



Italian Translations and Editions of Thomas More's *Libellus vere aureus*

Paola Spinozzi

ABSTRACT

The translations of More's Libellus vere aureus published in Italy in the sixteenth–nineteenth centuries share long titles. The first Italian translation was printed in Venice in 1548 by Aurelio Pincio, edited by Anton Francesco Doni and translated by Ortensio Lando. More's utopian project landed in a country where Leon Battista Alberti, Filarete, Francesco di Giorgio Martini, and da Vinci had theorized ideal cities and societies throughout the fifteenth century and Roseo, Anton Francesco Doni, Agostini, and Campanella would take up the legacy of utopian thought in the later sixteenth century. The next Italian edition was published in 1821, and the following was published in 1863 together with Campanella's La Città del Sole and an Italian utopia by Gozzi. More's text received great critical attention after World War II. L'Utopia o la migliore forma di repubblica (1942) was translated and edited by Tommaso Fiore, a prominent anti-Fascist intellectual. L'Utopia (1945) offers a fine translation by Roberto Bartolozzi and a preface by Alberto Savinio, who advocated the centrality of utopian thought in Western civilization. Utopia (2015) is the latest translation from Latin, by Maria Lia Guardini. In January 2016 its publisher launched Utopias500, a project involving a range of cultural initiatives.

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KEYWORDS: *utopia as a literary genre*, *Libellus vere aureus*, *Italian translations*, *Italian editions*, *reception*

I. Utopia in Renaissance Italy

De re aedificatoria (1443–52) by Leon Battista Alberti, *Trattato di Architettura* (1460–64) by Filarete, *Trattati di architettura, ingegneria e arte militare* (1479–92) by Francesco di Giorgio Martini, and Leonardo da Vinci's works of engineering and inventions exemplify the ways in which fifteenth-century Italian thinkers could blend speculative and rational approaches. *Libellus vere aureus* was published in Leuven in 1516. Mambrino Roseo praised the simple, earnest people of Garamanti in *Institutione del prencipe christiano*, dating to 1543. The first version of More's Latin text in vernacular Italian was published in Venice in 1548, and the first translation into English by Ralph Robinson was printed in London in 1552, four years later.

Libellus vere aureus, nec minus salutaris quam festivus, de optimo rei publicae statu deque nova insula Utopia is a title as well as a manifesto: it serves as a written statement that introduces More's intentions, motives, and views. The programmatic component of the Latin title is amplified in the first Italian translation, *La Repubblica nuovamente ritrovata, del governo dell'Isola Eutopia, nella qual si vede nuovi modi di governare Stati, reggier Popoli, dar Leggi à i senatori, con molta profondità di sapienza, storia non meno utile che necessaria. Opera di Thomaso Moro Cittadino di Londra*. Built up even more like a verbal declaration of the policies and goals pursued by More, the title introduces a metatextual element by incorporating changes and additions that function as positive critical assessments: the new ways of governing states, guiding people, and making laws for senators are supported by great depth of wisdom. *La Repubblica nuovamente ritrovata* is the outcome of a joint publishing project involving three Italians. The Venetian Aurelio Pincio has been identified as the printer, although the volume was issued without any indication. The Florentine Anton Francesco Doni is the editor and author of a dedication to Gieronimo Fava. The Milanese (or Brescian) Ortensio Lando has been acknowledged as the translator, whose identity remained unknown until stated in *Del governo dei regni e delle repubbliche*, edited by Francesco Sansovino (Venice, 1561): "La Repubblica d'Utopia fu tradotta dalla latina del Moro da Hortensio Lando, uomo in vero di molte lettere, ma delle cose della lingua

volgare poco accurato.”¹ Owing to its inclusion in Sansovino’s collection of well-established political constitutions, the translation, though in abridged form, had a fairly broad circulation. Sansovino’s *Del governo* was reprinted in Milan in 1821.

