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The Concept of *Panaugia* according to Francesco Patrizi and John Amos Comenius*

ABSTRACT: The paper deals with the question of the relation between Francesco Patrizi and John Amos Comenius, especially in the regard to the metaphysics of light and its concept *panaugia*. It is without doubt that Comenius adopted the basic principles of his conception of the metaphysics of light from Patrizi. The light is crucial not only for the metaphysics of both authors; it also figures as a central part of their epistemological conceptions, which are *de facto* identical. Although Patrizi and Comenius deal with the concept *panaugia* and understand the metaphysics of light in the same sense, they differ in their further handling of it. While Patrizi focuses on the natural-philosophical aspect of *panaugia*, Comenius further elaborates the epistemological and *panorthotical* aspect of the metaphysics of light.

KEYWORDS: Francesco Patrizi • John Amos Comenius • the metaphysics of light • *panaugia* • *panorthosia*

Francesco Patrizi

Patrizi's *Panaugia* is the first part of his greatest work, *Nova de universis philosophia*, which was published for the first time in 1591 in Ferrara.¹ However, the whole text of *Panaugia* had already been written in 1588 – that is a good while before the other three parts of *Nova de universis philosophia*

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¹ F. Patricius, *Nova de universis philosophia, in qua Aristotelica methodo, non per motum, sed per lucem, et lumina, ad primam causam ascenditur. Deinde propria Patricii methodo, tota in contemplationem venit Divinitas. Postremo methodo Platonica, rerum universitatis, a conditore Deo deducitur*, Ferrariae, 1591. Second edition, Venice 1593. Further quoted as *Nova de universis philosophia* or *NUP*. In the textual apparatus I refer to each quotation from the work using abbreviated notation, e.g. *NUP* I, 2, 14b, where the first Roman numeral stands for one of the four books of *Nova de universis philosophia*, the second, Arabic numeral stands for the chapter number, and, finally, the third, Arabic numeral refers to the original pagination and the particular column in the original text (a–d).

(*Panarchia*, *Pampsychia*, *Pancosmia*) were finished.² This, alone, could give us a valid reason for why we can analyse *Panaugia* separately. While the content of all four books of Patrizi's magnum opus are inseparably interconnected, we have to analyse and describe *Panaugia* as the most integral part of the *NUP*. Therefore, let me first provide an introduction of the *Nova de universis philosophia* as a whole.³

If we look into the very beginning of Patrizi's greatest work (meaning the first book of *Panaugia*), we find the following text:

Ante Primum, nihil. Post Primum, omnia. A Principio, omnia. Ab Uno, omnia. A Bono, omnia. A Deo, Uno Trino omnia. Deus, Bonum, Unum, Principium, Primum, idem. Ab Uno, Unitas primaria. Ab Unitate primaria, Unitates omnes. Ab Unitatibus, Essentiae. Ab Essentiis, Vitae. A Vitis, Mentis. A Mentibus, Animi. Ab Animis, Naturae. A Naturis, Qualitates. A Qualitatibus, Formae. A Formis, Corpora. Haec omnia sunt in Spacio. Haec omnia sunt in Lumine. Haec omnia sunt in Calore.⁴

This is how Patrizi introduced the basis of his philosophical conception which will be specified in the following parts of the work. We can highlight the fourth sentence of the aforementioned quotation which says *Ab uno, omnia*, and consider it to be a central point to Patrizi's philosophical system: All that exists is a consequence of the emanation from the only one beginning – the One – that is – in regard to Patrizi's terminology – *un'omnia*. The One, or the very beginning, subsequently spreads into plurality. The following descending grades of hierarchy of being therefore are *unitates* – *essentia* – *vita* and *intellectus*.⁵ They are non-corporeal, imperishable, ontologically independent and immutable.⁶

On the other hand, the four lowest grades of Patrizi's picture of the universe (*natura* – *qualitas* – *forma* – *corpus*) have the very opposite qualities: they

² B. Brickman, *An Introduction to Francesco Patrizi's Nova de Universis Philosophia*, Columbia University Press, New York 1941, p. 26; Ž. Dadić, *Franjo Petriš i njegova prirodnofilozofska i prirodnoznanstvena misao / Franciscus Patricius and His Natural Philosophical and Natural Scientific Thought*, Školska knjiga, Zagreb 2000, p. 43.

