

Agrafa
Časopis za filozofiju psihoanalize

FILOZOFSKI CENTAR ZA PSIHOANALIZU
Novi Sad
Godina I* 2/2013



Agrafa
Journal of philosophy of psychoanalysis

PHILOSOPHICAL CENTRE FOR PSYCHOANALYSIS
Novi Sad
Year I 2/2013

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ISSN 2334 - 7805
UDC 159.964

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Agrafa I 2/2013
UDC 167.5
UDC 128
UDC 7.034
Originalni naučni rad
Original Scientific Paper

The Study of the Soul in Renaissance Utopian Literature

Abstract: During the Renaissance, psychology was enriched and refined by the recovery of ancient texts. The study of the soul became critical for the understanding of man and supportive to other fields of philosophy. Utopian texts refer to the soul and its significance for human nature. Almost all the writers of utopian texts focus their attention on the question of the immortality of the soul. In this position, they rely heavily on the happiness of their state, since, without faith in the immortality of the soul, the citizens will be led to wrongdoing and illegality. It is interesting enough that these writers do not attempt to prove the immortality of the soul through rational argumentation. Their main concern is the imposition of this doctrine in order to strengthen the state.

Key words: Renaissance, psychology, utopia, soul, immortality.

During the Renaissance, the study of the soul was considered as a branch of natural philosophy and its content was predominantly Aristotelian.¹ Philosophical psychology was enriched and refined by the recovery of a corpus of Greek commentaries on Aristotle's psychology. In addition, the recovery and circulation of Platonic and Neo-Platonic texts concerning the soul enabled Renaissance scholars to form new insights and

¹ Edwards, M., "Body, Soul and Anatomy in Late Aristotelian Psychology", in *Matter and Form in Early Modern Science*, ed. by G. Manning (Leiden: E. J. Brill), 2012, p.33-76. ; Michael, E., "Renaissance Theories of Body, Soul and Body", in *Psyche and Soma: Physicians and Metaphysicians on the Mind-body Problem from Antiquity to Enlightenment*, ed. by J. Wright & P. Potter (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2002, p.147-172. ; Nauta, L., "From an Outsider's Point of View: Lorenzo Valla on the Soul", in *Transformations of the Soul, Aristotelian Psychology 1250-1650, Special Offprint of Vivarium* 46.3, (2008), ed. by D. Perler (Leiden: E. J. Brill), 2009, p.146-169. ; Park, K. & Kessler, E., "The Concept of Psychology", in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. by C. B. Schmitt & Q. Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1988, p.455-463. ; Pluta, O., "The Transformations of Alexander of Aphrodisias' Interpretation of Aristotle's Theory of the Soul", in *Renaissance Readings of the Corpus Aristotelicum*, ed. by M. Pade (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press), 2001, p.147-166. ; Schmitt, C. B., *Aristotle and the Renaissance* (Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press), 1983, p.1-120.

challenge the traditional Aristotelian and scholastic views.² The study of the soul became critical for the understanding of man and supportive to other fields of philosophy. More particularly, the soul is the source of human activity which is the subject matter of ethics and politics. Renaissance utopian literature expresses the imperative demand for a general ethical and political reformation so as to promote the welfare of human society and human felicity. Utopian texts refer to the soul and its significance for human nature. According to these works, the study of the soul is of fundamental importance for the development and possible reform of humans in particular and society in general. This paper seeks to explore the ways and the extent in which 16th and 17th century authors of the most popular, widespread and influential utopias adopted the tradition of philosophical psychology as it was developed during the Renaissance.

Sir Thomas More (1478-1535), the founder of utopian literature during the Renaissance, discusses matters related to philosophical psychology in his own special way, as he blends various philosophical approaches. The study of the soul is crucial for More's ethics and politics.³ More follows the Aristotelian tradition⁴ and reproduces the threefold classification of human goods, namely goods of the mind, goods of the body and external goods. Particularly, he holds that the citizens of Utopia reflect on whether the good invariably refers to the body, the soul and the world of the senses or only to the soul.⁵ The question reflects the Aristotelian and the Stoic position respectively. Moreover, using philosophical and theological arguments, he succumbs to support that human happiness is found in pleasures, physical and spiritual, but especially in the latter.⁶ Utopians' Epicurean outlook is supported - besides philosophy, by their religion. Virtuous life is in compliance with natural irresistible trends that are consistent with the will of God, provided that an attention to the order in nature establishes logic.⁷ Therefore, the good does not only refer to the soul.

