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Tommaso Campanella's *Marginalia* on Aristotle

Introduction

From 1585 to 1587, Tommaso Campanella lived and studied in Nicastro.¹ In 1585, a reform in the Dominican studies curriculum required Dominicans to study metaphysics, physics, and logic for five years. Accordingly, as a young friar, Campanella spent considerable time in the San Domenico convent library, reading books on philosophy, theology, history, oratory, and law.² In particular, the library held books of Aristotle and his Greek, Arabic, and Latin commentators.³ Some of these commentators, such as Averroes, Alexander of Aphrodisias, Thomas Aquinas, and Agostino Nifo will be cited in the *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata* (1591), and we can suppose that Campanella quoted them from memory, as he was used to doing.⁴ Indeed, the books he read in Nicastro early in his education were probably significant throughout his life. Most importantly, *marginalia* and glosses are preserved in many of these volumes, some possibly in Campanella's hand, others certainly so.

The study of *marginalia* is important for at least three reasons. First, the annotations allow us to know which books the author certainly read and, therefore, which philosophers and texts were fundamental to his education. Second, the annotations let us reconstruct Campanella's interpretations of the texts he commented on. Campanella's glosses and *marginalia* do indeed manifest his thoughts, in two different ways. On the one hand, the annotations express theses that were introduced more fully in his later works and thus contain *in nuce* arguments that would be later explained in detail. On the other hand, some marginal notes hint at views quite different from what we otherwise know of Campanella's philosophy. Studying the latter annotations means tracing some new motifs in our understand-

¹ My thanks go to the Municipal Library of Lamezia Terme for allowing me to collect this important information. I am particularly grateful to Dott. Antonio Vescio for his valuable support of my research.

² See Antonella De Vinci, *Postille del giovane Campanella* in volumi della Casa del Libro Antico di Lamezia Terme, in: *Laboratorio Campanella: Biografia, contesti, iniziative in corso: Atti del Convegno della Fondazione Camillo Caetani, Roma, 19–20 ottobre 2006*, Germana Ernst and Caterina Fiorani (eds.), 39–63, Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2008, 42.

³ De Vinci, *Postille del giovane Campanella*, 49–50.

⁴ See Antonella De Vinci, *Fra le letture del giovane Tommaso Campanella*, Vibo Valentia: Qualecultura, 2002, 104.

ing of the author. This is particularly true of his annotations of texts from the Aristotelian tradition, with which he had a critical relationship.⁵ Third, for Campanella the marginalia represented a space of freedom, not only because they were not addressed to an official readership, but also because they could escape censorship since they remained anonymous or, at most, only thinly ascribable to him as author.

Scholars have not yet tackled this topic – at least, not in detail. However, we must mention the works of Antonella De Vinci,⁶ who investigated Campanella's youth, and particularly the relevance of the ancient collection of the Dominican library in Nicastro. De Vinci also studied Campanella's *marginalia*, offering a remarkable reconstruction of the philosopher's annotations of these books.⁷

In the wake of De Vinci's contribution, the aim of this chapter is twofold. First, it highlights Campanella's formative stay at the Dominican convent of Nicastro and examines the volumes that were important for the development of his thought. Second, and more importantly, it reconstructs Campanella's attitude towards Aristotle and the Aristotelian tradition as it emerges from the *marginalia* of these texts. In this regard, the essay underlines how, in some of these annotations, Campanella expressed partially innovative aspects of his philosophy not present as such in his canonical works, while in others he proposed theses that would be developed in his later works. The range of views thus expressed in the *marginalia* is due to a certain freedom of expression that could not be achieved in other contexts.

⁵ As attested by Germana Ernst: “La lettura dei testi aristotelici e dei suoi commentatori suscita da subito nel giovane frate insoddisfazione e un atteggiamento critico. A Nicastro un maestro, stigmatizzando tale attitudine polemica, lo avrebbe ammonito: ‘Campanella, Campanella, tu non farai bon fine!’” (Germana Ernst, *Tommaso Campanella: Il libro e il corpo della natura*, Rome: Laterza, 2002, 5).

⁶ De Vinci wrote the abovementioned contributions to the topic as the former director of the Casa del Libro Antico of the Municipal Library of Lamezia Terme.

⁷ As Germana Ernst also notes, De Vinci is credited with discovering the *marginalia* of the young Campanella. She maintains that Campanella himself is the author of the annotations found in the volumes preserved in Nicastro, and she substantiates this claim with historical and technical evidence in De Vinci, *Fra le letture del giovane Tommaso Campanella*, 14–16; De Vinci, *Postille del giovane Campanella*, 41–43.

1 Campanella in Nicastro: Writing *Marginalia* in Aristotelian Volumes

Tommaso Campanella was a remarkably fruitful writer. This was probably due to his prodigious genius and tireless activity as a reader. As De Vinci reminds us,⁸ in the *Syntagma de libris propriis*⁹ he used a highly illuminating term to describe his approach to books and study, namely the verb *perlego*. This word indicates the desire to immerse himself in reading. In fact, reading was Campanella's main activity in Nicastro, where he spent intense years in the library of the convent that hosted him. Here he read through (*perlegit*) a seemingly boundless number of volumes.

To examine Campanella's *marginalia* – at least those produced during the years he spent in Nicastro – does not primarily mean to reconstruct theoretical or strictly theological-philosophical themes and issues. Rather, it entails adopting a historical perspective to reconstruct Campanella's technique of reading. The presence of his *marginalia* testifies to the importance of certain authors and themes within Dominican libraries and, consequently, within the cultural formation of the novices. At the same time, it highlights the specific preferences accorded by Campanella to particular authors and texts within these broader collections. In other words, one may attempt to answer the following questions: What were the principal contents of Campanella's intellectual education? Which authors did he engage with most frequently? Which works did he specifically select from the rich library of the convent of San Domenico? Why did he make these choices? Among the books he read, which ones contain *marginalia*, commentary, and significant interventions? Answering these questions allows us to explore the intellectual background within which the key concepts of Campanella's mature thought took shape. In any case, no autograph manuscript from his youth has been preserved, so it is impossible to compare the annotations found in Nicastro with Campanella's writings from the same period.

The content of Campanella's *marginalia* on the Aristotelian works is, in a sense, preparatory to the themes that the author will develop later throughout his life in his most important writings. Indeed, as we shall see, the personal notes that

⁸ See De Vinci, *Fra le letture del giovane Tommaso Campanella*, 94.

⁹ "Quapropter ego cuius commentarios ferme omnes perlegisti, atque tuis approbasti scriptis editis, abs te stimulatus adiuratusque, ut omnium librorum meorum numerum ac rationem tibi patefacerem usque ad schedas" (Tommaso Campanella, *Sintagma dei miei libri e sul corretto metodo di apprendere*, Germana Ernst (ed.), Pisa: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2007, 28). "Proptereaque, cum mortuo Telesio, quem viventem alloqui non licuit, elegeiam affixissem, Altum Montem oppidum adivi, ubi Platonicorum et medicorum libros ab optimis viris subministratos perlegi" (Campanella, *Sintagma dei miei libri*, 32).

Campanella inscribed in the volumes of the Dominican library of Nicastro contain, in embryonic form, some foundational themes for the speculative path that Campanella will later pursue. Moreover, it is important to emphasize that the reading of these volumes during Campanella's youth proved to be fundamental during the long years of his imprisonment, providing him with a bibliographical reservoir from which he could constantly draw. As a matter of fact, Campanella, as was common during the Renaissance, made extensive use of mnemonic techniques¹⁰ and succeeded in retaining in his memory not only the contents of the volumes he read (in this case, at Nicastro), but sometimes even the exact words contained within the texts themselves.

