

*methodo, non per motum, sed per lucem et lumina, ad primam causam ascenditur; deinde nova quadam ac peculiari methodo tota in contemplationem venit divinitas; postremo methodo platonica rerum universitas a conditore Deo deducitur.\** The book is dedicated to Pope Gregory XIV.

You can conceive that the destiny of the author would not have been very much troubled. Not so with that of Bruno. Giordano Bruno, born at Nola, about the middle of the sixteenth century, entered at an early age the order of the Dominicans. Religious and philosophical doubts soon made him quit his order, and he was also compelled to leave Italy. He went to Geneva, but could not agree with Theodore Beza, nor with Calvin. Thence he repaired to Paris, where he signalized himself as the adversary of Aristotle. He went also to England, and remained some time with Sir Philip Sidney, who was found wherever protection was needed for any attempt at philosophical, religious, or political independence. At a later period we find Bruno giving public and private lessons at Wittenburg, at Prague, at Helmstadt, and at Frankfort-on-the-Maine. The desire of revisiting Italy brought him again into that portion of the country then the most independent and the most liberal, the State of Venice; here during two years he led a tranquil life; then, from motives of which I am ignorant, the Venetians delivered him up or abandoned him in 1598 to the Inquisition. Transferred to Rome, he was tried, condemned as a violator of his vows and as a heretic, and burned the 17th of February, 1600.†

\* Venetiis, 1593, in-fol.

† The following are the most remarkable works of G. Bruno: *Della causa, principio e uno*; Venet. (Paris), 1584.—*Dell' infinito universo e mondi*; Venet. (Paris), 1584.—*De monade, numero et figura*, etc.; Francf., 1591.—*Fragments of Cartesian Philosophy*: VANINI, OR THE PHILOSOPHY BEFORE DESCARTES, p. 8: "Bruno is delighted with Pythagoras and Plato, especially with the Pythagoras and Plato of the Alexandrians. Touched, and as it were intoxicated by the sentiment of universal harmony, he soars at once into the most sublime speculations, where analysis has not led him, where analysis cannot sustain him. Wandering upon precipices which he has imperfectly explored, without mistrust, and in default of criticism, he retreats from Plato to the

Giordano Bruno had less erudition than Marsilio, but was infinitely more original. He possessed an enlarged mind, a power-

Eleatics, anticipates Spinoza, and is lost in the abyss of an absolute unity, destitute of the intellectual and moral characters of divinity, and inferior to humanity itself. Spinoza is the geometrician of the system; Bruno is its poet. Let us render him justice in saying that, before Galileo, he renewed the astronomy of Copernicus. The unfortunate man, having early entered a convent of Saint Dominic, became one day inspired by a spirit opposed to that of his order, and left it. He sat down sometimes as a pupil, sometimes as a master, in the schools of Paris and of Wittenburg, spreading wherever he went a multitude of ingenious and chimerical works. The desire of revisiting Italy having taken him to Venice, he was delivered up to the Inquisition, led to Rome, judged, condemned, and burned. What was his crime? None of the proceedings in this questionable affair have been published; they have been destroyed, or they still remain in the archives of the holy office, or in a corner of the Vatican with those against Galileo. Was Bruno accused of having broken the ties which bound him to his order? But such a fault does not seem to justify such a punishment; and, besides, he should have been judged by the Dominicans. Or was he persecuted as a Protestant, and for having, in a small work under the title of the *Bestia trionfante*, seemed to attack papacy itself? Or was he merely accused of false opinions in general, of impiety, of atheism, the word pantheism not having yet been invented? This last conjecture is now shown to be the correct one. There was then at Rome a learned German, profoundly devoted to the Holy See, who was present at the trial and punishment of Bruno, and who relates what he saw to one of his Lutheran countrymen, in a Latin letter, found and published at a later period (*Acta litteraria* de Struve, fascic. v. p. 64). As it is little known, and has never been translated, we will here give a few extracts. It proves that Giordano Bruno was put to death not as a Protestant, but as an impious person, not for such or such an act of his life, his flight from his convent or his abjuration of the Catholic faith, but for the philosophical doctrine which he taught in his works and his discourses. Gaspard Schoppe to his friend Conrad Rittershausen . . . "This day furnishes me with a new motive for writing to you: Giordano Bruno, on account of heresy, has just been publicly burned alive in the Champ de Flore, before the theatre of Pompey . . . If you were now in Rome, the greater part of the Italians would tell you that they had burned a Lutheran, and that would doubtless confirm you in your idea of our cruelty. But you must know, my dear Rittershausen, our Italians have not learned to distinguish between heretics of every shade: every heretic is called a Lutheran, and I pray God to preserve them in this simplicity, that they may be always ignorant wherein one heresy differs from others. I myself would have perhaps believed, from the general report, that this Bruno was burned on account of Lutheranism, if I had not been present at the sitting of the Inquisition in which his sentence was pronounced, and if I had not thus learned of what sort of heresy he was guilty . . . (here follows an account of the life and journeys of Bruno, and the doctrines which



