

ADAM CONTZEN

TEN BOOKS OF POLITICS

BOOK FOUR

On the Education of Youth

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CHAPTER I

The Supreme Necessity of Educating Youth

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 1. Crates once wished to ascend the highest place in the city and to cry out with the utmost exertion of mind and voice:

ὦ ἄνθρωποι, ποῖ φέρεσθε, οἱ τῆς μὲν χρηματικῆς κτήσεως πέρι πᾶσαν ποιεῖσθε σπουδὴν· τῶν δ' υἱῶν, οἷς ταῦτα καταλείνετε, μικρὰ φροντίζετε;

For Plutarch reports that these were his words in the book *Περὶ παιδων ἀγωγῆς*. “Whither are you rushing, O mortals, who apply yourselves with great zeal to acquiring wealth, but take little care for the sons to whom you will leave it?” Plutarch declares that he himself would add: Fathers of this sort do the same thing as those for whom the shoe is an object of care, but the foot of neglect. Now this is so frequently impressed upon foolish parents that they grow deaf to salutary admonitions, like inhabitants beside the Nile to the sound of the Cataracts. So far are they from being moved by words that they do not become wise even through losses. Nor is it worth the effort to gape against a furnace, as they say, and oppose oneself to a powerful error. That caution belongs to kings and magistrates: so great an evil can be corrected only by the highest authority. Parents neglect discipline; many do not even permit their sons to be rightly educated. They favor vices against pedagogues and masters; many also corrupt those ready to learn wickedness by their own example.

From this arise great evils for the state, for from the education of youth comes its one salvation.

Συνελὼν τοίνυν ἐγὼ φαίην μᾶλλον, ἢ παραινῶν δόξαιμι ἂν εἰκότως, ὅτι ἐν πρώτῳ, ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ τελευταῖον ἐν τούτοις κεφάλαιον, ἀγωγή σπουδαία καὶ παιδεία νόμιμός ἐστι.

Embracing the whole, therefore, I say--and I might seem to utter oracles rather than to exhort--that the first, middle, and last thing is careful education and lawful instruction. For nature is blind, and unless it is led as if by another's hand, and at times dragged, it goes astray. And so it is the consensus of all nations that a state cannot be safe without the right and lawful education of the first age. Among the Greeks Lacedaemon, long an emulator of good morals, excelled in prudence in this matter; for it appointed *παιδονόμους* from among the leading men and frequently summoned the youth to an examination of life and virtue. The Persians also, before ill-fated prosperity overwhelmed their good laws, took great care that youth should be rightly formed. For they appointed twelve leading men to educate the boys. Xenophon, in the *Education of Cyrus*. The Egyptians and Chaldaeans were taught philosophy and the laws by their own parents, as Diodorus Siculus testifies, book 2, chapter 8. For in this seed lay the hope of the future harvest. Greater still, and belonging almost to barbarian simplicity, was the solicitude of the Indian Brahmins, who appointed a master for a newly born infant, as Alexander ab Alexandro relates, book 2, chapter 25. And indeed daily experience teaches us how great the necessity of this matter is. For just as an untamed horse that has learned neither to endure the bridle nor to bear a rider is of no use, so also the state has no need of a citizen who has not become accustomed to obey his country's laws. It is an oracle of Plato, book 6 of the *Laws*:

Ὁ ἄνθρωπος παιδείας μὲν ὀρθῆς τυχὼν, θειότατον, ἡμερώτατόν τε ζῶον γίνεσθαι φιλεῖ· μὴ ἱκανῶς δ', ἢ μὴ καλῶς τραφεὶς, ἀγριώτατον μὲν ὅποσα φύει γῆ.

A human being who has obtained right education is accustomed to become the most divine and gentlest animal; but if he is educated either insufficiently or not well, he becomes the fiercest of all that the earth has produced.

§ 2. Therefore, unless the state has determined to nourish *ἐρπετά*, creeping things, serpents, and beasts that will rage within their mother's entrails, let it itself undertake that care. This is the counsel of Aristotle, book 8, chapter 1 of the *Politics*, whom the shrewdest of kings gave as a master to his son. No one, therefore, will call it into controversy that the lawgiver must labor especially over the discipline of the young. For when this is neglected in cities, it brings great disadvantages to the forms of administering the state: the city must be administered in a manner suited to each kind of administration of the state. For the peculiar disposition--and, so to speak, peculiar genius--of each form of administration both preserves that form and establishes it from the beginning. For example, the disposition suited to democracy establishes and preserves democracy, and that suited to oligarchy, oligarchy. And always, as each disposition is better, so it produces a better form of administering the state. Moreover, in all faculties and arts certain things must be taught beforehand and one must first become accustomed to certain things in order to perform the works and duties of each. Therefore, it is clear that antecedent studies and exercises are also needed to bring forth acts of virtue. Since one end is proposed to every city, it is clear also that one and the same discipline must necessarily belong to all, and that its administration must be public, not private--as now each person has care of his own sons privately and hands down to his sons whatever private discipline he sees fit to teach. But the exercise of common things must also be made common. At the same time, no citizen should think that he belongs to himself, but that all belong to the city; for every citizen is a little part of the city. The care of each part is naturally accustomed to look to the care of the whole. And someone may also praise the Lacedaemonians in this: they bestow very great zeal upon boys, and do so communally and publicly. It is therefore evident that laws must be written concerning the discipline and education of boys, and that this education must be common and public.

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These things apply among private persons; but the bad education of princes costs peoples dearly.

§ 3. An administrator is appointed over the household estate, a cultivator is set over the vineyards, and beasts of burden are under a keeper; the age of sons is neglected. Magistrates are placed over walls, roads, bridges, and armories; the morals of youth are counted among abandoned matters. But this is the parents' duty. It belongs altogether to parents: the law of nature and divine oracles impose upon parents the honorable education of their sons. But many fail in their duty; some are unable; others even break and utterly corrupt the minds of their sons by a wicked example and by precepts. For although every age learns, the tender age especially does so, and it retains for a very long time what it has received. Hence it happens that they are imbued before their time by the examples or vices of their parents. Newly poured plaster easily follows the guidance of a skilled hand and receives the form in which, however, it hardens. Aristotle speaks excellently in book 7 of the *Politics*, chapter 7: "Perhaps Theodorus the tragic actor did not speak badly when he said something of this kind. For he never permitted any actor, not even a contemptible one, to come forth upon the stage before him, because he thought that the ears of the spectators were seized and occupied by what they first heard. The same thing happens in meetings with human beings and in the handling of affairs. For all things first presented to us are most approved by us. Therefore all bad and vicious things ought to be as unknown to the young as though foreign, but especially those in which there is either baseness or offense to the mind."

It is plainly so: great is the authority of the things we first learn. And so Eteocles, with great prudence, refused Antipater when he sought young boys as hostages, but permitted adults. He gave as the reason that the tender ought not to be torn from parents and from a well-ordered state, lest among foreigners they should lack a good education.

§ 4. Some object to us the morals of the Scythians, to whom, they say, nature gave what the Greeks could not attain by long exercise and the precepts of philosophy. For the morals of a barbarous nation were more honorable than those of the most cultivated cities in Greece. Thus Trogus, book 2. And thus Quintilian too rightly said, "I think morals are born."

I indeed judge that nature contributes very much to virtue, and that the disposition of some is more inclined to good than that of others; but it must be strengthened by zeal, teaching, and examples. Nature gave to all the foundations and

seed of virtue; we are all born for all those things. When one who arouses it approaches, then those goods of the mind are awakened as though asleep. The impulse is from nature, but must be perfected and ruled by education, habit, and exercise. Plato denied that virtue could be taught, for he held it to be implanted **θεία μοίρα ἄνευ νοῦ**, by divine allotment without the movement of the mind. You may say this rightly of the beginning--for Plato indeed dreamed of those gifts of the saints--but there is nevertheless need of one who arouses it. Seneca, Epistle 95: "For no one can, unless he has been formed from the beginning and composed by an entire system, fulfill all the measures, so that he knows when one ought to act, to what extent, with whom, in what manner. Therefore he cannot strive after honorable things with his whole mind, not even consistently or willingly; but he will look back, he will hesitate."

Why, therefore, were the morals of the Scythians without philosophy better than the morals of the Greeks? History teaches us that there were two principal causes. The first is that the Scythians lacked wine, delicacies, and luxuries--the seeds and incitements of great vices--and therefore lived more incorruptly both by necessity and by ignorance of vices. All were educated for warfare, hunting, and labors, at the command of a severe mother. The other cause lay within Greece itself; for examples of living men contrary to philosophy thrust themselves before everyone's eyes. Indeed, philosophy itself, now a betrayer of an honorable cause, not only yielded to vices but consented to them. And many philosophers were more wicked than the rest, as is clear from Laertius and others. "Ancient wisdom prescribed nothing other than what was to be done and avoided, and then men were far better; after learned men appeared, good men are lacking" (Seneca, Epistle 95). Thus lesser remedies could resist the lesser evils of barbarians. Greek philosophy, which taught men to dispute rather than to live, was dragged captive by the greatest evils.

How great the force of education is Plutarch teaches best, in **Περὶ παιδων ἀγωγῆς**. "How concise and powerful diligence and labor are you will know if you consider many things. For drops of water hollow stones, and iron and bronze are worn down by the light handling of hands. Moreover, the wheels of vehicles, bent by force, can by no means be straightened again; and the curved staffs of actors can in no way be corrected, but the form which they received by labor, contrary to nature, became stronger than the natural form. Do these things alone now demonstrate the force of industry? No, but countless others. The soil is naturally productive of good, but it lies foul when neglected; and the more excellent it is by disposition, the more it grows old through inactivity when deprived of cultivation. But if some ground is more savage and rough than is proper, cultivation nevertheless immediately makes it yield excellent fruits. What else make neglected trees crooked and barren? But if they have received a good training, they turn out happy and abundantly fruitful. What bodily strength is not blunted and withered by sloth, luxury, and idleness? What nature, by contrast, is so soft that it has not grown to the greatest strength when subdued by exercises and labor? What horses, rightly broken, have not shown themselves obedient to riders? What horses, by contrast, that have remained unbroken have not turned out unmanageable and fierce? And why should you marvel at the rest, when we see that even the fiercest beasts are for the most part tamed and made gentle by industry? A Thessalian, when asked which of the Thessalians were the gentlest, also rightly answered, 'Those who have finished with war.' But what need is there to recall common things? Habit is the work of many years, and he who says that moral virtues are induced by habit does not seem to me to offend. When I have added one further example, I shall not linger longer upon this argument. Lysurgus, lawgiver of the Lacedaemonians, took two puppies of the same parents, which he did not educate in the same manner, but rendered one voracious and gluttonous, the other keen and skilled at hunting. He then summoned an assembly of the Lacedaemonians. 'Lacedaemonians,' he said, 'habit, teaching, education, and the discipline of life are certainly no slight influence upon the production of virtue; I shall make this plain to you by an example.' He immediately released those puppies after setting a pot and a hare opposite them. One ran toward the hare, the other sought the pot. When the Lacedaemonians were not yet able to conjecture what this signified or with what purpose he had shown them the puppies, he said, 'These are both of the same parents; but because they were given different discipline, this one turned out a glutton, the other a hunter.'"

Aristotle demonstrates in book 5 of the *Politics*, chapter 9, that these things pertain to the safety and overthrow of the state: "Of all the things that have been stated, the greatest for the duration and stability of states is what all now

neglect: that the education and instruction of boys be accommodated to the form of administering the state. For even the most useful laws, approved by all who live in the state, are of no use unless the citizens have become accustomed to them and have been educated for them in the state's administration: popularly, if the laws are popular; oligarchically, if they are suited to oligarchy. For if there is incontinence in one person, there is also in the city. But to be educated for the form of administering the state does not mean doing those things in which the few who hold power delight, or those to whom democracy is dear, but learning and being able to do those things by which the former will be able to maintain oligarchy and the latter to live in a democracy. But now, in oligarchies, the sons of those who govern the state overflow with delights and luxury, while the sons of the needy are exercised and accustomed to labors. And so they both have a greater will to make revolutions and are more able to do so. In democracies which retain the power of the people in an exquisite and exact manner, the contrary to what benefits the state has been established. The cause of this is that they define liberty badly. For there are two things by which democracy seems to be defined: one, that the power of the state rests with the greater part of the people; the other, liberty. For what is just seems to be equal; and what is equal, that whatever has seemed good to the multitude be ratified. But what is free and equal is that each person do whatever he wishes. Thus in democracies of this kind each lives as he wishes and 'where desire leads him,' as Euripides says. But this is evil and vicious. For one ought not to think that to live in a manner accommodated to the form of administering the state is slavery, but safety."

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§ 5. The chief care for the sons of the nobility, therefore, belongs to the highest princes. In their education public authority sins most grievously, and peoples pay for that fault with their destruction. The sons of princes are fields from which sustenance is supplied to the multitude. And the greater care is necessary because it is more difficult to find a man of such resolute spirit that he dares offend a future prince. Most prefer to be in favor with the prince than to make the prince good. Their reasoning departs as far from duty as that of physicians who, by indulging a sick man lest they displease him, kill him. Few parents do not wish their sons to be good men; most also demand that they be better than themselves. Yet there have been some who preferred them wicked. Heliogabalus wished for a son like himself and strove with supreme authority to corrupt Alexander Caesar into his own morals. Herodian narrates the matter thus in *Elagabalus*: after Alexander was called Caesar, Antoninus wished immediately to imbue him with those institutions of his, so that he would take part in choral dances and dancing, share in the priesthood, and use the same dress and arts. Yet his mother Mammaea delivered him from all that foulness, secretly sending teachers of every discipline, teaching him modesty, accustoming him to the wrestling school and manly exercises, and instructing him alike in Greek and Latin literature. Antoninus was exceedingly indignant at these things and now regretted the adoption and the sharing of imperial power. Therefore he drove all Alexander's teachers from the court, afflicting some of the more distinguished partly with death and partly with exile, and alleging the ridiculous reason that they were corrupting his son and did not allow him to take part in dances and Bacchic frenzy, but composed him toward modesty and taught him manly duties.

I think there are scarcely any who wish their own sons to be taught such things. Many nevertheless permit them. They dissolve infancy with delights; they approve with laughter the base sayings of boys who do not yet understand their meaning, certain that they themselves will become the authors of all the evils the boys will commit. Those who allow and accustom them to sin teach them to sin. Quintilian censures this most gravely among his Romans and judges thus, in *On the Orator*: "In former times, first of all, each son born of a chaste parent was brought up not in the chamber of a purchased nurse, but in the lap and bosom of his mother, whose chief praise was to guard the house and serve her children. Moreover, some elder kinswoman of approved and tested morals was chosen, to whom the offspring of every household was entrusted; in her presence it was unlawful either to say what seemed shameful to be said or to do what seemed dishonorable to be done. And she regulated not only the studies and cares, but also the relaxations and games of boys, with a certain holiness and modesty. Thus, we have learned, Cornelia presided over the education of the Gracchi, Aurelia over that of Caesar, and Attia, the mother of Augustus, over his, and raised princely children. That discipline and severity tended to this end: that the nature of each, pure and entire and distorted by no vices, might immediately seize upon honorable arts with its whole breast, and, whether it inclined toward military affairs,

knowledge of law, or the study of eloquence, might do that alone and drink it in completely. But now the newborn infant is handed over to some little Greek serving-woman, to whom is joined one or another from among all the slaves, generally the vilest and fitted for no serious service. By their tales and errors tender and unformed minds are immediately imbued. Nor does anyone in the whole house take thought for what he says or does in the infant's presence, since the parents themselves accustom the little ones neither to goodness nor modesty, but to wantonness and license, through which shamelessness and contempt for self and others creep in little by little. Indeed, the peculiar and distinctive vices of this city seem to me to be conceived almost in the mother's womb."

Now too they sin with even greater disgrace for the most part: among many a stable-boy is held in greater honor than a pedagogue.

Let no one excuse himself because he is a Christian. He incurs the guilt of the one who does a thing if he neglects to correct what he can.

The first praise of education lies in ignorance of vices--Tacitus, *Germania*; Justin, book 2--then in knowledge of virtues, and finally in daily exercise. Among the Spartans the magistrate supplied the educators.

Cyrus, though best educated, had harmful sons because he permitted them to be educated by women. It makes no difference whether wicked women educate the children of princes, or flatterers who teach them the empty forms of ceremonies while religion and prudence are neglected. Those actors will not make fathers of the fatherland.

CHAPTER II

Precepts Necessary for the Education of Youth, Given to All

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 1. I have many things to say to fathers and mothers on behalf of their sons, against a useless love harmful to the state. But I fear that they will not receive them; therefore I shall refer the cause to the magistrates, for it is their duty to watch lest a criminal citizen be educated for the state. For if he turns out a drunkard, spendthrift, adulterer, turbulent man, robber, or slanderer, he will also be a traitor to his fatherland, if he is able. I propose certain things generally, not as though unknown, but because I desire that they be brought into practice; for they have now long been neglected.

§ 2. The first precept is necessary and difficult: that the life of father and mother, brothers and kinsmen, be the discipline of the new Roman citizen. He will truly learn what he has seen in his father. He thinks first of all that what he sees his father doing is permissible. It is a welcome thing that you have given a citizen to the fatherland and the people, if you make him fit for the fatherland. You will not do so if by your example you show him how to follow vices. The force of example is great toward all,

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but it is entire in teaching the tender: they cannot judge; what they see, they follow. The eagle leads its young out to hunt; the younger dog learns from the older to watch for the beast; the young bull submits its neck to the yoke after first accompanying an ox. Thus the son thinks that the occupation in which he sees his father engaged is a dignity, not a labor. O happy young man, who have above all a man to imitate whom nature willed you to resemble most closely! Pliny, book 8, Epistle 13. A son's great happiness is not a rich or powerful father, but a good one. Sometimes Absalom is born from David, Manasseh from Hezekiah, Jehoahaz from Josiah; and conversely bad sons are born from good men, and the sons of heroes are banes. But as it is easy for descendants to degenerate from paternal virtue, so it is exceedingly rare for those who have had the first lessons of their fathers' crimes to turn out upright. Such men you may rightly call sons of God, because by virtue they have overcome nature.

§ 3. The second precept tends to the same end: that the parent have an honorable, pious, and chaste household. A wicked household is a great and widely spreading evil; it has deceived the holiest men and overthrown royal houses. Do you marvel that in the court of the holiest king and prophet Amnon commits incest and Absalom, stained with his brother's murder, seeks his father's throat? Cease to marvel: Joab, the slayer of two princes, held power. Ahithophel's counsel was regarded as though it were the counsel of God--the counsel of the man who inflamed the son against his father's bed and blood. A criminal little servant harms a son's morals as much as a bad father does. For in the presence of any father whatsoever reverence and nature produce some shame at sin. Wicked Pseudoluses and Sosias, while they ennoble the sons of households with crimes, pursue their own advantage. As Theodosius was dying, nothing was higher among his wishes than to assign good ministers to his sons Arcadius and Honorius. You turn away a pestilential, leprous, or epileptic servant, for he would bring death and infamy upon the house and distribute contagion among his companions. Yet, softened by a friend's recommendation or by compliance, you tolerate wicked ministers who will infect your sons with a foul plague. And what is most wretched, they will make them your enemies.

§ 4. Imitate the institution of the Persians: remove your sons from the sight of the household and the marketplace, even from your own and their mother's sight if you must act amid the crowd. Harden yourself bravely here; conquer your affections; let the wisdom of a manly spirit overcome the tenderness of love. Persian sons lived apart from the household; Romans kept boyhood guarded at home and passed youth in war. Young men were immediately imbued with military service, so that by obeying they might become accustomed to command, and by following, to act as leaders. Pliny, book 8, Epistle 14, gives the reason. Tacitus, *Annals* 2: city youths overflowing with luxury are better

kept in camps. The Persians did not admit sons into their sight before the fourth year; the Gauls, not until adulthood. But let him send the boy where he may advance in virtue, lest in his absence he encounter seducers, for corruptions are everywhere.

§ 5. Nevertheless, let him observe moderation in sending the boy away. Let him not send younger boys far away to travel or for a long time, but entrust them to nearby teachers, so that he may be able to learn of his son's progress and may not receive him back corrupted by the morals of a foreign nation, forgetful of his paternal tongue, and contemptuous of the laws and customs of his own people. For a tender age drinks in all those things, but evils more quickly. A boy is educated more indulgently abroad when he is far away and absent for a long time, unless the greatest care is applied, and precisely the kind that a prudent father would apply. Furthermore, the travels of boys are useless, for they cannot observe the situation of towns, the advantages of rivers, the suitability of harbors, much less the morals, institutions, and laws of nations. Therefore that wandering does not serve prudence but harms talent and studies; from it most have brought back foreign vices, having forgotten the virtue of their fatherland.

§ 6. Let the parent imitate the Laconians: let education be severe and mixed with labors and adversities. Let the little boy have someone whom he reveres; let him have something whose denial pains him. Let him also at times be compelled to yield. For unless he is restrained by many bridles, since he lacks prudence he must necessarily be driven by very great and various desires, so that if you give him the reins, he turns out most wanton and obstinate. Indeed, he will put on a nature which no later discipline will shake off. Therefore let delights be taken away; let him feel reverence and fear. A father who indulges his son is a tyrant. Part of the cruelty of tyrants was to corrupt by luxury the sons of men whom they wished destroyed. Dionysius, tyrant of Sicily, when he could harm Dion in no other way, commanded his wife to marry another and his son to be so educated that before the years of puberty he was overwhelmed with wine, feasts, and prostitutes, to such a degree that he was allowed to be sober at no time. When the tyrant had been expelled, the father returned home; but when he attempted, by placing guards over him, to bring his son back to good conduct, he understood to his great grief how much force the first rudiments of education possessed. For the son, indignant that his accustomed pleasures were withdrawn, hurled himself from the highest part of the house and ended his life together with his delights. A prudent father will therefore preoccupy every path, and the whole state will apply itself to this end: that there be no access to vices. For after their poisons have poured themselves into the vital parts, either medicine is late or a dangerous medicine must be applied, because mild remedies yield to great evils. Hence disinheritanes, prisons, custody, and at times hidden executions. The cause of these evils is often indulgence in education. What Aristotle pronounced in book 1 of the *Ethics* is most true:

Οὐ μικρὸν οὕτως ἢ οὕτως εὐθὺς ἐκ νέων ἐθίζεσθαι διαφέρει, ἀλλὰ πάμπολυ, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ πᾶν.

It is not a small matter to become accustomed from tender years in this or that manner, but an exceedingly great one; indeed, the whole depends upon it. Therefore appear more austere and stern toward the son whom you especially love.

Those whom you shall establish to raise up the hope of your race,

Bestow especial labor upon them even now, from tender years.

§ 7. Let discipline be seasoned with sweetness: let gentleness be joined to constant and even gravity, severity, and command, a gentleness that may make labors and exercises seem honorable and pleasing. I do not wish a father to be so severe that his son performs the labors of studies or other duties through fear alone. For the harshness of the one commanding renders odious things otherwise pleasing and suited to the disposition of young men. Therefore let severity be employed so that he is drawn back from vices, idleness, and expense; gentleness, so that he is led civilly and sweetly to honorable things. Let him always hope for the rewards of good deeds, and experience pardon and impunity for offenses as most difficult to obtain.

§ 8. Let the educator recognize the disposition of each. So great is the variety of different talents that, when one comes to particulars, diverse and almost contrary arts must be employed. Some are led to duty by threats; others, indignant,

cast away the things upon which they had set their affection; others, stunned, take flight. A good disposition rises through praise; light talents swell; the proud become obstinate. Praise has harmed many.

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But amid this variety of talents, many deceive many. Therefore the things I have said are entirely general. No disposition is so well born and so upright that the examples of parents and household do not corrupt it; none is such that it must not be constrained by severity and fostered by gentleness, because all have received seeds of the virtues implanted in their minds. In order that these may grow into fruits, they need not only seasonable sun and rain, but also winds and cold, so that they may be strengthened and put forth roots. Other matters concerning sobriety and the choosing of masters require their own treatment; for the present it is sufficient to have given these admonitions generally.

CHAPTER III

Care of Infants Also Belongs to the State

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 1. Human beings need the greatest care and nurture because they are the tenderest animals, and the greatest restraint because they are impetuous and light. Let us therefore treat their education from their very birth and beginnings.

First, it is in the interest of those who are born that there be prudence in their parents' entering marriage. It is advisable that epileptics, lepers, and those suffering from cancer or another disease abstain from marriage, lest by contagion they transmit a dreadful inheritance to posterity. For a city could be filled with such families. For if the horror and danger of those diseases is so great that, although the marriage bond remains altogether indissoluble, cohabitation and the use of marriage are nevertheless removed, who could doubt that those marriages are contracted imprudently whose separation is prudently established on account of the danger of contagion? Those are private injuries, but they overflow into the state. Our most learned and diligent Thomas Sanchez, book 9 *On Matrimony*, disputation 24, numbers 15, 16, 17, and 18, teaches that the obligation consisting in cohabitation and the use of marriage ceases if one spouse labors under a horrible and contagious disease. The third opinion, to which I wholly adhere, teaches that the healthy spouse is by no means bound to render the debt when, in the judgment of physicians, a notable danger of infection threatens. Nor does the text in chapter 2, *On Leprous Spouses*, stand in the way; for it is understood of a case in which that rendering does not result in notable injury to the one rendering. And thus St. Thomas and the other Doctors cited at number 15 for the first opinion are understood, as is clear from the reason by which they prove it: namely, that from so brief a union no danger of infection threatens. Therefore they plainly judge that, when such danger threatens, the obligation of rendering ceases. Nor does the reason for the second opinion, brought forward at the preceding number, stand in the way. For no one by contracting marriage obligates himself to render except with the safety of the individual preserved, as we proved at number 2. And the reasons adduced there plainly prove this opinion.

Among theologians it is defended by Durandus, book 4, distinction 32, question 1, number 8, where he argues against Major's first argument to the third conclusion; Paludanus, question 1, article 2, number 7; Almain, sole question; Soto, sole question, article 1, reply 2; Ouandus, sole question after proposition 2; Celaia, question 1, argument 2; Palacios, disputation 1, solution 704; D. Antonius, part 3, title 1, chapter 20, §10 to the end, in the fourth case; Cajetan, *Summa*, word *matrimonium*, final chapter, concerning sins in the use of marriage, verse "The first is"; Victoria, *Summa on Matrimony*, number 275; Medina, chapter *On Restitution*, question 19, final section; Petrus de Soto, lecture 16 *On Matrimony*, § "There are also besides these"; Ledesma, part 2, question 4, question 66, article 1, folio 524, column 3; Angles, *Flowers*, part 1 *On Matrimony*, question 6, *On the Obligation of Rendering the Debt*, article 1, difficulty 1; Pedraza, *Summa*, precept 6, §18; Enriquez, book 11 *On Matrimony*, chapter 15, number 7; Manuel, volume 1 of the *Summa*, second edition, chapter 243, number 2; Bartholomaeus a Ledesma, doubt 71 *On Matrimony*, conclusion 1; Petrus de Ledesma, *On Matrimony*, question 64, article 1, doubt 2, conclusion 1; Ludovicus Lopez, part 1 of the *Instruction*, chapter 83, § "But concerning a leprous husband," and part 2 *On Matrimony*, chapter 56, immediately at the beginning; Graffis, part 1 of the *Decisions*, book 2, chapter 83, number 6; Cannedo, *Summa of the Sacraments*, *On Matrimony*, chapter 8, number 72; Emmanuel Sa, *Summa*, word *conjugal debt*, verse "excuses from rendering"; Vega, volume 1 of the *Summa*, chapter 78, case 3; and, among jurists, Rosella, word *leper*, number 2, where Angelus, number 2; Sylvester, word *debt*, question 1, verse "the second is," and word *leprosy*, question 3; Tabiena, word *matrimony*, question 3, §6, §7 at the end; Armilla, word *debt*, number 3, word *leprosy*, number 3, and word *matrimony*, number 69; Turrecremata, chapter *Sciatis*, cause 33, question 4, article 1, number 2, case 3; Navarrus, *Summa*, chapter

16, Spanish number 24, Latin number 25; Gregorius Lopez, law 7, word *suadendo*, title 2, part 4; Gaetanus, repetition on chapter *Ad limina* 30, question 1, §4, number 175.

It must nevertheless be observed that if infection is feared from frequent intercourse, but not from one or another act, the spouse is bound to render once or twice, but not frequently. For the entire reason for the cessation of the precept of rendering is fear of infection, and therefore it will cease only to the extent that such fear exists. Thus Palacios, book 4, distinction 32, disputation 1, solution 705.

Exactly the same must be said if one spouse suffers from the French disease; for the healthy spouse is not bound to discharge the debt at the danger of notable infection to himself, because the reason is the same as with leprosy. Thus Victoria, *On Matrimony*, number 275; Soto, book 4, distinction 32, sole question, article 1, reply 2, verse “indeed”; where Celaia, question 1, argument 2; Palacios, disputation 1, folio 705, verse “But it still torments”; Enriquez, book 11 *On Matrimony*, chapter 35, number 7; Petrus de Ledesma, *On Matrimony*, question 64, article 1, doubt 2. Indeed, the same must be said of any contagious disease, for the same reason. Medina, chapter *On Restitution*, question 19, final section; Ledesma, part 2, question 4, question 66, article 1, folio 524, column 3; Bartholomaeus a Ledesma, doubt 72 *On Matrimony*, conclusion 1; Armilla, word *debt*, number 3, and word *matrimony*, number 96.

Since among the Hebrews, Persians, and other states lepers are separated from the city, it is not fitting for them to establish a new state and produce so miserable a posterity, which will also draw the sound part into its condition.

Other things must no less be avoided. Namely, when a fever attacks either spouse, let them sleep apart by mutual consent, for the offspring will be born sickly and **βραχύβιος**, short-lived, and even stupid if the fever is more ardent. Next, abundance and crudity of food, and especially drunkenness in the begetters, is the cause of various diseases in those born, renders them dull, and makes them altogether unfit for learning. Far more so does the intemperance of overheated lust. For it renders the body **ἀραιότερον, ψυχρότερον, ξηρότερον, καὶ ἀσθενέστερον**, rarer, colder, drier, and weaker, as Paulus Aegineta teaches in book 1, with the others agreeing. Rareness, coldness, dryness, weakness, premature old age, and untimely death follow from it. A citizen born from this turns out weak in body and slow in mind; and, what is the greatest evil for a weak and stupid boy, while still immature he carries his parent to the grave, becoming either captive to the negligence of guardians or prey to their rapacity. Let these remarks concerning the begetting of offspring suffice; let us treat of their upbringing.

§ 2. Therefore, when a human being has been born into the light--a sacred and divine thing, an image of his creator--let not only the mother, released from the pains of childbirth, but the whole household give thanks to God with its whole mind. For children are the pledges of marriage and rewards of pains, but a new care for those bringing them up. Let them offer the infant

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to God, so that, as he was formed in the womb, he may be re-formed in the laver. And what is chief, let the mother herself be nurse and bearer; let the infant be nourished in the bosom of her from whose entrails he issued. No nourishment is healthier for the newborn than maternal milk. It is the work of nature to provide nourishment for the newborn, Aristotle, book 1 of the *Politics*, chapter 10. Varro wished nurses and mothers to be the same persons. Every prudent person marvels and is indignant that a mother's love should vanish so suddenly: how does she so quickly forget the child borne in the womb with so much labor and brought into the light with so much pain?

Πρόβατον οὐκ ἀπολείπει τὸ αὐτῆς ἔκγονον, οὐδὲ λύκος· ἄνθρωπος δὲ ἀπολείπει.

Neither sheep nor wolf abandons its own offspring, but the human being abandons his. Arrian, book 1, Epistle 23. Women who dry up the spring of milk owed to their sons gravely offend God; for nature does not wish its gifts to be intercepted, and does not wish what God has already prepared for the preservation of the human race to be corrupted by luxuries. For by idleness and **ἀστοργία**, lack of natural affection, they alter nature, and they act so as to withdraw nourishment from the offspring even through pains, applying cupping glasses to the back which perhaps ought not to

be tried even for increasing milk. From this arise *χονδριώσεις* of the breasts, or *θρομβώσεις* of the milk, when through the spongy tissue of the breasts the nourishment denied to the child thickens into clots and lumps. Deservedly it torments the mother with punishment; or when, through great abundance, milk distends the *κόλπους*, that is, the hollows of the breasts, they fall into various diseases.

Thus among all animals there is affection toward offspring: lions and tigers, their ferocity pacified, caress their young and offer their teats. It is the voice of nature that the offspring must be nourished and fought for. The love of offspring sharpens the ferocity of all beasts when they nourish their young. They fear neither wounds nor blows on behalf of their offspring:

Τόσον ἀρτιγόνοιο γενέθλης
φίλτρον ἐνὶ καρδίῃ στάζει θεός.

God instilled so great a love of recent offspring into the heart.

Sweet pledges are dearer than one's own breath. For powerful nature binds parents and children with a firm bond. But foolish mothers entrust a great part of that bond to nurses, and bring it about that grown children love nurses equally with parents, and sometimes more ardently, remembering that their tender age was despised by their mother and taken up by nurses standing in for mothers. Alexander the Great's love and reverence for his nurse was certainly remarkable, and I do not know whether it was not greater than for his mother Olympias. Curtius, book 8; Justin, book 12.

§ 3. Hence by divine vengeance another punishment is imposed upon delicate women: after they have entrusted their little children, as though strangers and unworthy of their care, to another's fidelity, they find them disobedient and insolent when they have become stronger. She who did not deem her son worthy of her breasts cannot reproach him for ingratitude by showing them. What remains, therefore, except that she await abandonment in old age by the child whom, while he wailed, she cast from her house, or certainly from her bosom? She will not find in the robust man the constancy of devotion and love whose elements she herself effaced and abolished in the cradle.

§ 4. She also harms her son in many ways. Since he lived in the maternal womb from his mother's blood, no nourishment is more accommodated to his nature and constitution than that same mother's milk, for milk is whitened blood. Moreover, a change of nourishment and air is dangerous to so great a tenderness of the offspring. For the sucking of another's milk conduces neither to health nor growth. Each thing is nourished by what is similar, injured by what is contrary, and cast down by change.

§ 5. Nurses harm the morals of the offspring no less than their life. What if you have obtained a nurse who is drunken, irascible, or lustful? The tender pupil will drink the poisons of a wicked woman in the very milk. And he will hear:

No goddess was your parent, nor Dardanus founder of your race,
Faithless one; but the Caucasus, bristling with hard rocks,
Begot you, and Hyrcanian tigers put their udders to you.

And: "You were born from rocks, nourished with the milk of beasts." How can you persuade yourself that an adopted mother will be better for your son, when you have given him two stepmothers? For by deserting him you made yourself a stepmother, and made her one by summoning her. But what sort of woman is she? If she is an old woman, you have sinned against the most ancient precept of medicine. Physicians hold that milk is the foam of blood, for which reason Varro warns that a nurse ought to be young, since in old women, as the blood is worse, so is the milk. Why, therefore, will you offer your son, as true nourishment, a purulent humor scarcely thickened from cold blood? If you provide a young woman, take care lest she corrupt morals and the household. Indeed, take care lest she fail to abstain from intercourse; for if she becomes pregnant, she will give a slow poison to the pupil. Pliny, book 28, chapter 9, says it is deadly for nurses to conceive; and Galen, *On the Preservation of Health*. Nothing is more harmful to an infant still nursing than for his nurse to conceive in her womb. For what is best and most vital is consumed by that

fetus; blood of smaller quantity and less purity remains, and there is either no milk or little, as Aristotle warns, *On the Generation of Animals*, book 4, chapter 8. But even if we concede that none of the things which frequently happen has occurred, nevertheless a mother's love is natural and a nursemaid's mercenary; and so they are led by one payment to one place, by another elsewhere. For when the mind has once given itself to profit, it thinks duty lies where the greatest payment lies. Nor should you think that a nurse will love another's child when you, his mother, do not love your own.

§ 6. What, finally, would the infant say, if he could speak, when he saw himself banished immediately from the womb and exiled without any fault of his own--unless it was a fault to have been born? He is silent in sound, but cries out in affection; he is tender; he is pitiable because he cannot ask; he must be loved because he does not yet understand his calamity. If he understood, he would surely say: "Mother, you preserve your finery, jewels, and bracelets under many locks; perhaps you foster a puppy and monkey in your bosom; you entrust authority over your strongbox to no one; the whole day is spent arranging your adornment. But me, a part of you, who received my life from your entrails and have scarcely been torn from you, you commit to another's fidelity and perhaps perfidy. And although you can hope that I shall be brought up with gentle obedience, you certainly know that I shall not be handled by a mother's hand. If, when you were someday an infirm old woman in need of aid, I were to exclude you from my house or my affection, I would surely be worthy that the deepest earth open beneath me. If I allowed another to appear kinder toward you than I, would you recognize me as your son? To whom do you delegate care of me? Whom do you command me to love as a second mother?"

§ 7. That mother, though a rich and illustrious matron, will not do such things. She will always sustain her son with natural milk, not purchased milk. For maternal milk and spirit always increase the disposition and the growth of the body far more. Columella, book 7, chapter 12. It is not food alone, but spirit also; for with great affection a mother offers her breasts to her son and therefore, together with warm and spirited milk,

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infuses a salutary abundance with a certain life of the spirits. All the nourishment of a loving mother is more vigorous and brings to the children not only strength of body but also likeness of disposition.

§ 8. Finally, no one can fail to see what danger is incurred by that most perverse fastidiousness of women and contempt for their own blood. How easy would it be for a nursemaid to be corrupted by the price of a huge payment, so that she substitutes a peasant child for a noble offspring and inserts servile filth into the most distinguished families? This indeed happened to Artabanus the Macedonian, whose unfaithful nurse exchanged his son, and afterward, when both he and the substituted son were adults, disclosed her theft more criminally than she had committed it. For the two met with great slaughter of the kingdom and perished on one day. Cautious custody must be applied not only to little children but much more to adults, for with the age and strength of sons the solicitude of a good parent--never too great--increases. Nurses have great authority over their pupils, often greater than mothers, and there have not been lacking those who loved them more than their mothers. Certainly many have laid impious hands upon their mothers, few upon their nurses. Hence many children of princes have been led into fraud by them, and no royal woman has been carried off without a nurse's knowledge. Mothers are the cause, because they join to their children another woman as though another mother--one who possesses a mother's authority and has stolen a mother's love, but nevertheless possesses a servile disposition for sale at a price. In former times the wickedness of nurses was restrained by many laws, among which that law of Constantine issued in the year 320 is severe: "And since the vigilance of parents is often mocked by the tales and depraved persuasions of nurses, let punishment first threaten those whose detestable service we have shown, and whose purchased discourses have been detected. Let the passages of the mouth and throat that put forth wicked incitements be closed by the pouring-in of molten lead." Let them therefore follow the precepts of the ancients and nourish their sons with their own milk, so that maternal affection may promote a freeborn disposition. For if, as Justin relates in book 43, Hogis, king of the Curetes, was of extraordinary swiftness because, after he was exposed, he had a doe as nurse, how great a force shall we say there is in other cases?

Let them therefore rather imitate the diligence of Cato's wife, who not only nourished with her own milk the son born from her, but also at times put the infants of her serving-women to her breasts. By this means she attached to her son his household slaves, through their parents, both for the present and the future.

What, therefore, must a prince establish in this matter? I shall say it in one word: a public law must be enacted, that a mother nourish with her own milk the sons whom she has borne, and that neither wealth nor nobility exempt any woman. But if on account of illness she cannot, let the magistrate and husband determine the matter after hearing physicians. Let her who acts otherwise be branded with disgrace.

§ 9. Deservedly so. For unless there is strong love between parents and children, there will be none among strangers and therefore no concord in the state. Many parents have wished for a vicarious death in place of their sons; some have undergone it; more have been unwilling to survive them. Israel mourns Joseph inconsolably. David, moved only by danger, puts aside the signs of grief, but fixes and buries grief more deeply. And let us understand that love not only as devotion but as nature and humanity. Aegeus, king of the Athenians, when from the sight of mourning sails he supposed Theseus slain, cast himself headlong into the sea. A similar error extinguished the mother of Ulysses. Jocasta followed shortly after Eteocles and Polynices had fallen by mutual wounds. Mopsus the Cretan, hearing at Saguntum that his sons had perished, fell from a tower and knowingly and deliberately dashed himself to pieces. Orodes, king of the Parthians, conceived such grief in his mind at the death of his son Pacorus that, as had once happened to Hecuba for the same cause, it turned into madness. Grief for his murdered son also overwhelmed and extinguished Emperor Gordian. When Octavius Balbus thought that his son was being killed on his account, he offered himself to the executioners of those proscribing him. The same love was contested between Quintus Cicero and his son: by no tortures could the son be brought to betray his father; the father gave himself from his hiding place into their sight, that he might deliver his son from slaughter. Theirs was the same love as that of those concerning whom Livy says: "Many falsely believed to have perished in the Second Punic War at Trasimene and Cannae, and whose lives had already been rashly mourned by some, were suddenly presented to their mothers; and they poured so great a mass of joy upon their mothers' minds that, crushed as though by a sudden ruin, the mothers expired amid kisses and embraces." Since the bond of natural love between parents and children is so great, its connection ought not to be dissolved or loosened immediately from the first birth by the luxuries of mothers.

CHAPTER IV

Infants Also Need Education, and What It Is

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 1. Just as it is free to take a wife, so it is necessary to bring up and educate offspring brought into the light, and one must take complete care that they not be deprived of resources and aid.

Therefore those who introduce into the state a savage and *ἄστρογγον*, unnaturally unloving, law do injury to nature. Such was that law of Romulus: “Let monstrous offspring be killed without penalty.” Cruel too was the paternal power that usurped a right of life and death over children, because the unconsidered anger of fathers destroyed many and domestic slanders still more. Disinheritance, by which one was denied to be a son, was harsh, but nevertheless established by law and statutes. Yet gravest of all is the cruelty of parents who expose children ignorant of their condition and deserving nothing, either in deserted places or in places from which they can be taken and brought up. The law of the Thebans concerning this was just and full of humanity: it decreed capital punishment if anyone exposed an infant in solitude, for it was not only homicide but the slaughter of an innocent. Aelian, book 2 of *Various History*. But if anyone could not nourish a newborn, he carried it with its swaddling bands to the magistrate, by whom it was sold into slavery for a small price. Best and most merciful is the law of Christians, who indeed impose punishment upon those who expose children: they both remove the children from paternal power and afflict the parents with other punishments--lighter than they deserve--because they consult the safety of newborns, lest the parents prefer to kill and conceal them rather than expose them. The edict of the Caesars Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian is: “Let each nourish his own offspring; but if he thinks it should be exposed, he will be subject to the penalty that has been established.”

§ 2. What care, therefore, must be applied to a son or daughter during the first five years, or lustrum?

Since at that age the mind is weak and cannot be instructed, care will be taken of the little body alone, but in such a way

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that those things are observed which conduce to the integrity and vigor both of the external and internal senses. “For what,” says St. Jerome, Epistle 17, “would you exhort to continence the child who desires cakes, who babbles with chattering voice in her mother’s bosom, to whom honey is sweeter than words? Should she hear the deep things of the Apostle, when she delights more in old women’s tales? Should she perceive the enigmas of the Prophets, when the sterner face of her nursemaid disturbs her? Should she understand the majesty of the Gospel, at whose thunderbolts every mortal sense is blunted? Should I exhort her to be subject to her parent, when with a tender hand she strikes her laughing mother?”

There are nevertheless things which I may prescribe to the father and mother concerning such little children. Good education needs preparation.

§ 3. The first is that before the fifth year those things be done which are the rudiments of future hope. Plato commanded nurses and boys to assemble in the crossroads, both so that they might enjoy a freer air and so that the morals of the nurses might be observed in public.

Next, even at this little age, let there be a diligent, careful, and fastidious selection of nursemaids, serving-women, and little servants who guard and care for the little son. Let them be of honorable morals, for children reproduce the morals of those whom they first behold. Care must be taken that by old women’s tales they do not thrust depraved and absurd opinions upon them:

In the beginning, the infancy of boys

Drinks in error together with milk.

But I have given warning concerning these things above.

§ 4. Those who deal with the tender pupil will also lay the foundations of speech and will not imitate his babbling through blandishments and jokes, because children thus learn to speak perversely. A prudent father will devote the greatest effort to forming speech.

What greater thing could a sweet nursemaid wish for her pupil

Than that he be wise and able to speak what he thinks?

Since sounds, the articulation of sounds, sibilants, and accents depend upon habit, persons should be chosen who use clear, sweet, and native pronunciation. Thus it will happen that from those from whom the little child receives signs of things he may also imbibe the habit of corrected pronunciation. The Gracchi learned eloquence in their mother's bosom. The practice of nations also admonishes us of this: for what person of a foreign nation so sounds a language that he does not at the same time breathe forth his fatherland? Even when Dorians spoke Attic there was *πλατυστομία*, breadth of mouth, for they drew out words with a broad mouth. We also can distinguish by nation those speaking Latin from the sound of the voice. But whence is it that they never unlearn the manner of pronunciation which they imbibed in their first years? Because what we first learn clings most closely to the mind, as though a second nature. Why did the tribe of Ephraim retain its national defect, so that they could not say *Shibboleth* but *Sibboleth*, with a softer sound? It came from a mother, nursemaid, or some serving-girl who formed the infancy either of Ephraim himself or of his sons. Therefore, just as care is applied lest tender legs or little arms grow crookedly, so also the tongue must be formed--not by commands, of which that age is not yet capable, but by articulate and pure utterance. For he will learn to speak rightly if he hears no one pronounce badly.

§ 5. So tender an age will also be able to learn some things, if it has a suitable master; but it will learn by playing, not by laboring. This care is not childish, although it is exercised upon a child. Certainly Jerome, a man of great talent and holiness, did not think it beneath either his office or his age to teach a child amid his sublime studies of sacred literature. The present Church admires the ancient tongue which he heard, and which heresies feared like the sharp weapon of a thunderbolt; yet he was ready to form the words of a tender virgin. In Epistle 7 he speaks thus: "If you send Paula, I myself promise to be both her master and her fosterer. I shall carry her upon my shoulders; an old man, I shall form her babbling words, far more glorious than the philosopher of the world, since I shall educate not a king of the Macedonians destined to perish by Babylonian poison, but a serving-woman and bride of CHRIST to be offered to the heavenly kingdoms."

Therefore some unfairly criticize our Society: because it lowers itself to schools for boys, they believe it serves God less religiously and would prefer it to be occupied in theology alone. I shall dispute against them when necessary. For now I wish them to consider this one thing: that most human beings, before they are rendered fit for those studies, need very much and very exact discipline.

The prudently humble man did not remain silent about what he thought should be learned. Epistle 12: "Therefore let our Pacatula, who will later read this little letter, for the present merely recognize the elements of letters; let her join syllables, learn names, connect words. And so that she may meditate upon them in her little piping voice, let little cakes, honeyed drink, rewards, and whatever is sweet to the taste, whatever blooms in flowers, whatever glitters in gems, whatever delights among dolls, be offered to her, so that she hastens to receive them. Meanwhile let her try to draw threads with her tender thumb; let her often break the strands, that she may someday not break them. After labor let her rejoice in games; let her hang upon her mother's neck; let her snatch kisses from her relatives; let her sing psalms for a reward. Let her love what she is compelled to learn, so that it may be not work but delight, not necessity but will."

He gives almost the same precepts at greater length, but they possess ancient wisdom, Epistle 7: “The soul which is to be a temple of God must be educated thus: let it learn to hear nothing and to speak nothing except what pertains to the fear of God. Let her not understand base words; let her be ignorant of the songs of the world; while still tender, let her tongue be imbued with sweet psalms. Let the wanton age of boys be far away; let the girls and female attendants themselves be barred from worldly company, lest they teach worse what they have learned badly. Let letters be made for her, whether of boxwood or ivory, and let them be called by their names. Let her play with them, so that the play itself may also be instruction; and let her not only retain the order of the letters, so that the memory of the names passes into a song, but let their order among themselves frequently be disturbed, the last mixed with the middle and the middle with the first, so that she may know them not only by sound but also by sight. But when she begins to draw the stylus in wax with a trembling hand, or to hold it while another’s hand is placed over hers, let her fingers be guided; or let the elements be carved upon a tablet, so that her traces may be drawn through the same furrows, enclosed by margins, and may not be able to wander outside. Let her join syllables for a reward and be invited by little gifts by which that age can be won over. Let her have companions in learning whom she may envy and by whose praises she may be stung. She must not be rebuked if she is slower, but her talent must be aroused by praise, so that she may rejoice at having conquered and grieve at having been conquered. Above all, care must be taken lest she hate studies and lest the bitterness of them, perceived in infancy, pass beyond the unformed years. The very names through which she gradually becomes accustomed to connect words should not be accidental, but fixed and deliberately accumulated--namely those of the Prophets and Apostles; and let the entire series of the Patriarchs from Adam descend from Matthew and Luke, so that while she does one thing she may be prepared for future memory.”

§ 6. Let the father of the household preside over these exercises of his sons, even if he is a king and prince, and let him regard it as a far more glorious function than

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that once performed by the judges of contests at Greek spectacles or Roman ones. There the destruction of morals and deaths are carried out; here the beginnings of virtues.

§ 7. I shall finish when I have given some precepts concerning the care of the body. They were accustomed to govern bodies with instruments so that they would not be distorted; thus Aristotle, book 7, chapter 17 of the *Politics*.