³ Ž. Dadić, *Franjo Petriš...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 and 47.

⁴ *NUP* I, 1, 1a–b.

⁵ *NUP* I, 1, 1a; *NUP* II, 11, 23a–b. Further cf. B. Brickman, *An Introduction...*, *op. cit.*, p. 37; L. Deitz, "Space, Light, and Soul in Francesco Patrizi's *Nova de Universis Philosophia* (1591)", [in:] A. Grafton & N. Siraisi (eds.), *Natural Particulars: Nature and the Disciplines in Renaissance Europe*, Cambridge 1999, p. 141.

⁶ *NUP* II, 11, 22c–24d and especially *NUP* III, 2, 51c. Further on cf. B. Brickman, *An Introduction...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–33; Ž. Dadić, *Franjo Petriš...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 53 and 55.

are corporeal, perishable, ontologically dependent and mutable.⁷ Between the higher and the lower grades, there is – in the centre of the ontological hierarchy – soul (*animus*), which is the interconnecting grade: “[...] *tertia quaedam in universitate erit natura, non corporea, non incorporea. Sed utrumque et incorporea, et corporea, ita ut media quaedam sit inter utramque*“.⁸ If we look back on this, we could say that Patrizi’s philosophical system seems to be – in the context of Neoplatonism – traditional and in no way innovative.

However, the originality of Francesco Patrizi shines when we read *Panaugia* more carefully. For example, let us look closer at the three last sentences taken from the 1st book of *Panaugia* where it is written:

Haec omnia sunt in Spacio.
Haec omnia sunt in Lumine.
Haec omnia sunt in Calore.⁹

These lines mean that everything in the hierarchy of being does exist in space, in light and in heat. In *Pancosmia*, the fourth part of the *NUP*, Patrizi adds the 4th element: fluidity.¹⁰ Every grade of the hierarchy of being is located in space. The lower, *natura – qualitas – forma – corpus*, are situated in divisible and in three-dimensional space, whereas the higher grades, *unitates – essentia – vita – intellectus* – are situated in indivisible and non-dimensional space.¹¹

In *Pancosmia* Patrizi states that space is the principle created immediately in the beginning of the process when the One spreads into Plurality: “Itaque spacium, a primo uno, ante entia alia omnia est profusum [...]“.¹² The space precedes everything that exists, because everything can be only in space.¹³ Hence the space is the fundamental precondition of the existence of every being. The elementary quality of space is its three-dimensionality: space has *longitudo, latitudo et profunditas*.¹⁴

⁷ *NUP* I, 1, 1a; *NUP* II, 11, 23d; L. Deitz, “Space, Light, and Soul...”, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

⁸ *NUP* III, 2, 51d; B. Brickman, *An Introduction...*, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Ž. Dadić, *Franjo Petriš...*, *op. cit.*, p. 53; L. Deitz, “Space, Light, and Soul...”, *op. cit.*, p. 142; L. Schiffler, *Franje Petrić, Franciscus Patricius: Od škole mišljenja do slobode mišljenja*, Institut za filozofiju, Zagreb 1997, p. 96; Further cf. T. Leinkauf, “Francesco Patrizi, Neue Philosophien der Geschichte, der Dichtung und der Welt“, [in:] Paul Richard Blum (ed.), *Philosophen der Renaissance*, Wiss. Buchges, Darmstadt 1999, pp. 182 and 185.

⁹ *NUP* I, 1, 1a–b.

¹⁰ *NUP* IV, 6, 78a–79d. Further on cf. B. Brickman, *An Introduction...*, *op. cit.*, p. 44; Ž. Dadić, *Franjo Petriš...*, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

¹¹ Ž. Dadić, *Franjo Petriš...*, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

¹² *NUP* IV, 1, 61c.