Drawing upon the humanistic ideals propounded by Erasmus of Rotterdam, More envisioned a social utopia aimed at establishing justice and equality through Christian communitarianism. *La Repubblica nuovamente ritrovata* is essential to understanding the ways in which the circulation of utopian ideas in early modern Italy, thriving on the synergy between social and religious goals, injected a new cultural energy into traditional politics. The island of Utopia appealed to the minds of thinkers inclined to introduce social reforms. As Elizabeth McCutcheon observes, the book also connects early sixteenth-century European humanists with literati in Venice, the printing capital of Europe, eager to increase its readership.²

Neither Lando nor Doni was a humanistic scholar *strictu sensu*; nor did they belong to the literary establishment. Although they could read and translate Latin texts, they had not received a formal humanistic training. They were thus uniquely positioned to receive as well as spread unorthodox, even subversive ideas on politics and society. Their readers were not familiar with Latin; neither were they fascinated by the classical world. Visions of the future were at the core of their interest. The vernacular rendition of More’s *Libellus* allowed Lando and Doni to arouse the attention of intellectuals who did not embrace conservative ideas and to gain credit as progressive political spokespersons.

In his dedication to Gieronimo Fava it is clear that Doni foresees a remarkable opportunity to improve the current social and political context. His attempt to educate Italians reveals a broad vision: “Voi troverete in questa Republica . . . ottimi costumi, ordini buoni, reggimenti savi, amaestramenti santi, governo sincero et uomini reali, poi ben composte le città, gl’officii, la giustizia et la misericordia, che ne avrete sommo diletto et non picciol contento, che più leggendo il libretto intenderete cose bellissime.”³

La Repubblica nuovamente ritrovata is a rewriting rather than a strict translation of *De Optimo Reipublicae Statu*. There is no paratext, and the volume consists of the epistle by Thomaso Moro to Pietro Egidio, the Libro Primo, and the Libro Secondo. When More died in 1535, his utopian text was certainly not unknown to educated Italians, but its circulation was limited. In presenting the account of an ideal society he was pursuing goals that were political

but also religious, as were Lando's in translating Latin into the Florentine vernacular. In fact, a religious reading of *La Repubblica nuovamente ritrovata* helps establish a context for the reception of novel views about the interaction between state and church in the second half of the sixteenth century. More became a Christian prophet, whose philosophical arguments sounded more convincing than the vehemence with which Girolamo Savonarola had denounced the corruption of political power in *Trattato circa il reggimento e governo della città di Firenze* (1498):

Bisogneria che li cittadini si amassino insieme, e lasciassino tutti li odii, e dimenticassino tutte le iniurie delli tempi passati, perché li odii e le male affezioni e invidie excecano l'occhio dello intelletto e non lasciano vedere la verità: e però nelli Consigli e nelli magistrati, chi non è ben purgato in questa parte fa di molti errori, e Dio li lassa incorrere in punizione delli suoi e delli altrui peccati, el quale li illumineria quando fussino di tale affezione ben purgati. Oltre di questo, essendo concordi e amandosi insieme, Dio remuneraria questa loro benivolenza, dando loro perfetto governo e quello augumentando.⁴

In More's Utopia an intellectual oligarchy reminiscent of Plato governs a republic based on early Christian communities. Lando and especially Doni, still known as Friar Valerio in those days, became the upholders of More in Italy and the representatives of a new and more refined generation of scholars involved in a program of social reformation.

At the time when Lando and Doni accomplished their project, the debates of the ancient philosophical schools were fading, and even Plato's political ideas about the republic were being neglected. Italy in the sixteenth century was fragmented into small regional states: national unity would be unattainable, and national identity was a vague idea that did not yet arouse the interest of the cultural elite. When other European countries—England, France, Spain—became unified as kingdoms and began their colonial enterprises in the East and West, acquiring economic wealth as well as hegemonic power, Italy was still ruled by the power of city-states constantly clashing with each other. In sixteenth-century Italy the only plausible identity in political and social terms was thriving on ideals of the city accomplished through the government of city-states such as Venice, Florence, and Rome.

The concept of identity in sixteenth-century Italy is to be ~~not found in the national territory but~~ in imagined communities coinciding with republican cities. National identity in early modern Italy developed on anthropological grounds: the absence of a unified political entity that corresponds to the geographic and linguistic boundaries of a territory was replaced by the idea of citizenship as the agent of social cohesion.

