

Valentina Lepri 

Piracy, Plagiarism, and Shifting Meanings

The Case of the Publication of *Hore di ricreatione*
by Lodovico Guicciardini

TERMINUS

t. 26 (2024)

z. 2 (71)

s. 141–158

[https://ejournals.eu/
czasopismo/
terminus](https://ejournals.eu/czasopismo/terminus)

Abstract

This paper focuses on the little-known case of editorial piracy committed by the printer and polygraph Francesco Sansovino (1521–1586) to the detriment of Lodovico Guicciardini (1521–1589), nephew of the more famous Francesco, who had settled in Antwerp. As the numerous editions and reprints testify, the *Hore di ricreatione* enjoyed remarkable success throughout Europe. On the contrary, the initial editorial piracy of which it was the object remained an almost private matter. The study of the proemial parts of the work allows us to clearly observe the differences between the author's intentions and those of the Venetian printer. If the former was driven by the pursuit of fame and by his cultural background, the latter was driven by the market and the preferences of his readers. Exploring the different meaning they attached to the text highlights the often conflicting dynamics between author and printer in the Renaissance, and also offers a glimpse into the world of sixteenth-century printing from a particular perspective.

Keywords

piracy, printing, moral education, paratexts, Francesco Sansovino, Lodovico Guicciardini

“A joke was played on me in Venice; they printed my work, changed the title, removed the letter, and changed the dedicatee: it was something that annoyed me so much that if it had been worth it, I would have denounced it”.¹ With these words Lodovico Guicciardini (1521–1589) described an editorial misadventure of which he was the victim. The object of contention between him and the Venetian printer and polygraph Francesco Sansovino was his last literary work, *Hore di ricreatione*.²

Guicciardini’s exasperation can be read in the letter of dedication dated December 21, 1567 addressed to the Duke of Seminara that begins this work, according to the edition printed in Antwerp in 1568. About four years before, on May 21, 1563, Guicciardini had submitted to Sansovino (1521–1586) the unpublished manuscript of the text, hoping to arouse his interest and to see it published.³ In fact, the publisher liked the work so much that he personally “reworked it” and gave it to three printer colleagues. The catalog indicates that in 1565, three years before the publication in Antwerp, three different editions of Guicciardini’s work were published in Venice in the workshops of Giorgio Cavalli (fl. 1564–1570), Domenico Nicolini da Sabbio (fl. 1557–1605) and Alessandro Viani (fl. 1544–1570). The original title had been modified because in the Venetian printings it appears as *Detti et fatti piacevoli et gravi di diversi principi, filosofi, et cortigiani*, and instead of the real author’s dedication to the Duke of Seminara we find a dedication by Sansovino to Gabriello Strozzi.⁴

Lodovico Guicciardini was the nephew of the historian and political writer Francesco Guicciardini, and it is his uncle’s popularity that probably brought the scarce attention of scholars towards his production, when a series of studies

¹ “Mi è stata fatta una burla in Vinetia; stampatomi l’opera, mutato il titolo, levato la pistola, et scambiatomi il patrone della dedicatione: cosa che mi dette nel naso talmente che fusse valuto il pregio ne avrei già fatto dimostrazione”, L. Guicciardini, *Hore di ricreatione*, Antwerp: Silvio, 1568, p. 4.

² The idea for this article came about during the conference *Inventing the Good Life: How Italy Shaped Early Modern Moral Culture. An Exploration of the Ethica Section in Wolfenbüttel Herzog August Bibliothek* (Wolfenbüttel, October 18–20, 2018). On that occasion, the author presented a paper focusing on Lodovico Guicciardini’s *Hore di ricreatione* and its contribution to the spread of Italian moral culture in early modern Europe.

³ In the archives of the Guicciardini family in Florence is conserved the letter sent by Lodovico to Sansovino (Guicciardini Archive, Carteggio LII) that accompanied the manuscripts of the *Hore di ricreatione* and the *Commentarii*.

⁴ *Detti et fatti piacevoli et gravi di diversi principi, filosofi, et cortigiani. Raccolti dal Guicciardini, et ridotti a moralità*. All three editions are in octavo format. A comparison between the three editions has never been done and is the next step in the research of the present author. Anne-Marie Van Passen, who edited the modern edition of the *Hore di ricreatione*, compared the editions of Cavalli and Nicolini concluding that they differ only in layout, see A.-M. Van Passen, “Lodovico Guicciardini, ‘Lore di ricreatione’: bibliografia delle edizioni”, *La Bibliofilia* 92 (1990), no. 2, pp. 145–214, especially 155. Of Alessandro Viano’s edition, however, Passen only reported that of 1566, when there are two more exemplars (preserved respectively in the Biblioteca Querini Stampalia in Venice and in the Biblioteca Universitaria in Salamanca) that testify to an earlier edition, in 1565. Information on all the editions cited in this article is taken from Edit 16 (<https://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/>), checked on March 30, 2020).

in the 1990s saved him from oblivion.⁵ It would have been an unusual oblivion if one considers that his works enjoyed a remarkable fortune in the sixteenth century, as evidenced by the numerous editions, reprints and translations of which they were the subject.

Born in Florence in 1521, Lodovico was the son of Iacopo di Piero Guicciardini (1480–1552). We know about him mainly from his texts that inform us that he left Florence as a boy, lived for a few years in Lyon and finally settled permanently in Flanders.⁶ In Antwerp he continued the family trade in textiles, but at the same time cultivated literary interests thanks to ongoing connections with Italy, especially with his relatives in Florence. Even though he was far from his native land, his literary production appears to have been deeply influenced by Italian culture. The author observed his host country and his era with the eyes and sensitivity of a Florentine nourished by certain readings.⁷

His most famous work is certainly the *Descrizione di tutti i Paesi Bassi altrimenti detti Germania Inferiore*, published in Antwerp in three different editions: in 1567 by the publisher Sivio, in 1581 and in 1588 by the prestigious Plantin.⁸ To this fortunate work, it is worth adding the *Commentari delle cose più memorabili seguite in Europa specialmente in questi paesi bassi, dalla pace di Cambra*, which integrated the vast overview given in the *Descrizione* with an analysis of historical-political nature.⁹ In oblivion, or almost, is the *Precetti et sententie più notabili in materia di Stato di M. Francesco Guicciardini* printed in Antwerp by Christophe

⁵ The variants of his first name, i.e. Ludovico, Lodovico and Luigi, appear in both original material and scholarship (the latter sometimes confusing his identity). Eric Cochrane, to give just a couple of examples, referred to him as Ludovico and Paul Oskar Kristeller, in the *Iter Italicum*, attributed to Luigi Guicciardini some of his important autograph manuscripts that are now in the BNC of Florence. More information on him and the Renaissance fortune of the *Hore di recreatione* is contained in the next paragraph.