¹³ Ž. Dadić, *Franjo Petriš...*, *op. cit.*, p. 63; L. Deitz, “Space, Light, and Soul...”, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

¹⁴ *NUP* IV, 1, 61d; L. Deitz, “Space, Light, and Soul...”, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

From the point of view of the ontological nobility, the second most important element of Patrizi's philosophical system is the light. The concept of light, in other words, the concept of *panaugia* represents a further elaboration of Patrizi's conception of space which is mainly described in the first part of the *NUP*, *Panaugia*. *Panaugia*, introduced by a dedicatory letter to Cardinal Paolo Sfrondati and to Pope Gregory XIV., consists of ten books:¹⁵

1. De luce¹⁶
2. De diaphano¹⁷
3. De radiis¹⁸
4. De lumine¹⁹
5. De opaco²⁰
6. De aereo lumine²¹
7. De coelesti luce et lumine²²
8. De luce et lumine supercoelesti²³
9. De lumine incorporeo²⁴
10. De fonte et patre luminum²⁵

According to Patrizi, God dwells in the eternal, inaccessible light (*lux, lux prima*).²⁶ As God has tendency to manifest Himself, tends the light to its manifestation by its further emanation. In the moment when God commanded *fiat lux*, light filled up the empty space.²⁷

But this light which spread out over the empty space was something different than the original, inaccessible primeval light. So Patrizi further distinguished rays (*radius*) which radiated into space; and brightness (*lumen*) which was the outcome.²⁸ This brightness is that which filled up the

¹⁵ *NUP* [Ad Paulum Camillum], VIa–VIIb.

¹⁶ *NUP* I, 1, 1a–3b.

¹⁷ *NUP* I, 2, 3c–5b.

¹⁸ *NUP* I, 3, 5c–8d.

¹⁹ *NUP* I, 4, 9a–11d.

²⁰ *NUP* I, 5, 12a–13d.

²¹ *NUP* I, 6, 14a–15b.

²² *NUP* I, 7, 15c–17b.

²³ *NUP* I, 8, 17c–19d.

²⁴ *NUP* I, 9, 20a–21d.

²⁵ *NUP* I, 10, 22a–23d.

²⁶ *NUP* IV, 4, 73d; *NUP* I, 10, 23a–b; *NUP* II, 9, 18d; E. Banić-Pajnić, *Petrićev put: od kritike Aristotela do pobožne filozofije*, Institut za filozofiju, Zagreb 2001, p. 132; E. E. Ryan, "The Panaugia of Franciscus Patritius: From the Light of Experience to the First Light", [in:] Patrizia Castelli (ed.), *Francesco Patrizi, filosofo platonico nel crepuscolo del Rinascimento*, Pubblicazioni dell'Università di Ferrara, Firenze 2002, p. 194.

²⁷ *NUP* IV, 4, 73c–74b.

²⁸ *NUP* I, 3, 5d.

empty infinite space, and therefore was infinite as well. Patrizi called this spread of brightness *panaugia*: “Hoc tale lumen a luce verbi Dei emicans nomine vocat appositissimo Panaugiam; quasi omnilucem”.²⁹

According to Patrizi, we can find three kinds of bodies in the material world: lucid (*lucida*), diaphanous (*diaphana*) and opaque (*opaca*):

Lux in corporibus quibusdam cernitur: in aliis non cernitur. Corpora ergo distinguenda. Corporum igitur, alia sui natura, lucida sunt, Sol, stellae, ignis. Alia sui natura sunt opaca, Luna, terra, nubes. Alia neque lucem habent, neque opacitatem, utramque tamen in se recipiunt, neutram vero retinent: aether, aer, aqua. Haec Graeci diaphana, Latini perspicua, et transpicua appellavere.³⁰

The brightness is immanent for the lucid bodies; brightness can pervade through the diaphanous bodies; but brightness does not permeate at all through the opaque bodies.³¹ In the fifth book of *Panaugia*, Patrizi listed the emanating grades of light: in the beginning, there was the primeval light, then *radius*, *lumen*, *splendor* and *nitor*.³²

It raises the question, how do we harmonize the metaphysical and natural-philosophical conception of light with the system of ontological hierarchy presented in the very beginning of *Panaugia* when Patrizi said: “Haec omnia sunt in Lumine”.³³ It means that all ontological grades – i. e. *unitates – essentia – vita – intellectus – animus – natura – qualitas – forma – corpus* – are, in some way, in brightness present and represented.³⁴

The exhaustive characteristics of light, its ontological dignity and its natural-philosophical qualities are not the only content of these ten chapters in the *Panaugia*. It is evident that Patrizi works with the concept of light also on the epistemological level. For Patrizi, epistemological reliability is guaranteed by its grounding in sense perception.³⁵ Among the senses, the sight is the most reliable and therefore the noblest sense:

A primis ergo philosophandi initium nobis esto. A primis, cognitisne? An ab incognitis? Si ab incognitis incipiamus, sequentia, incognita erunt omnia. De incognitis, nulla nobis condetur Philosophia. A cognitis ergo initium sumendum. Cognitio omnis, a mente primam

²⁹ NUP I, 9, 21b.

