

# CULTURE AND COSMOS

*A Journal of the History of Astrology and Cultural Astronomy*

Vol. 6 no 1, Spring/Summer 2002

Published by Culture and Cosmos  
and the Sophia Centre Press,  
in partnership with the University of Wales Trinity Saint David,  
in association with the Sophia Centre for the Study of Cosmology  
in Culture,  
University of Wales Trinity Saint David,  
Faculty of Humanities and the Performing Arts  
Lampeter, Ceredigion, Wales, SA48 7ED, UK.

[www.cultureandcosmos.org](http://www.cultureandcosmos.org)

Cite this paper as: Campanella, Tomasso, 'Apologia for the opusculum on *De siderali fato vitando*', *Culture and Cosmos*, trans. Noga Arikha with notes by Germana Ernst, *Culture and Cosmos*, Spring/Summer 2002, Vol. 6 no 1, pp. 55-71.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data  
A catalogue card for this book is available from the British Library

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ISSN 1368-6534
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Printed in Great Britain by Lightning Source

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## Apologia for the opuscule on *De siderali fato vitando*

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### Tommaso Campanella

Translated by Noga Arikha

Notes by Germana Ernst

**Editor's Note.** Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639) composed the *Apologeticus* to defend himself against charges of heresy following the publication of his *De siderali fato*, the seventh book of his *Astrologici*, in 1629. Germana Ernst's introduction to Campanella's work precedes this translation.

1. The opuscule on *De siderali fato vitando*, the seventh of the *Astrologici* books,<sup>1</sup> shows that God has not allowed any harm to befall humankind without there being a remedy for it: for this reason it suggests the remedy against the effects of the eclipse, as opposed to those people whose ascendant or *afeta* or the place of the direction are given a bad aspect by the eclipse itself and by the dominant harmful stars. It is suggested in the opuscule that before the onset of the event - as well as over its duration, and for a few hours after its close - the subject who is menaced by such passions should lock himself up in a room and pray to God, creator of the stars, to neutralize the impending evil. He must then decorate the house and the walls with plain, white cloths, against the darkness of the eclipse; he must scatter perfumes and the smell of rose vinegar and of distilled water to cancel out the noxious air, and light fires with the wood of terebinth, laurel and myrtle. One then has to light five torches and two bigger lamps made out of wax and fragrant preparations, to represent the two lamps and the five planets, in a philosophical, not superstitious ceremony, as it is specified in the text.<sup>2</sup>

2. Some people condemn this practice on the grounds that it is contrary to Catholic doctrine: there are those who sense in it something opposed to faith, and others who brand it as superstitious.

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3. Those who say it is opposed to faith clearly are mistaken. All theologians agree that faith, in fact, concerns either the dogmas or the holy vows. However, insofar as this remedy is not against the dogmas, nor against the vows, it is not against faith - is neither heresy nor error - whether directly or indirectly, as one can infer from St. Thomas, II IIae, q. 1, art. 6.<sup>3</sup>

4. Quite the contrary: we proclaim that this remedy is advantageous to faith. In fact, by asserting that astral fate cannot be avoided, one subjects free will to the stars; in this way one does away with reward and punishment, and therefore with God's judgement and providence. By doing so, one also eliminates the immortality of the soul, God's justice and God himself: this is what Cicero argues in *De natura deorum* and *De divinatione*; so does Chrysostom in his book *De providentia*, as well as Augustine in the fifth book of *De civitate Dei*,<sup>4</sup> and Thomas in the opuscle *De fato*, in the *Contra Gentiles* III, ch. 103 and II IIae, q. 105.<sup>5</sup> My book argues, however, that it is possible to avoid it [the fate], therefore it is in favour of faith in general.

5. One can then show that the elaboration of this remedy is in accordance with faith in a specific way, in that it appeals principally to orations to God and to the natural things created by God, as will become clearer later on.

6. It is clear that this is not superstition, insofar as all superstition relies on a tacit or explicit deal with the devil, as Thomas writes, in II IIae, qq. 105 and 92, art. 2, and in the q. 122, art. 2. However, here there is no question of any explicit or tacit pact: therefore it is not superstition.

7. That there is no explicit pact is obvious, for the explicit pact is dealing here with a remedy of occult philosophy that involves an invocation to God - a philosophy that the Persians call magic. This magic is twofold, according to Philo in his book *De specialibus legibus*,<sup>6</sup> Jerome in his comment on the second chapter of Daniel, and Justin in the questions 24 and 26 of this treatise *Ad Gentiles*.<sup>7</sup> One is true; it is used by philosophers, kings and princes, who apply active to passive and the celestial to the earthly; while the other is false; it invokes demons, in an explicit or tacit pact. But in this case there is no pact of any kind at all.

8. One can see that there is no tacit pact insofar as whatever is used in this remedy acts as a natural cause against the effect of the eclipse. Therefore one does not expect the effect of a demon, who interferes if one foolishly resorts to a non-cause as if it were a cause of that effect, as Thomas tells us, II IIae, q. 96.

9. Now we shall prove the minor. That clean, white garments stand in contrast to dark eclipses is obvious. And all doctors have shown that vinegar, scented distilled water, aromatic perfumes and flowers purify noxious air and dissolve or keep away the seeds of pestilence and bad influences - especially Marsilio Ficino, Florentine canon, great theologian and philosopher, in his short book *De peste*, where he lists all the physicians who agree on these points.<sup>8</sup> Even the sacred exorcists dissolve with fire the handiwork of demons who resort to natural things to cast their spells - so it is said by Paolo Grillando, Bartolomeo Spina, Ambrogio Vignate and the *Malleus maleficarum*.<sup>9</sup>

10. If, moreover, this were superstition, it would have to belong to one of the categories of superstition. Indeed, it would have to be idolatry, or witch divination, or vain observance. But it is not idolatry, since here one is honouring nothing but God, with sermons, and with the remedy made of the natural things God created for that purpose. Nor is it witch divination, since we do not claim that it allows us to know the future, or occult things. And nor is it vain observance, since one practices vain observance when one expects things to have an effect that are neither causes of that effect nor a sign of God, of the church of God or of nature. It is for this reason that Thomas, in II IIae, q. 96, says that tacit pacts are superstitious only when one affixes to the things used for the remedy characters or letters - signs, not active things. Cajetan says the same thing in his *Comment*,<sup>10</sup> as does the third book of *Contra Gentiles*, ch. 105. In fact the letters and characters one chooses to affix are references to intelligent causes, not to celestial bodies, not to terrestrial bodies and nor to artificial bodies, which cannot understand the meaning of the sign. Therefore, to expect them to have an effect is to expect the intelligences to have an effect, at least in an interpretive fashion, and it is in this case that the demon responds and gets involved - he is worthy of such silliness, and this is the structure of the tacit pact, according to Thomas and Augustine. But in the process explained here there are no characters, nor letters, and thus there is no superstition.

11. But the opponent could say:<sup>11</sup> even though there are no characters or letters, and liquids and fires are used in a medicinal way, in order to clean the air and dissolve the seeds of pestilence (indeed, bodies have a corporeal, not a spiritual impact), still the following remain: 1. ceremonies; 2. torches, specifically seven in number; 3. a symbolic comet. All things which act as notional symbols, rather than having any physical action. A single big fire and one or two torches can, in fact, produce the desired effect. If you want seven of them, you are ascribing to the septenary an active function that it doesn't have, and this is foolishness on your part; here we have a case of vain, superstitious observance, and the demon can get involved.

