By the mid-sixties of the sixteenth century, Benvenuto Cellini (1500-1571) had to deal with the fact that his situation at the court of the Prince Francesco I de’ Medici (1541-1587), regent of Tuscany since June 1564, was – to say the least – highly critical. Indeed, the man who was probably the most “egolatric” of Italian Renaissance artists had been sorely disappointed by the dropping trajectory of his career as goldsmith and sculptor. Recently removed (in 1565) from the Medicean payroll because of his scarce productivity as an artist in his later years and because of his continual insubordination and contentiousness with Florentine officers, Cellini was desperately trying to regain the favour of the Regent, since the relationship with Francesco’s father, the still very influential Duke Cosimo I (1519-1574), appeared irreparably compromised. Indeed, as the author himself would recall in one of his last pleas to the Florentine civil magistrature of the Sopprassindaci (1570), for a short period after the return from Spain of the young Prince (1563), Cellini had caught in Cosimo’s heir the glimpse of a benevolent patron, who at first led him to believe that the “malignity” of his “cruel destiny” was finally over. Yet, such a wish was soon disappointed, because – according to the author – the “malicious envies” that thrived at court were so powerful that they deprived the artist of the Prince’s favour. As a matter of fact, to his dismay, around 1565 Cellini was once again witnessing his own progressive
loss of the patron’s goodwill: under this respect, Francesco’s conduct was starting to resemble in an alarming way Cosimo’s longstanding intolerance towards the sculptor’s insistent demands.

In 1545, Cellini had left the service of the munificent king of France, Francis I Valois, and had come back to Florence, his hometown, in order to work for Cosimo, young lord of the city. Cosimo, like many of his Medici relatives and forebears, saw in arts a powerful means of reinforcing his recent dominion and therefore a valuable instrumentum regni against the republican Florentine faction defeated at Montemurlo (1537). He thus commissioned Cellini, already a prominent goldsmith, to cast the bronze of a Perseus: the statue was to be displayed, as a symbol of the Medicean dominion, in the civic core of the city, Piazza della Signoria, in front of Donatello’s Judith and Holofernes, Michelangelo’s David and Baccio Bandinelli’s Hercules and Cacus. As a consequence, the commission was extraordinarily prestigious for Cellini, who had strived to be acknowledged as a great sculptor, especially in the context of the so-called Scuola Fiorentina, the Florentine artistic community.

According to a later account in the artist’s autobiography, the completion of the statue, which required nine years, marked Cellini’s triumph. In 1554, the unveiled Perseus was widely acclaimed by the Florentine audience and by Cellini’s fellow artists, and gained the patron’s unconditional favour. Yet, such a triumph was destined to end soon, as it was followed by a series of exasperating economic contrasts between the sculptor (who felt entitled to the most munificent treatment) and the thrifty Medicean power and bureaucracy. Furthermore, a dramatic breakdown occurred in the years 1556-1557. In this short period of time, Cellini was twice convicted in the Stinche, the Florentine prisons: at first, in late August, 1556, on the charges of assault and battery against the rival goldsmith Giovanni di Lorenzo di Papi; then (just a few
months after the artist was set free and condemned to a fine for the beating), in early March, 1557, for sodomy, because of his long-term relationship with the shopboy Ferrando di Giovanni da Montepulciano. This time, despite a heavy sentence of four years, Cellini’s pleas to the Duke were soon accepted and the sculptor was released by the end of the same month, when he was put under house arrest. Although neither imprisonment lasted for long, these events undoubtedly marked a rupture in the relationship between the artist and the Medici power and the beginning of an inexorable decline for Cellini. Starting in the late fifties of the century, he was more and more marginalized in the context of Cosimean Florence, where – on the contrary – a new generation of court sculptors was starting to have success: first of all, Bartolomeo Ammannati and Vincenzo Danti.

