

# Individual Happiness and Social Morality: An Introduction to Francesco Patrizi da Cherso's *La Città Felice*

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## Introduction

*La Città Felice* appears at the beginning of one of Francesco Patrizi da Cherso's earliest published volumes. This short utopian exposition has received a good deal of attention, mainly in Italian scholarship; however, the full text has been rendered somewhat inaccessible by the lack of a reliable modern edition. Facsimiles of the original work are limited and present difficulties for those lacking experience in reading sixteenth century Italian. This article aims to make more accessible this interesting and very early work of Patrizi, using a minimally modernised transcription taken directly from the 1553 original edition: I will introduce the basic premises of the work, its classical influences and its place against the background of the sixteenth century utopian genre.<sup>1</sup>

*La Città Felice* (*The Happy City*: hereafter, *LCF*) was published by Giovanni Griffio in Venice 1553 and a copy of this original edition is held in the collection of the British Library. This small volume contains three other works in addition to *La Città Felice*: *Il Barignano: Dialogo dell'Honore*, *Il Barignano: Discorso, della diversità de' furori poetici*; *Lettura Sopra il Sonetto del Petrarca*. All of these works except the *Discorso* are preceded by dedicatory letters. *LCF* itself is introduced by an address to Urbano Vigerio of Rovere.<sup>2</sup> These are very early works, published during Patrizi's final years as a student at the University of Padua, where he undertook seven years of

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<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Dr Guido Giglioni of the Warburg Institute, University of London, whose guidance, contributions and corrections were essential to the finished project.

<sup>2</sup> All references will be to the transcription of Francesco Patrizi da Cherso, *La Città Felice*, the first edition of which was published by Giovanni Griffio in Venice in 1553: British Library 231a28.

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study commencing in 1547, initially studying medicine and later philosophy.<sup>3</sup>

It is interesting that Patrizi, who was to become a highly significant critic of the prevailing Aristotelianism of his time, began his education with the faculty at Padua. A heavily Aristotelian curriculum was standard during this period, but this faculty was recognised as a particular stronghold of Aristotelian teaching and study.<sup>4</sup> *LCF* explicitly displays the influence of Aristotle's *Politics* and *Nicomachean Ethics*, as well as the influence of Plato's *Republic*. It is worth noting from the outset that, under these influences, the natural law of Patrizi's utopian city produces an explicitly segregated and inequitable society when it comes to the bestowing of happiness and contentment. Also interesting is the clear influence of Patrizi's sixteenth century medical training upon the work, as evidence both of his personal knowledge and of the trends of medical thinking of his time.

Though it is certainly a utopian work, *LCF* is sometimes considered problematic: being a concise text addressed directly to the reader, it seems at first glance to be out of place in the genre of Thomas More's *Utopia* and Tommaso Campanella's *La Città del Sole*.<sup>5</sup> The text is neither narrative nor dialectic, but is presented as a straightforward exposition of an ideal society. As is true of any utopian proposal, the intention and motivation of the work is open to interpretation, but it seems reasonable to approach this work as an exercise in philosophy

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<sup>3</sup> For a highly accessible introduction to Patrizi's life and works, including a comprehensive bibliography, see Fred Purnell, 'Francesco Patrizi da Cherso', *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/patrizi/>.

<sup>4</sup> For further discussion, see G Saitta, 'Platonismo e antiaristotelismo di Francesco Patrizi da Cherso' in *Il pensiero italiano nell'umanesimo e nel Rinascimento II*, (Florence, 1966) 533-578.

<sup>5</sup> For notes to more detailed comparisons and a concise discussion of the problems of defining the genre of utopia in the period, see Lawrence E Hough, 'La Città Felice: A Renaissance Utopia' in Patrizia Castelli (ed) *Francesco Patrizi: filosofo platonico nel crepuscolo del Rinascimento* (Florence, 2002) 31-34.

rather than a true proposal, or a parody of a proposal, for social organisation.<sup>6</sup>

Given the key role of happiness in any utopian vision, this discussion must be guided by Patrizi's treatment of individual happiness within a social structure geared towards the well-being of the whole. Four basic issues need to be addressed: how is the necessity of happiness determined, how is happiness defined, how is happiness (potentially and actually) achieved, and by whom? The reasoning behind the necessity, nature, conditions and recipients of individual happiness must be seen in relation to the sense of communal and individual morality of the imagined society.

