## Elements of Life: Campanella's Living World Between Discord and Harmony

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Abstract: In Campanella's magic universe, starting from the space that the first material substrate occupies, everything is alive with sense perception and a will of its own. The pre-condition of universal life is every creature's structural similitude to its trinitarian creator, whose Power, Wisdom, and Love are reflected in each individual as its power, knowledge, and will of existence. Since the active principle of life and sensation is fire – one of the two opposed physical elements Campanella assumes – the sensitive soul is material (animal spirits). In order to avoid both pantheism and dualism Campanella employs the inner dynamic of the trinitarian God for his cosmogony and cosmology.

**Keywords:** Campanella, Renaissance magic, panpsychism, pantheism, physical elements, animal spirits.

Panpsychism has recently achieved a kind of revival or second edition amongst philosophers of mind, who would employ it as an instrument for explaining our understanding of extra-mental objects: some common structure or disposition is presupposed that the mind could recognize as – its own or as itself? For cognizing itself in the other, or the other in itself? Without a judgement on the explanatory power of such attempts, I would like to trace these theories back to a worldview, in which they had their legitimate place at its very foundation: the notion of universal animation, i.e., a living universe, was the cornerstone of Renaissance magic, enabling its propagators to account for the perpetual change of arising and perishing things and, in general, for their interaction, in terms of sympathy and antipathy. I chose as my testimony Tommaso Campanella, the less widely appreciated of the two peaks of Italian Renaissance magic, because he treats universal life as a central topic in a much more straightforward way than Giordano Bruno. As we will see, rather than panpsychism, Campanella's version of the universal life theory would be more properly termed pansensualism, since the word soul is used by him both for the material vital spirits and for the immaterial mind, and only the material sensitive soul pervades the entire universe.<sup>2</sup>

Let us pause here for a moment to consider what a revolution (in the most exact sense of the word) this approach was against the then main-stream philosophical worldview, Aristotelian physics and metaphysics. It was the reversal of an accepted hierarchical structure, of the explanatory order of such key philosophical concepts and notions, like matter and form, substance and accident, el-

ements, soul, sense perception, intellect, etc. These would still appear, but with their meanings and functions altered according to their changed explanatory status. If life was no more seen as a complex effect of multiple heterogeneous causes, but rather as the fundamental generative and explanatory principle of all further processes, it could not be the prerogative of animals and plants but had to be coextensive with existence. All kinds of things and every single thing had to be granted at least some rudimentary awareness, self-awareness, and volition. Consequently, transformation and temporality were no more a deplorable deficiency limited to that cesspool of the universe, our sublunar sphere, but rose to the dignity of a universal law. Theories involving the natural places of elements, material spheres and their immaterial movers, or the substantial difference between the matter above and that below the moon became obsolete. Thus, if in Campanella's universe the evaporating vital spirits still had an impulse to rise towards the hot fiery sky, the reason thereof was not any specific quality of the place as such, but the desire of the spirits to join their own kind and kin. Last, but not least, as in other revolutions, the relative value of certain opposites was reversed: the individual came to range above the general, and accordingly sense perception above abstract thought, and the pre-eminence of man over other creatures appeared seriously compromised.

How can we conceive of the entire universe as animated? There are various ways, of which the shortest and least sophisticated is pantheism that posits an entirely immanent god, which enlivens the universe as a whole and every single part in it. A grave shortcoming of this simple solution is that, being based entirely on universal harmony, it encounters serious difficulties in accounting for negativity, discord and difference, hence for dynamic as such. But a dynamic pervading the entire universe, possibly even requiring a dynamical divinity instead of an unmoved mover, is exactly the core message of this brand of philosophy. Thus, as a theory, pantheism may be seen to be describing quite a narrow, self-dissolving circle. Such more complex variations on the theme of universal life as panentheism, panpsychism, pansensualism, and panvitalism manage to widen the ultimately inevitable circle, pushing back the self-contradictory consequences of an identification of the creator with the creation.