ful and brilliant imagination, an ardent soul, and a pen often lively and ingenious. He renewed the theory of numbers, and gave a detailed explanation of the decadal system. With him, God is the great unity which is developed in the world and in humanity, as unity is developed in the indefinite series of numbers. He also undertook the defence of the Copernican system. His errors belong to his qualities. The sentiment of universal unity takes from him that of human individuality and its distinctive characteristics. It cannot be denied that he has a sort of genius devoid of method. If he did not establish a durable system, he left, at least, in the history of philosophy, a luminous and bloody trace which was not lost to the seventeenth century.

ne taught). It would be impossible to give a complete review of all the monstrosities which he advanced, either in his books or in his discourses. In a word, there is not an error of pagan philosophers, or of ancient and modern heretics, that he has not sustained . . . At Venice, he at last fell into the hands of the Inquisition; after remaining there some time he was sent to Rome, interrogated on several occasions by the holy office, and convicted by the first theologians. He was allowed forty days for reflection; he promised to abjure, then began to defend his follies, then asked a further delay of forty days; finally he made sport of the pope and of the Inquisition. Consequently, about two years after his arrest, on the 9th of February last, in the palace of the grand inquisitor, and in the presence of the illustrious cardinals, the consulting theologians, the secular magistrate, and the governor of the city, Bruno was introduced into the hall of the Inquisition, and there upon his knees heard the sentence pronounced against him. He was reminded of his course of life, his studies, his opinions, the zeal which the inquisitors had displayed to convert him, their fraternal warnings, and the obstinate impiety which he had shown. Afterwards he was degraded, excommunicated, and delivered to the secular magistrate, with the prayer that he would punish him with clemency and without the effusion of blood. To all this Bruno replied only in these words of menace: *The sentence which you pronounce troubles you, perhaps, more than me.* The guards of the governor then led him to prison; there they again tried to make him abjure his errors. It was in vain. To-day, therefore, he has been taken to the stake. The image of the crucified Saviour being presented to him, he rejected it with disdain. The unhappy man died in the midst of the flames, and I think has gone to relate in those other worlds which he imagined (an allusion to the innumerable worlds and to the infinite universe of Bruno) how the Romans are accustomed to treat impious men and blasphemers. This, my dear friend, is our mode of proceeding with monsters of this species. Rome, 17 February, 1600."

I pass to the peripatetic school. It is at bottom sensualistic, and conceals within it all the consequences belonging to sensualism; but these consequences are developed only successively.

In the peripatetic school of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it is necessary to distinguish two points of view without which it is difficult or even impossible to trace the history of the peripateticism of this epoch.

As Marsilio Ficino and all the Platonic school of that period interpreted Platonism by Alexandrianism, so the peripatetic school interpreted Aristotle by Alexander of Aphrodisia, a celebrated ancient commentator of Aristotle, and Averroes, an Arabic commentator of the twelfth century. The difference between these commentators is, that Alexander of Aphrodisia is more methodical and more sensible and infinitely nearer the true meaning of Aristotle; whilst Averroes, as an Arabian, is at the same time subtle and enthusiastic; hence in Alexander of Aphrodisia, a peripateticism and logical sensualism, if I may so express myself, and in Averroes and his disciples a peripateticism and a sensualism which terminate in pantheism.