### ***La Città Felice***

The work opens with an outline of Patrizi's definition of the nature of man, the necessities of his life and, most particularly, the necessity of societal living. Patrizi's definition of man is distinctly Aristotelian:<sup>7</sup> man is twofold, containing body and soul,<sup>8</sup> and the soul itself is twofold, containing a subjective, irrational part and a higher rational part.<sup>9</sup> These definitions determine the structure of Patrizi's definition of the conditions for a happy life. The necessity and nature of human happiness is simply described as the greatest good achievable by man: 'therefore this last, and highest, good in which men repose is the happiness proper to man, such that it is not possible to acquire any greater good in this world'.<sup>10</sup> This statement is conditional in that it refers to 'appropriate' happiness. The method of Patrizi's work becomes evident in the list of conditions necessary for happiness. He prescribes that if a man wishes to achieve this state appropriate to humans, he must achieve it in seven items: these begin with the soul

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>7</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, I, v, 5-8. For further discussion on this point, see Cesare Vasoli, *Francesco Patrizi da Cherso* (Rome, 1989) 6-7.

<sup>8</sup> Patrizi, *La Città Felice* (hereafter: *LCF*) f 4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> *LCF*, f 15<sup>v</sup>-16<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> 'Questo ultimo, adunque, e sommo bene, nel quale egli si riposa, è la propria felicità dell'uomo, della quale maggior bene alcuno egli non si può in questo mondo acquistare', *LCF*, f 5<sup>r</sup>.

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itself; the soul as it cares for and governs the body; likewise the body itself, in the provision and means of its maintenance; and, lastly, in the union of body and soul.<sup>11</sup>

This notion of happiness as the fully realised material and spiritual potential of man's body and soul follows from the Aristotelian definition above.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, Patrizi attributes these seven items to Aristotle, saying that these conditions themselves rest on three main conditions: longevity, comfort and virtue.<sup>13</sup> Unsurprisingly, precedence is given to virtue: 'Happiness, therefore, consists for its greater part and its fulfilment in the activities of virtue, so if our citizens want to be happy, they need to first be virtuous'.<sup>14</sup> The idea that virtue is the origin of true happiness is also a feature of Aristotle,<sup>15</sup> but its heritage can be traced to Plato's *Republic*.<sup>16</sup> It is a fundamental feature of sixteenth century utopian writing: Thomas More's Utopians, to take the obvious example, see happiness as the divinely ordained state of mankind and believe that happiness can only truly reside in virtue. They believe man has an innate ability to assess the virtue of an activity on the basis of the pleasure he gains from it. The influence of the Stoic doctrine upon More is clearly recognisable.<sup>17</sup>

Following these summary statements on happiness, Patrizi discusses the care of the body, evidencing his sixteenth century medical

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<sup>11</sup> 'E primieramente nell'anima semplicemente sola; secondo nell'anima, per quanto ella il corpo governa; appresso nella medesima, per la cura, che ella ha delle cose, che estrinsecamente al corpo fanno mestieri; quarto, nel corpo per se stesso; quinto, nelle cose che al mantenimento di lui sono necessarie; sesto, in quegli istrumenti, che tali cose gli apparecchiano; ultimo, nel tempo del congiungimento dell'anima col corpo', *LCF*, f 5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Vasoli, *op cit*, 6-7.

<sup>13</sup> *LCF*, f 5r. See also: Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, I vii 13-16.

<sup>14</sup> 'Consistendo, adunque, la felicità, per la miglior parte e compimento suo, nell'operazioni della virtù, bisogna, se i nostri cittadini vogliono esser beati, che sieno in prima virtuosi', *LCF*, f 14<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, I, viii, 4-9.

<sup>16</sup> Plato, *Republic*, II 354a.

<sup>17</sup> Thomas More, 'Utopia' in *The Complete Works of St Thomas More* (New Haven, 1965) IV, 160-62.

background in his discussion of the dual spirits which link the body to the soul and are generated by elements of the blood and inhaled air.<sup>18</sup> He states at the end, however, that he will include only ‘healthy bodies of good natural disposition’ in his ideal city.<sup>19</sup> How this is to be achieved is partially explained by Patrizi’s ideas on procreation and also by the careful placement and design of the city. Detailed concern for the location of the ideal society, in terms both of general geographic location and of the specific site of the main city, are commonplace in sixteenth century utopian writing.<sup>20</sup> The three main criteria, all included in *LCF*, are the ability of the society to be as self-sufficient as possible in terms of agriculture and raw materials; the ease of defence against attack and particularly, the ability to withstand siege; and the ability to deal with issues of health, namely the avoidance of extremes of climate and, particularly, humidity and dampness.<sup>21</sup> The whole discussion of these issues of public and private health shows a strong connection to the *Politics*.<sup>22</sup>