He warns of another thing which is in no way in use, yet could be recalled:

Συμφέρει δὲ εὐθὺς, ὥς πρὸς τὰ ψύχει, συνεθίζειν μικρῶν παίδων.

It is advantageous immediately from childhood to accustom them to cold. For this is most useful both for health and for military affairs; therefore the barbarians do it, and it can indeed be done, since on account of native heat boys can easily endure cold. The Celts hardened their newborns at rivers; Olaus Magnus attributes the same to his Goths. The Thracians too educated their own to endurance of cold. Sidonius, poem 2:

Here ice receives the newborn, and snow from a stream other than the mother’s

Hardens the soft limbs of the infants, their fellow citizens.

The ancient Britons, as Caesar has it in book 5 of *The Gallic War*, hid themselves most swiftly in marshes amid dangers, being most tolerant of cold.

He also prudently warns that during those years children are to be applied neither to labor nor discipline, lest these impede growth. It is agreed that they will attain this by play, but the playful exercises themselves ought to be certain imitations of future occupations. Nor is it fitting to inhibit tears and wailings, for they take the place of exercise: they dilate and strengthen the veins and arteries and, as Aristotle teaches, assist growth, for they are **γυμνάσια τοῖς σώμασιν**, exercises for the bodies. There is no other reason why in the earliest years the offspring of peasants is rather

strong and that of the rich weaker, than that the latter is deprived of natural exercise, while the former enjoys it abundantly, their busy mothers being turned to other things and neglecting their crying and wailing.

CHAPTER V

The Education of Boys Who Are Now More Grown, the Matters in Which It Is Occupied, and Morals

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 1. From the fifth to the seventh year Aristotle wishes them to be spectators of the arts which they are to embrace. You will understand this in such a way that they nevertheless retain the exercises of a more tender age and are moved by some care for serious things. The things to be learned pertain partly to the mind, partly to external things. To the mind belongs the study of the virtues and liberal arts; to external things, exercises in all the arts which they call **βαναυσικός**, mechanical. The duties of all these are necessary to the state, and I must treat of them in this place.

§ 2. As for the studies of piety and the virtues, these were treated at length in the second and first books, for this is the greatest and proper good of the human being. All arts, however despised, serve virtue, and all are made freeborn and liberal by so honorable a servitude. For such is the force of virtue that it makes servitude a kingdom, since to serve God is to reign. Behold PAUL the Apostle, the chosen vessel, teacher of kings and of the world, descending from the third heaven and sewing tents from skins, so that he may offer the Gospel without expense, so that those hands may supply nourishment, lest he burden the churches, lest he give occasion to slanderers, as though he sought not the salvation of peoples but his own advantage.

But piety and virtue have been discussed before. The state must take especial care that the worship of God flourish. Formerly this was difficult, when the gilded Capitol glittered and demons poured forth oracles from every temple. Now a people flooding to the churches and cities poured forth into piety commend piety to all and in a certain manner extort it. Let a prince be ashamed, in the midst of the Christian world, to take little or no account of piety when he reads that the trophies of the cross have been erected throughout the Indies, that barbarous peoples, devourers of human flesh, having put aside ferocity, suffer martyrdom and are inserted into heaven; that Cambayans, Japanese, and Chinese come from the east, Ethiopians from the south, Brazilians, Mexicans, and Floridians from the west, and sit with Christ in the kingdom of God, while the sons of the kingdom, whose ancestral possession is religion, are cast into outer darkness. Matthew 8.

§ 3. The cause of so great an evil is the neglected education of the tender age. Frost burns tender trees and the first shoots of leaves; youth is easily corrupted unless raised up by sacred teaching. Let the infant be taught the most holy faith and morals from tender years. Let the tender infant pray at his father's table, and let the trembling little girl babble the laborious words of the creed. Let the entire affection of the parents be joined to the half-sounding words of their children. Let the sweet utterances of divinity be inscribed upon those pure tablets, stained by no uncleanness and gleaming from the spiritual laver.

Let them recognize their Father in heaven; let them learn that this mortal life is a road to the heavenly life; let them understand that they are candidates for the eternal kingdom. Let them dread vices more than specters and demons, and let them not be ignorant that they contend daily for life. Jerome, whom I cited, explains these things, Epistle 7: "Let her immediately learn what other grandmother and what aunt she has; for what Emperor and what army the little recruit is being nourished; let her long for them and threaten you that she will depart to them. Let her very habit and dress teach her to whom she has been promised. Take care not to pierce her ears; do not paint a face consecrated to Christ with white lead and rouge; do not press her neck with gold and pearls; do not load her head with gems; do not redden her hair and thus augur something of the fires of Gehenna for her. Let her have other pearls, by selling which she will afterward purchase the pearl of greatest price. Praetextata, once a most noble woman, at the command of her husband Hymettius, who was the paternal uncle of the virgin Eustochium, altered her habit and adornment and dressed

her neglected hair in a worldly manner, desiring to overcome both the virgin's resolution and the mother's desire. And behold, that same night she saw in a dream an angel come to her, threatening punishments in a terrible voice and thundering these words: 'Have you dared to prefer a husband's command to Christ? Have you dared to handle the head of God's virgin with your sacrilegious hands? They shall wither even now, so that, tortured, you may understand what you have done; and when the fifth month is ended, you shall be led to hell. But if you persevere in the crime, you shall at the same time be deprived of husband and children.' All things were fulfilled in order, and a swift death sealed the wretched woman's late repentance. Thus Christ avenges violators of his temple; thus he defends gems and precious ornaments."

§ 4. Let every foul thing in images and words be absent. Let anyone who can harm also be absent. The law of the Athenians' schools for boys was: "Let teachers not open the school before the sun has shone forth, nor close it before the sun has set; and while the boys are in school, let no one who has passed the age of boyhood be permitted to enter unless he is the teacher, the teacher's son, or the husband of his daughter.

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But if anyone enters contrary to that prohibition, let him be punished with death. Let the gymnasiarchs also not permit any one of those who are older to be mingled in sitting with the boys in any manner; but if they admit him and do not drive him from the gymnasium, let the gymnasiarch be guilty of corrupting the freeborn."

Juvenal indeed rightly consults the chastity of others, but his books should also have been kept from an honorable threshold by the same law. Satire 14:

Let nothing foul to say or see touch these thresholds,
 Within which there is a boy. Far hence, far hence be the girl
 Of pimps and the songs of the parasite who revels through the night.
 The greatest reverence is owed to a boy.

Because what Jerome writes to parents is not dear to very many parents, I write it to the state. Epistle 7. Eli the priest offended God on account of the vices of his children. A man who has luxurious, unsubmissive sons cannot be made a bishop. But conversely it is written of a woman that she will be saved through the generation of children if they continue in faith, charity, sanctification, and chastity. If a perfect age, under its own right, is imputed to parents, how much more a nursing and fragile age, which according to the Lord's sentence does not know right hand from left--that is, the difference between good and evil? If with solicitude you provide that your daughter not be struck by a viper, why do you not provide with the same care that she not be struck by the hammer of the whole earth, that she not drink from the golden cup of Babylon, that she not go out with Dinah and wish to see the daughters of a foreign region, that she not play with her feet or trail tunics? Poisons are not given unless wrapped in honey, and vices do not deceive except under the appearance and shadow of virtues. "And how," you will say, "are the sins of fathers not repaid to children, nor those of children to parents, but the soul that has sinned shall itself die?" This is said of those who can understand, concerning whom it is written in the Gospel: "He is of age; let him speak for himself." But he who is a little child and understands as a little child--until he comes to the years of wisdom and the letter Y of Pythagoras leads him to the fork--both his good and his evil are imputed to his parents.

§ 5. I am reluctant to depart from the best teacher of piety. He says in Epistle 2: "Let the female sex be joined to its own sex. Let her not know--indeed, let her fear--to play with boys. Let her know no immodest word; and if by chance amid the tumult of the household running about she hears something, let her not understand it. Let her regard her mother's nod in place of words and admonitions, and in place of command. Let her love her as a parent, be subject to her as mistress, fear her as teacher. But when the seventh year has overtaken the little girl, unformed and toothless, and she has begun to blush, to know what she should keep silent, and to hesitate about what she should say, let her learn the Psalter by memory; and until the years of puberty let her make the books of Solomon, the Gospels, the Apostles,

and the Prophets the treasure of her heart. Let her not go forth too freely in public, nor always seek the crowds of the churches; let her have all her delights in her chamber. Let her never see young men, never men with curled hair. Let sweetnesses of voice that wound the soul through the ear and the wantonness of girls be repelled; the more freely these approach, the more difficult they are to avoid, and what they have learned they teach in secret, and by the talk of the crowd they violate Danaë though she is enclosed.”

Remarkable is the perversity of human talent: it does not always obey an adviser; the harshness of some is equally obstinate against blandishments, reasons, and threats. No care of instructors and masters could correct Alexander’s deed or Achilles’ drunkenness. Seneca educated Nero in vain, for Nero, offended by his innocence, compelled him to die after falsely accusing him. Heliogabalus closed off the cares of all his masters by his wickedness. How much did David do that Absalom might not turn out wicked? How many excellent parents have obstinate sons? I confess it is so, and that a vicious and savage nature is restrained with great labor and becomes fiercer when it has passed into its own power and independent disposition. Yet education must not for that reason be withdrawn from a good or middling disposition; indeed, not even from the worst and most depraved. While there is life, there is hope of better fruit; and if not all, nevertheless some part of impiety is avoided.

§ 6. What remedy, therefore, is there for hard, malicious, and obstinate dispositions? The Brahmins of India applied a cruel medicine: after inspecting the offspring at two months, if they disapproved its disposition, they either exposed it in the forests or killed it openly. The Lacedaemonians displayed the same savagery in exposing children, for they sent them away to the chasm of Taygetus. It was plainly barbarous, cruel, and indeed foolish, for the course of a future life cannot be gathered from the inclinations of little children. Physiognomy is an investigator of affections, but it must be practiced only by the judgment of the most skilled, whose highest prudence must nevertheless consist in this: that from those traces and promptings of nature they do not pass judgment concerning the will. Natural human appetites which twist minds toward vices are strong in some, milder in others, and present in some degree in all. Education and habit, however, bring it about that serious affections and temptations are resisted; zeal, shame, and before all things divine grace correct corrupted nature.

And indeed many are brought by education not only to civil and tolerable morals but even to remarkable and holy ones. Pericles advanced through familiarity with the Clazomenian. By the instruction of Socrates, Alcibiades, although he did not put aside his enormous vices, nevertheless restrained them a little so that he might not harm his fatherland still more. Philostratus was brought to good conduct by one speech of Polemon. How great were the vices when the Apostles brought in the Gospel? Read Romans 1:28: “And as they did not approve of having God in their knowledge, God delivered them to a reprobate sense, so that they do the things that are not fitting: filled with all iniquity, malice, fornication, avarice, wickedness; full of envy, murder, contention, deceit, malignity; whisperers, detractors, hateful to God, insulting, proud, haughty, inventors of evils, disobedient to parents, foolish, disorderly, without affection, without covenant, without mercy.”

And 1 Corinthians 6:9: “Do you not know that the unjust shall not possess the kingdom of God? Do not err: neither fornicators, nor servants of idols, nor adulterers, nor the effeminate, nor those who lie with males, nor thieves, nor the avaricious, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor robbers shall possess the kingdom of God. And such indeed you were; but you have been washed, but you have been sanctified, but you have been justified in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God.”

Therefore let the state press on and not despair of the success of a work which God especially favors. And it was wisely said by Fabius, book 1, chapter 16: “Whatever can be done is shamefully despaired of.” I do not listen to those voices: “The labor is futile when nature struggles against it.” The human mind comprehends and accomplishes such remarkable and difficult things in the arts, learns so many languages, and through knowledge traverses the entire world. How, therefore, could it not learn good morals, toward which nature has an inclination? Virtue is the proper good of our mind, and nature is capable of its own good.

The work therefore requires the greatest force: let the prince take care that the morals of boys

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be formed. They easily learn good things; with the greatest difficulty they unlearn bad ones. Yet I confess that it is difficult to preserve right morals. It is easier to conquer provinces than to guard them after conquest. Victory comes by one assault; it must be preserved by manifold art. But in morals a return is difficult. An evil at its birth must be restrained, otherwise it grows to immense magnitude:

Τὸ πολυχρόνιον ἦθος ἀμήχανον μεταθέσθαι.

A habit of long duration is most difficult to remove. What has become inveterate is more easily dissolved than restored.

Extinguish the flame at its birth,

Lest late remedies return after the dangers have grown.

Horse-breakers correct obstinacy, rearing, winking, and jolting in young horses; and will you neglect the vices of youth? Especially when the single vice of a single person can afflict the state with great injury? In sick bodies physicians leave nothing that may harm. You must cure diseases of minds.

CHAPTER VI

Upright and Learned Masters Must Be Placed over Youth

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 1. In his seventh year the boy shall be led to a master; for by then he will attend to serious things, yet things suited to his age. For twenty-one months he has heard and formed an image of the words of his mother and nurses; then his sound broke forth into words. Meanwhile, up to his seventh year, it will have been useful for him to hear not only the vernacular language but Latin also, which perhaps he will learn in large part through habituation. I wonder why magnates and princes, if they do not wish within the first seven years to burden their children's talents with the care of learning, do not assign some attendants who always speak Latin, question one another, and express the same things now in German and now in Latin; who sometimes consult the little child and ask from him things which it is established that he knows, so that by praise they may arouse him to learn. In former times they certainly learned the Latin language without grammar.

But now we must treat of preceptors and masters, to whom Aristotle, Plutarch, and others judge boys should be brought in their seventh year. So too the Golden Bull of Charles IV, title 26: "Since the Highness of the Holy Roman Empire possesses the laws and moderates the governments of diverse nations distinguished in customs, life, and idiom, it is fitting--and is judged expedient by the opinion of all wise men--that the Prince Electors, the columns and sides of that Empire, be instructed in the differences of diverse idioms and languages, so that they may understand more persons and be understood by more, since they assist the Imperial Highness in relieving the needs of very many and have been established to share its solicitude. We therefore decree that the sons, heirs, and successors of the illustrious Princes--namely, the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg, Electors--since they may presumably know the German idiom naturally implanted in them and have learned it from infancy, shall, beginning with the seventh year of their age, be instructed in the German, Italian, and Slavic languages, so that by the fourteenth year of their age they may be learned in such things according to the grace given them by God. For this is held not only useful but, for the reasons stated above, supremely necessary, because those languages have generally been customarily employed for the use and advantage of the Holy Empire, and in them the weighty affairs of that Empire are debated.

"We have established that the following manner of advancement should be observed in the foregoing matters: it shall be left to the choice of the parents whether they send their sons, if they have any, or those near of kin whom they believe likely to succeed them in the principalities, to places in which they can be instructed in languages of this kind; or whether in their own homes they associate with them pedagogues, instructors, and boy companions skilled in these languages, by whose conversation and teaching alike they may be instructed in those languages."

§ 2. Therefore let the first care of the state be that suitable masters and preceptors be chosen not only to educate the sons of princes and magnates, but also to instruct the offspring of private persons. Nor do I speak only of literary studies, but of every kind of art. For although the danger is not equal everywhere, it is nevertheless great if one errs here. I judge that state most fortunate to which good preceptors have fallen. For it is far more excellent to be well educated than to be fortunately born. The dispositions of adolescents generally pass over into the morals of their masters. It is of great importance to whose fidelity, skill, and diligence a man entrusts himself who seeks the Indies through the vast windings of the ocean. Nor is it enough that the ship be strong and furnished with provisions and armaments; the shipmaster must also not be ignorant of the region and its dangers. Much greater care at home is necessary for all, lest the turnings of an improvident age strike against their limits.

I therefore take “masters” generically, whether they are so called from admonishing, or from showing, or rather because they owe care to those over whom they preside. The jurists call the preceptors of all disciplines masters. Law 57, *On the Signification of Words*, “Those to Whom the Chief.” Thus there are masters of societies, colleges, districts, augurs, offices, sacred bureaus, the people, the horsemen, and morals. We speak of masters of arts and morals, for they ought to be teachers of learning and virtues. Great was the dignity of the censors and their jurisdiction without appeal: to assess property, brand a citizen with ignominy, expel him from the senate, take away his horse, and preside over discipline. This last duty especially belongs to masters of the liberal arts, except that they preside only over youth; in the meantime they equip Quirites so that they may be able to endure the censorship.

§ 3. Therefore the magistracy must first of all provide suitable professors of the sciences and liberal arts. Reason teaches that this is the duty of the magistracy itself. For since youth is the seed-bed of the state, since from them in a few years will come citizens, senators, and princes, care must be applied lest, when they are corrupted, the whole state suffer harm. Then examples teach this same thing. Teachers of the law were appointed by Moses, Aaron, Jehoshaphat, and others. There was always greater care in the Church of Christ for the appointment of masters. For princes and the Supreme Pontiff, as though the head of the whole of religion, established schools. Charlemagne, book 2 of the *Capitularies*, chapter 5: “Let schools for instructing or teaching sons and ministers, just as you promised us at Attigny in time past and as we enjoined upon you, not be neglected by you, but be established in suitable places where this has not yet been completed, for the utility and advancement of many.”

And lest the cunning of certain men impose upon princes or the people, the Council of Trent, session 5, chapter 1, *On Reform*, wished bishops to be censors and approvers of teachers. “In public academies also,” it says, “where so honorable a lectureship, and one most necessary of all others, namely theology, has not hitherto been established, let it be established by the piety and charity of the most religious princes and states, for the defense and increase of the Catholic faith and the preservation and propagation of sound doctrine; and where it has been established but is neglected, let it be restored.

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“And lest impiety be disseminated under the appearance of piety, the same holy Synod decreed that no one should be admitted to the office of such a lectureship, either publicly or privately, unless he had first been examined and approved by the bishop of the place concerning his life, morals, and knowledge; this, however, is not to be understood of lecturers in cloisters.”

Thus the Ecumenical Synod made this matter of such importance that it entrusted to bishops the care of examining professors. For the safety of the city depends altogether upon the education of youth.

§ 4. The Elamites, or ancient Persians, were not ignorant of this; and so they placed the princes themselves over youth. Xenophon, book 1 of the *Education of Cyrus*, narrates it thus: “The first care under these laws seems to take its beginning from the public good. For they do not begin as very many other cities do, which, permitting parents to educate their sons according to their pleasure and those more advanced in age to lead their lives according to their judgment, command them not to steal, not to plunder, not to enter another’s house by force, not to strike anyone unjustly, not to commit adultery, not to refuse the prince’s command, and the rest of that kind in like manner. And if anyone transgresses any of these things, they have established a punishment against him. But the laws of the Persians, anticipating such acts, take the greatest care that citizens not be of such a kind at the outset as to be seized by desire for either wickedness or baseness. They take care of this in the following manner.

“They have a marketplace which is called free, where both the royal and the other palaces are. Merchandise, petty traders, their cries, and their follies are removed from here to another place, lest the crowd of these be mingled with the ordered morals of those who have received education. The marketplace around the palaces is divided into four parts, one of which is for boys, the second for youths, the third for men who are already of mature age, and the fourth for those who are discharged from service. By law each of these groups is present in its own place: the boys as soon as day

has dawned, and mature men likewise; but the elders when leisure permits each one, except on appointed days, on which they must be present. The youths also sleep in the palaces with their gymnastic arms, except married men, who are not even required to do so unless they have previously been commanded to be present; yet neither is it regarded as honorable to be absent too often.

“Twelve princes preside over each of these divisions, for the Persians are divided into twelve tribes. Those preside over the boys who, chosen from the elders, appear likely to render them as excellent as possible. Over the youths preside those chosen from the mature men who are thought likely to make them as excellent as possible. Over the mature men themselves are appointed those by whose education they are thought most likely to perform what has been established and commanded by the highest magistrate. Presidents of the elders also are chosen, who preside so that these too may discharge their duty. We shall relate what each age is commanded to do, so that it may become clearer whether they apply diligence that the citizens may be as excellent as possible. The boys, therefore, coming regularly to the schools, devote their labor to learning justice; and they say that they study this matter just as among us those who go to learn letters. Their masters consume a great part of the day in judging their disputes. For the boys too, just like men, have accusations among themselves concerning theft, plunder, violence, fraud, reviling, and other crimes, as is proper.”

§ 5. They were called masters of justice, to whose houses anyone was free to send his children. The system among the Lacedaemonians was not dissimilar, but they meditated upon almost one thing alone: namely, that they should make them warlike. Now that the world has been cultivated, masters of all the arts must be maintained. What sort of masters, then, must be appointed? I answer: learned and upright. Under learning I include not only knowledge but also skill in teaching and interpreting. Therefore let a teacher of the liberal arts be a learned, skillful, eloquent man, an artisan of disputation, of honorable life, sober, rather severe, courteous, a hater of vices and lover of another’s salvation, and finally one who willingly uses another’s counsel.

The Theodosian and Valentinian laws require these things in those whom the assemblies dignify, Code 12, title 15: “If grammarians, both Greek and Latin, sophists, and jurists practicing their profession in this royal city and numbered among those appointed have shown that there is in them a praiseworthy life of upright morals; if they have made manifest that they possess skill in teaching, eloquence in speaking, subtlety in interpreting, and abundance in disputing; and if, in the judgment of the most august assembly, they have been deemed worthy--when by continuous observance and the diligent labor of teaching they have reached twenty years--it has been resolved that they be honored and numbered among those who possess the rank of vicar.”

§ 6. Therefore, first, it requires that they demonstrate in themselves a praiseworthy life of upright morals. This was most difficult in former times. Antoninus selected fourteen teachers from the entire Roman world for his Commodus; from these he soon removed five at the beginning, offended by their levity of morals. He retained nine, yet not without grief to himself. But if we look upon the noble preceptors of kings, it will scarcely be possible to see one who was not most wicked. Pytharchus is said to have been Cyrus’s master, from whom he imbibed ferocity. I omit the crimes of Heraclitus, Menander, Xenocrates, Aristotle, Chilon, Palaemon, and others who were masters of great princes, as also those of others whose wicked and lustful life Laertius describes for us. Seneca confesses that philosophers did not live according to virtue, but spoke about it.

Plutarch himself hesitates to condemn the foulest crimes when he considers Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, Aeschines, Cebes, and that whole chorus of those men, οἱ τοὺς ἄρρενας ἐδοκίμασαν ἔρωτας καὶ τὰ μειράκια προήγαγον ἐπὶ τε παιδείαν καὶ δημαγωγίαν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν τρόπων--“who approved loves between males and led the young onward to education, public leadership, and virtue of character.” Thus they gave authority to the gravest and most shameful sins. But let us look at later times. The school of Plotinus flourished in Christian times and had many very acute and very skillful men as disciples. But some of them were depraved by curiosity concerning the magic arts. Augustine, Epistle 56. Plotinus himself and Olympius himself were devoted to magic, as is clear from Porphyry, who

recounts their deeds and was himself a sorcerer. If we examine most cases, histories will teach that nearly all the philosophers--that is, the teachers of the ancient world--were magicians.

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 7. I too judge that, when humane letters began to flourish again in Italy, France, and Germany in the preceding age, an immense ruin of morals threatened the Christian world. For when men had devoted themselves wholly to letters, antiquity, the poets, and the knowledge of virtues and vices, they slipped into grave crimes--to such a degree that they were swept even into atheism and deeds of a reprobate mind.

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Youth saw Dolet, Politian, and the other monsters; then followed Beza and that whole death-bearing battle line, who, by lust, shattered the minds of adolescents already weakened and drove them into heresies. They had a reputation for learning and eloquence, but made themselves infamous through vices. For they lectured upon the ancient authors as they stood, impure, and corrupted youth with dishonorable little verses.

Therefore, as Plutarch rightly admonishes, masters must be sought for children whose life is both blameless and whose morals are not liable to just reproach, and who possess skill by no means ordinary. For upright education is the fountain and root of virtue and of honorable life. And just as farmers place props beside young plants, so upright masters support adolescents with exact precepts and admonitions, so that right morals may spring from them. But now one may even spit in contempt of certain parents who, before they have made any trial of a future master, deceived sometimes by ignorance or even by inexperience, entrust their sons to obscure persons, and indeed even to men of evil repute.

Theodosius acted excellently when he gave Arsenius as preceptor to his sons. He said that, if the sons were to show themselves such as to conform their morals and life to discipline and the laws of God, he would readily entrust the empire to their hands, adapted to the advantage and utility of citizens and subjects; but if otherwise, he said that it would be more advantageous for them to pass their lives as private men than to rule without learning and with danger.

In my judgment, however, those men therefore fail in educating youth because they do not keep before their eyes the end for which the young were to be educated: the salvation of their disciples and, arising from that salvation, the glory of GOD.

§ 8. The SOCIETY OF JESUS has, by its institute, undertaken the care of schools and of youth with great endeavor and, as the world bears witness, with immense fruit. God assists its sincere endeavor, because it undertakes so difficult a province for the glory of God alone.

Its Constitutions, part 4, chapter 12, show the endeavor: "Since the end of the Society and of its studies is to assist our neighbors toward the knowledge and love of God and the salvation of their souls, and since the faculty of Theology is the more proper means to that end, the Society's universities will principally devote themselves to it; and through thoroughly suitable preceptors they will diligently treat those matters which pertain to scholastic doctrine and Sacred Scripture, and also positive theology insofar as it accords with this end fixed before us--without, however, touching that part of the canons which serves the contentious forum. And because both the doctrine of Theology and its use require--especially in these times--a knowledge of humane letters and of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, suitable professors of these also, and indeed in a proper number, shall be appointed. Moreover, teachers could be appointed for other languages, such as Chaldaic, Arabic, and Indian, where they might appear necessary or useful for the said end, account being taken of the different regions and of the reasons which prompt their teaching.

"Likewise, since the Arts or natural Sciences dispose talents for Theology, serve the perfect knowledge and use of it, and of themselves assist toward the same end, let them be treated with proper diligence and through learned preceptors, sincerely seeking in all things the honor and glory of God.

“The study of Medicine and Laws, as more remote from our Institute, shall either not be treated in the Society’s universities, or at least the Society itself will not undertake this burden by itself.”

The same is contained in rule 1 of the Provincial concerning the plan of studies, and in the first rule of the Rector: “Since the Society embraces colleges and universities for this reason, that in them our members may conveniently be instructed both in learning and in the other things which contribute to assisting souls, and may communicate to their neighbors what they themselves have learned, after the care for religious and solid virtues, which must be principal, let him devote himself especially to this: that, with God’s help, the Society may attain that end which it proposed to itself in admitting schools.”

§ 9. Finally, rule 1 of all the preceptors: “Let the preceptor’s particular intention be directed, both in the lectures when occasion offers itself and outside them, toward moving his pupils to the service and love of God and to the virtues by which they ought to please him, and toward having them refer all their studies to this end.”

It is not my task to prove at greater length whether it has attained this end. This I know: in every place very many men of distinguished piety have flourished, and even now flourish, in the civil order, the Church, and monasteries, who owe their advancement in virtue and learning to the Society. Nor must we listen to those whom either ignorance of our affairs or a hostile disposition sweeps, without consideration, into accusation of useful labors. We have testimony from the opposing camp. The ministers of sects of every kind hate no class of men more bitterly than those who live in the Society, because they bear with the greatest indignation that through them youth--and consequently the state--is instructed and confirmed in the true religion.

When I contemplate the course of the world and compare old things with new, I judge the Society of Jesus to be one of the greatest benefits which God has conferred in this time upon a world growing old and raving. Let no one maliciously interpret my words: with gratitude I recount the benefits of God; I ascribe the whole to him. I speak of the good of adolescents. For if that method of teaching letters which men of a wanton page and a still more wanton mind had followed had persevered in the Christian world, they would long ago have corrupted youth. Whatever was scurrilous in Plautus, slippery in Terence, obscene in Martial, tender in Ovid, broken in Tibullus, fiery in Propertius--the eloquent masters of vices instilled it into innocent minds, even before their years and before they had any perception of wickedness. So far had the darkness of errors depressed the wretches even below the vices of the gentiles, although even Aristotle, book 7, chapter 17 of the *Politics*, wishes every obscene word to be far from the ears of boys, and all images and painted tablets which teach love to be removed.

But now in the schools of our Society such regard is paid to purity that not even a single verse is expounded from any author if it carries poison into the mind; and there is no one who judges the unhappiness of Latin eloquence to be so great that it can be taught only through lusts. Saint Augustine relates that he learned useful words, but words which could be spoken about matters that were not vain.

How pernicious that custom is, he explains thus in book 1 of the *Confessions*, chapter 16: “But woe to you, river of human custom! Who will resist you? How long will it be before you are dried up? How long will you roll the children of Eve into the great and fearsome sea, which scarcely those who have climbed upon the wood cross? Did I not read both of Jupiter thundering and of Jupiter committing adultery? And certainly he could not do both; but it was contrived so that real adultery would possess authority for imitation, with false thunder acting as its pander. But which of the cloaked masters hears with sober ear a man from the same dust crying out and saying, ‘Homer fabricated these things and transferred human things to the gods; I would rather that he had transferred divine things to us’? But it is more truly said that he indeed fabricated these things, but by attributing divine status to wicked men, so that crimes might not be thought crimes, and so that whoever committed them might appear to imitate not ruined men but heavenly gods.

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“And yet, O infernal river, the sons of men are cast into you with fees so that they may learn these things; and a great affair is conducted when this is conducted publicly in the forum, in the sight of laws decreeing salaries in addition to fees. And you strike your rocks and resound, saying: ‘From here words are learned; from here eloquence, most necessary for persuading in affairs and explaining thoughts, is acquired.’ As though, indeed, we could not know the words *golden shower*, *lap*, *deceit*, and *temples of heaven*, and the other words written in that passage, unless Terence introduced a wicked young man who sets Jupiter before himself as an example of rape while looking upon a certain tablet painted on a wall, where there was a picture of Jupiter and by what means they say he sent a golden shower into Danaë’s lap, making a deceit for a woman. And see how he arouses himself to lust as though by heavenly instruction: ‘But what god?’ he says. ‘He who shakes the temples of heaven with his supreme thunder. Should I, a little man, not do it? Indeed, I did it, and gladly.’ Not at all are those words more conveniently learned through this baseness; rather, through those words that baseness is more confidently perpetrated. I do not accuse the words, as though they were choice and precious vessels, but the wine of error which was offered to us in them by drunken teachers; and unless we drank, we were beaten, nor was it permitted to appeal to any sober judge. And yet, my God, in whose sight my recollection is now secure, I gladly learned these things and delighted in them, wretched as I was; and on this account I was called a boy of good promise.”

§ 10. Behold, Augustine: in our time, happier than your years, the Society has resisted that river. God has dried up the river through a humble and very small religious order--not through racks, long exiles, and swords avenging chastity, but through unarmed professors of grammar whom the world holds in contempt. It no longer rolls the children of Eve into the great and fearsome sea. Eloquence may now be chaste; the good arts are no longer handmaids of pimps. In three hundred colleges and three thousand classes, instruction is publicly handed down chastely by the Society, and by many who, in imitation of the Society, preserve the virgin Muses chastely and modestly, and by others who, in imitation of the Society, hand down eloquence without mention of crimes.

In former times there were not lacking those who accused that most wise care of the Society; but these same men, with unabashed brow, could watch the Floralia--far worse than that man who departed from the theater amid the applause of a most vicious people, a people nevertheless applauding virtue. For how much difference is there whether an infamous actor sings the play, or the counterfeit majesty of a barbarous master not only illustrates those obscenities with commentary and inculcates them by repetition, but also compels them to be learned by abuse and blows? Cicero saw this, and Plato before him. Cicero indeed does not conceal so great evils in *Tusculan Disputations* 3: “But do you see what evil the poets bring? They introduce the bravest men lamenting; they soften our minds; then they are so sweet that they are not only read but even learned by heart. Thus when poets too are added to bad domestic discipline and a life passed in shade and luxury, they destroy all the sinews of virtue. Rightly, therefore, are they led out of that city which Plato fashioned when he sought the best morals and the best condition of the state. But we, learned of course by Greece, read and learned these things from boyhood; this we regard as liberal education and learning.”

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§ 11. Therefore let the state place over youth those governors whose mind, tongue, and style are as far removed as possible from baseness. For this reason I would altogether advise that so great a matter be entrusted to religious and consecrated men. For since they have vowed chastity to God, and since they have recognized that it is among the parts of their office both to consult their own salvation and to make others good, they will avoid not only buffoonery and obscenity of words, but also every appearance of evil. Thus the sons of princes are also generally entrusted for education to bishops, or else to some grave prelate of proven virtue. To this zeal for such great purity I also attribute the fruit which the Society receives from its schools. Certainly it so instructs its preceptors that they display honorable conduct by example and words. Rule 28 in the Summary thus commands: “The things which pertain to the vow of chastity require no interpretation, since it is established how perfectly it must be observed: namely, by striving to imitate angelic purity and the cleanness of our body and mind.”

And rule 29: “Let all take the most diligent care to guard the gates of their senses--especially the eyes, ears, and tongue--from every disorder; to preserve themselves in peace and true humility within; and to exhibit that humility in silence when silence must be observed, but, when one must speak, in circumspection and the edification of words, and in modesty of countenance and maturity of gait and of all movements, without any sign of impatience or pride; procuring and desiring in all things to yield the preferable parts to others; regarding all in their minds as superior to themselves; and outwardly displaying with simplicity and religious moderation the honor and reverence which the status of each requires. And let this be done so that, mutually considering one another, they may grow in devotion and praise God our Lord, whom each should endeavor to recognize in another as in his image.”

§ 12. And certainly the Society urges the zeal and love of chastity in all things no less energetically than it prescribes it. I have lived in it now for twenty-four years and have heard no foul speech in any college. But if anyone should wish to sprinkle a stain upon so precious and shining a veil, it punishes him gravely and cuts him away from its body. Indeed, with regard to its conscience and vowed chastity, it punishes even those light excesses in the world concerning which people are not usually even challenged, so that by removal it may consult more rightly the security of its own members, the salvation of their neighbors, and its reputation.

If, therefore, the safety of the state is dear; if Plato, book 6 of the *Laws*, and Aristotle, book 7, chapter 6 of the *Politics*, rightly require at least twenty-five years in men for marriage and twenty in virgins, and yet lust--against which the struggle is difficult--occupies the inward parts much more quickly like poison, how great is the madness of teaching by the public authority of a profession those things by which a growing age, to which destructive Venus is present, is inflamed? Woe to the world because of scandals! Adolescents go toward vice by nature; the preceptors, who ought to resist with every weight and endeavor, lead them down. An improvident age rushes by its own weight, and the master pushes it. They act so that it may not grow up without vice. The mind of the young is corrupted through lusts, and the lecture of a lascivious master assists it; nor does he merely increase the evil:

As a flame is accustomed to grow when a pyre is added,

but from a master of morals he becomes a shameful teacher of adultery:

It becomes an art when crime is learned from the earliest years.

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And since this kind of struggle requires flight rather than assault, as Saint Cyprian most excellently admonishes, filthy books drive death-bearing stings into those who flee and harm cities no less than brothels. I shall close with the judgment of Antonio de Guevara, book 2 of the *Dial of Princes*, chapter 39: “The masters of princes must be free of every mark of wantonness. For adolescents, since by both the weakness of their age and the depravity of nature they are inclined toward lust, have neither sufficient virtue to be chaste nor prudence to be cautious and not permit themselves to be deceived. Therefore it is necessary that their masters be most holy. For a disciple will never be chaste when he sees that his master is vicious.”

Not only the masters of princes, but the masters of all. For in every class of persons what Valerius says, book 2, chapter 1, is true: “The passage from virtue to luxury is easier than that from luxury to virtue.” In every body there is a spark which, unless it is suppressed, will mingle fires. Yet it is too little that a master be of good reputation if he expounds books branded with disgrace and incapable of bearing witness. No one will believe him chaste who so teaches things that have been eloquently expressed that the boys at the same time learn things that are dishonorable. He acts wickedly who stains the purple-edged toga of a modest age with Sotadean verses and makes it eloquent at the cost of modesty. Let what Ambrose teaches us on Psalm 118 remain stored high in the mind: “Life must be sought before learning; for a good life without learning possesses grace, but learning without life does not possess integrity.” Let that salutary law of chastity remain in the Society’s dwellings and schools, a standard of innocence and a cause of great advancement: that no one not only explain but even possess obscene books; indeed, that he knock from the hands of

disciples books whose handling can corrupt freeborn minds. In former times those who inscribed their own sins upon the gods did nothing other than remove from men the shame of sinning, if they believed that the gods were such. Thus the Ion of Euripides accuses Apollo's lusts in order to excuse human beings:

Οὐκ ἔτ' ἀνθρώπους κακῶς

Λέγειν δίκαιον, εἰ τὰ τῶν θεῶν κακὰ

Μιμούμεθ', ἀλλὰ τοὺς διδάσκοντας τάδε.

One ought no longer to speak ill of human beings if we imitate the evils of the gods, but rather of those who teach such things.

The madness of preceptors who nourish the vices of adolescence is manifest. For how will a severe father rebuke a son who recounts what a preceptor--more learned, wiser, and more chaste than his father--has dictated from the tripod? What mother will endure her little son singing on the master's authority things she has never heard? Therefore schools, unless administered with the greatest diligence, will carry into households the vices from which virtue was being sought. Against all the father's admonitions will be set the authority of scholastic custom, the academy, and the masters, just as in former times crimes were defended among the gentiles by the deeds of the gods. Hence too, says Seneca in *On the Shortness of Life*, chapter 16, comes "the madness of poets nourishing human errors with fables, in whose eyes Jupiter, enticed by the pleasure of intercourse, doubled the night. What else is it to set vices ablaze than to inscribe the gods as their authors and to give the disease an excused license through the example of divinity?"

The disciples will imitate and surpass the preceptor, for vices never stop where they began.

§ 13. Learning necessary for teaching knowledge must therefore be joined to these morals. This matter, indeed, requires no proof. To wish to teach another what you do not know is madness. Learned parents will instruct their sons excellently in private, but they flee this task, either distracted by occupations or from weariness with the laborious charge. The Chaldaeans and Egyptians instructed their own at home, Diodorus Siculus, book 2, chapter 8, and book 1, chapter 6. Hence Agesicles the Spartan also said: "I wish to be the disciple of those whose son I am." Let masters be learned and possess a reputation for learning. The road to erudition is difficult even for the most talented, even for the most industrious, even for those most free from the care of other matters. Many lay down their lives while they are midway in the attempt; and not a few, standing at the foot of the mountain, become feeble after they have advanced a little. By far the greatest part consists of those who console themselves with a most pleasant opinion and enjoy the greatest peace as though they were learned.

Great learning is a great praise if it serves virtue and salvation, for immense glory is promised to them: "But those who have been learned shall shine like the brightness of the firmament; and those who instruct many unto justice, like stars unto perpetual eternities." The Seventy Interpreters render **συνιέντες**, "those who understand"; for the Hebrew **מְלִיכִשֵׁם**, *maskilim*, signifies teachers themselves, although it also signifies those who understand, Jeremiah 10:21, Psalm 64:10, 1 Kings 18:14, Daniel 4. But "those who instruct unto justice," or **מְבָרַרֵי יְקִידָצִים**, *matsdiqe rabbim*: "those who justify many shall shine like the stars." I do not doubt that our times--and in them the knowledge of very many bishops, priests, jurists, and philosophers--are designated by the words that follow: "But you, Daniel, close the words and seal the book until the appointed time; very many shall pass through it, and knowledge shall be manifold." Before the appointed time, and with the writings sealed, knowledge will be multiplied; for against the sloth, frauds, and sophisms of many, manifold knowledge will be given--not from a variety of opinions, but from the unity of the divine Spirit. Today in the Catholic Church, amid so many hundreds of thousands of learned men, there is great concord and varied knowledge, so that in this part also God renders his Church unconquered.

§ 14. Our Society has embraced this part also with remarkable care. I shall speak in its proper place about the method which it uses. Now I would dare affirm this also: that by divine goodness as much has been bestowed upon it in this part as it had never hoped. Thus in every kind of knowledge, but especially in Philosophy and Theology, it has many

men comparable to any of the most learned. Nor do the heretics deny these things; rather, they calumniate us, and, being envious, detract from us in such a way that they nevertheless confess it. For toward what end do the accusations of certain persons tend, who say that if the Society plants its foot in their territory or is permitted to teach publicly, the crown of disciples--which is the glory of a master--will turn toward the Society? A steady abundance of hearers is proof of a good orator. The workshops and libraries will speak about the books published by fathers of the Society; entire armies bear witness throughout Europe and India concerning the learning of its disciples.

Now I appeal to the conscience of those who are older. Let them traverse in mind or with their eyes those places in which studies now flourish most richly. They will understand that in former times, in those same places, young men of mature age struggled amid grammatical dust over the things in which little adolescents or boys are now taught Rhetoric and Philosophy. It is a sign of remarkable advancement to have rapidly traversed the cycle of the sciences. He is a diligent master whose disciples advance beyond their age. I remember an old man saying, when at Mainz he saw a distinguished cohort of adolescents marked with the doctorate of arts and philosophy, the cheeks of most of whom age had not yet marked with their first down:

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“The world is turning around. In my time we handled boyish studies when we were bearded; now boys are skilled in the sciences of men.”

§ 15. Uprightness and learning alone, however, are not sufficient for forming youth; there is need of a method and of skill in teaching. Those who, strong in talent, labor, and resources, strive after erudition abuse the good talents of adolescents and envelop them in great darkness unless they hand down the sciences in a fixed order and by an exact method. Although you run with great strength and rapid effort, unless you keep to the right road you will reach the goal late. Nothing must be learned with such art as the arts themselves. Not only do the liberal arts, such as painting, sculpture, and typography, possess their own shortcuts, but the ruder arts do so as well. For craftsmen and all artisans excel in almost this one thing: that with the most skillful speed they accomplish things which are achieved by the ignorant with great expense and long, troublesome labor.

Our Society, therefore, long and deeply labored upon that method. When some years earlier it had proposed the method that appeared best, after a number of years it recalled it to the anvil, having heard the judgments of the individual provinces, and only then perfected it, so that I strongly doubt whether anything more perfect exists in that kind; I am certain that I myself have never seen anything more perfect. Since our professors use this standard, the result cannot fail to be the best. I recently replied on this matter to Louis the Jurist, in my little book *On the Secrets of the Society*, at the place where he disputed about our cunning. First, the outcome of our affairs is generally fortunate. The one and only cause of it is the grace of God, who, since he wished us to be consecrated to himself for these labors, also bestowed for the safety of his Church and for the consolation of the Society the result which anyone grateful to God will acknowledge. From the same grace remarkable means flow forth: first, the things which I have said--prayer, meditation, and others; then the fact that no one in any office, even the least which he conducts, rests upon his own prudence or judgment, but executes his duty according to the rules. But the rules were made by most prudent and experienced men, and now have been examined, approved, corrected, augmented, and explained by long use. It is not permitted to depart from them; and whatever is done according to their standard, although it sometimes does not obtain the outcome, has nevertheless been done orderly and wisely.

I shall make the matter clear by an example. Some prudent and learned man governs and instructs the youth entrusted to him; he expounds the prescribed lectures and exacts the assigned task. But because he uses only his own judgment, he must often err in many things; and no one who trusts his own judgment thinks and does all things so prudently that another person would not do many things more prudently in the same field. He therefore brings the prudence of one man into the academy. But a professor of the Society uses both his own prudence and talent and, relying upon the aid of all the rules and instructions, undertakes his charge. For he carries with him into the school everything which has

been handed down by many most learned men of different nations, and he polishes youth according to most excellent institutes.

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§ 16. The fourth thing which I require in all professors, great and small, is that they use another's counsel in governing and teaching youth. For the counsels and talents of many possess greater power. It belongs to a prudent man not to trust too greatly in his own prudence. It is difficult for grave and experienced men to understand that they do not know what they do not know; for the habit of φιλαυτία, self-love, leads them to such misery that they think even their own vices and their errors in teaching ought to be approved. And just as they are not understood by adolescents, or are tolerated once understood, so too they judge it fitting that these things be overlooked by others.

There are certain statutes of academies which, through the fault of men and times, have produced great abuses. Nevertheless, some defend them--not as though they are not done badly, but because they were done in former times, as though a custom of error were not the worse the longer it endures. I shall bring forward one example from many. Consider deposition, which many defend tooth and nail. What utility is there in this? Boys are harassed, mocked, beaten, hear buffooneries, and are injured; and in Germany, where that histrionic farce alone is retained, the comedy passes over into revelry. So many have been wounded, and many even killed by those savage games. They judge it right to remove these things; but, clinging to statutes, they prefer to retain evils rather than abandon antiquities. It is altogether difficult to give counsel to a wise man; but the wiser each man is, the more keenly he sees that he needs another's opinion and counsel. If you found those things in another academy, you would not tolerate them; in your own, you praise them.

They think a man is tested by that rite. Thus Middendorp, *On Academies*, chapter 5, number 4, and Heinrich von Montagu, *The Devil's Farce*, chapter 8. Some refer to this the labors and insults by which those who wished to be initiated into the mysteries of Mithras were harassed; they were vexed in many ways, as the Suda bears witness. But others may judge it excusable for Christian academies to take examples from the worship of a most shameful idol and from ceremonies by which men were consecrated to enormous crimes; I certainly do not judge it praiseworthy. Indeed, that stain now clings to few academies.

Therefore I judge that no one should be admitted to teach in any faculty who does not promise that he will accept with a willing mind the investigations and visitations of his superiors. Let the prince require this altogether and maintain it against all. Let there be frequent inspection, which neither displays hope of impunity nor leaves room for sins. Let there be an exacting overseer of labors and a remunerator of work. What farmer entrusts a matter to an agricultural laborer or vine-dresser in such a way that he does not frequently inspect him digging, trenching, and pruning? And shall the state not care whether youth is rightly educated? He who fears witnesses and examination comes little short of doing badly. This one thing has caused the most beautiful and flourishing academies to perish: gradually they began to teach seldom, then badly, and finally nothing at all, content with their stipends; and while the magistrate was occupied with other things, they indulged one another and their leisure.

It has been most prudently provided that this should never happen to the Society's academies. First, as I said, all use that common method of teaching; and not only in this manner, but also constantly, because a diligent account of their industry is exacted. The Rector's rule 3: "Let him so distribute and regulate his other business that he may foster and enlarge all literary exercises. Let him visit the schools from time to time, even the lower ones; let him frequently attend the disputations of theologians and philosophers, both private and public; and let him observe whether, and for what causes, the fruit of this exercise is impeded."

A Prefect is joined to the Rector, whose duty is to visit all things very frequently, according to rule 2 of the Provincial: "Therefore let him not only commend this very greatly to the Rector in the Lord, but also associate with him a Prefect of Studies, or Chancellor, a man excellently versed in letters,

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who possesses both good zeal and judgment for the matters to be committed to him. His office shall be to serve as the Rector's general instrument for arranging studies well. All professors and scholastics--both those in the same college and any who perhaps live in seminaries for boarders and alumni--as well as the Prefects of Studies themselves in the seminaries, shall obey him with the humility that is fitting in matters pertaining to studies.

"3. But if, because of the size of the academy and the variety of its schools, it does not appear that the needs of all the schools have been sufficiently provided for through one Prefect of Studies, let him appoint another, who, according to the prescription of the General Prefect, shall govern the lower studies. Indeed, if the matter so requires, let a third be added, who shall preside over the school hall."

Indeed, a grave law is proposed for observance even to the Prefect of Higher Studies, lest there be departure from the established method. His rule 3 thus states: "Let him change nothing of those things contained in the Order of Studies, nor grant dispensation; but where there is need, let him refer the matter to the Superior."

And rule 4: "Let him have the book concerning the plan of studies at hand, and let him diligently take care that the rules be observed by all authors and professors; above all, those which prescribe the doctrine of Saint Thomas for theologians and the selection of opinions for philosophers. Let him be especially vigilant in this when conclusions are to be defended, and most especially when they are to be printed."

And rule 27: "Let him prescribe through the masters, for our members, alumni, and externs alike, not only the method of studying, reviewing, and disputing, but let him also so distribute all their time that they may use well the hours of private study."

And rule 17: "Let him sometimes hear the preceptors, at least once a month; from time to time let him also read the notes taken down by the disciples. If either he himself observes anything worthy of correction or hears it from others, when he has ascertained it with certainty, let him admonish the preceptor as kindly and courteously as possible; and if necessary, let him refer the entire matter to the Rector."

The same system is prescribed for the Prefect of Lower Studies. His rule 2: "In matters which pertain to the discipline of morals in our schools, let him consult the Rector alone; but in matters which pertain to studies, the General Prefect of Studies. Let him not depart from their prescription; let him abolish no custom or received practice, nor introduce a new one."

And rule 3: "Let him take care that whatever will be declaimed publicly, at home or abroad, by the students of Rhetoric and the lower faculties is delivered to this same Prefect for examination. But let the emblems and poems which are posted publicly on certain very celebrated days be read in their entirety by two persons designated by the Rector, and let the best be selected."

And rule 4: "Let him possess the rules of the masters of the lower schools and of the hearers, and diligently take care that they be observed just as his own. Let him assist and direct the masters themselves, and take the greatest care that nothing be done among others--especially among their disciples--to detract from their reputation and authority."

And rule 5: "Let him take very great care that new preceptors diligently retain their predecessors' manner of teaching and other customs, provided they are not foreign to our system."

And rule 6: "At least every fifteenth day let him hear each teacher. Let him observe whether they give Christian doctrine its due time and labor; whether they advance sufficiently both in completing and in reviewing their assigned task; and finally whether they conduct themselves becomingly and praiseworthily with their disciples in all things."