The description of Utopia resonated among intellectuals deeply concerned with the fragmentation of the country into city-states ruled by ~~signorie~~ in pursuit of their own particular agendas and prone to corruption. After editing *La Repubblica nuovamente ritrovata*, Doni developed his theory of a society based on strictly regulated communal life in *Mondi celesti, terrestri, et infernali, de gli Academici pellegrini: composti dal Doni; mondo piccolo, grande, misto, risibile, immaginato, de pazzi, & massimo, inferno, de gli scolari, de malmaritati, delle puttane, & ruffiani, soldati, & capitani poltroni, dottor cattivi, legisti, artisti, degli vsurai, de poeti & compositori ignoranti* (1552).⁵ Doni's bizarre dialogues describe his utopia as an anarchist-communist society organized according to the principles adopted in More's *Utopia* and reminiscent of Plato's *Republic*. He also produced a translation of *Trattati Diversi di Sendebar Indiano Filosofo Morale* (1552). Doni's religious ideas were founded on antimonastic views and fueled by his acquaintance with Reformed circles in Bologna as well as in Florentine academia. While expressing the need for a renovation, which ~~possibly incorporated~~ heretical ideas, he was in pursuit of a simplified religion based on notions of piety and loving compassion advocated by Erasmus.

A few decades after Doni theorized his social utopia by projecting Italian national identity onto the smaller microcosm of the city, Ludovico Agostini wrote *Repubblica immaginaria* (1585–90), seeking a balance between the plea for social reforms and the defense of conservative moralism invoked by the Counter-Reformation. ~~Tommaso Campanella, in *La Città del Sole* (1623),~~ envisioned a place governed by wise, learned people: the last communist republic inspired by utopian reformism in Renaissance Italy.

2. The Nineteenth Century

It took centuries before the next Italian edition was published. It came out in 1821, with a double title: *La repubblica ritrovata nel governo dell'isola Utopia. Opera di Tommaso Moro cittadino di Londra*, followed by *Utopia di Tommaso*

Moro cancelliere d'Inghilterra (Milan: Vincenzo Ferrerio, 1821). The letter to Signor Vincenzo Ferrerio, written by the editor Pietro Giordani to the printer, is illuminating. Giordani encourages Ferrerio to publish what he defines as an elegant, valuable work for three reasons. First, Thomas More is an intellectual as distinguished as Erasmus, more deeply acquainted with the matters of the world, as witty as the Dutch intellectual, and a great friend of his. Second, More is identified as a martyr: the clear reference to the resolution that allowed him to face death in the name of his Catholic faith is a strong reason for republishing his *Libellus* in a Catholic country. Third, the original Latin version was printed by Bidelli in Milan in 1620 and dedicated to Don Giulio Arese, the president of the senate. Since the Italians produced a translation before the French, who afterward translated the text many times, the Italian version printed in Venice in 1548 deserves to be reprinted in Milan; however, as it looks like the work of a Venetian, even if the translator Francesco Doni was a Florentine, it is advisable that readers consult the original in order to gain a better insight. Giordani also observes that learned Italians are certainly acquainted with More's achievements and premature death; in order to allow a wider audience to learn about More's life and ideas, he suggests that this edition include a long, though abridged, translation into Italian of *Memoirs of Sir Thomas More, with a New Translation of his "Utopia"* (1808) by Arthur Cayley.⁶ While emphasizing the strength of More's beliefs, which led him to accept King Henry VIII's death sentence, and legacy, which has lived on long past the end of his life, Giordani maintains that *Utopia* stands out as a set of principles both ancient and novel. Regardless of whether they are upheld or rejected, their originality remains intact. More's light style proves ideal to tackle controversial subjects and propose the model for a virtuous and happy state when England was still in a state of barbarism. As European countries have not yet reached an advanced degree of civilization three centuries later, the book continues to be beneficial. Although it is labeled as fiction, the topic of public happiness sets it apart and far above formulaic romances overflowing with sentiment and preposterous adventures.⁷

The following edition, published by G. Daelli in Milan in 1863, consists of More's *Utopia*, Tommaso Campanella's *La Città del Sole*, and another Italian utopia written by Gaspare Gozzi in 1768. *L'utopia ovvero la repubblica introvabile di Tommaso Moro e la Città del sole di Tommaso Campanella versioni italiane nuovamente rivedute e corrette aggiuntavi La storia del reame degli orsi di Gaspare Gozzi* is part of the Biblioteca rara series and includes a plate with a portrait

of Thomas More and a plate with a portrait of Tommaso Campanella. The long preface by Carlo Téoli (pseudonym of Eugenio Camerini) explains that this new edition reprints *La repubblica ritrovata* (Milan: Vincenzo Ferrerio, 1821) together with the letter by the editor Pietro Giordani to the printer.

