

Messianic and Utopian Influences on Imperial Spain

A Comparative Study in the Works of Tommaso
Campanella and Pedro Fernández de Quirós

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Contextualising the *City of the Sun*

The *City of the Sun* is one of the most challenging of Campanella's works to interpret. Unlike the *Monarchy of Spain*, where many of Campanella's idiosyncratic ideas can be linked to Messianic eschatology, and the *Monarchy of the Messiah* (1605), which has to do with defending his theological position, the *City of the Sun* contains numerous ambiguous ideas. Whether they are to be interpreted literally or allegorically is uncertain. The apparent originality of the concepts and their often undefined intertextual provenance have made it possible to interpret them in a wide variety of ways. Some scholars have classified the work and Campanella's views as literal or symbolic, clerical or anti-clerical, or as anticipating new political philosophies and ideals, such as communism or a 'utopia of science based in a communal order.'¹ As John Headley wrote:

since the 19th century . . . scholars, particularly in the field of literature, have continued to worry the question as to the meaning of Campanella's apparent masterpiece *The City of the Sun*, and the place it occupies in the corpus of his writings.²

Thus far, the proposition that Campanella's ideas bear a strong resemblance to the utopian thoughts of Quirós has centred on comparing the *Monarchy of Spain* (1597) and the Quirós Memorials (1608–14). This chapter will examine whether Campanella's *City of the Sun* (1602) might also resonate with the visions of Quirós. If the concepts in the *City of the Sun* do align with the Quirós vision, it could offer further support for a link between Campanella and Quirós. If it were found that the *Monarchy of Spain* and the *City of the Sun* both resonated with the Memorials of Quirós, it would lend further support to the ideas that the Spanish Crown did grapple with Campanella's idea of universal monarchy, Philip III did contemplate a millenarian end-time perspective, and Quirós and Campanella were more important than thus far recognised to the strategic and theological thought of the Spanish Crown. In contrast, if there were no apparent intellectual or philosophical links, it could lessen the strength of the argument being put forward. In what follows, I will contextualise how the *City of the Sun* has been interpreted over time. I will compare

Campanella's Solarian culture to Quirós's idyllic society in *Australia del Espiritu Santo* and Campanella's actual city of the Sun to Quirós's New Jerusalem.

The *City of the Sun* was written around the same time as a series of other works between 1597 and 1605 which had as their primary theme Campanella's utopian vision for Spain and Catholicism. Campanella's writings focused particularly upon the idea that Spain could achieve the status of God's universal monarchy, and he aimed to be the catalyst for alerting society's elite that God's day for transforming the world was imminent. For instance, the *Monarchy of Spain* was aimed at persuading the Spanish Crown of Campanella's understanding about the Second Coming, and the *Monarchy of the Messiah* was aimed at persuading religious authorities that his arguments were based upon Scripture and church fathers. In contrast, the aims and purpose of the *City of the Sun* remain unclear. Therefore, given the temporal context within which it was produced, it has been argued that it most likely belongs to the genre of utopianism as well. For instance, Germana Ernst, in comparing several of Campanella's texts, places the *City of the Sun* in the genre of 'prophetic and utopian.'³

Several of the motifs that Campanella used in the *City of the Sun* have been traced to both classical and scriptural sources. It is reasonable to argue that although some of the symbology in his text appears to be distinctive, it also contains themes borrowed from a jumble of cultures and religions. For instance, several Solarian practices alluded to Roman Catholic ideas such as confession, the immortality of the soul, and hellfire.⁴ A few of the religious symbols and rituals drew from Judaism and Levitical temple worship in Jerusalem, and Daniel J. Donno draws attention to similarities with More's *Utopia*.⁵ John Demaray identified the circular design of the *City of the Sun* apparently with Dante and Byzantine architecture.⁶ Tessa Morrison provides a detailed explanation of the apparent similarities between the *City of the Sun* and Plato's city of Atlantis, including its circular design, layered walls, the significant structure at the centre of the city, and references to mathematical and geometric equations associated with the Greek philosopher.⁷ Furthermore, on the surface some key cultural characteristics of Solarian society appeared to pay homage to various neo-pagan gods, astrology, and sexual liberties that were subversive to key tenets in Judeo-Christian religious traditions. Thus, one of the elements that has challenged any straightforward attempt at classifying the *City of the Sun* is making sense of the way its eclectic mix of cultural and religious artefacts is connected.

It is also uncertain whether the *City of the Sun* was meant to be interpreted literally or allegorically. In many of Campanella's works, his idiosyncratic elaborations can be linked to recognisable Messianic interpretation of Bible prophecy applied to the contemporary world or the imminent future. In contrast, the detailed utopian vision in the *City of the Sun* generally has limited concrete allusions to biblical prophecy, and whether its setting was meant to be during Campanella's time, a future time, or an imaginary time is not clear. The title suggests that it was a work of allegory. As Donno also states: 'In subtitling his work *A Poetical Dialogue* Campanella meant only to call attention to its fictional character without intending to claim specifically literary merits for it.'⁸ It is difficult to imagine that Campanella

would have advocated the literal exercise of beliefs that he didn't endorse. It is hard to imagine he would have promoted Solarian society as an ideal model, when so many of their cultural norms appeared aberrant to Catholicism. Solarian norms seemed to permit sexual relations out of wedlock, and they seemingly worshipped the literal Sun, as in ancient Rome and Persia, and celebrated eccentric atonement rituals with echoes of Jewish temple sacrifice, which were modes of worship incompatible to Campanella and Christianity. Thus, an argument can be made that given how contrary to Campanella's religious beliefs the apparent lifestyle of the Solarians was, they were more than likely meant to be understood symbolically.

Nevertheless, some authors have concluded that the idyllic society Campanella promoted was meant to be understood literally. For example, Donno states that 'in 1637 Campanella (himself) wrote to Richelieu and asked him to build the city of the Sun.'⁹ In a similar way, Italian Campanella scholar Luigi Amabile concluded that in his heart Campanella opposed Catholicism and aimed to found just such a society as described in the *City of the Sun*. To Amabile: 'Campanella was an anti-clerical, a patriot, a freedom fighter and a herald of the new [heterodox] science.'¹⁰ Frank and Fritzie Manuel also observed that the *City of the Sun* influenced individuals who advocated applying Campanella's naturalistic ideas of managing society by 'abolishing the family and private property.'¹¹ Thus, at different times the work has been interpreted literally and at other times as an allegory.

