

Adoardo Gualandi (?-1597)
A Forgotten Renaissance Philosopher
Jan Prins

Adoardo Gualandi¹ represents a practical philosophical culture adequately described in a recent study of Montaigne's *Essays* as a culture 'that centres on the persona of the priest-philosopher who both teaches and embodies a re-invented, more methodical and applied form of moral philosophy, who interacts in civic life with the secular noble elite, and with scholars and bibliographers, offering physic for the soul'.² In the seventeenth century he was bracketed with Descartes as one of the 'novatores', at least as far as his method was concerned. He was known for his clear explanation of moral philosophy in general and that of Aristotle in particular. That reputation was based on just one book, *De civili facultate...*, published after his death. It shows Gualandi as an eclectic Aristotelian who attracted attention not so much as an original thinker as for the way he organised the material in his explanation of ethics and politics. His fame as a teacher lasted until the beginning of the eighteenth century. Since then, his name and work have fallen into oblivion.

1. Life and Work

Adoardo Gualandi was descended from an old and renowned patrician family from Pisa.³ At the University of Bologna he graduated *summa cum laude* in civil and canon law.⁴ This is all we know about his origin and youth.⁵ After having

¹ His first name is also written as Edoardo, Odoardo, Adoardus, Odoardus, Aduardus, Adouardus, Eduardus and Oduardus. As for his last name he is also referred to as Gualando, Gualandius and Gualandinus.

² See Warren Boutcher, *The School of Montaigne in Early Modern Europe. Volume Two: The Reader-Writer*. Oxford University Press, 2017.

³ In the Middle Ages, the Gualandi family supported the Ghibellines and it was one of the families that the Archbishop Ruggieri degli Ubaldini set up against Ugolino della Gherardesca. The Gualandi family is also cited by Dante Alighieri in the *Inferno* (XXXIII, 33). See also Ranieri Grassi, *Descrizione storica e artistica di Pisa. Parte storica*. Pisa, 1836.

⁴ See J.B. Braschio, *Memoriae Caesenates sacrae et profanae*. Romae, 1728, pp. 375-378; and Augusto Fontana, *Amphitheatrum legale*. Parma, 1688: p. 455.

⁵ There would be a written sketch of Gualandi in the collection of manuscripts of the Biblioteca Palatina di Firenze: *Abbozzi di memorie, storiche, osservazioni, etc. sopra 50 uomini illustri Pisani*. Cartaceo in fol. del Sec. XVIII. See *Codici Manoscritti Italiani dell' J. e. R. Biblioteca Palatina di Firenze* illustrati di Giuseppe Molini. Fascicolo primo. Firenze, 1833. Further among the manuscripts of Gioacchino Sassi preserved in the Malatestian Library, the communal library of Cesena, there would be a pencil-sketch of him (see *Le vite dei Cesenati*. Volume II. A cura di Pier Giovanni Fabbri. Editrice Stilgraf. Cesena, 2008, p. 129). According

served as private secretary to the Cardinal and Archbishop of Naples, Alfonso Carafa (1540–1565) he was, from 1557 until 1588, Bishop of Cesena in northern Italy.⁶

In that capacity Gualandi was a valuable member of the community in Cesena and left many traces in the history of the town. In 1564 and 1566 he organised a diocesan synod on health care, and he also founded an orphanage in 1576.⁷ In 1569 he was one of the first to respond to the call by the Council of Trent (1545–1563) to ensure better seminaries and to establish a seminar in each and every diocese.⁸ Two years later he facilitated the establishment of a university in Cesena.⁹ In 1572 the cathedral of Cesena, the San Giovanni Battista, was substantially rebuilt and renovated at his behest.¹⁰ Another synod in 1582 resulted in Gualandi's first publication, *Constitutiones, et decreta condita ab illustri...Adoardo Gualando...* (Caesenae, 1584). In 1588, Gualandi retired and was succeeded as Bishop of Cesena by his nephew Camillo Gualandi. During his retirement Gualandi wrote his only known philosophical treatise, *De civili facultate Libri XVI*.¹¹ The book remained incomplete. On the instigation of his

to Braschio, 'Et ipsius Odoardi effigies, expressa naturalitèr arte pictoris, continetur in Icone Altaris Capituli Canonicorum Cathedralis, a parte dextera' (Braschio, op. cit.).

⁶ See Romeo de Maio, 'La mancata biografia di Paulo IV di Francesco Robortello', p. 341, note 17 in *Archivum Historiae Pontificae* 3. Romae, 1965.

⁷ See *Opere drammatiche del conte Gio. Francesco Fattiboni cesenate*. Tomo primo. Cesena, 1777, pp. 51–52.

⁸ See Braschio, op. cit. Gualandi for that matter did not himself attend the last session of that council. Pope Pius IV had forbidden him to take part in it because of his friendship with the cardinal and Archbishop of Naples, Alfonso Carafa. Two members of the Carafa family had recently been killed by order of that same pope. Through his contact with the Archbishop of Naples, Gualandi was also on friendly terms with Giovanni Pietro Carafa, Alfonso's great-uncle. As Pope Paul IV, Giovanni Carafa ruled the Roman Catholic Church and the Vatican, from May 23rd 1555 until his death on 18th August 1559. This highly placed friend of Gualandi was known as the father of the Roman Inquisition. During his papacy he set up the Index of Forbidden Books. He was succeeded by Pope Pius IV. See further Paolo Sarpi, *Istoria del concilio di Trentino*. Londra, 1619, p. 518.

⁹ The university offered courses in civil law and institutions, logic, and natural philosophy; with the progressive liberation from episcopal control, it became one of the few universities in the region regulated by the municipality (at least until 1725). See www.homolaicus.com/arte/cesena/storia/cronologia.pdf and Pier Giovanni Fabbri, op. cit. (2008), p. 28.

¹⁰ Gualandi promoted a complex series of remodelling and redecoration works: the crypt (located in the centre of the main aisle) was closed, and the chapels and presbytery were subsequently redesigned and decorated with Ionic pillars in golden wood.