L'utopia ovvero dell'ottimo Stato di Repubblica e della nuova Isola utopia is an edition published by Sonzogno in Milan in 1896 with a preface by Carlo Romussi and reprinted in 1912 and 1932. Although it belongs to the well-established Biblioteca universale series, it is a less popular edition, and few copies are extant.

3. The Twentieth Century

More's text received great attention in the twentieth century, in particular immediately after World War II. *L'Utopia o la migliore forma di repubblica* (Bari: Laterza, 1942) was first included in the Biblioteca di cultura moderna series, republished in 1963 and 1966, and then became part of the Piccola biblioteca filosofica Laterza series and was published in 1970, 1971, and 1974. The edition consists of a fine translation and introductory essay by Tommaso Fiore, a prominent intellectual and radical opponent to Fascism, which led to his incarceration in 1942 and again in 1943. Starting from 1981 the Laterza edition has been published with an excellent preface by Margherita Isnardi Parente, a distinguished scholar specialized in the history of classical philosophical thought.

L'Utopia (Rome: Colombo, 1945) offers a fine translation by Roberto Bartolozzi and a preface by Alberto Savinio, the pseudonym of Andrea Francesco Alberto de Chirico. Savinio, the younger brother of painter Giorgio de Chirico, studied philosophy and psychology and was a prolific writer, painter, music composer, journalist, essayist, playwright, and set designer. His edition is part of the Collana degli utopisti diretta series, which he edited with the writer and literary critic Enrico Falqui. In his preface Savinio adopts a powerful rhetorical style to explain why utopia as a literary genre possesses a subversive power:

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È stata intesa la ragione di questa collana di Utopie? È stato capito perché noi, oggi, abbiamo sentito l'utilità di rinnovare la lettura della *Repubblica* e delle *Leggi* di Platone, dell'*Utopia* di Tommaso Moro,

della *Città del Sole* di Campanella, della *Nova Atlantis* di Francesco Bacone, delle altre Utopie? Nemmeno questa guerra di cui oggi soffriamo i terribili effetti, nemmeno questa guerra, al pari di quella che l'ha preceduta, nemmeno questa guerra sembra che abbia a essere la tanto sospirata guerra "per la pace." I problemi che si agitano attualmente sono ancor troppo problemi di ieri e troppo poco problemi di domani, cioè a dire sono problemi prevalentemente ispirati tuttavia da sentimenti nazionalistici, da volontà imperialistiche, da velleità di dominio di alcuni popoli su altri. Anco non appare insomma la luce di un consorzio pacifico e laborioso fra i popoli dell'Europa.⁸

Utopian thought allowed Italian intellectuals of the 1930s and 1940s to express their dissent and develop a counterculture. The Collana degli utopisti highlights the network of thinkers reflecting upon the condition of Western civilization after the war: 1944 saw the publication of Tommaso Campanella's *La Città del Sole* with a preface by Alberto Savinio, Francis Bacon's *La Nuova Atlantide* with a preface by Ernesto Buonaiuti, Ludovico Zuccolo's *La Repubblica di Evandria ed altri dialoghi politici* with a preface by Rodolfo De Mattei, and *Utopisti italiani del Cinquecento* selected and annotated by Carlo Curcio. And 1945 was the year of More's *Utopia* with Savinio's preface.

L'utopia: Una antologia dagli scritti di Moro, Campanella, Bacone (Turin: Loescher, 1957), belongs to the *Classici della filosofia* series edited by Franco Lombardi, who provides an introduction and notes for each classic work. This small anthology edited by Leone Bortone and constantly republished until 1981 offers an introduction to utopia as a literary genre, an essential bibliography on the topics of utopia and its history, and a presentation of utopian thought in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: More and *Utopia*, Tommaso Campanella and *La Città del Sole*, and Francis Bacon and *New Atlantis*. A short, well-written essay entitled "Tommaso Moro e l'Utopia" serves as an introduction to the text. A summary of the letter by Thomas More to Peter Giles is followed by several summaries in brackets and excerpts from book 1 and book 2. Readers are thus presented with predetermined paths that radically alter, and weaken, the narrative-political unity of the original text.