12. I respond to the first objection by stating that there is no ceremony here. Ceremonies, in fact, are expressions of faith, and they regard the cult of God. When they are performed in a frivolous way rather than within the institution of God and the Church, they are instances of a tacit pact with the devil, as confirms Thomas, I IIae, q. 99 and q. 103, and, as he tells us at q. 101, one can divide them into sacrifices, sacraments and observances according to the divine or ecclesiastic institution.<sup>12</sup> But only physical actions are involved in this practice, which to have a physical effect use physical bodies, such as fires, torches, perfumes, medicinal liquids: in this sense there is no ceremony. Otherwise, even when the doctors light a fire against the plague, using clean cloths, vinegar and other things, as well the *teriaca*, they are performing ceremonies. Thus, all human activities, in all crafts, have a ceremonial character when active things are applied to passive things.

13. To the second accusation, I answer by saying that the septenary is not present in this practice as a superstition, neither in meaning nor in causal power. It is so in the first place because one might deny that the number does not cause or participate in causing some effect, insofar as the Pythagorean doctrine, according to which specific virtues inhere in numbers, has never been condemned by any pontifical or council act. Indeed, just as a doctor who foolishly uses agaric to cure black bile (agaric cannot work since what is natural to it is merely to purge the pituitary) would not deserve to be accused of superstition, so those who hold, along with the Pythagoreans, that numbers harbour a virtue that in fact does not exist are not for that matter superstitious so much as deceived and ignorant. One can say the same for those who attribute a causal power to the septenary, as Thomas writes at II IIae, q. 96, art. 2 *al*

*primo*: indeed he says that this is not a case of superstition, whether one only believes that they possess a natural virtue or whether they actually do.

14. And although the sacred canons, cause 2. 2, q. 1,<sup>13</sup> condemn those who place their hopes with regard to the desired effects in a particular number of candles or orations, this is the case only when one attributes an effect to these numbers, an effect that can only come from God. This is why, if someone were to say that mass is only valid if four or five candles have been lit, this person would be superstitious. The mass has an effect because of God, not because of that number that causes or contributes to cause the effect; and when a certain number is determined by the church, such as that of the seven canonical hours, the mass's three orations and the two candles, it is not superstition but the representation of something divine and secret - or it is the taking into account of the comfort and situation of the person at prayer, of the place and time, and the church was given by God the authority to makes decisions regarding rites etc.

When one uses a particular number for the sake of the effect, and for its capacity, if not to cause, at least to contribute to causing, this is not vain observance: the same applies to figures. There is nothing superstitious about building a house with four angles, about organizing an army with a higher, rather than lower number of soldiers, or with square or triangular lance formations, because that number and that figure are useful for that effect. Hence, the doctor will give the patient seven, rather than four pills; indeed it is normal to use an odd number without any superstition, especially when one is imitating nature. Therefore the fact of using seven torches - for the sake of higher effectiveness during the eclipse - is not superstition: it is physical, medical observation.

That number has a causal effect of this sort should emerge clearly out of what has been said, and out of the fact that God made each thing 'according to number, weight and measure':<sup>14</sup> man always has five fingers per hand, and to have fewer or more fingers would be a monstrosity and an error of the first principles. At the same time, the planets are seven in number, not three, and the sun is one, not two. Therefore number has value. Indeed, if one were to remove number from things, one would lose the distinction between individuals and species, and all things would become formless chaos,<sup>15</sup> and neither I nor you would be here. And things that do not consist of a particular number are against art and against nature; this is why art uses numbers in artificial products, imitating the author of nature, and there can be neither music

nor verse without number. Fools should explain to me why the voice's third, fifth and eighth numbers are consonant, while the second, fourth and seventh are dissonant? Thus there is virtue in number - not that of warming up, which is what heat does; nor to humidify, which was what humour does; nor of other qualities and bodies. Therefore it has its own, specific virtue, which does not only consist in distinguishing things but also in providing specific uses, of which more shall be said elsewhere.

15. Theologians often teach, too, that virtues and mysteries inhere in numbers; Origen, for instance, focused on the usefulness and mystery of numbers throughout his work and in particular in the homily 2 on Genesis, in the homily 16 on Leviticus, as well as in the first and subsequent homilies on Numbers.<sup>16</sup> Richard of St Victor, on p. 1, Bk. 2 except for ch. 5, reveals the nine meanings of numbers and many others in the allegory of the pact of the tabernacle, and in the first part of Bk. 2 of *De eruditione interioris hominis*, ch. 29, says many things about the septenary.<sup>17</sup> Gregory the Great, in his commentary on Ezechiel in the whole of the second book, where he writes about the construction of the temple, says marvellous things, from homilies 13 to 22. But he states that the septenary forms all things in homily 33, on the Gospels, and in 34 he adds many other philosophical reflections.<sup>18</sup> Augustine focuses everywhere on the mysteries and virtues of numbers, and he praises Pythagoras for his philosophy of numbers in the tenth book of *De civitate Dei*, and in the eleventh book, ch. 30 and 31, he discusses with erudition the senary and septenary according to the holy Scripture, stating that one should not despise the nature of numbers since, he says, God has created all things 'according to number, weight and measure'.<sup>19</sup> Jerome, in his commentaries on Isaiah and on Ezechiel (*Supra Isaiam* and *Supra Ezechielem*), attributes to numbers possibly greater virtues still than do the Pythagoreans,<sup>20</sup> who, according to Calcidius and Ficino, used to reveal the mysteries of number only to the most religious. Ambrose, in his commentary on Luke (*Supra Lucam*) and in his book *De Noe et arca*, reveals many mysteries and uses of numbers.<sup>21</sup>

16. That it is not superstitious to light the seven torches in order to clear out the noxious air is also due to the fact that this number corresponds to the seven planets which, as the mathematicians and physicists teach us, and as Thomas confirms in *Contra Gentiles* III as well as in the commentary on the *De generatione et corruptione* II and in the book *De fato*, preside over the lower things in the slanted circle and send us the

gathered virtues of the fixed stars:<sup>22</sup> all forms, whether substantial or accidental, and all movements come from the heavens, and all real actions emerge out of a real action of the heavens: that is, all intentional actions are driven by celestial intentional actions, as he says in *De potentia*, q. 5, art. 8.<sup>23</sup> This is why the fabrication of seven torches is a physical imitation of the heavens: but one seizes more of the celestial influence when one is imitating the heavens than when one is not, as it is attested by Ficino in *De vita coelitus comparanda*, by Sinesius and by the whole of nature.<sup>24</sup> Therefore this number is useful. Therefore it is neither meaningless nor superstitious: if one has to light fires, then it is best to represent the number of celestial fires than to do so randomly or as one wishes, or *a capriccio* [as one fancies], to use popular parlance. God indeed made each thing according to 'number and weight and measure'. This is why, by imitating nature, we are imitating God.

