by the presence of light, in both the ontological and epistemological sense.

120–121 and 125.; Marta Fattori, "La filosofia del rinascimento Italiano in J. A. Comenius: Note su Campanella e Patrizi," in *Italia e Boemia nella cornice del rinascimento Europeo*, ed. Sante Graciotti, (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1999), 312, 323 and 325; Ljerka Schiffler, *Humanizam bez granica: hrvatska filozofija u europskom obzoru* (Zagreb: Hrvatsko Filozofsko Društvo, 1992), 133, 137–139 and 143.

5 Cf. von Erdmann-Pandžić, "Panaugia," 114.

6 *NUP* I, 1, 1c: "*Lux ergo, et lumen primaria eius proles, ante omnia sunt nobis cognoscenda*."

7 Cf. *NUP* I, 1, 1b: "*A primis ergo philosophandi initium nobis esto. A primis, cognitisne? An ab incognitis? Si ab incognitis incipiamus, sequentia, incognita erunt omnia. De incognitis, nulla nobis condetur Philosophia. A cognitis ergo initium sumendum. Cognitio omnis, a mente primam originem: a sensibus exordium habet primum. Inter sensus, et naturae nobilitate, et virium praestantia, et actionum dignitate, visus est primarius. Visui prima, et primo cognita, sunt lux, et lumen*." Cf. also Benjamin Brickman, "An Introduction to Francesco Patrizi's Nova de Universis Philosophia" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1941), 70–71.

8 *NUP* I, 1, 1c.

9 *NUP* I, 1, 1c.

10 Cf. *CC, Panaugia*, VIII, 4: "*SENSUS ergo nostri, divinitus nobis dati, sunt primus noster Oculus, quo Res Mundi percipimus immediate, Visione directa.*"

Sensual perception is for him, as well as for Patricius, the basis of every consecutive thought process.[11]

Furthermore, in the third book of *Consultatio* called *Panaugia*, Comenius introduces a *de facto* identical epistemological theory to the one which was outlined in *Panaugia* written by Patricius.[12]

If we consider other philosophical and theological aspects of the metaphysical and epistemological theories of both Patricius and Comenius, we can clearly see that for both of them, light (*lux*) and its use also plays the key role as the principle which is necessary for theoretical ascendance (mental return) to the Primary light, to God.[13] Patrizi and Comenius hold that in the beginning of the epistemological process there is a light perceived by the senses. By cognition of this light we are able – with use of our minds and intellect – to ascend to its immaterial source, to God.[14]

With regard to God, it is very interesting that both Patricius and Comenius actually use the same characteristics – God is understood as *unum et omnia* by both authors:

> DEUS enim unum quid est, et tamen omnia est: omnia est, et tamen unum est. Unum est Essentia, Omnia Virtutibus: quia radices, ideas, virtutes omnium, in se uno continent. Quas cum extra se porrexisset, rerumque omnem Multitudinem dispandisset, omnia tamen

11 *CC, Panaugia*, III, 7: "*Nempe natura humana ita facta est, ut omnium ejus Actionum bonarum et malarum, radix prima in Intellectu sit. Exsequuntur quippe Membra motu suo, quicquid Regina Voluntas imperat. Regina vero imperat, prout decernit; decernit prout eligit; eligit, prout intelligit; intelligit autem, prout a sensibus rem quamque accipit; accipit vero prout apparent, per claram lucem aut per nebulas; vero suo aut monstroso alieno colore, figura, situ* […]."

12 Cf. *CC, Panaugia*, XI, 4; *CC, Panaugia,* VI, 7.

13 Cf. *NUP* I, 1, 1c and *CC, De Condendo Pansophiae Libro Consultatio*, 10 (Vol. I., p. 180). Further cf. von Erdmann-Pandžić, "Panaugia," 121; Fattori, "La filosofia," 327 and Pavel Floss, *Příroda, člověk a společnost v díle J. A. Komenského* (Přerov: Muzeum J. A. Komenského, 1968), 28.