³⁰ NUP I, 1, 1c–d.

³¹ NUP I, 1, 1d.

³² NUP I, 5, 13a–b.

³³ NUP I, 1, 1a–b.

³⁴ NUP IV, 4, 75a–b.

³⁵ NUP I, 1, 1c: „Lux ergo, et lumen primaria eius proles, ante omnia sunt nobis cognoscenda.”

originem: a sensibus exordium habet primum. Inter sensus, et naturae nobilitate, et virium praestantia, et actionum dignitate, visus est primarius. Visui prima, et primo cognita, sunt lux, et lumen.³⁶

This is how Patrizi, in his philosophical conception, interconnects the ontological level (represented by light and brightness – i. e. the metaphysics of light) on the one hand, with the epistemological level, grounded in the priority of sensual perception (namely of sight) on the other. In Patrizi's conception, light is the principle allowing the sensual perception (*videre*) as well as the consecutive cognitive process (*scire*).³⁷ The epistemological process can be characterized as a mutual active interaction between the perceiving subject and the object of perception which Patrizi calls *coitio*.³⁸ The light enables us to ascend to the very *lux prima*, to God.³⁹ As we see, the ontological nobility of light is crowned. Finally, the light is involved in generating and providing existence to all perceptible entities, as well as of all perceiving subjects.⁴⁰

John Amos Comenius

Panaugia, written by John Amos Comenius, is the second part of his greatest work entitled *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica* which, as a whole, consists of seven parts: *Panegersia*, *Panaugia*, *Pansofia*, *Pampaedia*, *Panglottia*, *Panorthosia*, *Pannuthesia*.⁴¹ Comenius' *Panaugia* was completed in the 1640s and represents *de facto* a new and modified version of Comenius' previous treatise called *Via lucis* which was written between 1641–1642.⁴²

The book of *Panaugia* consists of sixteen chapters:

³⁶ NUP I, 1, 1b.

³⁷ NUP II, 12, 25a–b.

³⁸ NUP II, 15, 31b–c. Further on cf. B. Brickman, *An Introduction*, op. cit., pp. 36. and 70.

³⁹ NUP I, 1, 1c.

⁴⁰ NUP II, 12, 27b.

⁴¹ I. A. Comenius, *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica*, Academia, Prague 1966. Tomus I–II. Further on I refer to the title as *Consultatio*. In the textual apparatus I refer to the particular quotations using abbreviated notation CC. For the Czech translation, see J. A. Komenský, *Obecná porada o nápravě věcí lidských* [General Consultation on an Improvement of All Things Human]. Svoboda, Prague 1992. Vol. I–III.

⁴² J. Popelová, *Jana Amose Komenského cesta k všenápravě*. Praha 1958, pp. 293, 297 a 354; J. Patočka, *Komeniologické studie II*, Praha 1998, p. 88; U. Voigt, "Illegitime Säkularisierung oder berechtigte Selbstverweltlichung? Die Bedeutung der ‚Via lucis‘ für die Geschichtsauffassung des Comenius.", *Studia Comeniana et Historica* 51 (XXIV), 1994, pp. 45–65; J. T. Young, *Faith, Medical Alchemy and Natural Philosophy. Johann Morien, Reformed Intelligencer, and the Hartlib Circle*. Ashgate, Aldershot 1998, pp. 127–137.