Giordano Bruno and Tommaso Campanella used each their own strategies to avoid that stasis, which is the last consequence of a merely immanent divine principle. Bruno's complex cosmology and metaphysics are, by now, well studied. Summarized in big lines, Bruno assumes a god that is both transcendent (as the absolute One beyond all understanding) and immanent (as Nature); an infinite universe that is the worthy image and likeness of the infinite divine power; an empowerment of universal matter, which is no more condemned to mere passivity, but keeps issuing the material forms out of itself; and the threefold minimum (atom, point, and monad) that seals, in its indivisibility, the union of physical existence, vital activity, and intelligibility.

Tommaso Campanella's philosophy is generally less accessible for lack of translations and of critical editions of most important parts of his oeuvre.<sup>3</sup> He is still mostly known as the author of the utopia *The City of the Sun*. Campanella's philosophy resembles in many details that of Bruno - unsurprisingly, since for both of them Aristotle is the main target of criticism. But there are also fundamental differences. The most obvious among them is that Campanella's metaphysics requires a finite, earthcentered world.<sup>4</sup> More important for our topic are differences regarding the precautions they each take against straight pantheism, and their choice of devices, by which a coextension of existence and life is achieved.

Campanella's God is a transcendent creator, a bestower of forms whose presence in the world consists in the structural reproduction of the divine essence in every individual essence, as we will see later on. This transcendence allows for a certain degree of autonomy of the material world under the laws of nature. However, far from upgrading the material principle by granting it some creative power, as Bruno did, Campanella insists on its utter indifference and passivity: its only property is its desire for form – any form.<sup>5</sup> Even more: Campanella dissolves the traditional notion of prime matter into two coextended concepts: the first thing God created is the incorporeal three-dimensional place for the world, or space, also called the first substance;6 and this space is filled by the second substance, matter or the universal body, which is an undistinguished mass of pure receptivity without any measure, number, direction, preference, or resistance, thence able to receive and shed any form in any extent and any intensity.<sup>7</sup>

Just as space is the place God made for his creative power, matter is the stuff that distinguishes the accomplished artwork, God's beautiful statue, the finite world, from the infinite divine ideas that continue to form it. What makes this *second substance* function as a principle is exactly its corporeality: Since all forms are incorporeal, it must be the passive component that makes the composite body a body, and being a body is the precondition for being in the world, i.e., for existence. Hence matter is the perpetual bone of contention for rival active principles, the prize of their incessant warfare. Since nature abhors the vacuum as the presence and reminder of the nothingness from which the world was called into being, and to which it is eventually destined to return, space is brimful of living bodies, each eager to keep and extend their temporal permanence.8

For this is how Campanella defines the life of individuals: as the conservation, and, in the best case, expansion of all their essential properties and acts. As a process with a natural beginning and end, it is the incessant fight for the huge, but finite amount of material atoms. Nature does not allow any individual thing to just keep to its own, for Nature is movement, transition, transformation of matter, generation and corruption. For all the stringency of its laws, this Nature can hardly be identified with the infinite creative power of God. So let us see, how it relates to God, how it is structured, or came to be, in the first place, and what it serves for in the last consequence.

In their criticism of the Aristotelian world-explanation, both Bruno and Campanella hearkened back to the Presocratic philosophers. A basic inspiration for both (indeed for all Renaissance magicians) was Heraclitus' protean world in continuous flux, governed by an allencompassing mind and law, the logos. While Bruno adopted atomism for further elaboration of his theories, Campanella kept closer to Heraclitus, choosing war as his dynamic principle, namely the implacable conflict between two opposed basic elements.

Campanella rejects Aristotle's four elements, defined as the four combinations of two essential qualities. For him the elements must be exactly two, each representing one essential quality, or rather one agent principle: heat and chill, the first contrariety and the foundation of all opposition and distinction.<sup>10</sup> These are embodied in the basic elements fire and earth and placed (first and mainly) in the hot, rotating heaven with all its stars and in our cold, immobile planet Earth, which for the slowness and minor activity of its agent principle occupies a smaller portion of the universal matter and is thus forced in a defensive position.