¹¹ Adoardi Gualandi, *De civili facultate libri XVI... In quibus doctissimè, ac luculenter universa de moribus Philosophia explicatur*. Romae, apud Aloysium Zannettum, 1598.

nephew and successor as Bishop of Cesena, the work was published posthumously in 1598, a year after his death in Rome on 17th March 1597.¹²

2. Poets, rhetoricians and philosophers

At his inauguration as Bishop in Cesena, the *Accademia de' Riformati*, a literary society established around 1557 by the historian and poet Giuliano Fantaguzzi, organised a festive reception.¹³ Gualandi was so taken with this initiative that he proposed to hold the meetings of the society henceforth in the episcopal palace. For over thirty years he was patron of this *Accademia* where, as with other academies, the focus on literature was combined with a strong interest in philosophy.¹⁴ Possibly it was also through this society that Gualandi met the eclectic philosopher, man of letters, and astronomer Jacopo Mazzoni (1548–1598), a prominent member of the Academy.¹⁵ It is likely that they became good friends. Gualandi introduced Mazzoni to cardinal Filippo Boncompagno and once gave him a commentary on Pindar.¹⁶ During the first decade of his episcopacy, Gualandi was also well acquainted with the humanist and preceptor of, among others, Jacopo Zabarella, Francesco Robortello (1516–1567) who

¹² In some sources Gualandi is said to have written also a *Tractatus de philosophia*. I could find no such tract (see for example, *Discorso Accademico Sull' Istoria Letteraria Pisana*. Ranieri Prosperi, Pisa, 1787, p. 119).

¹³ See Francesco S. Quadrio, *Della storia e della ragione d'ogni poesia*. Volume primo. Bologna, 1739, p. 63. According to some this is about the *Accademia degli Offuscati* (see *Series episcoporum Caesenatium a Ferdinando Ughellio contexta a Nicolao aliquantulum aucta & emendata nunc a Francisco Antonio Zaccaria...ad nostrum tempus perducta*. Caesenae, 1779, p. 70). I think the academy in question is confused here with a similar institution, established, also in Cesena, by Scipione Chiaramonte but then only in 1631 (see Cesare Masini, *Genealogia della famiglia Masini*. Venezia, 1748).

¹⁴ See *Giornale de' letterati*, Volumes 79–80. Tom. 79. Pisa, 1790, p. 191. See also *La Vita di Jacopo Mazzoni patrizio cesenate scritta dall'abate Pierantonio Serassi*. Roma, 1740: pp. 12, 160. On the combination of literature and philosophy, especially at the Florentine Academy, see David A. Lines, 'Rethinking Renaissance Aristotelianism: Bernardo Segni's *Ethica*, the Florentine Academy, and the Vernacular in Sixteenth-Century Italy', *Renaissance Quarterly* 66 (2013): p. 856.

¹⁵ Mazzoni is one of the most important exponents of the tradition of the *comparationes*. In *De triplici hominum vita, active nempe, contemplativa et religiosa, methodi tres* (1576) he collects five thousand conclusions that would show that Plato, Aristotle and other philosophers were compatible. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola formulated no more than nine hundred conclusions. Mazzoni promised to settle the disagreements between Plato and Aristotle as well as those between the Greeks, the Arabs, and the Latins. In *In universam Platonis et Aristotelis philosophiam praeludia, sive de comparatione Platonis et Aristotelis liber primus*, published in 1597, however, he reconsidered the idea that their views are not incompatible (see Edward P. Mahoney, 'Aristotle and some late medieval and Renaissance philosophers' in R. Pozzo (ed.) *The Impact of Aristotelianism on Modern Philosophy*. Catholic University of America Press, 2004, p. 21).

¹⁶ See *La vita di Jacopo Mazzoni*, p. 29 and J. Mazzoni, *Ragioni delle cose dette...* Cesena, 1587, p. 50.

taught, among other subjects, ethics from an Aristotelian point of view.¹⁷ Gualandi praised the famous Cesena physician Nicolò Masinius (1533-1602) who was also a philosopher and conveyed information about the art in Cesena to Vasari, another member of the *Accademia de' Riformati*.¹⁸ The communal library of Cesena, the Bibliotheca Malatestiana, is in possession of a manuscript by Masinius, dated 1584 and entitled *Animadversiones ad regimen puerorum spectantes*. It is preceded by two prefaces, one of which is addressed to *Adoardo Gualandi*.¹⁹ Masinius' nephew, the painter and architect, Francesco Masini, also dedicated a treatise to Gualandi.²⁰ The latter was indeed greatly interested in literature. He was praised for his poetics.²¹ The Florentine poet and historian, Benedetto Varchi (1503-1565), addressed a sonnet to Gualandi.²²

3. The dissemination and reception of *De civili facultate*

Given the growing number of translations and commentaries on Aristotle's Ethics and Politics in the sixteenth century, as well as the steady stream of synopses of moral philosophy in general, it should not surprise us that *De civili facultate* soon came to the awareness of the general public. In 1604 a second edition followed.²³ The book could be found in libraries all over Europe.²⁴ The

¹⁷ See Romeo De Maio, *Riforme e miti nella Chiesa del Cinquecento*. Guida editori. Napoli, 1992 (1e ed. 1973), pp. 124 and 337.

¹⁸ Gualandi qualified him as a *medico praestantissimo* (see the lemma in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*. Vol. 71 (2008) on Nicolò Masini. See also *Le vite dei Cesenati*. Volume V. Nel 150 dell'Unità d'Italia. A cura di Pier Giovanni Fabbri. Editrice Stilgraf. Cesena, 2011. Appendice, p. 551). For several years Niccolò Masini taught natural philosophy at the university of Cesena (see Pier Giovanni Fabbri, op. cit. (2008), p. 28).

¹⁹ See Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*: [A finding list of uncatalogued or incompletely catalogued humanistic Mss of the Renaissance in Italian and other libraries. Vol. I. Italy. Agrigento to Novara. Brill, 1977; Vol. V, *Alia itinera III and Italy III*. Brill, 1990, p. 527.