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§ 17. Nor can an origin of suspicions, distrust, and complaints arise from this matter, nor those words which have corrupted many academies: “If you hold us to be good or diligent, why do you observe the actions and words of those who teach? If bad, substitute better men. If you appoint a guardian, you show that you doubt us. It is harsh and insulting that inquiry should be made every day into our life, doctrine, and individual words.” Those murmurs neither exist nor can exist in the Society; or if they resound in someone’s thought, he is already in danger of not belonging to the Society, since by private judgment he struggles against the institute of the whole Society. These inquiries are conducted by law; all have now voluntarily bound themselves to that standard. No one teaches under another condition; no teacher regards the office of the visitor as a demand arising from sinister suspicion, but as a debt owed to the laws.

§ 18. But there are six things especially which make them not only capable of, but even lovers of, observation, admonition, and even correction--and not only the younger and beginners, but veterans too, and indeed even those who have acted as prefects, rectors, and provincials. This is frequent and customary among us and is a support of discipline.

The first is that from their very novitiate they are instructed toward humility and obedience. They learn what is the head of prudence: in treating sciences, talents, and morals, nothing is safer than to employ common counsel; and the Greeks rightly say, βαδίζειν τῇ λεωφόρῳ, “to walk by the royal road.” Therefore, from the heart, they greatly desire to be directed by the rules, by the guardians of the rules, and by their superiors. The second is consideration of the great advantage which thereby comes to themselves and their disciples. For he who so teaches and governs disciples that he has not only young men as hearers and readers of his dictations, but learned men also as spectators and judges--truly, he will not easily approach teaching unprepared or rashly. He who fears error will not easily err. Even he who teaches little boys the small and first rudiments knows that he must do so in such a way that his method of teaching, exercising, and examining may be approved by prudent men. Daily experience, through the evil of too many, teaches us how greatly it harms a tender little age to be allotted masters who cling to their own judgment and despise the counsel of others.

The third is that this inspection, the expeller of indolence and awakener of industry and alacrity, is both common to all and gravely enjoined upon superiors. No one casts suspicion upon the fidelity or diligence of others when he discharges his office. Not my suspicion, not your negligence, but the nature of the office requires inspection. I would desire that, in all academies, censors and judges of lecturers be appointed according to this example, just as lecturers are; and that this charge be entrusted to men of proven learning and integrity, even to magistrates and nobles. For if magistrates are placed with authority and dignity over roads, bridges, and aqueducts, why not over the education of youth?

The fourth is that they rejoice in the witness of a good conscience. Either the disciples are assiduous, industrious, modest, and advance toward learning; or at least by negligence and wickedness they render the preceptor’s labor fruitless. In either outcome the preceptor not only retains a quiet conscience, because another’s wickedness rendered vain the result of his counsels and labors--he himself nowhere failed in his duty, and those who should have received the benefits were lacking, not the one who gave them, so that both fault and loss remain with the same persons--but also,

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since he has lived in the sight of his Prefects and Rector, he is supported by their testimony. Antonio de Guevara, book 2, chapter 43, advised his prince to employ this method of examining, visiting, inspecting, and admonishing the instructors of his sons. In his account Seleucus speaks thus about his inspection, by which he daily inquired into his son’s governors: “I have ascertained, my friends, that no friend is found today upon earth who will put his dignity and reputation at risk for the sake of a friend. But if even rustic men do not do this, how much less must wise men do it? For what is there for whose sake men labor more in this life than to have and leave behind an excellent reputation

concerning themselves? Since you are both wise men and the masters of my son, and moreover counselors of my household, it is not right that you should be offended by anyone. For in the courts of princes, by the best right, only that man should be received among the greatest intimates and necessary persons who dares to give true counsel to the Prince.

“The command which I gave to Parthenius neither renders your fidelity suspect nor creates danger to your authority; and if you weigh the matter itself in an equal balance, it is both good for us and in no way harmful to me. The reason is ready at hand. For you are either good or evil. If good, it is fitting that you rejoice that your services are reported to me daily. For in the ears of Princes a recollection of services recalled from time to time cannot fail to be fruitful on some day. But if you are evil and not very solicitous and assiduous concerning the education of my son, it is right that I be admonished, lest, if the father is deceived, negligence in education be destructive to the son; indeed, lest your counsel bring stain and disaster even upon me and my kingdom. For it is not fitting for a good Prince openly to have wicked men numbered among his counselors.

“If my son Antiochus--may the gods avert it!--should turn out wicked, the loss flows back upon me, since my kingdom will both go to ruin, my reputation will be diminished, and he himself will not enjoy his inheritance. If all these things happen thus, it will be of very little consequence to you, since you will say that you are free of fault because the adolescent refused to receive your teaching. Therefore it does not appear to me a bad counsel that I should observe you just as you observe him. For it is my task to take care that you are good; yours to strive that your disciples are not evil.”

Formerly Plutarch entrusted this to parents, and it must altogether be observed in household masters and pedagogues: “Parents must now be rebuked who, after entrusting their children to pedagogues and preceptors, are themselves altogether neither spectators nor hearers of their instruction. In this they depart especially far from their duty. For they themselves ought, with only a few days intervening, to take a sample of their children’s progress, and not place all their hope in the disposition of a salaried master. For those men will have more care for the boys when they always expect to render accounts.” And here the statement of a certain groom is surely witty: “Nothing fattens a horse so much as the eye of the king.”

This practice, therefore, must be introduced everywhere into morals: that directors and censors of teachers be sought at greater expense than the teachers themselves. Such is the weakness of human beings that they readily incline toward idleness. Even the best gladiators sometimes seek a whetstone, for practice itself makes one blunt; and he who is often diligent at times permits himself something and relaxes. How many stipends belonging formerly to teachers in academies do we now see remain with those who neither wish nor are able to teach? How many benefices formerly assigned to theological and juridical lectureships are now possessed without the labor of teaching? Whence came that custom? Because gradually the teaching was conducted negligently and then nothing at all began to be taught.

The fifth thing which I require in a preceptor is a paternal love toward his disciples. Masters stand in the place of parents to their disciples. Nature implanted a great love toward their sons in parents because the great trouble and patience needed for rearing them cannot remain constant without great charity. The difficulty in instructing is greater, and therefore greater and more divine charity is needed in the secondary and external parent, so that he may consult his disciples, not himself. He whom hunger and the fee alone entice will never accomplish this with sufficiently sincere fidelity; the man whom his own advantages incite to labor is a hireling. If anyone is applied to so great a matter through another’s recommendation or favor rather than his own merit, he will discharge his office only so long as he can do so without loss. The harshness, ferocity, pride, and ingratitude of many must be tolerated. Just as the care of physicians does not forsake madmen who revile and threaten death, so too let the master’s charity not be diminished by injuries. That law of charity will make teachers not only industrious and laborious but also talented and skillful.

The sixth is that they be courteous and affable, that they not conceal vices, that they be courageous so as not to fear giving offense for the salvation of their subjects, furnished with civil manners, and tranquil in mind. There is no need to pursue these matters at greater length, since it was abundantly accomplished in the third book. For if these virtues

are deservedly commended to all citizens, how much more to the teachers of citizens, who are certain public mirrors, at the sight of whom the city is accustomed to conform its morals? Their evil morals and vices are spread abroad as from a public place into the whole state.

CHAPTER VII

Pupils Must Be Admitted to the Study of the Liberal Arts and Sciences with Great Care in Selection

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 1. We everywhere see it happen to the great detriment of the state that, without selection or judgment, those are admitted to the liberal arts whom the outcome itself proves to apply themselves to studies against Minerva's will and to sacrifice while the Muses are turned away. What sort of pupils of the liberal arts, therefore, will be fitting? I require two things in them. The first is a gift of nature: talent and natural disposition. The other is what they themselves can furnish: namely, zeal for virtue, diligence, and reverence toward their preceptors.

§ 2. We must therefore speak about talents. Aristotle, ἐν τοῖς φυσιολογικαῖς, in the *Physiognomics*, describes the talented person thus:

εὐφυοῦς σημεῖα· σὰρξ ὑγροτέρα καὶ ἀπαλωτέρα, οὐκ εὐεκτική οὐδὲ πιμελώδης σφόδρα· τὰ περὶ τὰς ὁμοπλάτας καὶ τράχηλον ἰσχνότερα, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, καὶ σύνδετα τὰ περὶ τὰς ὁμοπλάτας, καὶ τὰ κάτω ἀφειμένα· εὐλύτα τὰ περὶ τὰς πλευράς· καὶ τὸν νῶτον ἀσαρκότερον· τὸ σῶμα λευκέρυθρον καὶ καθαρὸν· τὸ δερμάτιον λεπτὸν· τριχωμάτιον μὴ λίαν σκληρὸν μηδὲ λίαν μέλαν· ὄμμα χαροπὸν, ὑγρόν.

The signs of talent are flesh that is moister and softer, not of the best bodily condition, nor, as it were, packed together after the manner of boxers, nor very fatty; the parts around the shoulder muscles and the neck are more slender, as are also those around the face. The parts around the shoulder blades are well joined, and those below are relaxed; those around the ribs are looser.

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The back is not fleshy, the body is a pure mixture of white and red, the skin is thin, and the hair is neither excessively stiff nor very black. The eye, or look, is *χαροπός*, bright, and moist. *Χαροποί* eyes are tawny, blue-gray, pleasing, and joyful; Theocritus calls them *ὄμματα χαροπότερα πολλὸν Ἀθήνας*; he says that they have eyes far brighter than Minerva herself has.

The same author asserts that those have a better memory, *μνήμονας*, who have the upper parts smaller, rounded, and not fleshy: *οἱ τὰ ἄνω ἐλάττωνα ἔχοντες καὶ γλαφυρὰ καὶ σαρκωδέστερα*. But in chapter 2 he says that hard flesh of the best bodily condition signifies an insensible or stupid man; soft flesh signifies a talented man, but one who is *ἀβέβαιον*, unstable, unless it is in a strong body having large extremities.

Next, in chapter 3 he gives the signs of an insensible man, *ἀναισθήτου*: the parts around the neck and legs are fleshy and compact; the socket of the hip is round; the muscles of the shoulders are spread upward; the forehead is large, circular, and fleshy; the eye is saffron-colored; the legs around the ankle are thick, fleshy, and round; the jaws are large and fleshy; the loins are fleshy; the legs are long; the neck is thick; and the face is fleshy and rather long. He takes movement, shape, and the character that appears in the face according to resemblances.

And in chapter 6: those who have thick lips, with the upper lip projecting, are foolish. And *οἱ τὸ μέτωπον μικρὸν ἔχοντες ἀμαθεῖς*: those who have a small forehead are unteachable. And those who have eyebrows extending toward the temples are foolish.

§ 3. The affections of the mind are indicated by such lineaments of bodies; nevertheless, if you look to experience, the reasoning often fails, nor are those signs of any moment unless they all agree in one subject.

Accordingly, that estimation of talents is uncertain and frequently injurious. Many possess *καλαὶ κεφαλαί, ἀλλὰ ἐγκέφαλον οὐκ ἔχουσι*: pretty heads, but without a little brain. Symmetry of limbs, pleasantness of complexion, softness of flesh, and the firm swelling of muscles do not always accompany talents. In the body of Aesop and of Galba an excellent talent dwelt very badly.

Solomon indeed acknowledges, Wisdom 8:19--20: *Παῖς δὲ ἤμην εὐφροῆς, ψυχῆς τε ἔλαχον ἀγαθῆς· μᾶλλον δὲ ἀγαθὸς ὢν ἤλθον εἰς σῶμα ἀμίαντον*. "I was indeed a talented boy and obtained a good soul; and since I was yet more good, I came into an undefiled body." He joins the constitution of the body with the goodness of the soul because they are generally joined. Yet he acknowledges that the head and source of wisdom is placed in divine goodness. And therefore in chapter 9, verse 4, he prays thus: "Give me wisdom, the attendant of your seats, and do not reject me from among your children."

Therefore, he who is to judge the talent of adolescents will indeed use these signs, but in such a way that he considers neither nothing nor everything to be placed in them. He will therefore employ other signs. He will test the memory; consider the manner of acting and the industry; and ask whether the youth quickly grasps what is said, reasons, and pays attention. Many things are observed in domestic practice, even in play and recreation: whether he smiles at unexpected and pointed sayings; whether he admires and asks about things artfully made and new; and whether he readily imitates the things he sees.

The best estimator of talents, Seneca, teaches in Epistle 66 that neither just any knowledge of physiognomy nor an inspection of *τὰ τεκμήρια*, the evidential signs, is sufficient: "I saw Claranus, my fellow pupil, after many years. I do not suppose that you expect me to add, 'an old man,' but, by Hercules, vigorous in mind and flourishing, and struggling with his little body. For nature conducted herself unjustly and placed such a mind badly--or perhaps she wished to show us this very thing: that a most courageous and most blessed talent can lie hidden beneath any skin. Nevertheless, he conquered every impediment, and from contempt for himself he came to contempt for all other things. The man who said this seems to me to have erred:

Virtue coming from a beautiful body is more pleasing.

"For it needs no embellishment: it is itself its own great adornment, and it consecrates its body. Certainly I began to look closely at our Claranus. He appears beautiful to me and as upright in body as he is in mind. A great man can come forth from a cottage; and from a deformed and humble little body can come a beautiful and great mind. Therefore nature seems to me to produce certain men of this kind in order to prove that virtue is born in every place. If she had been able to produce souls naked by themselves, she would have done so; now she does what is greater: for she produces some impeded by bodies, but nevertheless breaking through the obstacles. Claranus seems to me to have been produced as an example, so that we might know that the soul is not disfigured by the deformity of the body, but the body is adorned by the beauty of the soul."

Rhodiginus agrees with Seneca, book 3 of the *Ancient Readings*, chapter 12: "As for what we have noted concerning the affections of the four humors, one ought to know that these things do not appear altogether constant. For there are occasions when, beneath a maidenly and gentle face, a barbarous, savage, and wholly brutal cruelty lies hidden. But beneath a contemptible countenance threatening blood there sometimes lies a lovable clemency worthy of kisses. Those whose brow is charming, laughing, and radiant often seethe with griefs and struggle with themselves. Again, you may find some so mournful in appearance, with so wretched a face and clouded a brow, like the defeated Marsyas, that they plainly appear to be slaves of Saturn. But when you address them--good God!--how serene they are in mind, how witty, with what affability they dissolve everything in laughter."

§ 4. Scarcely anyone, therefore, should be repelled from letters without a trial; but those whom it is established are unsuitable should, I judge, be removed in good time. For there are certain talents so brutish and uncultivated, having something intermediate between the common nature of human beings and stupidity, such as those of the Thracians,

who could count only to four or five. For who could endure teaching letters to a Margites, or to the breasts of the Abderite populace, which are bodies without minds even if they are **τρισκαιδεκάπηχα**, thirteen cubits tall?

Cicero, in *On the Orator*, praises Apollonius of Alabanda because, although he taught for a fee, he nevertheless did not permit those whom he did not think capable of becoming orators to waste their labor under him; he dismissed them and exhorted them toward other arts for which he judged them suitable. Our Society too follows this method, all the more sincerely because, since it teaches without charge, it is not induced by payment to retain men unsuitable for letters.

The ninth rule for the Prefect of Lower Studies is this: “So far as this can be done, he should enroll no one among the number of pupils who is not brought by parents or by others who have charge of him; or whom he himself does not know; or concerning whom he cannot readily be informed by others already known to him. But he should exclude no one because he is of low birth or poor.”

And rule 25: “If anyone appears in no way suitable for advancement to the next grade, no place should be given to entreaty. If anyone is barely suitable, but nevertheless appears deserving of promotion because of his age, the time spent in the same class, or some other reason, let it be done--unless something opposes it--on this condition: that if he does not sufficiently prove his industry to his master, he is to be sent back to the lower school and no account of him is to be taken in its register. Finally, if any are so rude that it is neither fitting to promote them nor possible to hope for any fruit in their present class, the matter should be taken up with the Rector, so that, after their parents or guardians have been most courteously admonished, they may not occupy a place.”

The reason why I judge that this must be done is that labor is expended in vain. “If you pound a fool in a mortar, as barley is struck with a pestle from above, his folly will not be taken away from him.” I am not unaware that Solomon said this of morals, Proverbs 27:22; yet it is not badly understood also of hardness of talent. **Ἄν ἀπωλέσης τοὺς ὤμους ὕδωρ πτίσσων, ὁμοίως ὕδωρ μένει**: “If in pounding water you destroy your shoulders, the water nevertheless remains.” He who washes an Ethiopian, he who washes a black flint, does nothing except make its blackness more conspicuous:

If you persist in wishing to teach an unteachable talent,

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Unhappy man, you will waste your labor--as if someone should teach

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A donkey in an open field to run obedient to the bridle.

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Although, after the manner of four-footed horses, he may appear

>

Able to lift his head and gather up proud steps,

>

Yet, if you press him with either bridles or spurs,

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The donkey of stubborn mind lowers his little ears

>

Toward the earth and kicks with his hind feet. Therefore

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Desist, for art will never conquer nature; and a noble horse

>

Will never be made from a degenerate donkey,

>

And from a fool a man judicious in an art will never be made.

Thus speaks a poet more prudent than elegant; and against hard talents there is no need of elegance.

§ 5. There is therefore immense labor without any fruit--indeed, with immense torment for the man who is so miserably tortured. When Quintilian the proconsul was stretching a guilty man upon the rack and deliberating about the punishment of one who had confessed, Polemon, an adolescent at once foolish and wanton, said, "Order him to learn the ancient authors by heart." His stupidity, alienated from learning, judged this to be the greatest torment.

From this it also follows that, since they do not grasp wisdom, they give themselves over to leisure and vices; and scarcely any are worse than those whom academies have long cultivated in vain. For they commonly turn the liberty and privileges of students into license of living, and harm the reputation of studies and arts more than talented and industrious men can benefit it. They hate the sciences which they could not grasp, and prefer to appear to have despised them rather than to have been unable to attain them. Accordingly, they scorn both learned men and learning and draw many away from it.

I see almost all Europe erring in this direction. And I freely assert--as one who is himself a lover and pupil of studies--that there appear to be too many students, and that the Prince and the state ought to take care that the public good is not harmed for this reason. But lest this perhaps be received by harsh ears, let them hear a counselor on literary affairs, the most learned man of our age. For after Lipsius had said, in book 2 of the *Politics*, chapter 17, "Learning must be promoted somewhat by the prince," he added these words in his notes: "I rightly admonish him, for, as Symmachus says, we know that the good arts are nourished by honor, and that this is a mark of a flourishing state: that abundant rewards are paid to professors of disciplines. Yet I deliberately added the little word 'somewhat,' because, just as it is harmful to abolish them, so it is harmful to promote them too ardently."

Of Justinian, Zonaras writes: **τὰς τυπωθείσας ἀνέκαθεν ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν πόλεων δίδοσθαι σιτήσεις τοῖς ἐν αὐταῖς διδασκάλοις τῶν λογικῶν τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστημῶν, ὑποθήκαις τοῦ ἐπάρχου, ἐξέκοψε· καὶ οὕτως τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι διδασκαλείων ἐσχολακῶτων ἀγροικία τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς κατεκράτησε.** "He abolished, on the advice of his Prefect, the provisions established from antiquity to be given in every town to professors of the good arts and sciences; and thus, as the schools throughout the towns grew cold, rusticity and barbarism took possession of the inhabitants." These evils the Thracian Emperor brought in with his axe; but those too are covertly harmful who have promoted them too lavishly.

For it must altogether be confessed that idleness and softness can creep into minds by no means more easily or more honorably than by this path of letters. Yet strength and virtue do not exist where those things are. As puppies unfit for hunting when trained to dance and to delights of that sort, so citizens too highly cultivated are little suited to manly exercises. We extol to heaven Francis I and Leo X, who so keenly revived letters. If we regard their purpose, deservedly; if the end and outcome, I am doubtful, because in truth the one rendered his France, and the other Italy, more cultivated and pleasant, but at the same time softer. What good hope remains where women too are everywhere engaged in books and letters? Yet it has come to this.

Those honest Spartans please me, who said: *γράμματα μὲν ἔνεκα τῆς χρείας ἐμάνθανον· ἡ δ' ἄλλη παιδεία πρὸς τὸ ἄρχεσθαι καλῶς ἐγίνετο, καὶ καρτερεῖν ποιοῦντα, καὶ νικᾶν μαχόμενον*. “They learned letters at least for use; all their remaining training was directed toward obeying well, enduring labors, and conquering in battle.” I would strongly advise my Prince to see that this is observed in his citizens. Let not too many, nor all, apply themselves to studies, but let the nobility do so especially, because the patricians ought to be strong in counsel; for the people, cleverness is superfluous.

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 6. Although I dissent somewhat from Lipsius and would judge that learning must be promoted in every way, I nevertheless approve this: that he institutes a selection of students and judges that erudition, unless it is rightly handled, does very great harm to the state. The sight of the schools teaches us that very great error is committed in this matter. In an academy that produces scarcely thirty bachelors and twenty masters of arts in each year, and scarcely one doctor of medicine, law, or theology in a five-year period, a thousand adolescents are taught.

A great part turn their minds elsewhere after the schools of grammar. Accustomed to literary leisure, they are suitable neither for the guilds of craftsmen nor for military service. Hence comes an immense supply of idlers, vagabonds, musicians, and petty poets; hence men perniciously unlearned creep into the clergy and monasteries. Would it not have been better at the beginning to remove from studies boys still capable of any art than, after expenditures of labor and money, to abandon those studies with disgrace?

Look at the masters and doctors themselves: some unlearned, some merely bearing academic bulls, few excellent. The cause of so great an evil is the confused multitude of learners, among whom each man, although deficient in talent, strives to struggle up to the summit of erudition. But since strength deserts most of them, many must fall at the very starting-barriers, others in the middle, and others at the end close to the very goal.

§ 7. How great a talent, then, do you require in a pupil? I look up with admiration to one that is best and plainly divine, such as there was in Origen, Augustine, and Aristotle. There was a greater one in Didymus, who, though blind from birth, attempted the more hidden matters of the sciences with a lofty spirit and attained them most successfully, as Jerome relates. And, what you may wonder at still more, he grasped geometrical theorems, angles, points, and sections. Where this is absent, I desire a great and good talent; thirdly, a moderate one, if God and nature have denied a good one.

Epicurus describes for us three kinds of talents. Seneca, Epistle 52: “Epicurus says that some men strive toward truth without anyone’s assistance, and that of these he himself made a path for himself. He praises these most, men whose impetus came from themselves and who brought themselves forward. Some need another’s help: they would not go if no one preceded them, but would follow well. Of these he says Metrodorus is one. This too is an excellent talent, but of the second rank. We are not of that first class; it goes well with us if we are received into this second. Nor would you despise the man who can be saved by another’s kindness; and it is already much to be willing to be saved.

“Besides these you will find yet another kind of human beings, itself not to be disdained: those who can be driven and compelled toward the right, who need not only a leader but a helper and, so to speak, a coercer. This is the third color. If you seek an example of this, Epicurus says that Hermarchus was such a man. Accordingly, he congratulates the one more, but admires the other more. For although both arrived at the same end, the praise is greater for having effected the same thing in more difficult material.

“For suppose that two buildings have been raised, both equal, equally lofty, equally magnificent. One received hard ground: there the work immediately

grew. The foundations of the other sank, having been laid upon soft and shifting earth; and much labor was consumed until solid ground was reached. In the one, whatever was done is visible; in the other, a great and more difficult part lies hidden. Some talents are easy and unencumbered; some must be fashioned by hand, as they say, and labored upon in their foundations. Accordingly, I would call the man who had no trouble with himself the happier; but the man who conquered the perversity of his nature and did not lead himself to wisdom but dragged himself to it has deserved better of himself. You may know that this hard and laborious talent has been given to us: we go through obstacles. Let us therefore fight; let us call upon the aid of some persons.”

The rest is correct, but it was truly the boastfulness of a madman in Epicurus that he gloried in having had no master, as Cicero also reports in book 1 of *On the Nature of the Gods*. But we must treat of talents.

§ 8. I admire and fear the greatest and most excellent talents; I approve moderate ones. A measured natural disposition, a mind that reaches with labor the point toward which it strives, is most useful to studies and the state, because it is accustomed to use studies rightly.

The greatest talents are no less to be feared than admired. For those who excel in keen talent are generally irascible. Plato, in his book *On Knowledge*, thinks it arduous and difficult to find a talented man who is not irascible and immoderate; I speak of the propensity of nature, not of his life. They are agile and teachable, and are moved by the vivacity of subtle and brilliant spirits. But just as material full of rich, airy substance is easily kindled and is wholly dissolved into flame, so the mind of such men also catches flame like asphalt.

Next, those talents are not without some admixture of folly. Seneca says, in his book *On Tranquillity of Mind*, that according to Aristotle there was no great talent without an admixture of madness. He gives the reason: “A mind cannot say anything grand and above others unless it has been moved. When it has despised common and customary things and has risen higher under a sacred impulse, then at last it has sung something grander than a mortal mouth. It cannot attain anything sublime and situated on a height so long as it is in its ordinary state. It must depart from the customary, be borne aloft, bite the reins, carry off its driver, and bear him to the place to which by himself he would have feared to ascend.”

§ 9. But how can a talented man be foolish? He certainly can--not indeed altogether alienated in mind, but nevertheless wandering astray in matters of the greatest importance. For since it is one thing to store a matter in a swift memory and apprehend it at first sight, and another to judge concerning things to be done, we shall not find all these in the same person.

Aristotle discussed the matter in *Problems*, section 30. First, he relates that those who became distinguished either in talent, in the studies of philosophy, in administering public affairs, in composing poetry, or in practicing the arts were melancholics--even to the point that they were assailed by the maladies of black bile, as is related of Hercules among the heroes. For he is thought to have been of this very nature; and the ancients named the falling sickness “sacred” from him, and “Herculean.” The disturbance of mind in children also explains this very thing, as does the eruption of sores which sometimes precedes death. For in most persons black bile settles in this way. And in Lysander the Lacedaemonian, shortly before his death, this kind of sores broke out. Add Ajax and Bellerophon, of whom the one burst forth utterly into insanity, while the other sought out deserted places. Hence that passage of Homer:

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ καὶ κείνος ἀπήχθετο πᾶσι θεοῖσιν,

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ἦτοι ὁ καὶ πεδίον τὸ Ἀλφειὸν οἶος ἄλῃτο,

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ὃν θυμὸν κατέδωκ, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων.

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But when even that man had become hated by all the gods,

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he wandered alone over the Aleian plain,

>

eating out his heart and shunning the paths of men.

Indeed, it has been discovered that most of the other heroes suffered from the same malady. In later years we know that Empedocles, Socrates, Plato, and many other distinguished men were of this constitution, and even the greater part of the order of poets. For diseases also afflict many persons of this kind because of such a constitution of body, and some by their own nature plainly incline toward those very affections; yet almost all, as has already been said, were by nature of this kind.

Therefore he refers the cause to bile: ὅσοις δὴ λίαν πολλή καὶ θερμή, μανικοὶ καὶ εὐφυεῖς καὶ ἐρωτικοὶ καὶ εὐκίνητοι πρὸς τοὺς θυμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας. “Those in whom there is very much hot bile are manic, talented, amorous, and prone to anger and desires.” Nor does Plato, Aristotle’s master, speak otherwise when he says that those excel in talent who are accustomed to be seized and aroused by frenzy. Democritus too judged that all the most talented men were accustomed to be seized by frenzy. But if you have a mind to learn the cause more precisely, consult Caelius, book 17 of the *Various Readings*, chapter 5.

This too must be added: the greatest talents are often fitful, flighty, always in motion, and quickly disgusted with present things. This levity and inconstancy not only impedes progress in the disciplines but sometimes disturbs the state. Accordingly, those who are talented should be formed to virtue with immense care. If they enter public affairs, that saying which a prudent preceptor uttered about his Themistocles will rightly apply to them: “Son, you will be nothing mediocre, but either a great light of your fatherland or a great pest.” Accordingly, I prefer an even, constant, good talent, which labor may advance and sharpen, to one that is excessively swift, versatile, acute, and ready. Greatness of talent, if virtue is absent, produces great errors.

§ 10. Finally, the greatest talents are also accustomed to be precocious; but those that are such are brief and fleeting. At eighteen years of age Hermogenes composed a *Rhetoric* which was read by everyone with admiration and held in great honor, as a prodigy of premature erudition and eloquence. But in his twenty-fourth year, having lost his mind, he became a laughingstock. He was assailed even with jokes. Some said that Homer had rightly called words λόγους περόντας, “winged words,” because Hermogenes had cast them away like wings. Others said: ὁ Ἑρμογένης ἐν παισὶ γέρων, ἐν γέρονσι παῖς: “Hermogenes was an old man among boys, but a boy among old men.”

Seneca excellently describes those precocious fruits in *Consolation to Marcia*, chapter 23: “When you saw in a young man the prudence of an old man, a spirit victorious over all pleasures, corrected and free of vice, seeking riches without avarice, honors without ambition, and pleasures without luxury, did you, Marcia, think that he could long fall to your lot in safety? Whatever has reached the summit hastens toward its end. Perfected virtue snatches itself away and removes itself from our eyes; things which matured at the beginning do not await the final time. The brighter a fire has shone, the more quickly it is extinguished. The fire that, committed to slow and difficult material and submerged in smoke, shines from foul fuel is more enduring; for the same cause that feeds it scantily also holds it back. Thus, the more brilliant talents are, the shorter they are. For where there is no room for increase, decline is near.

“Fabianus says that a boy, whom our own parents also saw, lived at Rome with the stature of an enormous man; but he quickly died, and every prudent person said that he would die soon, for he could not attain the age which he had anticipated. Thus maturity is an indication of impending destruction, and the end approaches when growth has been exhausted.”

What we discern happening in the body must also be said of talent, which depends upon the body's constitution and temperament, as the losses of many have taught.

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CHAPTER VIII

Certain Rules of Conduct Must Be Prescribed for Students

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 1. The academies throughout Europe have been founded and fortified by the best laws and institutes; and for all their particular schools, as for a certain part of the state, their own statutes and rules are read. The Society certainly appears to me to have embraced the duty of a Christian and studious adolescent in those laws which it has prescribed for its hearers. They are set forth in this order.

“Those who attend a school of the Society of Jesus for the sake of learning should understand that, with God’s help, care will be taken with no less effort that they be imbued with piety and the other virtues than with the liberal arts.”

There is a twofold end in attending a school: the first and best is virtue and piety; the secondary is erudition. Deservedly so, for letters without virtue make a man cunning rather than good. They burden the state; they do not assist it. Seneca judged it shameful to come with writing tablets to a philosopher in order to take down words, not things. Teacher and learner ought to have the same end and the same purpose: the teacher wishes to benefit, the pupil to advance; the one to infuse virtue, the other to receive it. Thus the Common Rules for Teachers of the Lower Studies state: “1. Let the master so instruct the adolescents who have been entrusted to the discipline of the Society that, together with letters, they may above all imbibe conduct worthy also of Christians.”

The following rules prescribe the means by which they may attain this:

1. “Let his particular intention, both in lectures when an occasion offers itself and outside them, be directed toward preparing the tender minds of the adolescents for obedience and love toward God and toward the virtues by which they ought to please him; but let him especially observe the things that follow.
2. “Before school begins, let someone recite the brief prayer appointed for this purpose, which the preceptor and all the pupils shall hear attentively with heads uncovered and knees bent. But before the lecture begins, let the preceptor himself, with his head uncovered, fortify himself with the sign of the cross and begin.
3. “Let him take care that all attend Mass and the sermon: Mass daily, but the sermon on feast days. In Lent, moreover, let him send them to it at least twice each week, or even lead them according to the custom of the region.
4. “Let Christian doctrine be learned and recited from memory on Friday or Saturday, especially in the grammar classes, or in others if there is need--unless perhaps in some place it should appear that it must be recited still more frequently, even by new pupils.
5. “Likewise on Friday or Saturday let him give a pious exhortation or explanation of doctrine for half an hour. Above all, let him exhort them to pray to God daily, and especially to recite the rosary of the Blessed Virgin or the Office each day; to examine their conscience in the evening; to receive frequently and rightly the sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist; to avoid harmful associations; to detest vices; and, finally, to cultivate virtues worthy of a Christian man.
6. “Even in private conversations he shall inculcate the same things that pertain to piety, yet in such a way that he does not appear to entice anyone toward our religious order. But if he learns of anything of this kind, let him refer it to the confessor.

7. "On Saturday toward evening, let him order the Litany of the Most Blessed Virgin to be recited in his class; or, if it is customary, let him lead them into the church to hear it with the others. Let him also diligently commend to the pupils devotion toward that same Virgin and toward their guardian angel.
8. "Let him earnestly commend spiritual reading, especially concerning the lives of the saints. Conversely, let him not only himself refrain from reading to the young impure writers, and writers generally in whom there is anything capable of harming good morals, but also deter the pupils as much as he can from reading the same writers outside school.
9. "Let him ensure that no one omits monthly confession. He shall order them to give the confessors their given name, surname, and class written on a slip, so that, on afterwards examining the slips, he may understand who were absent.
10. "Let him often pray to God for his pupils and edify them by the example of his religious life."

Nor ought anyone to wonder that piety and virtue are of such great concern to us, since it ought to be proposed to all that they know how to live rather than how to dispute. It is shameful that some have sat for many years in the sanctuary of the virtues without having acquired even their color. Seneca formerly rebuked this, Epistle 10: "Why should I not know them? They are indeed most persistent and assiduous; yet I call them not pupils of philosophers but tenants. Some come to hear, not to learn, just as we are drawn into the theater for the sake of pleasure, to delight our ears with speech, voice, or stories. You will see that this is a great part of the hearers, for whom the philosopher's school is a lodging-house of leisure. They do not aim to lay aside some vices there, or to receive some rule of life against which they may measure their conduct, but to enjoy the delight of their ears. Some nevertheless come even with writing tablets, not to take down things but words, which they learn without benefit to another just as they hear them without benefit to themselves.

"Some are aroused by magnificent utterances and pass over into the emotion of those who speak, eager in countenance and spirit. They are stirred no otherwise than those Phrygian half-men who are accustomed to rage at command at the sound of the flute. The beauty of the things, not the sound of empty words, carries them away and incites them. If anything has been said sharply against death, if anything defiantly against fortune, it immediately pleases them to do what they hear. They are affected and would become such as they are ordered to be, if that form remained in their mind--if the multitude, the dissuader from what is honorable, did not immediately intercept the remarkable impulse. Few have been able to carry home the mind which they had conceived. It is easy to arouse a hearer to desire what is right. For nature has given to all the foundations and seed of the virtues; we are all born for all these things. When an inciter approaches, then those goods of the mind, as though asleep, are awakened."

If, therefore, pagan philosophers took care that they imbued adolescents with virtues, or at least with the color of virtues, this will pertain much more to Christian professors. The sanctity of religion, the obligation of their office, and the fidelity owed to parents ought to impel them to regard the rule of living as their first concern.

§ 2. "Let each person attend the class which has been assigned to him by the Prefect after examination."

By the best right and deservedly so. For he who commits himself to a preceptor in order to receive from him the ornaments and laurel of the most beautiful sciences cannot prescribe to him by what method he must teach. One ignorant of the road ought not to be the guide of a man who knows all the signs and all the Mercurial heaps. It is a great error, sometimes of hearers and more frequently of parents, to wish to prescribe to the master and sometimes even to academies. He who prescribes to the master the order in which the disciplines are to be handed down, although by professing himself a learner he admits himself less learned,

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nevertheless professes himself wiser in teaching. That swelling of mind greatly obstructs the disciplines. While each person strives to ascend to a higher grade of the schools before his years and knowledge allow, he does not learn the foundations and therefore does not understand the higher matters. "I do not understand this preceptor," they say; "I do

not grasp these trifles.” Each person scarcely judges himself without corruption, especially concerning his talent, an immense morbid desire of loving and proclaiming which has been implanted in everyone.

Alexander once devoted himself to geometrical ἀναλύσεις, analyses, and demonstrations. Since, as happens in the most abstruse matters, the greatest difficulties required the greatest attention and subtlety, with royal haughtiness he commanded the teacher to express them more clearly. The latter answered truly and rightly that all these things were equally difficult for all, for fortune does not furnish talent but more frequently veils it with haughtiness. Let him therefore have a preceptor who teaches what is necessary and lays foundations: if these fail, the man who has raised the edifice of learning higher constructs a ruin. Those make the best progress who behold the works of their first labor more slowly. A man who pours wine copiously into a jar with a narrow neck loses the greater part. Things proportioned to the measure of a talent assist it; talents are sharpened by moderate labor and collapse beneath a greater burden. Haste has harmed very many, while they measure progress by a change of classes, as though an unlearned man could not penetrate to the same place.

§ 3. “At least every month let all confess their sins; and at the appointed hour each day let them becomingly attend the sacrifice of the Mass, and on feast days the sermon.”

That law contains three things: the precept of monthly sacred confession, daily sacred Mass, and the sacred sermon on feast days. Thus the Constitutions, part 4, chapter 16: “Let diligent care be taken that those who betake themselves to the universities of the Society for the sake of learning letters learn at the same time with them good conduct worthy of Christians. It will greatly assist toward this if all approach the sacrament of confession at least once each month; if they hear Mass daily and the sermon on every feast day when it is delivered. Let each of the preceptors take care that his pupils perform this.”

The declaration of the Constitutions adds that if anyone does not perform these things and is furthermore dissolute and a stumbling block to others, he must be expelled from the schools.

I am not unaware that these things are mocked by heretics, devoted to curses, despised by politicians, and negligently performed by the frivolous. But in this matter the Society has many illustrious authorities. First, confession was in use from the primitive Church: Clement, Epistle 1 to James; Dionysius to Demophilus; Origen on Psalm 32; Eusebius, book 5, chapter 27, and book 6, chapter 27; Cyprian, *On the Lapsed*: “God sees the hearts and breasts of individuals and is to judge not only our deeds but also our words and thoughts. He beholds the minds and the intentions of all while they are yet conceived in the hidden places of the closed breast. Finally, how much greater in faith and better in fear are those who, although bound by no crime of sacrifice or certificate, nevertheless, because they have so much as thought about it, confess this very thing sorrowfully and simply before the priests of God, make confession of their conscience, expose the burden of their mind, and seek saving medicine even for small and slight wounds, knowing that it is written: ‘God is not mocked.’”

§ 4. But it is not my purpose now to touch upon controversies of religion; nor indeed is it necessary. For the mockers of Catholic confession themselves, in this year in which they imagine the jubilee of their opinion, prescribe confession in a program posted on the thirtieth day of October.

Confession is therefore necessary for the remission of sins, as Augustine truly says, homily 49 of book 50: “Let no one say to himself: ‘I act in secret; I act before God. God who pardons me knows that I act in my heart.’ Was it therefore said without cause, ‘Whatever you shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven’? Were the keys therefore given to the Church of God without cause? Do we frustrate the Gospel of God? Do we frustrate the words of Christ?”

§ 5. When, however, we require monthly confession, we do this so that they may serve God with greater purity, flee offenses, and be armed against the temptations of the Devil and the assaults of the world. Another’s presence is a great bridle upon one about to sin; so too is his knowing that there will sometime be an accuser and witness of the sin. It is certainly established that very many are drawn back from sins by that remedy, when they know that there is no secret

belonging to any crime. It therefore ought to seem burdensome neither to the bad nor to the good. Not to the bad, because nothing is more useful to them than immediately to leave contumacy, be freed from disease, feel that God is appeased, and cast off the dominion of the Devil.

Not to the good--that is, those who sin little or lightly, for no one does not sin--because it is easy to be absolved from light and daily sins. Saint Chrysostom, Jerome, and others advise that when anyone has committed a sin, he should submit himself to the care of priests at the first opportunity. For if a serpent strikes you with a venomous tongue, you wait neither years nor months, nor even days or hours, but seek remedies while the venom has not yet spread to the vital parts. But will you neglect a wound fixed by the Tartarean tooth of the ancient serpent in the innermost recesses of the soul, raging with the danger of eternal death?

§ 6. The second requirement is that they attend the sacrifice of the Mass daily. "I would prefer that time to be expended on good letters," the Politician objects. On the contrary, the time is expended upon the highest good, from whom come both letters and the mind capable of letters. How much is it that, out of twenty-four hours, half an hour is consecrated to the worship of the divine power? If it is just to return tithes of goods to God, why does it seem excessive to you to dedicate one forty-eighth part of time to him in whom we live and have our being, who extends for us the spans of time, who makes his sun rise over the just and unjust? Moreover, the most powerful kind of prayer occurs when vows are poured forth in God's presence at the time of the oblation.

Saint Chrysostom reckoned this among his reasons, homily 24 on 1 Corinthians: "Let us therefore approach him with fervor and ardent charity, lest we undergo punishment. For the greater the benefits with which we have been affected, the more shall we be punished when we are found unworthy of the benefit. The Magi revered this body even when it lay in the manger; and impious men, barbarians, left fatherland and home, completed a long road, and, when they had come, adored with much fear and trembling. Let us, citizens of heaven, imitate even the barbarians. For although they saw him in a manger and a hut and saw none of the things such as you now see, they approached with great reverence. But you see him not in a manger but upon an altar; not a woman holding him, but a priest standing by, and the Spirit flying over the things set forth with great abundance. You do not merely see this same body as they did, but know both its power and its dispensation, and are ignorant of none of the things accomplished through it, since you have been exactly and carefully initiated in all the mysteries. Let us therefore arouse ourselves, let us fear, and let us display a far greater reverence than those barbarians did,

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lest, if we approach rashly and without consideration, we heap fire upon our head."

And in book 6 of *On the Priesthood*: "At that time angels sit beside the priest, and the whole order of the heavenly powers raises cries; and the place near the altar is full of choirs of angels in honor of him who is sacrificed. This may be sufficiently believed even from the great sacrifice which is then performed. I myself heard someone recalling that a certain old man, an admirable man to whom many mysteries of revelations had been divinely disclosed, had told him that he had once been judged worthy by God of such a vision; and that at that time he had suddenly seen a multitude of angels, so far as human sight could bear it, clothed in shining garments and surrounding the altar itself; finally, with heads so bowed as if one were to see soldiers standing in the presence of a king."

What wonder is it, therefore, if we lead our pupils daily to Christ, who is daily offered and received in an unbloody sacrifice? We present them to him; with them and for them we pray. Formerly many refreshed their souls every day with the Eucharist, even secretly at home. Let us at least thus far imitate our ancestors, that we join our prayers to the public liturgy.

§ 7. The third requirement is that they attend the sacred sermon on feast days. For that divine fire kindles minds and breasts; it is oil for charity as it gradually grows cold. Ambrose, sermon 18, on the words "Your utterance is exceedingly fiery": "First kindle this fire in your minds, so that the light of Christ may shine forth for you. With this

fire the bush burned and was not consumed. For the divine word burns in order to correct the sinner's conscience; it does not consume in order to destroy. This fire has been accustomed to blunt, this fire to extinguish, the savage conflagrations of material flames. Finally, the Hebrews, kindled by this fire, could neither fear nor feel the heat of the burning furnace. Deservedly, therefore, the good servant loves the fiery utterance of the Lord, by which charity, which excludes fear, is put on. He beautifully added 'exceedingly,' because every teacher indeed inflames the affection of the hearer, but above all is the word of God, penetrating the divisions of joints and the inmost marrow. Therefore describe the fiery utterance of God for yourself in three ways: as that which cleanses, that which kindles, or that which illuminates its hearers."

The Council of Trent invites not only students but absolutely all the faithful to sacred sermons: "Because the preaching of the Gospel is no less necessary to the Christian state than its reading, and this is the principal office of bishops, the same holy Synod has established and decreed that all bishops, archbishops, primates, and all other prelates of churches are bound personally to preach the holy Gospel of Jesus Christ, unless they are legitimately impeded. But if it should happen that bishops and the others aforesaid are detained by a legitimate impediment, according to the form of the General Council they shall be bound to assume suitable men for salutarily executing this office of preaching."

§ 8. "Let all attend the explanation of the Catechism each week and learn its compendium by heart as the masters have appointed."

The fourth rule for preceptors likewise prescribes this. Both preceptor and hearer will frequently revolve in his mind that those who long ago received the mark of the Lord and the token of their commander must be instructed in Christian doctrine with greater care than those who aspire to the Church from among Jews or pagans. For recruits who have already sworn the oath and have been enrolled in the legions of the Church must be instructed and strengthened for daily battle; for they do not offend against the laws of their commander without common danger to the camp. Those who are already brethren require a brotherly mind in their teacher. Augustine wrote a book *On Catechizing the Uninstructed*, in which he both teaches the method of catechizing and arms catechists against weariness in always repeating the same things.

Every master who instructs little ones in the sacred faith will avoid with the greatest effort the weariness which causes him neither to speak eloquently--that is, suitably to the capacity of little ones--while his discourse creeps languidly, producing yawning rather than eagerness in his hearers. There is a distinguished lesson in Augustine, *On Catechizing the Uninstructed*, chapter 12: "Now if we grow weary of frequently repeating things customary and suited to little ones, let us conform ourselves to them through brotherly, fatherly, and motherly love; and, once joined to their heart, those things will appear new even to us. For the affection of a sympathizing mind possesses such power that, when they are affected as we speak and we as they learn, we dwell mutually in one another; and thus what they hear is as though they speak in us, while we in a certain manner learn with them the things we teach.

"Does this not customarily happen when we show to those who had never seen them before certain spacious and beautiful places, whether of cities or fields, which we ourselves had often passed without any pleasure, so that our delight is renewed in their delight at the novelty? And it happens the more, the dearer they are, because through the bond of love, to the extent that we are in them, to that extent things which were old become new also to us. But if we have made some progress in contemplating things, we no longer wish those whom we love merely to rejoice and marvel when they behold works of human hands; rather, we wish to raise them up to the very citadel and counsel of their maker, and thence to rise into admiration and praise of God, maker of all things, where lies the most fruitful end of love. How much more, therefore, ought we to delight when human beings approach now to learn the Lord himself, for whose sake all things that must be learned are to be learned, and to be renewed in their novelty, so that if our preaching is colder than usual, it may grow warm through their unaccustomed hearing."

§ 9. I see some adolescents diligent in the oratorical faculty, laborious in composing verses, victorious even over difficulties in learning the Greek language, diligent in the thickets of Dialectic, the depths of Physics, the secrets of

Metaphysics, and the mathematical sciences, but immediately wearied in sacred doctrine. For either they devise reasons for not coming at all, or, when they have come, turn their minds elsewhere and by looking about and yawning show that they wish to depart or are present unwillingly. They show themselves either entangled in great vices or so gaping after the perishable honors of the sciences that they bear pagan minds in a Christian profession.

For what will you answer to your God? You turn over Cicero or Demosthenes for whole days; you eagerly drink the fables of the poets, with the sweetness of their song and very frequently with muddy poison; you grow pale over Aristotle and Euclid, destined to gain this, that the more things you learn, the more things you doubt. And do you despise the utterances of the Lord--chaste utterances, sweeter than honey, more excellent than a precious stone? He labors under a grave disease for whom the best food produces nausea. What happens to travelers is accustomed to happen to them: those who apply themselves to describing the manners of various peoples, rivers, and towns are ignorant of the bounds of their own patrimony and the limits of their fields. Hence they can neither govern their conscience, nor render an account of the faith, nor answer a Jew or heretic, nor even an unlearned man. This is the more serious for the reason that they possess the authority

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of orators and philosophers and the title of masters, but the ignorance of boys in the Christian faith. Hence they pay great penalties for so great a contempt, sometimes by shipwreck of religion, displaying their ignorance to the world.

Accordingly, I judge this counsel salutary for all schools and academies: that they admit no one to a higher school who has neglected to learn the things handed down in religion by the lower class. Let there be an examination not only of secular erudition, which puffs up, but also of sacred erudition, which edifies. Let no one be distinguished with academic honors and titles unless he has also exercised himself in Christian doctrine as much as is fitting. For it is shameful for a Christian if an academy produces him as a disciple of Plato or Aristotle rather than of Christ. For to what end is it useful to bring into public affairs men swollen with sciences and unstable in opinions, but ignorant of Christian truth?

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 10. “Let none of our pupils enter the school with weapons, small swords, knives, or other things of that kind which have been forbidden according to places or times.”

Let no one wonder that weapons are removed from schools, because we instruct neither a soldier nor a boxer. And weapons are carried without cause into a place where fighting is not permitted. Pompey lowered the fasces, together with their axes, before a philosopher, although he was already great in deed and even in name. How much less must adolescents be permitted to display small swords or daggers in the sanctuary of wisdom? Yet this is rare and is done not by those who study military affairs, but by those whom empty ostentation has bound to iron.

I have seen a man who considered this law contrary to his dignity and walked about the courtyard armed with a sword. “Will you ungird me? My nobility no more permits my weapons to be torn away than my limbs.” You err, adolescent: weapons are honorably laid aside when they are laid aside by law. It is proud insolence for you to be armed among so many unarmed men. Look at the ancient laws: weapons were taken away from private persons; forums, crossroads, streets, and suburbs were trodden by unarmed nobility; they took up arms against the enemy.

Justinian, Novella 17, chapter 17: “For these things, when preserved by you, make the belt longer-lasting and more glorious for you, provided that, above other things, you permit no one who is not serving in the military to use weapons. The designation ‘weapons’ certainly signifies not only shields, swords, and helmets, but also clubs and stones.”