The predestined loser, Erath, seeing itself under siege by an aggressive rapacious enemy and eager to hold on to its own, concentrated and condensed all its forces in the center of the world, adding to its original coldness the attributes of density, darkness, heaviness, and immobility. Though endowed with the opposite properties, Heaven imitated the strategy of Earth, concentrating part of its matter in the celestial bodies, and most of its effective force - heat and light - in the Sun. As the celestial bodies orbited that "center of their hatred"11 in search of a weak point, with the intention to burn it, time began with the succession of days and nights, and with the seasons of the year. For God confirmed the hostile behavior of the first bodies, making it their perpetual habit, their very nature. So this is Nature: a destructive urge, which eventually must turn self-destructive, when fire finally accomplishes its aim to burn up the earth, devouring all its matter, and is subsequently extinguished for lack of further nourishment.12 Left to its own devices, Nature has an inclination from top to bottom and its movement is a continuous flow downward. The world is doomed, which is another way to say: limited. It has its time, as all things within it have their time within it.<sup>13</sup>

However, as Campanella hastens to explain, while it is true that all natural drives are merely self-asserting, egocentric, with the sole aim of maximal self-preservation and self-expansion as an individual, or at least as a species, God turns the evil intention of the destructive elements into the instrument for His own good constructive plan. Using the dynamic of this first contrast, God proceeds to express His infinite creative ideas in a beautiful work of art: a perfect world in motion, full of an immense multitude of diverse individual beings, each of them right,

proper, and good in their own particular way, each contributing within its finite capacities to the vivacious universal harmony. For in a similar way as the conflict of heat and chill produced the great celestial and terrestrial bodies, the generation and differentiation of things continues. Under the various conditions of place and time the heat and light of the sun and the influence of the stars work on the matter of Earth, warming and rarefying it, while the earth continues to reclaim its own by cooling and condensing whatever comes within its reach.

This is how water and air, the two remaining elements of ancient tradition, to which Campanella denies any function as principles, come to be: by an increasing rarefaction of earthly substance through heat.<sup>14</sup> But this is likewise the origin of all other things, of stones, metals, and subsequently the more complicated organisms of plants and animals. All of them are alive, just as the basic elements are, and they all grow and decrease, loving to grow and hating to decrease.<sup>15</sup>

Though degraded from their function as primary elements to secondary bodies of diminished power, water and air still play a significant role in the further development and transformation of the physical world. Especially air, the extremely refined earthly vapor, with its swift mobility, high sensitivity and yielding adaptability renders some most important services: It is both the sense organ of the entire world<sup>16</sup> and the prototype and proximate matter of all vital spirits, hence indispensable for the exchange of matter in all organic life. Unlike the first elements, it is a peaceful neighbor to all other substances and quick to fill every gap and nook, in order to leave no space for vacuum, that formidable menace for the entire natural world.<sup>17</sup>

Now let us turn to consider the gist and structure of this genesis narrative.<sup>18</sup> The proper way to do so, is by counting up to three, since Campanella himself, being neither a monist, nor a dualist, counts up to three, or rather up to three-in-one, i.e., Trinity.

ONE is, of course, God, the first efficient and last final cause of everything, the absolute unity that enfolds everything in itself.<sup>19</sup>

TWO is not matter, but Nature, which is law, generative power, and process. It is created by God as different from Himself, <sup>20</sup> in guise of the first contrariety of two opposed active principles, heat and chill. <sup>21</sup>

THREE is the world of concrete existing things, a harmony imposed on the opposites, which could not on their own (e.g., by mixture) produce anything different from themselves.<sup>22</sup> However due to the ideal causes that flow from the divine mind they generate the entire multiplicity and diversity of individual beings, which all and each possess the divine imprint of the three *primalities* Power, Wisdom, and Love: the power to be, the knowledge or conscience of being, and the love of being or will of self-preservation.<sup>23</sup>

On all three levels we see God's presence in a different way, so that the force of nature and the structure of things bear witness of their divine origin.<sup>24</sup>

Counting ONE: First there is nothing but the One God. Since *nothing* cannot be said to *be* in any sense of the word, all is divine essence.<sup>25</sup> This is not to be understood as a definition of God by negation, rather God is