⁶ Around the age of 17, he left Italy following his father who traded in silk. From 1538 to 1541 he lived in Lyon and then settled in Antwerp, where he spent all his life until 1589, the year of his death. Biographically salient events of Lodovico Guicciardini can be drawn from: P. Guicciardini, *Il ritratto vasariano di Luigi Guicciardini*, Florence 1942; M. Battistini, *Lettere di Giovan Batista Guicciardini a Cosimo e Francesco de' Medici*, Brussels and Rome 1949. See especially, E.J. Roobaert, "Nieuwe gegevens over Calvete de Estrella en L. Guicciardini uit de Rekeningen van de Antwerpse Magistraat", *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis, inzonderheid van het oude hertogdom Brabant* 41 (1958), pp. 68–94 and R.H. Touwaide, *Messire Lodovico Guicciardini gentilhomme florentin*, Nieuwkoop 1975.

⁷ As Michele Poccianti stated in his *Catalogus*, published in Florence in 1589, Lodovico was: "vir ingenii excellentis, triplici lingua nitidus, materna nempè, Latina et Greca, sed mathematicus et antiquarius percelebris". M. Poccianti, *Catalogus scriptorum florentinorum omnis generis, quorum, et memoria extat, atque lucubrationes in literas relatae sunt ad nostra usque tempora*, Florence: Giunta, 1589, p. 115.

⁸ Translated into several languages and enriched by elegant images and maps, this work is the first geographical, social and artistic description of the Low Countries, to this day a fundamental tool for the study of Flanders during the Renaissance. Critical studies of this text abound, especially from a bibliographic-iconographic and historical perspective, described as "l'image la plus fidèle de la situation des Pays-Bas au XVI^{ème} siècle que nous possédions", J.-A. Goris, *Etude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales à anvers de 1488 à 1567*, Louvain 1925, p. 605.

⁹ L. Guicciardini, *Comentarii di Lodovico Guicciardini delle cose piu memorabili seguite in Europa specialmente in questi paesi bassi, dalla pace di Cambrai: del 1529 insino a tutto l'anno 1560: libri tre*, Antwerp: Silvio, 1565.

Plantin. *Precetti et sententie* was a very particular edition of his uncle's *Ricordi*, which at the time of his nephew's printing, 1585, was already circulating in different versions.¹⁰

The poor consideration of the Guicciardini family towards their relative in Flanders is also confirmed by Lodovico's unsuccessful attempts to publish his uncle's *Storia d'Italia*. In order to carry out his plan, he wrote numerous letters to relatives and publishers, keeping in touch with his cousin Agnolo especially, who also supplied him with books sent from Italy to the besieged city of Antwerp. As is well known, it was Agnolo in Florence who undertook the first edition of the *Storia d'Italia* with the publisher Torrentino in 1561 and, as we shall see at the end of these article, his cousin perhaps also played a key role in the composition of the *Hore di ricreatione*.¹¹

This paper takes its cue from the little-known case of appropriation with the characteristics of piracy and plagiarism in a broad sense committed by Sansovino to the detriment of Lodovico Guicciardini. At the center of the case was the *Hore di ricreatione*, a collection of texts of various genres and origins selected by Guicciardini and, in some cases, translated by him.

Though very popular in the Renaissance period, for a long time the book had been grouped with less important texts of the author, as they were considered unoriginal re-creations of others' texts. In reality, it was Sansovino who first understood the commercial potential of this collection, a splendid fruit of an Italian and Florentine education, but also of a European and Erasmian scope, the editing of which accompanied the author for almost all his life, as he diligently corrected and updated the work from one edition to the next.

As testified by numerous editions and reprints, the *Hore di ricreatione* – also known as *Detti e facti piacevoli et gravi*, the title under which it initially circulated in its Venetian editions – enjoyed remarkable success throughout Europe. On the contrary, the initial appropriation remained an almost private matter, albeit one that highlights the often conflicting dynamics between author and printer in the Renaissance Venetian market, as well as the tenuous meaning that “copyright” had at that time. Moreover, examination of the proemial parts of the work makes it possible to observe the differences between the author's intentions and those of the Venetian

¹⁰ For example, between 1578 and 1583 in Venice three different editions were produced, one edited by the Dominican Fra' Sisto and two by the already mentioned Sansovino, on this see V. Lepri, M.E. Severini, *Viaggio e metamorfosi di un testo. I 'Ricordi' di Francesco Guicciardini fra XVI e XVII secolo*, Geneve 2011, pp. 22–23. Although there were numerous apographical editions of the text of the *Ricordi* circulating in those years, which had come out of the archives of the Guicciardini family a decade earlier, parental relations did not help Lodovico. His text was based on the *princeps* printed in Paris in 1576 and edited by his compatriot Jacopo Corbinelli. See in general, F. Guicciardini, *Ricordi*, ed. by R. Spongano, Florence 1951, especially the rich introduction.

¹¹ For the reconstruction of the first editions of Francesco Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia* are still valuable the studies by: R. Ridolfi, *Genesis della storia d'Italia guicciardiniana*, Florence 1939; P. Guicciardini, *Contributo alla bibliografia di Francesco Guicciardini*, Florence 1946; *id.*, *Edizioni e ristampe della Storia guicciardiniana e loro raggruppamenti. Contributo alla bibliografia di Francesco Guicciardini*, Florence 1948.

printer. These are aims inspired by the quest for fame on the one hand and by the market on the other, offering a glimpse of the world of sixteenth-century Venetian printing from a particular and novel perspective.

Authors' troubles in Renaissance printing

Venice was the first center of publishing on the continent to adopt laws regarding the product “book” in the early modern age. Since the second half of the fifteenth century, the city authorities had been trying to protect the work of printers by granting them “privileges”.¹² The legislators’ efforts focused almost wholly on the activity of publishers, ensuring exclusivity in producing and economically exploiting a certain work, or specific literary genres. In this way, the commercial monopoly on the texts was administered, which had a temporal duration fixed in the privilege and the non-compliance of which could be subject to fines. In other words, the system of sixteenth-century printing privileges, an initial form of the modern copyright, was aimed only at the economic interests of printers.

Pretty rare, instead, were the documented cases testifying to the protection of authors’ moral or economic rights.¹³ Their contractual weakness is not surprising when one considers that authors were not usually the financiers of their own publications, since publication costs were covered by wealthy patrons, who were the objects of acknowledgement in the proemial pages. The patrons, in turn, did not care about agreements or disagreements between printer and author; at most they cared about typographical elegance and text revision. Under the heading of “plagiarism” and “piracy” we can thus include a multiplicity of counterfeits and manipulations that authors tried to contain, but most of the time suffered helplessly, as in the case of Lodovico Guicciardini.

In her brilliant studies, Sabrina Minuzzi has pointed out that the immateriality of copyright recognition derives from the protection of the originality of the invention of material objects.¹⁴ There are documented cases, indeed, of authors who asked for and obtained privileges from the authorities, in particular from Venice, in order to protect their work of genius. Their works contained technical inventions, for example related to engineering, music, agricultural practices and pharmacopoeia, and so

¹² On this topic, see classical studies such as H.F. Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press*, London 1891; R. Fulin, “Documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana”, *Archivio veneto* 23 (1882), pp. 82–212. More recently, studies have been increased by Angela Nuovo with her *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance*, Boston and Leiden 2013, especially chapter six “The Book Privilege System”, pp. 195–257. See also the work of Joanna Kostyło focused on Venetian privilege currently hosted on www.copyrighthistory.org.