But since a great authority, the legislator himself, explains to us the ancient custom which endures even today in many places--and does so concerning the whole state, although we now by no means follow it--I shall show that adolescents

studying humane letters, philosophy, theology, or even law and medicine cannot complain if they approach unarmed professors and the altar of prudence without weapons, the instruments of madness and slaughter. Novella 85 therefore states:

“Always invoking our great God and Savior Jesus Christ and his aid, we strive to preserve all our subjects, whose government God has entrusted to us, unharmed and free of injury, and to restrain the wars which they undertake against one another by their own deliberation and by which they cause suffering, thereby bringing a double punishment upon themselves: both that which they inflict upon themselves and that which they suffer from the laws that punish their madness.”

“Wishing, therefore, to free human beings from deaths of this kind, we have provided that no private person perform the work of weapons manufacture, but that only those make weapons who are assigned to the public arms factories, or who are called *fabricenses*. Let those who work upon weapons sell them to no private person. Nor do we permit those arms-makers who are enrolled in the military units, who are also called *deputati* and receive provisions from the fisc, either to manufacture or to sell weapons to anyone; but only to have care of the weapons of the soldiers enrolled in the unit in which they serve. But if they make anything new, let it be offered by them and brought into our sacred armory, to be added there to the public weapons already deposited.”

“We wish those who are in the orders of ballista-makers, whom we have established in various cities by enrolling them and decreeing that they make weapons, to observe this also: that they repair and renew only the public weapons stored in the public armories of each city. But if any one of them has constructed any single weapon, let them likewise furnish it among the public weapons and sell it to absolutely no one else. Let those assigned to the ballista factories also observe this, at the risk of the fathers of the cities under whom we have placed those same ballista-makers and established the care and custody of the public armories. Thus, if either the *deputati* or the *fabricenses* are seen selling weapons, let the judges in the localities take care to subject them to punishments and, furthermore, to take the weapons without payment from those who buy them and claim them for the public.”

“With God governing us in this thought, we have decreed by the present law that in no city or province of our state shall private persons or anyone else have license to make, sell, or acquire weapons in any manner, but that only those numbered among the *fabricenses* shall construct them and deliver them to our sacred armory. And we decree that this be observed by your Highness and by those who after you receive the belt.

“We assign some of the *chartularii* who are placed under your Highness in the bureau of the *fabricenses*, at the risk of the five senior men among them, men possessing a good reputation and suitable for the task. Seeking out those who make weapons in this most fortunate city and in the other cities of our state, they shall prohibit private persons, or any others apart from those assigned among the *fabricenses*, from undertaking the business of weapons manufacture; and in whatever places they find private persons daring this, they shall take these things away and attach them to the armory of the fisc.

“But if among private craftsmen they have been able to find artisans suitable for the task, they may, if they wish, place them in the service, enter their names in the register, and send us the register of the artisans, so that by our sacred rescript they may be established in those places in which the public factories are situated, and thus may both manufacture weapons and receive provisions from the fisc. For when this has been done and carefully observed by the persons aforesaid, license will be granted to absolutely no one--neither private inhabitants of the cities nor rustics dwelling in villages--to use arms against one another, to presume upon killings, and thereby to cause very many human beings to be slain and public services to perish, while cultivators of the earth, fearing the loss of life, resort to flight because of fear.

“Therefore those who are dispatched by your Highness from the aforesaid bureau of the *fabricenses* to prohibit private makers of weapons must also receive an acknowledgment in the localities from the judges, the offices subject to them, and the defenders and fathers of the cities, that henceforth they will have no power to do any of the things prohibited

by us, but will observe the things decreed by the present law, fearing punishment both in their property and upon their very head. For we decree that a negligent judge of great Alexandria shall pay a penalty of twenty pounds of gold and lose his belt; and that his office shall likewise pay a penalty of twenty pounds of gold

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and undergo capital punishment. But the judges of the other provinces shall sustain a loss of ten pounds of gold and shall themselves likewise be subject to loss of the belt, as shall their offices. The defenders and fathers of cities shall be fined a penalty of three pounds of gold and shall undergo danger to their head if, after discovering that any such thing has been done, they do not punish it or report it to those capable of taking action, but permit it to remain hidden.”

“In order that the things which we have prohibited from being made by private persons and certain others, apart from those numbered among our sacred *fabricenses*, or from being sold to private persons may be made manifest, we have taken care to signify this also by the present law. For we prohibit private persons from manufacturing or buying bows, arrows, *spathae*, and the swords which they customarily call *semispathia*; those called *zabae*, or coats of mail; pikes; lances made in any manner or shape; those which among the Isaurians are named *monocopia*; and the so-called *sitinni*, or missiles. Furthermore, we prohibit oval shields, shields, helmets, or headpieces. For we permit no one other than those assigned among our sacred *fabricenses* to construct these things. We permit only smaller knives, which no one uses in battles, to be made and sold by private persons and to private persons. Therefore let your Highness publish the present general law in this royal city and also throughout the other cities of our state, so that all, knowing the things which have pleased us, may observe them.”

“We give notice to the *chartularii* from the aforesaid bureau of the *fabricenses* who shall in future preside over this custody that, for negligence, they shall not only sustain monetary penalties but also suffer corporal punishments and lose their service. Furthermore, we shall not permit that same bureau thereafter to be involved in a concern of this kind, but shall commit the care of the *fabricenses* to others.”

Such were the ancients. But I marvel that in certain academies students walk armed, quarrel, challenge, fight, and even run about armed at night--things Nero and the most wicked men did--haughtily address, attack, and strike those they meet, which is the practice of urban robbers. Thus license in bearing weapons has summoned disgrace, dangers, and robberies out of woods and dens into cities and the schools of the most civilized men. For we are not unaware that there are cities in which the pupils of Justice herself and sacred Themis cut one another to pieces with mutual wounds and criminally assault citizens and residents. What interpreters of justice or presidents over laws will the state someday hope for in men who maraud as though they were being trained for robberies?

What, then, do you advise? What else? Let the Prince impose military laws upon these martial chicks, since through their little ferocious boastfulness they turn away from academic gentleness. The laws of German military service must be brought back from the camps to the academies. At Speyer in the year 1570, the following was decreed concerning cavalymen.

Law 66. “Moreover, during expeditions, watches, a march under full standards, or the very station of the guard, let no one attack another with armed hand or challenge him to single combat. Whoever does this shall be bound by the prefects present and brought before the tribune of cavalry or the court.”

Law 67. “Let no one discharge a firearm against another, whether within or outside the camp; nor attack with weapons anyone standing with his back turned or his face averted; nor challenge another to an equestrian contest; nor in any manner insolently inflict violence upon anyone, under a penalty to be determined according to equestrian law.”

Law 68. “Let no one insolently burst into the tents or pavilions of others, either by day or by night, nor inflict violence, under a most grave penalty and a declaration of equestrian law.”

Law 73. “During the expedition, let no one renew inveterate enmities and discords, whether in the camp or in the garrisons, nor attempt deliberately to avenge them. Instead, let all either suppress affairs of this kind, permit them to be

settled by the tribune of cavalry and his prefects, or use the ordinary course of law. Whoever acts otherwise shall be fined the lawful penalty.”

Law 74. “Whoever has either personally beheld two or more men disagreeing with one another or even drawing weapons against one another, or has learned of it while absent through the report of others, shall establish peace between the disagreeing parties. After the matter has been settled, let the factious parties observe without any contradiction the peace established between them for the duration of the expedition.”

The laws speak thus concerning the infantry. **Law 29:**

“Let all and each abstain from rash duels under penalty of death, but diligently pursue familiar association, peace, and union of minds.”

30. “Let them not use firearms, spears, or similar weapons in duels, under their military oath; but let swords be permitted to each for the defense of his life, both by cutting and by thrusting.”

31. “Let no one renew in any military expedition an old hatred or rancor lying hidden deep in his breast, nor in any manner avenge himself, whether by word or deed, except by the course of law. But whoever transgresses this constitution or contravenes it shall be brought before the judge and, after the case has been examined, punished with loss of honor or life.”

32. “Let no one stir up factions between different parties. But if quarrels and enmities arise between any persons, let each of the nearest men faithfully and without any regard for persons constitute themselves mediators for a first, second, and third time. If anyone afterwards does not acquiesce in this settlement, the man who kills him will have inflicted the penalty due to him. But whoever attacks a mediator or an unarmed man shall be brought before the court and, after sufficient investigation of the matter, punished with death.”

33. “But whoever should still assail another with a sword or cast it against him, whether before or after the quarrel has been broken up, shall be punished with death.”

34. “In order that grave disadvantages and dangers may be forestalled, if quarrels have arisen between two or more persons, or if they have even come to arms, let no one present himself as a partisan of one party rather than the other, but as a separator of the combat. Transgressors of this law shall be punished at the discretion of the commander.”

To such a point have evils advanced that studious adolescents devoted to all the arts and virtues cannot be governed even by military discipline! “But when liberty has been taken away, youth will run riot.” It is better to depart well than to remain badly. Yet not all will be driven away: only the rash, braggarts, the unskilled, and those who use the privileges of students for wickedness will change their soil. More will arrive, for discipline attracts and dissolution puts to flight.

“Let them altogether abstain from swearing, insults, injuries, detractions, lies, forbidden games, places that are harmful or prohibited by the Prefect of Schools, and, finally, from all things opposed to uprightness of conduct.”

Concerning these things it is necessary to admonish nothing else than that students must especially avoid those vices. Certainly, the more learned each person is, the more need there is for him to be better. But enough has been said about these vices in the third book.

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ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 11. Let them understand that, in matters which concern morals and the study of the good arts, when precepts or admonitions are of less avail, the masters will not fail in their duty to punish them. Let those who refuse punishments, who show no hope of amendment, or who are troublesome to the rest and harmful through their example know that they are to be dismissed from our schools.

I have already shown above that what Plato judged is true: namely, that all are made worse by indulgence. Plato's words are:

ἡ μὲν τρυφή δύσκολα καὶ ἀκράχολα καὶ σφόδρα ἀπὸ μικρῶν κινούμενα τὰ τῶν νέων ἤθη ἀπεργάζεται, τὸ δὲ τούτων ἐναντίον, ἡ τε σφοδρὰ καὶ ἀγρία δούλωσις, ταπεινοὺς καὶ ἀνελευθέρους καὶ μισανθρώπους ποιοῦσα, ἀνεπιτηδείους συνοίκους ἀποτελεῖ.

That is: indulgence renders the characters of children difficult, peevish, irascible, and such as are violently disturbed by slight occasions; excessive and savage servitude, on the contrary, renders their characters abject, illiberal, and averse to the intercourse of human society, and consequently makes them such as are altogether unfit for every association and familiarity.

§ 12. But another question is now at issue: whether adolescents ought to be governed by fear of punishments. Because this question is rather long and demands a separate place, I reserve it for another time. I admonish only this: it is just that those who neither offer hope of amendment nor cease to be a scandal to others should be banished from academies. I was pleased that this law of schools had also been approved by a military decree of the Senate issued by the German princes. For concerning cavalrymen, Law 45 ordains as follows:

“Likewise, on Sundays, and whenever the signal is given for divine offices or sermons, let masters and nobles, as well as their servants, diligently apply themselves to hearing the word of God and the sacred office of the Mass. Whoever in the meantime is found in drinking-parties, taverns, or other places devoted to scandals and frivolities shall be punished, account being taken of the offense. If he is a servant, he shall be confined in bonds and prison. But if he is a master or noble, he shall be sharply rebuked in words by the master of cavalry or any other prefect. If, however, he shows no amendment and has previously been arraigned before the military tribunal, then, according to the laws of the cavalry, notice shall at last be given to him that, for this reason also, if he does not altogether cease from public scandal and an impious manner of life, he will, by a public declaration of law, be dishonorably discharged as an example to others.”

Impiety has long brought infamy upon camps:

There is no faith or piety in men who follow camps;

Their souls are for sale: right is where the greatest payment is.

Yet the assemblies of the most august council in Germany prosecute even the impiety of nobles with punishment and dishonorable discharge. But if the leading men judge that camps must be purged of offenses and evil examples, although in camps there are few who are not an evil example, what must be done among youth most tender in years, whose innocence is both weak and unwary? I would wish the entire city in which an academy is to be established to be like a temple; but because there has been a departure from that purity, the greatest care must be taken concerning those who, under the name of students, smear upon others the vices by which they themselves perish. But those for whom it is more gratifying and profitable to count many hearers rather than disciples do not do this.

§ 13. Let all obey their respective masters; and let them observe as diligently as possible the method of study prescribed by those masters, both in the schools and at home.

I shall speak of obedience--an account of which all must render to God, the state, and their parents--when I have explained with what honor pupils are bound to attend upon their teacher. Method is a thing as necessary as the labor of studying itself. A great part of the best minds, having entered an unknown road, have wandered away from the goal.

§ 14. Let them apply their mind to their studies seriously and constantly; let them be assiduous in attending the schools early, and diligent in hearing and reviewing lectures and in performing the other exercises. But if they comprehend anything imperfectly or have any doubt, let them consult the master.

What assails studious youth with the greatest danger to their studies and morals is the sweetness of idleness. It is a great evil because, by doing nothing, it overthrows everything; and it not only deprives the idle of fruit but also enervates the very powers of memory, intellect, and judgment.

Therefore let them seek diligent, industrious, and energetic adolescents, for whom Stimula may shake off idleness, whom Agenoria may bring forward upon the benches, and to whom Strenua may give strength and perseverance. Let their age, flourishing through learned and honorable labor, dispel both the vices of idleness and those of adolescence; by this one means above all it will flee the enticements of sloth. A certain Thessalian was asked which of his fellow countrymen were the most wicked. He answered: those who had respite from war. I answer freely--and if I am mistaken, I am surely mistaken in very few cases--that I trust no adolescent unless I see industry, diligence, and labor in him. However composed for probity their faces may appear, although their words and gestures display holiness and they wear away the thresholds of all the churches, I do not believe that religion, virtue, and chastity are dear to them if they delight in idleness. Piety is not idle, nor is it languid, any more than it is proud. That affectation is devoid of life, because it fails in its duty and therefore soon dissolves into corruption. Are you a student? Practice virtue; learn letters and sciences. The first part of piety is to obey one's calling and comply with the will of one's parents. The body itself grows feeble in idleness and is overwhelmed by cold diseases, if we believe Galen. The mind, however, becomes altogether brutish. I place among the highest objects of praise the exercises of the Gymnosophists and their education of youth, proposed also for our imitation. For, after summoning the adolescents to table, before the dishes were set down, they asked what they had done up to that hour, so that shame at having to answer might burden those who had passed the day idly, while praise might arouse others whose industry had been conspicuous in some work.

§ 15. Let them hear of diligence greater than human, and follow it so far as they can. Pliny the Younger writes thus concerning the elder Pliny:

"His intellect was keen, his zeal incredible, his wakefulness supreme. He began to work by lamplight from the festival of Vulcan onward, not for the sake of an auspicious beginning, but for study, while much of the night still remained; in winter, however, from the seventh hour, or, at the latest, the eighth, often the sixth. He was certainly most ready for sleep, which sometimes came upon him and left him even amid his very studies. Before dawn he went to the emperor Vespasian, for he too used the nights, and from there to the duty delegated to him. Having returned home, he gave whatever time remained to his studies. After taking food--which during the day he often took lightly and simply, according to the custom of the ancients--if there was any leisure in summer, he lay in the sun; a book was read, and he made notes and excerpts. For he never read anything from which he did not make excerpts. He also used to say that no book was so bad that it could not in some part

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be useful. After the sun he generally bathed in cold water. Then he took a light meal and slept very briefly. Soon, as though it were another day, he studied until dinnertime. Over dinner a book was read and annotated, and indeed rapidly. I remember that one of his friends, when the reader had pronounced certain things incorrectly, called him back and compelled him to repeat them. My uncle said to him, 'You understood, surely?' When he nodded assent, my uncle said, 'Why, then, did you call him back? By this interruption of yours we have lost more than ten verses.' So great was his economy of time. In summer he rose from dinner while it was light; in winter, within the first hour of night, but as though compelled by some law. These things he did amid his labors and the din of the city. In retirement only the time

of the bath was withdrawn from study. When I say the bath, I mean its inner parts; for while he was scraped and dried, he heard something or dictated. On a journey, as though released from other cares, he devoted himself to this alone. At his side was a secretary with a book and writing tablets, whose hands in winter were protected by sleeves, so that not even the harshness of the weather might snatch away any time from study. For this reason he was also carried in a chair at Rome. I recall being reproved by him when I was walking. ‘You could,’ he said, ‘have avoided losing these hours.’ For he considered all time lost which was not spent upon studies. By this concentration he completed all those volumes and left me one hundred and sixty notebooks of selected passages, written, indeed, on both sides and in a very minute hand, by which method this number is multiplied. He himself used to relate that, when he was procurator in Spain, he could have sold these notebooks to Largius Licinus for four hundred thousand sesterces, and at that time there were somewhat fewer of them. When you recall how much he read and how much he wrote, does he not seem to you never to have held any offices nor to have enjoyed the friendship of princes? Again, when you hear how much labor he spent upon studies, does he not seem to have written too little and read too little? For what is there that either those occupations could not have hindered or this persistence could not have accomplished? And so I am accustomed to laugh when certain men call me studious, for, if I am compared with him, I am most idle. And am I so only, I whom duties partly public and partly owed to friends distract? Who among those who sit at letters their whole life, when compared with him, would not blush as though devoted to sleep and indolence? I have prolonged the letter, although I had resolved to write only that which you asked, namely, what books he had left. Yet I trust that these things too will be no less pleasing to you than the books themselves, since they can excite you by the spurs of emulation not only to read them but also to work out something similar.”

Seneca’s diligence was no less. In Epistle 8 he says: “You bid me avoid the crowd, withdraw, and be content with conscience. Where are those precepts of yours which command a man to die in action? What? Do I meanwhile seem to you to be sitting idle? I have hidden myself away and closed my doors for this purpose, that I may be of use to more people. No day passes for me in leisure; I reclaim part of the nights for study. I have no leisure for sleep, but succumb to it, and I keep my eyes, wearied by wakefulness and falling shut, upon their work.”

This is to apply the mind seriously to studies. I do not admonish you to declaim with Demosthenes against the roar of falling rivers, or, with pebbles placed in your mouth, to wrench the canine letter from your tongue; nor, in the manner of Carneades, to let an ecstasy of speculation withdraw your hands from food even at table; much less to tear out your eyes with Democritus lest they turn the mind’s concentration elsewhere. Those deeds of Carneades and Democritus are monstrosities. I require living and vigorous diligence, which does not withdraw minds from human affairs but adapts them to them. Let both their labor and their industrious leisure be useful to the state.

§ 16. In the lectures themselves I require the greatest attention together with modesty. Strabo relates in Book 15 of his *Geography* that among the Brahmins, the philosophers of India, it was not lawful to speak, sneeze, or spit. But if carelessness or nature had wrung anything of this kind from anyone, the punishment was to be excluded from the lecture hall for one day. Their censure reproved yawning as though it were vomiting, for they thought that it signified the mind’s wandering freedom from care and its very slight attention to present matters. Gellius also records, in Book 5, chapter 20, that in the Attic Academy not even laughter was permitted at first. It is therefore fitting to listen with the greatest care, lest the teacher seem, in the presence of so many people, to be speaking to the walls.

Masters must also be consulted in doubtful matters and without foolish shame; for many make no progress because they do not dare profess their ignorance. The lectures must therefore be reviewed and ruminated upon, and if any difficulty occurs, its resolution must be learned from the master. Thus our Constitutions admonish, Part 4, chapter 3, §3.

And Common Rule 11 states: “After the lecture let him remain in the school, or near the school, for at least a quarter of an hour, so that the hearers may be able to approach him to ask questions; and from time to time let him require an account of the lectures and take care that they be repeated.”

Attalus showed himself such a man to his pupils, whom Seneca, a grateful pupil, praises in Epistle 108: “I remember Attalus instructing us in these things, when we besieged his school, arrived first, and departed last. Even while he was walking we called him forth to certain discussions. He was not only prepared for learners, but met them halfway.”

§ 17. In the schools let them not wander this way and that, but let each remain modestly and silently beneath his own bench and in his own place, intent upon himself and his affairs. Let them not leave the school unless the master has granted permission to leave. Let them not disfigure or mark the benches, the chair, the seats, the walls, the doors, the windows, or anything else by painting, writing, a small knife, or any other means.

I do not linger over explaining this law, because it is manifest of itself and from the dictate of Themis; nor is it transgressed except by boys or by those who are childish.

§ 18. Let them flee the depraved or even suspect company of others; let them associate only with those by whose example and company they may make progress in the study of letters and of virtues.

I consider it an error in the state that no action lies for a depraved friendship and association. For how great a protection would it be if a day could be appointed for such a man to appear in court, and if the praetor granted an action against one who associated with a wicked man? The society of depraved men is, and always will be, a great evil to the state and to schools; for diseases, plague, and madness spread themselves by contagion, whereas health is not transmitted to a companion. Let all, therefore, choose the best men with whom to associate--those in whose company they would not blush to be seen and from whom they may gather fruit, not disgrace. Some evil always comes from an evil neighbor; all evils are never absent from academies, and often very many are present. In every academy there are

ὁμωρόφοι χελιδόνες,

swallows under the same roof, which are troublesome by their chattering and filth. Pythagoras gave excellent admonition:

γαμψώνυχα μὴ τρέφειν,

not to nourish things with curved claws. Yet, with their weapons drawn in, they too insinuate themselves, and they are not revealed until after they have done harm.

Σκυμνὸν λέοντος πᾶσα μὲν πόλις τρέφει.

Every city indeed nourishes a lion's cub; but it does not know that its nature is a lion's, and when it has become a lion, the city will understand this to its own loss. Every likeness is efficacious for conciliating

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love, but likeness of studies most of all. That saying is elegant:

Γέρων γέροντι γλῶτταν ἡδίστην ἔχει,

Παῖς παιδί, καὶ γυναῖκί πρόσφορον γυνή,

Νοσῶν τ' ἀνὴρ νοσοῦντι, καὶ δυσπραξία

Ληθθεῖς, ἔποδός ἐστι τῷ πεπραγμένῳ.

An old man has a most pleasant tongue for an old man, a boy for a boy, and a woman for a woman; a sick man for a sick man, and one who is beset by misfortune for one who has experienced the same.

One must be cautious even in the very school of virtues. It has been said severely but truly: you dwell with scorpions. Scorpions are those whose society is pestiferous, who strike swiftly with an arched tail, and with the same weapon with which they open the wound also pour in poison, for they bear a hollow sting. Wicked companions likewise insinuate themselves into familiarity by art and destroy by that same art. A scorpion's tail is always ready for a blow,

and at no moment does it cease to prepare, lest it fail to seize an opportunity. It strikes with an oblique and curved stroke. Because it is not possible to distinguish all these men, those who have recognized them are commanded by law to flee them. But if anyone associates familiarly with publicly infamous men, he is deservedly driven from the company of the more honorable; for by such impious association he has already proscribed his own reputation.

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 19. Let them altogether abstain from reading pernicious and useless books.

All rectors of academies must attend to this seriously, so that they may cast out bad books. Certainly Rule 8 for our professors requires it: “Let him earnestly commend spiritual reading, especially the lives of the saints. On the other hand, not only is he himself to abstain from reading to the young impure writers and, in general, those in whom there is anything capable of harming good morals, but he is also to deter his pupils as much as he can from reading those same writers outside the school.”

The Constitution, Part 4, chapter 5, and its Declaration proceed in the same spirit: “In pagan books of humane letters, let nothing opposed to decency be read in lecture. The Society will be able to use the rest as the spoils of Egypt. Although the works of Christians might be good, if the author is nevertheless bad, they are not to be read, lest some become attached to the author. And it is fitting, descending to particulars, to determine which books are to be read in lecture, both in humane letters and in the other disciplines, and which cannot be read in lecture.”

And chapter 14 states: “In general, those books shall be read in lecture which are held to contain the more solid and secure teaching in each faculty. Nor are those to be touched whose teaching or authors are suspect. These, however, are to be named individually in each university. In theology, the Old and New Testaments and the scholastic doctrine of St. Thomas shall be read; and in that theology which they call positive, those authors shall be selected who seem more suitable for our purpose.

“As regards Latin or Greek books of humane letters, in universities as well as in colleges, so far as this can be done, let there be abstention from reading to the young those in which there is anything capable of harming good morals, unless they have first been purged of dishonorable matters and words.”

And the Declaration states: “Although a book is free of suspicion of bad doctrine, nevertheless, when its author is suspect, it is not fitting that the book be read. For a work is accustomed to cause its reader to become attached to its author, and the authority which the author possesses with him in matters in which he speaks well may afterwards persuade him of something among those matters in which he speaks badly. It is also rare for no poison to be mixed into things which issue from a heart full of poison.”

And concerning books of humane literature it ordains thus: “If any cannot be altogether purged, as Terence cannot, let them rather not be read, lest the nature of their subject matter offend purity of mind.”

§ 20. No one can rightly complain here. If it is disgraceful to speak about obscene matters, why should you desire eloquence in expounding them? Certainly today books contain very many incitements to vice, and evil books are read more eagerly. This concerns the state: a polity which maintains severe laws concerning the striking of coinage must also make laws concerning books, for it is more serious that minds be corrupted than the credit of commerce.

I prefer that the counsels which our most learned Delrio offers on this matter in his *Sacred Adages* be read in his own words. On Ecclesiastes 12: “But if you dispute diverse and discordant things, and with excessive curiosity lead your mind this way and that, even in one book there are many books. Whence it has been said, ‘From much speaking you will not escape sin.’ There is therefore no end to such books. For goodness and truth are bounded by a definite end, but wickedness and falsehood are without end; and the more they are sought, the greater the sequence of them that is born.” Alcuin, Lyra, Arboreus, and others agree, except that these direct the passage chiefly against the writers themselves, for:

--the insatiable itch of writing possesses many.

This certainly ought to be restrained by still stricter laws, so that nothing not reviewed by censors may be published, and, if anything has been published by an evil hand, it may be expurgated. This is the wish of a Catholic heart. But the saying of Joseph Scaliger in his *Elenchus* is: "To have expurgatory indexes belongs to Marranos"--a maxim worthy of a heretic and an apostate from the right faith.

Others also judge this teaching of Solomon useful to readers, and deservedly so. John Terus says prudently: "He who departs from that one book of Sacred Scripture and turns to those many books, that is, to the various inventions of men, will never arrive at the true end, which is God; or he will never arrive at true knowledge. As Paul says, they are 'always learning and never attaining to the knowledge of the truth,' since they are moved by every wind of doctrine. Therefore, just as we do not rashly admit any foods whatever to the palate without discrimination unless beforehand we are certain in every respect, so too--and indeed much more diligently--care must be taken that you not dignify the trifles of any men whatever with your reading. For in the former matter only the body is endangered; in the latter, however, the soul."

Thus speaks that author. Olympiodorus the Elder enumerates the kinds of volumes from which Solomon restrains us: namely, first, the volumes and monuments of the gentiles, who overturn and attack one another's opinions and always wage a most grievous war among themselves; second, the books of heretics who disagree with one another; third, the recent and secondary volumes of the Jews--that is, the Deuterotic works of the Talmudists--which are almost infinite and filled with fables. For while they strive to interpret the Scriptures by certain novel figures, they have been turned aside into ridiculous fables and genealogies and have produced traditions wandering far from the meaning of the writer. Concerning these last, the reader will be able to consult our Nicolaus Serarius's commentary *On the Rabbis*. Concerning heretics, the matter is known and settled and has likewise been approved by the judgment of the Church. Concerning the books of the gentiles, moderation and selection are advised, not complete flight from them. I spoke at length in the preface to my *Tragic Syntagma*, dedicated to Laevinus Torrentius, worthy of eternal remembrance and at that time bishop of my native land.

I add only the opinion of a learned and pious Father. This is Isidore of Pelusium, Book 2, Epistle 3, to Timothy. Arousing him to the study of Sacred Scripture, and having recalled its dignity, usefulness, and sweetness, he concludes that from the external learning of secular wisdom we must gather, like a little bee, only as much as conduces to our philosophy,

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and must bid the rest farewell:

ὅσον μὲν οὖν χρήσιμον εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλοσοφίαν ἐκ τῆς ἐξωθεν παιδεύσεως, ὥσπερ ἡ μέλιττα, δρεψάμενος, τὸ λοιπὸν ἅπαν χαίρειν ἔα.

I end with Quintilian's admonition in Book 10, chapter 1, of the *Institutes of Oratory*: "One must become accustomed to the best, and the mind is to be formed, and its color imparted, by reading much rather than by reading many authors."

§ 21. Let them not go to public spectacles, comedies, games, or the executions of condemned persons; nor let them act any character upon the stages of outsiders unless permission has first been given by the master or by the prefect of the school.

I spoke about spectacles in the third book. Anyone who wishes to read what was said there will approve this law with his own vote.

§ 22. Let them strive to preserve a sincere and pure mind and to obey the divine laws with the greatest diligence. Let them very frequently and from the heart commend themselves to God, to the most holy Virgin Mother of God, and to

the other saints. Let them continually implore the aid of the angels, and especially of their guardian angel. Let them always observe modesty elsewhere, but most particularly in church and in school.

§ 23. Finally, in all matters and actions let them so conduct themselves that anyone may easily understand that they are no less devoted to virtue and integrity of life than to letters and learning.

They will therefore attend to these things with great zeal, taking thought not only for their own salvation but also for the honor of the schools and academies. I have already treated piety and the pursuit of virtue in two books; nevertheless, I commend them especially to students of letters, as the nobler members of Christian youth.

CHAPTER IX

Professors of the Sciences Must Be Held in Honor

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 1. The precept concerning the honoring of parents is the first accompanied by a promise; the reward of that observance is longevity. Those who form minds, the sources of learning and wisdom and the most illustrious authors of virtues, come into the place of parents; therefore they too deserve the honor due to parents. Alexander both acknowledged and declared in a royal utterance that he owed no less to Aristotle than to Philip--indeed, more--because from Philip he had received the means to live, but from Aristotle the means to live well. The whole matter can be defined by these few words.

§ 2. Professors ought to consecrate the immense labors which they sustain to the public good and to divine glory, and not seek the enticements of a soft and quiet life or the vanities of honors. For although this is disgraceful in every office, in a candidate for wisdom it is certainly most disgraceful. For who could endure that the most laborious knowledge of the most beautiful and hidden things, and the very teaching of virtue, should serve the foulest and emptiest things? Those who lead others to the end and the highest good ought not themselves to fall away from the end and the highest good.

§ 3. Teachers ought to be honored not only by their pupils, but also by the pupils' parents and by the state. By the parents, indeed, because they have chosen them for their children as other parents. They are no less compelled to render an account to God for the instruction of their pupils than parents are for their upbringing. The souls entrusted to them therefore reside with them, and they keep watch, destined to render an account for others.

In this matter the ingratitude of certain parents is proud and insulting toward masters, since they hold either the domestic tutors or the public professors of their sons in contempt. For they also teach their sons to rise against their teachers, and imbue them with a pernicious opinion. At length the calamity of the wretched household comes to this: after the son has accused his master, the father has believed him, and the mother has condemned the master, by that example the parents themselves are attacked in turn. For he who rushes against his master with an injurious foot does not honor his parents; nor is a father worthy of an obedient son when he has taught him to be ungrateful toward his master. Of all those who have set themselves against their masters and against discipline as men of contempt, I know not one over whom his mother has not wept.

An outstanding example of honoring a master is set before us in the most excellent emperor Theodosius. Concerning him Nicephorus writes in Book 17, chapter 23: "About the same time, the emperor, wishing to appoint a master of virtue over his children, found that Arsenius whose glory had traversed every land beneath the sun, and entrusted them to him. Having received them, Arsenius took the place both of a teacher in every discipline and of a father in a liberal education. For the emperor had admonished him not to conceive any fear from their imperial elevation, but rather to treat them as servants. Yet so far was Arsenius from doing this that, with remarkable modesty and moderation, he did rather the contrary. And when Theodosius once came upon them suddenly, he found the boys sitting in magnificent splendor, but Arsenius standing beside them as he taught.

"For this reason the emperor, angered, both stripped them of the insignia of princes and uttered that saying worthy of everlasting memory and truly imperial: if they were going to show themselves such that they would conform their morals and life to discipline and to the laws of God, he too would be ready to deliver the empire into their hands, adapted to the advantage and benefit of the citizens and subjects; but if not, he said that it was more advantageous for them to pass their life as private persons than to rule without learning and with danger."

The prince and the state are also bound to attend them with public honor, for God himself wished them to be honored: “Those who have been learned shall shine like the brightness of the firmament, and those who instruct many unto justice like stars unto perpetual eternities.” Moreover, they are engaged in an honorable and splendid function: teaching the liberal arts, philosophy, medicine, jurisprudence, and theology. If, therefore, they teach the most illustrious, useful, and altogether necessary things, and if they instruct kings themselves and governors themselves, the state cannot permit them to remain without honor unless it is itself either ignorant or contemptuous of what is right and honorable. Isocrates, in his letter to the prince of Mytilene, places learned professors in an exalted--that is, in their proper--place. He says first that good and just governors of states must be held in high esteem, and that the next place in dignity must be granted to learned men who can be an ornament and an aid to cities.

§ 4. By this law even princes and magnates, and even kings, are privately bound. For no majesty of a kingdom brings it about that honor is not to be rendered to parents and masters. It is a law of nature, and one inculcated again in the Mosaic tablets, that parents be honored; and under the name of parents are understood magistrates and teachers also, not

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only those who begot us. The barbarous nations teach that the matter is so, for they venerate teachers beyond what can be expressed. Nicolaus Trigautius says in Book 1, chapter 8: “The Chinese venerate masters altogether more religiously than our people do; and although one man has subjected himself to another as a pupil for a single day in any science or art, throughout the whole of his life thereafter he calls him master and honors him as a master. For in every gathering he sits only at his side and honors him with magisterial titles and rites.”

The prince, therefore, will also honor teachers by hearing them, granting easy access, assenting to equitable requests, and pardoning an accused person at their request whenever this can be done without injury to the public peace.

Certainly, the greater the solicitude of the man who instructs a prince than of him who instructs a private person, the greater the gratitude which the prince owes to a faithful master. For although the teacher’s trouble is equal in either case, nevertheless the pride of powerful children burdens the former with greater disdain. He who teaches his own lord undergoes great labors at great peril.

§ 5. Those who hold a lesser magistracy in the state ought not to wonder if they observe public teachers sometimes placed before them. For although those magistrates have been endowed with power, nevertheless greater honor is frequently bestowed upon virtue and learning than upon a magistracy, because their excellence is greater than that of a power which governs under another’s auspices according to a fixed law. Moreover, they derive from masters and teachers the very ability to administer their part of public affairs rightly; nor should those who teach the science of governing be placed lower than those who use it. Third, in the end the acts of satraps and praetors are examined by the learned, and men abide by their judgment. Those learned men are therefore judges of judges; for either the judges themselves ought to be learned, or they ought to judge according to the opinion of learned men.

Formerly men were not readily admitted to magistracies, to the interpretation of laws, or to tribunals unless they brought testimonials of learning and certificates from academies. For judging is a royal function, which kings cannot entrust to the unskilled without committing a crime. For if the man whom they put in charge of affairs and command to end controversies needs another to preside over him, and if he is compelled to receive the wording of his sentence from another judge, is it not fitting that he should honor his author? That he should honor the man without whom he cannot maintain his own place, the man whom he has as the support of his dignity?

§ 6. States and kings formerly attended teachers of the disciplines with various and great honors.

The rewards which were customarily paid to professors of the arts are these.

The first and most common is that a salary be established from public funds, lest those who are, as it were, fathers of the fatherland--men from whom all derive the means to think well and live well--should be in need. It is the mark of a

flourishing state that ample rewards are paid to professors of the disciplines. These are of three kinds. Some privately hire masters for themselves, as is now common in the courts of magnates; and such is the care taken over tutors. It is necessary that this be done among the Chinese, whose letters and characters are of such a kind that scarcely more than one person can be taught by one man at the same time, as Nicolaus Trigautius relates in Book 1.

Other payments are those which individuals contribute to a public professor. This custom existed at Rome in Augustine's time; for he himself detests the fraud of pupils by which they cheated teachers of the agreed payment. Yet the fraud was not new, but already customary of old. The satirist cries:

All wish to know; no one wishes to pay the fee.

The third kind is the most honorable, and that ordinarily decreed in a well-ordered state: that professors be paid from the treasury. For in this way the studies of the poor are best provided for, and the freedom of the teacher is greater, since his fortunes do not depend upon the fraud of his pupils. For that saying of the sage Prodicus, who taught no one without payment,

χείρ χεῖρα νίπτει, δίδου τι, ἀπόλαβε,

"hand washes hand; give something and receive," was as burdensome to the poor as it was disgraceful to wisdom, since greed was thereby censured. Yet the civil laws command that a guardian pay on behalf of his ward fees not as small as he can contrive, but in proportion to the means of the estate and the dignity of the ward's birth. Certainly the senate of the Apostles rightly lives from the Gospel, and priests from the altar; why should not the liberal arts also support their own initiate?

The state, therefore, must provide for the pursuits of wisdom. For Philostratus does not rightly defend Protagoras on the ground that he taught for payment so that learning given without cost might not be considered cheap, and so that easy access to the greatest things might not lie open to contempt. For if public expenditure forestalls private expenses, greater authority is won for the teacher, since the studies of all are honored and sustained not only by expenditure but also by the approval of the magistrate.

Augustus therefore acted rightly. Although he had forbidden a salary to be granted from the treasury without his permission, he nevertheless permitted it on account of a liberal art. For he did not wish to incur guilt against wisdom, since he himself had cultivated those arts earnestly from boyhood and had exercised himself in camp every day by declaiming and reading. Vespasian established salaries of one hundred thousand sesterces for rhetoricians, and Antoninus ten thousand drachmas. Justinian most wickedly abolished them; for he abolished the stipends of the liberal arts in every city and, when the schools ceased, introduced rusticity and barbarism, as Zonaras teaches. Nor can he be defended on the ground that he enacted laws favorable to the liberal arts, since he altered them so many times and twisted them to his own advantage.

Far more nobly did a barbarian king, who was by then lord of Rome, write to the Senate. Cassiodorus in Book 9 relates that Athalaric wrote as follows: "We recognize that we have rightly referred the concerns of sons to the persons of fathers, so that they themselves ought to take thought for the advancement of those whose interest it is to perfect Roman studies. For it is not to be believed that you can be less solicitous about a source from which both adornment increases for your race and counsel comes to your assembly through continual reading. Recently, since our care for you is solicitous, we learned through the whispering of certain persons that the teachers of Roman eloquence do not possess the appointed rewards of their labor, and that by the huckstering of certain men it comes about that the sum assigned to the masters of schools appears to be diminished. Therefore, since it is manifest that reward nourishes the arts, we have judged it a crime that anything should be taken away from the teachers of adolescents, who ought rather to be summoned to glorious studies by an increase of their advantages."

§ 7. Those stipends are never excessive. Knowledge of philosophy, medicine, law, and theology can never be requited by an equal remuneration, even if their professors

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are adorned with kingdoms and provinces. Nero voluntarily heaped immense wealth upon his master. Nero himself says in Tacitus, *Annals* 14: “You have given me immeasurable gratitude and countless wealth, so that very often I turn the thought over within myself: where is that spirit content with modest things? Does such a spirit lay out gardens like these, walk through these suburban estates, and abound in such expanses of lands and such extensive interest?”

So great were the riches accumulated by the munificence of a prodigal prince that they could not fail to arouse envy and disparagement. “Slanderers,” says the same Tacitus, “assail Seneca with various accusations, alleging that he was still increasing wealth already immense and raised beyond the measure of a private person; that he was turning the pursuits of the citizens toward himself; and that in the charm of his gardens and the magnificence of his villas he was, as it were, surpassing the prince.”

But how much had Nero given Seneca? Tacitus, Book 13: “By what wisdom, by what precepts of the philosophers, had he amassed three hundred million sesterces within four years of royal friendship? At Rome wills and childless men were caught, as it were, by his hunting-net; Italy and the provinces were drained by his immense interest.”

I would not wish for this luxury, nor do I excuse Seneca; yet neither do I marvel at it, since actors and stage-players possessed greater wealth, and since Narcissus, Felix, and monsters of that kind acquired royal riches through disgraceful services. In our own times too we remember learned men enticed by great stipends.

Even the Persians, a martial race, practiced that munificence: they paid the prefect of the Magi four pounds of gold each month, according to Abdias of Babylon, Book 6. How royal is Artaxerxes’ letter to Hystanes, prefect of the Hellespont! “The fame of the art of Hippocrates the physician, descended from Aesculapius, has reached me. See to it, therefore, that you give him as much gold as he wishes, and other things which he needs, and send him to me; for he will be equal in honor to the highest men in Persia. And if there is any illustrious man in Europe, make him a friend of our house, sparing no money; for men, although powerful, do not readily find what they honorably desire. Farewell.”

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 8. The second kind of honor was that princes were accustomed either to visit and hear them themselves or to summon them with a great manifestation of honor and kindness. There survive in Laertius, Book 9, letters from Darius to Heraclitus more courteous than might be expected from barbarian pride: “King Darius desires to be your hearer and to become a participant in Greek learning. Come, therefore, at once into my presence and royal house. For with me every honor and every private privilege will be available to you, together with solicitous daily observance, pleasing conversation, and a manner of life agreeable to your character.”

Dionysius, a savage and proud tyrant, summoned Plato in a ship adorned with fillets and received him upon the shore as he arrived in a chariot drawn by four white horses. He did this not from esteem for learning or virtue, but because he desired to win reputation from familiarity with the philosopher and to offer his subjects hope of a milder reign.

Pompey the Great, although not made more illustrious by that courtesy, was certainly praised more for it than for his three triumphs from as many parts of the world.

For, passing through Rhodes from Asia, he heard all the professors of the good arts; and when they had satisfied him most fully, he offered each of them a talent of gold. He also wished to visit Posidonius, the most noble philosopher. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 2: “When he had seen and greeted him and attended him with honorable words, he said that he was grieved that he could not hear him. But Posidonius said, ‘Indeed you can, nor shall I allow pain of the body to cause so great a man to have come to me in vain.’ And so Pompey used to relate that Posidonius, while lying down, discoursed gravely and copiously on this very proposition: that nothing is good except what is honorable.”

Not only did Pompey visit him, but he lowered before him the laurelled fasces and the victorious insignia, and would not permit the door of a learned man, as though more sacred than his own command, to be struck by a lictor. You may

marvel at this in Pompey: that he submitted himself to a philosopher, when his country could not reduce him to private station except by death. Without doubt Pompey perceived that there was something good in Posidonius more venerable than his own majesty, and the multitude of those who praised him agreed. Antigonus expressed this in words in a letter to Zeno, as found in Laertius, Book 7: “I think that in fortune and glory I surpass your life; but in the disciplines, liberal studies, and perfect happiness which you possess, I perceive that I am far surpassed by you. I have therefore determined to entreat you to come to me, persuading myself that you will by no means allow my prayers to be in vain. Do you therefore strive by every means that we may enjoy your companionship, knowing certainly that you will be the teacher not only of me but of all the Macedonians. For it is certain that he who educates the king of Macedonia also instructs his subjects in fortitude and probity. For whatever the leader has been like, such for the most part must the subjects become.”

§ 9. In the third place, it is customary for this honor to be bestowed upon masters and professors: those who are established in public functions not only desire to associate them with themselves, but are also bound to do so by the laws. Governors are commanded to incite with honor and the hope of rewards those whose prudence they consider necessary to themselves. They cannot despise those whose wisdom they see to be necessary to them. For in reality nature has so arranged matters that he who is strong

τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ,

in intellect and prudence, commands, while he who is inferior obeys. The ancients esteemed this so highly that Cicero judges Caelius the jurist to have been so proud that he preferred to be consulted by Caesar rather than gilded by him. For he who consults another acknowledges the other's excellence; he who gilds him reproaches him with servile greed. Hence it also came about that the kings of the Persians were either themselves learned or were governed by learned men whom they called Magi.

§ 10. In favor of public teachers, many immunities were also granted to peoples and cities, or offenses were pardoned. Ptolemy, most courteously inviting and receiving the seventy translators and astonished at the miracle of their concordant translations, bestowed immense benefactions upon the Jews. Sulla spared Athens on account of the dead; for he judged it unworthy of a human being to destroy the dwelling-place of humanity. Alexander rebuilt for Aristotle his Stagira, which had been leveled to the ground. He granted Lampsacus to Anaximenes. For when he was besieging it and saw Anaximenes come forth, knowing that he would act as an intercessor, Alexander asserted on oath that he would not grant what Anaximenes sought. But Anaximenes said, “I ask that you destroy Lampsacus.” In this I do not know which I should admire more: the ingenuity of Anaximenes, who compelled the king to swear contrary to his own desire, or the spirit of Alexander, who thought that the prayers of a learned man could be repulsed only by putting an oath in their way, and who feared the prayers of one philosopher more than the walls and arms of his enemies. Augustus imitated Alexander, for he pardoned the Alexandrians on account of Areus, his teacher in philosophy. How different from him was the man who killed Seneca because Seneca was troublesome to his vices!

§ 11. It is established by the judgment of princes that many were adorned with civil honors,

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solely by the prerogative of learning. Pharaoh raised up Joseph, Darius Daniel, Gratian Ausonius, and Antoninus Proculus; and, if ancient examples are pleasing, Achilles raised up his teacher Phoenix and judged him worthy to reign with him:

Ἴσον ἐμοὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἡμῖς μείρο τιμῆς.

Reign with equal right together with me, and receive half of the honor.

That was the private affection of magnates toward their own teachers; other emperors, in order to arouse studies, were munificent toward all. Theodosius and Valentinian numbered masters whose work had been approved among those who possessed the rank of vicar. The dignity of vicars was equal to that of counts and dukes; the laws permit them also

the same rank of count. St. Basil applied himself greatly to this: that the sons of the Cappadocians should be instructed in the good arts and in morals, and when they had advanced in learning, he earnestly took care that they should be raised to great honors. Constantine likewise aroused minds by liberality and marks of honor.

§ 12. Antiquity also erected statues and columns, and sometimes even altars, to learning. The Romans placed a statue for Prohaeresius--“the queen of cities to the king of eloquence,” as Eunapius relates--but certainly with excessive ambition. The same Romans acted better when they made a statue for Pythagoras as for the wisest man in accordance with an oracle, as Plutarch relates in his *Numa*. For in doing the same for Alcibiades as though he were the bravest, they erred grievously. Mithridates, king of Pontus, did this for Plato with better right. But the honor of statues was afterwards communicated to more men, since Orbilius Pupillus was presented with one of marble, as Suetonius is our authority. Alexander had consecrated statues of Cicero and Virgil in his household shrine, as Lampridius relates. All Greece placed a golden statue of Gorgias of Leontini in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, while the rest were honored only with gilded statues. Valerius, Book 8, chapter 16.

The Crotoniates attended Pythagoras with great honors; after he died, they consecrated his house as a temple of Ceres, because they thought it unworthy that men unlike so wise a man should dwell beneath that roof. I marvel more that the Macedonians erected a monument to Euripides, since they were less cultivated in letters. The Spartans too acted contrary to their custom--for they were enemies of poetry and philosophy--when, after Thebes had been captured, they inscribed upon Pindar's house:

Πινδάρου τοῦ μουσοποιοῦ τὴν στέγην μὴ καίετε.

Do not burn the poet's house.

Alfonso, the great and learned king of Aragon, judged that even Cicero's villa ought to be spared. For during the siege of Gaeta he prohibited stones and timber from being sought from it for artillery and engines, and declared that he preferred never to use artillery rather than violate the estate of so great an orator. The reason why so great an honor is rendered to such men is known, and Sigismund also gave it to certain men. For when some were indignant that he seemed to promote learned men too high, he answered that he rightly loved those whom nature had willed to excel.

Therefore, just as princes act foolishly when they readily dismiss prudent and energetic counselors or compel them to depart through the meagerness of their stipend--because they are soon eagerly summoned by greater princes--so they also sin in neglecting learned men, whom they understand for the first time to have departed with dishonor to their own province when it is reported to them that those men have come into esteem among others. For if, in the honorable arts--as Juvenal admonishes in Satire 3--

There is no place in the city, no recompense for labors;

My property is less today than it was yesterday, and tomorrow

The same will wear away something from the little that remains. We propose to go

There where Daedalus put off his wearied wings.

For in truth, as he had recognized and inculcates in Satire 7:

Many have repented of a vain and barren chair,

As the fate of Thrasymachus proves, and that of Secundus

Carrinas; and him too you saw destitute, Athens,

You who dared to confer nothing but cold hemlock.

The prince, therefore, the state, parents, and above all pupils owe honor to their teachers. Although they render it in great measure, they will never give as much as the teachers' merits deserve. A greater sum of debts will remain in the account-books, a sum which will never be crossed out except by acknowledgment and love.

Gratian, son of Valentinian, is my witness. He wrote to Ausonius his teacher in these words: "When I alone was turning over with myself the question of the consuls to be created for the year--as you know me, as I ought to have done, and as I knew you wished--I referred my decision to God. Obeying his authority, I designated you consul, declared you consul, and named you first. I have sent you a palm-embroidered robe, in which the Divine Constantine our father is woven. I have paid what I owed, and I still owe what I have paid."