Alpha and Omega, and everything in between, in a dynamic, creative sense: the first efficient and the last final cause of everything not in a mere static identity, but in a conscious, willful motion towards self-expression and communication. As Campanella puts It: "The first agent cause of natural being is God. God is the first being, the mightiest, wisest, most loving, the creator and governor of each and every thing. The final cause is the manifestation of God's glory."26 With the passage interposed between the definitions of the agent and the final cause we see this God entering into relation to his creation (which is, actually, the only way we can conceive of him). We see Him reaching out and manifesting three fundamental properties, which we can easily recognize: Power, Wisdom and Love in an indissoluble union. These three *primalities*, as Campanella calls them, must be implicit in the divine essence, since we will find them explicated in the created world as the basic structure of each single creature within it. In this metaphysical speculation we cannot fail to recognize the Divine Trinity of Christian theology with its inner dynamic between the three persons in one God.<sup>27</sup> Now, such interpreters, who chose to see Campanella as a purely naturalist philosopher, and his numerous references to Christian theological positions as mere protective lip- service from a suspected heretic, ought to pause here: if a philosopher wants to prevent stasis in his system, he could hardly solve his problem more radically and thoroughly than by a God, who is himself dynamic. For this exigency you can scarcely beat the trinitarian model, it is, so to say, a godsent, and its function in Campanella's metaphysics is central and indispensable. More rigorously and explicitly than most Christian philosophers (maybe even more than St. Augustine), Campanella identifies the indissoluble unity of Power, Wisdom, and Love as the universal structure of all individual beings, the transcendent root of life, the vestige and similitude of their maker in all things.

Counting TWO: Though we have, in a sense, already anticipated three, finding it inside the one God, and also inside the single individual creatures, the relation of Creator and creature is plainly that between two opposite terms. Two introduces negation, since it is not one. Negation is the precondition of all distinction, which is our human way of perception: we see something against a background. We identify an object by isolating it, casting aside whatever it is not. But this evidently does not work the same way for our notion of God: As St. Augustine demonstrated in his *Confessions*, <sup>28</sup> everything we perceive in this world is not God, nor is it entirely opposed to him, while depending on Him for every instant of its being. What then? Of all possible candidates for being the contrary of God, the first and most absolute leads us nowhere: God against nothing, absolute being against absolute non-being is not a rational relation that fits the capacity of human mind, but an irrational trap. The unqualified to be, or not to be is not a question, unless one is looking for mischief. Thence, we are thrown back, in our natural reasoning, on the induction from the effect to the cause. For our normal human bottom to top perspective, it may then appear to be plain logic that "It is necessary that the active principles be contrary, [...] because there are in the world contrary effects, while God is one, and therefore

there are contrary physical causes outside of God."<sup>29</sup> So, most appropriately, it would be the two agents, heat and chill, via their elements, fire and earth, which introduce negativity and distinction, as well as opposition. As they are active and productive, themselves alive and conferring life to their issue, world-immanent and temporal, they might be identified with created Nature, as opposed to God.

But seen from above, it is not quite so easy to establish, when and where creation, difference, and all the otherness from God actually starts, since the first thing created is the immaterial "almost infinite place" for the world.30 Space being, so to say, torn out of nothing by God, it obviously must be different from him. But Campanella does not confront that issue. He just insists on its immobility, indifferent receptivity, and per se indeterminate immaterial three-dimensional extension. Indeed, it might be considered mere potentiality and devoid of all life and sensibility, if it were not said to "incorporeally penetrate the placed [material body], while the placed [body] penetrates the place corporeally"31, and to "love the placed in such a degree that it cannot be without it, wherefore there is no vacuum in nature"32 . It is obvious that Campanella is as eager to prevent all danger of dualism, as that of pantheism, therefore he strives with all his might to weaken matter and not to put it in opposition to God. It does not count, being "neither one, nor many, but can be united and plurified by division".33 He points out that "the physical elements are not matter, but the seat of the first active principles"34 and "the greatest bodies in the world, active in the highest degree, they generate themselves and are not generated by others, and everything that is composed of elements derives from them"35. Since the first agents and elements are alive and sentient active principles that transmit life and sensibility to the plants and animals composed from them,36 we can see that Campanella's intention was to give the elements the status, function and generative power of Nature, as distinct from God.