¹³ N. Stolfi, *La proprietà intellettuale*, vol. 1, Turin 1915, pp. 18–19; see also Z.O. Algardi, *Il plagio letterario e il carattere creativo dell'opera*, Milan 1966.

¹⁴ S. Minuzzi, *Privilegi di stampa nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, Venice 2017.

the privilege protected, in one fell swoop, both the object described in the volume and the book itself.

When authors could not enjoy the support of laws, then one possibility was to follow step by step the edition of their work, trying to protect it from interventions and distortions. A well-known example is that of the philosopher Giordano Bruno, who personally supervised the printing of his texts, revising the proofs in the printing house during their production.¹⁵

The main obstacle that sixteenth-century authors faced in protecting their works was undoubtedly the lack of legislation, in particular a direct contract between author and printer, but the geographical distance between the author's place of residence and the place where his works were produced also played a role. Thus it happened that at the end of a literary production the author full of hope sent his text to a publisher and from that moment on lost authority and control over it. There are several illustrious victims of this *modus operandi*, as it was followed by other printers, but not solely. Among the most famous is Andrea Alciato (1492–1550) and the Augsburg publisher Heinrich Steyner (?–1548) who published a text of emblems intended, according to the author, only for circulation among acquaintances. The German printer, instead, produced three different editions of the work between 1531 and 1534, the year in which Alciato authorized and commissioned the publisher Chrétien Wechel (1495–1554) in Paris to prepare a print run of the work.¹⁶ Similar is the fate of Tommaso Campanella (1568–1639) who gave his works to the German humanist and polymath Caspar Schoppe (1576–1649). In the spring of 1607, Schoppe, who converted to Catholicism and became a personal envoy of the pope, gained the trust of the Dominican Campanella, imprisoned in Naples. With the promise to announce his works among the German princes and, through the press, to make his sad condition known, he convinced him to hand over the manuscripts of the *Aforismi politici*, the *Città del sole*, the *Ateismo trionfato*, the *Epilogo magno*, and *Il senso delle cose*.¹⁷ When Schoppe arrived in Venice with his precious cargo of texts, he organized two meetings, one with the publisher Giovan Battista Ciotti (1560–1625) and the other, the following day, with Paolo Sarpi (1552–1623). Although Ciotti received Campanella's manuscripts, he wisely

¹⁵ See *Processo di Giordano Bruno*, ed. by D. Quagliani, Rome 1993, p. 177, and also V. Spampinato, *Vita di Giordano Bruno: con documenti editi e inediti*, vol. 2, Messina 1921, p. 700. The philosopher had learned the typographic craft in a printing workshop in Geneva where he worked for a brief period in 1579, exploiting this expertise in the subsequent stages of his European pilgrimage. During his long journey he planned the editions, prepared the iconographic equipment and worked on the proofs in print, taking care of every detail, including punctuation. In the trial Bruno declared that in Geneva he found the support to live and work.

¹⁶ B. Scholz, "The Augsburg Edition of Alciato's 'Emblemata': A Survey of Research", *Emblematica* 5 (1990), pp. 213–254.

¹⁷ "I recommend all my books to you, as God has recommended me to you", Campanella wrote to him on the first of June 1607. "Ti raccomando i miei libri tutti, come Dio me raccomandò a te", Letter 21, in T. Campanella, *Lettere*, ed. by G. Ernst, Florence 2010. See also G. Ernst, "'Oscurato è il secolo'. Il proemio allo Schoppe del ritrovato 'Ateismo trionfato' italiano", *Bruniana & Campanelliana* 2 (1996), pp. 11–32.

did not proceed with their printing, and for three years the texts were kept in the publisher's workshop.¹⁸ The papal interdict had just ended in 1607, therefore Ciotti could not publish the works of the author of the *Antiveneti*, defined by the Council of Ten as a "scandalous and insulting" text?¹⁹ Some of the works kept by Ciotti were brought unpublished from Venice to England by Giacomo Castelvetro (1546–1616), a guest collaborator of the printer for a decade and nephew of the more famous Lodovico Castelvetro (1505–1556). At the same time, the suspicion of plagiarism touched Schoppe, since it was hypothesized that he used Campanella's works to compose his *Ecclesiasticus* (1611).²⁰

As can be clearly seen, the geographical distance, aggravated by the imprisonment and the lack of support from ecclesiastical or political authorities, had not helped Campanella as an author. Even the shrewd Bruno, without influential tutors who could have protected his work, was not immune to the interference of his last printer, Wechel, who had intervened in his poems, likely taking advantage of a temporary absence of the author.²¹

The same problems – lack of legislation, geographical distance and insufficient political support – afflicted the editorial history of Lodovico Guicciardini's *Hore di ricreatione*.

One work and two goals

What makes the troubled edition of the *Hore di ricreatione* an interesting case study is the fact that it allows us to explore the different goals of author and publisher in sixteenth-century Venice. Looking at the internal features of Sansovino's and Guicciardini's editions, and especially at their respective paratexts, we can see different aims and almost a kind of remote dialog between the two protagonists. As mentioned in the beginning, the work is a composed anthology of maxims, witticisms and short

¹⁸ The solicitations of the German humanist, who a year after their meeting, wrote the following, were useless: "I am afraid Ciotti is not being fair to me. He has never answered me about the Squilla's books which he received from me to be printed". "[T]emo che il Ciotti non si comporti lealmente con me. Non mi ha mai risposto circa i libri dello Squilla che ricevette da me per stamparli", in L. Amabile, *Fra' Campanella ne' castelli di Napoli*, vol. 2, Naples 1887, docc. 113, p. 31, and docc. 118, p. 33.

¹⁹ Excerpt from the letter of Kaspar Schoppe to Giovanni Fabri (Trento, October 7, 1607), in Amabile, *Fra' Campanella ne' castelli di Napoli*, vol. 2, doc. 100, pp. 27–28.

²⁰ On Giacomo Castelvetro see *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 25, Rome 1981, p. 693. Campanella's writings will be published in a Latin version a few years later in Frankfurt, at the printing house of Tobia Adam: in 1617 *Del senso delle cose* and the *Epilogo magno*, in 1623 the *Città del sole* and the *Aforismi politici*. The *Ateismo Trionfato* was published in a Latin translation in Rome in 1631, while the printed edition of the vernacular version is recent, as it is the result of a discovery by Germana Ernst who found it in Ms. Barb. Lat. 4458 of the Vatican Library: T. Campanella, *Lateismo trionfato ovvero riconoscimento filosofico della religione universale contra l'antichristianesimo macchiavellesco*, ed. by G. Ernst, vol. 1–2, Pisa 2004.