The father of the Alexandrian peripatetic school, as it was then called in opposition to the school of Averroes, was Peter Pomponatius, born at Mantua in 1462, professor at Padua and at Bologna, and died at Bologna in 1525. From him sprang the philosophical school of Bologna and of Padua, which has been almost constantly peripatetic and sensualistic, whilst those of Florence, of Rome, and of Naples, have been almost constantly Platonic and idealistic.

Peter Pomponatius wrote three works: the first, *de naturalium effectuum admirandis causis seu Incantationibus liber*, written at Bologna in 1520, printed at Bologna after the death of Pomponatius in 1556. Pomponatius is herein a peripatetic and a sensualist in that sense which repels the intervention of spirits: if he recognizes that of superior agents, according to him all these agents are physical.



His second work is entitled: *de Fato, libero Arbitrio et Providentia Dei*, in five books, published at Basle in 1525. To reconcile destiny, Providence and the liberty of man was a difficult question for any one, and especially for a peripatetic. There is something touching in the chapter\* in which Pomponatius compares himself, with his zeal for knowledge and study, and with the enemies thereby made, to Prometheus fastened to Caucasus; he describes himself as devoured by the need of study as by a vulture, unable (I translate faithfully) either to eat, to drink, or to sleep; an object of derision for the foolish, of dread for the people, and of umbrage for the authorities. After many efforts, he arrives at no very precise solution. He gives the known solutions, drawn from the reigning scholasticism, confessing that they are rather illusions than veritable responses.†

The third work of Pomponatius is a treatise on a still more delicate subject, the immortality of the soul. It appeared at Bologna in 1516,‡ and has been very often reprinted, and the last time in Germany by Bardili:§ its conclusion is that of peripateticism, to wit, that the soul thinks by virtue of itself, but that it never thinks except on condition that there is also in the consciousness an external|| image. Now if the soul thinks only on condition of an image, and if this image is attached to the sensibility, and this to the existence of the body, on the dissolution of the body the image perishes, and it seems that the thought must perish with it, and consequently it is not possible

\* Lib. iii. c. vii. "Ista sunt quæ me premunt, quæ me angustiant, quæ me insomnem et insanum reddunt, ut vera sit interpretatio fabulæ Promethei. . . . Prometheus vero est philosophus qui, dum vult scire Dei arcana, perpetuis curis et cogitationibus roditur, non sitit, non famescit, non dormit, non comedit, non exspuit, ab omnibus irridetur, et tanquam stultus et sacrilegus habetur, et inquisitoribus prosequitur, fit spectaculum vulgi."

† "Videntur potius esse illusiones istæ quam responsiones."

‡ I have never seen more than one reprint in-12 without indication of place, dated 1534. *Petri Pomponatii Mantuani tractatus de Immortalitate animæ*, 1534.

§ Tubingæ, 1791, in-8.

|| "Nequaquam anima sine fantasmate intelligit."

to give a demonstrative proof of the immortality of the soul.\* He was accused of disturbing the public peace, by overturning the foundations of morality. He replied that men could be attached to their duties by the consideration that their happiness depends here below on the accomplishment of these duties. He added that the dignity of virtue had attractions great enough to seduce men in some manner, without the fear or the hope of the pains and of the recompenses of another life; a reply, it must be confessed, little enough in accordance with the principle of all sensualism. All this was unsatisfactory to the authorities. He was therefore placed in judgment, and escaped only by that distinction which the school of sensualism, since Peter Pomponatius, has always opposed to authority, the distinction between the truths of faith and the truths of philosophy; a convenient compromise which permits the denial on one side of what is apparently respected on the other, and characterizes wonderfully this epoch of transition and the passage from the complete servitude of reason to its complete independence. The Council of Lateran in 1512 cut short the question, and Pomponatius declared his submission to its decision.†

The school of Padua produced still other celebrated personages; among others are Zabarella‡ and Cremonini,§ eminent and bold peripatetics. Alexander Achillini began a new development of peripateticism, by taking as a guide Averroes, instead

\* "Mihi itaque videtur nullus rationes adduci posse quæ cogant animam esse immortalem."