Advocates of new social philosophies of the nineteenth century saw in the *City of the Sun* echoes of the ideas they thought would change the world. Enthusiasts of new political ideologies, whether socialist, fascist, or even capitalist, often imagined their ultimate potential in idealised, even utopian, terms. Many of Campanella's ideas resonated with the idealised outcomes socialism or communism promised to deliver. The seeming ambivalence of the Solarian culture towards God and the elevation of nature and science as their key *raison d'être* resonated with the atheistic stance of socialism. The equal sharing of wealth, the communal sharing of property, and the high level of order also reflected some of the methods they believed would lead to a better world. As Kristine Haugen argues, the political and social dynamic in Campanella's utopian society spoke to the 'demolition of kingship and economic inequality.'¹² In a similar way, Donno affirms:

Like More's, Campanella's utopia is communistic and anti-materialistic. The unitary family and private ownership of property are both prohibited because these institutions are regarded as the foundations of egoism, setting citizens in competition with one another against their common interest and against the collective interests of the state.¹³

For centuries after its publication, Roman Catholic commentators generally expressed concern over the *City of the Sun*. Many of the ideas that Campanella advocated, whether scientific or theological, were perceived by the Church as potentially heterodox. He appeared to portray Solarian society as having made great cultural and scientific advancement primarily by learning from the natural order and not through Scripture or Christianity. By observing the natural order,

Solarians were supposedly able to deduce paths and methods that led to significant scientific and societal advancements. Campanella also speculated upon research approaches that might be used to better understand the secrets of nature such as distilling essences of plants and astrology to assist in understanding the universe. However, some of the approaches to research that he thought might have been genuinely scientific were thought by the Church to be demonic. Over the next 300 years, numerous Catholic writers were less than kind towards Campanella, portraying him as a heretic who advocated ideas that made him an enemy of the Church.

However, during the twentieth century, Roman Catholic authors reassessed the orthodoxy of the *City of the Sun*. They advanced arguments suggesting that the text was not anti-Catholic, as authors in previous centuries had thought. The *City of the Sun* came to be interpreted as a metaphorical vision of the superiority of Christianity/Catholicism over human knowledge alone. According to Roman Catholicism, the study of the natural world was a legitimate way of learning about God and was known as the study of the 'Book of Nature.'¹⁴ However, the Church also argued that whilst the 'Book of Nature' revealed God by observing his creation, the inclusion of Scripture was necessary as it defined God's qualities, his instructions for living, and the purpose of life. Thus, during the twentieth century, the *City of the Sun* was interpreted as suggesting that Solarian society, despite its advancements based primarily upon the study of nature, had not reached its fullest potential and would only do so upon adopting Christianity, which drew not only upon the 'Book of Nature' but also upon the Bible as its principal spiritual and social guide. According to Bernardino Bonansea, in the *City of the Sun* Campanella speculated on the degree to which human society might develop by drawing upon the 'Book of Nature' alone. However, he argues that to imagine the *City of the Sun* as a text advocating the rejection of Christianity would 'distort Campanella's doctrine completely.'¹⁵

The argument for Campanella's orthodoxy was underscored by his apparent support of Roman Catholic theology and spirituality in his various works. In his germane writings examined thus far, he consistently and explicitly referred to the Roman Catholic Church as the centre of his universe: the one and only true religion. As has previously been discussed, he perceived the Church as the ultimate world government with God's providential backing and the Pope as its temporal head. He also advocated that temporal kings, such as those of Spain, would need to submit to the Church and adapt their governing style to Roman Catholic values, like that of a metaphorical shepherd, God, Jesus of Nazareth, and the Pope.

Furthermore, his faith in Catholicism's role during the fulfilment of end-time prophecy never diminished. The link between the works of Campanella and Quirós made in this book highlights the central role of Catholicism that both anticipated in the imminent global transformation. Thus, Catholic authors have argued that Campanella's seemingly marginal ideas in the *City of the Sun* in terms of Christianity were generally metaphorical and not indicative of heterodox beliefs. For instance, Thomas Renna discerned that elements in the Solarian religion, such as going to 'confession,' gave it a Catholic bias rather than a naturalistic one. He argued that if Campanella was advocating atheism in his Solarian society, 'confession' would

seem out of place and 'penitential activity would be tangential.'¹⁶ In a similar way, Manuel and Manuel argued that:

There is no reason to doubt that from his mid-twenties onward Campanella had in mind a plan, at least in embryonic form, for an ideal world political order under a single spiritual head. And this allows Catholic apologists to claim him back as a loyal son of the Church.¹⁷

The *City of the Sun* has also been thought of as symbolically outlining the intended utopian aims of the 1599 Calabrian revolt. One of the most controversial events in Campanella's life was his apparent attempt to establish an ideal society in Calabria. What he seemingly aimed to achieve in southern Italy bore the hallmarks of Messianic expectation and the long-awaited End Time. His thoughts included founding a theocratic government, with the Pope becoming king and miraculous events that would make it obvious to both the Pope and the Spanish king that they were witnessing God's intervention, thus leading them to yield. However, the rebellion failed, the participants were taken captive, and Campanella was tortured, and his life narrowly spared. Some commentators have concluded that the *City of the Sun*, given that it was written two years after the events when Campanella was languishing in jail, aimed to elaborate figuratively upon the aims of the utopian society he had tried to initiate in Calabria. For instance, Donno suggests that

he [Campanella] wrote the *City of the Sun* the same year that he was sentenced to life . . . it has been regarded as an idealised description of the society he had hoped would emerge from the brash and disastrous undertaking in Calabria.¹⁸

Another editor of the *City of the Sun*, Norberto Bobbio, cited by Germana Ernst, called the text 'the program of a failed insurrection and its philosophical idealisation.'¹⁹

Several authors have argued that the *City of the Sun* deals covertly with objectives of the universal monarchy that were not revealed in the *Monarchy of Spain*. On numerous occasions in his *Monarchy of Spain*, Campanella claimed there were details of his utopian global plan that could not be explicitly elaborated upon, topics of *arcana* (arcane information) for the king's eyes only.²⁰ A number of researchers have advanced the idea that the *City of the Sun* was making reference to the universal monarchy's hidden agenda by using figurative language. According to Jean Paul de Lucca,

below the surface of Campanella's symbolic narrative of the Solarians, the Hospitaller and the Genoese is the description of an ideal state, founded on natural law [which] appears as the political means through which his prophetic vision of the opening of a new period in human history—the *aurea eta felice* or *il secolo aureo*—that would pave the way for the second coming of Christ could be realised.²¹