²⁰ Franciscus Masinius Architectus, & Pictor laude dignus Raphaelis Urbinatis Discipulus, in cuius vita descripta à Vasario hic Civis noster commendatur. *Discorso di Francisco Maffini Sopra un modo nuovo facile, e reale di trasportare su la Piazza di S. Pietro la Guglia che in Roma detta di Cesare*. A Monfig. Adoardo Gualandi Per il Raverio 1686 (*Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae*. Joannis Georgii Graevii. Leiden, 1723, p. 68).

²¹ S. Verdoni, *Della difesa della Comedia di Dante*. Parte prima. Cesena, 1588, p. 31.

²² See *De' Sonnetti di M. Benedetto Varchi*. Parte prima. Firenze, 1555, p. 153. As a member of the Accademia degli Infiammati in Padua, Varchi, incidentally, also lectured on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. See D.A. Lines, 'Aristotle's Ethics in the Renaissance' in Jon Miller (ed.), *The Reception of Aristotle's Ethics*. Cambridge University Press, 2012: 171-193. In 1593 there was also published a pastoral poem in honour of Gualandi and his nephew Camillo (Antonii Hadriani. *Gualandus Ecloga. De laudibus*. Padua, 1593.)

²³ The catalogue of the library of Lipeni (Lipen), (1630-1692), rector in Stettin and Lübeck, suggests that there was another edition in 1600 (see note 24).

²⁴ This can be concluded from descriptions of libraries, especially in auction catalogues. See, for the library of the cleric and architect Domenico Paganelli (1545-1624), Maria Celeste Cola, *Palazzo Valentini a Roma*. Roma, 2012; Georgio Draudio. *Bibliotheca classica sive catalogus officinalis*. Frankfurt, 1611; Georgii Mathiae Königii, *Bibliotheca Vetus Et Nova...* Altdorf,

German Lutheran minister Paulus Bolduan included the book in his *Bibliotheca philosophica*.²⁵ Gabriel Naudé (1600–1653), librarian of Mazarin, recommends it in his political bibliography for its style and method.²⁶ Hermann Conringh and Hugo de Groot repeat that recommendation.²⁷ Daniel Morhof (1639–1691), literary historian and polymath, brackets him together with Descartes and Campanella as a methodological innovator.²⁸ The German theologian Johann Franz Buddeus praises him for his original method too.²⁹ At the end of the seventeenth century, Thomas Pope Blount marks him out as one of the famous writers of his day.³⁰ In the seventeenth century in particular Gualandi was praised

1678; M. Martini Lipenii, *Bibliotheca realis philosophica...* Tomus primus. Frankfurt, Vogel, 1682; *Biblioteca Heinsiana sive Catalogus librorum...* Johannes de Vivie. Leiden, 1683; *Bibliotheca Carpzoviana*. Lipsiae, 1700; *Biblioteca Carlsoniana...collecta per Petrum Husson*. Den Haag, 1711; *Bibliotheca Marckiana...auctio in taberna libraria Abrahami de Hondt*. Den Haag, 1712; *Bibliotheca Menarsiana ou Catalogue de la bibliotheque de Jean Jacques Charron...* Den Haag, 1720; *Biblioteca Hulsiana sive catalogus librorum...* Tomus 1...Den Haag, 1730; *Bibliotheca Emtinckiana sive catalogus librorum....publica distractio...* Pars Secunda...S. Schouten. Amsterdam, 1753; Ferwerda, Abraham, [*Catalogus universalis cum pretiis of de Boek-Negotie*. Leeuwarden, 1771; [*Catalogue des livres de la bibliotheque choisie de feu monsieur F.A.E. Bruyninx...*Anvers, 1791; [*Catalogues de livres du collège des ci-devant Jésuites de Louvain*, 1779.

²⁵ *Bibliotheca philosophica sive Elenchus scriptorum philosophicorum...* Pauli Bolduani. Jenae, 1616. Advised by people like Melanchthon and Petrus Ramus, Bolduan would have confined himself to the best works of their kind (see Michael Jasenas, *A History of the Bibliography of Philosophy*. Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim, 1973, p. 33). Carus characterises this work as the first ‘philosophische Bücherverzeignis’ (see Friedrich August Carus, *Ideen zur Geschichte der Philosophie*. Leipzig, 1809).

²⁶ Naudé writes that among the moderns, that is his contemporaries, there are many that have written on ethics. Instead of mentioning all of them he prefers to point only to the best, relying on his readers to have enough foreknowledge of the old philosophers to be able to make on the basis of that knowledge a wise choice from the contemporary literature: ‘...Optimum tamen erit melioribus se quamprimum addicere, ut Adouardo Gualando, et Francisco atque Alexandro Piccolomineis qui artem integram nobiliori quadam methodo, & maiori vi ac copia spirituum tradidere...’ (Gabrielis Naudaei, *Bibliographia politica*. Venetiis, 1633, p. 15; see also Boutcher, op. cit.)

²⁷ See Hermann Conringh, *Opera*. Tomus III. Politica. Brunswijk, 1730, p. 69) (1st edition 1635, 2nd edition 1637); *H. Grotii et aliorum dissertationes de studiis instituendis*. Amsterdam, 1645.

²⁸ There is talk of ‘...novatores ethici quoad methodum ...’ (D.G. Morhofii. *Polyhistor*. 4e ed. Tomus 2–3. *Polyhistor philosophicus et practicus*. Lubecae, 1747 (1st edition 1688), p. 557). As for Gualandi, with that qualification Morhof was alluding to the, in his view, curious combination of moral and civil philosophy. He wondered whether Gualandi had the same thing in mind as Francis Bacon with his doctrine of *Iurisprudentiae universalis* in *De augmentis*, Lib. 8.

²⁹ Io. Francisci Buddei, *Isagoge historico-theologica ad theologiam universam*. Lipsiae, 1730, p. 271.