17. One can show the same things in the holy Scriptures. God ordered Moses to make all things according to what had been shown to him on the mount, at Exodus 25.<sup>25</sup> On that occasion, as Justin Martyr tells us in *In Triphonem*, he was shown all the celestial objects, supralunary and sublunary,<sup>26</sup> on whose model he built the tabernacle and vestments, as we learn from Philo, Joseph, Clement of Alexandria, Jerome and Sisto da Siena in the third book;<sup>27</sup> and the Wisdom of Solomon itself, at ch. 18, tells us that 'the whole world was represented in the vestment of Aaron the priest'.<sup>28</sup> The four colours of the vestments signified the first four bodies of the world called elements, as Sisto da Siena writes in Bk. 2, at the entry 'Pontificalis', along with Thomas, at I Iiae q. 102, art. 5 to 9. The femorals signify the earth, the coat stands for the sidereal sky, the two onyx stones stand for the two hemispheres and the twelve gems in the pectoral, for the twelve zodiacal signs; for in all of these are contained all earthly matters, as it is said at Job 38: 'knowst thou the ordinances of heaven? canst thou establish its dominion in the earth?'<sup>29</sup> Therefore not only is it not forbidden to represent celestial objects physically, but it is encouraged, according to Job, Thomas and, following the fathers, Richard, Cassiodorus, Bede, Philo, Josephus, Clement of Alexandria and Jerome, according to Sisto da Siena, when he writes about *De sciographica expositione* in Bk. III.<sup>30</sup>

Moreover, when the latter talks about *De physica expositione*,<sup>31</sup> following the same doctors, he asserts: In the tabernacle there was the atrium, the sacred room and the *Sancta sanctorum* [Holy of Holies]. The atrium was a representation of the sublunary world: for this reason it was



not covered by the roof, nor by any hangings, and instead was open to the rain, winds, hot and cold. There, sacred and profane, pure and impure men mingled, along with animals about to be sacrificed, and there was a constant stream of life and the vicissitudes of death, just as in the sublunary world. The room called sacred, glowing with the splendour of gold, represented the celestial world, which is half-way between the sublunary and the intellectual worlds: for this reason, in its southern part there were seven lamps, of which the central one, which was also the tallest, represented the sun; the other six were the six planets, set in the meridian zone, because it is from there that one sees best the course of the planets, as Thomas says, along with the Fathers. Therefore it is allowed to represent the seven planets in their number and position, as Moses had done, because it is a way of showing and praising God's work. The inner room, or *Sancta Sanctorum*, represented the angelic or intellectual world, of which Plato speaks in the *Timaeus* and Basil in the *Hexameron*, along with other learned fathers: no one entered the *Sancta Sanctorum* apart from the high priest, once a year, with the name of God Jehovah on his forehead, because here only God, with the holy men and the angels, lives in the intellectual and supralunary world, and here there is Aaron's rod, which signifies God's power, from which all powers derive, and the tables of the Law, and the manna, which signifies the goodness and benevolence of God towards all creatures, as Thomas teaches at I IIae, q. 102, art. 4 to 6. For this reason there were also the Cherubs, who translate the intellectual world; whence the apostle, at Heb. 8 and 9,<sup>32</sup> taught that all those things were the shadows of celestial things. Thus it is astonishing that one should condemn the imitation of God, which can do no harm and on the contrary, can only be beneficial.

18. Moreover, in the holy Scripture the septenary is highly praised, to such an extent that God made the corporeal creatures in seven days; all peoples dedicate these seven days to the planets and the church does not dissent: in fact it names without any superstition the day of the sun and of the moon, of Mars and Mercury, of Jupiter, Venus and Saturn. Seven are the spirits that assist God, there are seven lights in the Temple, seven eyes in the stone in Zacharia,<sup>33</sup> seven candelabra of the Apocalypse, seven churches, seven seals, seven trumpets of the angels, seven rumbles of thunder, seven ampullae poured by the seven angels. And there are seven ages of the world, seven sensorial apertures in the human face, which is the image of God and a little world: thus Gregory, Augustine, Ambrose and the other fathers praise the septenary highly. Not to mention the

Platonist and the Pythagorean philosophers on this matter. Therefore it is truly astonishing that this sacred number is rejected as superstitious by the same people who promote it in the seven sacraments and in the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, without the presence in it of strange words or characters, which only Thomas and Cajetan associate with superstition.

19. But one might object: if they are here to signify the celestial lights, what sort of virtue can one derive from this meaning? I reply: 1, that the imitation of divine and sacred lights is sufficient; that one does this, 2, in order to draw the virtues from the seven planets and from the seven motive angels, from which derive all the lower world's real and intentional actions, according to Thomas; 3, so that God should further encourage the imitation of his works; and, 4, in order to keep away the malevolent angel that directs against us the influence of the eclipse. All evils are sent to us through the agency of the malevolent angels, and all good through that of the good angels, as Cyril, Chrysostome, Augustine say about the "evils sent by the Egyptians through the agency of the malevolent angels", which are described in Ps. 77.<sup>34</sup> The same thing is told of Job, of Saul and of the woman who suffered from a blood flow for eighteen years, as Christ says in Matthew,<sup>35</sup> and therefore in *Sap.* 18, after "the whole world was inscribed within the robes of Aaron, and the deeds of the great were inscribed in the four orders of stone, and the magnificence of God was inscribed in the diadem", it is added: "the slayer yielded to these things, and he feared them".<sup>36</sup> As it is said in Num. 16,<sup>37</sup> there was an angel that slew the Israelites because of their murmurings [against Moses and Aaron - at Num. 17], turning against them the fire from the altar (just as the other angel, in Exodus 12, slew the first-born sons of the Egyptians). Aaron, dressed in the priestly vestments, stood amongst the living and the dead, praying with the thurible, and he stopped the fire from spreading, since whoever spread it was one who "feared those things" (in the plural), that is, the name of God, the representation of the world, which is God's sacred work, and the deeds of kinfolk (just as the other slayer feared the lamb's blood, symbol of Christ's blood, as Chrysostom says), and for this reason he says: "Yield to these things", that is, fear these three things, and not only "this", that is, not only God's name. It is thus not far from the truth to suppose that, for devils, this number of celestial and ecclesiastical lamps is actually loathsome and awful, and it is like a sign because it represents God, who arranges each thing according to the sacred septenary. It is all the more so for the fact that Philo, in the first book of *De opificio*

*mundi*,<sup>38</sup> Gemma Frisius in the first book of *De arte cyclognomica*,<sup>39</sup> and Paolini in the seven books of the *Hebdomades*,<sup>40</sup> all affirm that God himself is represented in the septenary: therefore this number is a sign not addressed to demons, but against demons, as long as there is no superstition about characters, letters and pact.