²¹ On this matter see V. Lepri, "Lo stampatore e la 'princeps' del 'De immenso'", in *Giordano Bruno, "De immenso et innumerabilibus"*. *Lecture critiche*, ed. by M.A. Granada, D. Tessicini, Pisa 2020, pp. 29–46.

stories that have been extrapolated from both ancient and modern authors that embrace both the learned and popular literature.

In the tradition of lightheartedness, the volume includes edifying tales and *exempla* of good behavior in which the comic and sometimes grotesque and licentious components were always present. The collection was the subject of numerous editions, translated into French, English, German and Spanish, and it was available in the most important libraries of the time. To give just one example, in the holdings of the “Ethics” section of the library of Duke Augustus (1579–1666) in Wolfenbüttel, we find six different editions of Guicciardini’s text.²² Finding a sort of collection of the *Hore di ricreazione* in the Duke’s archives suggests that the work was read not only for its moral content. Its wide circulation, especially in the seventeenth century, is indeed linked to its educational use in a broad sense, including the teaching of languages and good manners.

Various inspirational models have been hypothesized for the collection, such as Poggio Bracciolini’s *Liber facetiarum* (1487) and Heinrich Bebel’s *Facetiae* (1508). Mentioned, above all, is the popular text of Ludovico Domenichi, the *Facetie et motti arguti di alcuni eccellenti ingegni et nobilissimi signori*, first published in Florence in 1548 and reprinted 36 times by the end of the century.²³ Exploring Guicciardini’s collection, it is possible to identify several passages taken from Domenichi’s volume, as well as from Franco Sacchetti’s *Trecentonovelle*, and other popular collections of that period.

It is probably within this consolidated literary tradition that Sansovino placed the manuscript of the *Hore*. As a polymath, publisher and editor of extraordinary talent, he was able to make the most of the text submitted to him by the incautious Guicciardini. He also collaborated with Gabriele Giolito, in whose workshop he met Domenichi himself in 1545. At the time of the *querelle* with Guicciardini, he was an independent printer and already published successful works such as the *Lettere sopra le dieci giornate*, *L’avvocato* in 1543 and 1554 and the *Historia universale dell’origine et imperio de’ Turchi* in 1560. Sansovino did not attribute the authorship of the *Hore di ricreazione* to himself, as is the case with strict plagiarism, but his operation fell into the realm of intellectual property theft and piracy. In fact,

²² The six exemplars in the collection are all in 8 format, and of these three are sixteenth-century and three seventeenth-century editions: there are two copies of the first French edition of the work made by François Belleforest in 1571 (Paris: Ruelle), Pietro Perna’s German edition of 1575, a Venetian edition of 1613 of the *Detti fatti piacevoli gravi*, made by Spineda, an edition of the *Hore* in 8 oblong trilingual (Italian, German and French) published in Cologne in 1622 and again a Venetian print made by Miloco in 1645. The signatures of the sixteenth-century editions are 163.2, 154.26 and 57.12; those of the seventeenth-century editions are 163.2, 154.26 and 57.12.

²³ See C. Di Filippo Bareggi, *Il mestiere di scrivere: lavoro intellettuale e mercato librario a Venezia nel Cinquecento*, Rome 1988, p. 106, footnote 148. On the fortune of the work see also P. Salwa, “Les aspects de persuasion dans les formes narratives des ‘Ore di ricreazione’ de Lodovico Guicciardini”, in *Lodovico Guicciardini (1521–1589)*, actes du Colloque international, ed. by P. Jodogne, Louvain 1991, pp. 213–225, and I.M.C. Scamuzzi, “Le ‘Horas de Recreación’ di Vicente de Millis”, in *In qualunque lingua sia scritta. Miscellanea di studi sulla fortuna della novella nell’Europa del Rinascimento e del Barocco*, Turin 2015, pp. 85–132.

he modified the text, replaced the proemial parts and then entrusted its printing to colleagues.²⁴ If the reasons why he gave up the text are unknown, the changes he made to the work, which go beyond what Lodovico denounced in the letter cited at the beginning of this article, still need to be researched in detail. The editor probably arranged differently the sections of the collection, also adding some texts.²⁵ In other words, Sansovino carried out one of his most congenial activities, that is, manipulating collections of short texts. It is a practice that he conducted successfully for years and the *Hore di ricreatione* could be framed as one of his first important training grounds.²⁶

Although he tends to be classified among the ranks of the late sixteenth-century polygraph, the term does not do justice to his peculiar versatility. The expression is frequently used to refer to humanists who dabbled in various genres of writing, without having either a specific program or any particular expertise. Unlike them, Sansovino's cultural mission – and above all his work – definitely followed a well-defined plan. In a letter of 1579 to Cornelio Bentivoglio's secretary, Gianfilippo Magnanini, he provided a breakdown of his operations into three main activities, also indicating the texts belonging to each category: first, the original compositions, then the vernacular versions of the classics and finally the anthologies.

Sansovino's experimentation takes the form of a specific approach: bringing together texts from different sources and periods that share a subject and a literary genre. Considering the catalogue of his publications, we can see a proliferation of anthologies of letters, miscellanies of military speeches, political precepts series of travel stories and collections of political discourses.²⁷ Naturally it has to be said that similar types of text featured among the books produced by most of the printers of the time, since such literature was extremely popular. Despite this, Sansovino's

²⁴ Sansovino opened his printing workshop at the sign of the waxing moon: see Di Filippo Bareggi, *Il mestiere di scrivere*, pp. 66–67. See D. von Hadeln, "Sansovinos Venetia als Quelle für die Geschichte der venezianischen Malerei", *Jahrbuch der Preußischen Kunstsammlungen* 31 (1910), pp. 149–158; G. Pusinich, "Un poligrafo veneziano del Cinquecento: Francesco Sansovino", *Pagine Istriane* 8 (1911), pp. 1–18, 121–130, 145–151; P.F. Grendler, "Francesco Sansovino and Italian Popular History, 1560–1600", *Studies in the Renaissance* 16 (1969), pp. 139–180; E. Bonora, *Ricerche su Francesco Sansovino: Imprenditore, librario e letterato*, Venice 1994; *Francesco Sansovino scrittore del mondo*, ed. by L. D'Onghia, D. Musto, Bergamo 2019.

²⁵ Supported this view Giovanni Fabris, who edited an edition of the work for Formiggini's *Classici del ridere* book series in the 1920s (Rome 1923), also followed by Anne-Marie Van Passen in the introduction to her critical edition (page 16) and again in "Lodovico Guicciardini, 'Lore di Ricreatione'. Bibliografia delle edizioni", pp. 145–214, especially 147. Recently Celia Aramburu Sánchez carried out a linguistic analysis of the most oscillating graphic aspects, "Lodovico Guicciardini versus Francesco Sansovino. Dos Ediciones de facezie", *RSEI: Revista de la Sociedad Española de Italianistas* 11 (2015–2017), pp. 19–30.

²⁶ On this very topic see V. Lepri, *Layered Wisdom: Early Modern Collections of Political Precepts*, Padua 2015, especially Chapter 3, "The Bustling Print Shop", pp. 91–130.