CHAPTER X

Youth Must Be Kept to Its Duty by Moderate Punishments and Blows

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 1. This care too is not foreign to the state. Elsewhere I have taught that a soft and delicate education is the mother of insolence, the root of wickedness, and the nourishment of pride and irascibility. I now discuss whether all punishment ought to be confined to sharpness of words, sobriety of life, and labors suitable to youthful age, or whether the impulses of improvident minds should be restrained by fear of beatings and whips.

That age, which cannot yet be mistress of itself, has great patrons of bodily immunity: among the Greeks, Plutarch; among the Latins, Quintilian. Plutarch, a man of tested wisdom, has the greater authority; for the insolence and dissoluteness of Quintilian's pupils refuted him, not without a mark of disgrace. Nevertheless, they are accustomed to advance arguments. First, they say, it is disgraceful for an adolescent to be beaten, because base dispositions and abandoned sloth are driven to duty by whips. A noble horse needs a bridle; the slowness of asses is urged into a run by neither spurs nor clubs. Blows applied to freeborn bodies are therefore insulting.

Let the eagerness of learners be nourished by kindness, praise, little gifts, honors, and the shadowy insignia of school magistracies. Let not solicitude and fear of a raging Orbilius oppress tender minds, lest they begin to hate the sciences before they can taste their sweetness. For since the roots of the arts are bitter and are seasoned with scarcely any pleasure, their sadness ought not to be increased by the austerity of a threatening countenance, a grim brow, and the bitterness of blows. It is better to restrain adolescents by shame and liberality than by fear.

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Quintilian speaks beautifully: "I am not so unacquainted with the stages of life as to think that the tender must at once be pressed harshly and full exertion demanded from them. For this must especially be guarded against: that one who cannot yet love studies should hate them and, after once experiencing their bitterness, fear them even beyond his unformed years. Let this be play; let him be questioned and praised; sometimes let another be taught, though he himself is unwilling, so that he may envy him; let him compete from time to time and think himself victorious more often; let him be called forth by rewards which that age desires.

"I would also wish the verses set before him for imitation in writing to contain not idle sentiments, but something admonishing him of what is honorable. The memory of these things follows into old age, and what is impressed upon unformed minds will benefit their morals. It is also permissible for him to learn amid play the sayings of illustrious men and selected passages, chiefly from the poets, for acquaintance with them is more pleasing to the young."

For if dispositions are upright, tractable, obedient, and fond of studies and labor, it is madness to harass them with blows; if they are depraved, stubborn, and idle, they cannot be amended even by blows. The case has been pleaded; it remains for us to cry out: O Porcian laws and Sempronian laws! I could be popular if I approved these arguments. The Porcian law removed rods from the bodies of all Roman citizens. The Porcian law wrested the liberty of citizens from the lictor. Cicero, in his speech *For Rabirius*, and Livy say: "The Porcian law was enacted for the backs of citizens, because it established a grave penalty if anyone had beaten or killed a Roman citizen. For the Valerian law had added nothing beyond declaring that it was wickedly done." If those milder men introduce the Porcian law into the schools of the entire world, they will boast that they have brought in a new light of liberty and restored the freeborn to their former condition. But because it is of great importance to observe measure in this matter, since a master's severity has ruined many and his leniency more, I shall explain the matter briefly.

§ 2. First I determine that in this case the Porcian law does not have the force of law, and that anyone will act rightly if he corrects the errors of adolescence with blows. For he will do this by divine authority: “He who loves his son frequently applies the whip to him, that he may rejoice at his latter end and not grope for the doors of his neighbors.” Ecclesiasticus 30:1. Indeed, those men bring it about by loving their sons that they hate them most ruinously through their love. “He who spares the rod hates his son, but he who loves him instructs him earnestly.” Proverbs 13:24. For that age is capable of instruction. “Have you sons? Instruct them, and bend them from their childhood.” Nor believe him so wise that he does not need that discipline. “Folly is bound up in the heart of a child, and the rod of discipline will drive it away.” Proverbs 22:15. The Holy Spirit did not leave unspoken the fruit of so holy a severity: “Do not withhold discipline from a child; for if you strike him with a rod, he shall not die. You shall strike him with the rod and deliver his soul from hell.”

Ecclesiasticus, chapter 30, verse 8, gives the cause and necessity: “An untamed horse becomes stubborn, and an indulged son becomes headstrong. Fondle a son, and he will make you afraid; play with him, and he will grieve you. Do not laugh with him, lest you suffer sorrow and at the last your teeth be set on edge. Give him no power in his youth, and do not disregard his thoughts. Bend his neck in youth and beat his sides while he is a child, lest perhaps he become hardened and not believe you, and he become the sorrow of your soul.”

We would already have a fully pleaded case if the infinite truth of God, nowhere false and never deceiving, possessed as much weight with everyone as the moments of their private judgment. But because pseudo-politicians prefer the cleverness of their own reason to heavenly prudence, let us estimate the matter according to right reason.

§ 3. Since human desires and passions seethe most fiercely in adolescence, and since at that age there is less strength to endure and less prudence to avoid dangers, adolescents need the wisdom of another person as a stronger remedy. For adults, prisons, fetters, workhouses, evil lodgings, swords, cords of torture, crosses, and pyres are prepared, lest they dare to conceive and perpetrate crimes. A more tender age must also be restrained by its own terrors. Beginnings must be resisted; for a small error at the beginning grows beyond measure. Lines drawn from one center, almost parallel and separated by a scarcely perceptible distance, as they advance are separated from one another by an immense space.

The prince restrains drunkenness, thefts, murders, embezzlements, perjuries, and calumnies by the vigor of the laws. Far more necessary is it that their beginnings in children be restrained: sippings from cups, thefts of pens and little coins, fights and bites, plundering of gardens, little lies, and frauds. For through these lesser things they arrive at those greatest crimes.

§ 4. But let them learn to flee sins from love of virtue, not from fear of punishment. Indeed, let them love virtue and hate vices not only on account of their foulness, which they do not yet sufficiently recognize, but also on account of the company of punishments which renders the sweetness of vices bitter and horrible. Punishment causes them to interrupt their sins; interruption causes them at length to cease sinning; and cessation from sins is the beginning of virtue. That age is full of sins, as Augustine admonishes in Book 10 of *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, chapter 12.

For we are not treating only of children somewhat advanced in years, to whom certain men are unwilling to attribute sin of their own until the juncture of their fourteenth year, when they begin to reach puberty. We would rightly believe this if there were no sins except those committed with the genital members. But who would dare affirm that thefts, lies, and perjuries are not sins, unless he wished to commit such things with impunity? Yet childhood is full of them, although they do not appear punishable in children in the same way as in older persons, because it is hoped that, as years are added and reason grows strong, they will be able to understand salutary precepts better and obey them more willingly. Nevertheless, if children commit these things with impunity, there is no hope that when older they will not dare what was permitted when they were small.

Certainly, who would deny that those sins must be punished except one who has endeavored to overthrow the whole state?

But blows, they say, are not fitting for great talents. Those talents, however, must be restrained especially and frequently, because they flee labor and pursue pleasant things rather than useful ones; they must be reprov'd even by fear and blows. I shall set down a passage of Augustine, than whom no one was greater in talent, who unfolds for us the history of his own time in Book 1 of the *Confessions*, chapters 9 and 10:

“O God, my God, what miseries and mockeries I experienced there, since as a boy this was set before me as the rule for living rightly: to obey those who admonished me, so that I might flourish in this world and excel in wordy arts which serve human honor and false riches. From there I was sent to school to learn letters, though, wretched as I was, I did not know what usefulness there was in them; and nevertheless, if I was slow in learning, I was beaten.

“For this was praised by our elders, and many who lived this life before us had built in advance the sorrowful roads through which we were compelled to pass, with toil and sorrow multiplied for the sons of Adam. But, Lord, we found men praying to you, and from them we learned, perceiving as best we could, that you were some great being who, even without appearing to our senses, could hear and assist us. For as a boy I began to pray to you, my aid and refuge, and in calling upon you I broke the knots of my tongue; and, though small, I prayed

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to you with no small affection that I might not be beaten at school. And when you did not hear me--which was not to my folly--adult men laughed at us, even our parents, who wished no evil to befall me, although my blows were then a great and grievous evil to me.

“Is there anyone, Lord, so great in spirit and cleaving to you with immense affection--is there, I say, anyone (for a certain stupidity also produces this)--is there therefore anyone who, by piously cleaving to you, is so grandly disposed that he esteems racks, iron claws, and various tortures of this kind so lightly, though throughout all lands men supplicate you with great fear to escape them, that he laughs at those who fear them most bitterly, just as our parents laughed at the torments with which we boys were afflicted by our masters? For we neither feared those torments less nor prayed to you less to escape them; and yet we sinned by writing, reading, or thinking about letters less than was required of us.

“For, Lord, we did not lack memory or talent, which you willed us to possess sufficiently for that age, but we delighted in play, and punishment was exacted from us by those who certainly did the same things. But the trifles of adults are called business, while the like trifles of children are punished by adults; and no one pities either the children, or those adults, or both. Unless, indeed, any good judge of affairs approves my being beaten because, as a boy, I played ball and by that game was hindered from learning letters as quickly as I should--letters with which, as an adult, I would play more shamefully.

“For the very man by whom I was beaten did nothing different: if he was defeated by a fellow teacher in some petty question, he was tormented more by anger and envy than I was when overcome by a fellow player in a contest of ball. And nevertheless I sinned, Lord God, ordainer and creator of all natural things, but ordainer only--not creator--of sins. O Lord my God, I sinned by acting against the precepts of my parents and of those masters. For afterwards I could make good use of the letters which they wished me to learn, whatever their intention toward me. I was disobedient not because I chose better things, but from love of play, loving proud victories in contests and loving to have my ears scratched by false tales so that they might itch more ardently with that same curiosity, which sparkled more and more perilously through my eyes toward the spectacles and games of adults.

“Yet those who produce these spectacles excel with such dignity that almost all wish it for their little children; and nevertheless they willingly allow those children to be beaten if they are hindered by such spectacles from the study through which their parents desire them to arrive at producing those very spectacles. Look mercifully upon these things, Lord, and deliver us who now call upon you; deliver also those who do not yet call upon you, that they may call upon you and that you may deliver them.”

But what need is there of reasoning? For where can sins be unpunished without overflowing and growing beyond measure? It is the custom of all nations to instruct their sons by caresses and blows.

§ 5. But blows produce servile spirits. Rather, they produce amended spirits. Not only asses are driven by blows: the strength of horses is tamed for human uses by hard curb-bits and the rod, and whips teach the fiercest and most intelligent dogs. The son of Peleus himself, the bravest of the Danaans, was educated thus:

The son of Philyra perfected the boy Achilles with the lyre,

And subdued his fierce spirit by the gentle art.

He who so often terrified his allies and so often his enemies

Is believed to have feared the aged old man.

At his master's demand, he offered to the blows

The hands which Hector was destined to feel.

Nevertheless, a prudent master's clemency will employ moderation, so that he neither grants license to sloth and vices nor, by cruelty, makes himself and the most beautiful studies objects of hatred. These very few laws will suffice.

First: let him never punish when angry. For he himself will easily exceed the measure, and the accused will think that he is being punished by the master's anger, not by his own desert. For an angry man expends punishments for himself, not for the amendment of youth.

Second: let him be neither precipitate in punishing nor excessive in investigating. For he who punishes quickly is not far from punishing willingly.

Third: let him overlook whatever can be overlooked without public or private injury. For he punishes not because a sin has been committed, but lest sin be committed.

Fourth: let him abstain altogether from inflicting insult by word or deed. Let him employ only the reproof which a father also customarily uses.

Fifth: let him never call anyone by any name other than his own name or surname. For insulting nicknames offend grievously and produce hatred, not amendment. They cling even to adults.

Sixth: let punishment always remain within measure, and let chastisement at a tender age not be equal to the offense. For one who has deserved greater things, it is enough to beat him with a strap; for one who has deserved blows, it is often enough to have terrified him with threats.

Seventh: ordinarily let expulsion avenge graver offenses which demand punishments more atrocious than a father should inflict. For it does not befit a professor to rage, even against those who deserve it; an unaccustomed harshness of punishment brings infamy upon schools.

I am pleased to append here a judicial history, as Guevara, that most prudent counselor of kings, relates it in Book 2, chapter 37. Dicaearchus, the Greek historian, in his book of antiquities, and Sabellicus in his general history, say that a father came to Solon of Salamis to complain about his son, and the son about his father; and that the son, speaking first, instituted his accusation before the philosopher in this sense:

"I complain about my father because, although he is rich and I poor, although he is my father and I his only son, he has disowned me while living and made an adopted son his heir. My father neither ought nor was able to do this. For since I owe it to him that by nature I am so frail, it is equitable that he furnish me resources to sustain and support nature's weakness."

To this the father said: “I complain about my son because he has been to me not in the place of a son but of a mortal enemy. For in all matters, from his very cradle, he has always opposed me; and therefore I have disinherited him while living. Nothing would be more pleasant to me than if, just as I deprived him of an inheritance, so the gods deprived him of life. For the earth is most cruel which does not swallow alive an execrable son who has no reverence and obedience toward his father. As to his saying that I have adopted an entirely new son, I confess that this is true. But as to his saying that he has been deprived of an inheritance by me although begotten of my blood, I answer this: I am not disowning my son; I am disinheriting his luxury from the product of my labor. For nothing is more inequitable than that a flagitious adolescent son should be warmed and refreshed as though in baths by the sweat flowing drop by drop from the body of his aged father.”

The son responded thus to this speech of his father: “I do not deny that I have been troublesome to my father, and I confess that I have lived luxuriously and flagitiously. But if the truth must be spoken, the fact that I became luxurious and wicked was my father’s fault, because he did not form me while I was a boy; and if he disowns me for that reason, he inflicts the greatest injury upon me. For the father who does not educate and instruct his son well when young unjustly disowns him when old.”

The father, responding again, said: “It is true, son, that when you were very small you were treated by me with the greatest indulgence. But this too has not escaped you: when you were older, you were frequently both instructed

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and chastised by me. The reason you were not imbued with teaching in infancy was that at that tender little age you were not capable of discipline. But when I educated you by both teaching and good discipline, there were present both a mind capable of precepts, an age suitable for acting, and powers firm enough for exercise. For upon one who lacks both aptitude and strength, the labor of teaching is expended in vain.”

Here the son spoke again: “Because you are old and I am young; because you are my father and I your son; because you are white in beard and head and I am beardless; because you have more experience, as one who has seen more, while I have experienced fewer things, as one who in age is still a youth [the end of the parenthetical phrase is indistinct in the print]--it appears most equitable that you should be believed and I condemned. For it often happens in the common course of life that he who has less authority therefore departs defeated from a most just case.

“I confess, my father, that when I was a boy you took care that I should be imbued with letters. But you will not deny that, if I had committed some fault, you did not permit me to be chastised and punished. From this it came about that, because you allowed me to do what pleased me while I was a boy, I became disobedient to you after I grew older. Therefore I rightly add this: if I am accused of offense and fault in this matter, you are certainly not altogether free of responsibility for my fault. For it is not the duty of parents to teach their sons in tender years to dispute about what the virtues are, but to accustom them to the pursuit of virtue and invite them by rewards. For it is an immense good if, as adolescents, we arrive at that advanced age at which we begin to recognize evil already accustomed and instructed to act well thereafter.”

After hearing and carefully weighing the reasons of both parties, Solon of Salamis said: “I deliver this judgment: that this adolescent’s father, because he did not chastise him even when he was a boy, shall lack burial after he has died; and I command that this father’s son, because he did not believe and obey his father while he was an adolescent, shall lack the inheritance while his father lives, on this condition: that after the father has died, his son shall enter upon his inheritance. For it would be most unjust that the son’s innocence should pay the penalties of the father’s wickedness.

“I likewise command that all these goods be deposited with a man of good faith, who shall from them give support to the father as long as he lives and make a tomb for the son after he has died. I have not without cause delivered this judgment, which embraces both life and death. For the gods do not will there to be a double punishment for one crime,

but will some to be punished in life by the loss of honor or possessions, and others in death by the removal of memory and burial.”

CHAPTER XI

Learning Is Honorable and Necessary to the State

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 1. Under the name of learning I embrace knowledge of all the liberal arts and sciences, and even skill in sacred laws and theology. I shall now treat these generally, and then individually.

Someone has said incorrectly: “Many embrace evil things; no one accuses what is good.” For many accuse knowledge, and philosophy certainly had its detractors of old. Licinius was so unlearned that he could not even sign his own name upon official documents. He burned with such hatred of letters that he called letters a pest and public calamity. He hated rhetoricians and philosophers most bitterly and said that they were the virus and poison of the state. But he, brought up by a rustic father among the barbarous Dacians, was equitable only toward them. Yet this vice is rare. For the splendor of letters and their dignity are so great that most princes even hunt after the reputation of learning and flee the reputation of ignorance. Nero was the first among those who gained supreme power to need another man’s eloquence. Tacitus, Book 13: for he recited Seneca’s speeches in order to commend himself to the Senate and people by the praise of eloquence.

How much the learning of many men, especially nobles and magnates, contributes to the state is easily understood in any private person. For learning brings it about, as that man used to say, that stone does not sit upon stone. As much as Socrates surpasses Batto, and Atticus Bambalio, so much does a state polished by letters surpass an unlearned one.

§ 2. For the pursuit of wisdom is contained chiefly in letters. But a state cannot subsist unless he who commands possesses and cultivates the pursuit of wisdom. The counsels of wise men must certainly be heard; otherwise all decrees of princes which are supported neither by law nor wisdom cannot be protected by the mere force of the ruler. Through either the reproach of subjects or the praise of a successor, responses given without counsel are abolished.

First, therefore, I require a learned prince, such as Solomon was. “God,” he says in Wisdom 7:17, “gave me true knowledge of the things that are: that I might know the disposition of the globe of the earth and the powers of the elements, the beginning and ending and midst of times, the alterations of their courses and the changes of seasons, the mutations of customs and divisions of times, the courses of the year and arrangements of the stars, the natures of animals and the rages of beasts, the force of winds and the thoughts of men, the diversities of plants and the powers of roots; and all things that are hidden and unforeseen I learned, for wisdom, the artificer of all things, taught me.”

How greatly it harms the state when most princes are governed and follow whatever anyone, induced by money, hatred, or favor, has whispered into their ear, all kingdoms have taught. Yet this is the second happiness and wisdom: to follow the wise. For the first part of wisdom is not to believe oneself wise; and he who wishes to be good will accomplish this in no easier way than by believing himself evil, so that through repentance he may become good.

Προνοίας οὐδὲν ἀνθρώποις ἔφν

κέρδος λαβεῖν ἄμεινον, οὐδὲ νοῦ σοφοῦ.

For human beings there is no advantage greater or better than prudence and a wise mind.

Nor would I wish the Roman laws to be believed more on my authority than on that of the prince himself. “The imperial Majesty,” he says, “ought not only to be adorned with arms but also armed with laws, so that either time, both of wars and of peace, may be rightly governed; and so that the Roman Prince may not only stand forth victorious in battles against enemies, but may also expel the iniquities of calumniators through lawful paths, and become both a most religious observer of law and a magnificent triumphator over vanquished enemies.”

He will never be able to do this unless he himself knows the laws by which he commands, just as he will not wage war properly unless practiced in camps. Deservedly, therefore, the Authentic *Concerning Judges* ordains that they not be unlearned: “We, therefore, seeing the arrangement of judges altogether confused, have thought it necessary to determine by this law the things which may impose a becoming order upon a case. For we have not thought it necessary to have the names of certain judges, especially men unlearned in the laws and, moreover, lacking experience of cases. For our administrators are in every way accompanied by assessors, who explain matters of law and fulfill their duties; since many, detained by the cares which they have with us, deservedly discharge their part in judgments through the presence of their assessors. But those men, having neither a belt of office nor an administration entrusted by us, if they cannot by themselves know what is just but must beg from elsewhere for the honor of judging--

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how will it not be the greatest defect of the state to entrust lawsuits not to those who know from themselves what must be done, but to permit them to seek others from whom they may learn what it befits them to pronounce in judging?”

§ 3. This too is a remarkable advantage of a learned prince: he alone possesses counselors of whom some are altogether incorrupt and others timidly wicked. Those who speak a most upright opinion without hope and fear are dead men; for princes read in them things which no one ventures to tell them. They would not endure being told by a friend the things which they delight to read in unknown men; they delight in reproaches being made against their errors when those authors threaten with a public voice. Since, therefore, even those who apply themselves to the disciplines with great zeal and devote themselves to governing the state frequently err, what must be thought of those whom ignorance and torpor, like golden rams, have given as prey to cunning men?

For although a prince may possess a great intellect and a grave and prudent nature, he nevertheless cannot administer the state with certainty and without fear. For he possesses nothing except opinion, which is accustomed both to deceive and to be deceived. And even when he has conceived some most illustrious measure, he must hand it over to jurists for examination, from whom he afterwards receives it as though dictated, and by his own authority publishes among the people what was conceived by another mind.

They enumerate for us as learned princes Solon, Epaminondas, Philip of Macedon, Alexander, Philopoemen, Romulus, Remus, Caesar, Octavian, Tiberius, Claudius, the Antonines, Constantine, the Theodosii, Charlemagne and Charles V, Robert king of Jerusalem, Emperor Sigismund, and Alfonso of Aragon. From ancient peoples they also name Mithridates and Chosroes. Lipsius treats them in his *Monita*, as do many others. They do not even exclude women: Zenobia, Amalasuntha, Isabella, and others. I value more highly the fact that all those learned rulers surrounded their sides with the most learned men and thus most excellently established very many things.

§ 4. For this reason alone, learned kings and a learned state find approval with me: I readily observe that it is a singular privilege of the Christian religion to excel in the liberal arts and sciences. For if we weigh history, we shall easily understand that the whole world yields the palm to Christians. Although the ancients lacked neither talents nor time, and although diligence even abounded, they nevertheless could in no way reach the summit of the sciences to which Christians ascended. Pythagoras, Democritus, and Plato traveled through Egypt, Asia, and India to acquire learning for themselves; Crates the Theban cast away his wealth; Cleanthes supported his studies by drawing water. Yet it will be evident that they accomplished little by so great an exertion if they are compared with Christians, so that it is like a prodigy that the philosophers of the gentiles, though so studious, remained fixed in so many and such great errors.

The Chinese also in our time, although many expend their entire life upon studies and although the fruit of study is very great, can nevertheless scarcely compare their most learned men with our adolescents. They first learned from Father Matteo Ricci that the earth is not square, and other matters. Father Nicolaus Trigautius narrates the affair in Book 4, chapter 5, of the expedition among the Chinese. By nothing else did Father Matteo equally lead the entire multitude of Chinese philosophers into astonishment as by the novelty of European sciences confirmed by the firmest reasons. For now, for the first time after so many ages, it was heard that the earth was round. They held as though for a

first principle a certain old axiom: "Heaven is round, but the earth square." No one knew that a center lay in its middle, either summoning all heavy bodies to itself or receiving them when they fall by their own inclination; that the whole surface around it is inhabited; or that antipodal human beings stand opposite human beings without falling--matters to which, although the intellect assents, the imaginative faculty of many does not yet acquiesce.

Until then it was unheard of that an eclipse of the moon results from the earth being placed between the sun and moon. In explaining it they devised absurdities more defective than the moon itself. Among these interpreters, some said that the moon, placed opposite the sun, lost its light from astonishment. Others perforated the sun itself in the middle and asserted that the moon, when opposite this opening of the sun, could not receive light from the sun. It was novel that the sun exceeds the whole globe of the earth in magnitude, although some more readily allowed themselves to be led to believe this because it was established that it had also been written in the monuments of books by the ancient mathematicians of their kingdom, who, after measuring the sun, had found it to exceed a thousand miles in their mathematical instruments. But that the stars themselves, which our eyes measure by so small a space, exceed the entire surface of the earth--this at last seemed a paradox. It had not yet been understood, nor even said, that the heavens consist of solid matter, that the stars remain fixed in it and do not wander irregularly, that ten celestial spheres are numbered, that one is enclosed by another, and that they are borne by different motions. From these things it is established that every commonplace matter was unknown to them.

§ 5. But in the Christian state, even apart from sacred theology, there is such great knowledge of foreign matters that heathendom has nowhere beheld anything equal to it, or even second to it. For if we retrace ancient things, the very beginnings of the Christian religion will supply Christian philosophers far more excellent than the pagans were. Dionysius the Areopagite, a man illustrious in knowledge and reputation and a disciple of Paul, then at last discovered true philosophy. In the times of Dionysius there was also Aristides of Athens, a most eloquent philosopher, as St. Jerome calls him. Quadratus followed, then Justin, Pantaenus, and Ammonius, whom Porphyry prefers to all.

Ammonius had many illustrious hearers, both Christian and gentile. Among the Christians was Origen, to whose learning Porphyry, an enemy of our piety, bore witness: "I saw Origen when I was still a very young boy, occupying the citadel of all learning, as is also proved by those things which he handed down to the memory of posterity. This is that Origen whose immense glory is held among their teachers. He had attained all the secrets of Plato; he had been instructed in the books of Numenius, Cronius, Apollophanes, Longinus, Moderatus, and Nicomachus; and in Pythagorean matters the commentaries of the highest men had not escaped him. He also touched upon the volumes of Chaeremon the Stoic and Cornutus."

Jerome agrees: "I shall not leave unspoken this fact concerning his immortal intellect: that he also learned dialectic, geometry, arithmetic, music, grammar, rhetoric, and the sects of all the philosophers." Origen's pupils were many and weighty men, to whom most of the gentiles yielded. In the succeeding times there followed Basil the Great, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Augustine, Victorinus, Vegetius, and Albinus. And if we judge rightly, the Catholic world numbers so many thousands of bishops governing churches

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that, although the learning of them all is unequal, all heathendom nevertheless has not equaled the learning of one century either in number or in excellence. But this, though more marvelous, is nevertheless true: if the learned men who flourished in Greece and in the Roman state before the beginning of the Christian religion, and those who excelled in knowledge of matters in Christian times, are collected, they will yield to one city. They will not be able to equal in learning the Roman Church's pontiffs alone who were distinguished in philosophy and secular letters.

Clement I--whether he was Actius Clemens, to whom Pliny wrote, or another man--was most devoted to philosophy and committed excellent monuments to writing. See Baronius at the year 102 and in the *Martyrology* at July 2; Franciscus Turrianus against the Centuriators; and Delrio in his *Vindiciae* against Scaliger. Linus and Cletus too were

noble Romans illustrious in letters. Hyginus was the most celebrated philosopher of his time when he was chosen for the pontificate.

And although the secular learning of Alexander, Sixtus, Pius, Telesphorus, and Soter is less known, from the letters which survive we readily gather that they were most learned men. His own writings teach that Cornelius was certainly not unequal in learning to Cyprian and others, as do those of Stephen and his successors.

Felix I and Eutychianus held famous disputations against Sabellius, Paul of Samosata, and the Manichaeans.

Liberius and Felix were men even of excessive and calamitous learning: for Liberius, from fear, subscribed to the condemnation of St. Athanasius, and Felix succeeded to his see by no good example.

Among these Damasus, the oracle of the world, was eminent in wisdom, eloquence, skill in governing, and love of learned men.

Innocent, famous also for his defense of St. Chrysostom even after Chrysostom's death, was not greatly unequal to Damasus.

These learned centuries, agitated by heresies, possessed most learned pontiffs. Thus Innocent was succeeded by Zosimus, he by Boniface I, and Boniface by Celestine I, whom Augustine also consulted. At that time the hidden contagions of the Manichaeans and of other sects were creeping about, as were those of the Arians, Origenists, Pelagians, Nestorians, Acephali, Eutychians, Predestinarians, and Iconoclasts. They disturbed the Church not only by corrupting the Scriptures and ecclesiastical writers but also by vain philosophy. And so God, the supreme shepherd, gave the Church leaders who would meet the raging men on equal ground, armed in every part, and protect the Church by sacred and profane knowledge.

Leo the Great was then elected, who proved his teaching even to the succeeding world. Hilary, Simplicius, Felix III, Gelasius I, Symmachus I, Hormisdas, Vigilius, Gregory the Great, Leo II, John V, Gregory II, Stephen II, Paschal I, Eugenius II, Gregory IV, Nicholas the Great--who represented Gregory the Great in learning and virtues--John XVI, Eugenius III, Gregory XIII, Sixtus V, and Innocent IX also came into the number of the learned. Learning is therefore a peculiar dowry of the Church and is for that reason especially to be commended to the state. And if we also consider the present times and the lyceums of so many academies, no one can doubt that at this one time more learned men are living than all Greece possessed of old, from the age of Solon and the other sages down to the irruption of the Muslims, if you except the Christians.

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 6. Not wise men, but a certain factious and unlearned class of courtiers, are accustomed to advance two objections against learning. The first is that tyrants have proceeded from philosophers. The second is that letters are an impediment to civil and military prudence. For Phalaris was a philosopher, as were Tiberius and Julian. Sicily endured Cyclopes at first and then tyrants, most of whom, however, were educated in Greece.

Indeed, Rhodiginus, Book 22, chapter 21, judges that philosophers commanded more cruelly: "For as many as proceeded from the schools of philosophers and seized tyrannies are found to have exercised them more cruelly, avariciously, and savagely than men altogether ignorant of letters. With what ferocity, I beseech you, did Ariston, nurtured in the schools of the Epicureans, oppress the liberty of his Athenian fatherland? Before him, did not Critias also do so, together with those who were initiated with Critias into the mysteries of philosophy? What shall I say of Pythagoras? What of those very Seven Sages and the others who attempted to undertake the weight of the greatest affairs? Are they not found to have used command most cruelly?"

"The excessive cruelty of Athenion among the Athenians during the Mithridatic War became known from Athenaeus. Nor is the tyranny of Lysias of Tarsus, issuing from the schools of the philosophers, unknown. When his fatherland

had chosen him *stephanephoros*, that is, priest of Hercules, once he had seized command he did not lay it down but openly played the tyrant. Moved by the bloody savagery of these men, Demochares--or perhaps it was Crates--is reported to have said wittily: 'Just as no one could fashion a spear from savory, so neither could one fashion a blameless soldier from Socrates.'"

I could certainly have wished so learned a man to speak more circumspectly. For he could have been moved by the reasons which he himself brought forward. Socrates, in Book 5 of Plato's *Republic (On Justice)*, says: "Unless philosophers become masters of cities, or those who are now called kings and potentates philosophize legitimately and sufficiently, and unless civil power and philosophy meet in the same persons, while these are not--as now happens--handled by different dispositions, there will be no rest from evils for the city or, as my opinion bears, for the human race; nor will this state which we have set forth in words arise according to its powers and behold the light of the sun before then."

And Tully writes to his brother Quintus: "Plato, the chief of intellect and learning, judged that this conjunction of power and wisdom could be the salvation of cities." Julius Capitolinus also relates that Antoninus the philosopher-emperor kept the same maxim upon his lips. These are Caelius's own words.

But the things which he himself advanced are weak. We do not admit Ariston the Epicurean to be a philosopher: he was ignorant of defining, dividing, and discoursing, a child in physics, and depraved in morals, since he did everything for his own sake alone. But that aim is diametrically opposed to the office of a prince, whose duty it is to prefer the public good to private advantage.

The other is Critias, one of the Thirty Tyrants and by far the cruelest and most avaricious of them. But I marvel greatly that Caelius, a man

πολυμαθῆ,

learned in many things, uses against learning that example by which learning itself is most clearly illustrated. For Xenophon relates in Book 1 of the sayings and deeds of Socrates that Socrates was accused on account of his pupils Critias and Alcibiades. I shall disclose Xenophon's words, though they are rather lengthy, because in the same manner this same lawsuit is brought against our Society and against many academies.

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Xenophon's words are these: "Yet the accuser said that he had been the cause of the laws of the city being despised, by saying that it was foolish for magistrates in the city to be chosen by votes, since no one ever employs a helmsman, a craftsman, a flute-player, or any others like them appointed by lot, although mistakes in those occupations inflict much lighter injuries than those committed in a city by its rulers. He said that these discourses incited young men to despise the state and rendered them violent.

"But I judge that those who cultivate prudence and think that by admonition they can show their fellow citizens the things that are advantageous to them ought least of all to be violent, since they know that force is followed by enmities and dangers, whereas by persuasion the same things can be accomplished without danger and with friendship. For those who are compelled hate as though they had been despoiled; but those who have been persuaded love as though they had received something pleasing. It therefore by no means belongs to those who cultivate prudence to inflict violence upon anyone, but to those who possess power without reason. Moreover, he who dares to employ force needs no small number of helpers; but he who persuades needs none, for he thinks himself sufficient by himself to persuade. Furthermore, it least of all falls to such men to kill anyone. For who would wish to destroy someone rather than use him alive and persuaded as he wishes?

"But the adversaries also added this: that Critias and Alcibiades, after hearing Socrates, afflicted the city with many injuries. For Critias, when the constitution of the city had come into the hands of a few, became one of them and was by far the most avaricious and violent of all. Alcibiades, however, while the people still held command, was the most

unjust and incontinent of all. If they brought any evil upon the city, I shall not answer for it; but I shall narrate how their association and familiarity with Socrates arose.

“These men were by nature by far the most ambitious of all Athenians. They desired all things to be conducted through themselves and desired to become as celebrated as possible. Since, therefore, they knew that Socrates lived abundantly upon very little money, was most abstinent from all pleasures, and used all who conversed with him as he wished by the power of his discourse, when they saw these things and possessed the character stated a little above, would anyone think that they desired Socrates’ company from a longing for his life and moderation, or because they supposed that, if they enjoyed his company, they would become most capable of saying and doing whatever they wished? For I judge that, if one of the gods had given them the choice either to live their whole life as they saw Socrates living or to die, they would rather have chosen death. This is clear from their deeds. For as soon as they judged themselves more eloquent than others in persuading, they immediately left Socrates and devoted themselves to governing the state, the principal reason for which they had desired to hear Socrates.

“But perhaps someone will say in reply that Socrates ought first to have handed down sobriety and moderation to his hearers, and only afterwards the science of governing the state. I do not contradict this. Yet I see that all who teach both show their pupils in their own persons how they do the things which they teach and introduce them by discourse. I also know that Socrates showed himself to his hearers as a good and honorable man and discoursed most excellently about virtue and all other human matters. I know too that those men were moderate and sober while they associated with Socrates--not because they feared suffering some injury or being beaten with blows by Socrates, but because at that time they judged this to be advantageous to themselves.

“Perhaps certain of those who call themselves philosophers will say that a just man can never become unjust, a moderate man insolent, or one learned in any matter in which teaching has been handed down unlearned in that which he learned. But I think differently about these matters. For I see that, just as bodily actions cannot be done well by those who do not exercise their bodies, so too those who do not exercise the mind are least able to perform the mind’s actions. For they can neither do the things which must be done nor abstain from those from which they must abstain.

“For this reason, even if fathers know their sons to be sober, they nevertheless prohibit them from conversation with depraved men, as though association with good men were an exercise of virtue and that of depraved men its destruction. The poet who says this also bears witness:

You will indeed learn good things from good men;

But if you mingle with the depraved, you will lose even your inborn understanding.

“And so does he who says:

A good man is at one time strong, at another weak.

“I too assent to them. For I see that, just as those who do not employ continual practice readily forget songs, so those who neglect the discourses and admonitions of their teachers hand them over to oblivion. But when someone has forgotten those discourses, he also forgets those things by which his mind is moved to desire sobriety. Once this has happened, it is surely no marvel that he also hands sobriety itself over to oblivion.”

Thus Critias and Alcibiades were corrupted by vices before they approached Socrates. They approached familiarity with Socrates not for the sake of philosophizing but for hunting after fame and eloquence. Nevertheless, during that time they conducted themselves modestly. Finally, when they again lived with the wicked, each returned to his own disposition and held Socrates in hatred. Indeed, as tyrants were bound to do, they enacted a law that no one should speak about virtue, justice, or temperance unless he was thirty years old. They therefore touched philosophy too lightly to be able to dishonor it by their impure contact.

§ 7. I do not know of what Rhodiginus especially accuses Pythagoras, for by authority and persuasion he recalled the Crotoniates, who had been ruined by luxury, to frugality and the pursuit of justice. He then migrated to Metapontum and died there. He exercised no tyranny except against vices.

He even defames the seven men of Greece whom they call sages. This is done not only with injustice but with scarcely pardonable

ἀνεξοφία,

that is, folly. Solon certainly was not cruel, for he mitigated Draco's laws, written in blood, which punished every offense with death, even the fault of idleness and the theft of vegetables. At length, fleeing the tyranny of Pisistratus, he went to Egypt and then Cyprus. He also conferred very much upon Croesus, until at last in Cilicia Solon founded an Athenian colony, becoming in part a new father of his country.

I confess that Periander the Corinthian acted as a tyrant, but he was cruel through fear. For it was not safe for him to escape from the royal power handed down to him by his father Cypselus as though by hereditary right, lest he expose himself, his father's friends, and his whole family to the fury of a most corrupt populace. Nevertheless, he adorned the city, continually waged wars, held the kingdom for forty years, and, like Augustus, when wearied of cruelty at last admitted clemency. Aristotle certainly defends his cruel model in Book 3 of the *Politics*, chapter 12: when he answered Thrasybulus nothing, but leveled the crop by cutting off the taller ears. Pittacus administered the state of Mytilene with modesty of life and learning, without any suspicion of tyranny. Nor did Bias commit any other offense against Priene, his fatherland, than this--if it is an offense--that, fleeing when it was captured, he said, "I carry all my possessions with me."

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Chilon the Lacedaemonian, who was one of the sages, employed no tyranny, unless these sayings of his which were consecrated at Delphi are held to be tyrannical: "Know yourself"; "Desire nothing excessively"; "Misery is the companion of debt and litigation." He died from the force of joy upon hearing that his son was victor at the Olympic games, and thus all Greece attended his funeral. It would never have done this for a tyrant, for the name of tyrant is hateful even when stripped of power.

Cleobulus, or Cleobolus, was far removed from tyranny. He said that good must be done to friends and enemies: to enemies in order that we may render them friends, to friends in order that we may render them still more friendly. Tyrants destroy enemies, distrust friends, and thereby make them enemies.

Thales of Miletus did not even hold command. He lived peaceably and died in extreme old age while watching the games in the fifty-eighth Olympiad.

Athenion, after releasing the prisoners in the workhouses and the *volones*, subdued Drepanum. He was a prudent and learned man, but the cause of the war is obscure. It has therefore in no way been proved that philosophy and learning are the cause of tyranny, just as a pottery does not fashion tyrants although Agathocles was the offspring of a potter. Learned men can nevertheless aspire to command more easily, since they cannot be ignorant of histories, passions, revolutions, deceits, and frauds, and know the entire art of ruling. If justice and piety are absent, it is no wonder that they readily occupy a tyranny and render it secure by political arts once occupied.

CHAPTER XII

The Study of Letters Does Not Obstruct Political Prudence, Whether Civil or Military

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 1. This was the second objection which the unskilled advance against us--and sometimes even learned men do so. Nor is the answer as obvious as it appears to many. For the errors of many compel us to censure certain kinds of study. Some remove mathematicians from the state because, being accustomed to

ἀκριβολογίαις ἀποδεικτικαῖς,

the most exact demonstrations, they preserve the same lines in the state, although that versatile wheel of cities demands equity, *ἐπιείκειαν*--equitable flexibility--dissimulation, and other things. They spurn grammarians as base, philosophers as skeptics, poets as madmen, rhetoricians as turbulent, jurists as sowers of lawsuits, and theologians as enemies of liberty. Among them only

ἀμύμων καὶ ἄμωμος,

ignorance, the rustic goddess, is without fault and reproach.

Indeed, I remember that pleasant stories in Greek concerning scholastics were once commonly circulated. For certain men indulge speculations to such a degree that they are altogether unfit for obtaining food and for human association. This is a vice not of the arts but of men. For they cut many matters too finely and conduct them to useless subtlety, and so lead the mind into bonds rather than raise and elevate it. What happens in letters happens in all matters: what is excessive is vicious; that is excessive which detains minds destined for useful things upon useless ones.

“For concerning those men,” says Seneca in chapter 13 of *On the Brevity of Life*, “no one will doubt that they laboriously do nothing, since they are detained in studies of useless letters; and among the Romans too there is now a great band of them. It was a sickness of the Greeks to inquire what number of rowers Ulysses had, whether the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* was written first, whether they were by the same author, and then other questions of this stamp. If you keep these things to yourself, they do nothing to assist your silent conscience; if you publish them, you will appear not more learned but more troublesome.”

For the more effort such men expend, the more they impede themselves. And as in a labyrinth, the more anyone hastens toward the exit, the more he entangles himself and the farther he is from the door. Many did not find necessary things because they sought superfluous ones. “The quibbling of words,” says Seneca in Epistle 45, “and captious disputations which exercise an ineffectual acuteness have taken much time from them. We weave snares and attach an ambiguous signification to words, and then dissolve it. Have we so much leisure? Do we now know how to live and how to die? The whole mind must proceed to that place where provision must be made lest things, not words, deceive us. Why do you distinguish for me similarities of words by which no one has ever been caught except while disputing? Things deceive; distinguish them.”

The wretched diligence of Tiberius appeared thus to the learned. Suetonius, chapter 70: “He chiefly cultivated knowledge of fabulous history, even to foolishness and derision. For he also assailed grammarians, a class of men to which, as we have said, he was especially devoted, and generally tested them with questions of this kind: Who was Hecuba’s mother? What name had Achilles among the maidens? What were the Sirens accustomed to sing? And on the first day on which he entered the Senate after the death of Augustus, as though about to satisfy piety and religion together, following the example of Minos he made supplication with incense and wine, but without a flute-player, as Minos had formerly done upon the death of his son.”

No better was that archbishop concerning whom our Laelius Bisciola writes in Book 3, chapter 1, of his *Leisure Hours*: “When I was studying theology at Padua, I knew the archbishop of that most flourishing city in Italy, already advanced in age, a learned, talented, acute, and grave man. If you wished to confer with him about theology and divine wisdom, you would see him contract his brow, raise his eyebrow, and by manifest signs turn away from discourse of this kind. But if you intended to communicate something to him concerning modals, conversions, mixtures, maximum and minimum, proportions and degrees of action, passion, reaction, and repassion, he would brighten his countenance, exult, and triumph with joy.

“Nights and days this old and grave archbishop was wholly occupied in explaining the theory of modals. He wrote upon that argument, wrote in reply, conferred with this man and that, censured one man’s explanation and commended another’s, and never satisfied himself. Yet he did not rest even in that position if someone else appeared to him to have found something more probable, which he soon altered again. He also instituted a treatise concerning the cause and origin of laughter; and because in it, while refuting the opinions of all other ancient and recent philosophers, he seemed to himself to have touched the matter itself as with a needle, he so pleased himself that you might say he had joined the great emperor of the Turks to the faith and religion of Christ.”

Bisciola himself judges rightly concerning him with the saying in Stobaeus, Sermon 8:

ὁ ἐλλέβορος ὀλοσχερέστερος μὲν ληφθεὶς καθαίρει, εἰς δὲ πᾶν σμικρὰ τριφθεὶς πνίγει· οὕτω καὶ ἡ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λεπτολογία.

Hellebore purges when taken in rather large pieces; but when it is ground into the smallest particles, it suffocates. So too does empty and excessive subtlety in philosophy.

§ 2. For these reasons those arts also had a bad reputation of old. Zeno at the beginning

τῶν ἐγκυκλίων παιδείαν ἄχρηστον ἀποφαίνει,

declares the encyclopedic, or liberal, arts useless. Yet the Stoics were excessive in subtleties, so that it is astonishing that Zeno, the chief of the Stoics, thought thus. It is true that many empty things are taught by those men. They inquire into the ages of Achilles and Patroclus

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and where Ulysses wandered. Concerning this Bion says rightly in Stobaeus, Sermon 8:

Τοὺς γραμματικοὺς ζητοῦντας τὰς τοῦ Ὀδυσσεὺς πλάνας μὴ ἐξετάζειν τὴν ἰδίαν, μηδὲ καθορᾶν ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ πλανῶνται, ἀσχολούμενοι περὶ τὰ μηδὲν χρήσιμα.

Grammarians who seek the wanderings of Ulysses do not seek their own, nor do they perceive that they err in this very thing: that they labor over useless matters.

Seneca describes and condemns this entire class in Epistle 88: “But, you say, knowledge of many arts delights me. Let us therefore retain from them only as much as is necessary. Or do you think a man is to be censured who procures useless things for himself and displays a pomp of precious objects in his house, but not one who is occupied with useless furniture of letters? To wish to know more than is sufficient is a kind of intemperance.

“What of the fact that this pursuit of the liberal arts makes men troublesome, verbose, unseasonable, and self-satisfied, and therefore not learners of necessary things because they have learned superfluous ones? Didymus the grammarian wrote four thousand books. He would be wretched if he had merely read so many superfluous things. In these books the fatherland of Homer is investigated; in these, who was the true mother of Aeneas; in these, whether Anacreon lived more lustfully or more drunkenly; in these, whether Sappho was a public prostitute; and other matters which, if you knew them, ought to be unlearned. Go now and deny that life is long!

“But when you come to our own men too, I shall show you many things to be cut away with axes. At a great expenditure of time and with great annoyance to the ears of others is this praise acquired: ‘O learned man!’ Let us be content with this more rustic title: ‘O good man!’ Is it so? Shall I unroll the annals of all nations and inquire who first wrote verses? Though I have no chronological tables, shall I calculate how much time lies between Orpheus and Homer? Shall I review the marks of Aristarchus with which he punctured another’s verses and consume my life upon syllables? Shall I thus cling to the dust of geometry? Has that salutary precept so fallen from me: ‘Spare time’? Shall I know these things in order that I may be ignorant of what?

“Appion the grammarian, who under Gaius Caesar was carried about through all Greece and adopted by all the cities into the name of Homer, used to say that Homer, after completing both subjects, the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*, added a beginning to his work in which he embraced the Trojan War. As proof of this matter he advanced the fact that in the first verse Homer had deliberately placed two letters containing the number of his books. A man who wishes to know many things must know such things.

“Do you not wish to consider how much time ill health takes from you, how much public occupation, how much private occupation, how much daily occupation, how much sleep? Measure your life: it does not contain so many things. I am speaking about liberal studies; how much that is superfluous do philosophers possess, how much that departs from use? They too descended to distinctions of syllables and the properties of conjunctions and prepositions, and envied grammarians and geometers. Whatever was superfluous in the arts of those men, they transferred into their own. Thus it came about that they know more diligently how to speak than how to live.

“Hear how much evil excessive subtlety produces and how hostile it is to truth. Protagoras says that one can dispute on either side of every matter equally, even on this very question, whether every matter can be disputed on either side. Nausiphanes says that, among the things which appear to exist, nothing exists more than it does not exist. Parmenides says that, among the things which appear, nothing at all exists. Zeno of Elea has cast every affair out of affairs: he says that nothing exists. The Pyrrhonists, Megarians, Eretrians, and Academics dwell around almost the same points, for they have put on a new knowledge: to know nothing.

“Cast all these things into that superfluous herd of liberal studies. The former hand down to me knowledge which will not profit me; the latter snatch away hope of all knowledge. It is better to know superfluous things than nothing. The former do not carry before me a light by which my sight may be directed toward truth; the latter dig out my eyes. If I believe Protagoras, nothing in the nature of things is anything but doubtful. If I believe Nausiphanes, this alone is certain: that nothing is certain. If Parmenides, nothing exists except one. If Zeno, not even one. What, then, are we? What are these things which surround, nourish, and sustain us? The whole nature of things is a shadow, either empty or deceptive. I could not readily say whether I am more angry with those who wished us to know nothing or with those who did not leave us even this: to know that we know nothing.”

The letters are M and H in the word **MHNIN**, and they make the number forty-eight. In Plutarch’s *Banquet*, another man observes that the first verse of the *Iliad* and the first of the *Odyssey* consist of the same number of syllables, namely seventeen, and the last verses of the same books of sixteen. Who could endure subtlety hostile to truth? Who could endure thorny foolishness? That ostentation harms minds and introduces a new anxiety and care.

“You twist words for me,” says Seneca in Epistle 48, “and arrange syllables. Evidently, unless I have constructed the most cunning interrogations and by a false conclusion have bound a lie arising from truth, I shall not be able to distinguish things to be sought from things to be avoided. I am ashamed: in so serious a matter we old men are playing. ‘Mouse’ is a syllable; but a syllable does not gnaw cheese; therefore a mouse does not gnaw cheese. O childish foolishness! For this have we drawn down our brows? For this have we let down our beards? Is this what we teach, sad and pale?”

§ 3. Men of sound judgment, men endowed with a great spirit, censure these things in letters, with the best right and deservedly. But that error belongs not to letters but to minds which use their good badly and decline from true things

toward empty ones. The liberal studies retain both their dignity and usefulness, and likewise their limit and measure. In this class three things occur to me which must be said and in which the entire rationale of those studies is contained.

The first is that all those studies are preparations and, as Xenocrates used to say,

λαβὰς τῆς φιλοσοφίας,

handles of true philosophy. Youth must therefore be exercised in them so that it may not halt in them but through them strive toward greater things.

The second: that this folly is not learned from letters, but is brought to the learning of them and, through learning, intensified and increased.

The third: that it is not useless to the state for certain men to pass their whole life in those trifles. All concede the first to me; the second is doubtful; the third a paradox.