Such a background represents the main reason for Cellini’s late “conversion” to literature, which appeared to be a form of compensation – as several Italian literary critics have pointed out – to his wounded narcissism. As the author would explicitly recognize in a fundamental passage of the Trattato dell’oreficeria, he found in writing the opportunity to fill the void caused by the absence of important artistic commissions from the lord of Florence. Benvenuto Cellini’s literary activity therefore belongs, almost entirely, to the last two decades of his life and constantly serves an auto-apologetic and self-celebratory function. This is especially true for his literary masterpiece, the autobiographical recounting of the Vita. The book, composed between the end of 1558 and the first months of 1567, represents an extraordinary documentation of the tensions between Cellini and Cosimo de’ Medici (together with his bureaucracy). Indeed, the final part of the autobiography – which recounts the author’s years at the Florentine court – is an embittered, vitriolic report of the countless disputes between the artist
and his patron. In many episodes, the author follows the same textual pattern. On the one hand is the goldsmith and sculptor who saw himself as the greatest artist of the modern age (together, maybe, with Michelangelo), absolutely convinced of his economic and working rights (like the one of having many skilled assistants in his workshop). On the other hand is the lord of Florence, a stingy autocrat who – according to Cellini – «haveva più modo di mercatante che di duca», “had more the manner of a merchant than that of a Duke”. The depiction of the Medici government is, if possible, even more scathing: almost every individual from the Florentine administration is portrayed as a stolid, mean bureaucrat, absolutely unfit to understand, let alone appreciate, the nature and “rights” of great art.

Given this premise, in the context of Medicean Florence the Vita could be an extraordinarily problematic and “explosive” book. It is therefore not surprising at all that the book was first printed only in the eighteenth century (when it gave rise to the Romantic myth of Cellini as the unwavering rebel and the artist maudit): despite the author’s early wish to publish it, the autobiography was left incomplete, literally mid-sentence, in the first months of 1567. In the meanwhile, however, the author had completed and was planning to publish another book, destined to be overshadowed – because of its practical and technical content – by the Vita in the scholarly literature: the Trattati dell’oreficeria e della scultura (Treatises on goldsmithing and sculpture).

Although traditionally neglected by scholars, the Trattati are a book anything but insignificant in the context of Cellini’s literary production. First and foremost, they are the only major writing by the author which was published when he was still alive and therefore his only contemporary recognition as a writer. In the second place, the Trattati played a central role in the
most problematic part of Cellini’s life, as they were conceived by the artist as an instrument through which he was trying to regain the favour of Francesco de’ Medici, in order to escape the morass of marginalization and irrelevance in which – as we have seen – he had spent his later years.

Indeed, also because of his terrible relationships with some of the most powerful personalities at the Medici court, like Vincenzio Borghini and Giorgio Vasari, at the end of the crucial year 1565 Cellini lost the opportunity to play an active role in the Florentine artistic community, which was at the time almost entirely involved in the preparations for the sumptuous apparati for the marriage of the Prince Francesco with Joanna of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand I. As the author recognized in the dedication letter of the Trattati, the book was therefore conceived and offered to Francesco de’ Medici as a form of compensation, a gift which aimed to replace his unfulfilled works of art on the occasion of the nuptial festivities. Through the dedication of the Trattati, a text fundamentally (even if not, as we shall see, exclusively) technical and didactic, Cellini was hoping to capitalize on the Prince’s well-known fascination for techne. The Treatises, which mainly concerned the material procedures of the art making of both goldsmithery and sculpture, appeared a suitable gift for a lord who – like the Venetian ambassador Andrea Gussoni wrote, bewildered, in 1576 – found his only pleasures in the artisanal activities connected with mineralogy, gemmology, numismatics, goldsmithing and sculpture. Thus, his dedication letter to Francesco de’ Medici states quite clearly (despite the artist’s reticence about the real causes of his absence from the nuptial festivities of 1565) the motives behind the writing of the Treatises:
Da poi che la fortuna, glorioso e felicissimo Signore, per qualche mia indisposizione, m’impedì al non potere operare nella maravigliosissima festa nelle nozze di Vostra Eccellenza illustissima e di Sua Altezza; e standomi alquanto mal contento, subito mi sentii svegliare da un nuovo capriccio; e, in cambio di operare di terra o legno, presi la penna, e di mano in mano che la memoria mi porgeva, scrivevo tutte le mie estreme fatiche, fatte nella mia giovanezza, qual sono molte arte diverse l’una dall’altra; e in ciascuna io cito alcune notabili opere fatte a diversi e grandissimi principi di mia mano. E per non esser mai per altri scritta cotal cosa, credo che a molti, per i bei segreti quali in esse arti si contengono, sarà utile; e ad altri fuori di tale professione, piacevolissima; qual penso doverrà essere a Vostra Eccellenza illustissima, perché più d’ogni altro gran principe quella se ne diletta e l’ama. Quella addunque si degni di accettar questa mia buona volontà, quale ho avuta sempre, di piacerle, pregando Iddio che quella felicissima lungamente conservi [B. Cellini, dedication letter for the Trattati dell’oreficeria e della scultura, in IDEM, Opere, edited by Giuseppe Guido Ferrero, Torino 1980², pp. 591-592].