Furthermore, Donno's interpretation of the *City of the Sun* includes the idea that Campanella was alluding to an idyllic society that did not engage in warfare, revolved around a philosophic community, and was ruled by an individual who was at once both prince and priest of all, very similar to a Messianic view of God's eternal plan:

Here we have a glimpse of the theocracy Campanella hoped would one day universally obtain . . . Up to the 1630s he believed that Providence had appointed the Spanish monarchy to be the secular instrument through which a worldwide Catholic hegemony would be established.²²

The idea that the *City of the Sun* hides important elements about the universal monarchy is of interest to the case being made here. Given the notable similarities among the Memorials of Quirós, the *Monarchy of Spain*, and the universal monarchy, could it be possible that the Memorials might also shed light on the hidden meaning of the *City of the Sun*? If the Memorials of Quirós were able to inform the meaning of the *City of the Sun*, it would provide a new perspective from which to examine the text and add credence to the argument that Quirós's vision was derivative of Campanella's. It could lend support for the tantalising view that the *City of the Sun* contains a veiled agenda, inspiring the imagination for what that might be and why it was hidden. On the other hand, if there was no evidence of similarities between the two works, it would render the argument being made more uncertain. In the following section, I closely examine and compare two key themes where the Memorials and the *City of the Sun* share parallels. I investigate to what extent the two works coincide in relation to Solarian culture and Quirós's idyllic society and the actual city in the *City of the Sun* to Quirós's New Jerusalem.

Contrasting Solarian culture to the idyllic society in Terra Australis Incognita

Campanella situated his mythological Solarian society in tropical Southeast Asia on the southern side of the equator. The Solarian city state was supposedly situated on *Taprobana*, modern-day Sumatra, 'on a great plain just below the equator.'²³ According to Ribeiro's official map of the world (1529), the island of Sumatra extended to five degrees south of the equator.²⁴ Campanella's Columbine character also elaborated upon the reasons for which the extraordinary civilisation was to flourish in that particular part of the world. He argued that the alignment of the stars and planets was the reason for the establishment of Solarian society in the tropics, the discovery of new lands, and the exponential development in navigation, amongst other things. In an explanation that assumed astrology's legitimate role in deciphering information from the stars, the sailor character explains:

Just as Cancer, being a tropical sign, the exaltation of Jupiter, the apogee of the sun and of trigonal Mars, brought about the new land discoveries, the

wonderful methods of circumnavigating the earth [and] the dominance of women through the influence of the moon, Mars and Venus.²⁵

Quirós also determined to establish an idyllic society in the tropical regions of the Southern Hemisphere. The key task of the Quirós expedition was to locate Terra Australis Incognita. The imagined southern continent was the last of the lands that remained to be located by the Europeans. It was thought to span from the Equator to Antarctica in the Southern Hemisphere. The tropical regions were supposed to start in Southeast Asia in the vicinity of New Guinea, the mythical *Java la Grande*, which lay next to Sumatra. The aim of Quirós's journey was to establish a spiritually and culturally advanced society in those regions. Although his officers on the expedition had suggested sailing south-west to between thirty and thirty-five degrees south with the aim of encountering the mythical continent sooner and in more moderate climes, Quirós ordered a westerly heading between eight and fifteen degrees within the tropical zone in a similar latitude to *Taprobana*. Upon locating the island of Espiritu Santo (Vanuatu) at fifteen degrees south, Quirós was certain that they had arrived at the right location for founding his idyllic society on an outlying island of Terra Australis. Not only had he found a great harbour that could accommodate 1,000 ships just below the equator, but also on its southern shore there was an expansive jungle plain like that mentioned in the *City of the Sun*. Upon this extraordinary island he aimed to establish an idyllic society that would become so advanced socially, intellectually, and spiritually they also would become the model for the rest of the world. Thus, the argument can be made that Campanella and Quirós shared a similar vision about developing an advanced ideal society and that it would be built in the southern tropics and was based upon a prophetic/astrological rationale. In his declaration of possession, Quirós asserted:

Finally, I take possession of this bay, named the Bay of St Philip and St James, and of its port named Santa Cruz, and of the site on which is to be founded the city of New Jerusalem, in latitude 15 10', and of all the lands which I sighted and am going to sight, and of all this region of the south as far as the Pole, which from this time shall be called *Australia del Espiritu Santo*.²⁶

Campanella's characterisation of Solarian society was inconsistent when it came to determining whether they were influenced by neo-pagan or Judeo-Christian ideas. Initially, the *City of the Sun* describes the religious beliefs of the Solarian inhabitants in terms that would have led readers to conclude that they were likely neo-pagans. At the beginning of his 'Poetical Dialogue,' they were defined as a people who worshipped the Sun²⁷; had a temple that honoured astrology²⁸; elevated the deities of ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome²⁹; and perceived sexual relations as a utilitarian act rather than one underscored by love.³⁰ Whether the description of the Solarians was thought of as literal or symbolic, it suggested they followed a philosophy divergent from Christian values. However, as he developed

the narrative in the *City of the Sun*, Campanella clarified elements about the Solarians revealing that they followed principles that were much closer to Abrahamic or Christian values than he initially suggested.

For instance, upon close examination, it becomes evident that Solarian society worshipped the Abrahamic or Christian God. Given their geographical location, it is reasonable to argue that the Solarians could have been portrayed as worshipping any number of gods. There were Sumatran tribes in the vicinity that engaged in ancestor worship. There were kingdoms in the Moluccas region that were adherents of Islam. There were also parts of the archipelago where the Portuguese and the Dutch practised versions of Christianity. Campanella reveals numerous times in his text that the Solarians worshipped God with a capital *G*, not neo-pagan gods with a lowercase *g*. The only god that Campanella would have deemed worthy of meriting the delineation of the capital *G* was the God of Abraham and of Jesus of Nazareth. As his narrative progressed, Campanella lessened his initial misleading references that suggested they worshipped the stars or the sun rather than God. As he further developed his story, he revealed that the people of the city of Sol worshipped the Judeo-Christian God. In what is a key paragraph for understanding whom the Solarians worshipped, he wrote:

They honour the sun and the stars as living things, as images of God, and as celestial temples; but they do not worship them, though they honour the sun above the rest. No creature but God do they deem worthy of *Latria* [Supreme worship allowed to God alone], and Him they serve under the sign of the Sun which is the symbol and visage of God from Whom comes light and warmth and every other thing.³¹