20. Moreover, some people, including Albertus Magnus, state that a physical virtue also springs out of the seven planets that exert an influence on the seven candles - the counted, not abstract number of bodies controlled by the heavens. Thomas agrees with this in the third book of *Contra Gentiles*, ch. 105: when one skilfully builds some object under a specific constellation, the objects draw a specific virtue from the stars; and although in II IIae, q. 96, art. 2, Thomas says that the objects, when they are being built, do not receive virtues from the sky other than those conferred on them by their natural matter and form, he does not contradict himself, nor does he withdraw what he had affirmed in the third book of *Contra Gentiles*, as Cajetan rightly observes in his commentary.<sup>41</sup> Thomas affirms that the objects, as such, do not take their form from the heavens, as do natural things, but from the mind of the maker: but in saying this he does not go against the notion that, if they are made under a particular celestial configuration, they draw virtues from it, and they are superstitious only when signs, characters and letters are added, not when they are physically subjected to these influences. Not even Augustine could deny the efficacy of 'certain sidereal influences',<sup>42</sup> which, as Thomas teaches us, play a role in the human realm as well as in bodies that are more subjected to the heavens. This doctrine of Cajetan's is proven by Albertus Magnus in the *Speculum*,<sup>43</sup> by Ficino in the *Epistolae*<sup>44</sup> and by Thomas in the opuscule *De fato*, at the end of ch. 4, where he teaches that even in new clothes, formed under a particular constitution of the sky, there is a stellar imprint about order and duration, as well as in astronomical figures made under a specific stellar aspect; he writes: "Just as the disposition of stars at a particular time imprints within natural things the disposition of the order of being and duration, so it also imprints this disposition within artificial things, and this is why the figures of magic images are imprinted according to the aspect of the stars and are called to function in that way".<sup>45</sup> Thomas speaks of physical magic, as does Pliny; and we have shown that this is true in nature and in art. Indeed, in nature, in that stone of which Pliny speaks in Bk. 28, one can see the natural imprint of the seven Pleiades, in the exact position, order and number in which they shine in the sky; and in the astroit stone

one can see many stars, just as one can see the moon in the sandaster,<sup>46</sup> etc. Albertus reports many other experiments, as does Bede in vol. 1.<sup>47</sup> But, with regard to artificial things, it has been shown (by Giambattista della Porta in Bk. 7 of *Magia naturalis*<sup>48</sup> and by Gilbert in *Philosophia magnetica*<sup>49</sup>) that if small sticks of iron are made on an anvil set in an east-west direction, and is then placed on a cork floating on water, they will turn towards the place in which they were made; and if you have made a number of small sticks in that way, they will all float parallel to each other, while if you throw in small sticks made on an anvil set in a north-south direction, they will float at a perpendicular to the other ones. This was written by the author of that astrological book, in the preamble, where he showed that the stars act according to their aspect as well as according to movement, light and influences.<sup>50</sup> Therefore it is not right that Cajetan should be censured by Martin Delrio, who notices a contradiction in Thomas:<sup>51</sup> it is a contradiction that Cajetan, in fact, eliminates in the most learned way; and this explanation chimes with the practical experience mentioned above and with Thomas in the book *De fato*.

21. We have thus showed in the most satisfying way that the septenary derives its value not only from mystery, through the imitation of Moses and of nature, but also from the correspondence with the seven planets, from which one expects a physical good; and even if that is not the case, still there is nothing superstitious about it. Where there is only representation, without any impious invocation, without any characters or letters, the process is neither favourable nor detrimental to faith, as Thomas and Cajetan tell us in the passages cited above, and as Thomas says in the *Opusculo* 15, art. 39, where he states: 'It is erroneous to relate the sphere of influence of Mars and the Moon with free will. If, however, one associates it with natural and corporeal things, there follows no absurd consequence with regard to the doctrine of faith'. Augustine, in fact, writes in *De civitate Dei* that 'it is not always entirely absurd to assert that certain celestial influences have an effect on the very diversity of bodies'. This is even true for the succession of days: in fact, since astrologers associate seven hours with each of the seven planets, and since there are twenty-four hours in a natural day, it follows that at the beginning of the twenty-second hour of the day the moon governs, just as in the first hour. Therefore, if one starts with Saturn, one will attribute the twenty-third hour to it, and the twenty-fourth to Jupiter, and the first hour of the following day to Mars: but to affirm or to deny this is not relevant

to the doctrine of faith. This is how, for the blessed doctor, there is nothing superstitious in the names of the seven days dedicated to the planets, nor in the ruling hours, nor in the septenary, since physical imitation eliminates superstition: it is all the more the case for those bodies over which the stars have the most power.

22. Moreover, this representation is almost univocal, and thus physical and effective: in fact, the stars, according to Ambrose, *Hex.*, 4, are fiery<sup>53</sup> (this is why the church chants, following him: 'The fiery sun recedes') and he considers those who deny this to be heretics. Justin the philosopher, Bede, Augustine, Basil, Chrysostom and all the fathers teach the same thing; thus one speaks of the 'limpid flames of the stars' in *Sap.* 18,<sup>54</sup> and in *Eccl.* 42, the sun is described as 'burning like a furnace'. Therefore candles that are lit up bear reference to the stars, and they can draw a benefit from them, or, in their place, bring benefit to us. In fact, when the sun - lamp of the earth, as Plato says<sup>56</sup> - sets, we turn on a lamp, which replaces it during the night, thanks to that same fire which we receive from the sun, held within mirrors or stones or within the woods that come from the sun, through the rubbing and beating that increases and releases latent heat; and in the same way, when the lights and the angular planets suffer in the eclipse, we can always represent the stars and comets, so that, however negative is the external air, it may become positive within the room, thanks to the objects used to represent them, and this is what magicians and sages did in antiquity. Thus, as Ficino states in the book *De peste*, they used to sculpt the Scorpion or the Serpent into the bezoar stone, into the rings and the astronomical figures capable of keeping the plague at bay.<sup>57</sup> Thomas, in *Contra Gentiles* III and in *De fato*, does not condemn them and indeed he approves of them, while Cajetan, in the comment to II IIae, q. 96, takes their defence. However, the author of the astrological book writes that he did not have the courage to approve of them.<sup>58</sup> He does, however, approve of this representation of the planet, which is advocated by the Scripture, nature and art, as has been amply shown in this discourse against those who do not know high theology, nor philosophy of nature, nor medicine. The mere observation of certain critical days during fevers, in relation to the course of the moon and of the planets, would have been able to teach them that the stars have power over corporeal things, that there is nothing superstitious in observing their numbers, and that whoever thinks differently condemns the holy Scripture, Moses and the physical sciences, medicine, and the arts, given to us by God for our salvation. They should be accusing God, who made

seven planets - not us humans, who represent the seven planets and try to attract their virtues: especially since the author declares in the second book that he locates the virtues in numbered things, not in numbers themselves, as does Pythagoras. Although this is not entirely condemned either, unless it is applied in a thoughtless manner and with regard to things over which the virtues have no power, as it was said above. It is evident, then, that no superstition or infidelity arises out of the lighting of seven lamps - if it is used, as was stated in the text, to offset the effect of eclipses and comets - neither on the basis of the numbering number nor on that of numbered things. This goes for the imitation and interpretation of divine and humans things as well as for the physical and medicinal causal role and efficacy of this numbered number; on the contrary, this practice involves fidelity, physical efficacy and, at the same time, piety.