† P. Pomponatii philosophi et theologi doctrina et ingenio præstantissimi, Opera, Bas., 1567.

‡ Born at Padua in 1532, died in 1589. Jacobi Zabarellæ, Patavini, *de Rebus naturalibus*, libri xx., Colon., 1594. Opera philosophica, Francf., in-4, 1618.

§ Born at Centi, duchy of Modena, in 1552, died in 1630. Cæsaris Cremonini, Centensis, in schola Pativina philosophi primæ sedis disputatio de celo, etc., in-4, Venetiis, 1613.—Tractatus tres: primus, de sensibus externis; secundus, de sensibus internis; tertius, de facultate appetitiva. Opuscula hæc revidit Troylus Lancetta, auctoris discipulus. Venetiis, 1644, in-4.—De calido innato et semine pro Aristotele adversus Galenem, Lugd., Batav. Elzevir, 1634, small in-18.



of Alexander of Aphrodisia. He was called the second Aristotle; it was from his school that successively went forth the Neapolitan Zimara, who died in 1532; Cesalpini of Arezzo, born in 1509, and died 1603; finally, Julius Cæsar Vanini, born also in the State of Naples in 1585, and burned at Toulouse in 1619.

By this school God is considered not as the cause, but as the substance of the world. Consequently, the demonstration of God's existence is no longer made *per motum*, as among the Alexandrians, but by emanation, and especially by the emanation of light, *per lucem*. Such is the theory of Cesalpini of Arezzo. He was disturbed as well as Pomponatius, but he was physician to Clement VIII., and avoided difficulty by the distinction of the truths of faith from philosophical truths.\*

Vanini was more courageous and more unfortunate. He wrote two works, the titles of which are as follows; first work: *Amphitheatrum æternum Providentiæ divino-magicum, christiano-physicum, nec non astronomico-catholicum, adversus veteres philosophos, atheos, epicureos, peripateticos et stoicos*; Lugduni, 1615. Second work: *De admirandis naturæ, reginæ dæeque mortalium arcanis, dialogorum inter Alexandrum et Julium Cæsarem, lib. iv., cum approbatione Facultatis Sorbonicæ*; Lutet., 1616. Julius Cæsar Vanini was condemned at Toulouse as an atheist and burned as such. Was he an atheist or was he not? I should not decide in this matter, since I have not read the two works of Vanini, which are very rare.† I am, however, inclined to the negative from different passages cited by various authors. Vanini appears to have belonged to that particular sect of peripatetics who demonstrated God, not from the necessity of a first cause, but from the necessity of an Infinite Being, not as cause,

\* Andræ Cesalpini *Questiones peripateticæ*, Venet., 1571, in-fol.

† I have since wished to study Vanini myself, and have exhibited his two works and his true opinions in the article already several times referred to in the *Fragments of Cartesian philosophy*, VANINI, OR PHILOSOPHY BEFORE DESCARTES.

but as substance.\* The philosophical difference is, certainly, very great, but hardly worthy of the stake. Strange enough! peripateticism reigned in Paris and in Spain; in the former it massacred Ramus, in the latter it persecuted the Americans, in both it supported the Inquisition, and on the other side of the Alps it was persecuted itself: one of the sects into which it was divided barely escaped the Council of Lateran; the other was in a manner burned at Toulouse in the person of Julius Cæsar Vanini.

But as yet it was only a sensualism without a well-defined character, and without any other greatness than an adventurous hardihood. Two men appeared at the end of the sixteenth century who renewed it with infinitely more wisdom and precision, and who were truly reformers in philosophy; I mean Telesio and Campanella.