Campanella also implied that the Solarians believed God's eternal plan was Messianic. In addition to believing in the Abrahamic God, the narrative in the *City of the Sun* depicts the inhabitants as believing that human society would imminently be transformed. Campanella reveals that whilst they were interested in the end of the world and what Jesus of Nazareth said about the stars,³² they were also awaiting the renewal of the world³³ and believed in the dire consequences of Adam's sin making a Messiah necessary.³⁴ Furthermore, there are also reasons for arguing that the Solarians accepted the central Christian philosophy that the death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth took away the sins of the world. During the Jewish atonement ritual that took place in the Solarian temple as described in the *City of the Sun*, the human sin offering was metaphorically sacrificed and not literally killed.³⁵ If Campanella had wanted to portray the Solarians as not believing in the sacrifice that Christ undertook once and for all time, he would most likely have described the astonishing ritual ending with a literal animal sacrifice as carried out in Judaism, which held to the mantra that remission of sin could only occur with the shedding of (sacrificial) blood.³⁶ As a result, I would argue that rather than the Solarians reflecting an advanced form of neo-paganism, Campanella thought of them as neo-Roman Catholics. He argued that the Solarians were very close to Christianity, and 'once its abuses are corrected it [Christianity] will become the

mistress of the world.³⁷ Campanella encapsulated what the Solarians anticipated was about to take place on the earth by divine providence:

after the appearance of the new star in Cassiopeia, there will be a great new monarchy, reformation of laws and of arts, new prophets, and a general renewal. They [the Solarians] say that all this will be of great benefit to the Christians, but first the world will be uprooted and cleansed, and then it will be replanted and rebuilt.³⁸

In his *Memorials*, Quirós also depicted the idyllic society on Terra Australis as practising a new form of Roman Catholicism. In the tradition of Christopher Columbus, Quirós regarded himself as the bringer of the true religion to the masses of the Great South Land. However, his assumption that the End Time had begun also coincided with the expectation that the Roman Catholic Church would undergo significant changes. The new Catholicism that the people of Terra Australis would experience was different to the church in Europe and the Americas, although eventually renovation would also come to them. In a similar way to the Solarians, the new era in Catholicism would assume a Messianic focus as it became more and more apparent to all, including church leaders, that the End Time had arrived. Quirós argued that the Church and State would have to ‘tear out’ the old ways of managing the devotees that God had entrusted to them.³⁹ The transformation of the Church would be characterised by experiencing miraculous works,⁴⁰ and the needs of society would be met by rigorous application of Christian values such as love, virtue, justice, and charity,⁴¹ leading to physical and spiritual renewal reminiscent of the idyllic conditions that existed in Eden before the fall.⁴² As Campanella had written in relation to Solarian expectations, the new Catholicism that Quirós anticipated in Terra Australis would be at the centre of ‘uprooting and cleansing’ and then ‘replanting and rebuilding’⁴³ the world as God had originally planned. Thus, it can be argued that the new Catholicism Quirós anticipated for the inhabitants of Terra Australis Incognita shared numerous elements of the religion practised by Campanella’s metaphorical Solarians.

Campanella portrayed his Solarian society as one that had overcome the social challenges faced by most of humanity. Throughout many of his works, he lamented the social ills that plagued the world. In his various texts, he mentioned issues such as abuse of power, poverty, vice, and idleness. However, in the *City of the Sun*, Solarian society had developed the capacity to overcome social challenges to the benefit of all its citizens. He wrote not only about the methods needed to produce an advanced society, such as selective breeding and ‘sharing all things in common,’ but also about the idyllic outcomes it would produce. Campanella characterised the Solarians as an ordered and peaceful—near-idyllic—culture. He described them as ‘surrounded by so many friends, brothers, sisters, mothers and children, they all live together in mutual love and respect.’⁴⁴ He further stated that ‘theft, rape and incest adultery crimes of which some among us are Guilty do not exist amongst them,’⁴⁵ there was no idleness,⁴⁶ and ‘no jealousy and no poverty [which] makes men liars, false witnesses, thieves and outlaws.’⁴⁷ The Solarians were also a society

that valued navigation,⁴⁸ were not warmongers,⁴⁹ had a distinctive polity,⁵⁰ and expected to transfer the secrets of their way of life to the rest of the world.⁵¹

Quirós characterised the idyllic society he would establish on Terra Australis in terms that were near-identical to the Solarians. The people of Terra Australis were to function on a higher spiritual and physical plane than society in Europe and the Americas. Quirós highlighted the influence of the End Time and rigorous application of Bible principles as the underpinning reasons for spiritual and physical transformation.⁵² Like Campanella's Solarian society, which 'shared all things in common,' Quirós underscored that the ideal society of Terra Australis would be egalitarian. For instance, he claimed that local inhabitants and Europeans would enjoy the same 'riches and possessions'⁵³ and all citizens would 'benefit from good government and from God.'⁵⁴ Furthermore, there would be no 'poor people' in his southern paradise,⁵⁵ they would experience next to no crime,⁵⁶ and idleness would be fervently avoided.⁵⁷ Campanella's and Quirós's idyllic societies also shared a common view of the strategic role they would play in the world. Quirós's utopian society included an outward global focus centred on navigation,⁵⁸ its people had a bias towards peace rather than war,⁵⁹ they would be governed by a distinctive political establishment led by an individual called *El Legal* with some resonance to the Solarian metaphysician rather than a monarchy or a republic,⁶⁰ and they would possess the self-belief that their idyllic way of life would be exported to the rest of the world.⁶¹

The similarities between the utopian Solarian and Terra Australis societies further supports the argument of a link between the works of Campanella and the Memorials of Quirós. Deciphering Campanella's obfuscation about the religion of the Solarians is key to interpreting their true values and practices. Evidence allows for the interpretation that claims of Solarian activities that were contrary to Abrahamic religion, such as astrology, sexual liberty, and human sacrifices, were aimed at confusing the uninitiated reader. A close examination of Solarian society through the paradigm of their actual religious beliefs permits an argument that their worship, culture, and global vision were Abrahamic and neo-Roman Catholic, closely resembling the society and religion that Quirós envisaged would occupy Terra Australis. Campanella was notorious for his use of dissimulation or concealment within his writings and in his actions.⁶² It would be no surprise if he used similar methods to obscure what he believed were sacred or strategic secrets from heretics and the enemies of the Church. The uncanny similarities between Campanella's Solarian culture and Quirós's Terra Australis society provide support for the argument that the *City of the Sun* does contain within it the objectives of the universal monarchy and the Quirós Memorials are able to shed light on what they were. In the next section, I examine another instance of evidence for a link between Quirós and Campanella, by comparing the city in the *City of the Sun* and the Quirós city of New Jerusalem.