³⁰ Thomas Pope Blount. *Censura celebriorum authorum*. London, 1690, p. 657. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the book was for sale in London (see *Catalogus*

for his linguistic usage. He is referred to not only as a teacher of moral philosophy but also, and especially in the eighteenth century, in his capacity as a jurisconsult and philosopher of law.³¹ His book is often mentioned for its original arrangement of the material in its presentation and explanation of moral philosophy.³² The ‘protestant scholastic’ Rudolphus Geoclenius (1547–1628) adopts several notions from *De civili facultate* in his famous *Lexicon philosophicum*.³³ Others refer approvingly to various of Gualandi’s views in the fields of psychology,³⁴ ethics³⁵ and political philosophy.³⁶

librorum...quos...selegit Robertus Martine...Londini, 1635). There was a copy of the first edition of *De civili facultate* in the Bodleian library in Oxford (see Thomas Hyde, *Catalogus impressorum librorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae in Academia Oxoniensi*, 1674).

³¹ See for example Iuliani Viviani, *Praxis iuris patronatus acquirendi conservandique*. Venetiis, 1670, p. 64, 77; Augusto Fontana, *Amphitheatrum legale*. Parma, 1688; Martini Hassen, *Synopsis Scientiae de prudentia morali universa*. Wittenberg, 1721, p. 166; M. Johann Andreae Fabricii, *Abriss einer allgemeinen Historie der Gelehrsamkeit*. Dritter Band. Leipzig, 1754.

³² Gualandi’s work was widely available in German-speaking areas. There was also a copy of *De civili facultate* in the library of the German students in Padua (see *Bibliotheca Medico-Philosophico-Philologica Inclytæ Nationis Germanæ artistarum quæ Patavij degit...* Franciscus Stokhamer et Andres Bridler (Bibliothecarij), Padua, 1677). Maybe that explains why the few critical reactions to his work are from German protestant scholastics.

³³ Rodolph Geoclenius, *Lexicon philosophicum quo tanquam clave philosophiæ fores aperiuntur*. Francofurti, 1613. Geoclenius refers to notions from Gualandi’s *De civili facultate* in the entries on the terms *acceptio*, *affici*, *amor*, *ars*, *increpatio*, *ius*, *obligatio*, *definitio* and *laus*.

³⁴ Reference to Gualandi’s ideas about the will in Petro Andrea Canonherio, *Dissertationes politicae ac discursus varii in C. Cornelii Taciti annalium libros*, Francofurti, 1610, p. 68; reference to Gualandi’s discussion of the five powers of the soul in Book 3, Chapter 10 (see Miguel Gomez de Luna y Arellano, *Iuri, ratio & rationis imperium*. Madrid, 1629, pp. 74 and 79); reference to Gualandi’s book in connection with the relation between the rational and irrational powers (see p. 113). And in connection with a wise use of the senses (see p. 116, Miguel Gomez de Luna y Arellano, *Opera tripartita. Tomus primus*. Antwerpen, 1651. In certain notes concerning the passions and faculties of the soul, attributed to the English mathematician and philosopher, Walter Warner (ca. 1557–1643) the writer refers to Gualandi’s view of the natural sense of appetite (see Jan Prins, *Walter Warner (ca. 1557–1643) and his notes on animal organisms*. Utrecht, 1992, p. 188, note 2).

³⁵ See in connection with the relationship of prudence to the other virtues and the problem of evil as such, Bartholomeus Keckermann, *Disputationes practicae nempe ethicae, oeconomicae, politicae*. Hanover, 1608: Disp. 22, p. 42, and Disp. 27, p. 191. See also *Bartholomæi Keckermanni Operum omnium quæ extant*. Tomus secundus in quo speciatim, methodice & uberrime, de Ethica, Oeconomica, Politica disciplina: necnon de Arte Rhetorica agitur.. Genevæ, 1614, Disp. 22, p. 633; Lib. 9, cap. 5, p. 644; Lib. 3, cap. 4, Disp. 27, p. 710. As for Gualandi’s specification of the ‘recta ratio’ as a *ratio*, instructed by the *facultas civilis*, i.e. the art of politics, see M. Tullii Ciceronis, *De officiis Libri tres. Et in illos Samuelis Rachellii ... Commentarius ...* Frankfurt, 1668: par. 36 of the Prolegomena in M. Tullii Ciceronis de Officiis Libros Tres quibus natura HONESTI, aliaque ad Jus Naturæ spectantia explicantur.

³⁶ See in connection with a specification of the notion of ‘nobility’, Conringii, *Opera omnia. Tomus III. Varia scripta. Politica*. Brunswijk, 1730: §. X. and §. XI.

There are also critical commentaries, albeit not many. For example, from the theologian and philosopher Bartholomaeus Keckermann (c. 1572–c. 1608) concerning Gualandi's ideas about magnanimity, and from the physician, philosopher, and theologian Giovanni Battista Persona (1575–1620) who questions Gualandi's statements on the subject of moral virtue, as well as his definition of prudence.³⁷ Gualandi's qualification of the Pope as holy is met with criticism in Holland.³⁸ Yet, these critical comments are in the minority by quite some way.

4. Moral philosophy in the Renaissance

Most of the writings on moral philosophy, published in Gualandi's time, that is, in the second half of the sixteenth century, consisted of translations, summaries and commentaries on the moral and political philosophy of Aristotle. None of these formats apply to *De civili facultate*. This does not mean that Aristotle's writings are absent from Gualandi's book. On the contrary, Aristotelianism is central to it. Yet, this would not justify the conclusion that Gualandi was an Aristotelian. Nor, for that matter, and despite Platonic elements, was he a Platonist, as he is unjustly said to be by certain reference works.³⁹ His opting for Aristotle was primarily didactically inspired. In fact, Gualandi was a pronounced eclectic who drew from many sources. His book teems with references to scientists and philosophers, among which may be found Platonists, Aristotelians, Stoics, Epicureans, Cynics, atomists and sophists, along with theologians, writers and poets like Homer, Hesiod, Terence, Virgil, and Ovid, but also rhetoricians like Demosthenes and Quintilian, lawgivers such as Ulpianus, historians like Plutarch and Xenophon, as

³⁷ See Bartholomeus Keckermann, *Disputationes practicae...*1608, Disp. xxiv, pp. 106, 107 en 108, Disp. xxvii, p. 191; *Bartholomaei Keckermanni Operum omnium quae extant*. Tomus secundus...1614, Disp. 24, p. 674. See also Io. Bapt. Persona, *Noctes solitariae sive de iis quae scientificè scripta sunt ab Homero in Odyssea*. Venetie, 1613: Colloquium 29, pp. 191–200.