² Grendler, P., *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press), 2004, p.269-279. ; Lohr, C., "Renaissance Latin Aristotle Commentaries: Authors A-B", *Studies in the Renaissance* 21 (1974), p.228-289. ; Lohr, C., *Latin Aristotle Commentaries Volume II: Renaissance Authors* (Firenze: Olschki), 1988. ; Park & Kesler, Concept, p.458-463.

³ Simon, E., "Thomas More's Utopia: Creating an Image of the Soul", *Moreana* 69 (1981), p.21-40.

⁴ Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, 1098b12-26. ; Aristotle, *Politica*, 1323a-b.

⁵ More, Th., *More: Utopia, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought*, ed. by G. Logan & R. Adams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2002, p.65-66. ; Nelson, E., "The Problem of the Prince", in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. by J. Hankins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2007, p.331. ; White, T., "Aristotle and Utopia", *Renaissance Quarterly* 29.4 (1976), p. 635-675.

⁶ More, *Utopia*, p.65-66. ; Brown, A., *The Return of Lucretius to Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press), 2010, p.1-15. ; Copenhaver, B. & Schmitt, C.B., *A History of Western Philosophy 3: Renaissance Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1992, p.274. ; Grace, D., "Utopia", in *A Companion to Thomas More*, ed. by A. Cousins & D. Grace (New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press), 2009, p.178-207. ; Krayer, J. "The Revival of Hellenistic Philosophies", in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. by J. Hankins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2007, p.105-106. ; Ruesink, R., *The Epicureanism of Thomas More and Erasmus of Rotterdam: The Limitations of Their Christian Interpretation of the Classical System of Epicurus* (Antioch College), 1982. ; Surtz, E., "Epicurus in Utopia", *ELH* 16.2 (1949), p.89-103. ; Surtz, E., *The Praise of Pleasure: Philosophy, Education, and Communism in More's Utopia* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press), 1957, p.9-11.

⁷ More, *Utopia*, p.66. ; Nelson, E., "Greek Nonsense in More's "Utopia"", *The Historical Journal* 44.4 (2001), p.911.

The belief in the immortality of the soul prevails among the religious authorities of the citizens of Utopia.⁸ Virtue is meaningful only if the soul is immortal such as to reward the soul's commitment to virtue in the earthly life.⁹ Though the laws of Utopia related to religion are extremely tolerant,¹⁰ they prohibit the citizens from believing in the death of the soul and its disappearance with the body. The notion that the universe is governed by chance without divine Providence is equally forbidden. Anyone who does not believe these two principles should not be considered or even called a man since he degrades the higher nature of the soul to the level of the animal body. Furthermore, he must not be counted among the citizens of the Utopia because he would not hesitate to break the laws from the moment when he will not fear anything and will not hope for anything.¹¹ Fear of punishment in the after-life works as a deterrent. According to More, the belief in the immortality of the soul and afterlife punishment are not merely religious doctrines. In fact the Utopians think that reason lead humans to these principles.¹² The discussion of views related to the immortality of the soul is not prohibited in a closed cycle, like between priests and intellectuals for instance; however, it should not be made public.¹³ Perhaps More would like to deride in his own way the 1513 bull *Apostolici regiminis* which prohibited the teaching of Averroes' and Alexander of Aphrodisias' positions which were opposed to the doctrine of the Church about the soul, despite the conversation under ecclesiastical factors being acceptable.¹⁴ While More seems to follow the traditional Thomistic theology,¹⁵ he introduces a new element, namely natural theology which helps him overcome the distinction between natural reason and revelation.¹⁶

Besides the human soul, More studies also the issue of the souls of animals. He states that, based on logical inference, some argue that the animal soul is also immortal and eternal despite being inferior. However, it is not intended to enjoy felicity.¹⁷ More's views are in strong contrast with the traditional Christian doctrine as expressed by Aristotelian Thomism according to which the souls of animals cannot be immortal.¹⁸

⁸ Hexter, J.H., *More's "Utopia": The Biography of an Idea* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 1952, p.223-225.

⁹ More, *Utopia*, p.95.

¹⁰ More, *Utopia*, p.93-95.

¹¹ More, *Utopia*, p.95-96. ; Engeman, T., "Hythloday's Utopia and More's England: an Interpretation of Thomas More's Utopia", *The Journal of Politics* 44.1 (1982), p.142. ; Stevens, R., "The New Republic in More's Utopia", *Political Science Quarterly* 84.3 (1969), p.406-410.

¹² More, *Utopia*, p.66-67.

¹³ More, *Utopia*, p.96.