(To the most illustrious and excellent Mr. Prince, ruler of Florence and of Siena. Since Fortune, most glorious and happy Lord, for an indisposition I had, prevented me from taking part in the most marvelous feast of the marriage of Your Most Illustrious Excellence and Her Highness; and since I was very discontented, immediately I felt spurred by a new whim and, instead of operating with clay or wood, I took the pen, and gradually, as my memory brought them back to my mind, I wrote all my greatest labours, achieved in my youth, which are several arts, different from one another; and in each of them I quote some remarkable works crafted by my very hand for various, most noble princes. And as such a thing has never been written by others, I believe that it will be useful to many, thanks to the beautiful secrets enclosed in these arts; and for others, who don’t practice this profession, it will be very pleasant, like – I believe – it will be for Your Most Illustrious Excellence, since He – more than any other great Prince – enjoys and loves these
things. Thus, may He deign to accept this good will of mine, as I always wished to please him, while I keep imploring God that He will, for a long time, keep him alive).

Conceived by the time the Florentine artistic community was preparing the *apparati* for Francesco’s wedding, the *Trattati* were completed by 1567, when the author donated the manuscript version of the book to the lord of Florence. In a private, autograph memorandum (now preserved in one of the main testimonies of Cellini’s poems, the manuscript Riccardiano 2728 of the Biblioteca Riccardiana of Florence, c. 27), the artist recalled the event, pointing out that his initial desire to publish the book had gathered the enthusiastic support of some nameless “virtuous young men”:

Io ò sempre ringratia Iddio, già sono passati ventidue anni che io ho consumati nella mia dolcie patria, et fra i mia gran travagli il maggiore si è stato l’aver fatte così poche opere; et per essermi più volte doluto di cotale accidente, et mostrando con molte vive ragione come tal cosa non veniva per mia causa, ei mi fu risposto da un gran gentilhuomo di corte il quale non mi disse altro se non che io ero un terribile huomo [...]. E’ sono molti mesi passati che io donai questo mio libro scritto in penna allo Ill. mo et Eccellentissimo nostro insino nel 1567, e se bene alcune volte dissi di darlo alla stampa, ei m’era passato cotal capriccio, il quale me l’à fatto ritornare alcuni virtuos giovani, i quali àno mostro alcuni loro virtuosi studii, faccendone parte a quegli che aranno voglia di queste belle virtute delle nostre arti, et per cotal cagioni ancora io mi son contento di giovare all’universale.

(I have always given thanks to God, I have already spent twenty-two years in my sweet hometown, and among my most painful tribulations, the greatest one was doing so few works: and since several times I complained about this mishap, and since I showed with many valid and lively
arguments that this was not my fault, a great gentleman of the court simply told me that I was a terrible man [...]. Many months have gone by since I bestowed this book of mine, handwritten, to our Most Illustrious and Excellent Lord, back in 1567, and although sometimes I told to give it to the press, such a whim had vanished, but some virtuous young men made it come back to me: they showed some of their virtuous studies, sharing them with those who will desire these beautiful virtues of our arts, and for these reasons I too was happy to be of use to the universe).

Indeed, we shall see that the book which was eventually published by the Florentine editors Valente Panizzi and Marco Peri, in the first months of 1569, offers cogent clues about the identity of one of the “young men” who convinced Cellini to print the Trattati. Yet, what it is important to anticipate is that the volume edited in 1569 had very little in common with the one prepared by its author between 1565 and 1567 and then donated to the Prince: the edition was, on the contrary (as I aim to demonstrate), the supreme betrayal of Cellini’s original text.

