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## THE SPREAD OF ITALIAN POLITICAL CULTURE DURING THE RENAISSANCE: REMARKS ON THE FIRST FORTUNES OF GUICCIARDINI'S WORKS\*

### **Abstract:**

*The Florentine historian and politician, Francesco Guicciardini, played a key role in Renaissance culture and his works contributed to the heated debate between the Catholic and Reformed churches. A diplomat and adviser to the Medici Family and the Papacy, his work left a crucial mark during his lifetime, and between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries his texts made the long journey through Europe, meeting with considerable appreciation. Leading thinkers, editors, printers, kings and military leaders published, and read his works, and this paper aims to shed light upon this important moment in the dissemination of Renaissance culture.*

### **Keywords:**

*censorship, culture, Guicciardini, manipulation, printing, dissemination, Renaissance.*

In *Epistolas ad Principes*, letter number V to Andrea Mylio Johannes, Caselius wrote: “Recens Florentiae edita est Guicciardini historia admodum laudata, refertissima consiliis”.<sup>1</sup>

Caselius is a universally known figure who promoted Italian Humanism in Germany at the Rostock and Helmsted universities.<sup>2</sup> He read authors

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\* The text comes from a paper given at Masaryk university in Brno in November 2011, as a part of the EU project Innovation of history studies: History of churches.

<sup>1</sup> “It has recently been published in Florence Guicciardini’s historia, which has been highly praised and is very rich in advice” (my translation of all Latin texts). In: *Joannis Caselii Epistolas ad Principes, Nobiles, Viros celebres*. Frankfurt 1687, p. 662.

<sup>2</sup> See Neukirch, Albert: *Niedersächsische Adelskultur der Renaissance* (Reinassanceschlösser Niedersachsens, Text-band Zweite Hälfte). Hannover 1939;

such as Pietro Bembo, Giovanni Scaligero, Stefano Guazzo and in addition to his academic career he also spent several years as a tutor in North-European courts, and as a private teacher he suggested to his students the works written by the historian and political thinker, Francesco Guicciardini.<sup>3</sup> During the Renaissance, Caselius was not the only one who appreciated the Florentine writer as many outstanding thinkers – Francis Bacon, Jean Bodin, Michel de Montaigne – read his books, and thanks to his works part of Italian political culture was promulgated extensively beyond Italian borders.<sup>4</sup>

The main goal of my paper is to shed light on some features of this widespread focus on the general dynamic of this phenomenon and on two crucial ideas which are the basis of the phenomenon itself: dissemination and manipulation. Taking into consideration the example of the first fortunes of Guicciardini's works, we will be able to properly understand the meaning of these ideas and their relevance for studying Renaissance culture. A friend of Niccolò Machiavelli, Guicciardini was a leading historian of noble birth and his rich family was very close to the Medicis. Guicciardini spent part of his life working for two of the Medicis' popes, Leo X and Clement VII, and he also had a brilliant diplomatic career starting very young – in 1512 – as ambassador of the Florentine Republic at the Spanish court of Ferdinand the Catholic. Like all noble people in Florence he had studied classical texts, Greek and Latin, before getting a degree in law at Pisa university and then practising as a lawyer for a while. The most relevant aspect to stress from his life was his role as a witness to Italian and European political events and, especially, his role as a witness to the political activity of the Catholic church during a very crucial moment in its history. Guicciardini was born in the same year as Martin Luther, in 1483, so he lived in the same period, but compared to other people and also to Luther, he was able to observe from close up the aggressive politics and the corruption of the Vatican. Though he wrote a lot during his life, Guicciardini never published any works: he

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H e n k e , Ernst Ludwig Theodor: *Georg Calixtus und seine Zeit: Erste Abtheilung die Einleitung enthaltend*. Halle 1833; B o n f a t t i , Emilio: *La «Civil conversazione» in Germania: Letteratura del comportamento da Stefano Guazzo a Adolph Knigge, 1574–1788*. Udine 1979; S c a t t o l a , Merio: *Johannes Caselius (1533–1613) ein Helmstedter Gelehrter*. Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte 22, 1997, pp. 101–121.