### References

1. See n. 2 and 5 of the introduction. The *afeta* is that planet or place which, within a nativity and according to particular calculations and rules, plays an important role in delimiting the lifespan of the subject.
2. *De siderali fato*, in *Opera latina*, pp. 1327 ss.
3. See Thomas Aquinas, *Summa th.*, II IIae, q. 10, “De infidelitate”, and q. 11, “De haeresi”.
4. For the Ciceronian polemic against Stoicist, fatalistic views, see Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, V, 8-9 in PL 41, 148 ss.; John Chrysostom, *De fato et providentia* (doubtful work), in PG 50, 755-759.
5. The opusculum *De fato* is not by Aquinas but by Albertus Magnus; one can read it in S. Thomae Aquinatis *Opera Omnia*, ed. R. Busa (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1980), vol. VII, pp 47-50; *Contra Gentiles*, III, 105; *Summa th.*, II IIae, q. 95, ‘De superstitione divinatoria’.
6. Philo of Alexandria, *De specialibus legibus*, III in *Œuvres*, vol. III, ed. A. Moses (Editions du Cerf, Paris, 1970), pp. 122-125.
7. Jerome, *In Dan.*, in PL 25, 498; ps.-Justin Martyr, *Quaestiones et responsiones ad Orthodoxos*, qq. 24 and 26, in PG 6, 1270 s., 1274.
8. The *Consilio contro la pestilenza*, edited in Florence in 1481, and reprinted a number of times during the following century, was bound into the first volume of the *Opera* in a Latin translation by Gerolamo Ricci, entitled *Epidemiarum*

*antidotus*; for the passages cited here, see ch. VIII of the Italian text, 'Del cibare e del governo dell'infermo' (Florence, 1576), pp. 42 ff and ch X of the Latin text, in M. Ficini *Opera omnia* (Basel, 1576; facsimile reprint ed. P. O. Kristeller and M. Sancipriano, Turin, 1959), pp. 592-95.

9. Numerous editions of the most famous demonological manual, the *Malleus maleficarum*, edited by the German Dominicans J. Sprenger and J. Institoris, followed one another from 1487 on, progressively augmented by other treatises on related arguments by theologians and jurists, such as the *De sortilegiis eorumque poenis* by the Florentine Paolo Grillando, the *Quaestio de strigibus* by the Dominican Bartolomeo Spina, the *Quaestio de lamiis seu strigibus et earum delictis* by the Lombard Ambrogio Vignate.

10. For Cajetan's commentary to q. 96, see the edition cited in n. 12 of the introduction.

11. 'Triplex obiectio', *in marg.*

12. Thomas, *Summa th.*, I IIae, q. 99, art. 3; q. 103, art. 4; q. 101, art. 4.

13. The reference to the *Corpus iuris canonici* does not seem correct.

14. Sap. 11, 21.

15. Cf. T. Campanella, *Le poesie*, ed. F. Giancotti, Turin, Einaudi, 1998, p. 313: '...e 'l caos immenso/la bella distinzione assorbirebbe'.

16. Origen, *In Genesim*, hom. 2 ("De fabrica arcae et eorum quae in ea sunt", in PG 12, 161 ff.; *In Leviticum*, hom. 13 ("De diebus festis, et lucerna, et candelabro et oleo ad lumen etc."), *ibid.*, 544 ff.; *In Num.*, hom. 1 and ff., *ibid.*, 585 ff.

17. Richard of St Victor, *Nonnullae allegoriae tabernaculi foederis*, in PL 196, 191-202 and the *Expositio difficultatum suborientium in expositione tabernaculi foederis*, *ibid.*, 211 ff.; *De eruditione hominis interioris*, I, 29, *ibid.*, 1327-1328.

18. Gregory the Great, *Super Ezech.*, II, hom. 3 ff. in PL 76, 958 ff.; *In Evang.*, hom. 24, *ibid.*, 1186; hom. 33, *ibid.*, 1239.

19. Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, XI, 30-31 in PL 41, 343-45.

20. Jerome, *Commentaria in Isaiam*, in PL 24, 280 (see also *In Amos*, in PL 25, 1037; *In Aggeum*, *ibid.*, 1400-01); *Comm. in Ezechielem*, in PL 25, 394-95.

21. Ambrose, *Expositio Evang. secundum Lucam*, in PL 15, 1575, 1595, 1617, 1723-24; *De Noe et arca*, in PL 14, 383 ff; 415.
22. See above, n. 5. See In II *De gen. et corr.*, ch. X, lectio X, in *Opera Omnia*, vol. VII, pp. 613 (although from lectio XVIII in the first book the commentary is not by Aquinas, but by an unknown author from the school of Albertus Magnus).
23. *Quaestio disputata de potentia*, q. 5, art. 8 (in *Opera omnia*, vol. III, p. 228).
24. The *De vita coelitus comparanda* in *Opera I*, pp. 529-572 (see the Italian translation cit n. 11 of the Introduction, in particular p. 303. Synesius, see *De insomniis*, in PL 66, 1285).
25. Ex. 25, 9 ss.
26. Justin Martyr, *Dialogi cum Triphone Iudaeo*, in PG 6, 566.
27. For the specific references to the *Bibliotheca sancta* of Sisto da Siena, see below, n. 29-31.
28. Sap. 18, 24.
29. Sisto da Siena, *Bibliotheca sancta*, II (Lugduni, 1575), p. 116 ff. See Thomas, *Summa th.*, I IIae, q. 102, art. 5, to 9. Iob 38, 33.
30. Sisto da Siena, *Bibliotheca sancta*, III, 'De sciographica expositione', p. 184 f.
31. Ibid., 'De physica expositione', III, pp. 163-64. See Thomas, *Summa th.*, I, IIae, q. 102, art. 5, to 6.
32. Heb. 8, 5; 9, 23; 10, 1.
33. Zach. 3, 9.
34. Ps. 77, 49.
35. See Mt. 15, 22 ff and Lc. 13, 11 f., 16.
36. Sap. 18, 24-25.
37. Num. 16, 47-48.



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38. Philo, *De opificio mundi*, in *Oeuvres*, vol. I, ed. R. Arnaldez (Paris, 1961), p. 200 ff.

39. The reference is not to the Flemish mathematician and astronomer Gemma Phrysius, but to the son, the doctor Cornelius Gemma (1535-1579), author of the *De arte cyclognomica* mentioned here (Antwerp, 1569) and of a *De naturae divinis characterismis* (Antwerp, 1575).

40. Fabio Paolini, *Hebdomades, sive septem de septenario libri* (Venice, 1581), VII, ch. III, p. 374 ff. See above, Introduction, n. 9.

41. See above, n. 5 and 10.

42. Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, V, 6 in PL 41, 146.

43. Albertus Magnus, *Speculum astronomiae*, ed. S. Caroti, M. Pereira, S. Zamponi, overseen by P. Zambelli (Pisa, 1977); now included, with English facing text, in the study by P. Zambelli, *The "Speculum astronomiae" and its Enigma* (Kluwer, Dordrecht-Boston-London, 1991), ch. XI and XVI.

44. Astral and astrological references are quite frequent in Ficino's 'Letter'. On images, see in particular the passage in the letter dated 20 August 1494 to Angelo Poliziano (*Epistolae*, l. XII in *Opera*, vol. I, p. 958), where Ficino writes, with reference to Book III of his own *De vita*: "Neque despicio prorsus imagines illas, neque omnes respuo regulas, et si enim arbitror certam iis rationem nullam inesse, tamen ut studiosissimus humanae medicinae curator remedia non solum sapientibus certa, sed etiam multis probabilia sector...".

45. Ps. Thomas, *De fato*, art. 4 in *Opera omnia*, vol. VII, p. 49.

46. In the *Historia naturalis*, l. XXVIII, ch. 28, Pliny describes the sandaster, a stone found in India and in southern Arabia, which has a fire inside it, surrounded by drops of gold positioned like the Pleiades and the Iads and therefore used by the Chaldeans in magical ceremonies; in the ch. 48, he writes of the astrion, a stone that is similar to crystal, in the centre of which a star shines like a full moon; in the following chapter, he mentions the astrioten stone, used in the magical arts.