Sir Thomas More, *Utopia* (Rome: Signorelli, 1952), translated by Giovanni Rulli, with an introduction and comments by Ettore Albino, is a peculiar publication. The Jesuit Father Giovanni Rulli was a major contributor to *La Civiltà*

Cattolica (Catholic Civilization), one of the oldest Catholic Italian periodicals, founded by the Jesuits in Rome and published continuously since 1850. Rulli, who was in charge of the section on international affairs, was a scholar of More. He produced a translation of the most significant pages of the Latin text published in Basel by Froben in 1518 and wrote “La ‘vera felicità’ di Thomas More.”⁹

Italian scholarship on early modern utopia and More has thrived thanks to the historian of political thought Luigi Firpo. His first edition of *Utopia* (Turin: UTET, 1970) became a *Strenna UTET* in 1971, a distinguished publication offered as a Christmas present by the publishing house to its readers. In the initial pages More’s text is introduced as one of the greatest intellectual works of Western culture, a “message in a bottle” by a humanist intellectual who reacted to the social evils afflicting the early modern age and England. Rather than address his hopeless contemporaries, More aims to arouse the interest of future generations, which will then decide how to express their agency: “Si tratta di un modello di società perfetta—egualitaria, fraterna, felice—che un immaginario marinaio-filosofo avrebbe scoperto in un’isola sconosciuta degli oceani australi e che More addita all’Europa famelica e lacerata come una risposta possibile e razionale ai suoi più angosciosi interrogativi.”¹⁰

Firpo believes in the idea of equality and well-being propounded by More. His endorsement of utopian perfection must be historicized: in the 1970s the ideal of a universal utopia, untouched by the anthropological diversity of humankind, was still tenable, whereas successively it has been revised and redefined through relativism. The *Strenna UTET* volume is a reprint of the 1548 edition, including the frontispieces of the first three editions, the original paratext entitled “Dediche e Prefazioni 1516–1517,” maps, the Utopian alphabet, and the portraits by Hans Holbein, Rowland Locky, and Rubens. The reproduction of a magnificent anonymous wood engraving representing Antwerp in 1515 is a tribute to the town and period in which More wrote *Utopia* while serving on a diplomatic mission. The introduction by Luigi Firpo presents a still unsurpassed reconstruction of the historical context and offers subtle hermeneutic tools.

Utopia. Testo latino e versione italiana (Venice: Neri Pozza, 1978) is aimed at philologists. Translated and edited, with introduction and notes, by Luigi Firpo, it is a fine, widely used scholarly bilingual edition in which the original version coexists with the Italian translation, characterized by Firpo’s refined choice of vocabulary.

Utopia. De Optimo Reipublicae Statu (Milan: Silvio Berlusconi Editore, 1993) is a bilingual edition presenting the Italian version from page 3 to page 254 and the original Latin text from page 257 to page 439. No notes or commentary are included, and the only details are in the colophon: “Milano, Silvio Berlusconi Editore, 7 dicembre 1991: ‘Questa edizione privata dell’*Utopia* è stata composta e stampata su carta velata avorio espressamente fabbricata dalla cartiera Magnani—Val di Pescia, a cura di Luigi Maestri per Publitalia ’80, il giorno di S. Ambrogio 1991.’”¹¹ The preface deserves attention, being written by the media tycoon and politician Silvio Berlusconi, who recalls the year 1978 when, at the age of forty-two, he edited More’s text for the publisher Neri Pozza: “Tredici anni or sono, in occasione del quinto centenario della nascita di Thomas More, curai l’edizione, per la prima volta in Italia, del testo originale dell’*Utopia* nella versione critica dell’università di Yale e ne scrissi la prefazione. La pubblicò l’editore Neri Pozza nella traduzione di Luigi Firpo. Oggi, nel ripresentare questo ‘classico per l’anima’ in una nuova versione, non credo di dover cambiare quel che scrissi allora, quando ancora la grande utopia del comunismo non era caduta. Perciò ripropongo la prefazione, così com’era.”¹²