Contrasting the city in the *City of the Sun* with Quirós's city of New Jerusalem

The city in the *City of the Sun* reflected the archetype of an idyllic city. Campanella wrote his text in such a way that the city of Sol overshadowed most if not all

aspects of Solarian life. The city was at the heart of Solarian society and the central theme in Campanella's text. It was the iconic centrepiece that defined both the conscious and subconscious identities of Solarian people. At a subliminal level, the city's culture, aesthetics, spirituality, and control made it the symbol with which the population vicariously identified. At a more obvious level, the role of politics, religion, and education emphasised what the culture had discovered, developed, and achieved. It was a planned city with a singularly attractive design dominating the landscape without additions or modifications. Furthermore, to underscore the primacy of the city's spiritual significance, its Abrahamic religion engaged in worship influenced by Jewish temple rituals and appraised 'insights' from numerous other faiths in one of the world's greatest shrines. Thus, the city and its operations more than met the physical, spiritual, and emotional needs of its citizens and assisted in the process of achieving an idyllic state.

The New Jerusalem described in the Quirós Memorials was also an archetype of the ideal city. One of the most extraordinary aims that Quirós was determined to achieve was to build the city of New Jerusalem on the island of Espíritu Santo. In Christianity and Judaism, New Jerusalem was thought of as the archetypal city because it was determined to be the city of God. Generally, in amillennial Christianity, New Jerusalem was imagined as inhabiting the spirit realm. The souls of the departed judged worthy of eternal life were said to ascend to New Jerusalem. On the other hand, in Messianic Christianity, of which Quirós and Campanella were adherents, New Jerusalem was imagined as variously constructed on earth, descending from heaven to earth or an existing earthly city transformed to play that role. In a similar way to Campanella's idyllic city of Sol, New Jerusalem would afford inhabitants a lifestyle of such exalted standards that Quirós felt it was beyond him to put into words.⁶³ It would educate its citizens, including the Indigenous people, by love, faithfulness, and moderation,⁶⁴ and it would be the centre of a new form of benevolent government headed by *El Legal*⁶⁵ and would include an elevated Catholicism practised at an extraordinary temple to rival St. Peter's in Rome.⁶⁶ Like Campanella, Quirós imagined that New Jerusalem would be a planned city, perfect from its inception, a global icon not to be added to in the future. It would be a holy site for an elevated Roman Catholic religion, and as the spiritual and physical pre-eminence of New Jerusalem society became known worldwide and imitated, the city's unique role and fame would extend globally. In one of many of his references to New Jerusalem, Quirós expressed his conviction in the 48th Memorial:

I will truly give the start to a city which has to be the head and the model of all the ones that have to be in those parts, and that the temples of God, the beauty, adornment and service they give be such that they captivate and enthuse the gentiles, in a similar way charity will be exercised and spiritual and temporal government, so that later, there be no reason for regret, neither will it need to be reformed, neither will it owe and payment needed, rather it will win and win more.⁶⁷

Campanella's city of Sol was to have an enormous temple with elements derivative of Judaism. The Solarian links to ancient Jewish religion and temple worship were reflected in the ritualistic practices in the temple of Sol. The physical design of the Solarian temple was opposite to the temples that occupied Mount Moriah in Jerusalem across many centuries. The Jewish temple was rectangular with two compartments called the Holy and the Most Holy. In contrast, the Solarian temple was circular, apparently without compartmentalised sections.

However, the deity being worshipped in the temple of the *City of the Sun* was the God of Abraham. The leading Solarian priest wore the robes of Aaron, the first Jewish high priest,⁶⁸ and took 'the sins of the Solarians' upon himself, so to speak, as was done on the Jewish 'Day of Atonement.'⁶⁹ Campanella also alluded to the high priest being a king in the manner of Melchizedek, which is a concept with Messianic significance for Judaism and Christianity,⁷⁰ and the idea of 'continuous service,' which is also related to Jewish temple worship.⁷¹ The Day of Atonement ceremony entailed distinctive annual rites based upon the Mosaic Law, where the high priest sacrificed numerous animals to seek forgiveness of his own sins and the collective sins of the nation. Campanella's description of the rites in the Solarian temple followed closely along the lines of the annual Jewish festival. However, in one significant departure from Jewish tradition and a nod to Christianity, there was no literal shedding of sacrificial blood in the ceremony. The 'human sacrifice' was raised on a platform into the upper vault of the temple where he stayed for twenty or thirty days before being released to the care of family and friends. As Campanella writes: 'But in any case, he [the so-called human sacrifice] is always loved and honoured thereafter by all the people because he offered to die for them, but God did not wish his death.'⁷² Such theatrics in the Solarian temple are reminiscent of depicting the redemption of Jesus the Messiah. Christians believe that Christ died once and for all time; thus, after his death and resurrection, blood sacrifice was no longer necessary. The distinctive atonement ritual of the Solarians supports the interpretation that the 'human sacrifice' elevated on a platform in their temple alluded to the sacrificial death and resurrection of Jesus. The release of the victim after twenty or thirty days was a reference to the price Jesus had paid for sins past, present, and future and that God deemed that no further human sacrifice for forgiveness of sin was needed. The message in Campanella's cryptic *City of the Sun* narrative, I would argue, is that Solarian worship represented a new transformed Catholicism and their temple alluded to a Jewish-inspired shrine as also anticipated in the New Jerusalem that Quirós wanted to build on the island of Espíritu Santo.

Quirós also implied that in New Jerusalem there would be a new manifestation of the ancient Jewish temple. In the book of Revelation, the city of New Jerusalem is not said to contain a central temple. However, in later elaborations of what New Jerusalem would be like, the notion of a temple was added.⁷³ One possible reason is that for centuries, Jerusalem in Palestine was thought to have been the most likely choice to become New Jerusalem. The ancient city had played the role of God's holy city by virtue of, amongst other things, its sacred temple to Yahweh. However, the final incarnation of the temple remodelled by Herod the Great (ca 20 BCE) was destroyed by the Romans in 70 CE and never rebuilt. Thus, perhaps it

was perceived as appropriate by Christians in subsequent centuries that upon old Jerusalem becoming New Jerusalem during the End Time, a new temple influenced by Ezekiel's visionary temple might be constructed.⁷⁴ In his Memorials, Quirós mentions the construction of a central church in New Jerusalem but was wary about describing the structure as a temple with Jewish roots. He mentioned the uniqueness of New Jerusalem to the idyllic hegemony that Catholicism and Spain would implement.⁷⁵ He repeatedly attested to the idea that he believed this project was the most elevated and sacred since the beginning of all time.⁷⁶ He spoke of the inhabitants of Espíritu Santo as being workers in marble, a key skill when building New Jerusalem and its significant central church.⁷⁷ He had dealings in Rome with Jesuit priest Juan Bautista Villalpando who had been the co-architect of a version of Ezekiel's visionary temple that Philip II of Spain aimed to build.⁷⁸ However, in his description of the main church in New Jerusalem, Quirós did not elaborate on the role it would play. He wrote only that:

Afterwards it will be endeavoured to initiate the founding of the city, its location (on) the banks of the river and the sea as is stated . . . in the center [square], from which have to branch out twelve streets, will be located the principal church, the houses of Your Majesty and those of the Municipality.⁷⁹

It was another key member of his expedition that shed more light on the significance of the main church that Quirós aimed to build. Don Diego de Prado y Tovar was an engineer and city builder on the expedition who ended up criticising Quirós and what he had aimed to initiate. In Prado's report, it becomes clear that Quirós aimed to build a temple in his antipodean New Jerusalem influenced by the same Jewish temple worship engaged in Campanella's Solarian temple.⁸⁰

The argument that the city of the Sun represented the New Jerusalem can also be made based on logical deduction and Campanella's statements. Whilst initially seeking to portray the Solarians as sun worshippers, as he developed the narrative Campanella inverted such a view. He justified misleading his readers by arguing that the Solarians worshipped God through the visage or form of the sun but did not worship the sun as their god. Therefore, the word 'Sun' in the title of Campanella's text could be substituted by the word 'God.' Thus, a synonymous name for Campanella's masterpiece text could be the 'City of God.' The phrase 'City of God' is also another name for the New Jerusalem. Thus, I contend that even in the title of his text, Campanella could have been hinting that the city in the *City of the Sun* represented the New Jerusalem. Throughout the texts written by Campanella, there are several statements that can be interpreted as referring to New Jerusalem. For example, in the context of the present line of enquiry, it is possible to interpret a declaration Campanella made in the *Monarchy of Spain* as anticipating the mythical city:

And although some Fathers sustain by means of an anagogic interpretation that only in heaven will be realized and reconciled future community, nevertheless the Fathers cited above with whom I agree allow for a literal

interpretation according to which some sort of prelude of the heavenly city is already to be realized on earth.⁸¹

Although most commentators would likely interpret ‘some sort of heavenly city is already to be realised on earth’ as meaning the Roman Catholic Church, it is possible given the evidence advanced in this chapter that he was making veiled reference to the city of New Jerusalem. Furthermore, Jean Paul de Lucca argues that Campanella held to a maxim that revealed an interest in building the New Jerusalem on earth. He claims that Campanella imagined that old Jerusalem in Palestine would be transformed into New Jerusalem, an idea that numerous other commentators such as Christopher Columbus had put forward.⁸² De Lucca writes:

Campanella’s chosen motto, ‘Propter Sion non tacebo’ [For the sake of Zion I will . . .] reflects much of what he had absorbed from the Calabrian fascination with Jerusalem and its emergence as the ‘new Jerusalem’ and this, according to Campanella would happen when all nation unite in that city during the golden century as Isaiah had prophesied.⁸³

Campanella also perceived the *City of the Sun* as playing a hegemonic role in world history. The Knight Hospitaller and the Genoese sailor are depicted as being astounded by the advanced society the Solarians had developed. Their achievements in the fields of scientific knowledge, political governance, and social stability were far superior when compared to the nations of Europe at the time. Whilst they were prepared to engage culturally with other nations, their manner reflected that they perceived themselves as benevolently superior. The Solarian leadership took a close interest in ‘the welfare of the city and of other nations of the world.’⁸⁴ Although they were not inclined towards hostility, upon engaging in warfare and defeating their enemies they imposed Solarian-style government upon them: ‘The conquered cities and those surrendered to the victors immediately changed over to the system of communal ownership of all goods.’⁸⁵ Thus, the primary aim of the Solarians in the context of the End Time was that ‘the whole world would eventually bring itself to live the way that they do.’⁸⁶

In a similar way, Quirós perceived that New Jerusalem would also play a hegemonic role. New Jerusalem would be a utopian city with an idyllic society. He described the society as superior but benevolent to the world around it. It was to be a model for the future civilisation that under the influence of theocracy would be exported globally. They were going to build ships and send armies to vanquish the enemies of Spain and Catholicism, promulgating their perfect society to the rest of the world as the Solarians also expected to do. In his 30th Memorial, Quirós stated that the idyllic society of New Jerusalem would underwrite the global dominion of Spain and the Roman Catholic Church:

Those people [the inhabitants of New Jerusalem] could also defend the Church of God and have it triumph with great glory against all those who in a rage pursue her; and not only this, they could make the church grow, in such

a way that in the whole circle of the earth, known or still to be found, would God our Lord be known, believed in, adored and belong to all his creatures, and all of this would work much better being guided, led and helped by ourselves, or better said, by God.⁸⁷

Both the visions of Campanella and Quirós are couched with the intent to maintain a level of secrecy. I contend, given the numerous similarities in the primary sources, that it is likely that the Quirós Memorials reveal Campanella's arcane details and the Spanish Crown's actual global agenda in relation to Terra Australis Incognita, New Jerusalem, and the role of its ideal society. On the other hand, Campanella's *City of the Sun* enunciates the same agenda allegorically. Quirós outlined that he was aware that his expedition and its agenda, especially in relation to finding the southern continent, founding New Jerusalem, and establishing its idyllic society, were a secret. He argued that they needed to remain confidential because if the English or the Dutch became aware of Spain's agenda, New Jerusalem might be attacked and taken⁸⁸; the Pacific colonies of Spain in America and the Philippines could become vulnerable to attack⁸⁹; the Protestants would spread the 'Black Legend,' making it harder to persuade the Indigenous to Catholicism⁹⁰; and in the end, the re-conquest of Terra Australis would be expensive in terms of lives and finances.

The numerous examples of convergence between both visions also support the interpretation that Campanella used literary devices in the *City of the Sun* to obscure New Jerusalem, its idyllic society in Terra Australis, and its role in the grand plan of the universal monarchy. For instance, he may have used antiphrasis or opposites as a literary device.⁹¹ He may have described the city as circular when he really meant square, their deity as the sun when he really meant God, and their philosophy as underpinned by astrology, Egyptian, and Roman gods when he really meant the Book of Scripture and the Book of Nature. He may also have used a device known in theological research as 'types and antitypes.'⁹² For instance, the Solarian high priest may have represented the Pope, the 'human sacrifice' may have represented Jesus's death and resurrection, and the *City of the Sun* as New Jerusalem. He may also have used exaggeration and hyperbole as a device to point any uninitiated readers in the wrong direction. The Gospels contain the account of Jesus of Nazareth using hyperbole stating that believers would have to 'eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood,' a notion offensive to his Apostles and the Jewish audience he was speaking to, as a means of revealing the motives of his listeners.⁹³ Campanella may have used references to sexual liberty, neo-pagan deities, astrology, and even control over procreation to make appear profane what in reality was a sacred secret. Thus, the emphasis on secrecy in the visions of both Campanella and Quirós is another reason for suggesting there is a link between the two authors.