<sup>3</sup> R i d o l f i , Roberto: *Vita di Francesco Guicciardini*, Rome 1960. The most recent and most important study about Guicciardini's life and work is by C u t i n e l l i – R e n d i n a , Emanuele: *Guicciardini*. Roma 2009.

<sup>4</sup> See L u c i a n i , Vincent: *Francesco Guicciardini and his European reputation*. New York 1936 and I d e m , *Francesco Guicciardini e la fortuna dell'opera sua*. Florence 1949 (extended edition).

planned to print his *Storia d'Italia*, but the text came out almost twenty years after his death. Consequently all the titles of his works were decided by editors and printers. They were to play a key role in the dissemination of Guicciardini's thought as they were the main characters of this process, with all its positive as well as negative consequences.

In my paper I will not discuss his works devoted to his experience as an ambassador in Spain or to the history of Florence and to the analysis of its civil government.<sup>5</sup> I will turn my attention to his two most famous works: the first one is the already mentioned *Storia d'Italia*, the other is a collection of records known as *Ricordi*.<sup>6</sup>

The *Storia d'Italia* is an impressive historical reconstruction in which Guicciardini explained something that he knew very well because he had been personally involved in it: he really was one of the actors in a show from which he obtained valuable information from his experiences. The author followed the examples of classical models and of Italian and Florentine chronicles, such as Bernardo Rucellai's *De Bello italico*,<sup>7</sup> and he also adopted a strict chronological order, as Paolo Giovio and Philippe de Commines had done. The book begins with the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent in 1492 and concludes with the death of the Pope Clement VII in 1534. As is well known, during these forty years the French army fought in Italy against the Spanish, but this is not the main object of Guicciardini's history. Drafting his book between 1537 and 1540, he was able to delineate the events and the general situation while maintaining a suitable distance and, at the same time, he was aware of the consequences of the actions he had described. In other words he aimed to describe the end of the balance of power which existed in Italy thanks to Lorenzo's politics. Therefore in the *Storia d'Italia*, using generalizations he described a gradual political crisis which reached its peak during the crucial event of the Sacco di Roma in May 1527.

The other Guicciardini text that I would like to focus on is *Ricordi*, which is a collection of political and moral maxims recorded by Guicciardini in his personal notebooks between 1523 and 1530. After the death of the historian, the work began to circulate both in manuscript form and in various

<sup>5</sup> Guicciardini, Francesco: *Opere*. 2 vols. Ed. Emanuela Lugnani Scarano. Turin 1970–1981.

<sup>6</sup> See Guicciardini, Francesco: *Storia d'Italia*. Ed. S. S. Menchi. Introduction of Felix Gilbert. Turin 1971; *Idem*: *Ricordi*. Ed. E. Pasquini. Milan 1975 and the most recent and extensive *Idem*: *Ricordi*. Ed. G. Palumbo (critical and diplomatic edition). Bologna 2009.

<sup>7</sup> Rucellai, Bernardo: *De bello italico. La guerra d'Italia*. Ed. D. Coppini. Florence 2011.

printed versions, and became the subject of great interest. All these versions lay particular emphasis on the political issue of tyranny, not only in order to describe the features of a tyrant, but also to give suggestions addressed to his collaborators, such as secretaries, diplomats and ambassadors. In other words, in both Guicciardini's works, *Storia d'Italia* and *Ricordi*, we find not only his political interests but also precise elements inspired by his personal experience.