47. See the spurious opuscles attributed to Bede, such as the *De planetarum et signorum ratione*, the *De signis coeli*, the *Pronostica temporum* in PL 90, 941, 945, 953.

48. G. B. Della Porta, *Magia naturalis*, VII (Naples, 1589), p. 127 f.

49. G. Gilbert, *De magnete magneticisque corporibus et de magno magnete tellure Physiologia nova*, 1. III, ch. 12 (London, 1600), pp. 139 ff.
50. See the 'Praefatio' to the *Astrologicorum libri*, in *Opera latina.*, II, p. 1097.
51. M. Delrio, *Disquisitiones magicae* 1. I, c. IV, q. 1 (Venice, 1606), p. 32.
52. Thomas, *Opusc. 15 (Responsio ad lectorem Vercellensem de art. 42)*, art. 39 (in *Opera omnia*, vol. III, p. 642).
53. Ambrose, *Hexaameron*, IV, 3 in PL 14, 192.
54. Sap. 17, 5.
55. Eccli. 43, 3.
56. Plato, *Timaeus*, 39b.
57. Ficino, *Consilio contro la pestilenza*, ch. XXII, p. 72; *Epidemiarum Antidotus*, ch. XXIII, in *Opera*, I, pp. 634-35.
58. See *De siderali fato*, in *Opera. latina.*, p. 1337.

## **The Sky in a Room: Campanella's *Apologeticus* in defence of the pamphlet *De siderali fato vitando***

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**Editor's Note.** Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639) was one of the leading figures of the late Italian Renaissance. His wide-ranging work, including the utopian *The City of the Sun* (1613-1614), was an attempt to identify a distinctive order and direction which might be imposed on Europe as a solution to religious schism and political and military conflict. After the publication of *De siderali fato*, the seventh book of his *Astrologici*, in 1629, Campanella was accused of heresy and was forced to write the *Apologeticus* to defend himself. Campanella's text is presented here together with the introduction and commentary presented by Germana Ernst in *Bruniana and Campanelliana*, anno III 1997/2, both translated by Noga Arikha.

The last chapter of D. P. Walker's wonderful book on *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella*,<sup>1</sup> about Tommaso Campanella, is one of the best in that work. Walker here reconstructed the Dominican friar's relationship with Pope Urban VIII; and he looked at the natural magic practices described in Campanella's opusculum *De siderali fato vitando* which, it was rumoured, had been performed by the Pope himself - with Campanella's help - to counter the menace of eclipses and inauspicious astral charts. Walker noticed similarities between this text and Ficino's *De vita coelitus comparanda*, from which it seemed to derive in part, and he examined at length those pages that Campanella offered up as a remedy of astrological medicine: when the

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Germana Ernst, 'The Sky in a Room: Campanella's *Apologeticus* in defence of the pamphlet *De siderali fato vitando*', *Culture and Cosmos*, Spring/Summer 2002, Vol. 6 no 1, pp. 45-58.

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sky becomes polluted and the air contaminated with noxious seeds, it is necessary to delimit a separate space in which to rebuild a favourable environment, to counteract the darkness of the eclipse with white garments and white decorations, to purify the contaminated air with the burning of aromatic wood, the sprinkling of essences and distilled waters, the playing of soothing music; but above all, with the lighting of seven torches representing the sky and seven planets, one must set up the representation of a symbolic sky, a miniature sky that replaces the darkened, menacing one.<sup>2</sup>

This work gave rise to accusations of heresy and superstition. Published here is the *Apologeticus* that Campanella had to hurriedly write after the publication of *De siderali fato* in September 1629, the seventh book of the *Astrologici*, in response to an attempt to discredit him and undermine his relationship with the Pope.

From the very first months of Campanella's arrival in Rome in 1626, rumours - none disinterested - began to circulate about the Pope's poor health and his imminent death, coinciding with the approach of malefic astrological aspects. Such predictions of catastrophe became more intense over the next few years and eventually took on the proportion of a veritable *affaire internationale*. It culminated in 1630 with the preparations and plotting by the Spaniards for a new conclave, as if there were already a 'vacant seat'. This is a patent example of the ambiguous connection between astrology, politics and propaganda.<sup>3</sup>

Urban VIII was somewhat alarmed; he was proud of his own competence in astrology and sensed that there might be some truth to these insistently negative predictions. From the very beginning he sought out Campanella, who did all he could to calm him down, showing him on the basis of a close analysis of his birth chart that the situation was not quite as desperate as it seemed. This did not suffice to placate the Pope, although, from the summer of 1628, he summoned the friar to the palace, in order to put into practice, with his help, the remedies capable of warding off the celestial menace. In the Roman bulletins of those and later months, there were frequent references to the secret meetings between a Pope who, more than ever, was bent on protecting his own life, and the friar, 'highly adept in, and of singular talent for astrology'. Campanella, thanks to nocturnal ceremonies lit by the glare of torches and candles, and to 'some poultices against bad humours and melancholy', managed to persuade the illustrious man that he was to 'live long and in great peace'.<sup>4</sup>

In September 1629 the books of the *Astrologicorum* were published. They had been lying idle in the hands of the publisher Soubron, in Lyon, and after his death they had been inherited by the brothers Prost. At the end of the volume a pamphlet was added, as the seventh book but with new pagination, containing the opusculum *De siderali fato vitando*, preceded by a highly visible foreword by the editor, who explained how he had acquired the work after the composition of the rest of the volume. Some aspects of the editorial fortune of the *Astrologia* do remain obscure,<sup>5</sup> but there is no doubt that the opusculum, a copy of which Campanella had imprudently sent to a 'perfidious brother',<sup>6</sup> was published without authorization, with the express purpose of taking away from him the papal favour and putting a sudden stop to his rise in Roman circles. Indeed, some months before he had had conferred on him the title of *magister theologiae* and, at just around that time, he was about to be named council member of the Holy Office. The plot, which Campanella would denounce a number of times, had the intended consequences. His nomination was suspended and the prompt presentation of the book to the Pope provoked his fury: he believed he had been disgraced in public and Campanella was accused of both disobedience - for having published a text without the necessary authorization - and superstition.

Once he recovered from the state of prostration he was thrown into by the papal fury, Campanella had to defend himself against these accusations. He did so by writing the *Apologeticus*.<sup>7</sup> Although it looks like a general defence of the opusculum on astral fortune, it actually concentrates on the few pages under attack, those dedicated to the remedies against eclipses.

Campanella's defence dismisses suspicions of heresy with ease, and strives to show that the practices at stake should not be understood as a superstitious ceremonial rite but rather as a wholly natural remedy that entails no pact - implicit or explicit - with the devil. At the beginning of the text, Campanella takes care to emphasize the need to purify infected places and air, as had been recommended by doctors and by Ficino in his opusculum *Sulla peste*. But he thereafter needs to rely on his own doctrine in order to respond to more insidious objections, those with regard to the virtues of numbers, the symbolic value of representation, and the powers of images.