In conclusion, Campanella's Solarian culture and the idyllic society of Quirós coincide in several important ways. Both authors described their societies as developing in a near-identical geographical location in eastern Asia just south of the Equator. Both visions are set upon an island close to the imagined Terra

Australis in an idyllic city upon an expansive jungle plain. On close examination, it can be argued that both societies share similar values. Furthermore, upon a critical reading of Campanella's text, the Solarians turn out to believe in the Abrahamic God, the imminence of the end of the world, and their central role in transforming the globe into a better place, just like the people that Quirós anticipated. Both societies are defined by having developed enlightened and benevolent methods of meeting the physical, emotional, and spiritual needs of their citizens.

Campanella's city in the *City of the Sun* bears uncanny similarity to Quirós's New Jerusalem. This chapter has shone more light on the proposition suggested by some historians that Campanella's city of the Sun symbolises the holy city of New Jerusalem. For instance, both cities are described in such a way that reflects their archetypal roles; they are both idealised cities with singular architectural designs, and they are portrayed as cities the world would look to for guidance in achieving the highest order in any endeavour. They are cities that captivated the conscious and unconscious lives of their citizens. Both cities are said to have pre-eminent centres of Abrahamic and neo-Roman Catholic worship. They also feature political institutions that were distinct from what was common in the early modern period and were successful in maintaining idyllic societies. Both cities were described as playing a hegemonic role in world affairs. The *City of the Sun* would export its idyllic culture to the rest of the world, and the New Jerusalem would do the same, helping fulfil the physical and spiritual elevation of humanity in preparation for the Second Coming.

This chapter has examined evidence that provides a possible explanation for the *City of the Sun*'s distinctive literary genre. The Quirós Memorials highlight reasons that Campanella might have wanted to keep the idea of New Jerusalem and an idyllic society in Terra Australis hidden. Quirós raised concerns about the maritime inroads the enemies of Spain were making into the Pacific Ocean in the early seventeenth century. He feared the implications of the English or Dutch discovering Espiritu Santo and the Great South Land before Spain had the opportunity to establish its idyllic society. He was afraid that all of Spain's colonies on the Pacific rim would be vulnerable to attack, the people of the Pacific would be swayed by anti-Catholic propaganda, and the fulfilment of God's plan for Terra Australis would be delayed. It is reasonable to argue that Campanella's intent at obscuring what he proposed for the southern continent could have been motivated by the same concerns. Thus, the strategic perils of the time and the sanctity of his intended plan may have contributed to his style of allegorical writing. A close examination of the *City of the Sun* identifies literary devices that Campanella may have adopted to aid the obfuscation of his utopian agenda. The numerous areas where Campanella's and Quirós's visions coincide help shed new light on the possible aim of the *City of the Sun* and provide further support for the argument that the ideas of both authors are connected. In the next chapter, I will examine an additional link between Campanella and Quirós by elaborating upon the leading political and religious figures with whom they both had direct contact.

Notes

- 1 Manuel and Manuel, *Utopian Thought*, 265.
- 2 Headly, *Tommaso Campanella*, xvii (preface).
- 3 Ernst, *Tommaso Campanella*, 89.
- 4 Campanella, *City of the Sun*, 113.
- 5 Campanella, 132, n. 28.
- 6 Demaray, *Book of the Cosmos*, 67.
- 7 Morrison, "Symbol of the City," 101.
- 8 Campanella, *City of the Sun*, 21.
- 9 Campanella, 14.
- 10 Manuel and Manuel, *Utopian Thought*, 268.
- 11 Manuel and Manuel, 273.
- 12 Haugen, "Campanella," 602–20.
- 13 Campanella, *City of the Sun*, 17.
- 14 Eamon, "Natural Magic and Utopia," 379.
- 15 Bonansea, *Tommaso Campanella*, 275.
- 16 Renna, "City of the Sun," 13.
- 17 Manuel and Manuel, *Utopian Thought*, 279.
- 18 Campanella, *City of the Sun*, 14.
- 19 Ernst, *Tommaso Campanella*, 95.
- 20 Campanella, *Thomas Campanella*, 30.
- 21 De Lucca, "Prophetic Representation," 388.
- 22 Campanella, *City of the Sun*, 15.
- 23 Campanella, 27. Some commentators believe *Taprobana* is related to Sri Lanka. However, that island is twenty degrees north of the equator and does not fit with the latitudes given by Campanella of five degrees south.
- 24 Collingridge, *First Discovery*, 28–29.
- 25 Campanella, *City of the Sun*, 125.
- 26 The 40th Memorial of Quirós (English translation) in Roure, *16th Century Spanish Plan*, 249.
- 27 Campanella, *City of the Sun*, 101.
- 28 Campanella, 31.
- 29 Campanella, 37.
- 30 Campanella, 55.
- 31 Campanella, 109. Latria: (in the Roman Catholic Church) supreme worship allowed to God alone.
- 32 Campanella, 109.
- 33 Campanella, 109.
- 34 Campanella, 119.
- 35 Campanella, 103.
- 36 Hebrews 9:22 (DRB).
- 37 Campanella, *City of the Sun*, 121.
- 38 Campanella, 123.
- 39 Pinochet de la Barra, *Pedro Fernández de Quirós*, 393: "*para salvar lo que mas importa, se debe despreciar la mano y pie, y aun el hijo, (ojo ¿) a los cuales tan natural afecto tenemos.*" "To save what is most important, we have to give up our hand and foot and even the eye, toward which we feel such natural affection." (Ojo and hijo are similar in Spanish. Scripture in Matt 18:7–10 states eye/ojo.)
- 40 Pinochet de la Barra, 274: "*salvo si lo fuera por milagro*"; "what a blessing if it occurred by a miracle."
- 41 Pinochet de la Barra, 278: "*muy riguroso juicio; como las puertas estarán abiertas y francas a la virtud con grandes premios; y como la caridad ser fervorosamente ejercitada*"; "very rigorous justice, like the door will always be open to virtue with great rewards; and charity will be fervently exercised."