Counting THREE: Three is the unity of the opposites, the divergent harmony, realized in the concrete being, both in the individual and in the world as a whole. For the completion of God's creation is the coexistence of the whole plethora of all possible individual things, which are generated and vivified by Nature, but ideated and perfected by God's own bounty. Left to their own devices, the elements would be unable to produce anything but themselves, since their mutual hatred allows them nothing but to destroy, evict, replace, or flee each other.<sup>37</sup> Only when they are overcome and modified by the ideal causes, which issue from the supernatural divine realm, the composition of more complex bodies becomes possible, up to the most highly developed living organisms that are human beings.<sup>38</sup>

However, the instability and vulnerability of such sensitive organisms increases with their complexity, and their new faculties arise in in proportion to as many new essential needs and threats to their existence. Indeed, in the natural order of things, man could hardly claim a privileged position, since life and sensation are common to all things, due to the more or less evident flow of the material vital spirits, while reason, traditionally the supreme dis-

tinction and pride of mankind, is degraded by Campanella to an inferior and less reliable surrogate for the best and truest way of cognition, which is direct sense perception.<sup>39</sup> If man, nonetheless, enjoys a high privilege, according to Campanella, it is owed not to nature, but to divine Grace that grants him a second soul, or mind. This immaterial, immortal, close to angelical soul has no other function than making humans aware of the supernatural realm and perhaps giving him some rare and vague glimpse of God himself, but this is an entirely different topic.<sup>40</sup>

Our concern here is with the omnipresent life in this world, given to every single being of whatever species, which, though limited in time, bears the true image of the living God. If the dynamic of exigency we find in Nature is but a distant shadow of the overflowing dynamic of fullness that issues from God, the presence of the inseparable trinity of Power, Wisdom, and Love in each individual is a closer likeness of its maker. For every natural thing has, as the very core of its essence, the power to be itself, the knowledge of its own being, and self-love, or drive to preserve its own being.<sup>41</sup> Though their existence is inevitably limited in time, through their primal attributes all things aim at infinite expansion and duration, so that we may call them a portrait of God *en miniature*.

And here we are immediately confronted with the dialectic of representation: if the structure and contour are the same, the image is said to be true, but if the dimensions and colors differ, the image is, obviously, false. The representation of the infinite immaterial essence in the limited medium of physical existence may bear a likeness, while it will necessarily show the difference. We can easily understand how, in an infinite essence, if power, wisdom and love are directed towards itself, they will nonetheless encompass everything in a generous outreaching providence. But within the limits of temporal existence, no being can reconcile self-centeredness with altruism, universal benevolence, and the gift of participation in one's own essence.

Thence the beauty and perfection of God's master-piece is not expressed in the single creatures' attitude, but in the divine turn, or trick: the miraculous harmony, by which both the single individual and the entire world, is composed of divergent elements, functions, and intentions, even from the extreme opposition of being and non-being, since every realized form is the negation of all the possible other forms. Though every single thing is entirely self-centered, yet they each fall into their proper place. While playing their own part, they render, either according to their own will or against it, their particular contribution to the existential goodness of the whole life of both the individual and the world. This is the aspect in which God may be seen and recognized, though the picture, of course, does not know whom it is meant to represent.

## **Notes**

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Godehard Brüntrup and Ludwig Jaskolla, eds., *Panpsychism: Contemporary Perspectives* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017). – This study is a result of research funded by the Czech Science Foundation as the project GA ČR 21-17059S "Pantheism and Panpsychism in the Renaissance and the Emergence of Secularism".

<sup>2</sup> The easiest access for readers of Italian to Campanella's pansensualism is Tommaso Campanella, *Del senso delle cose e della magia*, ed. by Germana Ernst, Roma-Bari (Laterza) 2007 (later on *Senso delle cose*); the most concise presentation of his entire system of physics and metaphysics is found in Campanella's *Physiologiae Compendium*, bilingual (Latin / Italian) edition: Tommaso Campanella, *Compendio di filosofia della natura*, ed. by Germana Ernst and Paolo Ponzio, Santarcangelo di Romagna (Rusconi Libri) 1999 (later on *Compendio*); all English translations of quotations are mine.