14 Cf. e. g. *NUP* I, 10, 23b-c; *NUP* IV, 15, 97d; *NUP* IV, 19, 109d; *CC, Panaugia*, II, 6; *CC, Panaugia*, XI, 4. Further cf. Schiffler, *Humanizam bez granica*, 141–142 and Ljerka Schiffler, "Petrić's Philosophy as a Model of Thought," *Synthesis philosophica* 22 (1996): 344 and 350–351.

connexuit ordine uno. Ut in toto Universo nihil non toti suo cohaereat illique serviat.[15]

This interpretation is very similar to Patrizi's conception of *un-omnia*.[16]

Another effect of Patrizi's philosophy can be seen in Comenius' terminology. Not only does John Amos accept a number of philosophical and natural-philosophical terms, he also borrows from Patrizi the Greek prefix *pan-*, which was to play an irreplaceable role in the formation and naming of various parts of his *Consultatio*. Let us for instance compare the titles of particular sections of *Nova de universis philosophia – Panaugia, Panarchia, Pampsychia* and *Pancosmia* – with titles of individual parts of Comenius' *Consultatio*: *Panegersia*, *Panaugia*, *Pansofia*, *Pampaedia*, *Panglottia*, *Panorthosia* and *Pannuthesia* (in the text other concepts such as *pancarpia*, *panautokrateia*, *panautarkeia*, *panhenosia* and even *pancosmia*[17] can also be found).

According to Elisabeth von Erdmann-Pandžić, Comenius uses also other philosophical terms in the same way as Patricius. We can, for instance, observe the following: *lux*, *pater luminum*, *lux intellectualis*, *lux universalis* etc.[18] It is remarkable that the term *panaugia* was used for the last time in the history of philosophy by J. A. Comenius.[19]

15 *CC, Panegersia*, IX, 8.

16 Cf. *NUP* II, 7, 13d: "*At vero, si unum, continet omnia, et est Unomnia, actu ne omnia est?* […]." Further cf. also *NUP* I, 1, 1a: "*Deus, Bonum, Unum, Principium, Primum, idem*". See also Erna Banić-Pajnić, *Petrićev put: od kritike Aristotela do pobožne filozofije* (Zagreb: Institut za filozofiju, 2001), 208; Brickman, *An Introduction*, 32; Žarko Dadić, *Franjo Petriš i njegova prirodnofilozofska i prirodnoznanstvena misao / Franciscus Patricius and His Natural Philosophical and Natural Scientific Thought* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2000), 51.

17 Cf. *CC*, *Pansophia, Pansophiae pars ultima: De ejusdem vario et varia Usu in genere et in specie – Synopsis partis ultimae* (Vol. I., 755) and *CC*, *Pampaedia,* VI, 15.

18 von Erdmann-Pandžić, "Panaugia," 121–124. Cf. also Fattori, "La filosofia," 323–325 and Schiffler, *Humanizam bez granica*, 140.

19 For further information, see Čížek, "Filosofie Franceska Patriziho a Jana Amose Komenského," 32.

Both philosophers also use the same terms for particular descending grades of light and deal with them in the same theoretical regard. With Patricius as well as with Comenius we can find the identical triade *lux – radius – lumen*.[20] The source of physical light is for both thinkers inaccessible and unreachable eternal light, which is identified with God.[21]

Even though Franciscus Patricius and John Amos Comenius deal with the concept *panaugia* and understand *the metaphysics of light* in the same sense (primarily in the epistemological regard), they differ in their further handling of it. Patrizi focuses on the natural-philosophical aspect of *panaugia*. By this concept he understands the spreading of light (*lux*) as the spread of brightness (*lumen*) out into empty space (*spacium*), which is the very first created principle.[22] We can see that light plays an important and irreplaceable role in Patrizi's conception of the philosophy of nature in all its aspects (cf. e. g. *lux*, *lumen*, *spacium*, *calor*, *fluor*).[23]