As a matter of fact, a systematic comparison between the earlier, manuscript version of the text, which is now preserved in the Biblioteca Marciana of Venice (codex 5134, first edited by Carlo Milanesi in 1857), and the one that came out of the Panizzi and Peri press, reveals that the Trattati underwent a drastic transformation, entailing repositioning of chapters, massive cuts, interpolations and rewritings. Such revisions affected the style of Cellini’s unorthodox and quite often disconnected vernacular prose, an aspect already highlighted by some of the few scholars who have studied the book. Indeed, Carlo Milanesi (in 1857) and Paolo Rossi (in 2004) pointed out the linguistic transformation of «the vivid, lively, and entertaining prose of the Marciana manuscript» into a «staid, informative, and academic text» (P. Rossi, “Parrem uno, e pur saremo dua”. The Genesis and Fate of Benvenuto Cellini’s “Trattati”, in Benvenuto Cellini. Sculptor,
Yet, this was not the only level of the editor’s intervention. More significantly for my research, the emendation also entailed extensive cuts to many crucial passages of the Trattati which were considered – from many points of view – inappropriate, deviant or potentially subversive. As a result, a text that – beyond the technical data – was originally rich in comical, auto-apologetic or polemical tones was neutralized and converted into an innocuous handbook, or rather into an useful tool in the context of the Medicean propaganda: my paper will focus on some of the different, most notable levels of this ideological emendation, hitherto totally overlooked by scholars.

What I aim to prove is the peculiar character of such alterations in the context of late-Cinquecento Florence. These alterations – I believe – could to some extent highlight the role of local bureaucracies and academic institutions in the neutralization of “threatening” messages conveyed by books, a largely unchartered territory in the scholarship about sixteenth-century censorship: Cellini’s Trattati constitute a very significant example of those cultural agencies’ policy of control.

Indeed, in recent years many scholars have brilliantly examined censorship in the age that followed the Council of Trent (1545-1563). Numerous studies have thus investigated the dramatic effects on Italian literature of several Indexes of prohibited books promulgated by Catholic institutions, especially after the 1559 universal Index of Pope Paul IV and the Tridentine Council Index of 1564. Scholarly literature has highlighted how, at first, those lists banished many masterpieces from the Catholic reading horizon because of the dangerousness of their contents in the context of the Counter-Reformation (e. g. Dante’s Monarchia for its
condemnation of the political power of the Church, Petrarca’s sonnets against the corruption of Avignon papacy, Boccaccio’s *Decameron* for the unedifying portrait of ecclesiastics’ behaviour, Machiavelli’s political writings and comedies and so on). At the same time, scholars have emphasized how, particularly after the Tridentine Index of 1564, the Catholic censors and inquisitors often opted for a different instrument of control for literary texts, an instrument which was only apparently less radical than prohibition: the mechanism of expurgation. Names, words and entire passages which were perceived as conflicting with the moral and religious decrees of the Counter-Reformation Roman Church were cancelled, excised or very often completely rewritten by expurgators. Expurgation has therefore been defined by Ugo Rozzo (one of the leading scholars in the field of the censorship of Italian literary texts) as «the reverse of philology which painstakingly seeks to restore the original integrity to text». The same historian emphasizes – and it’s a crucial *memento* for any study in the field of censored books – that all alterations are relevant and that there were not «minor or major expurgations, given that the disfigurement of the original text was entirely deliberate and utterly disregarded the writer’s ideas and creative choices» (U. Rozzo, *Italian Literature on the Index*, in *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy*, edited by G. Fragnito, translated by A. Belton, Cambridge 2001, pp. 194-222: 218-219).

In the case of Cellini’s *Trattati*, we do find countless examples of editorial expurgations in the book published in 1569. In the mentioned Counter-Reformist context, what is peculiar to these alterations of the original text is the fact that they only in part had to do with religious or moralistic motivations. In my paper, I will argue – by going through a series of textual passages – that they also had very “political” reasons.
One last issue remains to be addressed prior to verifying, in Wednesday’s seminar, the magnitude of the *Trattati*’s expurgation: the identity of the person who – on the basis of a series of textual clues – is the prime suspect of having altered the book prepared by Cellini to such an extent. Indeed, it was Carlo Milanesi that pointed out hints, scattered in the book edited in 1569, about who this was. Since the frontispiece of the edition indicates Benvenuto Cellini as the only author, without mentioning (as quite often happens in late sixteenth century editions) the name of the reviser, Milanesi had to look at the body of the text. Here, we don’t find any explicit reference to the process of emendation, but we do trace some significant clues to determine the identity of the emender. Particularly, Milanesi stresses out the relevance of the dedication letter of the edition (for its reproduction, see *infra*).