We should wonder about the aim and meaning of the annotations Campanella wrote in the margins of the texts he consulted and studied. What role did they play in the philosopher's thought? Why did the author write in the volumes themselves and not on loose sheets? To answer these preliminary questions, which are crucial for investigating the content of the annotations themselves, we must turn to the manuscripts, where two interesting aspects emerge. First, Campanella signed his notes. In some cases, he wrote his own name. As reconstructed by De Vinci,¹¹ on the first folio of the *Ars versificatoria* (1517) we find the inscription "fr. Thoma do sqllij ont [...]go,"¹² while on a page of the *Morale reductorum super totam bibliam* by Pierre Bersuire (1520), one reads "frater Thomas de sqllio [Squillatio?]"¹³ (see Figure 1).

¹⁰ This topic has been addressed notably by Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.

¹¹ See De Vinci, *Fra le letture del giovane Tommaso Campanella*, 95.

¹² Ioannes Despauterius, *Ars versificatoria diligenter recognita: adiectis complusculis: & quicquid parum speciosum videbatur eliminato velles quaedam latius probari ... Praemissa Isagoge Ascensiana: Addita est Despauterij recriminatio in aduersarium*, Lutetiae: Claude Chevallon, 1517 (Casa del Libro Antico of the Municipal Library of Lamezia Terme, 177-C).

¹³ Petrus Berchorius, *Morale reductorum super totam Bibliam: quattuor & triginta libris consummatum: singulisque ... capitibus aptissime distinctum: vbi notabiliorum, historiarum, ac figurarum veteris & noui testamentorum: premissa compendiosa textus summa: tropologica seu allegorica atque nonnunquam anagogica subnectitur explanatio. Adiectis Biblie concordantibus ...*, Lugduni: Jacques Mareschal, 1520, book I, ch. II, fol. II (Casa del Libro Antico of the Municipal Library of Lamezia Terme, 166-C). At the time, Stilo was in the diocese of Squillace, now the archdiocese of Catanzaro-Squillace.

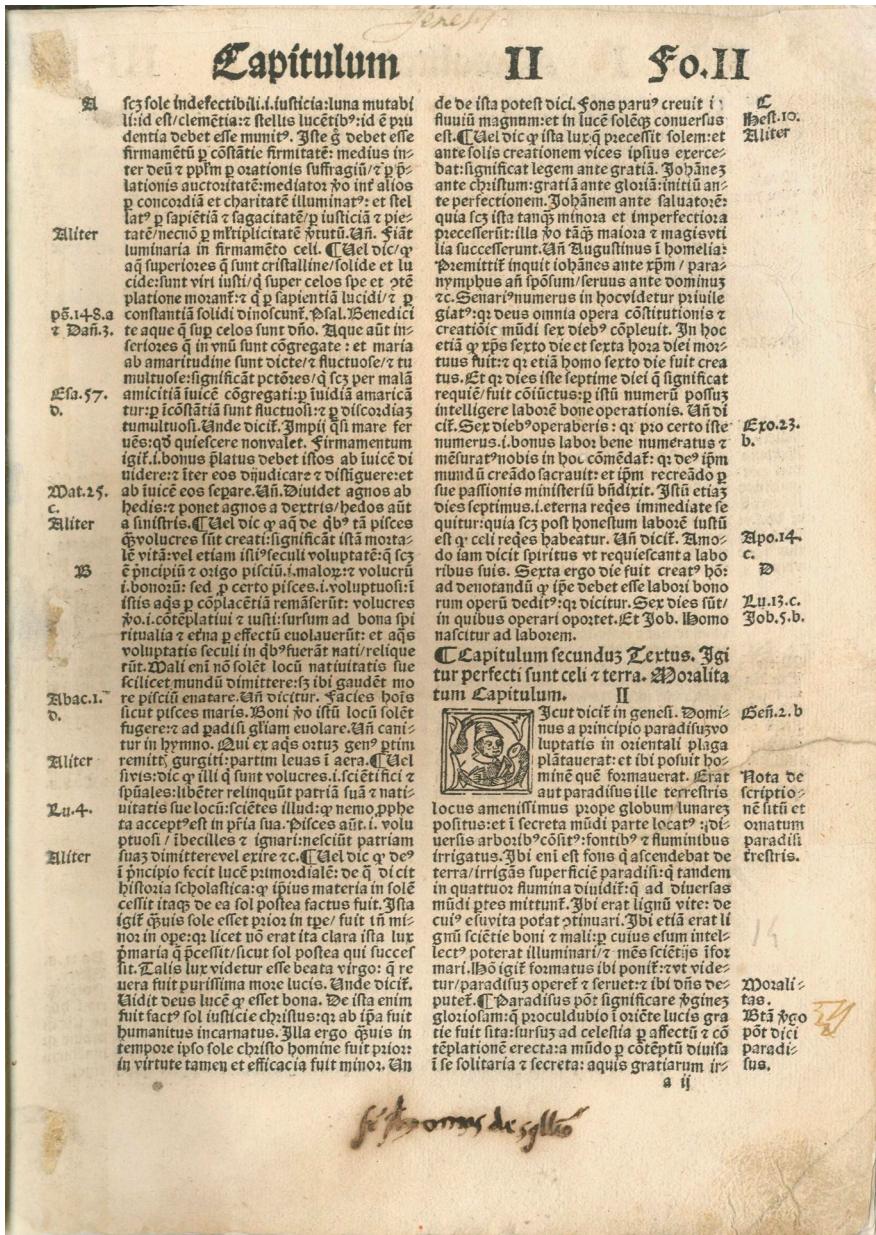


Figure 1: Campanella's intervention on a page of the *Morale reductorum super totam bibliam* by Pierre Bersuire (1520).