³⁸ See Johannes Mauritius (c. 1660–c. 1721). 't Heylig jaar 1700. Amsterdam, 1700, pp. 92–99; J.V. Herwerden, *Armageddon – Proefnemend onderzoek*. Amsterdam, 1756, p. XLIII.

³⁹ See *Biografia universale antica e moderna*. Supplimento, ossia ..., Volume 9, Venezia, 1841, p. 649. See also *Dizionario biografico universale ...*Volume Terzo. Firenze, 1844–45, p. 106. And further, *Discorso accademico sull' istoria letteraria Pisana*. Per Ranieri Prosperi. Pisa, 1787, p. 119. Also according to the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* by M.M. Firmin Didot Frères, Gualandi would have had a reputation as a 'partisan déclaré des doctrines platoniciennes' (Tome 22. Paris, 1858, p. 302). This misunderstanding probably goes back to Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana: Dall' anno MD fino all' anno MDC*, Tomo VII, Parte seconda, Modena, MDCCXCI, p. 451. Tiraboschi had a broad definition of 'platonist' which included being a former member of the vanished Platonic Academy or one whose friends or teachers were members, propagators of Plato's philosophy or people resisting empty doctrines, whether or not they were presented as Aristotelianism. Tiraboschi took his list of 'platonists' from a letter of Bonifazio Vannozi (1540–1621), secretary to papal legate Cardinal Caetani, in which, apart from Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Tiepoli, Contarini, and both Patrizi's, Adoardo Gualandi is also mentioned. However, these names do not so much refer to 'platonists' as to people that were critical of Aristotle (see *Delle lettere miscellanee del sig. Bonifazio Vannozi*. Venetia, 1606, p. 105).

well as the physicians, Galen and Hippocrates. Thus he uses sources from Greek and Roman antiquity as well as patristic (Augustine) and scholastic writings (Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, Eustratius). However, he does not mention any contemporaries. Gualandi shared this eclecticism, along with his extensive use of arguments from authority, with most of his contemporaries. The same is true for the themes he broaches such as, for example, the question of the highest good, the relationship between happiness on earth and heavenly happiness, that is, between *felicitas* and *beatitudo*, the relationship between the *vita contemplativa* and the *vita activa*, the Aristotelian virtues, justice in particular, the relationship between the moral and the intellectual virtues or the relationship between virtue and pleasure. Last but not least, typical for the Renaissance literature on moral philosophy is the completion of ethical instruction with political philosophy, and especially the discussion of the relationship between ethics and politics.⁴⁰ In this connection the title of Gualandi's magnum opus, *De civili facultate*, is significant. It tells us something about his ideas regarding the nature of ethics and politics in general as well as about their relationship. These ideas are closely allied to those of the philosopher, humanist and translator Johannes Argyropoulos (1415–1487), as well as those of the historian and translator Bernardo Segni (1504–1558). In the Latin and Italian translations of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, the term *politikos*⁴¹ is interpreted in different ways, corresponding to the various views on the relationship between ethics and politics. A translation such as '*politica*' stresses the communitarian aspect of Aristotle's views. In that context the primary object of ethics is not the body of the individual person but the *corpo civile della società*, i.e. the body politic or nation as a whole. Bruni's choice of '*civilis*' shows that he conceded a certain ambiguity: the term refers both to the social character of man as well as to the social structure in which man lives. Finally, someone like Argyropoulos translates the word with '*facultas civilis*' and thus resolves the ambiguity. To him, civility as an ability belonging to the individual man comes first. 'Civil faculty' is also the expression used by Segni in his Italian translation. According to Matteo Rolandi, the use of that expression signifies that in Segni's view the architectonic element of ethics is not to be looked for primarily in society, but in the acting of the individual, in human being as such, either as political action for the common good, or the pursuit of power. The highest goal of man, happiness, is the object of the architectonic element of ethics, that is, of political science, or, in other words, of the law-giving science that stipulates the norms for proper regulation in all fields. The conclusion that in this case ethics would be subordinate to politics is unacceptable to Segni. To him, it is ethics alone that constitutes the structuring discipline and guiding principle of all other

⁴⁰ On ethics in the Renaissance, see D.A. Lines, 'Humanistic and scholastic ethics' in James Hankins (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Philosophy*. Cambridge, 2007: 304–318; Jill Kraye, '11 Morall philosophy in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*. General Editor: C.B. Schmitt. Cambridge, 1988: 301–386.

⁴¹ See *Ethica Nicomachea*, 1102a, 10–15 (I, 13).

moral disciplines.⁴² Gualandi also uses the expression *civilis facultas*, which bears the same meaning as *moralis facultas* for him. Thus, he rightly states that his treatise on political philosophy is at the same time an exposition of moral philosophy in general. *Philosophia civilis* is nothing but *philosophia moralis*.⁴³ The *civilis facultas*, i.e. politics or the art of citizenship is, according to Gualandi, following Aristotle, the highest *ars* and consequently also *architectonic*, that is, the structuring element.⁴⁴

5. Ethical politics

Though remarkable, Gualandi's notion of ethical politics, including the relevant terminology, would not justify his qualification as an innovator. In fact he shared this notion with his contemporary, the famous natural philosopher Francesco Piccolomini (1523–1607), deemed by Naudé the best writer on moral philosophy at that time, along with Gualandi himself.⁴⁵ Piccolomini systematised and extended Aristotle's work on ethics and politics.⁴⁶ We see the same with Gualandi. Maybe he was inspired by Piccolomini's approach in *Universa philosophia de moribus* (1583). In any case, apart from the notion of ethical politics, there are some striking similarities. Both combine neo-scholastic, humanist and Thomistic views, in their discussion and comparison of different traditions, organised, moreover, by subject. Both dwell extensively on the necessity and importance of education in the development of prudence and