While the manuscript version of the *Trattati* was dedicated, as we have seen, to the Prince Francesco de’ Medici, the 1569 edition was addressed to his brother, the young Cardinal Ferdinando (1549-1609). Yet, the change didn’t affect just the identity of the addressee. Far from the meager (and – we could add – not so heartfelt) commendation of Francesco that we read in the dedication letter of the manuscript Marciano, the 1569 edition expresses, in a magniloquent and pretentious style, the sublime qualities of the dedicatee, portrayed as an incomparable model of moral and intellectual virtues, as well as a munificent patron and as a connoisseur of the arts treated by the book. At the same time, the dedication mentions Ferdinando’s “most virtuous” secretary, the young Gherardo Spini. Spini is cited as the person who, during prior conversations, had given the author direct testimony of the Cardinal’s merits. Furthermore, the letter highlights that Ferdinando’s secretary was «ornato di belle lettere», talented in literature, and expert in the
arts of drawing and architecture. He is also said to be held in the highest esteem by the author of the *Trattati* and he is explicitly recognized as the person who exhorted Cellini, after he had offered the manuscript version of the *Trattati* to Francesco de’ Medici, to publish the book and to dedicate it to Ferdinando, as an “humble” way to repay all the “infinite benefits” received from the Medici family.

No other people are mentioned in the dedicatory letter or in the body of the text as having played any role in the genesis of the printed edition of 1569: thus, solid textual evidence indicates Gherardo Spini as the person behind the revision of Cellini’s *Trattati*. Integrating, once again, Carlo Milanesi’s pionering research, it is possible to trace – on the basis of few certain data – the cultural profile of Ferdinando de’ Medici’s secretary. This profile will help us to understand the motives of the complex, multi-layered intervention on the original text of Cellini’s *Trattati dell’oreficeria e della scultura*.

Besides being a loyal servant of Ferdinando, Spini was a member of the main literary and artistic institutions in Florence, both tools of Medicean cultural policy, the *Accademia Fiorentina* (founded in 1541) and the *Accademia delle Arti del Disegno* (founded in 1563). He was a poet (both in Latin and in the vernacular); he exchanged verses with many protagonists of the Florentine literary milieu (e. g. Laura Battiferri degli Ammannati, Benedetto Varchi and Agnolo Bronzino); he was, as well, the editor of an important edition of Giovanni della Casa’s works (1564). In 1567, his translation from Latin into Italian of Pietro Angeli da Barga’s epithalamium for the wedding of Francesco de’ Medici and Joanna of Austria was published by the Florentine press of Valente Panizzi and associates. He wrote, around 1569, an unfinished treatise on the ornamental elements in architecture, *I primi tre libri sopra l’istituzioni intorno agli’ornamenti*, a
text which has been first published by Cristina Acidini (in Franco Borsi ed., *Il disegno interrotto. Trattati medicei d’architettura*, Firenze 1980, vol. I, pp. 11-201) and which has raised Alina Payne’s interest (see, for instance, *Spini and Architectural Imitatio* in *The Architectural Treatise in the Renaissance: Architectural Invention, Ornament, and Literary Culture*, Cambridge 1999, pp. 114-168). In 1570, he published a scientific work, the *Annotationi intorno al trattato dell’astrolabio et del planisferio universale del R. P. Ignatio Danti* (Firenze, Bartolomeo Sermartelli). Moreover, Gherardo Spini was designated in the prefatory letter to Domenichi’s 1565 edition of the *Facetie* (*Facetie, motti, et burle, di diversi signori & persone private, Raccolte per M. Lodovico Domenichi*, Venezia 1565) as the author of a courtly dialogue on behaviour. According to Domenichi, this book by Spini, now lost, contained some «dottissimi, & vaghi ragionamenti, dove ei tratta del vero gentil’huomo affabile, piacevole, & gratioso, & quale ei debba essere a meritare questo titolo» (“very erudite and pleasant talks, where he deals with the topic of the authentic gentleman, affable, pleasant and gracious, and how he should be in order to deserve this title”).