The *princeps* of *Storia d'Italia* came out in 1561 and was printed in Florence by Francesco Torrentino, but it represented an incomplete version of only 16 books. The final 4 books came out in Venice in 1564, printed by Gabriele Giolito, who also published the whole volume in 1567.<sup>8</sup> The work began to circulate roughly at the end of the Council of Trent, during the period of the Catholic Revival, and in his report there was no encomiastic and laudative style, such as Cicero and many Humanism and Renaissance historians employed. Guicciardini described the political activity of the popes Alexander VI, Julius II, Leo X and Clement VII, as though they were kings among kings. The *Storia d'Italia* quickly met with great success in Europe, and this success increased with the publication of Latin and German editions by the Italian printer Pietro Perna in Basel. Without any doubt it was the Latin version of the text which introduced Guicciardini's work to North and Central Europe in 1566.<sup>9</sup> The Dominican friar Pietro Perna<sup>10</sup> devoted his career to promoting Renaissance culture: he printed Latin versions of works by Machiavelli, Guicciardini and Bodin. Classical texts such as Paracelsus's works and the *editio princeps* from Plotinus's *Enneads* are just a few examples of his large and important editorial production. His printing projects involved a team of outstanding editors, such as Thomas Erast and Lodovico Castelvetro. The editor of the Latin version of *Storia d'Italia*, Celio Secondo Curione,<sup>11</sup> used the Florentine edition printed by Torrentino, but he also edited the text, removing remarks about

<sup>8</sup> On the first editions of *Storia d'Italia* see *Indice delle edizioni della Storia d'Italia di Francesco Guicciardini*. Ed. E. Rostagno in Guicciardini, Francesco: *La Storia d'Italia sugli originali manoscritti*. 4 vols. Ed. A. Gherardi. Florence 1919, vol. I, pp. CLXVII–CLXXXV; Guicciardini, Paolo: *Contributo alla bibliografia di Francesco Guicciardini*. Florence 1946; Idem: *Edizioni e ristampe della Storia guicciardiniana e loro raggruppamenti*. Florence 1948.

<sup>9</sup> *Francisci Guicciardini Patricii Florentini Historiarum Sui Temporis Libri Viginti / Ex Italico in Latinum sermonem nunc primum & conuersi, & editi, Caelio Secundo Curione Interprete*. Basel. Pietro Perna. 1566.

<sup>10</sup> See Cantimori, Delio: *Eretici italiani del Cinquecento. Ricerche storiche*. Florence 1939 and above all Perini, Leandro: *La vita e i tempi di Pietro Perna*. Rome 2002.

<sup>11</sup> See Biondi, Albano: *Celio Secondo Curione*. In: *Dizionario Biografico degli*

Luther.<sup>12</sup> In this way the book was perfect for the European market as it appeared less partisan. Georg Forberger edited the German translation in 1574<sup>13</sup> following Curione's text and an Italian version, but we do not know exactly which one. As well as Curione, Forberger<sup>14</sup> was also influenced by religious conflicts and his version also contained censored sections of the text, contributing strongly to the creation of a precise image of Guicciardini for European readers. Again in Basel, *Loci duo* was printed at Perna's workshop in 1569. *Loci duo* means two places, which until then had been censored and removed from the printed editions of *Storia d'Italia*.<sup>15</sup> In the text we find the chapters number 3 and 4 of the book which were translated into French and Latin together with the Italian version. Here Guicciardini criticized the political intrigues of the papacy more harshly and in detail, and thus the author appeared to his first readers as a master of history, but he also became someone who revealed the corruption of the papacy. Several copies of *Storia d'Italia* and *Loci duo* are still held in the main European libraries in France, England, Germany and in the Czech Republic. If the journey of *Storia d'Italia* across Europe during the Renaissance is quite

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Italiani, vol. 31, Rome 1985, p. 443–449; D'ascia, Luca: *Erasmus da Rotterdam, Celio Secondo Curione, Giordano Bruno*. Bologna 2004.