<sup>3</sup> Despite the immense progress of Campanella studies (close to inexistent before the 1960ies) due to dedicated scholars, starting with Romano Amerio's edition of the *Inediti theologicorum*, with further editions and studies by Luigi Firpo, Germana Ernst, Ada Lamacchia, Paolo Ponzio, Pasquale Porro, Maria Mucillo, Eugenio Canone, Jean Paul De Lucca, and others, and the foundation and success of the journal *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, there remains a regrettable disproportion between the importance of Campanella's philosophy and its accessibility. For instance, of the bilingual (Latin / Italian) critical edition of his *Metafisica universalis philosophiae* (Bari, Levante Editori) only book I (1994) and book XIV (2000) have appeared, and a sloppy, but widely used English translation of *The City of the Sun* misspelled the author's first name, to the effect that a phantom Tomasso Campanella keeps haunting bibliographies and library catalogues.

<sup>4</sup> Campanella admits the possible existence of an infinite number of worlds, which, however, for their great distance from us, could never become an object of certain knowledge: "Io certo non credo che Dio abbia finita la sua possanza in questa picciola palla [...] ma stimo altre cose poter essere fuori, e Dio infiniti mondi poter fare di varie forme. Ma se ci sieno non si può sapere, se Dio non lo rivela...", *Senso delle cose*, p. 29; cf. Compendio X, 1-4, p. 58.

<sup>5</sup> "Formae non egrediuntur de sinu materiae, sed dantur ab agentibus causis active, et ab idealibus determinative." (The forms do not emerge from the groin of matter but are given actively by the agent causes and determinately by the ideal causes.), *Compendio* VI, 6, p. 48; cf. *Senso delle cose*, pp. 33-34 and 36-37.

<sup>6</sup> Compendio V, 1-7, p. 44.

<sup>7</sup> Campanella does not say that God first made matter, but rather: "Primo ergo Deus fecit locum, in quo posuit causam materialem. In materia fecit instrumentales causas activas calorem et frigus, qui volentes occupare quisque materiam partiti sunt eam in duo elementa." (God first made the place in which he put the material cause. In matter He made the two active instrumental causes, heat and chill, which, each wanting to occupy matter, divided it in two elements.), *Compendio* II, 7, p. 38; and "Materia prima est corpus communis sine numeris, sine forma, et sine operatione, aptum ad recipiendum numeros, formas et operationes." (First matter is the body common [to all] without numbers, without form and without operation, fit to receive numbers, forms, and operations.) *Compendium* VI, 2, p. 46.

<sup>8</sup> "Cuncta quippe ex nihilo facta sunt, eorumque essentia rursum ad nihilum tendet, nisi eam auctor omnium regiminis manu retineret." (For all things are made from nothing, and their essence would tend back towards nothing again, if the author of the government of all did not keep it with his hand.), Tommaso Campanella, *De conservatione et gubernatione rerum* (Inediti theologicorum liber sextum), ed. Maria Mucillo, Milano 2000, p. 16; the *horror vacui*, the possibility of an artificially produced empty space, and the relation of bodies to space are discussed in *Senso delle cose*, pp. 24-27.

<sup>9</sup> Campanella concedes the existence of atoms, but only as particles of divided matter without any active function as principles, without self-movement or any distinctive shape. Cf. *Compendio* VIII, 3-4, p. 52.

<sup>10</sup> "Necesse est principia activa esse contraria [...] quoniam sunt effectus contrarii in mundo et Deus est unus; ergo dantur contrariae causae physicae extra Deum" (The first active principles must necessarily be contrary, since there are contrary effects in the world: therefore there are contrary natural causes outside of God.) *Compendio* VII, 1, p. 50.

<sup>11</sup> "Omnes planetae moventur cum sole circa Terram, centrum odii, ad exustionem Terrae", *Compendio* X, 7, p. 60.

<sup>12</sup> On the one hand this appears to presage, mutatis mutandis, the theory of entropy, which predicts the end of all processes, when all energy is converted into heat; on the other hand, Campanella's entire cosmology bears an uncanny resemblance to Heraclitus, as if its author were methodically filling the gaps between the surviving fragments.

<sup>13</sup> "Simul cum mundo factum est tempus. Est enim tempus successio, seu vicissitudo rerum mutabilium in substantia et operationibus, quale est ens naturale." (Together with the world time was made. For time is the succession or vicissitude of things that are changeable as to their substance and operations, which is how natural being is.), *Compendio* IV, 1-2, p. 40.