²⁷ The letters of Bembo, Antonio Guevara (1560), and Torquato Tasso, as well as the miscellaneous anthologies contained in the various editions of *Del Secretario*. Last but not least the editions of political precepts in 1579 and 1583.

contribution in this sphere was definitely conspicuous, so much so that it became the subject of one of the three most important activities that he carried out in his life, as illustrated in his letter to Magnanini.

Sansovino's experimentation in the selection and assembly of material by other writers is connected with the influence of the cultural policy of the Accademia degli Infiammati regarding translations, which he followed. Although the Accademia only existed for a decade, from June 1540 to 1550, it had an enormous influence on the intellectual world of the time and on Sansovino's future working strategies. Here he met some of his university teachers in Padua, such as Bernardino Tomitano (1517–1576) and Marco Mantova Benavides (1489–1582), and he also met the Florentine Benedetto Varchi (1503–1565) and the influential princes of the Accademia, Alessandro Piccolomini (1508–1578) and Sperone Speroni (1500–1588).²⁸

The Accademia continued to exert a strong attraction even decades after its activities ended, directing Sansovino's choices as an editor, especially in the creation of collections of texts. Indeed, many of the texts used in the collections were translated in a specific manner, especially the anthologies of ethno-geographical accounts, such as those dealing with the Turkish world. The most famous of these is the *Historia universale dell'origine et imperio dei Turchi*, containing the stories of different extraction and provenance by travelers.²⁹ In other words, Sansovino's manipulation of text collections was devoted to civil education, in accordance with the ideas of Speroni, Piccolomini and other academicians. Among his most popular editions – republished in his own and other print shops – one finds the works dedicated to the education of key figures in the state administration, such as the secretary, the gentlemen and the lawyer, and finally, and most important of all: the counsellor.³⁰

²⁸ M. Maylender, *Storia delle accademie d'Italia*, vol. 3, Bologna 1929, p. 266; F. Bruni, "Sperone Speroni e l'Accademia degli Infiammati", *Filologia e Letteratura* 13 (1967), pp. 24–71; *Trattatisti del Cinquecento*, ed. by M. Pozzi, Milano and Naples 1978; C. Vasoli, "Le accademie fra Cinquecento e Seicento e il loro ruolo nella tradizione enciclopedica", *Annali dell'Istituto Storico Italo-Germanico* 9 (1981), pp. 81–115; J.-L. Fournel, *Les dialogues de Sperone Speroni: Libertés de la parole et règles de l'écriture*, Marburg 1990; V. Vianello, *Il letterato, l'accademia, il libro. Contributi sulla cultura veneta del Cinquecento*, Padua 1988; H. Mikkeli, "The Cultural Programmes of Alessandro Piccolomini and Sperone Speroni at the Paduan Accademia degli Infiammati in the 1540s", in *Philosophy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Conversations with Aristotle*, ed. by C. Blackwell, S. Kusukawa, Aldershot 1999, pp. 76–85.

²⁹ For instance, the stories of Bartolomej Georgijević and Giovanni Antonio Menavino who had survived imprisonment in the Ottoman Empire: *Prophetia de Maometani, et altre cose turchesche* and the *Trattato de costumi et vita de Turchi composto per Giouan Antonio Menauino Genouese da Vultri*, both translated by Lodovico Domenichi and printed in Florence by Lorenzo Torrentino in 1548.

³⁰ *Gentilhuomo Vinitiano, cioè l'institutioni del nobile in Città libera*, Venice: Francesco Rampazetto, 1566; *Lavvocato dialogo diiso in cinque libri ne quali breuemente si contiene in materia delle cose del Palazzo Veneto...*, Venice: Alessandro de Vian, 1554, now also in F. Sansovino, *Lavvocato e Il segretario*, ed. by P. Calamandrei, Florence 1942, pp. 67–145. The work on the secretary was extremely successful, and the first edition dating to 1564 was followed by a further 11 editions, expanded by the author (1565, 1568, 1569, 1573, 1575, 1580, 1584, 1588, 1590, 1591, 1596); see Bonora, *Ricerche su Francesco Sansovino*, pp. 139–194 and Di Filippo Bareggi, *Il mestiere di scrivere*, pp. 67, 103 and footnote 100. More in general, see D.R. Kelley, "Jurisconsultus Perfectus: The Lawyer as Renaissance Man", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 51 (1988), pp. 84–102.

The edition of *Detti e facti piacevoli et gravi* also seems to have been addressed to that part of the population engaged in “active” life, to which Sansovino had already addressed several works. It would therefore have a role in the civic or political education of readers, in line with the cultural policy promoted by the *Accademia degli Infiammati*.

In the dedicatory letter addressed to Gabriello Strozzi and included in Nicolini’s 1565 edition, Sansovino writes that the texts in the collection reflect the positive nature of men and what he calls “bella moralità”, a beautiful morality. They are beneficial examples that lead to pleasure and reflect the human soul “what beauties belong to the soul, how to explain them by honorable facts and sayings, and when to demonstrate them”.³¹

Lodovico Guicciardini, on the other hand, did not have in mind these ideal addressees for his work and the only information he seems to have shared with the Venetian publisher was his year of his birth.

At the beginning of the piracy affair with Sansovino, he turned to him with respect and admiration: “if you think they are worthy of printing”, he wrote, submitting to him both the manuscript of the *Hore di ricreatione* and the *Commentarii*, “you will have them printed with that sincerity and diligence that I expect from an honored peer such as yourself; and for the rest we will be in agreement”.³² The theft of the work opened a deep wound because the author had great expectations for it. It was an injury that Guicciardini would describe with much gravity in a passage that had not been included in the Venetian versions. Even if it is not possible to establish whether Sansovino removed this passage, it seems much more likely that it was the author who added it at a later time, in the edition printed in Antwerp in 1568, as if Guicciardini had responded with his pen to the outrage committed:

Whoever steals a horn, a horse, a ring and similar things, has some discretion and could be called a petty thief; but whoever steals the reputation and makes himself beautiful with the efforts of others, can be called a murderer and a robber, and the more hatred and punishment he deserves, the more the act crosses the line.³³

It is the character Palla Strozzi who, much disturbed, delivers these lines. After having composed some rhymes, he discovers that a friend of his, with whom he had shared them in a friendly way, not only took a copy of them but also had them printed under his own name. Although the injustice suffered by Guicciardini was

³¹ “. . .quali bellezze s'appartenghino all'animo, come si spiegghino co' fatti e co' detti onorati e in che tempi si debbano dimostrarle”.

³² “Se vi parranno degne di stampa le farete stampare con quella sincerità et diligenza che io aspetto da un pari vostri onoratissimo; e del resto saremo d'accordo”, my translation, see above footnote 3.

³³ “Chi ruba un corno, un cavallo, un anello e simil cose, ha qualche discrezione e potrebbe chiamarsi ladroncello; ma quel che ruba la riputazione e dell'altrui fatiche si fa bello, si può chiamare assassino e ladrone, e di tanto più odio e pena è degno, quanto più del dover trapassa il segno”, my translation. Text 56 included in the edition of 1568.

of a different nature, an act of piracy rather than plagiarism, it is not difficult to find an echo of his displeasure in Strozzi's complaint. In order to understand the type of ethical education proposed in the volume and the readings that could have exerted some influence on Guicciardini's work and concept of ethics, it is necessary to leave in the background remarks about the literary genre and to focus on the content of the proemial parts of the volume where, together with the usual rhetorical formula of the occasion, we also find the author's purposes exposed.