- 12 See Guicciardini, Paolo: *La censura nella Storia guicciardiniana: Loci duo e Paralipomena. Quinto contributo alla bibliografia di Francesco Guicciardiniana*. Florence 1954.
- 13 *Gründliche und wahrhaftige Beschreibung aller fürnehmen Historien die in vierzig Jahren, nemlich von dem 1493 bis auf das 1533 unter der Regierung Kaiser Maximilians des ersten ... geschehen sind] Francisci Guicciardini Gründliche Vnnd Warhafftige beschreibung aller Fürnemen historienn die in vierzig jaren, nemlich von dem 1493 bisz auff das 1533, vnter der regierung Keiser Maximilians des ersten, vnd zum theil auch Keiser Carls des fuenfften, Geistlich und Weltlich, zu frieds vnd kriegszeiten, zu Wasser und zu Lande etc. allenthalben sonderlich aber in Jitalia, doch des meisten theils durch die Teutschen geschehen sind ... / Erstlich ... durch Franciscum Guicciardinum ... mit vleiss zusammen getragen, vnd in zwentzig Bücher getheilt, jetzund newlich aber teutscher nation zu gut, auss italiaenischer vnd lateinischer sprach in vnser gemein vnd breuchlich Teutsch gebracht durch ... Georgium Forberger von der Mittweiden auß Meissen*. Getruckt zu Basel, bey Samuel Apiario inn verlegung Heinrich Petri und Peter Perna, 1574.
- 14 On Forberger see Zanic, Rudolph: *Der sächsische paracelsist Georg Forberger. Mit bibliographischen Beiträgen zu Paracelsus, Alexander von Suchten, Denys Zaccare, Bernardus Trevirensis, Paolo Giovio, Francesco Guicciardini und Natale Conti*. Wiesbaden 1977.
- 15 *Francisci Guicciardini Loci duo, ob rerum quas continent gravitatem cognitione dignissimi, qui ex ipsius historiarum libris tertio et quarto, dolo malo detracti, in exemplaribus hactenus impressis non leguntur*. Basel [s. a. e. t. s. n. t.]. See also Guicciardini, Paolo: *La censura nella Storia guicciardiniana: Loci duo e Paralipomena. Quinto contributo alla bibliografia di Francesco Guicciardini*. Op. cit.

clear and we know the reasons for its success, unfortunately we cannot say the same about *Ricordi*. In order to understand the dynamics of its journey through Europe, it is necessary to observe the phenomenon from a wider context with a few introductory words about the dissemination of political themes through collections of texts in general.

The production of collections of political maxims at the end of the sixteenth century, and the popularity enjoyed by these anthologies, represents a fascinating episode in the history of the publication and circulation of works from the Italian Renaissance and elsewhere.<sup>16</sup> The publishers and editors were frequently the real authors of these maxims, as they made their selections from the works of one or more writers. The works of several classical writers, such as the first editions of Guicciardini's or Machiavelli's works, were treated similarly during printing, and also the *Loci Duo* can be seen as a perfect example of undergoing extensive changes. Obviously the abbreviated formula of thoughts such as maxims, anthologies of verses, letters, selections of passages and their constant dissemination in the publisher's workshop, made it possible to circulate unorthodox religious views and political ideas, and this was also the case with *Ricordi*.

Between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries the text embarked on a long journey throughout Europe: the *editio princeps* was printed in Paris by the Italian exile Jacopo Corbinelli in 1576,<sup>17</sup> and the editions by Francesco Sansovino and by the Dominican friar Sisto appeared in Venice shortly afterwards.<sup>18</sup> Outside Italy, an edition by the historian's nephew

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, Trovato, Paolo: *Con ogni diligenza corretto: La stampa e le revisioni editoriali dei testi letterari italiani (1470–1570)*. Bologna 1991; Di Filippo Bareggi, Claudia: *Il mestiere dello scrivere. Lavoro intellettuale e mercato librario a Venezia nel Cinquecento*. Rome 1988.

<sup>17</sup> See Guicciardini, Francesco: *Piu consigli et avvertimenti – Plusieurs advis et conseils*. Anastatic reprint. Ed. by V. Lepri and M. E. Severini. Rome 2005 and see also Lepri, Valentina – Severini, Maria Elena: *Jacopo Corbinelli editore 'politico' alla corte di Francia: Il caso della princeps dei Ricordi di Guicciardini*. *Rinascimento* 46, 2007, pp. 497–556.