Telesio and Campanella belong neither to the sect of Averroes nor to the Alexandrian sect of the peripatetics. They were independent philosophers, who even combated the authority of Aristotle; but who were still, in fact, unconsciously attached to the general spirit of peripateticism.

Bernardino Telesio was born at Cosenza, in the State of Naples, in 1508. He studied at Padua and was professor of natural philosophy at Naples. He revived the physics of Democritus, which, in antiquity, we have seen were always allied to sensualism. His great work is entitled, *Dè natura, juxta propria principia*. Romæ, 1565, in-4.† Doubtless, in the system of Tele-

\* *Amphitheatrum*, exercit. i. "Omne ens aut finitum est aut infinitum, sed nullum ens finitum a se; quocirca satis patet non per motum (ad modum Aristotelis) sed per primas entium partitiones a nobis cognosci Deum esse, et quidem necessaria demonstratione. Nam alias non esset æternum ens, et sic nihil omnino esset; alioqui nihil esse est impossibile, ergo et æternum ens non esse pariter est impossibile. Ens igitur æternum esse adeoque Deum esse, necessarium est."

† Telesio published at Naples, in 1570, a new edition of this work. "Bernardini Telesii Cosentini de Rerum Natura, juxta propria principia, liber primus et secundus denuo editi. Neapoli, 1570, in-4." The base is the



sio, Parmenides is united with Democritus, but Democritus is most prominent. His general principle is, that it is necessary to set out from real entities and not from abstractions: *Realia entia, non abstracta*; he combats scholasticism, and recalls his age to the sentiment of reality, to the study of nature. He founded a free academy, which from his name, or from that of his country, is called *Academia Telesiana* or *Cosentina*. In the two books which compose the Roman edition, I can assure you, that everywhere, experience, and the experience of the senses, is his only rule. His preface, which I cannot read to you, is very remarkable: he therein declares that he will not reply to the objections which may be drawn from the logic of the schools, but that he will reply willingly to all the objections which shall be borrowed from sensible experience.\* This is the character of his philo-

same, the form differs very much. Lib. i. c. i. "Mundi constructionem corporumque in eo contentorum naturam non ratione, quod antiquioribus factum est, inquirendam, sed sensu percipiendam, et ab ipsis habendam esse rebus." The last chapter of the second and last book is added: "Quæ Deum esse et rerum omnium conditorem nobis declarare possunt."—Telesio published at Naples, the same year, three small treatises: "Bernardini Telesii, Cosentini, DE MARI liber unicus.—DE HIS QUÆ IN AERE FIUNT ET DE TERRÆ MOTIBUS liber unicus.—DE COLORUM GENERATIONE, opusculum."—Antonio Persio, de Padoua, reprinted at Venice, in 1590, these three treatises and several others: "Bernardini Telesii, Cosentini, varii de naturalibus rebus libelli, ab Antonio Persio editi, quorum alii nunquam antea excusi, alii meliores facti prouident."

\* *Proœmium*, the last lines.—"Si qui nostra oppugnare voluerint, id illos insuper rogatos velim, ne mecum, ut cum aristotelico, verba faciant, sed ut cum Aristotelis adversario, neque igitur sese illius tueantur positionibus dictisque ullis, at sensu tantum et rationibus ab ipso habitis sensu, quibus solis in naturalibus habenda videtur fides; tum ne ut nobis notas illius afferant distinctiones terminosque, quas ingenue fateor percipere me nunquam satis potuisse; propterea reor, quod non sensui expositas, nec hujusmodi similes continent res, sed summe a sensu remotas et ab his etiam quæ percepti sensus, quales, tardiore qui sunt crassioreque ingenio, ejusmodi mihi ipsi, et nulla animi molestia, esse videor, percipere haud queant. Quæ igitur contra nos afferent, exponant oportet, et veluti in luce ponant, tarditatis meæ si libet commiseri, et rebus agant, non ignotis vocibus, quæ nisi res contineant, vanæ sunt inanesque. Illud pro certo habere omnes volumus, nequaquam perviaci nos esse ingenio, aut non unius amatores veritatis, et libenter itaque errores nostros animadversuros, et summas illi gratias habituros, qui, quam solam quærimus colimusque patefecerit veritatem."

ophy. We should not stop at the few isolated thoughts, more or less idealistic, which the historians of philosophy have drawn from his work. We should adhere to the general spirit of the work, which almost makes Bernardino Telesio a forerunner of Bacon. He was also disturbed by the ecclesiastical authority; but foreseeing the result, left Naples and took refuge in his own country, where he died in 1588.