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Popularization is the mutual aim pursued by the three new editions-cum-translations dating to the last five years of the 1990s: the model of society, culture, and government proposed in the early modern age should aim for a broad readership, including schoolchildren. *Utopia: Lo stato perfetto ovvero l’isola che non c’è* (Bussolengo, Italy: Demetra, 1995), offers a translation, with a presentation, by Davide Sala. It was republished as *Utopia* (Florence: Giunti Demetra, 2000) in the Nuovi Acquarelli series, translated and edited by Davide Sala, with an introduction by Mario Trombino, a teacher of history and philosophy in secondary schools. *L’Utopia* (Rome: Armando Editore, 1996; repr., 2000) is edited by the philosopher of language Massimo Baldini. The choice of presenting only book 2 appears restrictive, even though the critical apparatus comprises an essay on the history of utopia from antiquity to the Renaissance and an essay on More’s *Utopia*. Baldini focuses on the coexistence of a critical part and a constructive part: More boldly criticizes the existing political and social structures, then addresses the cultivated Europe of the sixteenth century by presenting a radical project in which civic coexistence is renewed by establishing a model of patriarchal family, extended culture, and communitarianism. A publishing house specializing in schoolbooks published Thomas More, *Utopia* (Brescia: La Scuola, 1998), offering a

translation, an introduction, and notes by Giovanni Zuanazzi. Currently this edition is no longer present in the catalog.

4. The Twenty-First Century

Three valuable editions have already been published in the first two decades of this century. The first one is *Utopia* (Naples: Guida, 2000), edited by Luigi Firpo. Again, the rich paratext is the most valuable feature. *Utopia* (Rome: Newton Compton Editori, 2011) is translated and edited by journalist and writer Franco Cuomo. The latest edition is *Utopia* (Trento: Casa Editrice Il Margine, 2015), belonging to La Piccola Biblioteca series. It offers a translation from Latin by Maria Lia Guardini, who has taught Latin and Greek in a grammar school for many years and is the author of *Il mito di Elena: Euripide e Isocrate* (1987) and *La Polis tra realtà e utopia: Euripide e Isocrate* (1988). Guardini believes that translating *De Optimo Reipublicae Statu* is both a challenge and a reward. More's Latin, though altogether different from Cicero's, is a lively language, and his narrative shows situations, ideas, and persons strongly resembling the ones around us today: "No doubt More's text is a classic."¹³ The insightful introduction and notes are by Francesco Ghia, a professor of political philosophy and history of philosophy at the University of Trento, whose latest project focuses on a historical and conceptual inquiry into the religious and theological origins of "human rights."

The article "Il Margine celebra la forza dell'utopia" (Il Margine celebrates the strength of utopia), published in *Trentino* on January 16, 2016, defines the act of founding the publishing house Il Margine ten years earlier as the beginning of a literary and cultural utopia, provincial with regards to its location but universal in spirit through continuity. Five hundred years ago More wrote a text dedicated to the search for the best form of government, a philosophical and literary masterpiece testifying to the depth of European intellect. Utopia500. Cercando una società più giusta (<http://www.utopia500.it/>) is the title of a project involving the publishing house and the province of Trento in a series of initiatives throughout the whole year.¹⁴ Il Margine produces books with the aim of "knowing, loving, changing the world." In speculating on the most efficient forms of government and on the role of religion and science in society, More's *Libellus* contributed to shaping early modern thought in Europe and continues to generate transnational utopian projects.

5. Paratext

The Italian translations and editions published between 1548 and the end of the nineteenth century include More's letter to Peter Giles. No other epistle by European humanist intellectuals is available. The 1821 edition presents a long, though abridged, translation into Italian of *Memoirs of Sir Thomas More, with a New Translation of his "Utopia"* (1808) by Arthur Cayley. The 1863 edition includes a long preface by Carlo Téoli, who explains that the edition is a reprint of the 1821 edition together with a letter by editor Pietro Giordani to the printer. Introductions or prefaces by distinguished philosophers, historians of political thought, and literary critics are recurrent features of the Italian editions. The most sumptuous edition is Strenna UTET, published in 1971 and edited by Luigi Firpo. It is a reprint of the 1548 edition including an anonymous wood engraving representing Antwerp in 1515, the frontispieces of the first three editions, the original paratext entitled "Dediche e Prefazioni 1516–1517," various maps, the Utopian alphabet, and the famous portraits of Thomas More, of his family, and even of Henry VIII.