Nevertheless, I shall establish each. Seneca acknowledges the first in Epistle 88: “You desire to know what I think concerning liberal studies. I admire none and number among good things none which ends at money. They are gainful arts, useful thus far if they prepare the intellect but do not detain it. For we must linger upon them only as long as the mind can do nothing greater. They are our rudiments, not our works. You see why they are called liberal studies: because they are worthy of a free man. But one study is truly liberal, that which makes a man free: the study of wisdom, sublime, brave, and magnanimous. The rest are petty and childish.”

And again: “What, then? Do liberal studies contribute nothing to us? Much toward other things, nothing toward virtue. For even those base arts professedly consisting in work by hand contribute very much to the instruments of life, yet do not pertain to virtue. Why, then, do we educate our sons in liberal studies? Not because they can give virtue, but because they prepare the mind to receive virtue. Just as that first literacy, as the ancients called it, by which elements are handed down to children, does not teach the liberal arts but prepares a place for soon receiving them, so the liberal arts do not conduct the mind to virtue but equip it.”

This alone, therefore, is the utility they possess: they exercise intellects,

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cultivate them, sharpen sagacity, and no one has a passage to perfect wisdom except through those arts. Philo says rightly in *On the Preliminary Studies*:

ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν οἰκίαις αὐλαιοὶ πρόκεινται κλισιάδων, ἐν δὲ πόλεσι τὰ προάστεια, δι’ ὧν εἴσω βαδίξειν ἔνεστιν, οὕτως καὶ ἀρετῆς πρόκειται τὰ ἐγκύκλια· ταῦτα γὰρ ὁδὸς ἐστὶν εἰς ἐκείνην φέρουσα.

Houses certainly have their forecourts, and cities their suburbs, through which there is an entrance; so the liberal arts have the encyclopedic disciplines set before them and already prepare a road for virtue.

Those who therefore remain fixed in these matters do the same thing as men who, enticed by the pleasantness of inns, neglect the soil of their fatherland. The aim of our Society is to direct the other studies of those who live in it toward theology. Constitution, Part 4, chapter 12: “Since the aim of the Society and of its studies is to aid our neighbors toward knowledge and love of God and the salvation of their souls, and since the faculty of theology is the means more proper to that end, the universities of the Society shall chiefly apply themselves to it. Through very suitable teachers they shall diligently treat matters which pertain to scholastic doctrine and the Sacred Scriptures, as well as expository matters which agree with this end fixed for us.”

And chapter 5: “Since the aim of the learning which is acquired in this Society is, with God’s favor assisting, to profit one’s own soul and the souls of one’s neighbors, this shall be, both universally and in individual persons, the measure by which it is determined to which faculties our members ought to apply themselves and how far they ought to advance in them. And because, speaking generally, humane letters in various languages, logic, likewise natural and

moral philosophy, metaphysics, and theology--both that which is called scholastic and that which is called positive--and Sacred Scripture aid toward this, those who are sent to colleges shall devote themselves to the study of these faculties. Indeed, they shall occupy themselves with greater diligence in those which, account being taken of time, place, and persons, and the rest, the supreme moderator of studies will judge in the Lord to agree more closely with the aforesaid end."

For some, medicine is proposed; for others, knowledge of the laws. Let each so learn the lesser things that he prepares himself for the great. Meanwhile, it is certain that without these things those who profess the greater sciences cannot be understood.

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 4. The second point is the one which I confessed to be doubtful to many: those who cling to these lesser minutiae of the sciences brought their error to them; they did not learn it from those sciences. For how can it happen that anyone, while tasting the first rudiments of letters, should judge that they have no use unless they are counted and compared with one another? What moderately prudent man can judge that clever subtleties were invented solely as instruments of torture for intellects? Are there not very many men of lofty and vigorous intellect, well versed in the greatest sciences, who are not ignorant of those trifles and sometimes play with them for recreation, and test the abilities of boys who answer anxiously? Since, therefore, the subtlety which they have learned sharpens the intellects of most men and does not blunt them, why would it so derange a few, if they had brought a mind to letters? For, as Philonides used to say, one must

Γράμματα μαθεῖν, καὶ τὸν μαθόντα νοῦν ἔχειν.

learn letters and bring a mind to the learning. And so, when you observe men sitting continually over these things, you will judge that they either cannot or do not wish to attain greater things, and that they could not have attained even these without letters. Thus two kinds of grammarians and philosophers immediately disclose themselves. The first is moderate, learned, polished, and prudent; it refers precepts to eloquence and to knowledge of historians, orators, and poets, and this knowledge to the higher sciences, the flight from vices, and the love of virtues. I have no fear of calling men of this kind, even though they occupy themselves with grammar, pillars of the state. The other kind is laboriously wretched, delighting in the hunting of syllables and the subtleties of feverish erudition--in a word, entangled in most laborious follies. This saying of Aristippus must frequently be impressed upon them: Those who eat or exercise the most are not in better health than those who take what is necessary; so those who read not the most things but useful things are to be judged learned.

Nevertheless, the madness of those men is blamed upon letters in vain. For in all arts, even the illiberal, there is a certain laborious and foolish subtlety. What garment did nature will to be ready for man? It is made from the hide or wool of animals. But how many kinds of clothing have leisure and luxury invented! A toga is scarcely completed in one year, the workmanship of which exceeds its material. Let courtiers themselves consider how much time they spend upon ceremonies and titles. In every matter there is something excessive, in every life something superfluous. Saddles, bridles, and the collars of greyhounds are burdened with elaborate expense. And now the evil has increased to such a degree that those things appear necessary, and the man for whom expenditures upon these follies are lacking thinks himself in need. Therefore, just as superfluities are introduced by human folly into every art concerned with every kind of thing and action, so too the liberal arts are afflicted by the same cause.

In the third place I said that it is not useless to the state for the cares and labors of certain men to be detained upon those curious, useless, thorny, and grim matters. Just as excessive diligence in the treatment of the liberal arts serves some advantage, and it is desirable for a prince to have certain craftsmen of the highest excellence in all arts, even those which are not necessary, so too it is conducive to many things that there should be a few men who have exceeded the measure in the liberal arts. He who draws a grain of millet through the eye of a needle will easily strike a

designated enemy with a sure blow. He who could enclose the whole *Iliad* in a nutshell will easily write secret letters for his prince to men under siege. He who could walk upon a rope will proceed securely over the walls and battlements of the enemy. He who is an excessive investigator of history nevertheless carries a light before the rest.

Annaeus relates these superfluous matters: Duilius was the first to conquer in a naval battle. Curius Dentatus was the first to lead elephants in a triumph. Claudius Caudex was the first to board his own ship. Valerius Corvinus was the first to assume a name from a conquered city. Sulla was the first to exhibit lions released in the circus. Pompey was the first to present a combat of eighteen elephants. These things have their own utility and assist men who are occupied. For those leisured men are like nomenclators, who promptly supplied names to their masters; they arranged friends and clients in order by name and always had books at hand so that they could remember. The memory of so many names--of so many powerful men and so many childless old men--is an immense and fastidious labor; nevertheless, many men wore away a lifetime in it. At that time it was a profession: "to beat upon the proud doors of the more powerful, to arrange childless old men alphabetically," as Seneca says in Epistle 68. And it is agreed that there were large books containing the names both of clients and of the more powerful. Labor in these excessive cares of letters is not dissimilar, because it is frequently of use in grave matters--not so that the intellects of youth may be distracted by these minutiae, but so that certain amusements of the arts may be preserved, just as those of other things in the state are preserved. Never

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will there be too many men in so grim a labor; in every other field more men transgress through curiosity than in the sciences.

§ 5. Will you therefore tolerate in the state a man counting the syllables of Homeric verses, one disputing about the mark behind Helen's ear, one doubting Penelope's chastity, one examining ancient stones, one writing three hundred volumes of dialectic or four thousand on grammar? Certainly: just as you tolerate an athletic trainer, a flute-player, arrangers of delicacies, and painters of faces. Yet that curiosity of grammarians is more honorable and is frequently useful to many; much more so is that of natural philosophers and mathematicians.

§ 6. Much greater is the assault of martial men upon men of letters: they contend that spirits are broken, grow languid in leisure, and lose their courage. Nor do they listen to an excuse, for there is not enough reasoning in arms; they advance with sheer force. Yet learned men ought not to yield. They possess the prerogative bestowed by the man who sang, to the disgust of all:

Let arms yield to the toga; let the laurel yield to the tongue.

Once the eloquent man bore the arms of the brave man: Ulysses those of Achilles. Agamemnon desired not ten Ajaxes or Diomedeses, but Nestors. Many wars are brought to completion by counsel, few by strength.

Ὅπλον τοι λόγος ἐστὶ τομώτερον ἀνδρὶ σιδήρου.

Speech is a sword sharper than iron for a man.

Two things perfect a warrior: prudence and courage. Without courage, prudence can resist for a long time; without prudence, courage is nothing, and the rashness which takes its place constructs its own ruin. It is truly said:

Ἀλκή δ' ἀνεμώλιος ἄφρων.

Foolish courage is weak.

It is truly said:

Διπλοῦν ὁρῶσιν οἱ μαθόντες γράμματα.

Those who have learned letters see double. In war there is the greatest need of counsel, because counsel must be taken both most swiftly and most prudently. Most swiftly, because opportunities must be seized and counsel taken in the arena itself. Most prudently, because it is not permitted to err twice: the first error is fatal. A learned man, from history, from philosophy, and from stratagems, will decide the matter more swiftly and safely; others will decide more slowly. That error--that only fury is needed in war--is not the error of soldiers but of rustics. There is need of a commander who is pleasing to the soldier, who can temper the fierce, rouse the sluggish, and strengthen the fearful; who can retain allies, attract the wavering, and soften enemies; who can diminish an enemy's power, render his allies suspect, and set them against one another. If war were nothing other than a battle line, and if men fought in the battle line solely with the strength of their bodies, after the manner of the Andabatae, perhaps there would be less need to know human affairs.

Do you think that the philosophy of Socrates and knowledge of all histories hindered Xenophon? Did Julius Caesar conquer more slowly because he loved learning? Lucan, Book 10:

The fame of my son-in-law indeed led me to the Pharian cities,

Yet also fame of you; amid battles I always devoted myself

To the regions of the stars and sky, and to the gods above;

Nor will my year be surpassed by the calendars of Eudoxus.

Pericles, the thunderbolt of Greece, for forty years governed the people by eloquence, the soldier by courage, and both by prudence. He was a disciple of the philosopher Anaxagoras. Greece scarcely knows a better man than Dion, scarcely a wiser slayer of a tyrant; yet he professed that he owed all those ornaments to Plato. Greater in learning and in name, Timotheus, a most excellent general, emerging from the instruction of Isocrates, restored the affairs of Greece. Archytas of Tarentum instructed Philolaus, and Xenophon instructed Agesilaus.

The Athenians sent three philosophers to Rome concerning the greatest affairs--Carneades, Critolaus, and Diogenes--although the negotiation was chiefly instituted concerning war and alliance. Zeno of Elea taught military affairs by design, and very many slayers of tyrants came forth from his school. Whether rightfully or wrongfully, I do not dispute; this I assert: his school was plainly martial. By reading, Lucullus suddenly became a commander and so broke the forces of Mithridates that he handed the victory over him to others. Tullius himself both sought a triumph and judged more prudently concerning the civil war than Pompey.

§ 7. I do not judge either Virgil or Horace to have been unwarlike, and I judge Ennius also to have been a brave man. Alcaeus, Stesichorus, and Archilochus were also renowned in war, although the last resolved to abandon his shield rather than his life.

Letters, therefore, are equally necessary for peace and war. Agrippina acted wickedly when she denied that philosophy was suitable for Nero, who was to become emperor; for she feared that, if cultivated by letters, he would more quickly pass out of his mother's power. Nor was Louis XI right when he wished his son Charles to know no more Latin than these words: "He who does not know how to dissemble does not know how to reign." For certainly many things were found wanting in his reign.

Letters do not draw men away from the conduct of affairs if they are joined with prudence; for in letters we learn both things done and things to be done, and before all else to abhor idleness. Were Severus, Pertinax, and Antoninus less because they were learned? Men acclaimed to Tacitus: "Who rules better than a man of letters?" And indeed he would have ruled most excellently if customary treachery had not removed him from their midst. Gordian was an orator and a poet; he made Misis the prefect and by his counsel rightly administered the empire. I shall close with the jeweled maxim of Pope Julius II: knowledge of letters is silver in common men, but jewels in nobles and princes. I shall add: in commanders it is victory.

CHAPTER XIII

Academies and Public Schools Must Be Established

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 1. Eupolis, Timon, and others testify that the Academy, so called from the hero Academus, was in a suburb of Athens, six stadia from the Dipylon Gate. Caelius relates that the place was unhealthy and arid. And he excuses Plato, who chose it for studies, on the ground that, because he enjoyed an excessively prosperous condition of body, he wished by the inconveniences of the place to restrain that condition in its luxuriance. But since students have the greatest need of suitable health and air, and since Plato sought renown and attendance for his Academy, I cannot persuade myself that he wished to deter his disciples and drive anyone away by the unpleasantness of the school. For how few are there who would not prefer to be in good health rather than to learn? Or who would wish, for the sake of learning, to enter a pestilential house? Another cause, therefore, must be sought for his establishing in the Academy a school sacred to Pallas. I think it was this:

ἵν' μὴ ἀναπολήσειεν ἡδονάς,

that he might not recall pleasures, a quiet place was sought, away from the crowds of sailors and from the luxury of the city gardens; for exercises of the mind rejoice in quiet and solitude. Nor was another place at hand or in Plato's power. But concerning the healthfulness

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and pleasantness of the Academy, we must think somewhat differently if we listen to Plutarch in the *Life of Cimon*. For Cimon made the arid place well-watered by conducting the purest waters to it, and planted it with a shady grove. There were three schools at Athens: the Academy, the Lyceum, and the Stoa. Aristotle's walk was in the Lyceum; Zeno, the chief of the Stoics, taught in the portico; Plato's was the Academy. It retained the name, so that all renowned schools founded with the immunities of monarchs are called academies. An academy consists of a multitude of teachers and learners, privileges, and what is, as it were, a state of learned men.

§ 2. The right to erect an academy belongs to the pontiff, the highest monarchs, and all states, so far as letters and the civil sciences are concerned. For as regards sacred law and theology, the power to teach them with authority must be sought from the supreme prelate of religion.

Saint Thomas, in his treatise *Against Those Who Attack the Religious Life*, refers that power to the pope, king, and prince.

As concerns princes, it belongs to them to determine what faculties they wish to be taught in their provinces and who may occupy themselves in them, and to grant privileges and immunities. Yet they cannot bring it about that those schools are regarded as academies in the kingdoms of other princes; if, however, the approval of the supreme pontiff is added, those schools too are held valid. It is of great importance that the highest chairs of teachers depend upon the highest authority.

First, a place suitable for students must be chosen. In it I require fineness and healthfulness of air; fertility, or easy approaches by which necessities can be imported; renown; and also well-mannered citizens.

Above all, a prince will esteem healthfulness of air. For it conduces both to intellects and to bodily health, and it also produces better and properly mannered inhabitants. I should therefore be unwilling for an academy to be established at Thebes in Boeotia, lest in the thick air more polished intellects too grow brutish; but rather in Attica itself, at Athens, the inventress of the arts, where there is

Ἑλλάς τῆς Ἑλλάδος,

“the Greece of Greece,” where there is the common Museum of all Greece. For the gentler Muses cannot bear inhabitants of a harsh and uncultivated disposition.

No one fails to see that the fertility of the soil, or the convenience of rivers and harbors, is necessary so that food may be supplied to a great multitude. Otherwise students are exhausted by expense and the inhabitants are burdened.

From this it follows that academies must be established in renowned cities, or in cultivated towns near which there are rivers, marts, and a populous concourse. This was customary among the ancients. Athens,

τῶν λόγων ἐστία,

“the hearth of eloquence,” had the most acute citizens because of the temperateness of the climate, the convenience of the place, and attention to the best things. Cicero, *For Flaccus*; Eusebius, Book 10, chapter 2. And so it was most honorable to devote one’s labor to the liberal arts or to philosophy at Athens. Cicero, Book 1 of *On Duties*: “Although, my son Marcus, since you have now been hearing Cratippus for a year, and that at Athens, you ought to abound in the precepts and principles of philosophy because of the very great authority both of the teacher and of the city--the one of whom can increase you in knowledge and the other by examples--nevertheless, just as I, for my own benefit, have always joined Latin studies with Greek, and have done this not only in philosophy but also in the exercise of speaking, I think that you must do the same, so that you may be equal in command of both languages.”

And in Book 3: “You have undertaken, besides, the heavy burden both of Athens and of Cratippus. Since you have set out for them as though for a marketplace of the good arts, it is most shameful to return empty. Therefore, strive with as much exertion of mind as you can, contend with as much labor--if learning is labor rather than pleasure--and bring it about that you do so; and do not allow it to appear that, although everything has been supplied by us, you have failed yourself.”

In that very place Cicero did not consider it beneath his dignity if he himself also professed philosophy, as he testifies in Book 3. Leading Romans indeed used to journey there; Aulus Gellius, Book 1, chapter 2. In Jerome’s work addressed to Marcella, a distinguished orator is said to have reproached a certain man because he had learned Greek letters not at Athens but elsewhere. That distinction remained with the most renowned city for a long time. Nazianzen and Basil the Great studied there. But afterward both the glory of its studies and the city itself declined.

§ 3. Byzantium, nevertheless, transferred to itself a great part of the praise and renown of Athens. For the arts, following the majesty of the empire, placed their seat at Constantinople, to such a degree that Athens was now distinguished more by the shadow of its ancient name than by any present good. So Gregoras and Emperor Frederick to Nicholas V. Theodosius, Valentinian, and others assisted letters wonderfully. A royal house was also added, in which twelve of the most learned and select men were to dwell and answer those who consulted them; Zonaras, Book 3. Leo, because they opposed Iconoclasm, burned them together with the house and the books; and from that time studies languished in the imperial city, barbarism increased, and at last the harshest Turkish servitude was imposed. Bardas, Leo the Philosopher, his son Constantine, Constantine Ducas, Alexius Comnenus, and Andronicus the Logothete indeed attempted to restore the schools and studies to their former flower, but through schism, heresy, and wars all things fell.

§ 4. Nearly equal to the school of the Athenians in antiquity and renown was the Cranium, the *phrontisterion* of Corinth, in which even Dionysius, after being driven from his kingdom, taught letters as a mockery of fortune. That city was great and distinguished by two harbors, celebrated by the merchandise as well as the intellects of Europe and Asia. The sect of the Cynics especially flourished there, one in harmony with the most corrupt morals of the city. For the city, always infamous before, was in the time of Saint Paul, so to speak, a stable of shamelessness.

The school of the Rhodians was also most renowned, but mathematical study and the oratorical faculty especially flourished in it. This was not so only in the final times of the Romans, when the state was already tottering and tending toward monarchy; for Aristippus also discoursed there concerning mathematics, and when, shipwrecked, he saw the marks of learned work in the sand on the shore, he bade his companions be of good hope, because traces of men appeared there also. The Rhodians had Panaetius, Stratocles, Andronicus, Leonidas, Pisander, Eudemus, Dionysius Thrax, Apollonius, and, before these, the exiled Aeschines--all most learned men. It seems to me that Rhodes rivaled Athens because of the convenience of navigation and the pleasantness of the place, since the leading Romans sent their children there. Cicero had his son there, as well as his nephew, the son of Quintus. Nor were the Athenians ignorant of this, for many Athenians devoted themselves at Rhodes to the study of eloquence; Laertius, Book 4. I judge that this happened because of the city's frequent disasters: Sulla's siege and other misfortunes frightened away the professors of the arts. At Rome the studies of wisdom began late to be held in esteem, but were thereafter cultivated with great honor. Good letters and schools therefore flourished in the foremost cities. Among them the school of Berytus stands out; Berytus is the most renowned city of Phoenicia after Sidon, near the mouth of the river Lycus. Justinian

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calls it most beautiful and grants it the same prerogative in letters as new and old Rome. "We will," he says, "that these three volumes composed by us be delivered to students only in the imperial cities--Constantinople and Rome--and in the most beautiful city of the Berytians, which someone may rightly call the nurse of laws, because this was also established by earlier emperors; and not in other places which have not merited such a privilege from our ancestors. For we have heard that in the most splendid city of Alexandria, in that of the Caesareans, and in others certain unskilled men wander about and deliver adulterated teaching to their disciples. We repel them from this attempt under the following threat: if they dare hereafter to perpetrate this and to do it outside the imperial cities and the metropolis of the Berytians, they shall be punished with a fine of ten pounds of gold and shall be cast out of that city in which they do not teach laws but commit offenses against the laws."

§ 5. The ancient and most renowned academy of all must not be omitted, which the Jews placed not in some desert but in the principal city, where the royal seat, the temple, and all the sacred institutions of the nation had been established. We owe its enlargement to Solomon, who discoursed from the cedar of Lebanon even to the hyssop which grows out of the wall. There were very many schools there, belonging to different sects and different nations. Josephus denies that philosophy and the Greek arts were taught there; indeed, he denies that this was lawful. But this must certainly be understood with qualification. For they rightly excluded that erring philosophy. If anyone today were to teach that pleasure is the highest good; if with the Academics he were to doubt all things; if with the Peripatetic school he were to assert the eternity of the world; or if he were to introduce Stoic fate, teachers of errors would rightly be proscribed by laws and punishments.

The other studies were by no means forbidden. They learned Hebrew grammar for understanding the sacred writings and Greek grammar for instructing proselytes; all were taught the divine and ancestral laws according to an established system. No one who has considered that the Egyptians learned these sciences from the descendants of Abraham, and the Greeks from the Egyptians, can be ignorant that eloquence, poetry or hymnody, logic, natural philosophy, and the mathematical disciplines were held in esteem and flourished among the Jews. The Essenes, detesting the Epicureanism of the Sadducees and the hypocrisy of the Pharisees, established separate schools by the Asphaltite Lake, in which they also taught the liberal arts. There is no need to speak of the most renowned schools of Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, Caesarea, and Nicomedia, since even Heliopolis, Carthage, and Cyrene had very well-equipped public schools.

Later generations imitated the ancients, who judged prudently concerning letters. Bologna, Ferrara, Florence, Milan, Naples, Padua, Pisa, Zaragoza, Coimbra, Granada, Seville, Salamanca, Toledo, Valencia, Paris, Angers, Orléans, Bordeaux, Lyon, Poitiers, Reims, Toulouse, Leuven, Cologne, Trier, Mainz, Vienna, Prague, Erfurt, Cambridge, and Oxford have academies. I am not ignorant that in Germany especially there are sometimes public schools in smaller towns. But either their situation is most convenient and they have populous cities round about--as at Molsheim, where

a year ago the Most Serene Leopold, Archduke of Austria and Bishop of Strasbourg and Passau, erected a new academy; and at Paderborn, where the Most Reverend Bishop and Most Illustrious Prince Theodor founded a public school for the ingenious and industrious Westphalian nation--or the place must possess some renown. This is attained not merely from a multitude of citizens but from the presence of princes and a court, and from the distinguished learning and splendor of the clergy. For no one can recall without laughter the vanity of Bion of Borysthenes, who, in order to acquire authority for his school, drew into it a crowd of sailors dressed in scholastic garments. How far he was from that philosophy which he taught!

I therefore demand an attendance of learned and honored men in academic cities. For this causes young men to imbibe civility and courtesy of manners together with letters. Next, the professors themselves, in the public eye, discharge the most difficult duty of teaching with greater diligence, dignity, and eagerness, and avoid before the eyes of magnates and censors those things which prudence counsels them to guard against. Finally, since honor nourishes the arts, and all academies distribute among their own members various degrees of dignities and honors, there is no esteem for those degrees except in great cities or before an assembly of princes and nobles.

CHAPTER XIV

Privileges Must Be Granted to Professors and Students, and Which Privileges Are Suitable

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 1. The privileges of private persons are not detriments to the state, as envious malice is accustomed to object against many brave men. For since in justice the mean is not established according to arithmetical proportion, so that Titus has as much as Gaius, but by geometrical reckoning, so that the recompense for the labors and dangers of Titus bears the same proportion that Titus bears to Gaius, and reward is rendered according to the magnitude of the work and the dignity of the person, it is not unjust to give unequal things to unequal persons. Since, moreover, among all human things the studies of wisdom claim first place for themselves, they must be adorned with great honor and immunities. If, therefore, a laurel is decreed to the victor, if maintenance in the Prytaneum, if immunity from taxes, if other incentives to courage, how great must be the care for wisdom, by which courage and the other virtues are governed?

Privileges, moreover, belong either to places or to students and professors devoting their labor to studies in privileged places, as they call them. Both things and persons receive them. All are deservedly granted; for it is also fitting that the citizens to whom an academy is entrusted should be honored, so that they may be rightly disposed toward learned men, studies, and students, and may both wish and be able to assist them.

§ 2. The first privilege is that provision be made for the advantages and liberty of an academic city. History relates that the Athenians were endowed with many privileges. For after losing the empire of Greece and their liberty, they flourished much more peacefully under Roman rule, by the protection of letters, than they had when they lived under their own laws. Hadrian especially favored them: he honored their studies with money and an annual supply of grain, and gave them Cephallenia; so Dio Cassius and Sextus Aurelius Victor. Yet Demetrius had long before surpassed Hadrian's munificence: although offended by their defection and taunts, he nevertheless relieved them, when oppressed by want, with a distribution of grain. Emperor Severus avenged his injuries less civilly, for he diminished their privileges.

Everything, therefore, which, in accordance with the character of the nation and the nature, business, and situation of its towns, can adorn and enlarge an academic city may be granted. Such is a prerogative of dignity among other towns; for since academic cities contain an academic senate composed of the wisest theologians, jurists, physicians,

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and philosophers, there is no doubt that the civic council too will become wiser through familiarity with and the counsel of the most learned men. Next, I judge that immunity from certain taxes must be permitted, especially those which are accustomed to burden the grain supply and provisions. For this benefit is general, as one bestowed upon various nations. Accordingly, just as Aachen, the most noble seat of the German realm, received throughout the whole empire freedom of commerce and immunity from tolls because the august emperors had established their residence there, so too the kindness of a prince requires that, like a father, he support more magnificently, with no loss to the treasury, whatever city he has willed to be an abode of wisdom, virtue, and letters. The large multitude of students, however, will compensate that loss in another way. Third, if a prince is not free to bestow this indulgence upon the whole state, he can nevertheless be more liberal toward those in whose houses and at whose tables students lodge; for in this way they will obtain more honorable lodgings at less expense.

§ 3. The second privilege is that the arts be taught publicly in one or two designated places in the city. This appears altogether necessary, for private and clandestine teachers, who are all mercenary, can introduce great errors. Theodosius and Valentinian forbade teaching at Rome in any place other than the Capitol: the sole law *On Liberal*

Studies in the City of Rome, Book 21, chapter 18. Nor do I judge that anyone can enjoy the privileges except those who are taught publicly in a public place.

Julian indeed prohibited the profession of civil law to the Alexandrians and Caesareans, because unlearned men, intent upon gain, imbued youth with depraved opinions.

§ 4. The sciences may also be taught in monasteries and by religious. This was the practice of old. Trithemius, *On the Praise of Scribes*, manual, chapter 16: “Nor ought you to leave the monastery for the sake of study, because you can find at home the means by which you may advance. For we have known that many most learned monks formerly flourished in our order, and we know that they studied only in monasteries. Bede, priest and monk, most skilled in every kind of learning, was entrusted to a monastery at seven years of age; there he drank in whatever he learned of the Scriptures. Among his disciples were the most learned Alcuin, later the teacher of Charlemagne, Claudius, and John Scotus--monks excelling in all doctrine, divine as well as secular, and instructed in Greek and Latin speech--of whom many distinguished works survive.

“Rabanus, abbot and archbishop of Mainz, was entrusted to the monastery of Fulda while still almost a boy; how much he advanced in every science his volumes testify. His abbot of Fulda nevertheless sent him to Francia for the sake of study, to Abbot Alcuin, whom we have already mentioned; under his instruction he persevered for many years in the monastery. Strabo, a monk of Fulda, is said to have been the disciple and scribe of Abbot Rabanus; given to a monastery as a young man, he shone forth as a distinguished teacher. So too Haymo, Notker, Hermann Contractus, and almost innumerable other monks were regarded as excellent teachers. Living humbly under the Rule of Saint Benedict, they had monasteries for their schools.

“Nor do we say that those men who were regarded as the teachers of others lacked teachers. They certainly had teachers, but monks and companions in the regular life, who instructed them no less by life than by doctrine. Perhaps we too should find teachers if we were willing to be disciples. For unless humility and love of the Scriptures mutually agree with each other, the studies of monks are neither expedient for the order nor profitable. Love of the Scriptures without humility destroys the discipline of the regular life; humility without love does not attain knowledge of those Scriptures.

“Therefore, let the man who desires to become learned in a monastery preserve these two things inviolate. Let us imitate the holy Fathers, applying ourselves to the divine Scriptures with humble love; and what divine grace conferred upon them it will not deny to us as we pray and read diligently. For the more assiduous each man is in reading, the richer the fruit he takes from it. The fruit, moreover, which we seek in the Sacred Scriptures is love of God and of our neighbor, and knowledge of our most merciful Savior.”

For this reason we see that most theological studies have been entrusted to religious houses or persons even today. Gregory the Great also once cleansed Britain of the Pelagian heresy by entrusting sacred lectures to monasteries. Nor are the treatments of letters foreign to their institution, because, apart from jurisprudence and medicine, the other sciences are customarily referred to theology, although scarcely anyone can be a theologian without a general knowledge of laws.

§ 5. I am not ignorant that the profession of monks and ascetics--the divine occupations--sometimes conflicts with the variety of sciences taught in academies, as Charlemagne rightly judged in the additions to his Capitularies, chapter 45. But since many are compelled to apply themselves to sacred sermons and to the care of preserving and governing affairs; since very many abbots administer provinces, govern subject peoples, and possess their station and dignity in the empire, it ought not to seem foreign to a servant of God, a religious man, or a hermit of a monastery, amid so great a scarcity of pious teachers, to profess grammar, poetry, eloquence, and philosophy, so that by this opportunity he may instill piety into tender minds. Indeed, in former times the sons of magnates were excellently instructed no more in piety than in every kind of learning. For until approximately the year of the Lord 1200, monasteries were almost the

sole abodes of letters. From that time academies were established and monastic discipline declined. The study of civil law is also often useful to clerics; but there is another place for treating these matters.

§ 6. Very many personal privileges--that is, privileges of professors and students--have been established in various academies, both by reason of their dignity and because the greater part of the students are foreigners. No one is ignorant of the great injuries to which they are exposed while, as young men far from fatherland and kindred, they are compelled to live under foreign law. The poverty of many is worthy of compassion; the nobility of others is often exposed to the dangers of journeys and to the tricks of cheats and money-changing. Unless the kindness of the laws assists them in all these things, it is inevitable that everyone should be turned away from studies and from learning and esteeming wisdom.

No one except students can properly estimate the labors of study. I confess that men of ability find in the treatment of studies a great delight, one greater than all human pleasures; for this reason it is easy for studious and industrious young men to be chaste. Nevertheless, that most delightful recreation of the mind gradually consumes health and even the man himself, like a kind of fever. For in truth it produces melancholy, rheums, diseases of the head, chest, and vital organs, and various symptoms, to such a degree that the most eminent physicians prescribe a certain special regimen for students. For these reasons princes have conferred very many privileges upon doctors of the gown.

§ 7. The first privilege is that professors and students should in most causes, or in all, be exempt from the jurisdiction of the ordinary praetor or judge, but have their own senate and judge;

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and thus, although the academy is in a city, it nevertheless enjoys its own law as though it were a certain private state. The reason is just and has been approved by all academic cities. For academies consist of many most distinguished and learned men, to whose judgment one might more readily entrust a lawful cause than to the consul or prefect of the city. Next, many causes arise which need a swift judgment pronounced, as it were, upon a summary hearing. Since students, as foreigners, readily suffer injury from inhabitants, there is need of a judge who is in no way suspect. It is readily presumed that a consul's disposition is more favorable toward his own citizens--often his relatives and connections--than toward strangers and, as frequently happens, toward a neighboring and hated nation. Judges are therefore deservedly selected from the professors and academic senators.

Nevertheless, in most places this common axiom of law is preserved: the plaintiff follows the court of the defendant. And I judge that it is the foundation of a true and free academy to possess a magistracy and tribunal. For this reason Julius, the magnanimous and most provident bishop of Würzburg, when he founded an academy, gave it power equal to the ordinary tribunal of his chancery and admitted no appeal except to the prince alone. This was deservedly so, since princes themselves very frequently submit the gravest causes to the judgment of academies.

Yet I have observed that this privilege is sometimes abused, when youth, relying upon the leniency of the courts, fight among themselves with swords or grow insolent in injuries against the citizens. Grave citizens not rarely object to this, to the great disgrace of the academies and harm of studies. Martin Luther, shortly before his death, writes that this happened at Wittenberg, addressing his own colleagues. For he complains that such outrages were committed and that there was such contumacy that the four elements could not bear it; the leading men of Saxony afterward complained in the same way about the insolence of the academicians. These things must be avoided. Nevertheless, an academy must not immediately be assailed and its privileges diminished whenever the ardor of youth is swept away into some levity, since the vices of youth are corrected most calmly and easily through their own moderators.

And indeed princes, induced by the centaur-like counsels of certain courtiers, gravely err when they diminish the authority of those through whom alone they can restore holy morals--as though there were not graver sins in the cities themselves, indeed in the courts of princes, than among the alumni of academies, and yet princes would not wish the

transgressions of their household attendants to shake the scepters from their own hands. With great judgment so great a liberty has been granted to studies, as at Bologna, Paris, and Mainz.

The first privilege of the Academy of Mainz, which Archbishop Diether granted, reads thus: “We therefore bestow, grant, and concede by force of the present letters: first, to the doctors, masters, scholars or students of our said university of Mainz, the judges whom they can possess by law--the rector and conservator of the university and the ordinary of the place.” Most equitable statutes command the plaintiff to follow the forum of the defendant, for the common law decreed this long ago.

Concerning judicial procedure our founder established as follows: “In order that provision may be made for those incorporated into our university concerning observance of judicial order and the decision of causes, we will and ordain that the rector shall have power to hear and determine every cause and question arising among the aforesaid incorporated persons. If he is rejected as suspect by either party, we will that arbitrators be elected and that the other provisions which the laws make concerning this be observed.”

Consuls, satraps, praetors, and judges ought neither to be jealous nor to judge that anything has been taken away from their dignity if a certain part of the state has other, and indeed its own, governors, since they themselves entrust their sons to teachers and pedagogues. For when anyone sends his children to Padua or Bologna, to the marketplace of the sciences, who judges it equitable that the child should be subject to civic rather than academic magistrates?

§ 8. The second privilege is that professors of the arts, doctors of laws, and their wives should have immunity from all civic and public duties, even from the reception of guests; so Constantine judged. In this matter the founder of our academy was indeed munificent. The words of the grant read thus:

“Likewise, let the doctors, masters, and students of our university, as also the notaries and beadles, be immune, exempt, and free, in their persons and in things pertaining to their food, clothing, and use, from public payments and charges imposed and to be imposed throughout the city and diocese of Mainz, by land or by water, and pertaining for the time being to the archbishops of Mainz. Let them neither be held nor compelled to the payment of a tax, excise, impost, toll, or of anything of any other kind, by whatever name they may be designated, every manner of deceit and fraud being entirely excluded.

“And we will that this concession and favor be understood of masters and scholars who dwell collectively in houses or bursae, and of students who, after obtaining the rector’s permission, dwell in houses or rooms outside the bursae and maintain themselves and their households at their own cost and expense.

“Likewise, since the greatest quiet is fitting for professors of letters and for those who are to be instructed in learning and morals, and since those who pursue better things will be strangers to tumult, we will and ordain that the houses and dwellings of the rector, doctors, masters, and students--and especially the schools in which the college, doctors, masters, and students live together, which in their common manner they call bursae, or in which honorable students dwell after the rector’s permission has been sought and obtained, maintaining themselves and their household at their own cost and by domestic provision--shall enjoy this perpetual immunity: that no official or member of his household, of whatever condition or status he may be or by however extensive a commission he may be appointed, shall presume tumultuously to invade those houses or dwellings, or break into or violate them with ruinous force, every fraudulent fiction or false pretext being entirely removed.

“Moreover, let no official or any other ecclesiastical or secular person presume in the city of Mainz to attack or offend any one or more of the doctors, masters, students, or their household, or to inflict violence or injury upon them. But if anyone, which God forbid, is found to be a contemner of this our concession, let him know that he will incur our indignation and a penalty to be inflicted according to the measure of such offense, deceit, or fault.

“And seventh: likewise we will that none of our functionaries and officials, or any other laymen or citizens, shall injure, offend, disturb, or otherwise place in danger in any manner any doctor, master, or student, by word or deed, directly or indirectly, every fraud and deceit being removed, under the aforesaid penalty.”

But since all who attend the schools and do not live within the bursae, as they say, do this with the permission of the rector, they all also enjoy that privilege. These provisions are clear concerning personal burdens and those goods which are given as salaries; but I do not think that the law is understood of patrimonial goods, nor does custom permit this. And lest those privileges of the renowned academy be infringed by the ignorance or malice of other administrators, the most wise founder willed that all officials of the city of Mainz be bound by oath to preserve the academy’s immunity. The words read thus:

“Likewise, every official of this our city holding office for the time being shall swear into our hands to preserve unharmed the aforesaid doctors, masters,

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and students in their persons, affairs, and goods, and not to contravene the said privileges, but to uphold them and their affairs, goods, and privileges aforesaid and hereafter stated, to the extent of his ability and knowledge.”

CHAPTER XV

There Are Many Other Privileges of Students, and What They Are

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 1. The pontiff, the emperor, individual princes, and states have granted very many privileges. Since later academies are customarily endowed with the privileges of the older ones, it happens that very many are granted in a single phrase. We see this done in this most noble academy, concerning which Pope Sixtus IV speaks thus:

“For the praise of the divine name and the propagation of the same Catholic faith, by apostolic authority and the tenor of these presents we perpetually erect, constitute, and ordain a university in the same city of Mainz; and by the said authority we establish and also decree that henceforth, for all future time, a university shall flourish there after the pattern of the aforesaid universities of Bologna, Paris, and Cologne, both in theology and in canon and civil law, as well as in every other lawful faculty or science; and that masters in theology, doctors, lecturers, and students there may freely and lawfully use, possess, and enjoy each and every privilege, liberty, exemption, immunity, grace, and indulgence which other masters, doctors, lecturers, and students in the universities of Bologna, Paris, and Cologne enjoy and use. Moreover, those who in the course of time shall have merited degrees in any of the aforesaid lawful faculties in which they have studied may receive a license to teach, so that they may instruct others, and may have the honor of the mastership or doctorate bestowed by the masters or doctors of that faculty or science in which the examination is to be held.”

The founder equates Mainz with the three most excellent academies of Bologna, Paris, and Cologne. It has hitherto maintained that dignity so well that it has numbered among its auditors illustrious and learned men not only from Germany, Poland, and Belgium, but even from most cultivated France.

Therefore, lest anyone be ignorant of the great favor with which monarchs have pursued studies, and lest students themselves be unaware of their own advantages, I intend to set down those one hundred and eighty privileges--or, rather, heads and rubrics of privileges--from the most learned jurist Pierre Rebuffi.

§ 2. The first privilege from Rebuffi:

First. It is permitted to study, teach publicly, and dispute on every feast day--after divine worship has, of course, been rendered in the offices. Rebuffi thinks it forbidden if done for the sake of gain, as when an advocate studies on a feast day principally for gain. In this matter I by no means agree with him, for although he studies for the sake of gain, study is nevertheless not servile work, and desire for gain can obtain an honorable end. Nor does ecclesiastical law forbid gain, but servile work.

Second. It is lawful to study even in a church. Rebuffi's exceptions are general: one must not study at a time when one is obliged to hear Mass, nor study forbidden arts--which is not lawful even outside a church. In a church, however, the offense is graver, because it makes the house of God a house of wickedness.

Third. Scholars may expel craftsmen from their own house if they disturb their studies with noise. This is a great and almost odious privilege. Rebuffi nevertheless cites laws concerning this matter. Indeed, at Montpellier he says that he drove away a weaver who impeded students with singing; for when the magistrate, after hearing the rights of the students, ordered the importunate musician either to sing more softly or to withdraw, he preferred to leave the house rather than moderate his voice.

Fourth. A case concerning this privilege may be conducted on a court holiday; so he says. But I judge that this must not be granted unless the cause is urgent. I judge the following a legitimate cause: if, because of the dog days or other

vacations, there were an interruption of several weeks, then, lest an entire college of students be compelled to endure a prolonged disturbance, the matter could be decided even on a feast day.

Fifth. This case may be treated and concluded summarily and without formal proceedings. Otherwise studies could be impeded for entire years, since while the lawsuit is pending the hammerer retains the use of his possession, and students do not readily undertake long-lasting lawsuits.

Sixth. No appeal is granted from a sentence pronounced against the hammerer. This has been abrogated by practice and, unless I am mistaken, by equity; for why should this be denied if knowledge is in question?

Seventh. A scholar can compel someone to let him a house, room, or horse. But I have nowhere seen the use of this privilege, and indeed it is altogether better not to use it, since the right not to be compelled against one's will to let property to another or admit a stranger into one's household is highly consonant with reason; and it is a matter of great danger to let a house to another. I have indeed never observed its use in any place.

Eighth. A landlord cannot expel a student from a rented house, although the landlord himself needs the house--if, evidently, it would have to be relinquished for that reason.

Ninth. When the term of the lease has ended, students must be preferred if they are willing to pay as much as others, unless perhaps--as generally happens--the habitation of students makes a house worse than does that of others, or unless they are of insufficiently accommodating morals.

Tenth. If a doctor or scholar rents a house already let to another scholar before the term of the lease has ended, he is excommunicated.

Eleventh. If he withdraws for a just cause before the term has ended, he is bound to pay not for the whole year, but only proportionately.

Twelfth. A student withdrawing from a rented house may substitute another in his place, provided that the landlord's condition is made worse in no way.

Thirteenth. If a civic statute provides that no one may buy more grain than for his own use, and a scholar buys for a year but then withdraws after half a year, he does not incur the penalty if he had intended to remain in that place for the whole year. I extend this privilege to everyone, including citizens, for an intention consonant with justice ought not to harm them.

Fourteenth. A scholar who withdraws may seek his share of things held in common.

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Fifteenth. Flight does not render a scholar suspect of an offense; rather, he is presumed to be visiting his parents or seeking money.

Sixteenth. A loan for use made by a scholar is revoked before the end of its use when he wishes to withdraw.

Seventeenth. When the course of study has ended, a person is compelled, although unwilling, to bring his action against the student; or, if he does not act within a time to be fixed by the judge, perpetual silence is imposed upon him.

Eighteenth. Students acknowledge no charge for the lodgings in which they reside.

Nineteenth. Books are not tacitly pledged for the rent of a house.

Twentieth. In Rebuffi's judgment, it is a wrong rather than a privilege that a student living dishonorably can be expelled less readily than another tenant. I judge that he must be expelled not only from the house but also from the city.

Twenty-first. It is similar and unjust that infamous prostitutes may be brought into a common lodging; but those things were drawn from the sewer of the gentiles into the books of Christians and must be condemned to eternal silence.

Twenty-second. It is peculiar to the French to obtain nominations, but Rebuffi complains that those laws have now been overthrown.

Twenty-third. A student who has gone home for the sake of seeking money and immediately returned retains the privileges of study, and that time is computed in the five-year period. But in most cathedral churches of Germany and in others this is not observed. If even a single night interrupts the biennium, the whole of the remaining time is lost. Evil morals produced this severity of the laws. This ought to be added: that they should carry testimony to their diligence and progress. As it is, many pass the biennium idly in wealthy cities or live luxuriously.

Twenty-fourth. When nominees present their nominations to prelates and seek benefices, they cannot be examined, because the university has already approved them by examining them and conferring a degree. These provisions are for the most part observed; indeed, here at Mainz masters of philosophy are not examined even for orders. Elsewhere, however, the Church examines even doctors of theology, and the Church altogether retains this right and does not depend upon universities. Nor is this safe now, since many academies promote unfit men to degrees; for that this happens is clearer than daylight. I have seen masters of arts and philosophy who knew no difference among the three figures of syllogisms. Nor does Italy cease daily to send us certain doctors with diplomas who can scarcely determine in what faculty they were promoted. Hence many dispute against the privileges of academies. Louis XII indeed punishes with suspension of privileges and another discretionary penalty those academies which promote men unfit in morals, knowledge, and merits. Every effort must therefore be made that academies reform themselves.

Twenty-fifth. In France, parish priests of towns must possess a degree or at least must have studied for three years; I judge that this study must be understood as theology. In Germany many prebends require a mastership or baccalaureate.

Twenty-sixth. If a student has let the revenue of a benefice for three years or a shorter term and dies in the meantime, his successor is bound to hold the lease valid, because it was made in favor of studies and therefore for the utility of the Church.

Twenty-seventh. Greater benefices are owed to learned men, provided that their life corresponds to their learning--and, as morals have now declined, provided that relatives are lacking. For vices have long since suppressed this privilege.

Twenty-eighth. A student who has a vicar is released from reciting the canonical hours if he recites each day the Office of the Blessed Virgin and the seven penitential psalms. So a few canonists hold, but the others and the theologians think otherwise. For cursed is the study through which the divine office is abandoned. It is certain that no one is excused, for the entire office can be completed in almost one hour. How little it is, if from twenty-four hours you spend one upon God and prayer, you who live from the patrimony of the Church! Will one hour, or one and a half spent in prayer, impede you from attaining learning? Do you so flee piety that you seek immunity from that hour? You spend entire days upon games, walks, and spectacles.

Twenty-ninth. Scholars are not bound to reside in their benefices. It has now been most excellently established that they may not be absent without the permission of their prelates and that they must present testimonials of their studies.

Thirtieth. They are bound to pay nothing to the bishop if they do not reside.

Thirty-first. They receive the revenues of benefices as though present. This is not customary in Germany. A definite sum is assigned to them in favor of their studies. They certainly never receive distributions.

Thirty-second. Though absent, they retain the right of option.

Thirty-third. They are never deemed to be absent fraudulently.

Thirty-fourth. If someone studies in a nonprivileged place for the sake of repeating his courses, he retains the privileges of students for six months in France; in Germany no account is taken of private study.

Thirty-fifth. Once entered in the matriculation register, one returning by right of postliminy is bound to pay nothing.

Thirty-sixth. A beneficed cleric who, for the sake of studies, is not ordained within a year can receive a dispensation from the bishop.

Thirty-seventh. The bishop cannot revoke that dispensation without an evident cause.

Thirty-eighth. Money ought not to be received for a dispensation. This, however, is common to all sacred things, which ought to be given without a price.

Thirty-ninth. Dispensation is more readily granted to students and learned men.

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Fortieth. Those who possess a degree can, with a dispensation, obtain four benefices. I shall speak of this abuse in Book 6, on the ecclesiastical magistracy.

Forty-first. A pension granted by the bishop for the sake of study is not taken away if an equal benefice is granted, but one which requires residence is, unless the studies have been completed.

Forty-second. The bishop together with the chapter can establish that every canon shall contribute something annually for the support of a poor, able, and diligent student.

Forty-third. Knowledge makes a rich man from a poor one.

Forty-fourth. Hence many serve learned men.

Forty-fifth. Students who have attained knowledge are regarded as noble. Indeed, in Germany they are equated with nobles--in the Imperial Diets at Augsburg in the years 1530 and 1548--and both formerly and now in many kingdoms they are preferred. For virtue is the one and only nobility; knowledge is a nobility lesser than virtue but greater than nobility of lineage.

Forty-sixth. A doctor who answers without present labor deserves a fee, because he has already labored formerly.

Forty-seventh. Poor students who beg, if able-bodied, cannot be compelled to labor, just as nobles cannot.

Forty-eighth. When two men of equal merit are elected--the unlearned choosing one and the university the other--the judgment of the university prevails.

Forty-ninth. The state ought to be entrusted to learned men.

Fiftieth. A learned student is preferred to an unlearned doctor.

Fifty-first. A scholar becomes more learned by teaching.

Fifty-second. A larger dowry is owed to a learned person.

Fifty-third. A father can be compelled to supply the expenses of study to his son. This privilege has so many limitations that I judge it never rightly done--indeed, not to be done.

Fifty-fourth. A parent is bound to give an allowance to a student at the beginning of the month. This privilege too is placed in the parent's hand.

Fifty-fifth. In the division of an inheritance, a scholar receives the books before the division and is not bound to bring them into the common stock.

Fifty-sixth. Books are not reckoned into the lawful share; in a doubtful case the father is deemed to have given the books.

Fifty-seventh. When students are compelled to bring the books into account, they may retain the books and contribute their assessed value.

Fifty-eighth. A loan given to a son by his father can be reclaimed.

Fifty-ninth. A debt contracted for the sake of studies must be paid from the common property.

Sixtieth. A gift made to a son under paternal power is valid if the son studies.

Sixty-first. Nor can that gift be revoked.

Sixty-second. The father does not possess the usufruct of goods so given.

Sixty-third. A student may revoke a gift made with the intention of departing from study if he does not depart.

Sixty-fourth. A gift made to a student, even if it exceeds five hundred gold pieces, does not require registration.

Sixty-fifth. A student who is the son of a professor retains his origin in his father's city.

Sixty-sixth. A doctor is bound to support his poor scholar. But this is fitting only when the doctor is rich and the student poor. There are now so many thousands of poor students that scarcely any king could support them.