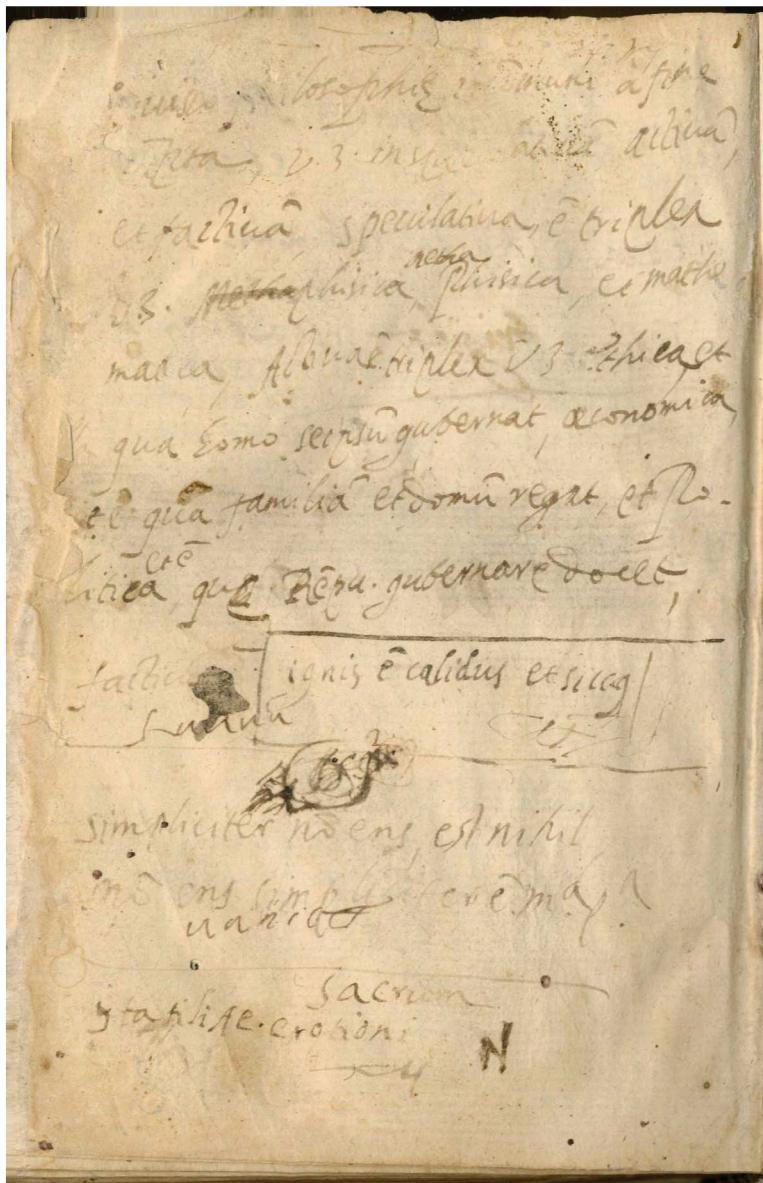


Figure 2: An example of Campanella's peculiar way of signing his notes.

Second – and this is particularly striking and original – being the eccentric philosopher he was, Campanella signed his notes in a rather peculiar way, namely by drawing a bell on the guard sheet of a commentary on Aristotle¹⁴ (see Figure 2).

On the same sheet is written “Cl. T.” which may mean Campanella Tommaso.¹⁵ In the first case, that of an actual signature, we have a declaration of authorship of the notes to the texts; in this second case, such authorship is only alluded to.¹⁶ We might call this a kind of coded signature, that is, a willingness to associate a partly veiled identity with a thesis outlined in summary in the *marginalia*. Furthermore, the political environment of the time subjected him to a certain degree of scrutiny by the authorities, so he had to proceed with some caution.

Of special note is a distinctive intervention by Campanella in the 1567 edition of the Aristotelian *Epitome* by Crisostomo Javelli. In the section devoted to the *Meteorologica*, a central point is drawn within the capital letter Q, with many rays added around the letter, creating a clear representation of a sun.¹⁷ The same symbol would later be printed on the title page of the *City of the Sun*.¹⁸

We must reflect on why Campanella signed his notes, explicitly or not. He knew that the books would remain at the disposal of others after he moved away from Nicastro, so leaving a recognizable mark is a sort of affirmation of identity. In other words, the *marginalia* are not addressed only to the author himself; they are aimed at an audience, to which the author introduces himself and for which he wants to leave his name. Therefore, the space of freedom referred to earlier afforded an opportunity to say some things in a concealed and inconspicuous way to an audience that would, nevertheless, have recognized him as the author of those theses and thoughts. This aspect reveals that two distinct purposes likely drove Campanella: on one hand, the desire to make his work as a glossator recognizable, that is, the aim to sign what he wrote; on the other hand, the necessity (and consequent

¹⁴ See Chrysostomus Iavellus, *Epitome, in vniuersam Aristotelis philosophiam, tam naturalem, quam transnaturalem: A mendis quamplurimis ab eiusdem ordinis philosopho repurgata, ac iuxta Arist. libros in ordinem restituta ...*, Venetiis: Girolamo Scoto, 1567 (Casa del Libro Antico of the Municipal Library of Lamezia Terme, 187-C).

¹⁵ See De Vinci, *Postille del giovane Campanella*, 59. As reported by De Vinci, the letters Cl. T. may be attributed to Tommaso Campanella, also because, on the same page, a drawing of a small bell appears to be visible. This could possibly represent the bell of Settimontano Squilla (the pseudonym of Tommaso Campanella himself).

¹⁶ Indeed, in Italian, the surname “Campanella” literally means “small bell.”

¹⁷ See Iavellus, *Epitome in vniuersam Aristotelis philosophiam*, 235.

¹⁸ See De Vinci, *Fra le letture del giovane Tommaso Campanella*, 15 and 115; De Vinci, *Postille del giovane Campanella*, 59.

intention) to remain anonymous, and thus avoid being prosecuted, as the author of glosses that expressed his unconventional ideas.

A further reason is evident in some of the hand drawings in the margins of the volumes he studied. When Campanella wanted to emphasize the importance of a certain passage or part of the text, he often drew a small hand (*manicula*) holding a pen that pointed to the passage in question. Since *maniculae* were widely used by medieval and Renaissance authors, they are scattered throughout nearly all the volumes examined by Campanella, functioning as a kind of visual marker. From the perspective of the historian of reading practices, this phenomenon produces two noteworthy effects: 1) it fully situates the philosopher within the milieu of Renaissance erudition, whose method he shared and reproduced in traditional form; 2) it allows us to identify the *corpus* of volumes that were most significant to Campanella within the holdings of the Nicastro library, by tracing the interventions he made in the texts, including minor ones such as *maniculae*. This little hand, almost representing the hand of the (anonymous) glosser, calls attention to some crucial points in the texts, and it seems likely that in these cases he also wanted to leave something of himself in the volumes, albeit in a veiled way.

In 1588, Campanella left Nicastro to continue his studies in Cosenza. By that time, many of the annotations and marginalia had appeared in the volumes in the Nicastro library.¹⁹ He also returned to Nicastro briefly in July 1598. De Vinci maintains that in 1598 most of his reading concerned law,²⁰ because he was defending himself against accusations from authorities at the time. Although this thesis is valid, it cannot be excluded that some notes on other philosophical texts also date back to this second stay in Nicastro.

A collection of Aristotelian treatises published in the sixteenth century, currently kept in the Casa del Libro Antico of the Oreste Borrello Municipal Library in Lamezia Terme, should also be mentioned. This collection belonged to the Capuchin monastery of Nicastro, as the ownership mark on the volumes testifies. These books contain many annotations in the same hand, that could be in some cases attributed to Campanella.²¹ It is likely that when the Dominican order encountered political problems because of the involvement of many of its friars in the turmoil of the time,²² the volumes containing Campanella's annotations were somehow pre-

¹⁹ De Vinci, *Postille del giovane Campanella*, 40.

²⁰ De Vinci, *Postille del giovane Campanella*, 61–63.

²¹ De Vinci, *Postille del giovane Campanella*, 68–70.

²² Many members of the clergy in Nicastro, except for the Capuchin friars, participated in the Conspiracy of 1599. Among them, the Dominicans were particularly notable for their efforts to involve the people in the uprising, and even the then Bishop of Nicastro showed sympathy for the rebels. See De Vinci, *Fra le letture del giovane Tommaso Campanella*, 72; Jean-Paul De Lucca, Campanella e

served from the Inquisition and moved to the Capuchin convent, which remained politically untouched.²³

2 Campanella's Aristotelian Readings in Nicastro

This is a list of books that Campanella read and commented on in the margins. The books are ordered by date of publication.