1. Lucis contemplatio cur jam suscipiatur et quae hic observanda
2. Lux lucique oppositae tenebrae quid et quodtuplices
3. Lux intellectualis plena, qualem optamus, quid et quae ejus necessitas
4. Lucem intellectualem tam plenam accendi an possibile
5. De primo lucis intellectualis fonte, rerum natura, seu operibus Dei in mundo
6. De secundo lucis intellectualis fonte, rerum lucerna, splendente scilicet in mente nostra imagine Dei
7. De tertio lucis intellectualis fonte, rerum norma, verbo Dei nos alloquente et de rebus maxime necessariis admonente
8. De oculo trino homini ad spectandam trinam Dei lucem, et quicquid per illam offertur, dato: sensu, ratione, fide
9. De trini oculi subsidio trino, methodo scilicet res accurate spectandi trina, analytica, synthetica, syncritica
10. Lucis universalis facilitas, per inventam panharmoniae clavem
11. Demonstratio praecedentium omnium per vias lucis naturalis
12. Quomodo viae lucis ad pellendum undique tenebras applicari et complicari possint
13. Consideratio impedimentorum, ob quae antiqui lucem hanc intellectualem tam plenam non habuerunt
14. Consideratio impedimentorum, quae nunc etiam luci universali obstare posse videntur, nec poterunt; ubi operum sequentium in Pansophiam, Pampaediam, Panglottiam tandemque Panorthosiam divisio
15. Lucem animorum universalem requirere universorum animos a praesudiciorum glaucomate puros
16. Ad Patrem luminum pro exortu luminis pleni suspiria⁴³

In the very first part of *Consultatio catholica, Panegersia*, Comenius tried to find a means of the restitution of human affairs (primarily of philosophy, theology and politics).⁴⁴ In *Panaugia* he finds this means, which is for him rational light or wisdom.⁴⁵ Comenius works there with the inspiration taken from the natural-philosophical observation of nature, where the light emitted by the Sun is the aspect which illuminates all things in the same way:

Lux quippe et ignis, sapientissimi Creatoris consilio ita facta sunt, ut evibratis perpetuo circumcirca radiis suis, elementalem materiam terebrandi, et terebrando attenuandi, et attenuandi, et attenuando

⁴³ CC I, p. 99 (*Panaugiae Capita*).

⁴⁴ CC I, p. 28, col. 4; CC I, pp. 52–53, col. 33–34; CC I, p. 70, col. 68.

⁴⁵ CC I, p. 101, col. 122.

agitandi, et agitando calefaciendi, et calefaciendo colliquandi, et colliquando formis quibusvis recipiendis aptam reddendi, vim haberent.⁴⁶

According to Comenius, there are three kinds of light. First there is the eternal light which is the inaccessible light where God dwells. Second is the outer light which can be identified as the physical light. Third is the inner light – which is the light in the human mind.⁴⁷ For Comenius, the final kind is the most important in regard to the possibility of the emendation of human affairs. Comenius calls the intended, adequate and universal spread of that light in all human minds *panaugia*:

Lucem optamus, quae hominibus ostendat omne suum bonum, et quietem omnibus et omnimode, citra hallucinationem, aut errorem ullum. Hoc enim demum erit Παναυγία, universalis lucis splendor.⁴⁸

This *panaugia*, in Latin *omnilucentia*, allows us to see and know – adequately – everything that exists.⁴⁹

According to Comenius, human cognition is based on three sources, or three lanterns. The first is the world of nature; the second is the human mind and its inborn general concepts; and the third is the Scripture.⁵⁰ The three ways of cognition correspond with these lanterns. We get to know the world via our senses; the human mind via our reason; and the Word of God via our faith.⁵¹ And last, but not least, we need to use three adequate methods: the analytical, synthetical and syncritical (which is a method of analogy, and allows us to understand Scripture in the analogical comparison of our own experience).⁵² The correct use of the three lanterns, three ways and three methods is the way how we can ignite the universal light among all people – that is, how we can realize *panaugia*. In Comenius' conception, the light is the precondition, the means and the crowning principle of all human cognition:

At vero si libris Dei uti velimus, possimus, sciamus, habebitur quod quaeritur: lux illa cognitionis universalis, vera, fulgida, vincens quascunque, quomodocunque se intermiscentes, ignorantiarum, dubitationum, ipsorumque errorum nostrorum tenebras.⁵³

⁴⁶ CC I, p. 101, col. 123.

⁴⁷ CC I, p. 102, col. 125.

⁴⁸ CC I, p. 103, col. 127.

⁴⁹ CC I, p. 106, col. 132–133.

⁵⁰ CC I, p. 107, col. 135; CC I, p. 108, col. 137.

⁵¹ CC I, p. 123–123, col. 166–169.

⁵² CC I, pp. 125–126, col. 170–173.

⁵³ CC I, p. 129, col. 178.