In the letter to the reader, Guicciardini explains that his work was articulated in different stages: first he assembled the materials and then, driven by his friends' admiration and encouragement, he prepared the selection:

I have been accustomed for some years now (my sincerest reader) to read, write down, among my other notes and observations, apophthegmata, apologies, parables, comedies, accounts, examples, proverbs and graceful and sententious mottos, tending to moral pleasantness, seasoned with utility ... I began to diligently select the entire crop of my gathered flowers and to make a garland of them at once.³⁴

From this paragraph one could have some doubts about the fact that moral education is really the author's goal. Guicciardini's statement appears in fact nuanced because the texts he selected are not moral but "tending to moral pleasantness"; that is, it is the aspect of pleasure that comes from reading that is emphasized, and the texts he collected are not useful but "but seasoned with utility".

The gestation of the work was long, contemporary to that of his major works, and the criterion of selection is not usefulness, but rather the moral pleasure that is drawn from reading. Guicciardini's general purpose was to provide pleasure in difficult times, that is, to offer *ricreazione* when around him he saw wars and decadence.

The first question that comes to mind is why these flowers he collected cannot go beyond a "seasoning of utility". When going through the texts included in the volume, the presence of neo-Stoic motifs is very strong, as it was very much in vogue at the end of the century, with a continuous call for the control of passions, and emphasis on the inner life as true goods not subject to the arbitrariness of fortune. Man is described as a creature naturally inclined to evil, often grotesque and ridiculous. However, and this is an important point to keep in mind, it is precisely the contemplation of the human variety that constitutes for the author the greatest pleasure, as if ethics, rather than a subject to be taught, was an occasion for relief.

Pleasure arises from the contemplation of the probity that is sometimes revealed in human variety. This contemplation, however, has no transcendent attributes and

³⁴ "...ho usato da qualche anno in qua (sincerissimo lettore) leggedo, annotare, fra le altre mie o postille e osservationi, apoftegmati, apologi, parabole, facezie, conti, esempli, proverbi e motti leggiadri e sentenziosi, tendenti a moral piacevolezza, conditi di utilità ... a mano a mano mi diedi a fare diligentissima scelta di tutto il raccolto di quei miei congregati fiori e a tesserne senza indugio, come dire, una ghirlanda", my translation.

is purely a secular experience. It is not, therefore, a contemplation of the highest good, but rather a contemplation of human integrity hidden within its variety. The *ricreazione's* promise in the title is thus based on observation with irony and benevolence of human miseries and lowliness, a theme repeated throughout the collection.

It is not unreasonable to imagine that among Guicciardini's readings there was Plato's *Philebus*, possibly Ficino's Latin version. In this case hedonism as the joy of the good, the true and the beautiful, which involves both the sensory and the psychological spheres, would find in the *Hore di ricreazione* a different dimension, all played out on the empirical and human level.³⁵

On the topic of sources and inspirations, there are also two Italian authors who may have left traces in his book. The first is certainly the aforementioned uncle Francesco Guicciardini with his *Ricordi*, which Lodovico published, and the *Storia d'Italia*, which he tried in vain to publish; but I will return to this matter in a moment. It should also be borne in mind that while he was composing the text of the *Hore di ricreazione*, Flanders was going through a time of great turmoil. From 1567 to 1573 the Duke of Alba scourged the Netherlands on behalf of Philip II, and the so-called Spanish Fury hit the city of Antwerp hard, which, after being besieged, headed towards an inevitable decline. When interpreting the contemporary situation, Lodovico drew on his own education, and his uncle's experience became a tool for understanding reality, but also for fathoming the diversity of human nature and the vagaries of destiny to which it is subjected, in other words, man facing the *vicissitudes of time*. Even more important for defining the ethics described in the *Hore di ricreazione* could be the influence in the text of Leon Battista Alberti, who does not actually appear among the names of the authors cited in the text but who is mentioned in a list at the end of the volume.³⁶

Guicciardini drew on ancient and modern works. Everything, he stated in the letter to the reader, is already known, and he quotes the substantiation of Terence's words: *nullum est iam dictum quod non sit dictum prius* – “nothing has been said that has not been said before”.

If he was aware of this, on the other hand he believed he was playing a pioneering role because his goal was to arouse delight with even already known texts, giving these texts a new dimension and dignity. The same passage, as well as the most salient content of Guicciardini's dedication, can be found in the proem of Leon Battista Alberti's *Momus*. The Latin edition was published in Rome in 1520, while the vulgarization of it was realized in those very years by Cosimo Bartoli and published in 1568, like the *Hore*, in Venice, within a collection of *Opuscoli morali*.³⁷ Cosimo

³⁵ Plato, *Filebo* 51 ss, and 21. For Plato *hedone* freed from the passions and was therefore a good thing, while Aristotle linked it to the exercise of *aretè*, *Nicomachean Ethics*, book VII, 14, 1153b 12; X, 5, 1175a 18, see also A. Lambertino, *Valore e piacere: itinerari teoretici*, Milan 2001.

³⁶ I am very grateful to my friend and brilliant scholar Daniele Conti for suggesting that I look in Alberti's direction.

³⁷ J. Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503–1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, Geneva 1983, especially chapter 10: “Cosimo Bartoli as Translator and Editor of Leon Battista Alberti”, pp. 85–208.

Bartoli published fifteen works by Alberti under the main title of *Opuscoli morali*, eleven translated by Bartoli himself and another four in their original vernacular form, each preceded by its own dedication. The translation of Alberti's *Momus* opened the collection.

Some parts of Alberti's dedication contained in Bartoli's translation appear to be a sort of explication of what Guicciardini achieved in the *Hore*:

It still does not escape me just how difficult and almost impossible it is to introduce an idea that has not already been discovered and handled by a good many out of so infinite a swarm of writers. Think of the old proverb: nothing is said which has not previously been said. For this reason it is my considered opinion that the man who introduces new, unheard-of, and unorthodox material, whoever he happens to be, should be considered a member of this rare genus of humankind. ... I, on the other hand, have worked hard to make my readers laugh, but also to make them feel they are involved in a thorough inquiry into, and a worthwhile explication of, real life.³⁸

These thoughts of Alberti in the very beginning of the *Momus* appear to function as a sort of guide for Guicciardini on how to compose the *Hore di ricreatione*.

The iconoclastic spirit that runs through *Momus* and the vagaries of fortune are also motifs that characterize Lodovico's text. In particular, it is the exaltation of the utility of man for man's sake, that is, of a virtue expressed only in its social dimension that brings the two works closer together. Virtue as an exercise of the civil life, as good conduct, probably seemed to Lodovico the only way to face his difficult times and the decadence spreading around him that he did not fail to describe in his other works. Therefore, if Lodovico Guicciardini read the *Momus*, it was not as an anti-utopian treatise, but rather as an example for his working method and for his idea of ethics. More generally, Florentine culture appears extremely vivid in his texts as a filter through which to measure the world and a complex of knowledge with which to model human action.