1. Thomas Aquinas. *Expositio Divi Thomae Aquinatis in libros Posteriorum et Perihermenias Aristotelis cum textu Ioannis Argyropili ubique anteposito: et cum fallacibus et quaestionibus Dominici de Flandria*. Venetiis: Simone da Lovere, 1507;
2. Iohannes Despauterius. *Ars versificatoria Joannis Despauterij Niniuitae diligenter recognita: adiectis complusculis: & quicquid parum speciosum videbatur eliminato velles quaedam latius probari ... Praemissa Isagogē Ascensiana: Addita est Despauterij recriminatio in aduersarium*. Lutetiae: Claude Chevallon, 1517;
3. John Duns Scotus. *Scriptum Ioannis Duns Scoti doctoris subtilissimi ordinis Minorum super primo [-quarto] sententiarum: antea vitio impressorum deprauatum: nunc vero a multifarijs erroribus purgatum: pristineque integritati restitutum. Cui tabula vniuersam autoris ... subnectitur: ab ... Antonio de Fantis Taruisino ... elaborata proximis his diebus absolutissime in lucem editum*. Pavia: Giacomo Pocatela, 1517;
4. Pierre Bersuire. *Morale reductorum super totam Bibliam: fratris Petri Berthorij Pictauiensis, ordinis diuini Benedicti: diuinorum litterarum studiosissimi: quatuor & triginta libris consummatum: singulisque ... capitibus aptissime distinctum: vbi notabiliorum, historiarum, ac figurarum veteris & noui testamentorum: premissa compendiosa textus summa: tropologica seu allegorica atque nonnunquam anagogica subnectitur explanatio: Adiectis Biblie concordantijs* Lugduni: Jacques Mareschal, 1520;
5. Ambrose. *Diui Ambrosii episcopi Mediolanensis Omnia opera, per eruditos uiros, ex accurata diuersorum codicum collatione emendata, ... in quatuor ordines digesta, quorum primum habet mores, secundus pugnas aduersus haereticos, tertius orationes, epistolas, & conciones ad populum, quartus explanationes voluminorum ueteris & noui testamenti* Basileae: Johann Froben, 1527;

il rinnovamento sociale della sua Calabria: Un auspicio europeo, in: "Virtù Ascosta e Negletta": *La Calabria nella modernità*, Germana Ernst and Rosa M. Calcaterra (eds.), Milan: Franco Angeli, 2011, 43–48; Ernst, Tommaso Campanella, 62–64.

23 De Vinci, *Postille del giovane Campanella*, 71–73.

6. Ambrose. *Diui Ambrosii Episcopi Mediolanensis operum tomus Quartus, continens explanationes, hoc est ea quae faciunt ad interpretationem diuinarum scripturarum, veteris testamenti, deniq[ue] noui*. Basileae: Johann Froben, 1527;
7. Olympiodorus of Alexandria. *Olympiodori philosophi Alexandrini In Meteora Aristotelis commentarii Ioannis grammatici Philoponi scholia in 1. Meteorum Aristotelis: Ioanne Baptista Camotio philosopho interprete*. Venetiis: Aldo Manuzio, 1551;
8. Agostino Nifo. *Augustini Niphi ... Expositio super octo Aristotelis Stagiritae libros De physico auditu Cum dupli textus translatione, antiqua videlicet, & noua eius, ad Graecorum exemplarum veritatem, ab eodem Augustino quam fidissime castigatis: Averrois etiam Cordubensis in eosdem libros Proemium, ac commentaria, cum ipsis Augustini Suessani refertissima expositione, annotationibus, ac postremis in omnes libros recognitionibus, castigatissima conspiciuntur: His demum ... locupletissimus index literarum ferie congestus nuper additus est ... Venetiis: Lucantonio Giunta, 1552;*
9. Aristotle. *Primum volumen: Aristotelis Stagiritae Organum, quod Logicam appellant, cum Auerrois Cordubensis varijs commentarijs, epitome, quae sitis, ac epistola vna: his accesserunt Leui Ghersonidis in nonnullos Aristotelis, & Auerrois libros annotationes*. Venetiis: Lucantonio Giunta, 1552;
10. Agostino Nifo. *Augustini Niphi ... In Aristotelis libros posteriorum analyticorum subtilissima commentaria, cum dupli textus translatione Ioannis Argyropili uidelicet, & eiusdem noua ab ipso fidelissime recognitis: Omnia item conclusionum, ac notabilium dictorum nouus index adiectus est*. Venetiis: Lucantonio Giunta, 1553;
11. Ammonius Hermiae. *Ammonii Hermei Commentaria in librum Porphyrii de quinque uocibus, & in Aristotelis Praedicamenta, ac Peri hermenias cum indice, tam rerum, quam uerborum locupletissimo: In his conferendis cum Graecis exemplaribus, atque emendandis, quantum studii Petrus Rosetus ... adhibuerit, qui haec legerit, per facile intelliget*. Venetiis: Giovanni Griffio, 1555;
12. Agostino Nifo. *Augustini Niphi ... in Aristotelis libros metaphysices: Quae omnia igenio aedoctrina peritissimi utriusque linguae uiro denuo fuit diligentissime recognita, ac erroribus post primam editionem repurgata*. Venetiis: Giovanni Griffio, 1558;
13. Alexander of Aphrodisias. *Alexandri Aphrodisiensis ... Quaestiones naturales et morales et de fato Hieronymo Bagolino Veronensi patre & Ioanne Baptista filio interpretibus: De anima liber primus, Hieronymo Donato ... interprete: De anima liber secundus vna cum commentario de mistione, Angelo Caninio ... interprete Venetiis: Girolamo Scoto, 1559;*
14. John Philoponus. *Ioannis Grammatici Andrei philosophi cognomento Philoponi In tres libros De anima Aristotelis breues annotationes, ex dissertationibus*

Ammonij Hermei, cum quibusdam propriis meditationibus: Nuper a Graeco in Latinum conuersae, et accuratius quam antea emendatae. Venetiis: Girolamo Scoto, 1560;