The situation concerning J. A. Comenius is completely different. According to him, *panaugia* is the spreading of: "[l]ux illa congitionis universalis, vera, fulgida, vincens quascunque, quomodocunque se intermiscentes, ingnorantiarum, dubitationum, ipsorumque errorum nostrorum tenebras".[24] Comenius thus further elaborates the epistemological aspect of *the metaphysics of light*. For him, *panaugia* is the necessary precondition of the *pansophia* and *panorthosia* of all human affairs. If we only ignite the universal light and point it to all things and our minds, we will be able to see anything clearly and unequivocally; we will be able to know everything – we will have *the pansophy*.[25] Thus we will recognize the

20 Cf. *NUP* I, 3, 5d; *CC, Panaugia* I, 6; *CC, Panaugia*, IX, 45.

21 Cf. *NUP* IV, 4, 73c-74b; *CC, Panaugia*, II, 6 and *CC, Pansophia*, *Mundus materialis*, X.

22 Cf. *NUP* IV, 4, 73c-b; *NUP* I, 9, 21b: "*Hoc tale lumen a luce verbi Dei emicans nomine vocat appositissimo Panaugiam; quasi omnilucentiam*" and *NUP* IV, 1, 61c: "*Itaque spacium, a primo uno, ante entia alia omnia est profusum* [...]".

23 Čížek, "Filosofie Franceska Patriziho a Jana Amose Komenského," 30–32.

24 *CC, Panaugia*, X, 5.

25 Cf. Ibid., III, 21–26.

former mistakes of mankind, especially in the three crucial fields in human affairs – philosophy, theology and politics. Finally, we will be able to restore those fundamental human affairs and put into effect *the panorthosy*.[26]

We have seen that Patricius and Comenius proceed from the same philosophical tradition, which was based on *the metaphysics of light*, with its central concept *panaugia*; both present the same epistemological theory, but in regard to the further elaboration of their philosophical systems they construct completely different theories (as a matter of interest, Comenius was not interested in the issue of space at all!).[27]

By way of illustration, let me give another example: both authors postulate the same categorization of natural bodies. Patrizi's *lucida*, *diaphana* and *opaca* have identical physical qualities to Comenius' *lucida*, *pellucida* and *opaca*.[28] But while Patricius only uses this categorization in the philosophy of nature, Comenius also deals with it in his pansophical and pedagogical theories. For him, *lucida*, *pellucida* and *opaca* are metaphors for three different kinds of human mind.[29]

On the basis of comparison of Patricius' *Nova de universis philosophia* and Comenius' *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica*, we can also see many other interesting analogies between both authors' philosophies. For instance, the conception of *anima mundi*, the theory of sympathy or (pan)harmony and triadism.

Patricius – Alstedius

From the above-mentioned information, in my opinion it is clear we can say that Comenius was influenced by Patricius in some ways (most importantly in the fields of metaphysics, epistemology and terminology)

26 Ibid., III, 5.

27 Cf. von Erdmann-Pandžić, "Panaugia," 123–125.

28 Cf. *NUP* I, 1, 1c-d and *CC, Panaugia*, XI, 5.

29 Cf. *CC, Panaugia*, XI, 15.

and that without Comenius' knowledge of Patrizi's thoughts *Consultatio catholica* would never have been written in the way it is. Now we have to at least try to answer the question of when John Amos encountered Patricius' views.

Both Czech and foreign historians of philosophy have held the opinion that Comenius encountered Patrizi's philosophy by reading his *Nova de universis philosophia* during his stay in London between 1641 and 1642.[30] It is very difficult to confirm or falsify this hypothesis, because Comenius mentions Patricius in his work as late as in 1663 – in his treatise *Ad Physicam addenda*.[31] In John Amos' *opus grande – De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica*, no mention of Patricius can be found.

Although Comenius does not explicitly mention Patrizi in his writings (not even in *Consultatio*) until the 1660s, it is very probable that he already knew about Patricius and his philosophy earlier.