Comparison

We see that even though Patrizi and Comenius deal with the concept of *panaugia* and understand the metaphysics of light in the same sense, they differ in their further handling of it. Patrizi focuses on the natural-philosophical aspect of *panaugia*. By this concept he understands the spreading of light (*lux*) as the spread of brightness (*lumen*) out into empty space (*spacium*), which is the very first created principle: “Hoc tale lumen a luce verbi Dei emicans nomine vocat appositissimo Panaugiam; quasi omnilucentiam”⁵⁴

The situation concerning J. A. Comenius is completely different. Comenius further elaborates the epistemological aspect of the metaphysics of light. For him, *panaugia* is the necessary precondition of the *pansophia* and *panorthosia* of all human affairs:

(Panaugiae scopo triplici) Ex dictis patere potest, lucem universalem
quaeri talem, cujus vi
I. Res universae redigantur in ordinem unum.
II. Mentes universorum observantur rebus.
III. Gentes universae revocentur ad mentis culturam, rerumque
legitimum usum.⁵⁵

If we only ignite the universal light and point it to all things and our minds, we will be able to see everything clearly and unequivocally; we will be able to know everything – we will have *the pansophy*.⁵⁶ Thus we will recognize the former mistakes of mankind, especially in the three crucial fields of human affairs – philosophy, theology and politics. Finally, we will be able to restore those fundamental human affairs and put into effect *the panorthosy* ([*seu*] *rerum humanarum universalem emendationem*).⁵⁷

The *Panaugia* by Comenius also contains a treatise on the natural-philosophical attributes of light. From the point of view of our investigation, the most important part is that where Comenius speaks about kinds of bodies we can find in nature. According to him, we can encounter lucid (*lucida*), diaphanous (*pellucida*) and opaque (*opaca*) bodies.⁵⁸ However, Comenius’ natural-philosophical description has a greater importance: by using his *s y n c r i t i c a l* method, Comenius showed that those kinds of bodies can be

⁵⁴ *NUP* I, 9, 21b; *NUP* IV, 4, 73c–b.

⁵⁵ *CC* I, p. 150, col. 221.

⁵⁶ *CC* I, p. 151, col. 222.

⁵⁷ *CC* I, p. 151, col. 223.

⁵⁸ *CC* I, p. 133, col. 186.

found not only in nature, but also in human minds. There is an opaque (or stupid), diaphanous (or idea-reflecting, that is with good memory) and lucid (or contemplative) kind of human mind.⁵⁹ We can clearly see, how Comenius proceeds from Patrizi's conception and adopts his terminology, yet in the end he significantly modifies the original scheme and – mainly – transforms it to a new and authentic conception.

If we try to compare the philosophical approaches of Patrizi and Comenius in general, we can say that Comenius' work resembles Patrizi's in many aspects, which seems to show his obvious influence. In the philosophical systems of both thinkers, both the metaphysics of light and the concept of *panaugia* play very important roles and are used by both thinkers in the very same way. It is without a doubt that Comenius adopted the basic principles of his conception of the metaphysics of light as well as its central concept from Patrizi. Light is crucial not only for the metaphysics of both authors; it also figures as a central part of their epistemological conceptions, which are *de facto* identical.

To be more specific, according to Comenius, the cognitive process is also based on a sensual foundation with priority attributed to the perception of the visible. For Comenius the correctness of this sense data is determined by the presence of light, in both the ontological and epistemological sense.

Patrizi: A primis ergo philosophandi initium nobis esto. A primis, cognitisne? An ab incognitis? Si ab incognitis incipiamus, sequentia, incognita erunt omnia. De incognitis, nulla nobis condetur Philosophia. A cognitis ergo initium sumendum. Cognitio omnis, a mente primam originem: a sensibus exordium habet primum. Inter sensus, et naturae nobilitate, et virium praestantia, et actionum dignitate, visus est primarius. Visui prima, et primo cognita, sunt lux, et lumen.

Comenius: Sensus ergo nostri, divinitus nobis dati, sunt primus noster oculus, quo res mundi percipimus immediate, visione directa. [...] Nempe natura humana ita facta est, ut omnium ejus actionum bonarum et malarum, radix prima in intellectu sit. Exsequuntur quippe membra motu suo, quicquid regina voluntas imperat. Regina vero imperat, prout decernit; decernit prout eligit; eligit, prout intelligit; intelligit autem, prout a sensibus rem quamque accipit; accipit vero prout apparent, per claram lucem aut per nebulas; vero suo aut monstro alieno colore, figura, situ.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ CCI, p. 134, col. 188.