14: Elementata [...] generantur a sole ex terra liquefacta et attenuata", Compendio VIII, 9, p. 54.

<sup>15</sup> Senso delle cose, pp. 3-4.

<sup>16</sup> Senso delle cose, pp. 135-136.

17 "... tutte le nature [...] ciascuna e tutte insieme aborriscono di maniera il vacuo tra loro, che con impeto naturale parziale corrono ad empirlo [...]. Onde si vede l'aria nel profondo del mare aperto e nelle caverne della terra con impeto scendere per proibire il vacuo, quasi deponendo l'odio particulare che ha con la terra e con l'aqua, per soccorrere all'utile commune." (All natures, each one and all together, abhor the vacuum between them to such an extend that they hasten with a particular natural impetus to fill it. Hence, we see the air descend impetuously into the open sea and the caverns of the earth to prevent the vacuum, as if it set aside the particular hatred it feels against earth and water in order to serve the common welfare.), Senso delle cose, p. 23.

<sup>18</sup> For the hasty reader, this pattern is sketched here in a few short paragraphs, followed by a more detailed reflection for the more thorough, patient, or curious ones.

<sup>19</sup> "Causa agens entis naturalis prima est Deus. Deus est ens primum potentissimum, sapientissimum, amorosissimum, creator et gubernator omnium rerum. Causa finalis est manifestatio gloriae Dei." (The first agent cause of natural being is God. God is the first, most powerful, wise, and loving being, thr creator and governor of all things. The final cause is the manifestation of the glory of God.), *Compendio* II, 2-4, p. 38

<sup>20</sup> "Contrarietas non est a Deo uno, sed accidit ex amore occupandi materiam in duobus activis principiis..." (Contrariety does not come from the one God but happens because of the love for occupying matter that is in the two active principles...), *Compendio* VII, 10, p. 52.

<sup>21</sup> Compendio VII, 4-8, p. 50.

<sup>22</sup> "Elementata non fiunt ex mistione quatuor neque duorum elementorum contrariorum, sed a calore Solis et materia terrestri devicta ad Ideam intelligentis Causae; [...] Contraria non possunt uniri et conciliari ad faciendum unum tertium..." (The things consistent of elements do not arise through mixture of either four or two contrary elements; [...] Contraries cannot be united and reconciled to make one third thing...), Compendio VIII, 1, 4, pp. 68-70.

<sup>23</sup> "Preterea primum ens est Deus potentissimus, sapientissimus et amorosissimus; ergo omnia entia participant potentiam, sapientiam et amorem propriae conservationis [...]. Sed palam est in omni re esse potentiam et amorem suae conservationis: ergo etiam sensus, tum quia primalitates non reperiuntur seorsum, cum quia Dei opera perfecta sunt..." (Moreover, the first being is God, the most powerful, wise, and loving; hence, all beings participate in the power, wisdom, and love of their own preservation [...]. But it is obvious that there is the power and love of self-preservation in all things, thus also the sense, both because the primalities do not occur separately and because God's works are perfect...), Compendio XXVII, 10, p. 108.

<sup>24</sup>As a consequence of this basic structure we encounter further fundamental triads, like the threefold way things come to exist: "Creare est producere ex nulla materia et ex nihilo, et hoc solus Deus facit. Generare est producer ex aliqua materia etiam modica, et hoc facit natura; facere est producer ex multa materia, et hoc facit ars." (To create is to produce out of no matter and out of nothing, and this does God alone. To generate is to produce out of some matter, even out of a modest amount, and this nature does; to make is to produce out of much matter, and this art does.) *Compendio* III, 4, p. 40.

<sup>25</sup> "... principia entis finiti, seu potius pro principia sunt Ens et non Ens; sed entis, ut ens, sunt pro principia, sive primalitates, Potentia, Sapientia, et Amor [...]. Quod autem non ens possit esse principium entis finiti ibidem probatur. Finitio enim est terminus essentiae et existentiae, quae non potest nisi ad non esse simpliciter, vel non essere sui saltem, terminari. Nec requiritur non entis entitas, ut sit ita principium, sed non entitas, quoniam est principium termini, non rei terminatae..." (The principles, or rather pro-principles of finite being are Being and non-Being, but the pro-principles, or primalities of being as being are Power, Wisdom, and Love [...]. For the finish is the border of essence and existence, which cannot border unless at non-being as such or, at least, its own non-being. But that not-being can be principle of finite being is also proved there. [...] And an entity of non-being is not required for its being a principle in this manner, but rather its non-entity, since it is the principle of termination, not of the terminated thing...); Tommaso Campanella, Metafisica universalis philosophiae, book I, Bari (Levante Editori) 1994, p. 475.