After Telesio comes another Calabrian, Thomas Campanella, a Dominican, born in 1568, who studied in Cosenza, the native city of Telesio, whose enterprise he continued and extended. Telesio had simply undertaken to reform the philosophy of nature; Thomas Campanella undertook to reform every part of philosophy. It seems that he did not limit himself to an attempt at philosophic reform, and that this energetic monk planned an insurrection in the convents of Calabria against Spanish domination; he was, at least, accused of it and cast into chains, where he remained during twenty-seven years. He endured this long captivity with admirable firmness of mind, and composed songs which here and there display an unusual vigor.\* At the end of twenty-seven years he was set at liberty, left his native country, and sought an asylum in France under the protection of Cardinal Richelieu, the avowed enemy of the Austrian and Spanish power. He remained undisturbed at Paris in the convent of the Dominicans in the street St. Honore, where he died in 1639.

Doubtless the philosophical enterprise of Campanella was beyond his strength; he had more ardor than solidity, more stretch of mind than profundity. He recommended experience without practising it; he showed the necessity of a revolution, but did not consummate it. It would nevertheless be unjust to take no account of such noble efforts.† As an immediate pupil of Tele-

\* *Scelta d'alcune poesie filosofiche*, di Settimontano Squilla, 1622. M. Orelli reprinted these poems at Lugano, in 1834. Read especially *Modo di filosofare, della Plebe, il Carcer, al Telesio, lamentevole Orazione dal profondo della fossa, etc.*

† Campanella, being in prison, confided his writings to Tobias Adamus,



sio and on account of many of his writings, it is necessary to refer Campanella to the empiric school; but he was, almost at all times, and particularly at the close of his life, far from sensualism. He was with Bruno the most powerful mind of the sixteenth century; their country, their misfortunes, their courage, associate them together, and they may both be considered, notwithstanding their differences, as the forerunners of Descartes.\*

who published them successively at Francfort: 1st, *Prodromus philosophiæ instaurandæ*, Francf., 1617, in-4; 2d, *de Sensu rerum et magia*, Francf., 1620, in-4; 3d, *Apologia pro Galileo*, Francf., 1622, in-4; 4th, *Philosophiæ realis epilogistica partes iv.*, Francf., 1623, in-4. He himself published at Rome, *Atheismus triumphatus*, Romæ, 1630. In France he undertook a collection of his writings; he first put out, in 1636, a new edition of the *Atheismus triumphatus*, which he dedicated to King Louis XIII., with several other writings; then, in 1637 he reprinted the *de Sensu rerum*, which he dedicated to Cardinal Richelieu; then again in 1637 he dedicated to the Lord Chancellor Seguier his *Philosophiæ realis*, very much augmented; finally, in 1638, he dedicated to M. Bouillon, Controller of Finances, his Metaphysics, *Metaphysicarum rerum juxta propria dogmata partes tres*, in-fol. We give a few thoughts of Campanella: "Sentire est scire." Against scholasticism: "Cognitio divinatorum non habetur per syllogismum, qui est quasi sagitta qua scopum attingimus a longo absque gestu, neque modo per auctoritatem quod est tangere quasi per manum alienam, sed per tactum intrinsecum..." As an apology for his conduct: "Non omnis novitas in republica et Ecclesia philosophis suspecta, sed ea tantum quæ principia æterna destruit.—Novator improbus non est qui scientias iterum format et reformat hominum culpa collapsas."