These points cover comfort and longevity of the body, which are prerequisite to achieving true virtue and happiness. It is the achieving of virtue, however, that segregates Patrizi’s happy city. The first two conditions, longevity and comfort, are described as those things ‘that maintain our life for a long time, and those which enable us to lead life in comfort and without any impediment’.<sup>23</sup> Long life is necessary because a complete life, including the whole cycle of human experience from infancy to old age, is necessary to pursue virtue: another Aristotelian idea.<sup>24</sup> Freedom from commitments and material impediments is also essential.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> *LCF*, f 6<sup>r</sup>-6<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> ‘... perciocché io toglia nella mia città i corpi sani, e naturalmente ben disposti ...’, *LCF*, f 6<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> Similar discussions occur in More, *op cit*, and Tomasso Campanella, *La Città del Sole*, ed Luigi Firpo, Germana Ernst and Laura Salvetti Firpo (Bari, 1997).

<sup>21</sup> *LCF*, f 7<sup>v</sup>-9<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, VII, x, 1-8.

<sup>23</sup> ‘Cioè delle cose, con le quali la vita nostra lungamente si mantiene; e di quelle che in agio, e senza impedimento veruno, la ci fanno menare’, *LCF*, f 14<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, I, vii, 15-16.

<sup>25</sup> *LCF*, f 5<sup>r</sup>.

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The necessity of community is also partially explained in terms of providing for these two necessities. Since these provisions cannot all be made by the individual for himself, his needs drive him naturally towards fellowship, community and affection for other humans.<sup>26</sup> This explanation for the origin of society is, again, distinctly Aristotelian.<sup>27</sup> Patrizi quotes directly from Aristotle,<sup>28</sup> showing the depth of this perceived natural tendency toward community and saying that the man who does not feel such inclination is either a beast or a God.<sup>29</sup>

However, when it comes to the actual composition of the community, Patrizi defends the hierarchical ideal of society presented by Plato and Aristotle, in contrast to the more egalitarian visions of More and Campanella. Patrizi states that six types of men are required for the constitution of a happy city: rural workers, artisans, merchants, warriors, *magistrati* or guardians, and priests.<sup>30</sup> This hierarchy is presided over by a theocratic head of state referred to as the *legislatore*. The functions of each of these classes is defined with precision: the rural workers provide food and raw materials; the artisans build the greater and smaller things necessary to the life of the city, prepare and cook food; the merchants sell what is produced in the city and make trade with other cities for items not produced.<sup>31</sup>

These three classes, however, exist only to aid the other three in achieving the comfort and longevity, and hence the ‘contemplative and active virtues’, that comprise happiness. The division is posed in an illustrative form: ‘These six kinds of men ... will they all drink of the celestial waters? Certainly all those, to whom the definition of

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<sup>26</sup> *LCF*, f 4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Vasoli, *op cit.*, 5.

<sup>28</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, I, I, 12.

<sup>29</sup> ‘... di tal modo, che chiunque non ama di essere e conversare insieme con altri uomini, o da più, che uomo è necessario che sia, o da meno; e come per antico proverbio si disse, che egli sia o Dio, o bestia’, *LCF*, f 4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> *LCF*, f 13<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> *LCF*, f 13<sup>r</sup>-13<sup>v</sup>.

happiness applies, will be satiated by those waters and be happy'.<sup>32</sup> But the threefold definition of happiness does not apply to the rural workers, artisans or merchants who, due the impediments of their lives of hard labour, stress and instability, do not have the time or leisure to acquire the virtues necessary to happiness,<sup>33</sup> 'from which these three kinds of men are rightly deprived and exiled'.<sup>34</sup> The deprivation of happiness is explicitly drawn.