Sixty-seventh. Doctors can be witnesses for their own students and disciples.

Sixty-eighth. He whom his auditors regard as learned must be deemed learned.

Sixty-ninth. A doctor cannot be rejected as judge in the cause of his own students. Scholars, however, can reject the ordinary judge.

There has been great controversy concerning criminal causes. Students are customarily judged by their own doctors, but in horrendous crimes they are remitted to the magistrate. The slowness and connivance of academicians in punishing offenses has abolished many privileges. Rebuffi says that the Bolognese renounced their privilege; those of Mainz defend their right and, so long as discipline flourishes, will defend it with the state's applause. For privileges are customarily lost only through offenses.

Seventieth. Students do not summon their doctors to court unless permission has been sought, for no less reverence is owed to them than to fathers.

Seventy-first. Doctors ought not to beat their auditors. A light chastisement, however, is granted to a master of arts and to a teacher.

Seventy-second. An auditor may follow the judgment of a learned, conscientious, and modest doctor even when it is contrary to the common opinion. I understand this, however, only if the doctor judges it true and persuades himself of it by probable reasoning.

Seventy-third. A student summoned by his father may withdraw, even if he has affirmed by oath that he would not withdraw. This is unjust and therefore not a privilege, if the oath was given in a lawful manner and for a lawful cause; and it is an occasion of wrongdoing and fraud, which greatly bring the best arts into disrepute.

Seventy-fourth. One who swears that he will accompany the rector is not always bound to accompany him, provided that he devotes himself to studies at home.

Seventy-fifth. Students disobedient to the rector, even if they are perjurers, are nevertheless not infamous.

Seventy-sixth. Even if they swear that they will not take a degree in some university, they will nevertheless be able to do so if there is a new cause, such as a new examination. I judge that they are bound by the oath.

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Seventy-seventh. A father visiting his son at the place of study cannot be sued there concerning other contracts, unless he is bound to the place by another cause.

Seventy-eighth. Much less can he be seized under reprisals, for studies would be greatly impeded.

Seventy-ninth. One who inflicts loss upon the relatives, servants, messengers, or messengers of students is bound to make restitution fourfold.

Eightieth. A mandate in favor of students does not expire upon the death of the mandator. Titus orders his agent to give one hundred gold pieces to Gaius the student; if he dies before the money has been given, his heir is bound to pay it.

Eighty-first. Doctors and students are not bound to execute apostolic rescripts.

Eighty-second. When there are two rescripts of entirely equal force, the presumption is in favor of the student.

Eighty-third. The goods of students ought not to be seized.

Eighty-fourth. An able and learned man can be made a doctor even before the five-year period of studies.

Eighty-fifth. The desire to surpass others in knowledge is not a sin. But this must be properly understood, and it applies to many other things.

Eighty-sixth. A student who is notoriously expert ought not to be examined.

Eighty-seventh. A student can exclude from his examination a doctor who is suspect.

Eighty-eighth. In this matter the student's oath is accepted.

Eighty-ninth. Doctors ought not to demand a dinner for the beginning of a lecture which students commence.

Ninetieth. A doctor ought to demand nothing from the poor.

Ninety-first. A rescript against a student is not valid unless it mentions that he is a student.

Ninety-second. A rescript granted to a student is not void if he is designated not from his fatherland but from his place of study.

Ninety-third. A change of name is not forbidden to students.

Ninety-fourth. Garments of every kind and color are permitted to students, for they are foreigners. Individual academies, however, are accustomed to prescribe modesty to their own students.

Ninety-fifth. One who has promised that he will write a book for a student is not released if he pays the student's interest; rather, it is necessary to complete the work itself.

Ninety-sixth. He is bound to write even with his own ink and rubric.

Ninety-seventh. A student may by his own authority seize a scribe who promised that he would write in a certain place, if the scribe deceives him. This privilege has been altogether abolished.

Ninety-eighth. In ecclesiastical territories the emperor is accustomed to legitimize a student.

Ninety-ninth. The disadvantage of a purchased thing does not fall upon a student.

One hundredth. Someone can be compelled to sell a site for enlarging the schools or one suitable for a college.

One hundred first. No one can occupy the places of students.

One hundred second. A student cannot be seized in a school unless he is rebellious toward his doctor.

One hundred third. An injury done to one student is regarded as common to them all.

One hundred fourth. The greatest friendship is contracted through similarity of studies.

One hundred fifth. A judge inquires without an accuser against those who trouble students, for it is sacrilege to attack a student's house.

One hundred sixth. A student who has suffered injury together with another who is not a student grants his own privilege to his companion, so that both may conduct their case before the conservators of the city.

One hundred seventh. An association of a few students can create a syndic.

One hundred eighth. If a student is killed and the murderer is not apprehended, the ten nearest houses are placed under interdict for five years. If a thing is taken from a student by theft, the neighborhood is liable. But these provisions have never been employed in Germany.

One hundred ninth. A doctor or exceptionally excellent student condemned for a crime ought to be given his life because of his expertise.

One hundred tenth. Neither students nor their servants ought to bear arms in a crowd. Scholars who carry arms every day--a sword and other weapons--are presumed wicked and to possess a malevolent disposition; the gloss on the paragraph *If Any Rustic*.

One hundred eleventh. If a student unknowingly passes counterfeit money, he is not punished, because he is presumed to know laws rather than money.

One hundred twelfth. If students become rich after a cession of goods, although they are bound to repay their creditors, nevertheless their books ought not to be taken from them.

One hundred thirteenth. Books cannot be taken from him for any cause, not even for execution of a judgment, unless he is unruly.

One hundred fourteenth. Books ought not to be given to another without an express mandate.

One hundred fifteenth. Jews and other purchasers of students' books cannot retain them until they are reclaimed by their owners.

One hundred sixteenth. A bookseller is bound to produce books to scholars so that a scholar may see whether they are his. Thus defendants are compelled to produce books to the plaintiff in order to establish his claim.

One hundred seventeenth. Although Jews ought not to live with Christians, their children are nevertheless not excluded from Christian schools.

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One hundred eighteenth. Students are preferred to the other creditors; indeed, they possess such preference in these matters that the goods of the city are judged mortgaged to professors for their salaries.

One hundred nineteenth. A student who has suffered loss can seek restoration to his original position during his studies.

One hundred twentieth. A student deceived by booksellers immediately possesses an action for rescission.

One hundred twenty-first. A student cannot be sued in an academic place on account of contracts entered into elsewhere.

One hundred twenty-second. Nor even on account of obligations contracted before his studies.

One hundred twenty-third. Indeed, not even on account of offenses committed at another university.

One hundred twenty-fourth. Repentance is also allowed to students, so that a student is not regarded as infamous if he restores what was taken away.

One hundred twenty-fifth. Students enjoy all the privileges of the citizens among whom they reside.

One hundred twenty-sixth. Yet students are citizens of the city in which they reside in such a manner that they experience its advantages, not its disadvantages.

One hundred twenty-seventh. Accordingly, they are not bound to the burdens of the city, even if something has been established concerning this matter contrary to their immunity.

One hundred twenty-eighth. A student can make a testament concerning goods given by his father or by others.

One hundred twenty-ninth. Students are regarded as foreigners, are presumed to be ignorant of the customs of the city, must be defended by everyone, and belong to the forum of the Church.

One hundred thirtieth. If a legacy of books is established, a doctor will possess all the books belonging to his faculties; if he has been promoted in several faculties, he will possess even those of medicine.

One hundred thirty-first. A legacy is owed to a student at the place of the academy, and is not diminished by the expense of conveying it unless the testator has provided otherwise.

One hundred thirty-second. If maintenance is bequeathed to a student, it must be paid in money.

One hundred thirty-third. An uncertain legacy for the sake of study is valid, because it is deemed to be for pious causes; the promise and stipulation are interpreted according to the judgment of good faith.

One hundred thirty-fourth. The Falcidian deduction is not taken from a legacy to students, just as it is not taken from legacies for pious causes.

One hundred thirty-fifth. A legacy made to mendicant religious for the sake of study is valid.

One hundred thirty-sixth. An annual legacy is owed at the beginning of the year.

One hundred thirty-seventh. A legacy left by an informal expression of will, if it has been furnished for three years, is also owed thereafter.

One hundred thirty-eighth. When books are bequeathed to students, money for purchasing them is deemed to have been bequeathed.

One hundred thirty-ninth. Students may confess to the parish priest in whose parish they reside or to others possessing lawful authority.

One hundred fortieth. A student cannot be deprived of his privileges or matriculation unless he has been warned three times.

One hundred forty-first. If someone has been ordered to be matriculated, he is regarded as matriculated for the purpose of undergoing the imposed penalty if he has offended a student.

One hundred forty-second. Even one struck from the matriculation register enjoys the privileges until he is enrolled in another university.

One hundred forty-third. In a city which is under interdict, students can hear lectures, although their doctors too are under interdict.

One hundred forty-fourth. If a student beats a cleric moderately, he can be absolved by the apostolic conservator.

One hundred forty-fifth. What students expend is deemed to be expended for the utility of the Church.

One hundred forty-sixth. They owe no tolls upon the things which they carry with them.

One hundred forty-seventh. If they assert that they are carrying books, credence is given to their oath and that of their messengers.

One hundred forty-eighth. Those who compel students to pay tolls are deprived of all their privileges.

One hundred forty-ninth. Students are immune from levies and public duties.

One hundred fiftieth. They cannot be seized under reprisals.

One hundred fifty-first. A student who is not otherwise proscribed is always safe while going, remaining, and returning.

One hundred fifty-second. A student has as judges the bishop, the civil authority, the rector, and the doctor.

One hundred fifty-third. Even after joinder of issue, he can choose another judge.

One hundred fifty-fourth. When summoned by a judge who is not his own, he is not bound to plead his privilege, because he is notoriously privileged.

One hundred fifty-fifth. In civil and criminal matters he can be a plaintiff without the consent of his father.

One hundred fifty-sixth. Indeed, some extend the privilege concerning a civil action to monks; I judge that this is forbidden by the vows and oaths of religious.

One hundred fifty-seventh. One who draws a student before a foreign tribunal loses his case.

One hundred fifty-eighth. Doctors possess jurisdiction over students by the law of all academies, and in many places those who appeal elsewhere are perjurers.

One hundred fifty-ninth. Even masters of arts are judges in controversies among their fellow students.

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One hundred sixtieth. A student sued before his own judge can bring a counterclaim.

One hundred sixty-first. Students may draw their debtors as far as four days' journeys.

One hundred sixty-second. Students who are plaintiffs do not follow the forum of the defendant. But this is nowhere observed except where there are special conservators who are, as it were, judges of both parties.

One hundred sixty-third. Students may appeal from an interlocutory judgment.

One hundred sixty-fourth. Students may appeal directly to a superior judge without an intermediate judge, because the emperor by special grace offers himself for their defense.

One hundred sixty-fifth. A student loses his privilege when study ceases. If, however, he attends the schools from time to time and studies at home--especially if he is of advanced age--he retains it.

One hundred sixty-sixth. The servants and scribes of students, accessory persons, and even their entire colleges enjoy their privileges.

One hundred sixty-seventh. A student's servant cannot seek wages unless mention and agreement were made.

One hundred sixty-eighth. Setoff cannot be sought against students, for by this means a student could be reduced to extreme straits.

One hundred sixty-ninth. A student is never deemed to seek academic honors through ambition.

One hundred seventieth. A student can be a witness for his companion and friend, especially in a cause concerning studies.

One hundred seventy-first. A student may be given as surety, but he must renounce his privilege.

One hundred seventy-second. A student who is a surety and is about to depart for study can ask the creditor to substitute another.

One hundred seventy-third. A magistrate who seizes a student offering sureties and does not release him is liable for injury; but this applies in a civil, not a criminal, cause.

One hundred seventy-fourth. Maintenance unduly given to a poor student cannot be reclaimed.

One hundred seventy-fifth. A gift made by a wealthy wife to her student husband is valid.

One hundred seventy-sixth. For a doctor, the time during which he professed before his doctorate counts toward the *comitiva* which someone obtains by twenty years of teaching.

One hundred seventy-seventh. A father may cede a lawsuit to his student son.

One hundred seventy-eighth. All these privileges are deemed to have been granted to students *motu proprio*; therefore deceit is presumed absent, especially with respect to those privileges which are in the body of law.

One hundred seventy-ninth. When all privileges are derogated by an edict of the prince, those privileges which are in the body of law are not deemed included, and a special privilege is not derogated by a general law.

One hundred eightieth. Historians, rhetoricians, and grammarians also enjoy these privileges, but not those who teach or learn the first elements of letters, and in no way those who devote themselves to forbidden arts.

The privileges of Mainz likewise extend only to those who devote themselves to studies. “Likewise,” says the founder, “we will that the privileges, concessions, exemptions, and indulgences given and granted as stated above shall be understood only of doctors and masters incorporated into the university and its faculties, and of students who enter, attend, and are enrolled in the matriculation register of the university.”

I wished to collect all these things from a most diligent and most learned jurist, not being ignorant that not all are everywhere employed and that many have been privately granted in other places, but so that they might be ready at hand for readers and all might recognize with what great favor, liberality, and munificence princes, kings, emperors, and above all the Church and the supreme pontiff have pursued professors and pupils of the sciences. His sole care ought to be that learned piety and pious learning be preserved in the Christian world.

There are, however, very many times and occasions on which scholars do not enjoy these privileges. For some privileges, if they do not involve injustice, rightly carry offense to others, and have a just use only among the most just. Next, students have fallen from the right of privileges if a student is a wanderer; if he lives dishonorably; if he neither studies at home nor attends lectures; if he is a disturber of others and of discipline; if he beats, mocks, reviles, or hisses at others; if he is a gambler, bankrupt, or blasphemer; if he is excommunicated; if, being a cleric or monk, he studies without the permission of his superiors; if he refuses to obey the rector; if he devotes his labor to forbidden arts; or if he studies outside privileged schools.

Golden, therefore, is the law of our academy, which adorns golden Mainz. Although expressed in the words of an ancient age, it possesses the sense of true and genuine piety: “We further will and establish that doctors, licentiates, masters, and generally all incorporated into our university who wish to enjoy its privileges shall live honorably and according to the precepts of law and the statutes of our university. First, let them render due honor to the rector; then each to the other according to the preeminence of dignities and degrees. Above all, we require doctors, masters, and graduates to display gravity, constancy, and maturity of mind; in scholars, obedience, chastity, and diligent study; in all, finally, gentle and honorable morals; and, in sum, a life becoming disciplined men. We shall nevertheless punish

the rebellious, disturbers of the peace, unruly men, night-wanderers, and all other delinquents whatsoever according to the atrocity of the offense, as follows.”

To this pertains that noble exhortation of the Faculty of Philosophy to its pupils: “May it be happy and auspicious, and indeed for the entire literary state. We intend to publish our sacrosanct laws and statutes to our entire assembly. In this business of promulgation, you, studious cohort, present yourself to us as one who must first be admonished, lest you appear to have assembled for the publication of our statutes with unwashed hands and feet, as the saying goes, or with insufficient reverence. Indeed, we command and desire all comrades of our service to listen with purified ears and minds and to pay attention without yawning. We desire men who are properly well-born, tractable, intent upon the studies of the disciplines, and burning with love of them to be presented to us. But, on the contrary,

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we send far away from here the unruly, undisciplined, difficult, and morose, those born under an unfavorable genius and with the Muses and Apollo angry; and by manifest declaration we reject them as unwarlike, slothful, and useless for literary service.”

The most provident care of our ancestors rightly enacted these things. For such great privileges were bestowed upon the study of wisdom, piety, and the liberal arts, and upon the utility of the state--not upon the wickedness, idleness, and luxury of wandering young men.

CHAPTER XVI

Degrees and Honors Must Legitimately Be Conferred upon the Learned, and Must Be Highly Esteemed

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 1. I have undertaken to treat separately a privilege of great advantage and great dignity, one which preserves most academies from destruction: namely, the honors, power, and titles which a university, as a certain state, is accustomed to confer upon those who have deserved well. For this shows much more clearly that an academy is a state than does the use of a scepter. The state alone distributes public dignities among its citizens. Therefore, just as every state is governed by expectation of rewards and punishments, so too are academies. It is rightly said:

Οὔτε γὰρ ὁ μισθὸς οὐδὲν ἔστ' οὔθ' ἡ τέχνη.

There is neither reward for the art, nor does the art itself flourish.

All honorable things languish unless value from honor also accrues to them. For who will consecrate his sons to study if no rewards are established for so prolonged and uncertain a labor? As it is, many din this into little children:

Why do you attempt a useless study?

The other honors conferred by the multitude are indeed held in less esteem. But true honor is the judgment of wise men concerning the dignity of another. This exact judgment of learning began with the academies themselves. For although great honor was formerly decreed to learned men, nevertheless neither so exact a test by the Lydian stone nor a distinction of orders was instituted; that privilege is reserved for the worthy members of academies.

In Lucian, Solon desires that those who have conducted themselves rightly in the schools should be seen honored by all and magnificently proclaimed by the voice of a herald in the assembly of all Greece, so that all youth and the spectators might be inflamed with love of virtue and of the sciences. But as vices gained strength and wars caused disorder, no regular honor was accorded to learning. At Athens Basil was courted by the attentions of magistrates and magnates even to the point of envy. Some trace of these honors of ours appears in his case; for at Caesarea, as Gregory, that holy Achates of his, relates, the doctors of the school resolved to confer upon him the insignia of teaching and honor. Augustus also denied to everyone the authority to give legal opinions, except those to whom it had been granted by the examination of the schools.

§ 2. The Lateran Council procured the greatest authority for academic degrees or dignities, for it most diligently ordered that the studies of the good arts be defended, preserved, and promoted. The statutes and decrees of the Council of Vienne celebrated under Clement V are also excellent in this matter. Those who obtained degrees especially enjoyed all privileges.

Academic honors are public testimonies of learning conferred with dignity and reverence, and the power of acting and enjoying the goods which are connected with the dignity conferred.

That honor is great which is bestowed not upon fortune, bodily strength, or athletic exercise, but upon the goods of the mind.

Power is granted not only for giving opinions and teaching, but also for other summits of honors and dignities. For those approved by the examination of universities were sent to princes, civil as well as ecclesiastical, so that they might undertake a share in the care of the state; they also possessed by reason of learning a prerogative for benefices and prelatures. Accordingly, with this hope Justinian in the preface to the *Institutes* exhorts everyone to studies as

necessary to the state: “Receive these laws of ours with the greatest effort and eager study, and show yourselves so learned that the most beautiful hope may encourage us that, when the entire legal work has been completed, our state too can be governed in the parts of it to be entrusted to you.”

For in a state philosophy and learning strengthen all things more than military affairs do. Valerius, Book 3, chapter 3: “There is also that vehement and constant warfare of the mind, philosophy, potent in letters, the priestess of the venerable mysteries of doctrine; when it has been received into human breasts and dishonorable and useless passion has been expelled, it strengthens them wholly within the solid fortification of virtue, rendering them more powerful than fear and grief.”

§ 3. There is variety in these dignities, first among different faculties and then within the same ones. Among different faculties the order is that theologians are placed first, jurists second, physicians third, and philosophers fourth. So Panormitanus, chapter *Cleric*, *On Judgments*; Silvester, *On Doctors and Masters*, number 2. Nor can the most honorable nation of physicians complain about the jurists because, while the latter protect property and riches but physicians protect life, which is greater than the accessories of life, they are placed after them. For a jurist teaches men to live well, justly, peacefully, and in a manner conducive to the common good, which is better than merely to live. I add that jurists also defend life by laws against plots and violence.

As for what some have judged--that those approved by a superior and more dignified authority ought to take precedence--I think that this is now done nowhere, so far as I know. Indeed, when doctors distinguished by diplomas from the pontiff or Caesar come to academies, for reasons which I shall state they are held suspect

περὶ ἀγνοίας,

of ignorance.

§ 4. Another order exists within one and the same faculty, in which there are those now called bachelors, licentiates, and doctors, and in theology biblical and formed bachelors. Definite times, books, and degrees of knowledge are prescribed for each, and the purpose is that they should gradually reach the summit through intermediate honors. For in every state there are degrees of honors: among the Romans, the aedileship, quaestorship, praetorship, consulship, and, as the ornament of men of consular rank, the censorship and dictatorship.

Formerly there was a different system of names, which Justinian recounts concerning students of law. For those who devoted themselves to laws in the first year, as is stated in Justinian’s letter *On the Method of Teaching Law*, were called *dupondii* by a name as frivolous as it was ridiculous--as though “two-obol men,” as Cujas thinks. A *dupondius* was certainly a kind of very small coin. Seneca in a *Controversy*: “Shall ten young men thus perish on account of your two asses?” And Seneca to Lucilius, Epistle 18: “Then, believe me, Lucilius, you will exult when filled for two asses, and you will understand that fortune is not necessary for satiety; for even when angry she must still give what is sufficient for necessity. Yet there is no reason why you should think that you are doing anything great: for you will do what many thousands of slaves and many thousands of poor men do. Esteem yourself on this account: that you will do it without being compelled.”

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They were therefore two asses, or still smaller coins, which nevertheless sufficed for the most meager hunger of a little slave. I indeed think they were two asses, since Seneca adds a little later that Epicurus wrote to Polyaeus and boasted that he was fed on less than a whole as, while Metrodorus, who had not yet advanced so far, was fed on a whole one. That it was a small amount is established from the words of Epicurus in Stobaeus:

Βρυάζω τῷ κατὰ τὸ σωματίον ἡδεῖ, ὕδατι καὶ ἄρτῳ χρώμενος, καὶ προσπτύω ταῖς ἐκ πολυτελείας ἡδοναῖς, οὐ δι’ αὐτάς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰ ἐξακολουθοῦντα αὐταῖς δυσχερῇ,

which the most learned Lipsius translates thus: “I am full and overflow with the pleasure of my little body, and that while using water and bread. But I spit upon costly pleasures, not because of the pleasures themselves, but because of the inconveniences which accompany them.”

Those *dupondii*, therefore, were so called in jest, almost in the same manner in which, at the beginning of logic in certain academies, they call dialecticians who have not undergone deposition *Beani*. But the prudent emperor softened the harsh beginnings by the honor of his own name and called the novices “New Justinians”; I see, however, that this appellation has now fallen out of use in most places.

The author himself states that auditors of the third year were called Papinianists. Auditors of the fourth year were called **λήται**, or **λυτοί**, or, as it seems to me, **λύται**. For **λήται** does not pertain to the matter, unless someone derives it from **λάω**, as though they were “seers.” **Λυτοί** signifies men “released” rather than “solvers” of questions. Turnebus judges that it means men fit for solving questions, by which reasoning **λύται** or **λυτήρες** would be the best forms.

In the fifth year, in which they completed the study of law, they were called **πρόλυτοι**, or rather **προλύται**. Hesychius has **προλυθείς**, which he interprets by **τῶν μελελυμένων**, “of those who have been released”; by this he indicates that he read **πρόλυτοι**. But if they were “released,” those who were occupied in the fourth year had therefore not yet disentangled themselves from their difficulties. Accordingly, I prefer these men to be called **λύτας**, superior and more learned definers, and to have obtained this name from the honor of declaring law.

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§ 5. Although the Chinese have no academies, they nevertheless confer great honors upon learned men. Thus the celebrated Nicolas Trigault, after traversing the world for the salvation of nations, explains concerning them in Book 1, chapter 5, of his *Chinese Expedition*:

“There is, moreover, no public school or academy, as some of our writers have asserted, whose masters have undertaken to expound these books to their pupils; rather, each chooses a teacher at his own discretion, by whom he is instructed in his own home and at his own expense. There is an immense multitude of these domestic schoolmasters, especially because, as I have said, it is customary for each man to open a school in his own house only for his sons, even if only one or two are counted, I believe so that they may not be turned away from application to study by association with others.

“In this learning three literary degrees are conferred upon those of their number who present themselves for examination and are judged fit. The examination, moreover, consists almost solely in writing. The first literary degree is conferred in individual cities, in the place which is called the school. Some distinguished man of letters appointed by the king himself for this purpose confers it. He is called *Tihio* by office, while the degree itself is called *Sieveai* and represents our baccalaureate.

“The *Tihio*, therefore, travels through all the cities of his province to confer that degree, before which a threefold examination is held. When that chancellor, to speak in our manner, arrives, all those from the city and its territory who aspire to that degree suddenly assemble and submit themselves to examination. The first is instituted by those schoolmasters who preside over the bachelors after they have obtained the degree while they seek to attain a further one. Anyone is admitted to this examination, and it often happens that four or five thousand are counted from one city. These schoolmasters are maintained by a royal stipend for this purpose.

“The candidates are then sent by the schoolmasters to the four prefects of the city--all of whom are learned, for no one else has a part in the state. After examining them again, the prefects present no more than two hundred from the whole number to the chancellor, those whom they have judged most worthy by reason of the better composition. The chancellor conducts the third examination, altogether more severe than the others; for from the two hundred he names as bachelors no more than twenty or thirty, according to the size of the region, whom he has found most worthy in the

same examination, and joins them to the bachelors of previous years. All these represent by dignity a not inconsiderable part of the city, for all honor them in hope of the future dignity toward which they advance.

“They put on a long robe, cap, and boots as the peculiar insignia of their dignity, and it is forbidden for anyone other than a bachelor to appear in that apparel. In assemblies of magistrates they sit in a more honorable place, and weightier ceremonies of civility are shown to them which the common people are not permitted to employ. They also enjoy many immunities and are subject to almost no one except the chancellor and those four schoolmasters of theirs; nor do the other magistrates readily judge their causes or offenses. The chancellor’s office extends not only to the new bachelors but brings to the anvil even the older men distinguished by that degree in former years, and by a severe balance tests how far they have either advanced or declined.

“Accordingly, he establishes five orders according to the quality of the writing. To those who are judged to be in the first, as a reward he gives the power to discharge certain public offices--but not the highest--without a superior degree. He also grants a reward, though a lower one, to those enrolled in the second class. He judges those in the third worthy neither of reward nor of punishment. Those in the fourth are publicly beaten, paying the penalty for their indolence. Finally, those in the last are stripped of the insignia of the baccalaureate and cast back into the order of the common people. They do this lest, after the men have been enrolled among the bachelors, they hide in idleness and consign what they had learned to oblivion.

“The second literary degree of the Chinese is called *Kiugin* and is compared with the order of our licentiates. It is conferred only every third year in the metropolis of the province, around the eighth moon, and with still greater majesty. It is not conferred upon all who are judged worthy of it, but upon those who, among them, are most worthy within a fixed number--more or fewer according to the dignity and populousness of the provinces. For in each of the two royal cities, namely Peking and Nanking, one hundred and fifty licentiates are proclaimed from the entire number of bachelors; in the provinces of Cequiana, Quian-Sinensi, and Fuquiana, ninety-five; and in the rest, somewhat fewer according to the number of learned men and the dignity of the province.

“Only bachelors are admitted to this examination, and not even all of them; rather, from each city or school of the province, as I have already said, a minimum of thirty and a maximum of forty bachelors, selected by that chancellor from the whole number after their writing has been tested, are chosen.

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“And yet by this method in the more populous provinces the number of those who aspire to the order of licentiates often grows to four thousand. Therefore, in that year which returns every third year for the initiation of licentiates--such, for example, was the year of the Lord 1609, and the next will return in 1612--a few days before the eighth moon, which often falls in the month of September, the magistrates of Peking present to the king in a submitted document one hundred philosophers selected from the whole kingdom, so that from them he may appoint thirty, namely two for each province, to preside over this examination of licentiates. One of the two must belong to the royal college which they call *Hanlinguem*, whose members are said to be the most celebrated in the whole kingdom.

“The king does not name them at all until the very point of time at which they will be able to arrive in the designated province by the most rapid journey. Very many guards are also employed, lest for any reason they speak with anyone from that province before the licentiates have been proclaimed. The more celebrated philosophers are also summoned from the same province by the magistrates; by them the two royal examiners are faithfully assisted in this examination and first review of the writings.

“In every metropolis one sees an immense palace constructed solely for this examination and enclosed by very high walls. Within it are very many separate dwellings removed from every disturbance, in which the examiners whom I have mentioned reside while they examine the writings. Besides these, in the middle of the palace there are more than

four thousand cells, which can hold nothing beyond a small table, a stool, and one man. From these cells no one can speak with a neighbor or even see anyone.

“When the urban and royal examiners whom I have mentioned have arrived in the metropolis, each is first enclosed in his own dwelling in that palace before they can speak with anyone; indeed, they are excluded even from mutual conversation with one another during the entire time occupied in examining the writings. Furthermore, at that time long watches by night of many soldiers and magistrates investigate and prevent every exchange of letters and conversations between those who reside within the boundaries of the palace and those who remain outside them.

“The same three days are appointed everywhere throughout the whole kingdom for this examination: namely, the ninth, twelfth, and fifteenth days of the eighth moon. From the first light of dawn until the beginning of night time is granted for writing, the doors being carefully closed. A light refreshment, prepared the day before at public expense, is furnished to the writers. When the bachelors are admitted within the palace boundaries, they are examined most severely to determine whether they are carrying some book or writing with them. They are permitted to bring only some brushes which they use for writing, the writing tablet mentioned above, ink, and paper. Their garments, brushes, and writing tablets are examined lest they contain anything by fraud. If any fraud is discovered, they are not only excluded but also punished most severely.

“After the bachelors have been admitted into the palace, the doors closed and secured with public seals, the two royal presidents of the examination publish three sayings from that *Tetrabiblion*, chosen at their discretion, which each candidate sets before himself as the themes of as many compositions. Likewise, four sayings from those five doctrines are proposed as themes for as many other compositions. Each chooses those which are drawn from the doctrine which he professes. These seven compositions must be weighty not only with ornaments of words but also with weight of thought, the precepts of Chinese eloquence being accurately observed. No composition may exceed five hundred characters in number, each of which is equivalent to one of our words.

“On the second day--which follows two days granted for the repose of those being examined--when they have been enclosed in the same manner, three events are proposed which were drawn from the annals of the ancients and happened formerly, or certain other events which could occur hereafter. Each declares his judgment in three compositions, or advises the king by a submitted document what he thinks ought to be done in that case for the good of the kingdom. On the third day, similarly, three disputes are proposed to them from those which can require decision in discharging the offices of the state. Each again explains in three compositions the judgment which he would render in deciding that dispute.

“After each has received in this manner the subjects of the compositions on the appointed day and committed them to memory, the bachelors enter the cell designated for each of them by the persons responsible, in order to write; and in great silence each one writes everywhere. Each copies his compositions into a booklet prepared for this purpose, adding at the end of the compositions his own name and those of his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, and seals the booklet so that it can be opened only by the deputies.

“When each has done this with each booklet, they offer them to the deputies. Before the booklets come into the hands of the examiners, they are copied by the hands of scribes who are already present and prepared. To prevent fraud, the copies are written in red, while the autograph texts themselves, without the names of their authors, are delivered to the examiners for review. The autographs, marked with numbers corresponding to the copies, are preserved in the meantime. This is done so that those who examine the writings may recognize neither the authors' names nor their manner of forming the characters.

“Those first examiners selected from the urban magistrates examine all the compositions and reject every poorest one in such a manner that they offer the royal examiners twice the number to which the number of licentiates may rise. Thus, if one hundred and fifty must be proclaimed, three hundred compositions are set apart and transmitted to the dwelling of the royal examiners to be examined in the final scrutiny. From these they separate all the best ones, as

many as suffice for the number of licentiates. From this number they next choose the first, second, and third compositions and arrange them carefully in order.

“When this has been accomplished, all the examiners together compare the copies with the autographs recognized by the numbers placed upon them, and read the author’s name in the autograph. They display these names, written in letters a cubit high, upon an immense tablet, at about the end of the eighth moon, amid a great concourse of magistrates and the applause of those who are connected by blood or affinity with the men proclaimed licentiates.

“This degree is far superior to and more celebrated than the former, enjoys other, more noble immunities, and possesses a distinctive ornament of dignity. Indeed, if its recipients lay aside the desire to aspire to the highest degree,

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they are capable of offices in the state which are not of the lowest rank. When this proceeding has been brought to completion in this manner, the royal presidents of the examination publish a book by which the outcome of the whole examination, the names of the licentiates, and the more distinguished compositions on each proposed subject are disseminated throughout the entire kingdom in this manner. Above all, the compositions of the man who obtained first place among the licentiates are printed with those types. In Chinese he is called *Quiayuen*.

“This book is printed in an especially elegant character and distributed throughout the whole kingdom; several copies of it are offered to the king and to the other courtiers. Those who are bachelors of another province are by no means admitted to this examination. Only in each royal city are a few men from other provinces admitted by a special privilege, because they have been enrolled in the royal school of which they are members. After obtaining the baccalaureate, they are admitted to that college upon paying a definite number of gold pieces to the royal treasury.

“The third literary order among the Chinese is called *Cinsu* and plainly represents our doctorate. It too is conferred every third year, but only in the royal city of Peking, and the year for initiating doctors is always the one which immediately follows the proceeding for licentiates. Only three hundred men from the entire kingdom obtain it, although licentiates from the individual provinces are admitted by law whenever they wish to undergo the hazard of the examination.

“This proceeding is instituted in the second moon on the same days which we mentioned above, and also in the same form, with altogether no difference except that, in accordance with the degree and its dignity, diligence in the examination is also increased, lest any fraud or favor perhaps creep in. The examiners themselves are selected from the gravest magistrates of the kingdom, whom they call *Colaos*, concerning whom below; one is appointed president of the examination.

“When the examination has ended and the doctors have been proclaimed in that same palace in which it is also customary for the licentiates to be proclaimed, all together in the royal palace, before the chief magistrates of the entire court--and formerly even the king himself was present--they compose a writing upon a proposed theme. By the judgment of this writing the order of the magistracies which they are to hold is proclaimed, divided into three classes. Great is the solemnity of this examination, which consists entirely in a short composition. The man who obtained first place in the examination of doctors has his third place in this second examination placed beyond hazard. The man who obtains first or second place in this examination is distinguished throughout his whole life by a remarkable dignity, besides the fact that he discharges all the greatest offices in the state. That dignity might most suitably be compared with the title of duke or marquis among us, if it passed to descendants by hereditary right.

“These doctors immediately enjoy their own robe, cap, boots, and also the other insignia of magistrates, and are advanced to the richer and more noble public magistracies. The order is always such that doctors are nowhere surpassed by licentiates. They are also numbered among the foremost men of the kingdom and suddenly become so superior to the other licentiates--their own colleagues the day before--to whom fortune did not fall equally, that it can

scarcely be believed; for everywhere places of precedence are yielded to them, and they are addressed by more splendid titles.

“Those licentiates, however, who have been rejected from the number of doctors, if they have laid aside hope of obtaining the doctorate in the future, are admitted to the administration of the state. Although below doctors, they nevertheless hold magistracies which are not the lowest, either in the royal city or abroad. If they decide to try fortune again, they return home and exercise themselves assiduously in writing and reading throughout the following three years, until, when the cycle of years returns, they again descend into the arena of examination. They are permitted to attempt this as often as they wish. It happens not rarely that they undergo the hazard ten times, while fortune always resists; fed upon that hope, they spend their entire life without a public office, because they wish to be either the highest or nothing.

“The outcome of the men proclaimed to this rank also--one not slight or inferior--is printed by the examiners in its own separate volume, with the names and every more distinguished composition added as above. Besides this book, another is also published annually, in which are described the names, fatherlands, parents, offices, and places of office of all the doctors. Thus, anyone who examines this annual volume will know what dignity each man held, and where, from the first year of his doctorate until his death, and by what degrees of honors he either ascended or descended--which among the Chinese is an everyday occurrence according to each man's merits.

“And in this obtaining of degrees, it is worthy of admiration what bond colleagues of the same year contract among themselves. For licentiates no less than doctors, whom fortune conspired to favor in the same year, regard one another as brothers throughout their whole life and mutually assist both one another and the relatives of their colleagues in all matters, always with a unanimous concord of affections. They also bind a still closer bond with the examiners themselves, such as customarily exists between parents and sons or disciples and masters, with due reverence always preserved, although it often happens that the disciples themselves ascend higher than their master through the individual degrees of honors.

“It is also customary to grant these degrees of honor in the same years, places, and titles to those who profess military service. Only the time is customarily deferred to the following moon. But because the military art lies prostrate among the Chinese, these degrees are conferred with far inferior ceremony. And so few aspire to them that the affair appears altogether wretched.

“This military examination is also threefold. In the first, the candidates discharge nine arrows while urged on in an equestrian course. In the second, standing with their feet fixed, they aim as many arrows at the same target. Those who have struck the target with at least four arrows from horseback and two from the ground are admitted to the third examination, in which, when a question concerning military affairs has been proposed, they are ordered to respond in writing. The judges then compare this threefold examination and proclaim about fifty licentiates from the whole number in each province.

“In the year in which doctors are named at Peking, military candidates selected from the entire number of licentiates of the whole kingdom, after the same threefold examination, are distinguished with the military doctorate, altogether one hundred in number. Doctors from this college are more readily appointed than licentiates to some military prefecture, though not without gifts. When both groups are first proclaimed, whether they belong to the philosophical or military senate, they inscribe above the threshold of their houses, for the commendation of their family, a title in letters a cubit high, by which the dignity each has attained is signified.

“Finally, this must not be passed over: the judges and presidents of all examinations, whether an inquiry is instituted concerning military affairs, the mathematical disciplines, the art of medicine, or--much more--ethical matters,

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are selected from the philosophical senate; nor is any general, mathematician, or physician joined to them. This will seem not a little astonishing and perhaps foolish to our Europeans. For so great among the Chinese is the reputation of those who excel in ethical discipline that they appear altogether able to render a suitable judgment concerning every subject, although they wander rather far beyond the bounds of their own profession.”

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§ 6. I have related these things in the author’s very many words, both that I myself may recall the memory of an excellent man, one who so often placed his life in his own hands in order to gain the souls of an unknown nation, and because our academies, in which discipline has fallen and the ardor for learning has been extinguished, can be restored to soundness in this manner. Let a prince dare something similar: he will behold the most noble academy in all Europe rise in his city.

What intervals of time are required for these degrees cannot be determined with certainty. Our Society has established three years for philosophy and four years for theology. Thus Rule 17 of the Provincial Superior provides: “They shall complete the philosophical course in three years, but not in a shorter time, where our members are present. But if the hearers are external students alone, let it be left to the Provincial’s judgment. Every year, however, if it can be done, one course is to be completed and another begun.”

And Rule 9, §1: “In accordance with the Constitutions, he shall take care that the course of theology is completed in four years, and that by two ordinary professors, or, if it could not possibly be done otherwise, by three, according to the different practice of the provinces. Where there are three, however, the third lecture will be moral theology, in which moral subjects that are customarily either wholly passed over or treated very briefly by the ordinary professors are to be explained expressly and solidly. Our members should hear this lecture for at least two years, and Sacred Scripture for the other two years.”

§ 7. The laws of the Kingdom of France in this kind of matter are most severe, as the most prudent and learned writer on politics, Pierre Grégoire of Toulouse, relates in Book 18, chapter 9. He reports them thus from the concordats between the kingdom and the Supreme Pontiff: “The time that anyone has spent learning in schools contributes to a presumption proving his knowledge. Justinian taught that the study of civil law could be completed in five years, while the canons taught that canon law could be completed in seven. But by the prescription of the concordats between the French and the Supreme Pontiff, in order to obtain benefices in the Kingdom of France by force of the privileges of graduates and nominees, it was established that ordinary collators or ecclesiastical patrons are bound to confer dignities, personates, administrations, offices, and ecclesiastical benefices falling vacant in the months assigned to graduates and nominees upon those simple graduates or nominees, or at least to present them for those positions, who have studied for a competent period in a renowned university.

“A competent period is declared to be ten years for masters, licentiates, or bachelors in theology; seven years for doctors or licentiates in canon law, civil law, or medicine; five years for masters or licentiates in arts, with a rigorous examination, reckoned inclusively from logic, or in a higher faculty; six years for simple bachelors in theology; but five years for bachelors in canon or civil law. For bachelors in canon and civil law who are noble through both parents, three years are decreed sufficient. ‘Simple graduates’ there means those who do not possess nominations, and who are not endowed in obtaining benefices with favor as great as those who do possess them. Before the attainment of degrees, that period of study is required to have been completed for the purpose of obtaining the privilege of accepting benefices, vacant in certain months as was defined and distinguished, which are owed through the concordats to simple graduates or nominees.”

The period for completing the studies in the foregoing cases belongs to positive law for the purpose of obtaining the privilege; but in other cases it can be left to the discretion of the masters, who by their own judgment may approve

those to be promoted either before or after that time. The arts are long, life is short, and one who is to be able to learn needs time so that afterward he may be able to teach.

§ 8. Yet he admits that this belongs to positive law, while in other cases it is discretionary; for because of the diversity of abilities, some attain learning more quickly and others more slowly. Therefore, that calculation of time must be instituted which is sufficient for middling abilities, is not burdensome to the greatest abilities, and is scarcely attained by slow abilities with great labor.

The Theological Faculty of Mainz, which has now flourished for fifty years to the great benefit of all, thus established in title 4, §2: “We do not wish any account of age or duration of studies to be taken in promotions unless the candidate is also commended by a knowledge of theological matters appropriate to the degree sought and by testimony of honorable conduct and life. For we altogether exclude from promotions infamous apostates or persons notoriously endowed with corrupt morals, however greatly they may excel in learning.”

For the loss of time without advancement contributes nothing to the matter. Nevertheless, it prescribed a period in §4: “Likewise, we establish and ordain that no one be admitted to the lecture or degree of biblical bachelors unless he has heard the ordinary lectures in theology for at least two years; but no one is to be admitted to the degree of bachelor of the *Sentences* before the completion of the third year, so that he may begin the lecture on the third book of the *Sentences*. Once this has been begun, they are considered formed bachelors. No one, however, shall obtain the degree of licentiate unless the fourth year of theological studies has elapsed.”

§ 9. Now the evils of academies must also be enumerated; for it is not the part of a writer on politics to conceal those things which break forth to the destruction of the entire state. First, in many places, unworthy men are promoted to academic honors. That is an ancient complaint, on account of which many hate the academies and some desire them to be overthrown. But they do so unjustly. How often are those men whom an honorable man would not wish to have as slaves raised to civil magistracies, tribunals, the diadem, and scepters by fear, hope, payment, and even shameful services? The wealth of the Church, too, frequently falls to the worst and not often to the best. What wonder is it, therefore, if the vices by which the whole state is oppressed also breathe upon academics and gradually infect them? Let us therefore acknowledge that it is so and that the most learned men never lack something to correct. They will not have me as an accuser of the academy.

The Council of Constance warned long ago: “Likewise, that wisdom may flourish hereafter and the studies of letters thrive, let no one be raised to the titles of degrees and honors unless he is fit, approved in morals and knowledge, and well deserving; nor let promotion be so slight and excessively precipitate. For, as is known and is ridiculous to many, many obtain the name of masters whom it would be more fitting still to be disciples. Those who act or proceed contrary to this are by the law itself to be deprived of the royal privileges granted to those same universities.”

The ambition of the unskilled imposed even upon the Pontiffs. Pierre Grégoire shows the practice in Book 18, chapter 9, §7. He relates that Julius III, the Supreme Pontiff, in a

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constitution issued on the sixth of February 1552, corrected a certain abuse: many men ignorant of civil and canon law, aspiring unduly to the degree of doctor, under the pretext that by devoting labor to a university of general study they had advanced so far that they were fit, obtained or extorted a license from the Apostolic See enabling them to receive the insignia of a doctorate in the Roman Curia from some prelate or person established in ecclesiastical dignity, even by extorting favorable letters. Under the pretext of that license, without employing the examination required for this or the other necessary measures, contrary to the statutes of the sacred canons and the provision of law, and to the disgrace of the dignity of that doctorate, they caused themselves to be promoted to that degree. Consequently, the degree was cheapened by the foregoing practices. Correcting this, the Supreme Pontiff ordained that thereafter no one could be

created a doctor in the city of Rome except by the College of Consistorial Advocates, notwithstanding privileges and licenses granted to the contrary.

In Melander, Book 1 of *Serious Jests*, there are verses against unlearned men in scholars' gowns:

A bull creates you a doctor; the bull is your ornament.

The bull gives you powers; the bull procures titles for you.

But take care lest perhaps the bubble endure less long than you:

You are a bubble of a man and a bubble-doctor; why, then, are you puffed up?

Hence today nothing is cheaper or more suspect than doctors made by bulls, although many possess distinguished learning, whereas those whom the Pontiff or Emperor honored with that distinction were customarily held in the highest place. Fraud is presumed--not indeed in a court of law, but in human opinion. Yet the error in the academies themselves is no smaller. I appeal to experience: let the doctors defend causes; let the masters dispute. Let Rhodes and the leap refute my suspicion.

The cause of so great an evil is gold, more powerful than the world itself. For while some academics gape after money, they prostitute their honors to anyone whatsoever; and the unskilled, who soften the severity of the examination by gifts, are far more welcome than those who present learning and a distinguished proof of doctrine. I believe that the poverty of academics sometimes casts them down to these petty gains; but anything else whatever should be done rather than dragging cattle and logs to the chairs of doctors. For men of such a kind should be promoted that, even if the laws perished, they would nevertheless teach and live rightly. I therefore propose these matters for consideration both by academics themselves and by princes.

§ 10. First: a doctorate in the theological, legal, or medical faculty can neither be received without mortal sin by one who knows himself to be unworthy nor be conferred by others if they know him to be unworthy. Thus Sylvester, "On Doctors," §4; Navarrus, *On the Sin of Masters and Doctors*, chapter 25; Armilla; Álvaro Pelayo, Book 2 of *The Lament of the Church*; and Sá in the *Aphorisms*.

The reason is weighty: they deceive the state and the Church, and in a weighty matter. For men who would not dare to offer an unskilled flute-player for the prince's pleasure do not fear to expose the salvation of peoples and princes to another man's inexperience. Those degrees are given so that the Church may have competent doctors who resist heresies and convert unbelievers; princes and bishops therefore trust the academies, by which they cannot be deceived and mocked without grave wickedness. Through their own complaisance, those academies are guilty of all the evils that follow from it. If an ignorant theologian either betrays the faith through ignorance or, conscious of his weakness, flees adversaries; if an ignorant advocate ruins his client; if an inexperienced physician undertakes the care of a bedridden patient, they bind themselves by a deadly crime, because for the sake of gain they cast their neighbors into danger of salvation, life, and fortunes. And so that they might possess such power, they range about more freely, supported by academic authority.

To this is added the particular pledge and duty of each faculty. For the doctors who are in the academic senate are bound either by a promise or even by an oath not to admit the unfit. Our faculty in title 7, §4, binds all by an oath that, when they are lawfully asked, they will give faithful testimony concerning the bachelors in the theological faculty. Sylvester therefore rightly judges those who admit an unworthy man to be bound by perjury as well.

Although candidates may appear never likely to teach, plead causes, or indeed exercise the practice of medicine, so that danger seems absent, nevertheless a public testimony of learning cannot be decreed to the unlearned without mortal sin. For perhaps an occasion or necessity--as all human affairs are uncertain--will require it, and thus the person will bring nothing but an empty title and, if his ignorance has hitherto lain hidden, an authority that will do harm. It belongs to a prudent man to take care not to entrust a sword to a madman or the power of judging or teaching to an

unskilled man. For although a madman sometimes uses a sword rightly, a sword is never rightly given to a madman. And although chance may sometimes make the work of an unskilled physician beneficial, nevertheless the rashness of the man who experiments with his art upon another's body is wicked.

But if men furnished with the privilege and title of a doctor are never going to cause any harm, it is nevertheless a grave sin and destructive to the state to fasten the insignia of learned men upon foolish cattle. Nor can the most honorable will of princes and founders be frustrated without wickedness. For if it is in the interest of the whole state that cunning and crafty men not divert to themselves the rewards of brave and well-deserving men, it will certainly feel the greatest harm if men adorned with a false testimony of learning and prudence walk about who are so uncultivated that they can scarcely be taught. For besides the fact that those honors are utterly despised if they fall to the unworthy as well as the worthy, another evil also arises which has ruined many academies: the idleness and inactivity of all the youths and the dissoluteness and lusts breaking forth from them. For if rich ignorance as well as laborious knowledge leads to the citadel of academic honors, many will readily redeem themselves from the greatest labors of a long period by the loss of a few coins. Many universities experience the most sorrowful effects of this academic perfidy: in them no one has for many years been excluded from degrees, and an examination is conducted merely as a ceremony. For who is more diligent in letters in order to obtain a degree, or whose fear of rejection shakes off his listlessness, if he sees the unlearned rich standing in the highest place as though made more venerable by learning?

§ 11. Nor are the resources of an academy served by that prevarication. For after the insignia have been made common to the unworthy and the crowd has made them contemptible, the nobility first despised those honors, which it would never have done if it had recognized true testimonies of learning in them. This is a great wound to universities: to have lost the noblest part of the youth. I have seen the most noble young men--sons of magnates and kinsmen of princes--treat every branch of study assiduously and diligently and seek the testimonies of their masters, yet despise academic degrees, that is, public testimonies.