⁴² See M. Rolandi, "Facultas civilis". Etica e politica nel commento di Bernardo Segni all 'Etica Nicomachea' in *Rivista di filosofia neo-scolastica*. Vol. 88, No. 4. (ottobre-dicembre 1996): 553–594. See also David A. Lines, 'Rethinking Renaissance Aristotelianism: Bernardo Segni's Ethica, the Florentine Academy, and the Vernacular in Sixteenth-Century Italy' in *Renaissance Quarterly* 66 (2013): 824–865 and David A. Lines, 'Ethics, politics and history in Bernardo Segni (1504–1558). Machiavellianism and anti-Medicean sentiment' in Christoph Strosetzki (Hg.), *Ethik und Politik des Aristoteles in der frühen Neuzeit*. Felix Meiner Verlag, Hamburg, 2016: 45–68.

⁴³ See the title page: *DE CIVILI FACULTATE LIBRI SEXDECIM NUNC PRIMVM EDITI, In quibus doctissimè, ac luculenter vniuersa de moribus Philosophia explicatur*. Andrew Aidy, in his *Clavis philosophiae moralis* (Heidelberg, 1614) equates *philosophia moralis* with *scientia moralis*, also called *architectonica*. In his paraphrase of *Aristotelis politicorum Libri VIII* (Leiden, 1681), Daniel Heinsius uses the expression *scientia civilis*.

⁴⁴ 'Civilis facultas est ars Architectonica' (op. cit., 1 in princ. Index); 'Civilem facultatem omnium artium præstantissimam esse, manifestum est; tum quia cæteræ omnes ei inferiunt & subminifrant; tum vero quia eius finis omnium rerum agendarum est terminus, & humana perfectio & beatitudo' (op. cit., Lib 1, cap. 1, p. 5); 'Civilis facultas ars omnium maxima' (op. cit., Lib. 10, cap. 9, p. 201). Cf. Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea* I, 2–3.

⁴⁵ See Jill Krayer, 'Eclectic Aristotelianism in the moral philosophy of Francesco Piccolomini' in Gregorio Piaia (ed.), *La presenza dell'Aristotelismo Padovano nella filosofia della prima modernità*. Editrice Antenore, 2002, 57–82. On Naudé, see also note 26.

⁴⁶ See David A. Lines, 'Latin and Vernacular in Francesco Piccolomini's Moral Philosophy' in «Aristotele fatto volgare» *Tradizione aristotelica e cultura volgare nel Rinascimento* a cura di David A. Lines ed Eugenio Refini. Edizioni ETS. Pisa, 2014: 169–199; A.E. Baldini, 'La politica "etica" di Francesco Piccolomini' in *Il pensiero politico*. Anno XIII, n. 2, 1980.

moral virtues. Finally the work of both is regularly used by protestant scholastic commentators. Yet, in spite of these similarities there are also important differences between *De civili facultate* and *Universa philosophia de moribus*. Unlike Francesco Piccolomini, Gualandi did not address academics or governors of princes in particular, but the general educated public. Hence his book was simpler, more concise and more practical than that of Piccolomini. Physical, metaphysical or methodological issues are ignored. Gualandi attends more closely to psychology and pedagogy. As to the theoretical digressions, *De civili facultate* can be considered as a more lightweight version of *Universa philosophia de moribus* light. It offers reasoned yet easy to understand instruction in the practical application of the principles of citizenship. For Gualandi, it was not contemplative wisdom, *sapientia*, that was central, but *prudencia*, practical wisdom.

6. Innovation in method

The expression ‘*novatores*’ was used in various senses in the seventeenth century. Primarily it was used to refer, usually disapprovingly, to natural philosophers who, like Bernardino Telesio (1509–1588), Francesco Patrizi (1529–1597), Giordano Bruno (1548–1600), Campanella (1568–1639), or Francis Bacon (1561–1626) and Descartes (1596–1650), to mention only a few, dared to deviate substantially from the views of Aristotle or to combine these with essentially different ideas.⁴⁷ This can not be said of Gualandi who, like Piccolomini, did not seem to care about originality with respect to the core of his theoretical views. However, the expression ‘*novatores*’ was also used to refer to philosophers, especially peripatetics, who, mainly for didactic reasons, arranged their material differently than was usual among the followers of Aristotle. This kind of innovation does apply to Gualandi. It fits in well with the eclecticism of his time, which was motivated by a pragmatic view of theory. How do we make theory useful in everyday life? That is what it is about, and therefore no longer primarily about the question of whether the theory in question is true. That no longer needs to be investigated. Thus, the truth of Aristotle’s *Ethica Nicomachea* is undisputed. Also according to Gualandi, at least in outline. In a letter to the reader by Giuseppe Iseo,⁴⁸ it is even said that Gualandi highly appreciated Aristotle as the only classical philosopher to present us, in his *Ethics*, with a complete philosophy of life.⁴⁹ He did not want to imitate Aristotle but to complete him, and in so doing,

⁴⁷ See Daniel Garber, ‘Novatores’ in *Cambridge History of Philosophy of the Scientific Revolution*. Edited by D.M. Miller and D. Jalobeanu. Cambridge University Press, 2022: 35–57.

⁴⁸ In 1581, Isei, canon of St. Peter’s Basilica in Rome, completed a *Discorso sopra il poema di Torquato Tasso* and, later on, *Commenti alle opere di Lucio Celio Lattanzio Firmiano* (see Damiano Muoni, *L’antico stato di Romano di Lombardia*. Milano, 1871). Gualandi might have met Iseo through the ‘Riformati’.