- 42 Pinochet de la Barra, 295: “*descubrir un mundo que sea nuevo en todo*”; “discover a world that was new in all things.”
- 43 Campanella, *City of the Sun*, 123.
- 44 Campanella, 51.
- 45 Campanella, 41.
- 46 Campanella, 47.
- 47 Campanella, 65.
- 48 Campanella, 87.
- 49 Campanella, 79.
- 50 Campanella, 33.
- 51 Campanella, 105.
- 52 Campanella’s rationale for transformation in the *City of the Sun* is ambivalent. However, in the *Monarchy of Spain*, his basis for global transformation is explicitly explained and near-identical to the Quirós Memorials.
- 53 Pinochet de la Barra, *Pedro Fernández de Quirós*, 257: “*Gozara las riquezas y comodidades apuntadas.*” “[They] will enjoy the riches and possessions mentioned.”
- 54 Pinochet de la Barra, 283: “*con el buen gobierno lo serán (crecidos) tanto más andando el tiempo cuanto se deja bien entender, y todo esto se verá si Dios y V.M. me ayudan.*” “With good governance their (progress) will be noted even more and better understood if God and Your Majesty help me.”
- 55 Pinochet de la Barra, 294.
- 56 Pinochet de la Barra, 344.
- 57 Pinochet de la Barra, 138.
- 58 The 40th Memorial of Quirós (English translation) in Roure, *16th Century Spanish Plan*, 233.
- 59 The 40th Memorial of Quirós (English translation) in Roure, 187.
- 60 The 40th Memorial of Quirós (English translation) in Roure, 209.
- 61 Pinochet de la Barra, *Pedro Fernández de Quirós*, 192–93: “que en toda la redondez de la tierra.” “In all of the earthly globe.”
- 62 Campanella, *Thomas Campanella*, 30.
- 63 The 40th Memorial of Quirós (English translation) in Roure, *16th Century Spanish Plan*, 157.
- 64 The 40th Memorial of Quirós (English translation) in Roure, 191.
- 65 The 40th Memorial of Quirós (English translation) in Roure, 209.
- 66 Stevens and Barwick, *New Light*, 174.
- 67 Pinochet de la Barra, *Pedro Fernández de Quirós*, 356:

Dar muy de veras principio a una ciudad que ha de ser la cabeza y el dechado de todas las que ha de haber en aquellas partes, y que los templos de Dios, la hermosura, adorno y servicio dellos sean tales que arrebaten y aficionen a los gentiles, y de tal manera la caridad ejercitada y el gobierno espiritual y temporal, que después no haya por qué arrepentir, ni qué reformar, ni qué deber y pagar, sino ganar y más ganar.

- 68 Campanella, *City of the Sun*, 107.
- 69 Campanella, 101.
- 70 Campanella, 31–33. He is both their spiritual and temporal chief.
- 71 Campanella, 105.
- 72 Campanella, 103.
- 73 Ramírez, *Dios Arquitecto*, 173. In 1596, Jesuits Juan Bautista Villalpando and Gerónimo de Prado, who served at the Vatican, published the first volume of *In Ezechielem explanationes et apparatus vrbis ac templi Hierosolymitan*, which included plans for constructing in the city of Jerusalem the temple of God described in the book of Ezeiel. The intended use of Villalpando and Prado’s plans was eschatological, and they

anticipated that their structure would be constructed in a glorified Jerusalem in Palestine. As Ramírez argues,

No sería exagerado pensar que desde un principio los padres Juan Bautista Villalpando y Gerónimo de Prado, [not Don diego de Prado] con su reconstrucción del Templo, perseguirían un fin escatológico. En una carta escrita por Villalpando en 1597 al futuro Felipe III, el jesuita expresa el deseo de que las laminas que se habían hecho de la ciudad de Jerusalén y del Templo le alentaran a emular el valor la sabiduría de sus gloriosos antepasados, los reyes David y Salomón, y a emprender algún día la reconquista de los Santos Lugares.

It is also important to note that Villalpando was one of the eminent individuals who in 1600 evaluated and approved Quirós's original plans, which he claims included the establishment of New Jerusalem.

74 Ezekiel 40:1–4 (DRB).

75 The 40th Memorial of Quirós (English translation) in Roure, *16th Century Spanish Plan*, 63.

76 The 40th Memorial of Quirós (English translation) in Roure, 71.

77 The 40th Memorial of Quirós (English translation) in Roure, 79.

78 The 40th Memorial of Quirós (English translation) in Roure, 78.

79 The 40th Memorial of Quirós (English translation) in Roure, 194.

80 Stevens and Barwick, *New Light*, 123.

81 Headley, *Tommaso Campanella*, 39. Quoting Campanella found in Firpo, Masoero, and Zaccaria, *Autobiografie di filosofi*, 166–67.

82 The 40th Memorial of Quirós (English translation) in Roure, *16th Century Spanish Plan*, 91.

83 De Lucca, “Prophetic Representation,” 399–400.

84 Campanella, *City of the Sun*, 105.

85 Campanella, 77.

86 Campanella, 87.

87 Pinochet de la Barra, *Pedro Fernández de Quirós*, 212–13:

Pudieran más aquellas gentes defender la Iglesia de Dios y hacer que con muy grande gloria suya triunfase de todos cuantos rabiosamente persiguen; y no sólo esto, sino crecerla, de tal manera que en toda la redondez de la tierra sabida y por saber, fuera Dios Nuestro Señor conocido, creído, adorado y ser de todas sus criaturas, y todo esto se hiciera mucho mejor siendo guiados, acaudillados y ayudados de los nuestros, o por más propio decir, de Dios.

88 The 40th Memorial of Quirós (English translation) in Roure, *16th Century Spanish Plan*, 171.

89 The 40th Memorial of Quirós (English translation) in Roure, 171.

90 The 40th Memorial of Quirós (English translation) in Roure, 172.

91 Antiphrasis [an-tif-ra-sis], a *FIGURE OF SPEECH in which a single word is used in a sense directly opposite to its usual meaning, as in the naming of a giant as “Tiny” or of an enemy as “friend”; the briefest form of *IRONY. Adjective: antiphrastic.

92 Type, a fictional character who stands as a representative of some identifiable class or group of people.

93 John 6:54, 68–69:

Then Jesus said to them: Amen, amen I say unto you: Except you eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life: and I will raise him up in the last day . . . Then Jesus said to the twelve: Will you also go away? And Simon Peter answered him: Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life.

(DRB)

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