Patrizi's justification for this inequity is that these lower orders, the 'enslaved and miserable' caste, are *born slaves*.<sup>35</sup> They are a type of human that is 'timid and of lesser soul, easily commanded and truly servants by their nature'. Patrizi's description of their status in society bears the direct influence both of Plato's *Republic*<sup>36</sup> and of Aristotle's *Politics*.<sup>37</sup> They provide necessities but are as tools to the important business of the citizenry, and the rules of community that are applied to the upper castes do not apply to them. The upper castes recognise their kinship and dine together to promote stability and concord,<sup>38</sup> but the lower castes are to be kept from living in family groups so that they may not conspire to rebel.<sup>39</sup> The idea of promotion of community through common meals is a common feature of utopian writing, and Patrizi refers to the practice as a tradition of the kings of Italy, citing Aristotle.<sup>40</sup> However, it may be noted that there are no *born slaves* in either *Utopia* or *La Città del Sole*. Slavery is a

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<sup>32</sup> 'Queste sei predette maniere d'uomini ... beeranno elleno tutte dell'acque sopracelesti? Certo tutte quelle saranno dell'acque saziante e felici, a cui converra la diffinitione della felicità', *LCF*, f 13<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> *LCF*, f 13<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> '...delle quali, queste tre ragioni d'uomini sono digiuni ed isbanditi', *LCF*, f 14<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> 'Et in somma dirò la nostra città avere due parti, l'una servile e misera, l'altra signora e beata'.

<sup>36</sup> Plato, *Republic*, IV, 416c-417b.

<sup>37</sup> 'Et acciocché, comandando loro i signori, non ardiscono di opporsi a i comandamenti loro, sieno timidi, e di vile animo; e, come si dice, servi per propria natura', *LCF*, f 7<sup>r</sup>. Note the influence of the Aristotelian idea of natural born slaves, for whom slavery is expedient and just: Aristotle, *Politics*, I, ii, 15-16.

<sup>38</sup> *LCF*, f 9<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> *LCF*, f 7<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, VII, ix, 3-5.

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punishment in Utopia and, in Campanella's society, no labour is lower than any other.<sup>41</sup>

The remaining three orders in *LCF* – warriors, governors and priests – comprise the citizenry and the community of the happy. They can 'devote their entire souls to both civil and contemplative virtue', their needs having been furnished by the non-citizen orders.<sup>42</sup> This idea of the crafting of virtue recalls Plato's *Republic*, where the guardians, having been released from all other crafts, are to be 'expert craftsmen of civil liberty, and pursue nothing else that does not conduce to this'.<sup>43</sup> Patrizi is equally precise about the attaining of virtue. The potential for virtue is inbred,<sup>44</sup> this potential being realised through communal education,<sup>45</sup> social conditioning and indoctrination: the forming of 'good habits' designed to cleanse the soul of all inappropriate appetites, affectations and impurities. Heavy censorship of stimuli plays an important role in this process.<sup>46</sup> The exposition on virtue shows the influence of Book II of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, in that some kinds of virtue are regarded as most suited to conscious learning and others considered best formed by conditioning.<sup>47</sup> The section on music refers directly to the *Republic*, which expounds the potential for music to instil and develop a natural sense of harmony into the minds of the young.

Medical principles, and especially those of medical astrology, are utilised in the regulation of reproduction and birth. If a citizen's virtue is cultivated through education and condition, then his or her potential for achieving perfection in that virtue is at least partially 'inbred' according to these principles. Patrizi's principles of inbred virtue are relatively moderate. Optimisation is achieved through good timing of the procreative act, along with a programme of education

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<sup>41</sup> Campanella, *op cit*, 23, 497-8, 33, 713-17; More, *op cit*, 184.

<sup>42</sup> 'Gli altri tre ordini ... possono donare tutto l'animo alle virtù e civili e contemplative', *LCF*, f 14<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> Plato, *Republic*, III, 395b-395c.

<sup>44</sup> *LCF*, f 16<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> *LCF*, f 18<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> *LCF*, f 17<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, II, I, 1-3.

and indoctrination. The ages of the couples, and aspects of the woman's diet and activity during pregnancy, are also laid down.<sup>48</sup>

In contrast, in *Utopia* there is no practise of eugenics; good character is instilled by educational and social constraints, which optimise an innate ability to recognise right and wrong.<sup>49</sup> Campanella, however, proposes the extended family and eugenic regime reminiscent of that of the guardians of Plato's *Republic*,<sup>50</sup> and applies it to his entire society in an extreme and methodical way.<sup>51</sup> People are paired off according to their physique and temperament, and their mating is timed to fortuitous astrological conjunctions.<sup>52</sup> The whole foundation of the Solarians' happiness through social stability<sup>53</sup> and lack of negative traits lies in their eugenic programme.<sup>54</sup>