15. Themistius. *Themistii ... Paraphrasis in Aristotelis: Posteriora, & Physica: In libro item De anima, Memoria et reminiscentia, Somno et vigilia, Insomniis, & Diuinatione per somnum, Hermolao Barbaro ... interprete: Additae sunt et lucubrations, quae Themistij obscuriora loca apertissima reddunt: additus & index, necnon contradictionum solutiones Marci Antonij Zimarrae in dictis eiusdem Themistij: ... His demum omnibus adiecimus eiusdem Themistij paraphrasem in librum tertium De anima nuper à ... Ludouico Nogarola Veronensi, latinitate donatam, ac suis subtilissimis scholiis illustratam. Venetiis: Girolamo Scoto, 1560;*
16. Aristotle. *Aristotelis Stagiritae Opera, post omnes quae in hunc usque diem prodierunt editiones, summo studio emaculata, & ad Graecum exemplar diligenter recognita: Quibus accessit index locupletissimus, recens collectus. Lugduni: Symphorien Barbier, 1563;*
17. Aristotle. *Aristotelis Stagiritae Operum Tomus Secundus. Lugduni: Symphorien Barbier, n.d.;*
18. Marcantonio Zimara. *Marciant. Zimarae ... Tabula & dilucidationes in dicta Aristotelis & Auer: Nunc recens recognita, & ab innumeris erroribus expurgata. Venetiis: Vincenzo Valgreisi, 1564;*
19. Crisostomo Javelli. *Epitome Chrysostomi Iauelli Canapitiij ord. Praedicatorum, in vniuersam Aristotelis philosophiam, tam naturalem, quam transnaturalem: A mendis quamplurimis ab eiusdem ordinis philosopho repurgata, ac iuxta Arist. libros in ordinem restituta Venetiis: Girolamo Scoto, 1567;*
20. Accursius. *Institutiones diui Caesaris Iustiniani, quibus iuris ciuilis elementa singulari modo libris quatuor comprehenduntur: Cum Accursij commentarijs, & doctissimorum uirorum annotationibus: Omnia diligentissime purgata, & recognita: Accessit rerum, & verborum insignium index locupletissimus. Venetiis: Niccolò Bevilacqua, 1569;*
21. Accursius. *Pandectarum, seu Digestorum iuris ciuilis, quibus iurisprudentia ex veteribus iureconsultis desumpta, libri 50 continetur; tomus primus [-tertius] ... cum Accursij commentarijs, & doctissimorum uirorum annotationibus: Omnia diligentissime purgata, & recognita: Accessit rerum, & verborum insignium index locupletissimus, 3 vols. Venetiis: Niccolò Bevilacqua, 1569;*
22. Thomas Aquinas. *S. Thomae Aquinatis In octo Physicorum Aristotelis libros commentaria: ex vetustissimo ac fidelissimo manu scripto exemplari, diligentissime castigata, ... Cum dupli textus tralatione, antiqua & Argyropoli recognitis: Ad haec accessit Roberti Linconiensis in eosdem Summa: Quibus etiam nuper sunt additi sancti Thomae infrascripti libelli ad speculationem physicam spec-*

tantes ...: *Ac Thomae De Vio Caietani Quaestiones duae, altera De subiecto naturalis scientiae, altera De Dei intensiua infinitate: Duo item indices.* Venetiis: Girolamo Scoto, 1586;

23. Walter Burley. *Super Aristotelis libros, De physica auscultatione lucidissima commentaria: Cum noua veterique interpretatione: Vna cum repertorio tractatum, capitum, dubiorum, conclusionum, ac rerum omnium notatu digniorum facillimo ordine digesto: Omnia integerrime, quam antea impressis, recondita, non pauca super addita, ac exactissima, qua fieri potuit, diligentia, ab omni errorum labe vindicata.* Venetiis: Michele Bernia, 1589;

24. Henry of Susa. *Decretum Gratiani emendatum et notationibus illustratum vnà cum glossis, Gregorio 13. pont. max. iussu editum,* Venetiis: s.n., 1591;

25. Pope Gregory IX. *Decretales D. Gregorii papae 9: Suae integratitati vnà cum glossis restitutae: Ad exemplar Romanum diligenter recognitae,* Venetiis: s.n., 1591;

26. Raphael Ripa. *Commentaria, et quaestiones ad s. Thomae Aquinatis de ente, et essentia tractatum: Quibus, & quae omnia difficiliora tota penè Aristotelis Methaphysica tractari solent, examinantur, ... & ipsius B. Doctoris litera, & quae in eius gratiam Caietanus cardinalis olim scripsit, ab omnibus, tum vero praecipue recentioribus, qui haec, & illam hactenus impugnarunt, propugnantur: Auctore fratre Raphaele Ripa Veneto ordinis Praedicatorum: Cum triplici indice, nam ijs qui nominati sunt, tertius rerum notatu dignarum in fine accessit.* Romae: Luigi Zanetti, 1598.

This list of volumes makes up a significant collection that clearly reveals the reading and study preferences of the young Campanella. Within the rich Dominican library to which he had access, he left visible traces of his intellectual engagement with texts that can generally be grouped into five categories: first, a selection of works by Aristotle; then, some Aristotelian commentaries; others composed in the Neoplatonic milieu; a theological section; and a legal section. As for the first group, namely the works of Aristotle, they are assembled in two volumes containing the *Opera*, and in the first volume of the 1552 Venetian edition of the *Organum*. Among the commentaries, there are those by Thomas Aquinas on the *Physics* and the *Posterior Analytics*, and those by Agostino Nifo, again on the eight books of the *Physics*, the *Posterior Analytics* (this overlap likely reveals Campanella's pronounced interest in these two Aristotelian works, which were extensively commented on during the medieval and humanist periods), and the *Metaphysics*. Regarding the Neoplatonic commentators on Aristotle, the collection includes, among others, Olympiodorus of Alexandria, Ammonius, and John Philoponus. Among the theological authors, the works of Ambrose are of particular note, while the legal section comprises the *Insti-tutiones* and the *Digest* of Justinian, published by Accursius, as well as the *Decretum of Gratian*, published by Henry of Susa.

It is worth mentioning that Campanella was not willing to accept passively and wholesale the views of Aristotle. He regarded Aristotle as the main cause of many erroneous arguments and, indeed, as having caused more misunderstandings and errors than any other in the history of Western thought. Of course, Campanella still had to engage with the Scholastic tradition, infused as it was with Thomism. Accordingly, Campanella took up, appropriated, and reworked Aristotelian thought, for instance by drawing on Aristotle in his own speculations on nature.

Leafing through the first pages of *De sensu rerum et magia*, we can see examples of Campanella's approach to Aristotelian philosophy: "Solem calidum esse, alibi contra Aristotelem ostendimus";²⁴ "Fallitur Aristoteles quod motus generet calorem";²⁵ "Sensus ergo non est sola passio perfectiva, ut Aristoteles putat: sed etiam corruptiva";²⁶ "Sensus itaque non fit per informationem, sicut Aristoteli videtur, sed per immutationem."²⁷ The same critical approach informs the reading of Campanella's marginalia in Aristotelian texts.

Also relevant is that in Nicastro, in 1587, Campanella began writing the three-part treatise *De investigatione rerum*, which he completed in Naples in 1590. Two years after its completion, while Campanella was in Bologna, the manuscript was lost, so *De investigatione rerum* has not reached us. However, Campanella mentioned it in *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata* (1591), explaining its purpose.²⁸

Quas ob res scientiam de rebus esse considerantes, non de verbis nec de Aristotelis dictis eiusque intellectu et intentione, ab ipsis rebus capiendam esse censuimus et investigavimus. Itaque decrevimus modum investigandi res componere per viam sensus et experientiae, ubi non de vocibus tractetur et obscuris dictis, sed de rebus per voces, ab ipsis rebus excerptas, non fictas, et quo pacto sint res investigandae ab operationibus, faciebus, similitudinibus, et congruentiis earum; et modus, quo errari possit circa eas, in illo opusculo aperietur; maxime autem modus, quo cum eis sit componendum quod habent, quamvis habere non apparent, et quo auferendum quod singulae non habent et tamen habere videntur; ex his enim falsitas contingit. Et qualis mihi inquirendi modum persuasi et quo rei veritatem assequi potui quantum homini licuit, adhuc decimum nonum habens annum eum compilare incoepi, ut hinc res inspectas aperirem, quod paucis ante tamen hoc tempus revelare incooperam.²⁹

²⁴ Thomas Campanella, *De sensu rerum et magia*, Francofurti ad Moenum: Egenolphus Emmelius, 1620, 3.

²⁵ Campanella, *De sensu rerum et magia*, 7.

²⁶ Campanella, *De sensu rerum et magia*, 8.

²⁷ Campanella, *De sensu rerum et magia*, 8.