Although sketchy and arid, this data collection allows us to highlight how Gherardo Spini was a particularly versatile intellectual, talented in literature and with a significant expertise in artistic theory. He was imbued with the ideals forwarded by Italian courtly literature of the second half of the sixteenth century, a paraenetic, didascalic production which – it’s important to keep in mind – promoted the model of a courtier not only respectful of the behavioural rules shared in the contemporary “society of good manners” (to evoke Norbert Elias’ capital study on *the Civility of good manners*), but also meticulously deferential towards the authority. At the same time, Spini appears, in many respects, perfectly integrated into the cultural policy of the
Medici dukedom: he truly possessed, to sum up and conclude, all the intellectual features necessary to eradicate the most problematic contents of Cellini’s *Trattati*.

*Facsimile* of c. 95r from the manuscript 5134 of the Biblioteca Marciana of Venice, published in Giuseppe Guido Ferrero’s edition of Cellini’s *Opere* (Torino 1980²). The writing is not in Cellini’s hand, but it’s idiograph (in the hand of a copyist working under the author’s supervision).

Frontispiece of the edition of 1569 (the date «MDLXVIII», 1568, follows the Florentine calendar *ab Incarnatione*, according to which the new year started on March the 25th).
ALL'ILLUSTRISSIMO ET REVERENDISSIMO S. DON HERNANDO CARDINALE DEI MEDICI
RET PADRONE SVO OBSEVRANDISSIMO.
BENVENUTO CELLINI.

Grande ragione s'è deiatone negli ani-
mi di ciascuno illustriss. S. vno,
nella nobilita e splendore del valo-
re, e della virtù sua essendo che
in quegli anni che commenemete i
giovanni sogliono del tutto far ser-
sa la ragione, e la sua sommila prude-
za, d'ogni sua opera. e con l'ha fatta interamente governo
trice. Il che chiararmente suo manifesto per lo sottomis-
sione di molti personaggi d'autorità e d'ottimo giudizio, che
tal hora sentendola comprente. La disfatare, con ragione
giudicante, ornato e inmano e la sua virtù e stimare e suoi co
cettobene affermati di non essere conosciuto in ingegno
più fisso, o animo esito o di più sommessa e moderata e co
famati. E a queste sue vere parti s'aggiunge ancora
una stimola che la fa presso continuamente a desiderio del
rispetto verso degli stiridi, e per mezzo di un univo-
la protezione che ella prevede in favorire ogni virtuosa
facultà, e particolarmente s'è che non viene in questo grado
fra le pregiate arti quella della Scultura e del gestare de
Brò, come piu noto ragionando m'è stato fatto fedel

vire suosissimo, GERARDO SPINI, suo segretario, e gio-
name, che oltre all'essere ornato di belle lettere, si cono{s} mo
a. V.S. illustriss. è ancora intendersi dell'arte del Di-
segno e dell'Architettura. Il che sentendo, e parendomi
che piu onorò essersi occupato di poterle dimostrare in
parte qual'io mi sento obbligato alla sua illustriss. casa, me
nutristi i beni a infiniti che da quella ho ricettato, e ricevo
continuamente facendone dono a alcune mie fastiche che
vo già compisissentono alle arti, e altror simili le quali
già furono scritte in poema dall'illustriss. S. Prin-
cipe di Fiorenza suo Fratello: col còsgelo del detto M.
GERARDO (del quale io non posso dimora) mi deliberai po-
nendole in luce farne humilibeste dono a V.S. illustriss.
Ne qui intendo altrimenti di sostenere il piccolo preside, il
poco valore di esso, percoche a me parria d'averlo ottenuto
usai e ella (come se suo solito) haurà riguardo solamente al
l'effetto della servita mia amore colla, che nel resto non fat
roche giudicassi riprenderi dell'altre fastiche e tanto,
quelli che in cotal guisa perdono gli errori comessi come
se efsi hanno sì sempre ad errare, e si guardano e err
come se non perdona, ma gli errori di nessuno. De
grisie adique. V.S. illustriss. di ricevere il piccolo presen
tecola sua solita bennigna & a me far dono della sua
grazia a tenere nel numero de suoi humilibesti servitori.

Di Firenze, adi 26 di Februario M.D.L.XVIII.