According to Marta Fattori, John Amos, in his shorter work called *Conatuum pansophicorum dilucidatio*, refers to *Panaugia, Panarchia* and *Pancosmia*, i.e. obviously to three parts of *Nova de universis philosophia*:

> Ad quas leges doctrinarum syntagmata construere non solum Aristoteles ipse aliique antiqui tentarunt, sed et nostri aevi scriptores quam plurimi Encyclopaedias, Polymatheias, Panepistemonas, Artes cyclognomicas, Syntaxes artis mirabilis, Instaurationes

30 Cf. Červenka, *Die Naturphilosophie*, 76, 145 and 192; von Erdmann-Pandžić, "Panaugia," 115, 120–121 and 125; Fattori, "La filosofia," 312, 323 and 325; Tomáš Nejeschleba, "Die philosophischen Werke des Johannes Jessenius als Quelle einiger Gedanken des Comenius?" in *Johan Amos Comenius – Vordenker eines kreativen Friedens. Schriften zur Triadik und Ontodynamik, Band 24*, ed. Erwin Schadel (Frankfurt: Peter Lang Verlag, 2005), 148, 155 and 159–160; Jan Patočka, "Filosofické základy Komenského pedagogiky [Philosophical Foundation of Comenius's Pedagogy]," in *Komeniologické studie I* [Comeniological Studies I], ed. Jan Patočka (Praha: OIKOYMENH, 1997), 217–218; Josef Tvrdý, "Komenský a Descartes [Comenius and Descartes]," *Archiv pro bádání o životě a díle Jana Amose Komenského (Acta Comeniana)* XVIII (1959): 4 and 13. All these historians of philosophy and comeniologists agree on the view that Comenius encountered Patrizi's philosophy in London at the beginning of the 1640s.

31 Cf. Iohannes Amos Comenius, "Ad Physicam addenda," in Iohannes Amos Comenius, *Dílo Jana Amose Komenského* [J. A. Comenii Opera omnia], *Volume 12* (Praha: Academia, 1978), 200–201.

magnas, Transformationes scientiarum, Theatra sapietiae humanae, Omniscientias Christianas, Pansophias, Panaugias, Panarchias, Pancosmias (et si qui alias libris suis tribuerunt inscriptiones) in publicum edendo.[32]

Even though Comenius did not name Patricius explicitly, those references, according to Fattori, are clear proof that Comenius knew Patrizi's greatest work. In regard to the fact that this treatise was published in 1638, it is – in my view – also solid support for the hypothesis that John Amos first encountered Patrizi's philosophy just before the 1640s.[33]

In regard to terminology, we can in addition say that Comenius uses terms with the Greek prefix *–pan* as early as in late 1630s. Let us, for example, look into his correspondence.[34]

In my recent research, I tried to answer the question of who could have been the mediator between Patricius and Comenius. I was primarily focused on Comenius' Herborn teacher, Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588–1638), who, according to many comeniologists, may have been the intermediary between Patrizi and Comenius.[35]

[32] Iohannes Amos Comenius, "Conatuum pansophicorum dilucidatio," in Iohannes Amos Comenius, *Dílo Jana Amose Komenského* [J. A. Comenii Opera omnia], *Volume 15/II* (Praha: Academia 1989), 63.

[33] Cf. Jan Čížek, "Johann Heinrich Alsted – a mediator between Francesco Patrizi and J. A. Comenius?" *Acta Comeniana* 26 (2012): 69–88. Further cf. Dagmar Čapková and Děvana Pavlíková, "Nález prvního vydání Komenského spisu Conatuum pansophicorum dilucidatio [The Finding of the First Edition of Comenius Treatise Conatuum pansophicorum dilucidatio]," *Studia Comeniana et Historica* 23 (1993): 26–27. and Fattori, "La filosofia," 324–325.

[34] Cf. for example "John Amos Comenius to Bogusław Leszczyński (Leszno, 12th of September 1640)," Online, accessed May 3, 2014, http://emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/profile/work/a25789da-e3fb-41a4-a5c2-f7e7eb42b76a.