¹⁴ Casini, L., "The Renaissance Debate on the Immortality of the Soul. Pietro Pomponazzi and the Plurality of Substantial Forms", in *Mind, Cognition and Representation: The Tradition of Commentaries on Aristotle's De Anima*, *Ashgate studies in medieval philosophy*, ed. by P.J.J. M. Bakker & J.M.M. H. Thijssen (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing), 2007, p.134-135.; Gilbert, F., "Cristianesimo, umanesimo, e la Bolla "Apostolici Regiminis" del 1513", *Rivista Storica Italiana* 79 (1967), p.976-990.

¹⁵ Mc Cabe, H., "The Immortality of the Soul", in *Aquinas's Summa Theologiae: Critical Essays*, ed. by B. Davies (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield), 2006, p.195-202. ; Miner, R., *Thomas Aquinas on the Passions: A Study of Summa Theologiae 1a2ae 22-48* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2009, p.224-225. ; Surtz, E., "Intepretations of Utopia", *Catholic Historical Review* 38 (1952), p.163.

¹⁶ Fleisher, M., *Radical Reform and Political Persuasion in the Life and Writings of Thomas More* (Geneva: Librairie Droz), 1973, p.52.

¹⁷ More, *Utopia*, p.96.

¹⁸ Aquinas, *Opera omnia iussu impensaue Leonis XIII P. M. edita, t. 4-5: Pars prima Summae theologiae*

Without clearly knowing the sources he used, it seems that More is inspired by ancient sources, Greek and Latin, as were Plotinus, Iamblichus, Damascius, Numenius, Plutarch as well as Arnovius and Lactantius.¹⁹ These authors had addressed this issue although they did not take a clear position about it.

In conclusion, we would say that More studies psychology as the basis for morality since he was interested in its contribution to moral formation of the citizens of the city which, in turn, will contribute to the smooth political functioning of the Utopia. More's view follows the traditional medieval conception of the link between psychology and morality. He does not even take into account such considerations as that of Blasius of Parma who, at the end of the 14th century, attempted to show that some psychology, without metaphysical dimensions along with a religious approach, can equally well support morality.²⁰ Moreover, around the same time as More, Pietro Pomponazzi (1462-1525) had claimed that morality is not dependent on the immortality of the soul. Under the influence of Stoic philosophy, which More widely uses in *Utopia*, Pomponazzi holds that virtue has value when pursued as the ultimate goal and not as a means.²¹ More and the other authors of utopias were not satisfied with such views, i.e. that virtue is its own reward and evil is its own punishment, because they would not be able to ensure the sociopolitical harmony. Almost all political treatises of the 16th century which dealt with the immortality of the soul resort to the argument used by More: namely, that morality is empowered when people believe in the immortality of the soul.

Francesco Patrizi (1529-1597) has given particular emphasis on philosophical psychology; in his youth, he had authored a utopia entitled *La citta felice* (1553), when he

(Romae: Ex Typographia Polyglotta S. C. de Propaganda Fide), 1888-1889, 1^a, q.75, a.3. ; Aquinas, *Liber de veritate catholicae Fidei contra errores infidelium seu Summa Contra Gentiles*, ed. by P. Marc, C. Pera & P. Caramello (Taurini – Romae: Marietti), 1961, 2.82. ; Badham, P., “Do animals have immortal souls?”, in *Animals on the agenda: questions about animals for theology and ethics*, ed. by A.Lizney & D. Yamamoto (London: Illini Books), 1998, p.181-189. ; Hall, M., *Plants as Persons: A Philosophical Botany* (New York: State University of New York Press), 2011, p.70. ; Sorabji, R., *Animal Minds and Human Morals: The Origins of the Western Debate* (New York: Cornell University Press), 1993, p.201.

¹⁹ Sorabji, *Animal*, p.201-203.

²⁰ Grendler, *Universities*, p.282. ; Kessler, E., “The Intellective Soul”, in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. by C.B. Schmitt & Q. Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1988, p.486-488. ; Pasnau, R., “Mind and Hylomorphism”, in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Philosophy*, ed. by J. Marenbon (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2012, p.502.