<sup>18</sup> *Concetti politici di M. Francesco Sansouino. Raccolti da gli scritti di diuersi autori greci, latini, & volgari, à beneficio & commodo di coloro che attendono à gouerni delle republiche, & de principati, in ogni occasione cosi di guerra, come di pace. Con una breue tauola da ritrouare ageuolmente le materie che ui si contengono*. Venice, Antonio Bertano, 1578; *Considerationi civili, sopra l'histoire di M. Francesco Guicciardini e d'altri historici: trattate per modo di discorso da M. Remigio Fiorentino... Dove si contengono precetti, e regole per Principi... etc... Con e CXLV advertimenti di Fr. Guicciardini nuovamente posti in luce*. Venice, Damiano Zenaro, 1582; *Propositioni overo Considerationi in materia di stato sotto titolo di Avvertimenti, avvedimenti civili e concetti politici di M. Francesco Guicciardini, M. Gio. Francesco Lottini, M. Francesco Sansovino*. Venice, Altobello Salicato, 1583. See Bonora Elena:



Lodovico Guicciardini was printed in Antwerp in 1585,<sup>19</sup> and very soon French, English and Spanish translations appeared, as well as two Latin versions. Each version of the text, either printed or in manuscript, reveals the influence of the cultural context in which it was produced, as political debates and religious conflicts strongly influenced the editors' approaches to the text.<sup>20</sup> The collection was subject to a variety of changes: the maxims were frequently edited or censored, and in some cases accompanied by comments or augmented by the addition of aphorisms by other writers, both classical and modern. The subject of tyranny and the political conduct of the prince are addressed in many of Guicciardini's precepts, which were of great interest to the publishers, editors and copyists of the *Ricordi*. The numerous editions, reprints and Latin versions of the *Ricordi* circulated widely in North and Central Europe, even if we can note a difference in the first impact of the text in the countries. In some of them, such as in France, Spain or England, the dissemination of *Ricordi* started from the courts where kings, important politicians, diplomats and the nobility read the *Ricordi* and often paid for the publication of the text. In other countries, university circles were the most important agents. In Germany, for example, the access point was the university where the book became part of the debate about politics. By focusing on the German dissemination of the *Ricordi* we are able to observe other features in the spread of Guicciardini's works. Among the German writers who demonstrated a certain knowledge of Guicciardini's collection, we can distinguish between those who were directly involved in the editing and printing of existing versions of the texts, and those who composed original works in which there are obvious traces of his influence. I would like to explain these two levels of diffusion through two examples.

In German academic circles at the end of the sixteenth century there were several discussions and publications about the teaching of politics at universities. The theme of politics in particular caused a lot of arguments between law scholars and philosophers: the first thought that the politics was a part of teaching law, whilst philosophers maintained that politics was not only distinct from law, but also superior to it.<sup>21</sup> Here the *Hypomneses*

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*Ricerche su Francesco Sansovino: Imprenditore, librario e letterato*, Venice 1994 and De Luca, Andrea: *Note sull'eterodossia di Fra Sisto da Siena: i suoi rapporti con Orazio Brunetto e un gruppo veneziano di spirituali*. Collectanea Franciscana 47, 1977, pp. 27–64.

<sup>19</sup> *I precetti et sententie più notabili in materia di Stato M. Francesco Guicciardini*. Antwerp, Christophe Plantin, 1585.

<sup>20</sup> See Lepri, Valentina – Severini, Maria Elena: *Viaggio e metamorfosi di un testo: I Ricordi di Francesco Guicciardini tra XVI e VII secolo*. Geneva 2011.