²⁸ See De Vinci, *Fra le letture del giovane Tommaso Campanella*, 91; De Vinci, *Postille del giovane Campanella*, 41. See also Thomas Campanella, *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata*, Luigi De Franco (ed.), Naples: Vivarium, 1992, 12 as well as the introduction.

²⁹ Campanella, *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata*, 6.

Campanella claimed that since science is the knowledge of things and not of words, this knowledge is not revealed in Aristotle's words but in nature itself. Thus, it is precisely in nature that Campanella pursued authentic knowledge. Indeed, he argued, things must be studied through the senses and experience. One should not use obscure words and statements as Aristotle did; the only tools for investigating nature are the things themselves. They should be investigated through the use of language, consisting of words drawn from the things themselves and not from fiction. Therefore, everything should be studied starting from its "operatio."³⁰ All of this, Campanella said, had already been explained in his treatise *De investigatione rerum*, in which the mechanism leading to epistemological error had been investigated ("inquirendi modum").³¹

3 Logic, Ontology, and Metaphysics in Campanella's *Marginalia*

Since the *marginalia* are often brief and take the form of notes, they deal with the topic at hand only fleetingly, almost as if they were aphorisms. The *marginalia* are miscellaneous and range in topic from logic to metaphysics, from ethics to biology, addressing the various Aristotelian sciences. The focus below will be on notes devoted to logic, ontology, and metaphysics, making only a few references to another group of notes, mostly dedicated to biology. This latter group encompasses analyses of Aristotelian animal physiology and pathophysiology, reconsidered through the lens of Telesio's philosophy, to which Campanella adhered.³² In what follows, I present a selection of *marginalia* which likely allow us to reconstruct a reinterpretation of Aristotle's works, which Campanella carried out.

³⁰ Campanella, *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata*, 12, note 5. See Germana Ernst, "Io vivo come scrivo": Il diverso modo di parlare di filosofia in Tommaso Companella, in: "Virtù Ascosta e Negletta": *La Calabria nella modernità*, Germana Ernst and Rosa M. Calcaterra (eds.), Milan: Franco Angeli, 2011, 13–27.

³¹ Campanella, *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata*, 6.

³² Regarding Telesio's influence on Campanella's early thought, consider some notes he wrote on the rear guard sheet of Crisostomo Javelli's Aristotelian *Epitome*: "Ignis est calidus et siccus: Aer est humidus et calidus – Aqua est frigida, et humida – Terra est frigida et sicca." As De Vinci points out, these concepts would later be revised and superseded in Campanella's more mature works (see De Vinci, *Postille del giovane Campanella*, 58). See Germana Ernst and Guido Giglioni (eds.), *Il linguaggio dei cieli: Astri e simboli nel Rinascimento*, Rome: Corocci, 2012, 139–151; Ernst, *Tommaso Campanella*, 3–5.

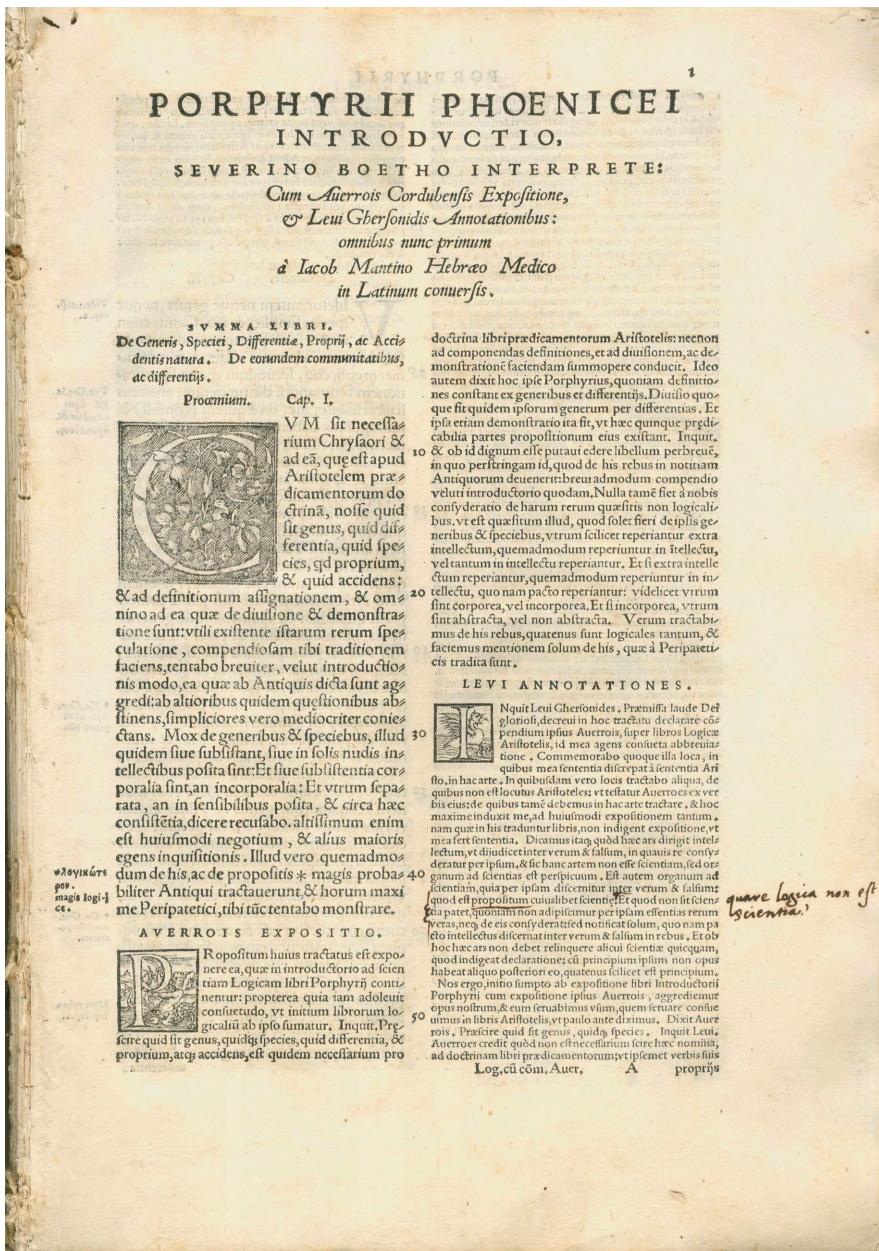


Figure 3: Campanella's intervention on the first page of Porphyrius' *Isagoge*.