²¹ Pomponazzi, P., *Tractatus de immortalitate animae: Abhandlung über die Unsterblichkeit der Seele*, ed. by B. Mojsisich (Hamburg: Felix Meiner), 1990, 14.92-93, 100, 115-116. ; Cuttini, E., “From the Nature of the Soul to Practical Action in the Thought of Pietro Pomponazzi”, in *Psychology and the Other Disciplines: A Case of Cross-Disciplinary Interaction (1250-1750)*, ed. by P.J.J.M. Bakker, S.W. de Boer & C. Leijenhorst (Leiden: E. J. Brill), 2012, p.61-80. ; Grendler, *Universities*, p.291. ; Kessler, *Intellective*, p.500-507. ; Krayer, J., “Pietro Pomponazzi (1462-1525): Secular Aristotelianism in the Renaissance”, in *Philosophers in the Renaissance*, ed. by P. R. Blum (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press), 2010, p.96-103. ; Ramberti, R., “La fondation de l'autonomie morale dans le 'De immortalitate animae' et dans le 'De fato' de Pietro Pomponazzi”, in *Pietro Pomponazzi entre traditions et innovations*, ed. by J. Biard & T. Gontier (Amsterdam – Philadelphia: B.R. Grüner Publishing Company), 2009 (Bochumer Studien zur Philosophie, 48), p.135-152. ; Scribano, E., «Il problema del libero arbitrio nel De fato di Pietro Pomponazzi», *Annali dell'Istituto di Filosofia dell'Università di Firenze* 3 (1981), p.23-69. ; Treloar, J.L., “Pomponazzi: Moral Virtue in a Deterministic Universe”, *Midwest Studies in Philosophy* 26 (2002), p.44-55.

was still under the strong influence of Aristotle's philosophy.²² At the beginning of his work, Patrizi notes how philosophers agree that a human being is composed of body and soul. He then states that the soul is immortal and imperishable according to most philosophers, a position whose importance for the sociopolitical eurhythmia is explained previously. Patrizi supports that the soul is stronger than the body, meaning that the former governs the latter and that it is self-sufficient while the body is not because it needs the help of the soul and other external things like eating and drinking.²³ He distances himself from the wider Platonic philosophy. He holds that the body is necessary not only for life but also for happiness in this life, given that the maintenance of the body is important to keep the link between body and soul.²⁴ He does not accept arguments such as the one held by Agostino Nifo (c.1473 – c.1538) that the soul exists inside the body, but is independent from it.²⁵ On the contrary, he moves close to Aristotle's philosophy as presented by Pomponazzi, according to whom the soul cannot function independently from the body.²⁶ As for the importance of both body and the satisfaction of its needs in order to reach happiness, Patrizi agrees with Aristotle's arguments presented in the *Nicomachean Ethics*.²⁷

According to Patrizi, for a man to reach happiness, he must go through seven stages. First, it must be acquired by the soul itself (*per se*). Second, in the soul, to the extent that it governs the body. Afterwards in the soul, when it supervises those faculties that satisfy the external needs of the body. Fourth, in the body itself. Fifth, in those that are necessary for the maintenance of the body. Sixth, in the instruments that provide the necessities for maintenance of the body. Finally, the moment in time when the soul and body are united. Patrizi states that Aristotle had in mind these seven aspects when he described happiness as an activity that is in conformity with perfect virtue, without any hindrance, in the course of a perfect life. Because it is in agreement with perfect virtue, it accounts for and encompasses all virtues: the speculative and the moral ones, part of which – such as moderation – is associated to the body, and another part of which – such as liberality, justice and others – refers to those that serve the body. The lack of barriers refers only to material goods associated with the body. The perfect life consists in the union of the soul with the body. Thus, someone may say he is happy and blessed when

²² Castelli, P., "Le fonti de 'La Città Felice'", in *Francesco Patrizi filosofo platonico nel crepuscolo del Rinascimento*, ed. by P. Castelli (Florence: Olschki), 2002, p.3-30. ; Garin, E., *History of Italian Philosophy*, ed. & trans. by G. Pinton (Amsterdam – New York: Rodopi), 2008, p.441.

²³ Patrizi, F., "La città felice", ed. & trans by E. Ryan,

<http://www.istrianet.org/istria/illustri/patrizi/works/citta-felice.htm> (accessed 14/11/13), c.1.

²⁴ Patrizi, *La città felice*, c.3.

²⁵ Nifo, A., *Agostino Nifo: De Intellectu* ed. by L. Spruit (Leiden: E. J. Brill), 2011, p.37-38. ; Blum, P. R., "The Immortality of the Soul", in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. by J. Hankins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2007, p.225-226.