*LCF* does not employ mercenaries, since their motivation is fiscal rather than patriotic.<sup>55</sup> The patriotism, physical endurance and skill of the soldier class are nurtured from birth, and they are also disciplined and conditioned to be a highly unified body.<sup>56</sup> While Patrizi prefers not to rely on fiscal motivation alone, he does recognise its power and decrees that the warrior class must maintain their families and half of their possessions within the territory, with the other half close to the city. This will ensure their full commitment to the protection of the city during war since, as Patrizi points out, those who have nothing to lose from defeat may lack commitment and those who have too much to lose may attempt to protect their possessions by treacherous arrangements with the enemy.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> *LCF*, f 16<sup>r</sup>-17<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> More, *op cit*, 162-66.

<sup>50</sup> Plato, *Republic*, V.

<sup>51</sup> Campanella, *op cit*, 10, 148-54.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*, 19, 394.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*, 21, 418-21.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid*, 17, 334-35 and 22, 443-45.

<sup>55</sup> *LCF*, f 11<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> *LCF*, f 11<sup>r</sup>-11<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>57</sup> *LCF*, f 11<sup>r</sup>.

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The guaranteeing of army loyalty is understandably a fairly popular theme across genres. Patrizi's idea of the placement of property also occurs in the *Politics*<sup>58</sup> and, closer to Patrizi's own time, Thomas More proposed the Platonic idea of having whole families of Utopians go into the field of battle together in order to guarantee the fiercest possible defence.<sup>59</sup> Campanella likewise had blood-relations fighting together and, in *The Prince*, Machiavelli recommends the placement of personal property as a motivating force in the same way as Patrizi.<sup>60</sup>

At the top of *LCF*'s hierarchy are the priests, the *magistrati* and the *legislature*. The *magistrati* are described as those who guide the multitudes towards the celestial waters, with the priests praying to gain divine favour for the journey to that happy land on behalf of the populace.<sup>61</sup> The *magistrati* may be related to Plato's guardians on many points, but Patrizi's account of them must be read in the context of his background. Paola Maria Acari points out that they may bear an equal relationship to the Venetian aristocracy as to Plato's idealised guardian class.<sup>62</sup> Essentially, they are law-keepers, and it is they who, in their maturity, govern and run the courts.<sup>63</sup>

The priests take on the duty of prayer on behalf of the whole populace, and this intercessory role is another interesting aspect of the place of personal, individual religion in *LCF*. The idea of a highly communalised form of religion is common to this genre: Campanella's Solarians, for example, exercised a strong sense of communal morality and accountability, undertaking communal confession and absolution via the hierarchy of their priesthood, with the head of state acting as the ultimate intercessor with the divine.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, VII, ix, 6-8.

<sup>59</sup> More, *op cit*, 210.

<sup>60</sup> Campanella, *op cit*, 42, 945-9.

<sup>61</sup> *LCF*, f 13<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>62</sup> Paola Maria Acari, *Il pensiero politico di Francesco Patrizi da Cherso* (Rome, 1935) 77.

<sup>63</sup> *LCF*, f 10<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> Campanella, *op cit*, 43, 975-85.

Patrizi's ideas are less extreme, but nonetheless the sense of communalised, as opposed to personalised, religion remains.

The *legislatore* of *LCF* similarly takes on a dual role between secular and spiritual duties. The polyvalence of the title ought be noted: he is obviously a legislator, but the multiplicity of his functions, as chief astrologer, priest, lawmaker and guardian of the rearing and moral indoctrination of children, seem to overtake this nomination.<sup>65</sup> Vasoli refers to him as a sage-priest<sup>66</sup> and others, such as Hough, refer to him as a king-philosopher.<sup>67</sup> Either way, the theocratic structure of Patrizi's society rests upon his role. Here, it is important to note the work of Ficino, where one finds a theocratic leader of this kind, working under the guidance both of astrology as a science and of a divine will that safeguards the secular and spiritual life of a society.<sup>68</sup> Campanella also took up this idea of a theocratic head of state, although his *City of the Sun* is definitely a theocratic monarchy,<sup>69</sup> whereas Patrizi's city may be viewed as an oligarchy.<sup>70</sup> Augustine's *City of God* is also cited by Hough as another precedent for the form of theocratic rule practised by the priest-sages.<sup>71</sup>

The status of the *legislatore* is an important issue for *LCF*. The idea that Patrizi's utopia may have been at least partially modelled upon the governance of mid-sixteenth century Venice has already been mentioned. Acari argues for this model, citing details of the hierarchic structure of Patrizi's created society and relating them to the class system and rule in Venice.<sup>72</sup> Vasoli's study nevertheless points to the difficulty of quantifying a concrete connection between

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<sup>65</sup> The responsibility for virtually every aspect of life described in *LCF* is ultimately given to the *legislatore*, with his authority being cited for almost all sections.