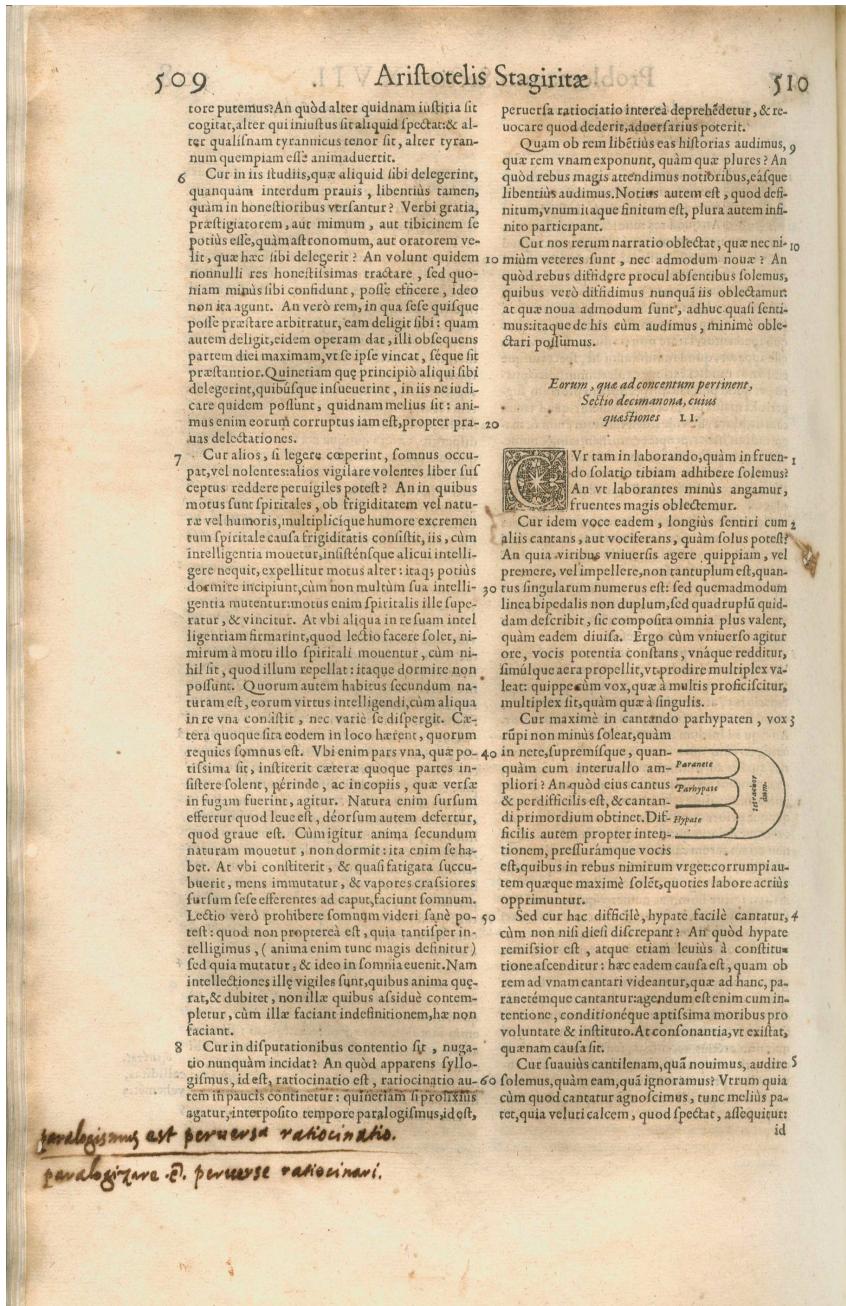


Figure 4: Campanella's note on paralogism.

“Quare logica non est scientia!”³³ exclaimed Campanella in the margin of the first page of the Aristotelian *Organum* (see Figure 3).

Logic, Campanella here proclaimed, is not a science, which means, from an Aristotelian perspective, that it is not knowledge of causes; it is no theoretical science, being an instrument for all sciences. In this sense, it does not investigate the reality of nature, but rather the conceptual superstructure that some philosophers have built onto nature itself. In his works, Campanella made no secret of his distrust of logic, which he called “oratione filosofica senza circostanze dicente quel che è o non è.”³⁴ Above all, for the author, logic was Aristotelian logic: “Hic ex sensu investigat, non ex logicis, ut dicebat sciolus; et ligat ipsum experientia Telesii, non logica Aristotelis cum barbara, celarent etc.”³⁵

Moreover, Tommaso Campanella noted the definition of paralogism as a perverse way of reasoning: “paralogismus est perversa ratiocinatio. Paralogizare est perverse ratiocinari”³⁶ (see Figure 4).

Campanella underlined the first part of the statement. The note is contained in the edition of Aristotle's works published in Lyon in 1563, in the section devoted to the *Problemata*, commented on by Theodorus Gaza. The text analyzed by Campanella states that: “An quod apparens syllogismus, id est, ratiocinatio est, ratiocinatio autem in paucis continetur: quinetiam si prolixius agatur, interposito tempore paralogismus, id est, perversa ratiocinatio interea deprehendetur, et revocare quod dederit, adversarius poterit.”³⁷

Another interesting comment by Campanella appears on the verso of the guard sheet of the Aristotelian *Epitome* by the Dominican Crisostomo Javelli:³⁸ “... sim-

³³ Aristoteles, *Primum volumen: Organum, quod Logicam appellant, cum Auerrois Cordubensis varijs commentarijs, epitome, quae sitis, ac epistola vna: his accesserunt Leui Ghersonidis in nonnullos Aristotelis, & Auerrois libros annotationes*, Venetiis: Lucantonio Giunta, 1552, 1 (Casa del Libro Antico of the Municipal Library of Lamezia Terme, 190-C).

³⁴ Thomas Campanella, *Epilogo magno*, Carmelo Ottaviano (ed.), Rome: Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1939, 329.

³⁵ Campanella, *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata*, 14. See also “Dicendum animalia differre inter se specie logica non physica; quod concederet Aristoteles, ut boni Peripatetici volunt” (Campanella, *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata*, 129); “Ita quod haec universalissima contrarietas, si debeat esse physica non logica, et in causando universalissima, non, ut aiunt, in praedicando, in primis omnium principiis elementis a nullo causatis reponi debet, ubi semper duret, ut principiis congruit. Et Aristoteles id manifestat” (Campanella, *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata*, 34).

³⁶ Aristoteles, *Primum volumen: Organum*, 509.

³⁷ Aristoteles, *Primum volumen: Organum*, 509–510.

³⁸ See De Vinci, *Fra le letture del giovane Tommaso Campanella*, 113; De Vinci, *Postille del giovane Campanella*, 59.

pliciter non ens, est nihil, non ens simpliciter est materia prima”³⁹ (see Figure 2). It must be pointed out that this statement is found in the second half of the page, preceded on the same page and the previous one by other sentences that are not readable due to the faded ink. However, we can reconstruct other affirmations, such as “divisio [?] philosophiae ... videlicet in speculativam, activam, et factivam. Speculativa est triplex, videlicet phisica [corr: ex methaphisica], methaphisica [metha suprascr.], et mathematica. Activa est triplex, videlicet ethica, et qua homo seipsum gubernat, oeconomica, et qua familiam et domum regit, et politica, et est que rempublicam gubernare docet. Factiva”⁴⁰ This distinction among the sciences alludes to the classification proposed by Aristotle in Book VI of the *Metaphysics*, which, however, is neither annotated nor commented upon by Campanella in the volume containing the works of the Stagirite, published in Lyon in 1563, and which bears as many as 272 marginal notes by Campanella (the volume comprises a total of 801 pages).

Furthermore, the problem of being is present in his philosophical thought already in his earliest works, those that, more than others, reveal his alignment with the naturalistic philosophy of Bernardino Telesio.⁴¹ Thus, as these notes attest, these ideas were already relevant to Campanella when he lived and studied in Nicastro. Indeed, denying and correcting these Aristotelian theses, Campanella would write in the *Epilogo magno* that non-being, which is pure privation, is a condition of generation, but not a principle, as Aristotle asserts.⁴² As Ponzio notes, in 1592 Campanella was writing a *Metaphysicae novae exordium*, which has been lost. Scholars assume that Campanella’s thought at this early stage did not yet include the doctrine of primality, which was not to appear until the first (1602) version of the *Metaphysics*. Ponzio dates the *Epilogo* to the same period as a draft of the thesis on the primality of being, that is, to the period before the 1599 revolution. During

39 Iavellus, *Epitome in vniuersam Aristotelis philosophiam* (Casa del Libro Antico of the Municipal Library of Lamezia Terme, 187-C)

40 Iavellus, *Epitome in vniuersam Aristotelis philosophiam* (Casa del Libro Antico of the Municipal Library of Lamezia Terme, 187-C).