<sup>21</sup> Several studies about this topic, one of the most extensive is Scattola, Merio:



*politicae*, the first Latin version of *Ricordi*, entered into the debate. The text was published in Halle in 1598 by Paul Gräber, one of the most important printers at the Rostock and Helmsted universities. In the first page of the text an anonymous writer explains the general theme of the work: “Neque enim, ut alia disciplina, in uno aliquo subjecto versatur, sed omnia, quae in hominum vitam cadunt, ambitu suo complectitur. De prudentia universalis loquor quae principum propria est, quae omnia, qua ad salutem populi (suprema imperiorum ea lex est) necessaria sunt, recte prospicit, atque moderatur.”<sup>22</sup> Attention is focused on the concept of political prudence. Man – as we read – finds politics to be problematic because it is not only one subject, but concerns all of human life. In this case jurisprudence is subordinate to politics, and the law should be just one of the many sides to civil life. If the publication of *Hypomneses* represents the direct communication of Guicciardini’s work in Europe, uncensored, then we have another more hidden example of this communication which we could define as “underground”- the *Aulicus politicus*<sup>23</sup> by Ederhard von Weyhe. In this particular case the original text had been strongly corrupted by several kinds of changes and adulterations. Weyhe had played a starring role in the debate about the theme of politics: a famous lawyer and law professor in Wittemberg, he was also chancellor of the most important German principality., Weyhe mainly wrote about constitutional law<sup>24</sup> and he read with great interest many Italian works. In the dedication letter of his *Aulicus* he explains that people unskilled in politics do not know how to select information. On the contrary, people skilled in politics know that it deals with the transformation of things “in arena nata”,<sup>25</sup> born in the sand, but that anyway, they wrongly pay more attention to the theoretical elements of politics. So the general question is: how is it possible to fuse empirical facts with a theoretical structure? Weyhe’s proposal is explained further into the letter to the reader with an illustration from an Italian model: “Tamen ut peritorum et imperitorum auditati satisfiat, theses non theses exemplo Guicciardini [...] praemittere aulicas volumus.”<sup>26</sup> To satisfy both unskilled and

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*Dalla virtù alla scienza: La fondazione e la trasformazione della disciplina politica nell’età moderna.* Milano 2003.

<sup>22</sup> *Francisci Guicciardini Hypomneses politicae.* Halle 1598. Paul Gräber, cc. 2v–3r.

<sup>23</sup> *Aulicus Politicus: Diversis Regulis, Praeceptis; Sive, Ut Ictus Iauolenus loquitur, Definitionibus selectis, videlicet CCCLXII. Antiquorum neotericorum et Prudentia civilis doctorum instructus; cura et opera Duri de Pascolo.* Hanovia 1596. Antonius.

<sup>24</sup> See *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie.* 42, 1897, pp. 273–277.

<sup>25</sup> *Aulicus politicus.* Op. cit., c. A2r.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem,* c. A2r–v:

skilled people you have to employ the example of Guicciardini. In this way you can get some “theses non theses”, theories without theory. If you look at the work of this Italian author you can find text filled with historical examples: here theory and practice can be linked together and, at the same time, they can keep their autonomy.

*Aulicus politicus* was reprinted and appeared together with other political texts and the Latin version of *Ricordi* in the volume entitled *Speculi aulicarum atque politicarum* printed in 1610 by Lazarus Zetzner.<sup>27</sup> The other works which make up the volume are: the *De conciliis et consiliariis principum* by Fadrique Furió Ceriol, the *Consiliarius* of Hippolyt von Colli (Johan Werner Gebhart), and lastly the *Florilegium Politicum* by Jaroslai a Smirziz.<sup>28</sup> The *Florilegium Politicum* is a very interesting case, similar to *Aulicus*, but we can define it as a kind of evolution of *Aulicus*: the bohemian noble Smirziz was inspired by *Ricordi*, but there are also many traces of the other works in his text which are in the same volume. To be more precise the *Florilegium Politicum* represents a sum of the ideas which are in the whole book and it could be an important step in the research of Renaissance political thought to study this work in greater detail.