[35] Cf. for example Pavel Floss, "Komenský und die Tradition des florentinischen Platonismus," in *Florentine Platonism and Central Europe* ed. Jozef Matula (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2001), 83–89.

The other influence considered – that of John Jessenius – has been disproved by Tomáš Nejeschleba, who showed that Jessenius was not interested in Patricius' *Panaugia* (which was for Comenius crucial) at all.[36]

In light of analysis of all Alsted's relevant writings, I have made the following discovery. In his encyclopaedias we are able to find both implicit and explicit references to many authors, but primarily Alsted refers to Aristotle and Aristotelian philosophers.[37]

With regard to Franciscus Patricius, in Alsted's works we can find only a few very general references regarding *Nova de universis philosophia*. In *Cursus philosophici encyclopaedia* from 1620[38] as well as in *Encyclopaedia septem tomis distincta*, which is its revised version published ten years later,[39] there are only less than a dozen places where Alsted mentions Patrizi or his philosophy.

Franciscus Patricius is, item-by-item, described as an author influenced by both Platonism and Aristotelianism;[40] as an author who was concerned

36 Nejeschleba, "Die philosophischen Werke," 148, 154–155 and 159–160; Tomáš Nejeschleba, *Jan Jessenius v kontextu renesanční filosofie* [Jan Jessenius in the Context of Renaissance Philosophy] (Praha: Vyšehrad, 2008), 79–82 and 97–98.

37 Walter Michel, "Der Herborner Philosoph Johann Heinrich Alsted und die Tradition" (PhD diss., Frankfurt am Main Univ., 1969) 118–120; Howard Hotson, *Johann Heinrich Alsted 1588–1638: Between Renaissance, Reformation and Universal Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 16.

38 Johann Heinrich Alsted, *Cursus philosophici encyclopaedia libris XXVV. complectens universae Philosophiae methodum, serie praeceptorum, regularum et commentariorum perpetua: insertis compendiis, lemmatibus, controversiis, tabulis, florilegiis figuris, lexicis, locis communibus et iudicibus, ita ut hoc volumen possit esse instar Bibliothecae philosophiae* (Herborn: Corvinus, 1620).

39 Johann Heinrich Alsted, *Encyclopaedia septem tomis distincta, I. Praecognita disciplinarum, libris quatuor. II. Philologia, libris sex. III. Philosophia theoretica, libris decem. IV. Philosophia practica, libris quatuor. V. Tres superiores facultates, libris tribus. VI. Artes mechanicae, libris tribus. VII. Farragines disciplinarum, libris quinque. Serie praeceptorum, regularum, et commentariorum perpetua. Insertis passim tabullis, compendiis, lemmatibus marginalibus, lexicis, controversis, figuris, florilegiis, locis communibus, et indicibus, ita quidem, ut hoc volumen, secundi cura limatum et auctum, possit esse instar Bibliotheca instructissima* (Herborn: Corvinus, 1630).

40 Ibid., 102: "*Recte autem incipiet a libellis methodicis et isagogicis. Ita docent Simon Porcius, et Jacobus Maslonius, Peripateticae philosophiae studiosos lectionem a libris exotericis tanquam facilioribus exorsos esse, indeque ad libros acroamaticos accessisse. Atque haec ordinis ratio causa*

with the question of the number of angels,[41] the heavenly hierarchy and the categorization of angels;[42] as well as a thinker pursuing the nature of the shape of the Earth's body[43] and rules of the movements of the Earth's waters.[44]

The last mention of Patricius in Alsted's writings can be found in *Encyclopaedia* in the chapter *De historia philosophica* where he is described as a publisher of Zoroaster's work[45] and as a philosopher who joined in the discussion about the nature of heavenly bodies and the nature of light. In this place Alsted also gives the first and last reference to Patrizi's *Panaugia*:

> Hinc sol ab Heraclito nuncupatur fons coelestis luminis, ab Orpheo vivificus coeli oculus, anima mundi a Platonicis, ab aliis pater luminis, dator vitae, cor coeli et planetarum. Vide Patritius lib. 6. Panaugia.[46]

Patricius – Alstedius – Comenius

From the point of view of the analysis of Alsted's relevant writings and their comparison with Patrizi's *Nova de universis philosophia*, which has been the most important book regarding the relationship between Patricius and Comenius, it is obvious that Alsted's interest in Patrizi's philosophy was almost negligible. We were only able to find a few passages

fuit, cur Franciscus Caballus, et Francsicus Patritius, viri summe eruditionis, libros plures scripserint de ordine observando in legendis libris Aristotelis: cur etiam de ordine in legendis libris Platonis observando scripserint Marsilius Ficinus, Johannes Serranus, Fransciscus Patritius, et Paulus Benius."

41 Ibid., 648.

42 Ibid, 653.

43 Ibid., 1107.

44 Ibid., 1135.

45 Ibid., 2011.

46 Alsted, *Encyclopaedia septem tomis distincta*, 2015.

where he implicitly or explicitly mentions Patrizi and his thought. But in none of these places is he interested in the aspects of Patrizi's philosophy that were later crucial for John Amos Comenius. We have seen that Alsted was interested in Patricius' views on the number and the hierarchy of angels, the shape of the Earth's body, Earth's water movement or specific cosmological problems. These preferences are simply incompatible with those of John Amos Comenius, who is chiefly interested in the *metaphysics of light*, epistemology and theology. Simply said, in regards to Alsted there is no single plausible trace of the *metaphysics of light*, Neo-Platonism or triadism.[47]

Conclusion

The paper dealt with the question of the reception of Franciscus Patricius and his philosophical work in early modern Central Europe, especially in two cases – by Jan Amos Comenius and his teacher Johann Heinrich Alsted.

Based on the analysis of *Nova de universis philosophia* by Patricius and *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica* by Comenius, I have stated that Comenius' work resembles that of Patricius in many aspects, which shows the obvious influence of Patrizi. First and foremost there is the metaphysics of light and its central concept *panaugia*, which Comenius no doubt takes over from Patricius, whereas the reception of the concept further influenced his methodology, in which light features as a fundamental principle. A clear effect of Patricius' philosophy can also be seen in Comenius' terminology. Not only does Comenius adopt a number of terms in the field of philosophy and natural philosophy, he also borrows from Patricius the Greek prefix *pan-*, which was to play an irreplaceable role in the formation and naming of various parts of his *Consultatio catholica*. Regarding the apparent similarities, it also seems possible that Patricius' metaphysical notions might have been reflected in Comenius' epistemological views. In fact, their distinctiveness (triadic

47 Further on cf. Čížek, "Johann Heinrich Alsted," 69–88.

and processual conception of the whole cognitive process, interaction of sensory and intellectual knowledge, the key role of light) appears to refer to the influence of Franciscus Patricius.

If we accept that Comenius was strongly influenced by Patricius, we ought to establish when exactly Comenius encountered Patricius' views. The question is more topical considering that an indirect reference to Patricius' work can be found in Comenius' treatise *Conatuum pansophicorum dilucidatio*, written several years before he travelled to London where, according to the present opinion of historians of philosophy, he became familiar with the contents of *Nova de universis philosophia*.

Apparently, Johann Heinrich Alsted, Comenius' teacher in Herborn, may rightly be considered the mediator of Patricius' work. In view of the analysis of Alsted's explicit references to Franciscus Patricius as well as of the comparison of the theoretical contents of the writings of both authors, the assumed intermediary role of Alsted in the Patricius-Comenius relationship turned out to be highly improbable: Alsted's interest is focused primarily on angelological, geographical or cosmological problems, whereas Comenius primarily draws on Patricius' metaphysical and epistemological conceptions that are not represented in the works of the Herborn encyclopaedist.

So the question of how Comenius encountered the philosophical views of Patricius remains to be answered.

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