One editorial issue remains open, however, which could support, if solved, the hypothesis of Lodovico's meditation on Alberti's text.

How could Lodovico have read the *Momus* if it came out in the same year, 1568, as the *Hore*?

Perhaps he knew the Latin text, or he had access to an unpublished manuscript. As mentioned above, Lodovico had tried unsuccessfully to publish his uncle's *Storia*

³⁸ "Non mi sfugge certo quanto sia difficile, quasi impossibile tirar fuori qualcosa che non sia già stato trattato ed escogitato da parecchi in un così gran numero di scrittori. Antico è il proverbio: «Nulla è detto che non sia già detto». Perciò ritengo che andrà giudicato appartenente ad una rara categoria di uomini chiunque sarà capace di proporre argomenti nuovi, mai toccati prima e fuori del senso comune e delle aspettative del pubblico. ... Io, diversamente, mi sono dato da fare perché i lettori si divertissero, e d'altra parte si accorgessero di essere guidati all'approfondimento di concetti utili e per nulla spregevoli". The Italian version comes from Bartoli's edition, while the English translation is taken from L.B. Alberti, *Momus*, ed. and transl. by S. Knight, ed. by V. Brown, Cambridge (MA) and London 2003, pp. 4-7.

d'Italia and in order to carry out this plan he wrote numerous letters to his relatives and in particular to his cousin Agnolo. Precisely in the years of the printing of the *Hore* and the *Momus*, the editor of Alberti's *Opuscoli morali*, the already mentioned Cosimo Bartoli, was Agnolo's guest for a long time in Venice, where he stayed between 1562 and 1572. It is not so far-fetched to hypothesize that in that circumstance, Bartoli provided a manuscript copy of the text to Agnolo, who would then send it to his faraway relative. As noted above, Lodovico was an avid reader of books from Italy and in those years needed to be consoled by the fact that his cousin had realized one of his great projects, that is the publishing of the *Storia d'Italia*.

Even if the contours of this last episode are still to be clarified and are currently being studied by the author of this article, it seems certain that the event of Sansovino's piracy highlights new aspects of Lodovico Guicciardini's text. The *Hore di ricreazione*, on the one hand, and its Venetian version *Detti et fatti piacevoli*, on the other hand, are presented differently, in accordance with a different view of man between Sansovino and Guicciardini. For the former, this view is positive and the contents of the volume show a "beautiful morality" that supports and guides man in his civic life. In contrast, Guicciardini's view of human nature is negative, and the texts in the anthology provide examples of the wretchedness of human nature. In a broader and more material sense, the printer's intentions were promotional and commercial, and his paratexts aimed to make the volume consistent with both his catalog and his publishing strategy. The author, on the other hand, drew on his intellectual background as a Florentine exile, and as he composed the proemial parts, his mind was on his distant homeland.

The final picture we see is the emergence of the various protagonists of late sixteenth-century publishing, who speak to us through multiple manipulations and proemial sections of their published works, allowing us to observe with greater perception and knowledge the cultural context in which these works were produced.

Bibliography

Primary sources

Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*.

Bebel, H., *Facetiae*, Strasbourg: Grüninger, 1508.

Bracciolini, P., *Liber facetiarum*, Lyon: Reinhart, 1478.

Campanella, T., *Lettere*, ed. by G. Ernst, Florence 2010.

Domenichi, L., *Facetie et motti arguti di alcuni eccellenti ingegni et nobilissimi signori*, Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1548.

Georgijević, B., *Prophetia de Maometani, et altre cose turchesche*, Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1548.

Guicciardini Archive, Carteggi, Legazioni e commissarie, Florence.

- Guicciardini, F., *Storia d'Italia*, Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1561.
- Guicciardini, L., *Comentarii di Lodovico Guicciardini delle cose piu memorabili seguite in Europa specialmente in questi paesi bassi, dalla pace di Cambrai: del 1529 insino a tutto l'anno 1560: libri tre*, Antwerp: Silvio, 1565.
- Guicciardini, L., *Descrizione di tutti i Paesi Bassi altrimenti detti Germania Inferiore*, Antwerp: Silvio, 1567, 1581; Plantin, 1588.
- Guicciardini, L., *Detti et fatti piacevoli et gravi di diversi principi, filosofi, et cortigiani. Raccolti dal Guicciardini, et ridotti a moralità*, Venice: Cavalli, 1565; Venice: Nicolini, 1565; Venice: Viani, 1565.
- Guicciardini, L., *Hore di ricreatione*, Antwerp: Silvio, 1568.
- Guicciardini, L., *Precetti et sententie più notabili in materia di Stato di M. Francesco Guicciardini*, Antwerp: Plantin, 1585.
- Menavino, G.A., *Trattato de costumi et vita de Turchi composto per Giouan Antonio Menauino Genouese da Vultri*, Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1548.
- Plato, *Filebo*.
- Poccianti, M., *Catalogus scriptorum florentinorum omnis generis, quorum, et memoria extat, atque lucubrationes in literas relatae sunt ad nostra usque tempora*, Florence: Giunta, 1589.
- Sacchetti, F., *Trecentonovelle*, Florence: [unknown], 1724.
- Sansovino, F., *Gentilhuomo Vinitiano, cioè l'institutioni del nobile in Città libera*, Venice: Francesco Rampazetto, 1566.
- Sansovino, F., *Historia universale dell'origine et imperio de' Turchi*, Venice: Francesco Sansovino, 1560.
- Sansovino, F., *Lavvocato*, Venice: Alessandro De Vian, 1554.
- Sansovino, F., *Lavvocato dialogo diiso in cinque libri ne quali breuemente si contiene in materia delle cose del Palazzo Veneto...*, Venice: Alessandro De Vian, 1554.
- Sansovino, F., *Lettere sopra le dieci giornate*, Venice: Costantini, 1543.

Secondary sources

- Alberti, L.B., *Momus*, ed. and transl. by S. Knight, ed. by V. Brown, Cambridge (MA) and London 2003.
- Algaridi, Z.O., *Il plagio letterario e il carattere creativo dell'opera*, Milan 1966.
- Amabile, L., *Fra' Campanella ne' castelli di Napoli*, vol. 2, Naples 1887.
- Battistini, M., *Lettere di Giovan Bati Momus sta Guicciardini a Cosimo e Francesco de' Medici*, Brussels and Rome 1949.
- Bonora, E., *Ricerche su Francesco Sansovino: Imprenditore, librario e letterato*, Venice 1994.
- Brown, H.F., *The Venetian Printing Press*, London 1891.
- Bruni, F., "Sperone Speroni e l'Accademia degli Infiammati", *Filologia e Letteratura* 13 (1967), pp. 24–71.
- Bryce, J., *Cosimo Bartoli (1503–1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, Geneve 1983.