As far as numbers are concerned, Campanella points out at the outset that no council has ever pronounced an opinion with regard to the Pythagorean doctrines according to which numbers are endowed with specific virtues; so that, regardless of the truth of these doctrines, it

cannot be prohibited to hold them and, as a result, they cannot be condemned on the basis of dogma. Since the Scriptures, according to the much quoted verse from the Book of Wisdom, proclaims that God created each thing 'in number, weight and measure', it is natural to hold that a numerical scansion should be present within all aspects of creation, and even that it is precisely this scansion that enables one to distinguish individual essences from the undifferentiated mass of chaos. Moreover, the recourse to numerological symbolism is frequent in the Scriptures, too, particularly the septenary - think of the whirl of the seven angels, of the ampullae, thunder, trumpets, seals of the Apocalypse; equally abundant are the references to the mysteries of numbers in the texts of the Church Fathers, from Origen to Jerome and from Augustine to Hugh of St. Victor. Campanella does not hesitate to put to use his erudition in order to produce what Walker calls 'a formidable list of patristic authorities for the power and virtues of numbers'.<sup>8</sup> Authors close to Campanella's time too have dwelled on the mystical aspect of the septenary: Campanella mentions the Flemish doctor Cornelius Gemma, author of the *De arte cyclognomica*; he also mentions Fabio Paolini, a doctor from Udine, professor of Greek in Venice, student of astrology (*accademico uranico*), author of a curious treatise entitled *Hebdomades*, whose seven books are a highly learned, vertiginous set of variations on the Orphic theology and on the meaning of the septenary - all based on a verse of Virgil's *Aeneid*.<sup>9</sup>

That there are seven torches to be lit is obviously due to the fact that there are seven planets. But this has nothing to do with superstitious rite or futile observation; rather it is a specific replication of the sky. References to such replication can easily rely on biblical texts too, where the replication of exemplary models is often prescribed. Campanella mentions in this regard the arcane symbolic value of Aaron's priestly vestments and of the Mosaic *tabernaculum*, referring in particular to the text that is one of his favoured sources for Jewish scholarship, the *Bibliotheca sancta* by Sisto da Siena, a Dominican of Jewish origin and converted to Catholicism. While the tripartite division of the tent-dwelling into atrium, sacred room and *Sancta sanctorum* is a transparent allusion to the tripartite division of the world into the sublunary, celestial and divine spheres, the parts of the clothes of the priest, their colours, ornaments and decorative stones had a powerful symbolic value, representing the whole of the world in condensed form. Apart from their effectiveness, mentioned in some passages of Scripture, these vestments, for Sisto, call for a certain kind of explanation, a 'sciography' in which the

reproduction of an image becomes essential. Sisto reproduces within the text the illustration of the solemnly decked out priest; there follows a page of highly interesting commentary, which Campanella doubtlessly must have pondered. In this sort of 'umbratilis et picturalis expositio',<sup>10</sup> the image becomes essential in that it puts before the eye things that cannot adequately be expressed in words alone. Just as we resort to lines and figures in mathematical explanations, so some things in the sacred texts cannot be explained through mere discourse, 'nisi ipsarum imagines umbris vel picturis expressae oculorum intuitu conspiciantur'.<sup>11</sup> Objects such as Noah's Ark, Moses's tabernacle, Solomon's Temple are difficult to understand correctly without figures; thanks to their representation, 'multo plura unico intuitu consequimur quam et longa et numerosa commentariorum lectura: magis enim lonqueque distinctius animo apprehenditur, et tenacius memoria retinetur, quod oculis colligitur quam quod solis auribus percipitur'.<sup>12</sup> After the list of the Fathers and of the sacred authors who have been particularly good at this sort of explanation, Sisto does not fail to mention 'Albertus Dureyrus, qui et formam turris Babylonicae et quomodo in ea multa millia hominum commode habitare possent, primus penicillo demonstravit'.<sup>13</sup>

But even if one accepts the figurative role of the seven torches, one could still ask for a much more precise account of the qualities they prove to be endowed with - 'quid virtutis habemus ex hoc significato?'.<sup>14</sup> Campanella responds to this last objection with the affirmation that the torches, besides their symbolic and mystical quality, obtain a 'vis physica', or physical power, from the seven planets; to back this point, he does not hesitate to tackle the delicate issue of astrological images. Earlier, Ficino, in the most frequently discussed and highly problematic pages of his *De vita coelitus comparanda*, had called on the *Speculum astronomiae* of Albertus Magnus and on more moderate, more cautious texts by Aquinas, in order to defend the legitimacy of images and their effectiveness.<sup>15</sup> Campanella appeals to these same authorities and also to a skilful passage from Cajetan's commentary on Aquinas's *Summa*. In this page, the commentator is able to show, in an act of truly admirable hermeneutic endeavour, how some of Aquinas's statements about images that seem at odds with one another are in fact compatible. He also shows how a passage from the *Summa* that would seem, on a superficial reading, to deny to images any effectiveness derived from stars, should in fact be interpreted in a different manner. By pointing to a number of distinctions and clarifications, he manages to conclude that astronomical images, provided they are devoid of any character associations (the only elements

that are clearly superstitious and therefore to be rejected), do not turn out to be condemnable. Insisting on the primacy of figure as co-principle, and thus as 'dispositio ad formam, quae est naturalis actionis principium',<sup>16</sup> he is able to conclude that 'nihil prohibere videtur quin figura quae humano ministerio terminare ponitur tale corpus sub tali sidere, sit velut quaedam secunda stella, propter conformitatem ad tale sidus. Non enim negari potest quin figurae quaedam caelo approprientur, et quin occulti valde sint nobis modi caelestis influxus.'<sup>17</sup>

Campanella's hermeneutic ability is equal to that of Cajetan, and it is so subtle and disconcerting that Walker cannot help but notice, at once perplexed and admiring: 'Thus Campanella in his defence is able to use at the same time both Thomas and the commentator who contradicts him. This use of Thomas to defend practices which he explicitly condemns is perhaps not so odd as it appears at first sight'.<sup>18</sup> In order then to back the assertion that the products of human art, and not only natural essences, are endowed with their own qualities and dispositions, Campanella calls on recent discoveries on magnetism, on Della Porta, and especially on the text by Gilbert, who had noted how the small pieces of iron produced by blacksmiths direct themselves toward the place where they were made: as one can see when one puts them to float on a piece of cork, they will tend to adopt a specific direction, dependent on the orientation that prevailed at the moment of their formation.<sup>19</sup>

Campanella wrote the *Apologeticus* at a time of great difficulty. Not only was he at risk of losing papal favour; he also sensed that the storm which would soon break out over astrology was gathering force. The growing, exasperated, intransigent anti-astrological stance of the pope - who, in private, used to boast of his knowledge of the birth dates of all the cardinals and who, as he consulted the horoscope of the old Duke of Urbino, looked forward to his passing, which would allow him at last to take possession of the state - culminated first in the trial against astrologers of the summer of 1630, with the imprisonment and the death, for suspected poisoning, of don Orazio Morandi, abbot of the convent of S. Prassede, one of the most active centres of prognostication and secret meetings.<sup>20</sup> Then, in the spring of 1631, there was the promulgation of the highly severe Bull *Inscrutabilis*, which forbade all divination, promising heavy penalties to the authors of predictions concerning the life of the pope and of the papal family, ranging from the confiscation of property to capital punishment.

Embittered by these events, worried about the negative repercussions they could have on his own writings, and by that point already the object



of censure and criticism, Campanella writes a clever and tortuous *Disputatio* on the Bull,<sup>21</sup> which, under the guise of replying to the criticism of hypothetical adversaries, strives to provide a more qualified interpretation of it, showing how it risks leading to the belief that the pope is more severe with regard to astrologers than with regard to heretics and schismatics, and that he is more concerned with his own personal affairs than with his family and the common good.