41 See Paolo Ponzio, *Notitia sui est esse suum: Nota sull’ente e sull’io nel pensiero metafisico di Tommaso Campanella*, *Quaestio* 9 (2009): 101–110, at 102: “il problema dell’essere è presente nella sua riflessione filosofica sin dalle opere giovanili, quelle opere, cioè, che più delle altre mostrano la vicinanza con la filosofia naturalistica di Bernardino Telesio.” Concerning the influence exerted by Telesio on Campanella, particularly with regard to the ontological question, see Germana Ernst, *Natura e Politica in Tommaso Campanella*, in: *La filosofia del Rinascimento*, Germana Ernst (ed.), Rome: Carocci, 2003, 267–269.

42 See Campanella, *Epilogo magno*, 187: “il non essere, ch’è pura privazione, è condizione della generatione, ma non principio, come vuole Aristotile.”

his time in Nicastro, Campanella seems to have been maturing his fundamental metaphysical thesis.⁴³

Concerning another group of *marginalia*, devoted by Campanella to biological themes, it is useful, if only for the sake of completeness, to recall at least some of them here. In this respect, I refer to the detailed analysis already offered by De Vinci.⁴⁴ The collection of Aristotelian works reveals that, in the section devoted to animal physiology, Campanella frequently intervened, evidently driven by a significant interest in these subjects. This interest would be developed systematically in his subsequent works. Moreover, in the commentary by Olympiodorus of Alexandria on Aristotle's *Meteorologica*,⁴⁵ one can trace a certain resonance between the marginal notes (particularly those referring to authors such as Hippocrates, Theophrastus, and Galen) and the themes explored in *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata*.

The note written by Campanella in the margin of volume II of *Aristotelis Stagiritae Opera*, in the section devoted to *De historia animalium*, is particularly interesting. Campanella polemically states against Aristotle: "Nota quod Aristoteles non intellegit quod pariat aliud animal simile semini cumberis."⁴⁶ Here, the interest is directed not only towards the animal and vegetative worlds but also, quite evidently, towards Aristotle himself, who, according to Campanella, failed to understand how certain mechanisms of nature work. Furthermore, Campanella continues, stating in the margin of the text that discusses the sensitivity of human skin, that he must add that the right things shine more brightly when placed next to their opposites ("Et ego adderem quia opposita iusta se posita magis elucescunt"⁴⁷). In this context, he is referring to the reason why Africans have particularly white teeth, which become even whiter as these men age, while their nails, black like their skin, darken further over time. These topics, seemingly secondary to the author's metaphysical, ontological, and logical interests, are nonetheless significant because they highlight Campanella's peculiar approach towards Aristotle.

⁴³ See Ponzio, *Notitia sui est esse suum*, 102–103.

⁴⁴ See De Vinci, *Fra le letture del giovane Tommaso Campanella*, 105–107.

⁴⁵ See Olympiodorus Alexandrinus, *In Meteora Aristotelis commentarii Ioannis grammatici Philoponi scholia in 1. Meteorum Aristotelis: Ioanne Baptista Camotio philosopho interprete*, Venetiis: Aldo Manuzio, 1551 (Casa del Libro Antico of the Municipal Library of Lamezia Terme, 126-C).

⁴⁶ Aristoteles, *Opera, post omnes quae in hunc vsque diem prodierunt editiones, summo studio emaculata, & ad Graecum exemplar diligenter recognita: Quibus accessit index locupletissimus, recens collectus*, Lugduni: Symphorien Barbier, 1563, 94 (Casa del Libro Antico of the Municipal Library of Lamezia Terme, 10-C).

⁴⁷ Aristoteles, *Opera, post omnes quae in hunc vsque diem prodierunt editiones*, 478.

4 Conclusions

In conclusion, we may observe that studying the *marginalia* by Tommaso Campanella provides some significant insights for the reconstruction of his thought. In particular, it enriches our understanding of Campanella's relationship with Aristotle and Aristotelianism. In this chapter the focus has been on the *marginalia* written during his years in Nicastro, at the beginning of his education. During this period, Campanella developed themes and ideas that would serve as a foundation for those he would later elaborate in his major works. The early traces of his thought are present in the marginal notes he wrote in the volumes he had access to during his youth, particularly in those containing Aristotelian treatises and the medieval and humanist commentaries on them. Moreover, his thorough reading of these texts would prove fundamental during the years of his long imprisonment, when, lacking access to his library, he was able to draw upon books he knew well and could quote from memory, thanks to the Renaissance use of mnemonic techniques.

While not explicitly signing his notes, Campanella nevertheless left instances of his handwriting in these volumes – and, more than that, signs of his authorship of the annotations. Indeed, drawing a small bell next to some of the *marginalia* or leaving an indication of his own diocese of origin (Squillace) represents an interesting statement. However, these indications did not detract from Campanella's ability to express himself almost anonymously. In fact, he could consider the *marginalia* a space of freedom, as the thoughts he expressed there were not directly traceable to him. We know, moreover, that some of the volumes in question were preserved from censorship and destruction, and then transferred to the Capuchin convent in Nicastro. The *marginalia* can be read on two levels: on the one hand, they can be traced back to Campanella and are therefore an expression of his interpretation of the texts; on the other hand, they leave open the possibility of anonymity, so precious to the author, especially at that time.

Studying Campanella's annotations also means reconstructing what he read as a youth – that is, what his early sources were. These remained important throughout his activity as a philosopher, especially during his imprisonment, when he quoted ancient and medieval authors from memory. It seems likely that among the volumes he cited from memory were precisely those he read in these formative years. Furthermore, as mentioned above, his stay in Nicastro led to the composition, during this period, of the now-lost treatise *De investigatione rerum*. In addition to reconstructing the historical context and giving an account of the role that the *marginalia* played in the more general sphere of Campanella's thought, this chapter has dwelt on some of the thematic nuclei Campanella explored in his annotations to the volumes kept at the Dominican library in Nicastro. In particular, some theoretical insights have emerged concerning logic and the ontological-metaphysical sphere.

In fact, Campanella drew on some Aristotelian commentaries to specify themes that he would later take up in his mature works, while using other commentaries to analyze Aristotelian arguments critically. For these purposes, *marginalia* served as a direct and effective tool because of their brevity and communicative immediacy.

It seems likely that Campanella foresaw some readership for his notes, since, as we have seen, he left some signs of his identity. Precisely for this reason, the more or less veiled criticisms of Aristotelian – that is, traditional – themes gain in significance, especially when they are recognizable as germs of Campanella's future works. Furthermore, from the ontological and metaphysical points of view, Campanella's reflection on being in the margin of Crisostomo Javelli's *Epitome*, opens the way for the reflection on being that later emerges as the foundation of Campanella's metaphysics.

These insights, while only provisionally addressed in this essay, deserve to be further analyzed and explored. Meanwhile, the hope remains of finding more of Campanella's annotations, perhaps still scattered in ancient library collections.

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