\* *Fragments of Cartesian Philosophy*, p. 12. "Campanella, a Dominican, like Bruno, and an innovator, too, possessed a mind of another temper. He had more reason and more sagacity. Quite as ardent as Bruno against Aristotle, the reform which he undertook was at the same time more moderate and more vast. It deserves to be studied at the present time. Enthusiastic in the cause of right, he combated the moral and political doctrine of Machiavelli; from the recesses of his prison he defended the system of Copernicus, and composed an apology for Galileo during his trial before the Inquisition: an heroic victim writing in favor of another victim in the interval between two tortures! He wrote a very good work against atheism. His thoughts are those of a Christian, and far from attacking the Church, he glorifies it everywhere. But it seems that by reason of reading Saint Thomas, he acquired such a horror of tyranny, and such a passion for a government founded on reason and on virtue, that he thought of delivering his country from Spanish despotism, and contrived in the convents and castles of Spain a conspiracy of monks and gentlemen, which being unsuccessful, plunged him into an abyss of misfortunes. This affair is still enveloped in profound

The school of skepticism numbers few adepts in this age of enthusiasm; there are but three. The most decided skeptic of this age was Sanchez, a Portuguese physician and professor at Toulouse. The title of his work is: *de multum nobili et prima universali scientia*.... And what is this noble, first, and universal science? *Quod nihil scitur*,\* Tolosæ, 1526. But he who

darkness. The last historian of Campanella, M. Baldachini, of Naples (*Vita e filosofia di Tommaso Campanella*, 2 vol. in-8, Napoli, 1840, 1842), has searched all the archives in vain for the trial of his celebrated compatriot; it has all disappeared, and we are reduced to the evidence of his enemies. All, at least, are unanimous in regard to his constancy and immovable courage. Having been confined in prison for a political crime, accusations in regard to his theology and philosophy were made against him, and he remained twenty-seven years in irons. A contemporaneous author, and one worthy of credit (J. N. Erythræus, *Pinacotheca Imaginum illustrium*, 1643-1648), relates that Campanella sustained, during thirty-five successive hours, a torture so cruel "that almost all the veins and arteries of his body being broken, the blood which flowed from the wounds could not be stopped, and that notwithstanding he supported this torture with so much firmness that he did not utter a single word unworthy of a philosopher." Campanella himself thus relates his sufferings in the preface of the *Atheism vanquished*: "I have been shut up in fifty prisons, and submitted seven times to the most severe torture. On the last occasion the torture continued forty hours. Bound with tight cords that broke my bones, suspended, my hands tied behind my back, above a sharp piece of wood which devoured the sixteenth part of my flesh and drew away ten pounds of blood, cured by a miracle after six months of sickness, I was thrown into a ditch. Fifteen times have I been placed in judgment. The first time, when it was asked: How then does he know what he has never learned? has he a demon at his command? I replied: In order to learn what I know, I have used more oil than you have drunk of wine. At another time I was accused of being the author of the book of the three Impostors, which was printed thirty years before my birth. I was again accused of entertaining the opinions of Democritus, I who have written books against Democritus. I was accused of fostering bad sentiments against the Church, I who have written a work on the Christian monarchy, wherein I have shown that no philosopher could have imagined a republic equal to that which was established at Rome under the Apostles. I have been accused of being a heretic, I who have composed a work against the heretics of our times.... Finally, I have been accused of rebellion and heresy for having said that there are spots upon the sun, the moon, and the stars, contrary to Aristotle, who makes the world eternal and incorruptible... It was for that that they cast me, like Jeremiah, into the dungeon, where there was neither air nor light."