²⁶ Pomponazzi, *De immortalitate*, c.10. ; Brann, N., *The Debate over the Origin of Genius during the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden: E. J. Brill), 2001, p.168-169. ; Casini, Immortality, p.142. ; Copleston, F., *A History of Philosophy, v.3 Ockham to Suarez* (Tunbridge Wells: Burns & Oates), 1999, p.223-225. ; Kristeller, P.O., *Eight Philosophers of the Italian Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 1964, p.79-81. ; Michael, E., "Renaissance Theories of Body, Soul and Mind", in *Psyche and Soma: Physicians and Metaphysicians on the Mind-body Problem from Antiquity to Enlightenment*, ed. by J.P. Wright & P. Potter (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2002, p.153-158.

²⁷ Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, 1097b2, 1129b28.

his lifespan is prolonged as much as the natural human life course takes time.²⁸ For Patrizi, happiness is gained from both soul and body, not just from the soul. In this respect, he agrees with Aristotle whom he mentions. Nonetheless, both the separation and description of the virtues follow the Aristotelian model. Moreover, Patrizi agrees with Aristotle in that virtue is not sufficient to obtain happiness.²⁹

Patrizi holds that it is extremely important to maintain the bond between soul and body; this is a critical opinion for those who study the soul in the light of Aristotelian psychology. The closure occurs either by a force exerted by the soul or by the violence that the body imposes. Similarly, it occurs when the bond decays and rots with the passage of time. The philosopher's task is to deal with how to avoid the dissolution of the connection from the body. Patrizi supports the idea that Plato, Aristotle and all other philosophers and physicians agree that man continues to live as long as the soul is connected to the body. The connection of the body and soul continues to exist due to the spirits which, according to Patrizi, are described by Plato, Aristotle and the physicians as the first instruments of the soul. However, the spirits may be missing from the body, either because they were not produced at all due to the lack of blood or air, or because they degenerated. On the other hand, the creation of the spirits is favored by the proper functioning of the city which will ensure, in turn, providing all the basic goods for man. Food and drink are given particular emphasis: through the care of the city, they should be provided with attention and high quality. Moreover, the creation of the spirits requires a temperate climate which demonstrates the importance of selecting the location of the city by its founder.³⁰ The concept of *spiritus* was popular in Renaissance psychology because it was considered to be a substance produced by the blood and helps the proper functioning of the organs of the human body. Similarly, it was thought to carry sensory data to the body.³¹ In fact, all the concern for the city aims at the good state of the soul and preserving the bond between the body and soul in order for people to gain happiness. At this point in Patrizi's work, the influence brought by Aristotelianism is unmistakable; it had also clear Galenic and generally medical dimensions.³²

²⁸ Patrizi, *La citta felice*, c.2. ; Manuel, F. & Manuel, Fr., *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press), 2009, p.178.

²⁹ Aristotle, *De anima*, 412a3-28, 412b10-413a3, 403a24-67. ; Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, 1219a38-39, 1095a14-20, 1102a5-1103b30, 1097b2.

³⁰ Patrizi, *La citta felice*, c.3-5.

³¹ Copenhaver, B., "Astrology and Magic", in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. by C. B. Schmitt & Q. Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1988, p.292-293. ; Hirai, H., *Medical Humanism and Natural Philosophy: Renaissance Debates on Matter, Life and the Soul* (Leiden: E. J. Brill), 2011, p.67-72. ; Ingegno, A., "The New Philosophy of Nature", in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. by C. B. Schmitt & Q. Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1988, p.238-239, 245-246, 251-257. ; Leijenhorst, C., "Bernardino Telesio (1509-1588): New Fundamental Principles of Nature", in *Philosophers in the Renaissance*, ed. by P. R. Blum (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press), 2010, p.177. ; LoLordo, A., "The Activity of Matter in Gassendi's Physics", *Oxford Studies in Early Modern Philosophy* 2 (2005), p.95-95. ; Park, K., "The Organic Soul", in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. by C. B. Schmitt & Q. Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1988, p.469-484. ; Steneck, N.H., *Science and Creation in the Middle Ages: Henry of Langenstein (d.1397) on Genesis* (Notre Dame: The University of Notre Dame Press), 1976, p.3-127, 137-138. ; Walker, D.P., *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* (Notre Dame: The University of Notre Dame Press), 1975, p.2.