⁴⁹ Op. cit., the introductory letter from the editor, Giuseppe Iseo, and Lib 1, cap. 1, p, 3

to equal or even surpass his great precursor.⁵⁰ What Aristotle says about our education as social beings, about the development of our ability to live together, our talent for citizenship (*ad civilem formandum artificem*) only requires filling out. In Gualandi's view this replenishment was dearly needed at the end of the sixteenth century. There were conflicts all over Europe. Rulers forgot their duties. Guided by anger and avidity, Kings led their subjects, for no particular reason, into ruin. In fact these rulers are sick, insane. Their minds have to be cured. According to Gualandi, philosophy can, and has to, bring relief here. In *De civili facultate*, he describes the way in which the goal of politics, a peaceful and prosperous society, can be realised. To be more precise, Gualandi finds the *Ethics* wanting in instruction regarding right, decency, virtue, dignity, honour, faith and trust. Without these there can be no well functioning society. Gualandi addresses matters of public interest here, which are therefore indispensable to all. He aims to teach his readers how to attune the powers of the soul in such a way as to result in a unity aiming at tranquility of the soul (*animi tranquillitas*), and a constitution '*ad bene beateque vivendum*'.⁵¹ Now, as an *ars* the *civilis facultas* is not supposed to supply, like *scientia*, knowledge of truth, purely theoretical knowledge, but is meant to procure applied knowledge in the form of a plan of action that will allow us to realise the goal of politics.⁵² In that regard, Aristotle's work is too abstract. Gualandi therefore sees it as his task to give concrete form to Aristotle's schematic overview. He wants to add the detail required for practical application and thus concretise Aristotle's abstractions.⁵³ All in all this had to

⁵⁰ 'At verò, cùm Philofophus ille fumma rerum tantummodo faftigia delibarit, Auctor nofter ADOVARDVS GVALANDVS EPISCOPVS non tàm illius imitationem, quàm emulationem infituentis, hos ingenti labore libros varia doctrina, fummi ingenij pleniffimos condidit, quibus ea preclariffimis vel inuentis, vel iudicijs difputauit: vt inde non modò infignem quandam ad Veterum volumina factam fuiſſe acceffionem; fed nihil admodum iam in arte morum vniuerfa praterea requiri poſſe videatur'. (See letter from the editor.)

⁵¹ Op. cit., Lib. 3, cap. 10, p. 63.

⁵² 'Quámobrem , tradita à nonnullis artis definitio rationi confona videtur, nempe ad finem aliquem humanæ vitæ vtilem tendentium præceptorum congeries. Quamuis pro respectuum diuerſitate, diuerſas admittat definitiones , quæ quidem, vt ſint exactæ, non minùs reſpicere oportet poteſtatem, quæ cognofcit, quàm quæ operatur'; cùm fit cognofcitiuæ partis virtus, quatenus effectricem ad finem aliquem dirigit, quo à ſcientia differt, quæ in veri cognitione terminatur, Idcirco Ariſtoteles vtrumque complexus, artem eſſe dicit habitum rerum faciendarum cum vera ratione' (op. cit., Lib. 16, cap. 1, p. 333; ſee alſo op. cit., Lib. 8. cap. 1, p. 146; Lib. 10, cap. 5, p. 193).

⁵³ 'HACTENVVS non folùm , quæ ad errores in agendo ſpectant, expoſuimus, verùm etiam, quæ ad præcepta in genere attinet, eadem , quæ Ariſtoteles, profecutiſumus. Ille enim dicit agendum eſſe, vt oportet, & vbi, quando, & quantum, [aliaq .huiufmodi;] nos verò ſpectandum finem dicimus, artificem, ſubiectú, officium, locumq. Ac tempus, & omnino quæcumq. ad motum abſoluendum ſunt neceſſaria. Quæ cum ijs, quæ ab eo dicuntur, fere conueniūt, præterquàm quòd ille nihil deniq. præcipere videtur, quod non cæteris quoq. artibus còmune fit, & logica potius præcepta tradidiffe cenferi poteſt, quàm propria ciuilibus artificio' (Lib. 5, cap. 2, 88).

result in a set of step-by-step instructions regarding how we are to act. Such instruction was all the more necessary, in Gualandi's view, since the moral virtues are not, as Aristotle falsely claimed, products of the intellect and of the intellectual desire, that is, the will, but dwell in the sensitive desire. They are not naturally given but must be developed through a long process of habit formation. Precisely with a view to this, there was, according to Gualandi, a need for a practical implementation of the *Ethica Nicomachea* so that it could be used as a handbook for everyday life. A guide, as practical as the handbooks written by the Stoics, albeit not in the form of a loosely arranged collection of aphorisms but as a methodically organised, detailed, all-encompassing overview.⁵⁴

7. The structure of *De civili facultate*

To accord with Gualandi's view of political philosophy, *De civili facultate* consists of two parts: the first concerns man as an individual, the second, man as a member of a community.⁵⁵ In Book I, Gualandi discusses the question of the highest good. The next four sections, Books II to V, cover man as such, which in fact means an exposition of moral psychology. In Book V, one of the most interesting, Gualandi gives an overview of the errors to which we can fall prey both in our actions in general and in a way that is classified according to our faculties, that is, will, desire and temperament. In addition, he discusses how these errors can be prevented or what can be done about them. All these errors are just as many points of attention for the educator. Man as a social being constitutes the theme of the next eleven parts, i.e., Books VI to XVI. Books VI and VII address society in general, its nature, necessity, its origin and its foundation. This constitutes, according to Gualandi, an important addition to the *Ethica Nicomachea*.⁵⁶ The theme of books VIII and IX is the philosophy of law. Gualandi, like Francis Bacon, explored the possibility of justice as a universal foundation of law, and in that connection the relationship between justice and virtue.⁵⁷ Remarkable since around 1600, this was not a question for most of their

⁵⁴ Gualandi discusses the Stoic's views not just to make Aristotle's seem more illustrious by comparison, but he unequivocally mentions their strengths, such as the fact that they pay more attention to particulars and to specific cases than the Peripatetics. And the fact that Zeno, for example, teaches us a lot about political and moral philosophy. See op. cit., 88, 2. At the same time, he criticises them for not stating rules. Op. cit., 79. Cf. Kraye (2002).