⁶⁰ For Patrizi, see. *NUPI*, 1, 1b–c. For Comenius, see CCI, p. 123, col. 167 and CCI, p. 104, col. 128.

Sensual perception is, for both Comenius and Patrizi, the basis of every consecutive thought process.

If we consider other philosophical and theological aspects of the metaphysical and epistemological theories of Patrizi and Comenius, we can clearly see that for both of them, light (*lux*) and its use also plays the key role as the principle necessary for theoretical ascendance (or a mental return) to the primary light, or to God. Patrizi and Comenius contend that in the beginning of the epistemological process there is a light perceived by the senses. By cognition of this light we are able – with use of our minds and intellect – to ascend to its immaterial source, meaning to God:

Patrizi: [...] et Pater Deus, et Filius, et Spiritus S. ignes, et luces, et lumina sunt. Non qualia oculis conspicimus. Sed qualia, divinus revelata, mente percipimus. Ad quos, ut ad purissima rerum omnium principia, eorum lumine, nobis praelucente, via ac scala luminum, ac luminum ascendimus. A lumine scilicet hylae mundi, ad lumen luce-sque aetheras: ab aethereis, ad Empyreum scandentes, ab Empyreo ad φάος, ad Panaugiam, ad supermundanum solem, ad lucem, verbi ac filii, et ad lucem Patris infinitam.

Comenius: Optari haec pulchre agnosco. Ego vero insuper opto, ut si nos tali luce dignabitur Deus, ne pigremur aliis consimiliter illuminandis dare operam. Librum nempe construendo, qui unus contineat omnia, et quidem breviate quanta summe detur; ordine que tali, quo a primis ad ultima eatur inoffense; luce que perpetua, et veritate invicta, lectorem comutantibus a principio ad finem; et qui denique scala veluti sit menti nostrae, illam per omnia euntem elevans ad invisibilem usque omnium apicem, Deum.⁶¹

With regard to God, it is very interesting that Patrizi as well as Comenius actually use the same characteristics – God is understood as *unum et omnia* by both authors.⁶²

A clear effect of Patrizi's philosophy can be seen in Comenius' terminology. Not only does John Amos accept a number of philosophical and natural-philosophical terms, he also borrows from Patrizi the Greek prefix *pan-*, which was to play an irreplaceable role in the formation and naming of various parts of his *Consultatio*. Let us, for instance, compare the titles of particular sections of *Nova de universis philosophia* – *Panaugia*, *Panarchia*, *Pampsychia* and *Pancosmia* – with the titles of individual parts of Come-

⁶¹ NUP I, 1, 1c; NUP I, 10, 23b–c. For Comenius views, see CC I, p. 260.

⁶² NUP II, 11, 22c; CC I, p. 77, col. 82–83.

nius' *Consultatio: Panegersia, Panaugia, Pansofia, Pampaedia, Panglottia, Panorthosia* and *Pannuthesia* (in the text other concepts such as *pancarpia, panautokrateia, panautarkeia, panhenosia* and even *pancosmia* can also be found).⁶³ It is remarkable that the term *panaugia* was used for the last time in the history of philosophy by J. A. Comenius. Furthermore, both philosophers use the same terms for particular descending grades of light and deal with them in the same theoretical regard. In both we can find the identical triade *lux – radius – lumen*.⁶⁴ The source of physical light is for both thinkers inaccessible and unreachable eternal light, which is identified with God.⁶⁵

Conclusion

In conclusion, we have seen that Patrizi and Comenius proceed from the same philosophical tradition which was based on the metaphysics of light with its central concept *panaugia*; both present the same epistemological theory, but in regard to the further elaboration of their philosophical systems they construct completely different theories. While Patrizi focuses on the natural-philosophical aspect of *panaugia*, Comenius further elaborates the epistemological and *panorthotical* aspect of the metaphysics of light (as a matter of fact, Comenius was not interested in the issue of space at all!).

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⁶³ CC I, p. 755; CC II, p. 48, col. 48.

⁶⁴ NUP I, 3, 5d; CC I, p. 101, col. 123; CC I, p. 137, col. 194.

⁶⁵ NUP IV, 4, 73c–74b; CC I, p. 514, col. 854–855.