³² Deitz, L., "Space, Light and Soul in Francesco Patrizi's *Nova de Universis Philosophia*", in *Natural*

When it comes to the separation of the soul into parts, Patrizi is found to be closer to Aristotle. Patrizi separates the soul into rational and irrational. As a man consists of body and soul, likewise the soul consists of two parts, i.e. it is both rational and irrational. If the legislator wishes to lead people into happiness, he must take into account that the human soul has a place that is rational in itself. This part consists of the practical and the theoretical. However, even in that part of the soul which, by its nature, lacks logic, there is a component that is capable of obeying logic. All human moods exist in this component part. Among the forces of the soul, the most important and sublime is the theoretical one. Therefore, it is necessary that the legislator is firmly and steadfastly stirred towards it because it had first taught the citizens to activate both their logic and that part where the moods of the human soul are. Furthermore, as the body was made for the sake of the soul and exists before it in time, likewise the irrational part – which is blended with the body – serves the rational part and is placed first in function, unlike the logical part which is the ultimate human perfection. For both Aristotle and Patrizi, the body is just as important as the soul because it contributes to the gain of happiness. Patrizi holds that the body is so important that the legislator must first care for the body and then the soul because it was made for the soul and predates it in time.³³

With regard to speculative virtues, since all knowledge begins from the senses or from the axioms generated together with our soul, the path for knowledge is opened with hearing and vision from the one hand and with intellection from the other. He considers that knowledge is formed by either one of the two paths without discussing in the text the considered combination of the two paths.³⁴ Patrizi seems to take several elements from Pomponazzi's philosophy according to which the soul deals with both the data from the senses and the pure intelligences which have no direct dependence on the matter. However, Pomponazzi does not accept the two different paths of knowledge for the soul since the soul is one and unified.³⁵

In conclusion, I would say that Patrizi's psychology is in close dependence on Aristotle's philosophy in the form this latter was taught and bred in the universities of northern Italy in the 16th century under the strong influence of Galen's medicine and as part of natural philosophy and science. Moreover, it does not follow the traditional Thomistic view on the distinction between the soul and its faculties. Unlike his later works, and because the issues discussed in *La citta felice* deal with practical philosophy,³⁶ Patrizi seems strongly influenced by Aristotelian psychology.³⁷

Particulars: Nature and the Disciplines in Renaissance Europe, ed. by A. Grafton & N. Siraisi (Cambridge MA: MIT Press), 1999, p.139-170. ; Grendler, *Universities*, p.301-308. ; Hankins, J., "The Significance of Renaissance Philosophy", in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge MA: Cambridge University Press), 2007, p.339-340.

³³ Patrizi, *La citta felice*, c.12. ; Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, 1098b9-1, 1106a7-11, 1109a30-34, 1139a1-15, 1140a24-1140b8, 1179b11-18, 1179b30-1180a4, 1103b23-25. ; Aristoteles, *Politica*, 1332a38-1332b11.

³⁴ Patrizi, *La citta felice*, c.12, 15. ; Aristotle, *Analytica Posteriora*, 71a1-71a10, 81a38-81b9, 99b15-100b17.

³⁵ Blum, *Immortality*, p.220-223. ; Copleston, *History*, p.223-224. ; Cuttini, Pomponazzi, p.63-68. ; MacDonald, P., *History of the Concept of Mind, Speculations about Soul, Mind and Spirit from Homer to Hume* (Aldershot: Ashgate), 2007, p.228-230.

³⁶ Hough, L., "La citta felice: a Renaissance Utopia", in *Francesco Patrizi filosofo platonico nel crepuscolo*

There is a clear interest in philosophical psychology also in the work of Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639) who wrote his own utopia, the *Citta del sole* (1602/1613) in the early 17th century. Like Patrizi, Campanella was an eminent philosopher. In the *Citta del sole*, Campanella refers twice to the topic of the immortality of the soul which had preoccupied him also elsewhere in his work. The citizens of the City of the Sun do not fear death because they believe that the soul is immortal. When it leaves the body after death, it is associated with other spirits, good or evil, depending on how it lived on Earth when it was attached to the body.³⁸ In another part of the work, he states that these spirits are good or bad angels. Thus, even if indirectly, Campanella insists that the immortality of the soul is associated with reward or punishment after death. The citizens have every reason to be righteous in their earthly lives because they are going to be rewarded in the next in such a way that the harmony of the state is guaranteed.³⁹ Campanella's reference that, while the citizens of the City of Sun are pervaded by the views of Pythagoras and Brahma, they do not accept the reincarnation of souls is impressive, because it does not follow common trends of Renaissance psychology.⁴⁰ Rather, the inhabitants of the City of the Sun leave an open possibility that reincarnation can happen, if imposed by God.⁴¹ It is known that, particularly during the 16th century, philosophical psychology was enriched with Platonic and Neo-Platonic doctrines, currents of which had hugely influenced Campanella's thought. Even in his other works, the Italian philosopher had advocated for the immortality of the soul, but he regretted that Aristotle's work was not a sufficient proof of the immortality. He admits that he found the desired arguments in the works of Plato, Telesio, and even the saints.⁴²

A few years later, Johannes Valentinus Andreae (1586-1654) wrote *Christianopolis* (1619), a utopia in which natural science, besides politics, has a central role. Andreae separates the soul from the intellect and advocates that both are necessary so that the small portion of divinity that survives within us could shine. This will be achieved through the inventions and mechanical constructions.⁴³ Referring to

del Rinascimento, ed. by P. Castelli (Florence: Olschki), 2002, p.31-47.