In drawing to a conclusion, the *Storia d'Italia* and especially *Ricordi* are the perfect examples of a kind of manipulation whereby the texts gain a new form and they become the mirror to a real workshop of political themes in the late sixteenth century. The *Storia d'Italia* also strongly contributed to this workshop because, as I mentioned at the very beginning of my paper, it was “refertissima consigli”, full of advice. After all, the use and the study of history during the Renaissance was a kind of training in order to practice politics: this was the lesson derived from the classical authors, especially from Cornelius Tacitus, and we can find it in every single letter of dedication from historical works published at that time. It is important to stress the fact that among historians who were the models there are not only Greek and Latin thinkers but also contemporary ones, like Guicciardini. His book was a valuable and trustworthy source on European history and the Italian wars, but it also was a commendable text aimed at political men, diplomats and military officers of high social standing.

We could describe Guicciardini’s career in the following order: first he was an ambassador involved in political affairs, then he left this activity and

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<sup>27</sup> *Speculi aulicarum atque politicarum observationum libelli quatuor, nimirum 1. De conciliis et consiliariis principum Fridericus Furius, etc. 2. Consiliarius Hyppoliti a Collibus. 3. Aulicus politicus Duri de Pascolo. 4. Hypomneses politicae Francisci Guicciardini. Denuo ... correctius ... aediti.* Strasbourg 1610, Lazaro Zetznero.

<sup>28</sup> Holasová, Andrea: *Životní cesta Jaroslava II. Smiřického ze Smiřic: Kapitoly ze života renesančního aristokrata.* Diploma work. Prague 2002.

started to write about history. Even his work reflects that change: initially Guicciardini wrote works in which he analyzed the political rules of power, then after being pushed away from political activity he started to write about history.<sup>29</sup> The sixteenth-century dissemination of his works and influence of his thought developed in reverse: at the beginning his first readers discovered his mastery in writing about history and only afterwards did they come to appreciate his political point of view. Generally speaking the interest in Guicciardini's works in Europe can be divided into two phases: in the first Guicciardini was considered as a model of the perfect historian and he was the main witness to papal politics; in the second, interest in *Ricordi* gradually increased with readers focusing on the issue of political conduct addressed to those advisors who helped kings and men of power. Within this dynamic there was a general and common feature: the continual movement of the texts from one printing enterprise to another, which gradually altered the original message of the writer. In effect, since *Storia d'Italia* and *Ricordi* were also functional to specific editorial projects, they not only described the reality in which they were conceived but also the various contexts in which it was decided to publish them. Dissemination and manipulation: two notions of primary importance in the understanding of Renaissance culture.

### RÉSUMÉ:

Studie je věnována rozšíření díla italského historika a politika Francesca Guicciardiniho v západní části Evropy v 16. a 17. století. Autorce jde zejména o zachycení distribuce a manipulace s texty v souvislosti s politickými komentáři, jež Guicciardini vyjádřil ve svých Dějinách Itálie a v tzv. zápiscích (*Ricordi*). Obě díla zažila rychlé vydání v několika evropských jazycích, ovšem podlehla také cenzurním zásahům, například v pasážích, jež se výrazně kriticky a nechvalně vyjadřovaly k papežské politice Guicciardiniho doby. Stejně tak zmíněné texty vzbudily podstatné diskuse na evropských univerzitách. Autorka uzavírá poukazem na nutnost studia politických textů v různých kontextech, v nichž byly vydávány a recipovány, a to s ohledem na jejich « disseminaci a manipulaci ».

<sup>29</sup> See De Sanctis, Francesco: *L'uomo del Guicciardini*. In: Idem: *Saggi critici*. 3 vols. Ed. L. Russo. Bari 1952, vol. III, pp. 10–11; De Caprariis, Vincenzo: *Francesco Guicciardini: Dalla politica alla storia*. Bari 1950; Cantimori, Delio: *F. Guicciardini in Storia della letteratura italiana*. Milan 1966. vol. IV, pp. 87–148; Sasso, Gennaro: *Per Francesco Guicciardini: Quattro studi*. Rome 1984.