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Notes

1. See Ireneo Sanesi, *Il cinquecentista Ortensio Lando* (Pistoia: Fratelli Bracali, 1893), 256: "The Republic of Utopia was translated from More's Latin by Hortensio Lando, certainly a man of many letters, but with little acquaintance of vernacular language" (my translation).
2. Elizabeth McCutcheon, review of *Thomas More's "Utopia" in Early Modern Europe: Paratexts and Context*, ed. Terence Cave, *Moreana* 48, nos. 185–86 (2011): 214–15.
3. Anton Francesco Doni, in *La Repubblica nuovamente ritrovata, del governo dell'Isola Eutopia, nella qual si vede nuovi modi di governare Stati, reggier Popoli, dar Leggi à i senatori*,

con molta profondità di sapienza, storia non meno utile che necessaria. Opera di Tommaso Moro Cittadino di Londra, ed. Anton Francesco Doni, trans. Ortensio Lando (Vinegia, Italy: Aurelio Pincio, 1548), 2–3: “In this republic you will find . . . excellent customs, good rules, wise guidelines, holy teachings, honest government and real men; cities, offices, justice and mercy well organized, such that you will have great delight and not small happiness, as the more you read the book, the more beautiful are the things you will hear” (my translation).

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4. Girolamo Savonarola, *Trattato sul governo di Firenze*, ed. Michele Ciliberto (Rome: Editori Riuniti, 1999), “Trattato terzo. Di quello che arebbono a fare li cittadini per dare perfezione al governo civile. Capitolo secondo,” 73. Anne Borelli and Maria Pastore Passaro, trans. and eds., *Selected Writings of Girolamo Savonarola: Religion and Politics, 1490/1498* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), *Treatise on the Rule and Government of the City of Florence*, “Third Treatise. What citizens must do to perfect a civil government. Chapter Two,” 20: “It is necessary that the citizens love each other and forsake all hatreds and forget all the injuries of times past, because hatreds and disaffection and envy blind the eye of the intellect and do not let one see the truth; indeed, whoever in the Councils and magistracies is not purified in this regard makes many mistakes, and God allows him to incur punishment for his own sins and those of others, but He will enlighten him when he has been well purged of such disorders. On the other hand, when the citizens live together in peace and mutual love, God will reward their goodwill, giving them a perfect government which will prosper and increase.”

5. See Francesco Sberlati, “*I Mondi* by Anton Francesco Doni (1513–1574),” in *Dictionary of Literary Utopias*, ed. Vita Fortunati and Raymond Trousson (Paris: Champion-Slatkine, 2000), 401–4.

6. Arthur Cayley the Younger, ed., *Memoirs of Sir Thomas More* (London: Cadell and Davis, 1808).

7. Pietro Giordani to Signor Vincenzo Ferrenio, in *La repubblica ritrovata nel governo dell’isola Utopia. Opera di Tommaso Moro cittadino di Londra. . . . Utopia di Tommaso Moro cancelliere d’Inghilterra*, ed. Pietro Giordani (Milan: Vincenzo Ferrenio, 1821), I–V.

8. Alberto Savinio, preface to Tommaso Moro, *L’Utopia*, trans. Roberto Bartolozzi, Collana degli utopisti diretta, ed. Enrico Falqui and Alberto Savinio (Rome: Colombo, 1945), 24: “Has the reason for publishing this series of utopias been appreciated? Has it been understood why nowadays we have grasped the usefulness of rereading Plato’s *Republic* and *Laws*, Thomas More’s *Utopia*, Campanella’s *Città del Sole*, Francis Bacon’s *Nova Atlantis* and other utopias? Not even this war, which today makes us suffer terrible effects, not even this war, like the one before, not even this war seems to be the long-awaited war ‘for peace.’ The problems affecting current times are still too much problems of yesterday and not enough problems of tomorrow, that is, they are mainly generated by nationalistic feelings, imperialistic drives, and the will of dominion some populations exert over others. There seems to be no intimation of a peaceful and hardworking consortium among the populations of Europe” (my translation).