\* Often reprinted, Lugduni, 1581; Francf., 1618; Rotterdam, 1649. Ex



spread and popularized skepticism in France was Montaigne, born at Bordeaux in 1533, died in 1592. He had as a friend La Boëtie, who died in 1563, and who himself possessed a cultivated and independent mind. As sensualism and idealism were then little else than peripateticism and Platonism, that is, borrowed systems, so the skepticism of Montaigne is also only a skepticism revived from antiquity. It must, nevertheless, be confessed that there was something essentially skeptical in the spirit of the Gascon noble, and that doubt was the most agreeable pillow to his well-shaped head. The *Essays*, which appeared in 1580 and were completed in 1588,\* soon became, as it is said, the breviary of free-thinkers. The friend and pupil of Montaigne, Pierre Charron, born in Paris in 1521, died in 1603, is more

tract from the preface of Sanchez.... "A prima vita naturæ contemplationi addictus minutim omnia inquirebam; et quamvis initio avidus animus sciendi quocumque oblato cibo contentus esset, utcumque, post modicum tamen tempus, indigestione prehensus revomere cœpit omnia. Quærebam jam tunc quid illi darem quod et perfecte amplecteretur et frueretur absolute; nec erat qui desiderium expleret meum. Evolvebam prætorum dicta, tentabam præsentium corda; idem respondebant; quod tamen mihi satisfaceret omnino nihil.... Ad me proinde memetipsum retuli, omniaque in dubium revocans, ac si a quopiam nihil unquam dictum, res ipsas examinare cœpi.... Quo magis cogito, magis dubito. Despero. Persisto tamen. Accedo ad doctores, avide ab iis veritatem expectaturus. Quisque sibi scientiam construit ex imaginationibus tum alterius tum propriis; ex his alia inferunt.... quousque labyrinthum verborum absque aliquo fundamento veritatis produxere.... Decipiantur qui decipi volunt. Non his scribo, nec proinde scripta legant mea.... Cum iis mihi res sit qui nullius addicti jurare in verba magistri proprio Marte res expendunt, sensu rationeque ducti. Tu igitur quisquis es ejusdem mecum conditionis temperamentique, quique de rerum naturis sæpissime tecum dubitasti, dubita modo mecum, ingenia nostra simul exerciamus." The conclusion of this preface, and, as it were, the symbol of the skepticism of Sanchez, is the celebrated formula, *Quid?* Is this the source of the *What do I know?* of Montaigne? It is difficult to suppose that the work of the professor of Toulouse had not come to the knowledge of the translator of Raymond de Sebond.

\* First edition at Bordeaux by Millanges, 1580, two books in two volumes in-12; the second includes the three books, in-4, by the same Millanges, 1588. Montaigne prepared a new edition, which Mademoiselle de Gournay, his adopted daughter, published in 1595, in-fol.

methodical and less ingenious. It was\* from Charron that Lamothé Le Vayer, and the skeptics of the seventeenth century sprang.

Mysticism embraces a more numerous family: it has two characters and a single source. This single source is the neoplatonic, idealistic, and mystic school of Florence. Now, the Alexandrian mysticism was allied on the one hand to the positive religion of the times by allegorization, and on the other to theurgical operations. Hence two tendencies of the Florentine mysticism of Marsilio Ficino, the one allegorical in religion, the other theurgical and alchemistic. Sometimes these two tendencies are divided, sometimes they are united. I shall give a list of the principal mystics of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The most sensible and most discreet mystic was unquestionably the Cardinal Nicolas, improperly called de Cusa, which leads to the belief that he was an Italian, while in fact he was a German, of Cuss, a small place near Treves. He reproduced the Pythagorean part of Neoplatonism, with this reservation, that the Neoplatonists had admitted that, although with the theory of number, we may account for the phenomena of the exterior world, and ascend to their principle in the primitive unity, we do not know this unity in itself. He goes farther: he pretends that the direct knowledge of truth has not been given to man. He wrote an apology for learned ignorance, *de docta Ignorantia*, in which there is a very judicious mixture of Platonism, skepticism, and mysticism: this work does the highest honor to this man of the fifteenth century, for Cardinal Cuss was anterior to Reuchlin and to Agrippa, and contemporary with Ficino. He died in 1464.†

John Reuchlin, of Pforzheim, born in 1455, died in 1522, made personal acquaintance with Ficino and the Picos of Miran-

\* *La Sagesse* is of 1601, also at Bordeaux, by Millanges, in-12; the second at Paris, 1604; and the third, 1607.

† Nicholai Cusani, Opp., 3 vol. in one, in-fol., Basil., 1565.