<sup>66</sup> Vasoli, *op cit*, 3.

<sup>67</sup> Hough, *op cit*, 44.

<sup>68</sup> For further discussion and full citation, see Vasoli, *op cit*, 18-19.

<sup>69</sup> Campanella, *op cit*, 7, 79-83.

<sup>70</sup> Curcio and Vasoli disagree on the extent of the theocracy of *LCF*: C Curcio, *Utopisti e riformati sociali del Cinquecento* (Bologna, 1941) xvi; Vasoli, *op cit*, 17.

<sup>71</sup> Hough, *op cit*, 40-41.

<sup>72</sup> Acari, *op cit*, 77.

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the political reality of the governance of Venice and Patrizi's visionary state ruled by a class of sage-priests.<sup>73</sup>

Patrizi's imagery and metaphor also display influences from both classical and more recent sources, some quite explicit and others less so. The steep mountain of virtue that the lower classes lack the resources to climb is an extremely familiar image, most famously used by Dante in his vision of the ascension of purgatory and paradise. The concept of the 'celestial waters' as a holy experience borne from the full realisation of human potential in body and soul shows the influence of Mirandola's imagery of the experience of the word of god.<sup>74</sup> Lastly, the idea of society as a body, with diseased limbs that must be severed, recalls Aristotle's analogy in the *Politics*,<sup>75</sup> along with a wealth of imagery of Christian society as forming a single body.

## **Conclusion**

In Patrizi's *LCF* then, happiness is of necessity an aim for humans. Patrizi sees it as the ideal state for mankind and, as in Plato, Aristotle, More and Campanella, happiness is understood to reside primarily in virtue. For Patrizi, moral virtue is achieved by habitually conditioning the individual; intellectual virtue arises from the conscious effort of education. Both require a certain inherited nature, and the comfort that freedom from material distraction allows.

For this reason, Patrizi's society is segregated on the basis of birth, with the labour of an underclass providing the necessities for the happiness of the citizenry. Thus the underclasses are part of the fundamental structure which produces individual happiness, without partaking in that happiness themselves. Private life and private property remain fairly intact in Patrizi, but behaviour is regulated by indoctrination and any serious trespass is punished severely, so as to

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<sup>73</sup> Vasoli, *op cit*, 3.

<sup>74</sup> Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *De hominis dignitate, Heptaplus, De ente et uno e scritti vari*, ed E Garin (Florence, 1942) 210-12, 274-76.

<sup>75</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, I, I, 11-12.

maintain the purity of the citizenry. Although Campanella's Solarians live a totally communal life without any concept of private property or a nuclear family unit, they share with *LCF* the concept of community as a single body to be maintained. Thus they also deal with serious offences severely, and one may cite similar analogies of the removal of rotted or diseased limbs.

Certain elements of Patrizi's work, such as the necessity of happiness, the necessity of virtue and physical health as the basis for that happiness, the isolation of the utopian community, and the use of soldiers' property and family bonds to ensure loyalty, are common to the utopian genre of his period. Similar elements are found in More's *Utopia* and Campanella's *La Città del Sole*. Their formulation is nevertheless different in each work. Individual happiness provides a shifting but useful lens for the examination of utopian fiction because, in quantifying the necessity, definition, conditions and recipient body of happiness, the focus changes according to the form and method of the work in question. For example, in *LCF*, the discussion of happiness ascertains the exact lifestyle requirements for achieving virtue as the essential part of happiness and the precise methods for acquiring different types of virtue. In *Utopia*, the same discussion lingers rather on religion and the understanding of natural law. In *La Città del Sole*, eugenics lies at the foundation of the proposals for achieving the stability, harmony and loss of self-love that lead to individual and to communal happiness. Other elements of Patrizi's work stand in contrast to some of these other famous utopias, but are nonetheless not unprecedented. His use of the Aristotelian divisions of society and idea of a born underclass may seem dystopic, rather than utopic, to the modern reader. In the context of his time, however, these were entirely justified on the basis of the authority of classical sources and their assessment of the observable expediency of a naturally appointed underclass to serve the greater good.