Fully aware that the ban on astrology was entirely political, Campanella must accept the fact that the wisdom of the pope can be condemning not only of false doctrines but also of dangerous ones, likely to provoke disturbances similar to those which took place the previous year, when worthless and superstitious predictions concerning the pope and the church, spread unscrupulously and exploited by politicians and men of power, had led to serious riots.<sup>22</sup>

But in his last revision of his most famous text, the *Civitas Solis*, where the correspondences between terrestrial world and celestial aspects play a central part, Campanella inserts a long digression, precisely in order to respond to the puzzlement of the Knight Hospitalier, who believes that the Solarians 'nimis astrologizant' - are too involved in astrology. The Hospitalier's interlocuter, the Genoese sailor, reaffirms the full philosophical legitimacy of astrology, based as it is on the mediating role of the heavens, and mentions the various levels of causality and of the bounds within which the stars influence us. He does not hesitate to point out, proudly, the Solarians' invention of a miraculous remedy against astral dangers: when there is a threat of menacing celestial events, the Solarians suggest recreating an enclosed space, separate and protected, a room with white walls, in which aromas, cheerful music and pleasant conversations hinder the infected seeds that spread outside, and where the lighting of seven torches reproduces a private sky, a domestic theatre of the world. This description is brief but so convincing that the interlocutor can only recognize its usefulness and admire its wisdom - 'Pape! Medicinalia sunt haec omnia et sapienter applicata' - 'Oh! This is in fact medicine, and medicine that is applied wisely'.<sup>23</sup>

## References

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1. D. P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* (London, 1958), pp. 203-236 (and now with an Introduction by Brian P. Copenhaver, The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, PA 2000).
2. See *De siderali fato vitando*, in *Opera latina Francofurti impressa annis 1617-1630*, ed. L. Firpo, Turin, Bottega d'Erasmus, 1975, vol II, pp. 1318-1340; for remedies against the dangers bred by eclipses, see pp. 1327-1328. On the pamphlet and its fortune, see also G. Formichetti, *Il 'De siderali fato vitando' di Tommaso Campanella*. in G. Formichetti, ed., *Il mago, il cosmo, il teatro degli astri* (Rome, Bulzoni, 1985), pp. 199-217; reprinted in G. Formichetti, *I testi e la scrittura* (Rome, Bulzoni, 1990), pp. 69-91. A comparison of the printed text with a manuscript copy replete with interesting variations is in O. Lucchesi, *Il 'De fato siderali vitando': varianti d'autore campanelliane in un codice della Casanatense*, in F. Troncarelli, ed., *La città dei segreti* (Milan, Franco Angeli, 1985), pp. 127-135.
3. See L. Amabile, *Fra Tommaso Campanella ne' castelli di Napoli*, in *Roma e in Parigi*, Naples, Morano, 1887, vol. I, pp. 271 ff.; 347 ff.; 384 ff. A reference in a recently found text seems to confirm that 1626 was the date of the beginning of the *querelle* on the Papal horoscope: see G. Ernst, *L'opacità del male e il disincanto del profeta. Profezia, ragion di stato e provvidenza divina in un testo inedito di Campanella (1627)*, in 'Bruniana & Campanelliana', II (1996), p. 138.
4. Amabile, *Castelli*, vol. I, pp. 325 ff.; vol. II, docs. 203, 210, 211, 216, pp. 148, 153 ff.
5. The intricate matter of the printing history of the *Astrologici* books is investigated most broadly by L. Firpo, in *Ricerche campanelliane*, Florence, Sansoni, 1947, pp. 155-169. Later, F. Grillo, in *Questioni campanelliane. La stampa fraudolenta e clandestina degli 'Astrologicorum libri'* (Cosenza, 1961), taking his cue, not entirely convincingly, from some of Amabile's theses and from passages in Campanella's letters, denied that the first edition had been printed in Lyon and insisted that it must have been a clandestine, counterfeit publication by the Andrea Brugiotti press in Rome.
6. *De libris propriis et recta ratione studendi Syntagma*, ed. V. Spampanato, Milano, 1927, p. 37; the allusion is to the Dominican brother Niccolò Riccardi, who, along with the general of the Order, Niccolò Ridolfi, was in charge of the plot.

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7. Amabile, *Castelli*, vol. I, pp. 352 ff. The *Apologeticus* was presented for judgement to two censors, the Dominican Giovan Battista Marini and Francesco Tontoli, who accepted the text (see Firpo, *Ricerche*, p. 159).

8. See Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, p. 222.

9. Paolini has been studied by Walker, *ibid.*, pp. 126-144.

10. 'shadowy and pictorial description'.

11. 'unless we look with our eyes at their images expressed through shadows or pictures'.

12. 'we achieve many more results with just a glance than with a long and frequent reading of commentaries, for what we gain through our eyes is apprehended by our mind to a greater extent and more distinctly and retained by our memory more tenaciously than what we perceive only through the ears'.

13. Sisto da Siena, *Bibliotheca sancta*, 1. III, Lugduni 1575, p. 184 f. 'Albert Dürer who first demonstrated with the brush the shape of the Babylonian tower and the way in which thousands of people could live more comfortably'.

14. 'What virtue do we draw from this meaning?'

15. See Marsilio Ficino, *Sulla vita*, III, 18, ed. A. Tarabochia Canavero (Milan, Rusconi, Milan, 1995), pp. 225 ff. An in-depth analysis of the connections between Ficino's magic and scholastic philosophy is in Brian Copenhaver, 'Scholastic Philosophy and Renaissance Magic in the 'De vita' of Marsilio Ficino', *Renaissance Quarterly*, XXXVII, 1984, pp. 523-554.

16. 'disposition towards the form, which is the principle of a natural action'.

17. *Summa theologiae*, II IIae, q. 96, art. 2, in Thomae Aquinatis *Opera omnia*, cum commentariis card. Gaetani, ed. Leonina, vol. IX (Rome, 1897), pp. 331-333: 'nothing seems able to prevent an image that the human skill put on in order to define a certain thing in connection with a certain star, from being like a sort of second star because of its correspondence with the heavenly body. For it cannot be denied that some images are assimilated into the sky and that the ways of the celestial influence are largely hidden to us'.

18. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, p. 214.

19. See below notes on the text 48 and 40.

60 'The Sky in a Room: Campanella's *Apologeticus* in defence of the pamphlet *De siderali fato vitando*'

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20. On these events, see my 'Scienza, astrologia e politica nella Roma barocca. La biblioteca di don Orazio Morandi', in E. Canone, ed., *Bibliothecae selectae. Da Cusano a Leopardi*, ed. E. Canone (Florence, Olschki, 1993), pp. 217-252, and the bibliography there. On Morandi, see now Brendan Dooley, *Morandi's Last Prophecy and the End of Renaissance Politics*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2002.

21. The *Disputatio an Bullae Sixti V et Urbani VIII contra iudiciarios calumniam in aliquo patiantur* was published in the volume containing the Paris edition of the *Atheismus triumphatus* (Paris, 1636), pp. 255-273.

22. *Disputatio*, pp. 256, 267-68.

23. See *Civitas solis*, in Tommaso Campanella, *Città del sole*, ed. Norberto Bobbio (Turin, Einaudi, 1941), pp. 160 ff.: p. 162.