<sup>26</sup> See above, note 19.

<sup>27</sup> See below, note 41.

<sup>28</sup> Saint Augustine, Confessions X, 8 - 9.

<sup>29</sup> See above, note 10.

- 30 "... me arbitrare Locum esse extra mundum, et forte infinitum.", Tommaso Campanella, *Prodromus philosophiae instaurandae*, Francofurti 1617, p. 29 in: Tommaso Campanella, *Opera Latina Francofurti impressa annis 1617 1630*, ed. Luigi Firpo, vol. I, Torino (Bottega d'Erasmo) 1975; "spatium pene infinitum", Tommaso Campanella, *Realis philosophiae epilogisticae pars prima* (Physiologia), Francofurti 1623, p. 4, in: Tommaso Campanella, *Opera Latina* (as above), vol. II.
- <sup>31</sup> *Compendio* V, 6, p. 44. <sup>32</sup> *Compendio* V, 10, p. 46.
- <sup>33</sup> "Materia non est unum, nec plura, sed potest uniri et plurificari per divisionem...", *Compendio* VI, 4, p. 48; cf. above, note 5.
- <sup>34</sup> "... elementa aurem physica non sunt materia, sed sedes primorun principiorum activorum.", *Compendio* VIII, 3 p. 52.
- <sup>35</sup> "Elementa sunt maxima mundi corpora maxime activa [...], seipsa generant et non generantur ab allis, et omnia elementata fiunt ex eis.", *Compendio* VIII, 9, p, 54, "Or se gli animali [...] hanno sentimento, e dal niente il senso non nasce, è forza dire che sentano gli elementi, lor cause..." (Hence, if the animals have sensitivity, and the sense does not arise from nothing, it is necessary to say that the elements, their causes, sense...", *Senso delle cose*, p. 3.
- <sup>36</sup> Compendio XXVII, 1-10, pp. 106-108.
- <sup>37</sup> "Contrarietas est inter duo semper mutuo se ab eodem subiecto expellentia" (Contrariness is between two that always expel each other mutually from the same subject [matter] ", *Compendio* VII, 2, p. 50; "Non datur sensus et locus mistionis: si enim mistio fit in terra, praevalet terra, et sic contraria non aequantur; si in aqua, aqua etc." (There is no sense nor place for mixture: for if the mixture occurred in earth, earth would prevail, and thus the contraries would not be equal; if in water, then water, etc.), *Compendio* VIII, 8, p. 70; cf. *Senso delle cose*, pp. 12-13.
- <sup>38</sup> See above, note 5.
- <sup>39</sup> Senso delle cose, pp. 106- 108.
- <sup>40</sup> Compendio LIX, pp. 218- 223 treats it summarily, while Tommaso Campanella, *Metafisica universalis philosophiae Liber XIV*, Bari (Levante Editori) 2000 is dedicated entirely to this topic.
- <sup>41</sup> "Res esse manifestationes deitatis, et in creatione potentiam, in gubernatione sapientiam, in glorificatione amorem relucere magis..." (The things are manifestations of the divinity, and prevalently reflected are in creation the power, in government the wisdom, and in glorification the love...), Tommaso Campanella, *De conservatione et gubernatione rerum* (see note 8), p. 12; "Namque sanè totus mundus, et quaelibet particula illius constituitur ex Sapientia, Potentia et Amore, [...] veluti eas constitui Prima Bonitas amavit, Prima Ars disposuit, et Prima Potentia effecit;" (For indeed the whole world and every small part of it consists of Power, Wisdom, and Love, [...] since the First Goodness loved, the First Art disponed, the First Power effected to constitute them;), Tommaso Campanella, *Realis philosophiae pars prima* (see n. 27), pp. 3-4.