³⁷ Muccillo, M., "Aristotelismo, Platonismo e Ermetismo ne 'La città felice' di Francesco Patrizi", in *Utopie per gli anni Ottanta*, ed. by S. Del Buffa (Rome: Gengemi), p.553-577.

³⁸ Campanella, T., *La citta del sole: Dialogo Poetico, The City of the Sun: A Poetical Dialogue*, ed. & trans. by D. Donno (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press), 1981, p.69.

³⁹ Campanella, *Citta*, p.113.

⁴⁰ Ogren, B., *Renaissance and Rebirth: Reincarnation in Early Modern Italian Kabbalah* (Leiden: E.J. Brill), 2009, p.

⁴¹ Campanella, *Citta*, p.69.

⁴² Ernst, G., *Tommaso Campanella: The Book and the Body of Nature* (Dordrecht-Heildeberg- London-New York: Springer), 2010, p.8, 101, 209-210. ; Mahoney, E., "Aristotle and Some Late Medieval and Renaissance Philosophers", in *The Impact of Aristotelianism in Modern Philosophy*, ed. by R. Pozzo (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press), 2004, p.29-32. ; Manuel & Manuel, *Utopian*, p.262, 276. ; Roush, S. (ed. / trans. / ann.), *Selected Philosophical Poems of Tommaso Campanella* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), 2011, p.54-55.

⁴³ Andreae, J.V., *Christianopolis*, intr. & trans. by E. Thompson, *International Archives of the History of Ideas* 162 (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers), 1999, p.171-173. ; Held, F.E., *Johann Valentin Andreae's Christianopolis, An Ideal State of the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: The Graduate School of the University of Illinois), 1914, p.157-158. ; Noble, D., *Progress Without People: New Technology, Unemployment, and the Message of Resistance* (Toronto: Between the Lines), 1995, p.136. ; Olson, R., *Science Deified & Science Defied: From the Bronze Age to the beginnings of the modern era, ca. 3500 B.C. to ca. A.D. 1640* (Berkeley – Los Angeles: The University of California Press), 1982, p.275-278.

metaphysics, Andreae speaks about the process of acquiring knowledge in which the human soul leaves the body in order to be able to see actual knowledge without the tyranny of the body. Anyone who lives through this experience will not want to return to the prison of the body.⁴⁴ Explaining the importance of music, Andreae describes how choir music leads the soul to God. When someone hears it, his spirits are strengthened as if he had received the divine breath. The soul animates and leaves the flesh aside.⁴⁵ These references by Andreae strongly reflect Platonic philosophy and Renaissance Platonism from which the author was seriously affected. Ficino, among others, holds similar views.⁴⁶ What is of particular significance is that Andreae integrates the study of the soul in the natural science. Indeed, he does not hesitate to regard the study of the soul, the divine flame that remains within us, as the most important aspect of physical science.⁴⁷ According to Andreae, the task of the government is to take care of the soul more than the body. Otherwise, we have bad governance.⁴⁸ At this point, Andreae's view seems to be more spiritual and less materialistic. He is not in line with the earlier writers of utopias who gave too much emphasis on the care for the body. Similarly, Andreae explains how medicine can help in the relief and the smooth function of the soul which demonstrates his broad scientific interests.⁴⁹ Finally, in the chapter where he analyzes death – although his expression is not clear – it seems that he clearly believes the soul to be immortal,⁵⁰ a position of particular significance for the sociopolitical harmony.⁵¹ However, Andreae would not insist on the analysis of the importance of the immortality of the soul in its political dimension; rather, the question interests him mainly in its metaphysical and religious dimension. In conclusion, I would say that Andreae shows no particular interest in the connection of philosophical psychology with politics, especially since he wrote a utopia. Instead, he is the most traditional in his approval.