9. Giovanni Rulli, “La ‘vera felicità’ di Thomas More,” *Civiltà cattolica* 126, fasc. 9 (1975): 250–58.

10. Thomas More, *Utopia*, repr. of the 1548 ed., ed. and intro. by Luigi Firpo, *Classici italiani* (Turin: UTET, 1970; Strenna UTET, 1971), 3: "It is a model of perfect society, egalitarian, fraternal, happy, purportedly discovered by an imaginary mariner-philosopher on an unknown island in the Australian oceans, which More points out to a famished and lacerated Europe as a possible rational answer to its most troubling questions" (my translation).

11. *Utopia. De Optimo Reipublicae Statu*, bilingual ed., trans. Domenico Magnino, preface by Silvio Berlusconi (Milan: Silvio Berlusconi Editore, 1993), colophon: "Milan, Silvio Berlusconi Editore, 7 December 1991: "This private edition of *Utopia* has been produced and printed on thin ivory paper specially made by Magnani paper mills—Val di Pescia for Publitalia '80 [the advertising company of Mediaset], on the day of Saint Ambrose in 1991" (my translation).

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ber. (Lvi?).

12. *Ibid.*, ivi: "Thirteen years ago [in 1978], on the fifth centenary of Thomas More's birth, I edited, for the first time in Italy, the original text of *Utopia* established by Yale University and wrote the preface. Neri Pozza published it along with the translation by Luigi Firpo. Today, in representing this 'classic for the soul' in a new version, I do not think I should change what I wrote back then, when the great utopia of communism had not collapsed yet. Thus I present the preface again here, as it was" (my translation).

13. See "Maria Lia Guardini," Casa Editrice Il Margine, accessed June 29, 2016, <http://www.il-margine.it/Gli-autori/Guardini-Maria-Lia>.

14. See "Il Margine celebra la forza dell'utopia," *Trentino*, January 16, 2016, accessed June 29, 2016, <http://ricerca.gelocal.it/trentinocorrierealpi/archivio/trentinocorrierealpi/2016/01/16/trento-il-margine-celebra-la-forza-dell-utopia-12.html>.

Italian Translations of Utopia (in Chronological Order)

La Repubblica nuovamente ritrovata, del governo dell'Isola Eutopia, nella qual si vede nuovi modi di governare Stati, regger Popoli, dar Leggi à i senatori, con molta profondità di sapienza, storia non meno utile che necessaria. Opera di Tommaso Moro Cittadino di Londra. Edited by Anton Francesco Doni. Translated by Ortensio Lando. Vinegia, Italy: Aurelio Pincio, 1548.

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La repubblica ritrovata nel governo dell'isola Utopia. Opera di Tommaso Moro cittadino di Londra. . . . Utopia di Tommaso Moro cancelliere d'Inghilterra. Edited by Pietro Giordani, with a letter to Signor Vincenzo Ferrerio. Milan: Vincenzo Ferrario, 1821.

L'utopia ovvero la repubblica introvabile di Tommaso Moro e la Città del sole di Tommaso Campanella versioni italiane nuovamente rivedute e corrette aggiuntavi La storia del reame degli orsi di Gaspare Gozzi. Preface by Carlo Téoli. Biblioteca rara. Milan: G. Daelli, 1863. This edition contains a portrait of Thomas More and a portrait of Tommaso Campanella and reprints *La repubblica ritrovata* (Milan: Vincenzo Ferrerio, 1821), together with a letter by editor Pietro Giordani to the printer.

L'utopia ovvero dell'ottimo Stato di Repubblica e della nuova Isola utopia. Preface by Carlo Romussi. Biblioteca universale. Milan: Sonzogno, 1896; reprints, 1912, 1932.

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- Tommaso Moro. *L'Utopia*. Translated by Roberto Bartolozzi. Preface by Alberto Savinio. Collana degli utopisti diretta, edited by Enrico Falqui and Alberto Savinio. Rome: Colombo, 1945.
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- Thomas More. *Utopia*. Translated, introduction, and notes by Giovanni Zuanazzi. Brescia: La Scuola, 1998.
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- Thomas More. *Utopia*. Edited by Luigi Firpo. Naples: Guida, 2000.
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