- Campanella, T., *Lateismo trionfato ovvero riconoscimento filosofico della religione universale contra l'antichristianesimo macchiavellesco*, ed. by G. Ernst, vol. 1–2, Pisa 2004.
- Di Filippo Bareggi, C., *Il mestiere di scrivere: lavoro intellettuale e mercato librario a Venezia nel Cinquecento*, Rome 1988.
- Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 25, Rome 1981.
- Ernst, G., “‘Oscurato è il secolo.’ Il proemio allo Schoppe del ritrovato ‘Ateismo trionfato’ italiano”, *Bruniana & Campanelliana* 2 (1996), pp. 11–32.
- Fournel, J.-L., *Les dialogues de Sperone Speroni: Libertés de la parole et règles de l'écriture*, Marburg 1990.
- Francesco Sansovino scrittore del mondo*, ed. by L. D'Onghia, D. Musto, Bergamo 2019.
- Fulin, R., “Documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana”, *Archivio veneto* 23 (1882), pp. 82–212.
- Goris, J.-A., *Etude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales à anvers de 1488 à 1567*, Louvain 1925.
- Grendler, P.F., “Francesco Sansovino and Italian Popular History, 1560–1600”, *Studies in the Renaissance* 16 (1969), pp. 139–180.
- Guicciardini, F., *Ricordi*, ed. by R. Spongano, Florence 1951.
- Guicciardini, P., *Contributo alla bibliografia di Francesco Guicciardini*, Florence 1946.
- Guicciardini, P., *Edizioni e ristampe della Storia guicciardiniana e loro raggruppamenti. Contributo alla bibliografia di Francesco Guicciardini*, Florence 1948.
- Guicciardini, P., *Il ritratto vasariano di Luigi Guicciardini*, Florence 1942.
- Hadeln, D. von, “Sansovinos Venetia als Quelle für die Geschichte der venezianischen Malerei”, *Jahrbuch der Preußischen Kunstsammlungen* 31 (1910), pp. 149–158.
- Kelley, D.R., “‘Jurisconsultus Perfectus’: The Lawyer as Renaissance Man”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 51 (1988), pp. 84–102.
- Lambertino, A., *Valore e piacere: itinerari teoretici*, Milan 2001.
- Lepri, V., *Layered Wisdom: Early Modern Collections of Political Precepts*, Padua 2015.
- Lepri, V., “Lo stampatore e la ‘princeps’ del ‘De immenso’”, in *Giordano Bruno, “De immenso et innumerabilibus”*. *Lecture critiche*, ed. by M.A. Granada, D. Tessicini, Pisa 2020, pp. 29–46.
- Lepri, V., Severini, M.E., *Viaggio e metamorfosi di un testo. I ‘Ricordi’ di Francesco Guicciardini fra XVI e XVII secolo*, Geneve 2011.
- Maylender, M., *Storia delle accademie d'Italia*, vol. 1–5, Bologna 1926–1930.
- Mikkeli, H., “The Cultural Programmes of Alessandro Piccolomini and Sperone Speroni at the Paduan Accademia degli Infiammati in the 1540s”, in *Philosophy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Conversations with Aristotle*, ed. by C. Blackwell, S. Kusukawa, Aldershot 1999, pp. 76–85.
- Minuzzi, S., *Privilegi di stampa nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, Venice 2017.
- Nuovo, A., *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance*, Boston and Leiden 2013.
- Processo di Giordano Bruno*, ed. by D. Quagliani, Rome 1993.
- Pusinich, G., “Un poligrafo veneziano del Cinquecento: Francesco Sansovino”, *Pagine Istriane* 8 (1911), pp. 1–18, 121–130, 145–151.
- Ridolfi, R., *Genesi della storia d'Italia guicciardiniana*, Florence 1939.

- Roobaert, E.J., “Nieuwe gegevens over Calvete de Estrella en L. Guicciardini uit de Rekeningen van de Antwerpse Magistraat”, *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis, inzonderheid van het oude hertogdom Brabant* 41 (1958), pp. 68–94.
- Salwa, P., “Les aspects de persuasion dans les formes narratives des ‘Ore di ricreazione’ de Lodovico Guicciardini”, in *Lodovico Guicciardini (1521–1589)*, actes du Colloque international, ed. by P. Jodogne, Louvain 1991, pp. 213–225.
- Sánchez, C.A., “Lodovico Guicciardini versus Francesco Sansovino. Dos Ediciones de facezie”, *RSEI: Revista de la Sociedad Española de Italianistas* 11 (2015–2017), pp. 19–30.
- Sansovino, F., *L'avvocato e Il segretario*, ed. by P. Calamandrei, Florence 1942, pp. 67–145.
- Scamuzzi, I.M.C., “Le ‘Horas de Recreación’ di Vicente de Millis”, in *“In qualunque lingua sia scritta”. Miscellanea di studi sulla fortuna della novella nell’Europa del Rinascimento e del Barocco*, Turin 2015, pp. 85–132.
- Scholz, B., “The Augsburg Edition of Alciato’s ‘Emblemata’: A Survey of Research”, *Emblematica* 5 (1990), pp. 213–254.
- Spampanato, V., *Vita di Giordano Bruno: con documenti editi e inediti*, vol. 1–2, Messina 1921.
- Stolfi, N., *La proprietà intellettuale*, vol. 1, Turin 1915.
- Touwaide, R.H., *Messire Lodovico Guicciardini gentilhomme florentin*, Nieuwkoop 1975.
- Trattatisti del Cinquecento*, ed. by M. Pozzi, Milano and Naples 1978.
- Van Passen, A.-M., “Lodovico Guicciardini, ‘Lore di ricreazione’: bibliografia delle edizioni”, *La Bibliofilia* 92 (1990), no. 2, pp. 145–214.
- Vasoli, C., “Le accademie fra Cinquecento e Seicento e il loro ruolo nella tradizione enciclopedica”, *Annali dell’Istituto Storico Italo-Germanico* 9 (1981), pp. 81–115.
- Vianello, V., *Il letterato, l’Accademia, il libro. Contributi sulla cultura veneta del Cinquecento*, Padua 1988.

VALENTINA LEPRI

✉ Instytut Filozofii i Socjologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa / Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Poland

@ valentina.lepri[at]ifispan.edu.pl

🆔 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6504-7684>

Valentina Lepri is a Professor of the History of Philosophy at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences; Director of the Center for the History of Renaissance Knowledge. She also is the Principal Investigator of the ERC Consolidator project ERC CoG n. 864542, KnowStudents. Her research interests are focused on intellectual history, Renaissance, systems of knowledge production and dissemination, history of printing. Her major publications include *Viaggio e metamorfosi di un testo: I “Ricordi” di Francesco Guicciardini tra XVI e XVII secolo* (with M.E. Severini, 2011); *Layered Wisdom: Early Modern Collections of Political Precepts* (2015) and *Knowledge Transfer and the Early Modern University: Statecraft and Philosophy at the Akademia Zamojska (1595–1627)* (2019).