That Francis Bacon (1561-1626), author of one of the most famous utopias *Nova Atlantis* (1624), does not mention any discussions on the topics of the soul in his work is of particular significance. This could happen because he refers very little to the themes of governance whereby anthropology is not useful for him. *Nova Atlantis* is founded on

⁴⁴ Andreae, *Christianopolis*, p.226-227. ; Held, *Christianopolis*, p.216-217.

⁴⁵ Andreae, *Christianopolis*, p.235-236. ; Held, *Christianopolis*, p.226. ; Herl, J., *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2004, p.108-110.

⁴⁶ Allen, M., "The Soul as Rhapsode: Marsilio Ficino's Interpretation of Plato's Ion", in *Humanity and Divinity in Renaissance and Reformation, Essays in Honor of Charles Trinkaus*, ed. by J. W. O' Malley, T. M. Izbicki & G. Christianson (Leiden: E.J. Brill), 1993, p.138-147. ; Gill, M., *Augustine in the Italian Renaissance: Art and Philosophy from Petrarch to Michelangelo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2005, p.130-138. ; Voss, A., "Orpheus Redivivus: The Musical magic of Marsilio Ficino", in *Marsilio Ficino: His Theology, His Philosophy, His Legacy*, ed. by M. J.B Allen, V. Rees & M. Davies (Leiden: E.J. Brill), 2002, p.232-235.

⁴⁷ Andreae, *Christianopolis*, p.240. ; Held, *Christianopolis*, p.231-232. ; Thompson, E., "Microcosm Microcosm and "Practical Science" in Andreae's *Christianopolis*", in *Utopian Moments: Reading Utopian Texts*, ed. by M.A. Ramiro Aviles & J.C. Davis (London – New York: Bloomsbury), 2012, p.27-33.

⁴⁸ Andreae, *Christianopolis*, p.245-246. ; Held, *Christianopolis*, p.237.

⁴⁹ Andreae, *Christianopolis*, p.277-278. ; Held, *Christianopolis*, p.273-274.

⁵⁰ Andreae, *Christianopolis*, p.278. ; Held, *Christianopolis*, p.275-276.

⁵¹ Houston, C., "Traveling Nowhere: Global Utopias in the Early Modern Utopias", in *A Companion to the Global Renaissance: English Literature and Culture in the Era of Expansion* *Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture*, ed. by J. Singh (Oxford – Malden MA: Wiley – Blackwell), 2013, p.94-95. ; Manuel & Manuel, *Utopian*, p.301.

science and everything is organized around the House of Salomon. In Bacon's science, philosophical psychology has no role, despite certain interpretations which are not based on the text.⁵² Spiritual salvation is substituted by material well-being.⁵³ Bacon stands firmly and consistently towards his epistemology as it has been developed in his other works.

In summary, it is evident that almost all the writers of utopian texts who further discussed it, focus their attention on the question of the immortality of the soul. In this position, they rely heavily on the happiness of their state, since without faith in the immortality of the soul the citizens will be led to wrongdoing and illegality. On this specific point all the aforementioned writers seem to rely on the philosophy of Plato, who repeatedly supports the social utility of religious order in the state,⁵⁴ despite the fact that they move in the broader context of the either traditional or Renaissance Aristotelianism. However, none of them researches deeper and more pressingly the philosophical issues of their time, such as the immortality of the individual soul which is an issue that had monopolized the attention of philosophers in the 16th century even though almost all of them had a clear knowledge of the discussions. For the majority, the immortality of the soul is a topic related to moral theology or metaphysics, but also a question that relates exclusively and only to the social and political organization of the community. It is also worth mentioning that they don't discuss issues concerning the organic soul, despite their strong interest in animals and plants as means for the promotion of social welfare. Even in Bacon's *Nova Atlantis* animals' and plants' physiology is not studied as a branch of philosophical psychology. It is interesting enough that these writers do not attempt to prove the immortality of the soul through rational argumentation. Their main concern is the imposition of this doctrine in order to strengthen the state. They do not realize that imposition should have no place in a utopian state, which safeguards social welfare and human felicity.

⁵² Weinberger, J., "On the miracles in Bacon's New Atlantis", in *Francis Bacon's New Atlantis: New Interdisciplinary Essays*, ed. by B. Price (Manchester: Manchester University Press), 2002, p.110.

⁵³ Leslie, M., *Renaissance Utopias and the Problem of History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), 1998, p.91-93. ; McKnight, S., *The Religious Foundations of Francis Bacon's Thought* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press), 2006, p.22-23.

⁵⁴ Plato, *Respublica*, 427b-c. ; Plato, *Leges*, 738c-d, 910d.