⁵⁵ Many writers divided ethics into three parts: ethics, economy and politics. Propagators of a bi-partition of moral philosophy were Vermigli, Zwinger, Simone Simoni, Giphanius, Piccart, Waele, and Accoramboni (see *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Philosophy*, p. 318, note 53).

⁵⁶ 'Siquidem nullus in ijs de societatibus fermo habetur, quo fit, vt neque de iure, & honestate, neque de virtute, & dignitate, neque de honore, & fide, alijsque innumeris, quæ societates ipfas comitantur, ex suis principijs quicquam demonstrent' (op. cit., Liber primus, praefatio, p. 3).

⁵⁷ See *The Works of Francis Bacon*. Volume the seventh containing *De augmentis scientiarum*. Vol. II. London, 1815: XXVII *The doctrine of Universal justice, or the fountains of equity*, 255–290.

contemporaries. In Books X to XIV, Gualandi discusses the notions of virtue, honour and fame, that is, the qualifications which a ruler or magistrate can and has to acquire by acting virtuously, in order to perpetuate a peaceful and prosperous society. The last two parts of *De civili facultate* are dedicated to dignity, as the complement of virtue. Building a community requires, writes Gualandi, probably following the Stoic, Seneca, the will to give and the will to receive.⁵⁸ One who gives is virtuous while one who knows how to receive has dignity. Thus virtue and dignity are the complementary pillars of society.

8. A guide to happiness

Gualandi primarily had the educator in mind with this book. Moral virtues are habitual acts aiming at the good. Aristotle rightly asserted that one does not acquire those habits, as Socrates seemed to think, merely through knowledge of the virtues. However, nor do you cultivate them, as Aristotle thinks, only through laws.⁵⁹ After all, man does good, helps his fellow man, not because the law prescribes it, but driven by humanity and attracted by the beauty of virtue (*honestas*).⁶⁰ The principles of the civil art exist naturally and are therefore easy to know.⁶¹ Education consists of introducing the pupil to the good and thus evoking the desire for it. That desire is crucial because it alone will lead to the required action becoming a habit. This process must be repeated until the pupil has overcome errors in this regard and until a good habit is formed, a good behavioural disposition. Once those habits have been formed, the pupil, guided by justice and virtue, will be ready to perfect himself, that is, to attain happiness.⁶² The educator must therefore rouse his pupil to the pursuit of humanity and virtue. That aspiration characterises the true citizen, the true community member. Only with individuals raised in this way will it be possible to form a well-functioning community. To Gualandi, the *civilis facultas* is nothing less than a guide to happiness.

⁵⁸See op. cit., Lib. 6, cap. 14, 15 and Lib. 12, cap. 5. Gualandi's source was probably Seneca, *De beneficiis*. Cf. Cicero, *De officiis*, I, 20.

⁵⁹ See op. cit., Lib. 10, cap. 9, 201.

⁶⁰ '... à nobis alibi demonstratum est, bonum virum legibus fieri non posse, neque leges omnia imperare, neque iustitiam universalem esse universam virtutem. Non enim cogere ciues, nisi ut ea agant, sine quibus civilis societas conferuari non potest. Quia rerum agendarum mensura contenti non sunt boni viri, qui humanitatis vi impulsus, & honestatis pulchritudine attracti plurima ad aliorum commodum agunt, quæ civilium legum terminis, præceptisque non continentur; quippe quibus nihil omnino præter ipsum ius curæ fit' (ibid.).

⁶¹ 'Huius autem facultatis principia, cum natura constent, & ea in se ipso quilibet optime sentiat, vel puero ipsi haud difficilia cognitu fore, & nequaquam durum ea admittere arbitramur' (op. cit. Lib. 10, cap. 10, 202).

⁶² 'Agibilis igitur boni cognitio, civilis facultatis explicatione tradetur, qua docebitur puer, tum quomodo sibi, tum quomodo in cæterorum hominum societatibus, præsertim iuridica, & benefica, & in conventionibus degendum sit; ut iure, honestateque ducibus, eam felicitatem, ad quam à natura, summoque opifice genitus est, adipiscatur' (Lib. 10, cap. 10, 202).

9. Epilogue

As has already been said, after the seventeenth century, Gualandi's book falls into oblivion. His name is only mentioned in Tiraboschi's history of Italian philosophy from the sixteenth century.⁶³ In the other histories of philosophy, especially those written after the eighteenth century, Gualandi's name is conspicuous by its absence.⁶⁴ Until the second half of the nineteenth century his name is mentioned in several encyclopaedias,⁶⁵ and then, Gualandi and his work, *De civili facultate*, are no longer mentioned, until recently, when, at the close of the twentieth century his name appeared once again in a philosophical reference work.⁶⁶

⁶³ See note 39. Tiraboschi presented his history as a supplement of *Jacobi Bruckeri Historia critica philosophiae a mundi incunabulis ad nostram usque aetatem deducta* (Lipsiae, 1741–1744 et 1767). Already here, Gualandi is no longer mentioned.

⁶⁴ Auction catalogues suggest that halfway through the eighteenth century Gualandi's book was hard to get. See Catalogus *Bibliothecae luculentissimae, et exquisitissimis ac rarissimis ... libris ... quorum auctio publica fiet ... per ... Joannen Swart*. Den Haag, 1741; *Bibliotheca anonymiana sive catalogus continens exquisitissimos & rarissimos libros ... Isaacum Beauregard*, 1743.

⁶⁵ See *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexikon*. C. Jöcher. Zweyter Theil. Leipzig, 1750; *The dictionary of biographical reference*. Lawrence B. Phillips. 1871. London, p. 461. See further, note 39.

⁶⁶ In *Syllabus auctorum*. Vol. 9 van Risse, Wilhelm, *Bibliographica philosophica vetus: repertorium generale systematicum operum philosophicorum usque ad annum MDCCC typis impressorum*, Hildesheim. G. Olms, 1998, there is mention of 'Adovardus Gualandus (fl. 1598) episcopus Caesenaе' (p. 131).