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“For what is granted indiscriminately to the learned and the unlearned,” they said, “is not a testimony of learning, but a useless ceremony of idle and ambitious men.” Yet the Church by no means wishes doctors to be despised, since it entrusts so many and such great matters to them. The Council of Trent explained how much it grants to doctors in Session 22, chapter 2, *On Reform*: “Whoever is hereafter to be appointed to cathedral churches is not only to be fully endowed with birth, age, morals, life, and the other qualifications required by the sacred canons, but also to have been constituted beforehand in sacred orders for at least the space of six months. Information concerning these things, if there is no knowledge of him in the Curia or only recent knowledge, is to be obtained from the legates of the Apostolic See or the nuncios of the provinces, or from his ordinary, and, if he is lacking, from the nearest ordinaries. In knowledge, moreover, let him excel, in addition to these things, in such a manner that he can satisfy the necessity of the office to be imposed upon him. Therefore, he is beforehand to have been deservedly promoted in a university of studies as a master, doctor, or licentiate in sacred theology or canon law, or to be shown by the public testimony of some academy to be fit to teach others. But if he is a regular, let him have a similar attestation from the superiors of his religious order. All the aforesaid persons, however, from whom the information or attestation is to be obtained, shall be bound to report these things faithfully and without payment; otherwise, let them know that their consciences are gravely burdened, and that they shall have God and their superiors as avengers.”

§ 12. What more severe thing could be said by a general council against those who sell those public testimonies for little dinners and a few coins?

The same Synod in Session 24, chapter 18, *On Reform*, sets doctors over the examination of clerics: “Let these examiners be masters, doctors, or licentiates in theology or canon law, or other clerics or regulars, including those of the mendicant order, or even secular men who will appear more suitable for this. Let them all swear upon the Holy Gospels of God that, setting aside every human affection, they will discharge the office faithfully.”

But what will they judge concerning the knowledge of others if through their own ambition and academic perjury they themselves were made doctors? If the salt becomes insipid, with what will things be salted? In the same session, chapter 12, the Synod commands archdeacons to be masters or licentiates in theology or canon law; and in chapter 16, episcopal vicars are appointed. When the Church establishes these things, it ascribes as much to academic testimonies as it scarcely does to any other; and therefore it deservedly invokes God as avenger against prevaricators. The same reasoning applies to doctors of law and medicine. For almost the whole state is involved in the counsels of the former, and the lives of many men--including princes and magnates--in the knowledge of the latter.

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§ 13. But what is to be said of masters of arts and bachelors? There are some who excuse the unworthy from mortal sin, whether unskilled men receive the degree or confer it. For no part of the state is entrusted to them; and therefore, although they adorn blockheads in gowns with a hood, cap, and ring, they will nevertheless deceive no one, because these men have not yet been applied to affairs.

I hold the contrary: that to adorn unworthy men with the insignia of the baccalaureate or philosophical mastership is a mortal sin. First, on account of the oath by which examiners in many academies are bound to promise that they will not admit the unworthy. Accordingly, the founders and academies that require the oath judge the matter to be grave; from this it follows that even those who, although they have not sworn an oath, are nevertheless bound by a promise of fidelity cannot give false public testimony in a grave matter without grave sin.

Next, many things are customarily entrusted even to masters of arts: the power of disputing, teaching, examining others, and promoting them. When this has been conferred upon the unskilled, those studies which are necessary to the state must suffer great harms; and since these are greater than monetary losses, a crime is discerned here also. For since the youth who devote themselves to philosophy in the academies are numerous, it is evident that by contempt for academic honors they extinguish the youths' very ardor for study--that is, they deliberately corrupt youth itself. These honors are despised when they cease to be testimonies of learning. And the greater the apparatus of clothing, banquets, poems, and retinues with which those ceremonies are conducted, the greater the mockery in which they are held by those conscious of their own ignorance and that of others, because false testimonies and the frivolity of academics are paraded in a more conspicuous pomp.

There are not a few collegiate churches which require a baccalaureate or mastership; to deceive them is not only shameful but criminal. Finally, those who promote the unworthy gravely defame those whom they reject, since they cannot always promote everyone without overthrowing all discipline; for it is a great disgrace not to have had a place even among the unlearned, not to be even the lowest of the Mysians. And hence that contempt arises, since the first place is no great honor, while the last draws immense disgrace. But how shall I recognize the worthy and the unworthy? Or what are the standards of discrimination?

§ 14. It is a difficult matter, one which opens hiding places for excuses to those who dissolve discipline and measure academies not by the bloom and pursuit of the sciences but by empty displays. Nevertheless, I shall disclose those secrets and remove the pretexts.

Among those who are judged worthy of the doctorate, there is a great difference and, as philosophers say, latitude. Augustine and Jerome are doctors; yet Eucherius, Prosper, and others are not therefore unworthy of that name, for the Church had Augustine once, but it needs many doctors in every single year. Learning, therefore, is not to be exacted according to one standard. For who is now created a doctor or bishop who does not gladly and willingly confess himself Augustine's disciple?

No one ought to be created master or doctor of a science if he cannot teach it; for masters and doctors are so named from teaching. Next, in most academies those who are promoted are bound to teach even by oath. The philosophical faculty requires this oath from its members: "Lastly, they shall swear that for one whole year after promotion they will

remain in our faculty lecturing and teaching, and that in the same year they are willing once to preside over a public disputation.” How will a man swear that he will teach what he has not learned? This oath is an object of ridicule if an ass swears that he will teach letters.

The Church and the state established all those masterships and doctorates at so great an expense for teaching, as Sylvester excellently warned in “On Doctors,” §4. The canons teach that the Church refers not only philosophy and the higher studies but even the knowledge of languages to teaching. The whole matter

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was expounded by Clement V in the *Extravagantes*, “On Masters,” chapter 1, at the Council of Vienne:

“Among the concerns resting upon our shoulders, we revolve with perpetual care how we may be able, with his grace cooperating with us, to lead those who err into the way of truth and gain them for God. This indeed is what we seek with desire; to this we diligently direct the affection of our mind; and about it we watch with diligent zeal and zealous diligence. We do not doubt that, for attaining a desire of this kind, an exposition of the divine utterances is fitting and the preaching of their faith exceedingly opportune. But neither are we ignorant that these things are proclaimed in vain and return empty if they are put forth to ears ignorant of the speaker’s language.

“Therefore, imitating the example of him whose place on earth we occupy, though unworthily, who willed that the Apostles who were to go throughout the entire world to evangelize should be learned in every kind of tongue, we earnestly desire the holy Church to abound in Catholic men having knowledge of the languages which the unbelievers chiefly use, men who know how and are able to instruct those unbelievers in the sacred institutes and to gather them into the fellowship of Christians through the doctrine of the Christian faith and reception of holy baptism.

“Therefore, that skill in languages of this kind might suitably be obtained through the efficacy of instruction, with this sacred council approving, we have provided for schools in the kinds of languages written below wherever the Roman Curia may happen to reside, and likewise in the universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca. We establish that in each of these places there shall be Catholic men having sufficient knowledge of the Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldean languages--namely, two men skilled in each language--who shall govern schools there, faithfully translate books from those languages into Latin, and diligently teach those languages to others and transmit skill in them to those others by zealous instruction, so that, sufficiently instructed and taught in languages of this kind, they may, with God as author, be able to produce the hoped-for fruit and beneficially propagate the faith among the unbelieving peoples themselves.

“We wish competent stipends and expenses to be provided for those teaching in the Roman Curia by the Apostolic See; in the University of Paris by the King of France; at Oxford by the prelates, monasteries, chapters, convents, exempt and non-exempt colleges, and rectors of churches of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales; at Bologna by those of Italy; and at Salamanca by those of Spain--imposing upon each the burden of contribution according to the measure of its resources. No privileges and exemptions whatsoever to the contrary shall stand in the way; nevertheless, we do not wish prejudice to be generated for them in other respects.”

This consideration ought to move all academics to admit candidates to honors with great selectivity and a severe examination. They will easily accomplish this if they judge the preservation of sound doctrine, and consequently of the state, to depend upon their fidelity. And when they observe bishops, kings, and princes seeking learned and industrious men for the Church and state with such concern, such expense, and such privileges, they will understand that it is an example of the worst kind for the very sanctuaries of the sciences to hold them in contempt and blunt the eagerness of those who learn.

§ 15. Once this has been established, let them test the learning of their hearers by an examination that is varied and not slight. The Academy of Mainz has strict laws, worthy of flourishing everywhere. For if anyone seeks academic honors in the theological faculty, it is first necessary that before the senate he have the testimony of his professors concerning

the duration, exercises, and progress of his studies. Unless they testify that he appears worthy to undergo examination, he is repelled from the threshold. Next, after he has been admitted, he is compelled to prove his learning in five public disputations.

The jurists exercise their candidates in such a way that, if they approve a man in the first disputation, they then assign him another law, for the exposition and defense of which he prepares himself in the space of twenty-four hours. This interrogation and testing is so serious that no one readily commits himself to the hazard unless he is properly instructed. The physicians also have strict laws in examination and serious disputations, so much so that no unlearned man easily knocks here at the doors of the doctorate.

The faculty of liberal arts, in addition to daily exercises and the testimonies of professors, institutes examinations in all the arts, including eloquence, poetry, and mathematics, and, by testing each man separately, examines almost the whole of philosophy. For all the examiners promise that they will admit no one insufficient or inadequately qualified: § “Promise of the Masters Who Examine.” There is, therefore, one examination which lasts through the entire duration of the studies, while the candidates either prove their progress in their own school, with their master and fellow students as witnesses, or offer a specimen of their ability in public disputations throughout the year and in the assembly of all the philosophers. There is another examination, in which they are questioned privately by masters appointed for that task.

Although at the entrance to the examination those masters furnish only a promise, they are nevertheless bound by oath from another cause as well. Before promotion, among other things, they swear thus: “Likewise, that they will give faithful testimony concerning bachelors to be promoted in the faculty whenever they shall have been duly required concerning this matter”: § “Oath of Those Receiving the License and Insignia.”

Through neglect of this care and precaution, not only unlearned men but even heretics are intruded into churches and academies in other universities; for unlearned academies cannot even recognize subtler heresies, much less keep them out. “It has also greatly harmed the state,” says Pierre Grégoire in Book 18, chapter 9, *On the State*, “that some professors are found to possess a conscience insufficiently fearful and, often granting degrees through favor to profane men, do not consider what Arcadian beast they thrust into churches and benches. Nor do they consider that they will render an account before God and men for so great a negligence in approving studies. They also sometimes thrust heretics into chairs, from whom poison and destruction, or a plague of the state, must follow. In correcting these things, diligent reform is needed. It will be easy for rectors and conservators, or bishops and princes, if studies are recalled to the end intended at their foundation, if learned men of good conscience and sound faith are placed in command, and if those who obstinately persevere in error or malice are corrected.”

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§ 16. But if the academics themselves lay aside the care of their own affairs and undertake no labor either for their reputation or for the safety of the state, that care will fall upon bishops and princes. Albert of Brandenburg, cardinal of the Holy Roman Church and archbishop of Mainz, did this, as both the acts and the preface of the statutes of the faculty of arts attest. I am not ignorant that visitation and reform appear difficult and harsh. But it is better that learned men be admonished and academies restored than that youth perish. Nor can a means of correcting everything be lacking.

First, let all licentiates and doctors also be examined for nominations to benefices and for orders; and let the academic judgment not be relied upon if the unskilled are customarily promoted by it to degrees. Lawsuits and disturbances will arise from this, but a prince will easily

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quiet those evils--otherwise he will leave them in place.

“A prelate,” says Pierre Grégoire in Book 18, chapter 9, “appears to do injury to a university by wishing to examine one of its graduates; indeed, it would be an injury to princes that those whom they themselves judge fit should be considered unworthy. In other cases the law requires inquiry into the fitness of those seeking a grant and does not wish a person to be examined when he has already been approved.

“Thus a bishop cannot examine a person presented by an abbot, since the abbot’s testimony is sufficient. For if an examination of graduates, nominees, or persons presented by universities and abbots were granted to a bishop, he would never find a graduate or nominee learned or sufficient—even if he were like Bartolus or Panormitanus—unless that graduate were agreeable to them. This also has place among those pharisaical censors, the bishop’s vicars, who are blinded by such stupidity, presumption, and pride that they think no one knows anything unless he flatters or applauds them—unskilled men who think nothing right except what they themselves do. Therefore, one must always presume rather in favor of an act of the university, if it was done in due form, and in favor of the fitness of the person.”

Thus he speaks most excellently and prudently concerning reform. Nevertheless, I do not agree when he denies that a graduate ought to be examined. For if there is a probable cause for doubting his learning, a bishop not only can but also ought to examine the man whom he places over souls. Pierre himself admits in the same chapter, §6: “From the abuse and corruption of professors, as we have learned by experience, many disadvantages and evils can be introduced into the state, especially when degrees are conferred upon the unworthy and by the marketing of money.” If he learned this by experience, and if bishops and princes learn it daily through the evils and disadvantages of the state, why ought they to endure those evils rather than examine the man in doubt?

The Council of Trent, Session 7, chapter 13, subjects all to examination except those who are presented by universities: “Those presented, elected, or nominated by any ecclesiastical persons whatsoever, even the nuncios of the Apostolic See, shall not be instituted, confirmed, or admitted to any ecclesiastical benefices whatsoever, even under the pretext of any privilege or custom, even one prescribed from time immemorial, unless they have first been examined by the ordinaries of the places and found fit. And no one can protect himself by the remedy of appeal so as not to be bound to undergo examination. Those presented, elected, or nominated by universities or colleges of general studies are nevertheless excepted.”

But in Session 24, chapter 18, the exception nevertheless appears to be revoked, when the Council had perceived more and more that the integrity of universities was corrupted. For since unlearned doctors do not enjoy the privilege, academies that promote the unlearned cannot communicate privileges to them; therefore, the unlearned cannot use the privileges of doctors. Thus Grégoire himself, Book 18, chapter 9: “Nor ought an unlearned doctor to enjoy the privilege of doctors.”

And certainly men who are doctors in title alone, and those who through neglect of study have lost what they once learned, would be worthy of being examined again—not indeed by those who wish to appear rabbis, for the blind would lead the blind, but by learned masters, approved professors of good conscience who fear God, and by rectors and reformers of schools. These are certainly no less necessary in the state than visitors of churches. But men should be deputed who are most skilled in reforming the professions or faculties, who have discharged the office of professor with praise, and who are veterans and emeriti—not men from elsewhere or of another kind.

Nor do we deny that we judge it both equitable and beneficial to the state that a man once approved as a doctor can be rejected again if he is afterward found insufficient by the aforesaid reformers or by the very masters who approved him before; indeed, he can be deprived of the insignia, or at least the privileges, unless his knowledge was lost by accident, disease, or old age.

Thus the emperor Gordian: “It is not unknown that grammarians or orators approved by a decree of the order can be rejected again by the same order if they do not show themselves useful to students.” For public utility is involved in these men also, since on account of the presumption of learning doctors are admitted to many public offices and ecclesiastical benefices, and their inexperience harms many people who are thus deceived. Therefore, a person

examined and approved for the degree of licentiate can be rejected in the examination for doctors when through a new cause he has been able to render himself useless--for example, if there is a great interval of time between the licentiate or prolytate and the doctorate sought, or because he was approved in only one examination and others remain--according to the observations of Abbot Panormitanus.

Thus Sylvester, "On Doctors," §5: "Fifth, it is asked what things are required in one who is to be made a doctor, so that he may not be rejected but approved. And I say that a scholar can be rejected not only on account of a deficiency of knowledge--which is, of course, to be judged sufficient at the discretion of those making him a doctor--but also on account of morals, as is proved in law *Magistros*, Code, *On Professors and Physicians*, Book 10, joined with Clementine 11, *On Masters*; and custom observes this. Hence six things are required in one who is to be promoted to the dignity of mastership. First, skill in teaching, that is, knowledge. Second, eloquence in teaching. Third, subtlety in interpreting. Fourth, abundance in teaching. And these are found in the sole law of the Code, *On Professors Who Are in the City of Constantinople*, Book 12. Fifth, excellence of morals, as in the aforesaid law *Magistros*. Sixth, strength of courage, so that he knows how to resist the force of violence, law *Reddatur*, Code, *On Professors and Physicians*, Book 10. Hence few attain the dignity of the doctorate, as Bartolus says after Cynus in law *Omnes populi*, Digest, *On Justice and Law*.

"And one who possessed these conditions at the time of approval, if he afterward becomes useless, is to be degraded from the doctorate, as in law *Grammaticos*, Code, *On Professors and Physicians*, Book 10. For a doctor or master can be rejected, as in law 11 of the Code under the same title, and Bartolus notes in law *Sed et reprobari*, Digest, *On the Excuses of Guardians*, at the beginning, where the text says that a physician can be rejected; and the same in law *Ut gradatim*, § *Reprobari*, Digest, *On Public Duties and Honors*--but not without cause: law *Pomponius scribit*, Digest, *On the Management of Affairs*."

If, therefore, that doctor is to be degraded, he cannot be capable of nominations, for the law speaks of learned men who have been lawfully promoted. This can readily be recognized from the concordats of France and the Supreme Pontiff. The words of the agreement are: "But when a vacancy of this kind occurs in those cathedral churches, the King of France then reigning shall, within six months reckoned from the day of the vacancy of those churches, nominate to us and our successors, the Roman Pontiffs, or to the aforesaid See, one grave master or licentiate in theology, or doctor or licentiate in both laws or either law, from a renowned university and with rigorous examination, and established in at least the twenty-seventh year of his age; and provision shall be made for the person so nominated by the king, by us and our successors, or by the aforesaid See."

Who doubts that in the Council of Trent the Church seeks such a man as it describes in the French concordats?

§ 17. From Rebuffus, moreover, I learn that there are various titles of promotion in French and neighboring academies. For certain universities do not confer the license with this clause: "by rigor of examination," but either with the clause "by grace," for the ignorant; or "by good justice," for the moderately learned; or "by good and pure justice," for the rich

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and citizens; or "by good and pure justice and for merit," for the most learned or those possessing favor. No one fails to see that these titles are the destruction of all the arts and sciences, since the most learned man and the rich man, the most learned man and the man who is favored, are imposed upon the state with the same commendation.

If, therefore, in the Chinese manner the titular little doctors and little masters are recalled to the anvil by the laws of Europe, if academics are bound by a new oath, if other theologians already tested are ordered to be present at the examination, and if several doctors of law hear the candidates being examined, the integrity of the academies will easily be restored. The sum is this: if an academy persists in promoting the unworthy, let it be punished; and, if

necessary, let the authors of destructive favor fall from their dignities. This care pertains no less to the prince than the restoration of roads, citadels, and a fleet, and all the more as the offense brings greater danger.

Formerly impostors, for the sake of gain, falsely said that they had been promoted and undertook to teach; the magistrate proceeded severely against them. Panormitanus in chapter *Quoniam, Extravagantes, On Masters*, and the other doctors in law *Eos, On Forgeries*, relate that this was done deservedly. It is not much less serious to lie about learning than about promotion; for promotion is the sign of learning, which those men falsely display. For that man too is an impostor who hangs ivy upon an empty cask and displays to wretched hearers the shadow of titles without the body of learning.

§ 18. Finally, let new and rival academies be erected to stir the torpor of the old. Many ancient ones are, as it were, exhausted, flourishing neither in youth nor in masters. They have unlearned what they knew. Seekers after reputation who now act the doctor at leisure console their solitude with applause for antiquity and do not repair their strength and former vigor, like that man of whom Lucan sings:

The shadow of a great name stands,
like a lofty oak in a fruitful field,
bearing the ancient spoils of a people and consecrated
gifts of commanders, no longer clinging by strong roots.
Fixed by its own weight, spreading naked branches through the air,
it makes a shadow with its trunk, not its foliage.
But although it totters, destined to fall beneath the first east wind,
though so many woods around rise with firm strength,
it alone is nevertheless revered.

In its neighborhood, at a lawful interval, let a prince who loves learning establish one that is vigorous, exercised by labor, and gleaming with new youth. Such an academy, I say, in which there is not only the name and reputation of an academy, but:

Virtue that knows not how to stand in place,
and the only shame--not to conquer. As a soldier,
this novice will strike the enemy squadrons with brave assault,
fierce and untamed, wherever mind and laws have called him
to bring his hand, and fearing no labors of study;
pressing his successes, urging on the favor
of the divine power, driving away whatever envy
casts before one seeking glorious things.

Make trial, prince: rival excellence will furnish spurs.

§ 19. Nor, however, should another means of preserving and enlarging academies be left unmentioned. Let provision be made for theologians and philosophers with a stipend that is not merely just and lawful but ample. Let a still richer grant be conceded to jurists and physicians. For since Galen gives wealth, since the practice of an excellent physician produces great gain, he cannot be bound to a chair and daily lectures by a slender salary. Therefore, let his honorarium

be so great that he neither visits patients nor is compelled to visit them; indeed, let this very thing be forbidden to him. It will be sufficient if he teaches others and is consulted by the rest.

Justinian supplies riches and honors. Therefore, so great a salary should be established for a professor of civil and even canon law that he neither courts the prince's chancery nor admires the swift wealth and increases of advocates who are overwhelmed by crowds of clients. For it cannot be hoped that a man will endure the continual labors of a chair for five hundred gold pieces when many princes invite him with lavish stipends and great honors and magnates demand him as advocate in the greatest causes. Great doctors, therefore, must be hired at great expense. For to appoint over novices a man to teach laws to noble youth who has never won a cause, nor indeed could even have lost one because no client so simple was found as to entrust a dispute over dripping water to him, is just as if you were to appoint over recruits a commander who had seen no camp.

§ 20. Finally, let it also be a care of the state to furnish the best possible libraries of all the sciences, not merely for the adornment of the city but rather for the use of learned men. For as the founding of a library does not belong to private means, so it belongs especially to public magnificence--and indeed to the most useful magnificence of all.

Most noble was the library of Ptolemy, concerning which Philo, Josephus, Livy, Seneca, and Aulus Gellius write, although there is some discrepancy between Seneca and Gellius. Seneca, *On Tranquillity of Mind*, chapter 9: "I shall take account even of expenditure upon studies, which is the most liberal expenditure, for so long as it retains measure. To what end are innumerable books and libraries, whose owner scarcely reads their catalogues in his whole life? A multitude burdens the learner; it does not instruct him. It is much better to entrust yourself to a few authors than to wander through many. Four hundred thousand books burned at Alexandria, a most beautiful monument of royal opulence. Let another man praise it, as Livy does, who says that this work was outstanding for the elegance and care of kings. That was not elegance or care but studious luxury--indeed, not even studious, since they had procured them not for study but for display, just as for most men ignorant even of the literature of slaves, books are not instruments of study but ornaments of dining rooms. Therefore, let as many books as are sufficient be procured, nothing for show."

Aulus Gellius in Book 6, final chapter, says that there were seven hundred thousand volumes. I do not approve Seneca's reproach. He answers himself well: "'More honorably,' you say, 'would I have poured out expenditures upon these than upon Corinthian bronzes and painted panels.' What is excessive is vicious everywhere." Again he objects: "For whom do you have less pardon: one who seeks a name from marble and ivory, or one who seeks out the works of either unknown or disapproved authors and yawns among so many thousands of books, taking the greatest pleasure in the fronts and titles of his volumes? Among the most idle men, therefore, you will see whatever there is of speeches and histories, and shelves constructed up to the ceiling. For now, among baths and hot rooms, a library too is fitted out as a necessary ornament of a house. I would plainly pardon it if it arose from an excessive desire for studies; but now those carefully sought-out works of sacred talents, copied with portraits of their authors, are procured for the appearance and decoration of walls."

He says only this rightly: that works of disapproved authors are not to be sought, and that among so many good authors studies are not to be neglected. The Alexandrian library deservedly burned in civil war, for it was full not only of books by impious philosophers

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but also of superstitious books by magicians and documents of forbidden arts. But it is exceedingly useful for the state to procure in an academy, and for the use of others, an abundance of the best books; for nothing more retards the abilities of many men than a lack of books.

Jerome on Psalm 1 wonderfully commends the library at Caesarea, founded by Julius Africanus and enlarged by Pamphilus and Eusebius, which he himself often consulted. Although it had declined a little at that time, it was most renowned, as was the Alexandrian library. At Athens, the tyrant Pisistratus was the first to make books available for

public reading. The Athenians afterward furnished a library; but after the city of Athens was burned in the common ruin of the Greeks, Xerxes sent the library into Persia. Seleucus restored it to the Athenians when, in turn, the plunder of the Elamites was carried back into Greece.

Aristotle himself also left a library to Theophrastus, while Theophrastus handed it on to Neleus. Neleus carried it to Scepsis, Strabo says, and left it to descendants who were unskilled men and kept the books shut up and carelessly stored. When they perceived the zeal of the Attalid kings for gathering books into the library at Pergamum, they concealed them in a certain pit. After the books had been corrupted by moths and dampness, they sold them to Apellicon of Teos for a great sum of silver--the Aristotelian and Theophrastan books, that is. But Apellicon, because he was more devoted to books than to wisdom and wished to repair the corrosions, had them copied, the writing being incorrectly supplied. He therefore published books full of errors.

Consequently, the ancient Peripatetics after Theophrastus, since they altogether lacked the standard books except for a few exoteric discourses, had nothing upon which to philosophize securely, but produced certain theses by night labor. Later men, however, after these books came to light, philosophized far better than the earlier men by imitating Aristotle. Yet because of the multitude of errors, they were compelled to say merely plausible things.

But among the ancients Theodosius shone with great praise. He surpassed Ptolemy in zeal for books and in prudence of collection, for he placed all the best codices of the holy fathers in his library and copied many with his own hand, as Nicephorus is the authority in Book 14, chapter 3. The Church of Hagia Sophia, the noblest that Constantinople possessed, preserved one hundred thousand books in its library.

Before our times Lorenzo de' Medici of Florence, through Markos Mousouros of Crete, searched the hidden libraries of Greece and furnished that noble library at Florence. Victor writes that formerly there were twenty-nine public libraries at Rome. The most noble are now the Vatican and Venetian libraries. Augustus, as Suetonius relates in chapter 29, built at home the Temple of Apollo in that part of the Palatine house which the soothsayers declared to be desired by the god because it had been struck by lightning. He added porticoes with a Latin and Greek library, in which place, now advanced in age, he often also held the senate and reviewed the panels of judges.

Domitian too restored the libraries consumed by fire, as the same Tranquillus relates, for he took care that corrected copies be transcribed from everywhere. Constantine the Great did the same at Constantinople. Nor does the statement that a multitude of books is said to disturb the mind establish anything against libraries, for since there are many men in the state, it is fitting to construct them for many. Each man will read whatever books he wishes according to his ability. And it is surely necessary to have read many and seen many. "Would," says Saint Jerome in Epistle 40, "that I possessed the volumes of all commentators, so that I might compensate for slowness of ability by diligence in learning." And: "I take many things into my hand, and from many men I shall learn many things."

§ 21. Therefore, the state will open the best library to men devoted to studies; and, that this beneficence may not be momentary, it will prescribe these laws:

1. Let no persons enter without the librarian's permission.
2. Let no one be admitted unless of tested fidelity and probity.
3. Let books of all faculties be arranged in good order.
4. Let all books display externally in a title their subject and the author's name.
5. Let there be another book containing a catalogue of all books in alphabetical order.
6. In that catalogue, let the author's name, the subject of the book, its size, and its color be described.
7. Let no one, not even the librarian himself or a consul, be permitted to carry a book out unless a signed acknowledgment has been given.

8. If anyone carries one out, let him return it after a month.
9. Let them take care of the cleanliness of the library and the books.
10. Twice each year let the librarian admonish the senate concerning the purchase of new books.
11. Let forbidden books be exiled.
12. Let no one impress a mark upon books either with ink or by folding back the paper.
13. But if the state shrinks from the expense, let it add another law, troublesome for enlarging the library and reducing expenditures.
14. If anyone increases the library by a book, let it be deemed a good deed; let the librarian courteously preserve his memory.

§ 22. The custom of academies indeed provides that doctors be created by doctors, theologians by theologians, jurists by jurists, physicians by physicians, and masters by masters. Nevertheless, it is not contrary to laws and common law for any men to be promoted by any men; there is no difficulty in the matter, nor are we forbidden by any law. The objection of those who deny that anyone can give what he does not possess is excessively crude. You would think them speaking about a ball or a knucklebone, not about a right or dignity, which is conferred even by one who does not possess a right or dignity of the same name but another, more eminent one.

An academic degree was formerly the ornament of magnates. Our archbishopric certainly had two doctors, Uriel and Sebastian. The two lights of Germany, Julius of Würzburg and Johann Gottfried, prelate of Bamberg and Würzburg, also possessed academic degrees. I pass over Philip II of Speyer; Matthew of Worms; Henry IV and Christopher of Augsburg; Reichwin, Duke of Lorraine and bishop of Strasbourg; Albert I, Count of Hohenberg and bishop of Würzburg. Eichstätt also had two prelates who were doctors, Philip and Johann III; Brescia and other dioceses have them now.

CHAPTER XVII

An Enumeration of the Things That Must Be Learned

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 1. Immense is the force and multitude of the things proposed to us for learning, but so great is our weakness that we scarcely possess perfectly one part of them all. For who, after the studies of many years, understands those great mysteries concerning God, angels, and souls? That mind, so swift, so active, so curious about all things, cannot determine what it itself is. Concerning points and lines, concerning the connection of corporeal things and *συνέχεια* (*continuity*), after so many thousands of volumes, we all carry ignorance to the grave. But it is foolish to lament these things, since clarity and knowledge are promised to us in the future life; nevertheless, to subdue pride, our darkness must often be impressed upon us.

A twofold order of the sciences must be established, one of method, the other of nature. In method they generally observe this order: that youth is first polished by grammar, poetry, eloquence, and history; that it is next exercised in the subtlety of logic, physics, mathematics, metaphysics, and moral philosophy; and that from here some pass to the profundity of most sacred theology, others to the studies of law and legislation, and others to those of medicine. I too approve and confirm this method of teaching, approved by almost all academies and neglected by a few not without public harm to youth. This order, indeed, was established according to the convenience of learners. The other is natural: following the summits of things, it distributes the sciences to us according to their division. If we consult it, it does not readily appear how one ought to call a science one and by what limits it ought to be defined.

The philosophers indeed establish that one science is so called from one formal aspect of its object; but what that formal aspect which conciliates unity may be is not yet clear. Cajetan holds that formal unity is taken from being knowable, not from the being of the species. Light and color, for example, are objects of sight not from their nature and essence, which are diverse, but from the fact that they are visible. But he entangles the matter with a greater difficulty. For if body is the object of physics according to knowable being, what is that one knowable thing which makes one science? For there are many bodies and therefore many knowable things; and if they constitute one science because all can be known, spirits and bodies will also be joined into one because they can be known. Being itself, which contains all things, is also knowable.

The common distinction of the sciences is by three abstractions, which almost all the logicians whom I have seen put up for sale. For physics abstracts from singular matter, but not from sensible matter; it considers the species of bodies and their affections, not singular bodies. Mathematics abstracts from singular and sensible matter, for it considers points, lines, surfaces, and depths abstractly in themselves, and not as they are in matter. Metaphysics, however, abstracts from singular, sensible, and intelligible matter, because it considers only the most general or spiritual things, things which have no position and location.

I admit that there is something I miss in this matter. Those abstractions do not apply to rational and moral science, although their dignity is distinguished. Next, if a special abstraction is assigned to quantity, it can also be assigned to quality; for both quantity and quality are sensible, and writers on perspective treat light, while professing themselves mathematicians. And certainly it can be considered without matter. Finally, if physics expounds body, quality, and quantity, surely few things will be left for metaphysics. Therefore, a distinction of sciences must be sought which has been established by nature and exists in the objects before our mind has known them. I judge as follows.

§ 2. There is one peculiar science of each class of things and one general science of all. When I have demonstrated that every triangle has three angles equal to two right angles, I possess knowledge; when I have learned several propositions of the same kind, I have attained one total science from the likeness of things related to one another. But

since the whole universe of things and system of all beings agrees in being, in like manner one most general science will be so called which corresponds to that whole. And just as Being taken most broadly is divided into its parts, so science will be divided into its parts. For just as being taken generally is intelligible, so the faculty of understanding extends to being and all its parts; in the same manner, a habit--either one or consisting of many--will bring the capacity of the power of understanding to firmness.

Thus formerly Plato, Book 7 of the *Republic*; Proclus, Book 1, chapter 4, on Euclid; and Giles of Rome, preface to the *Metaphysics*, question 22. Accordingly, Antonio of Mirandola is not the author but the elucidator of that opinion in Book 3 of *The Overthrow of the Singular Contest*, sections 6 and 7. Those who attack this reasoning do not sufficiently observe that, when they call physics one science, they force very many and very widely separated things into one object and cannot give a law to others preventing them from adding still more. They extend metaphysics itself to every class of things. But now, following the nature of things, let us divide the sciences.

Science taken most broadly is divided into that which treats spiritual being and is properly speculative metaphysics--its primary object is the uncreated spirit, its secondary object the created spirit. On account of the difficulty of its object, the general doctrines of the other sciences have been added to it. The other is physics, which treats material being and contains many practical and speculative sciences. By the name of material being we understand not only bodies but also all accidents of bodies and whatever things possess some order toward bodies, such as the rational soul, intellect, and human will, because the former is the form of the body and the latter are properties of that form.

Physics taken in this manner is divided into physics strictly taken, whose object is natural body, which Aristotle explains in his books of the *Physics*; and mathematics, which considers quantity, a part which Euclid and his interpreters chiefly expound.

Physics is again twofold, for it treats either simple body or body compounded from simple bodies. If it treats simple body, it treats either incorruptible or corruptible body; if incorruptible, it is celestial; if corruptible, elemental. Aristotle explains these parts in his books *On the Heavens* and *On Generation and Corruption*. This celestial science, which is physical, differs from astronomy, which belongs to mathematics. For physics considers the quantity of the heavens in itself, its matter, form, and efficient cause; but astronomy considers the proportions of quantity and the magnitudes from the principles of mathematics. The object of the science of mixed body is

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whatever is found in the whole universe besides the heavens and the elements. First, one science concerns imperfect mixtures, another perfect mixtures. Imperfect mixtures are snow, ice, mist, and the other things which Aristotle explains in the books of the *Meteorology*. The remaining mixtures are perfect, namely, those which possess a perfect tempering of the elements from which they are composed. Imperfect mixtures have one element so predominant that the powers of the others scarcely appear.

Of perfect mixtures, however, some are animate and others inanimate. Aristotle also treats mixtures in general in the two books *On Generation and Corruption*, and animate things in the three books *On the Soul*, the *Short Natural Works*, and *On the Generation of Animals*. The science of inanimate things has two principal parts, gemology and metallurgy, concerning which Aristotle says little, but Pliny, the alchemists, and Cardano say much in the books *On the Variety of Things* and *On Subtlety*.

The science that concerns animate things is held either concerning sentient things or those without sense. The latter is threefold: arboriculture, shrub-lore, and herb-lore; for root-lore, which others add, is common to all these. Aristotle treats these matters first in *On Plants*, as do Dioscorides, Theophrastus, and his interpreter Julius Scaliger. There are three species of sentient things, which both Aristotle and Gesner--above all a diligent investigator of natures--treat.

But since man is as it were a little world, there are several sciences concerning him as species of anthropology.

For if we consider the body, either its nature and parts are considered, and this is a species of the science of animate things--Vesalius treats it with the greatest accuracy--or the body is considered insofar as it is capable of being healed. This science is subordinate to the former, namely medicine, which they divide into active and contemplative medicine. The latter they again divide into physiology, which investigates the natures of things so that it may use their powers for health; this part they divide again into the physiology of elements, humors, temperaments, powers, and members; into etiology, which investigates the causes of all diseases and symptoms; and, third, into semiomantics, which infers from signs either past, present, or future things. All these matters were treated by Hippocrates of Cos and his interpreter Galen, and thereafter by Avicenna and others.

The science which treats the human mind can be called noetics and is threefold. First is that which explains the actions of the mind as such; this is customarily called *animastics* by the Latins. Two sciences are, as it were, subordinated to this: the first directs the operations of the intellect toward truth, namely logic; the other directs those of the will toward the good or honorable, and is moral philosophy. Moral philosophy is again twofold, principal and ministering. The ministering is called oratory and is divided into dialectic, rhetoric, and poetics; for those sciences were invented to incite the will toward the honorable. The principal is called ethics, or moral philosophy properly so called; its object is human actions insofar as they are good or evil. They divide this very variously, concerning which matters in their own proper place. Aristotle treated it in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, the *Great Ethics*, and the *Politics*. Jurisprudence can be referred here; one part of it is positive, the other epideictic or demonstrative. Its parts are various.

The science which treats quantity deals either with continuous or with discrete quantity. That which treats continuous quantity is generally called geometry by one name. It is divided in two: one part treats lines and surfaces and does not have a proper name but claims the general name for itself and is called geometry; the other treats solid body and is called stereometry, as though “measurement of solids.”

They further divide geometry in another manner: into that which discusses quantity as it exists by itself and contains the parts just named; and into that which treats quantity as joined with matter and subject to the senses. This, from its primary part, is called astronomy; others call it impure mathematics because it does not treat quantity considered in isolation. It is again divided into astrology, geodesy, perspective, and mechanics.

Astrology is that which discusses the motions of the world, the magnitude, figure, illumination, and distance of the heavenly bodies. It has three parts. The first is gnomonics, which measures time by the position of the gnomon or style. The second is meteoroscopy, which examines differences of elevations and the other theorems. The third is dioptrics, which investigates the distances of the planets and other stars with dioptric instruments.

Perspective is that which uses visual rays in the manner of lines and the angles constituted from those lines. This again is threefold. First is perspective properly so called, which gives the causes of those appearances in which things seem to us to be otherwise than they are, whether because of distances, position, or medium. The second is the science of mirrors, which is occupied with various refractions. The third is sciography, namely the delineator of shadows, which gives an account of various appearances arising from shadows.

Geodesy is the science which measures various things--such as fields, heaps, wells, and towers--by visible lines. If it treats the entire earth and sea, it is customarily called geography; if some one region, chorography; if some one place, topography.

Mechanics embraces various arts and therefore has almost the same definition as art, although properly those arts which leave no work behind them, such as the art of dancing, are not mechanical. Its parts are architecture, which constructs every kind of building; organopoetics, which constructs various machines and instruments; and, third, thaumaturgy, which effects certain wonders by air, weights, sinews, and fires. To this they refer the art which they call natural magic, which uses no magical deceptions but, on account of a hidden knowledge of things, produces effects of such a kind that they seem incapable of being accomplished naturally, but only by the aid of demons--as when Archimedes draws a ship by himself.

Arithmetic is occupied with discrete quantity. They call one kind speculative and another practical. Music is subordinated to the latter, which they likewise divide into speculative and practical. Both practical and speculative music are divided into melic, harmonic, and rhythm. Melic contains oratorical and poetical feet; and so, with respect to this part, poetry and rhetoric were subordinated to music. Harmonic is the account of acute and grave sounds, by whose proportion all songs are completed. Rhythm is the artful motion of the body according to harmony. A dance is constituted from harmony and rhythm.

It has been granted to us to know many things concerning uncreated being--God, the Best and Greatest--and concerning the holy angels, especially concerning God, who can in some manner be known from created things.

The sciences that I have named possess many parts under themselves, and in every single part difficulties which only those who have devoted themselves to them for a very long time and with the greatest diligence know to exist, but which they have never thoroughly penetrated. All these things must be taught in the state, and to excel in one part of them is

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glorious. But as one who treats on behalf of the state, my purpose is to follow the method and the ordinary manner of transmitting the sciences themselves. For confusion in learning prevents more people from attaining wisdom than does weakness of ability or the will to advance.

CHAPTER XVIII

How the Elements of Grammar Are to Be Taught

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 1. They have called grammar the foundation of all the arts. But it has been the foundation ever since, when an attempt was made to raise a tower to heaven, God confounded the languages of men at Babylon. They were undertaking that immense structure for no use but out of proud vanity, in order to cause wonder in posterity. We pay the penalty of that ambition even today, so that we spend our tender years upon letters and syllables; for many years we learn the signs of things and almost grow old before we know how to speak.

Happy was that offspring of men which did not twist the tongue into foreign words, which without labor drank its mother tongue with its milk. Now the intricacies and variations of conjugations and declensions, and three or four languages, detain us in a care that is most disagreeable but necessary. Yet because this yoke has been imposed upon us all, we must strive to bear it gently and render it lighter by prudence.

§ 2. First one must begin with little things, because, since all things cannot be grasped at once, everything must be instilled piecemeal into tender minds. A weak hand cannot break that bundle when it is bound together; the individual twigs must therefore be broken up. Accordingly, few and varied things are to be proposed to the earliest age. Let there be a class in which the rudiments and certain beginnings--or certain general precepts of syntax and of composing discourse--are transmitted.

The order of our Society provides that in the lowest class the master transmit a perfect knowledge of the rudiments and a begun knowledge of syntax. These things are taught for five hours each day. For I intend to show this because it will apply to many other things, especially since I observe that in this manner young boys and almost children complete an encyclopedic course in the more humane letters.

Two hours before noon and the same number after dinner are spent in exercises. The books are the *Rudiments*, Cicero, a Greek reading, the catechism, and the introduction to syntax. This variety is arranged into its own periods as follows.

In the first hour the assigned portions of the readings, which ought to have been committed to memory at home, are demanded and recited. For the master's labor brings no benefit unless the memory of the young men is cultivated by perpetual exercise. The more improvident youth flees this labor of learning, the more must a faithful master strive not to permit the vigorous little memories of the boys to be covered with mold and squalor.

Cicero's easier letters are learned by heart so that they may draw the Latin language from the source itself and become accustomed amid their beginnings to Ciceronian rhythms.

In the same hour, the theme that was given in the vernacular on the preceding day is offered to the master and corrected--if not that of everyone, at least of most--both publicly and privately, so that in another's writing they may recognize their own errors or **κατορθώματα** (*successful usages*).

The usefulness of this exercise is so great that it can almost by itself make learned men. For, made acute in the errors of others by mutual rivalry, they more easily avoid their own, especially when they see that everything is conducted publicly and in the light.

The second hour contains the exposition of Cicero, after the preceding day's reading has been repeated. No more than four lines are expounded, lest they be confused by a multitude of material. First, either the master reads them or causes them to be read, so that by this practice they may learn the perfect pronunciation of words and the quantity of syllables. Next, the subject is explained in the vernacular. Second, the text is translated period by period and word for word.

Third, returning to the beginning, the master is to indicate the structure; unweaving the period, he is to show what words govern what cases, weigh most things for explaining the laws of grammar, bring forward one or another observation concerning the Latin language--but one as easy as possible--demonstrate metaphors by examples of the best-known things, and dictate nothing except perhaps the subject.

The subject for a composition is to be dictated in the common speech, word for word, clear, and generally no longer than four lines, and it is chiefly to be related to the grammatical precept. The pupils are sometimes to be ordered to append to it a brief rendering or expression from Cicero, in accordance with the prescription of syntax, or those very things that must be learned from the Greek rudiments, or another thing of this kind.

In the final half-hour, some part of the declensions or other exercises is explained, or they contend in disputation, for which all ought to be prepared.

§ 3. The first fruit, therefore, is the exercise of memory and the polishing of the language; the other is the correction of the theme, which weighs everything according to the precepts of grammar. If anything has been committed against any rule, if there is an error of spelling or punctuation, the file removes it all.

Cicero, when already celebrated at Rome and numbered among the foremost orators, judged this to be of such importance that he journeyed to Greece and Asia and attached himself especially to Molon, concerning whom he glories in the *Brutus*: "Dionysius of Magnesia was with me most assiduously; there was also Aeschylus of Cnidus and Xenocles of Adramyttium. These were then numbered among the chief rhetoricians of Asia. Not content with them, I came to Rhodes and attached myself to the same Molon whom I had heard at Rome, both a distinguished pleader in real causes and a writer, and the most prudent in noting and observing faults and in instituting and teaching. He took pains--if only he was able to attain it--to restrain us, excessively redundant and overflowing through a certain youthful impunity and license of speaking, and, as it were, to confine us when flowing beyond the banks. Thus I returned two years later not only more practiced but almost changed. For both the excessive exertion of my voice had subsided and my speech had, as it were, cooled; strength had come to my sides and a moderate habit to my body."

I warn of this because the labor of correcting the work of others is most tedious and often saddens the man upon whom this benefit is bestowed. It is therefore neglected with immense loss by masters who are under their own authority and teach under their own auspices and judgment. Nothing is more pitiable than noble young men who, through want of an admonisher, retain for their whole life certain troublesome habits and ineptitudes of words, gestures, and manners which a teacher could have removed with one word.

Great advantage is also brought by hearing a Latin reading in the vernacular, by its repetition and the writing of the theme, and by the exercise of the rules of grammar.

§ 4. This diversity is not burdensome to abilities. The gifted learn through play, the middling easily, and the slow with moderate labor the four lines

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which they heard explained in school on the preceding day. The theme too is brief, and aids for composing it are provided from the readings.

In this ordering, teachers of boys long ago erred in two ways. Some, making no mention of Cicero, syntax, or any book, inculcate the rudiments, declensions, and genders; by constantly repeating disagreeable matters and showing no use for so great a labor, they oppress and torment abilities and--what is most serious--do so without benefit. They sometimes wear down the wretched pupils for three or four years and do not lead them to the point of learning to speak three words correctly. Hence, formerly, before the industry of the Society laid out the schools, Pallas was indignant that grown, bearded young men sweated in composing a little letter.

The other error was still more serious: they mixed with the childish rudiments weightier readings which the children could not grasp. Therefore, they could neither be examined nor instructed. There are those who teach the same pupils rudiments, syntax, poetics, rhetoric, and dialectic. I remember that in the second grammar class I had a pupil of good ability and advanced age who, although in composition he stumbled on every other line, recited most readily the definitions and precepts not only of poetics and rhetoric but even of logic. In wonder, I began to test whether he understood any of them; but he answered in such a way as to show that, when he defined genus or species, he did not even suspect what things he was speaking about.

§ 5. I have spoken of the hours before noon. After midday, the first exercise of the memory consists in reciting grammar, both Latin and Greek. The written exercises are then corrected; next, grammar is expounded and illustrated with examples.

In the second hour the introduction to syntax--that is, the general rules--is explained. A fourth part of the hour, however, is allotted to Greek. In the final half-hour a little army is set in motion and fights with its voice; by the privilege of its seating, the distinction of titles, the enticements of little prizes, and the fear of disgrace, it is inflamed with the desire for victory.

To many, the mention of the Greek language at the beginnings customarily appears untimely. But experience has taught that, if very few things are proposed, they are gradually instilled with little trouble; but after pupils have already made proper progress in the Latin language, they can be brought back to the Greek elements only with the greatest difficulty. I shall speak of the Greek language elsewhere.

A boy who is gifted, diligent, and already endowed with some judgment can easily complete this course in half a year. Yet because most are of a weak little age and incapable of great labor, and indulgence is also granted them at home so that they do not render their assigned work, almost a full year is spent.

§ 6. From here, therefore, the step is made to the middle grammar class, in which a knowledge of the whole of grammar but only an imperfect knowledge of syntax is required. For only the easier appendices are joined to the general rules which they learned in the preceding class. From Greek they learn nouns, contracted verbs, verbs in *-μι*, and the easier formations; also the Greek catechism or the *Tablet of Cebes*. The authors proposed are Cicero's familiar letters and Ovid's easiest poems from the *Tristia* and *Letters from Pontus*.

The manner of exposition and exercise of memory are the same as shown above, but nevertheless different in part. First, more things, and more difficult things, are expounded in Cicero, for they have already understood the easier matters before. Next, they are explained more learnedly; the construction of the discourse and the exercises of syntax are especially inculcated. Third, verbal elegances and more exquisite phrases are transmitted. Fourth, an easy poet is expounded, not so that they should already begin to compose verses but so that they may gradually become accustomed to understanding more difficult things and imbibe the rhythms, whose system they nevertheless do not yet grasp. From this arises another advantage also: namely, that they are not only captivated by the sweetness of rhythmical speech but also observe the transpositions of words which the necessity of verse makes very great.

Those masters therefore erred who formerly expounded a poet late, and not until the precepts of rhetoric. But others erred far more destructively who, through premature haste in teaching, explained the system of verse at these beginnings. For they wonderfully disturbed little abilities not only by the multitude of things but also by confusion. They have not yet learned to speak, and you order them to sing? Their greatest labor is to weave words and nouns suitably into discourse without barbarisms and solecisms. Therefore, they ought not yet to be taught to learn those things upon which the system of verse depends.

I judge those who make poets prematurely to do the same thing as foolish nurses who teach infants to dance when, still among hoops and supports, they scarcely walk with a tottering step. Let them first speak readily, abundantly, and

without fear of erring; then let them knock at the doors of the Muses. A slow or lame dancer is a ridiculous thing, for without agility and urbanity that harmonious motion of bodies is a ridiculous ineptitude.

§ 7. There is a highest grammar class, in which the remaining things that belong to this art are explained perfectly: namely, all the more difficult precepts of syntax, figurative constructions, all the precepts of metrical art, and all the Greek rudiments.

That order is most correct: they learn the easiest laws of constructing discourse in the lowest class, the easy laws in the middle, and the difficult laws in the highest. What happens to architects who build steps thus also happens to them, for whenever they build the upper steps upon the structure, they rest upon the lower ones.

As regards readings, from the orators there can be expounded in the first semester all the weightiest letters of Cicero to his *Friends*, to Atticus, and to his brother Quintus; but in the second, the books *On Friendship*, *On Old Age*, the *Paradoxes*, and others of this kind. From the poets, in the first semester some selected and expurgated elegies and letters of Ovid; in the second, certain passages likewise selected and expurgated from Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Virgil's *Eclogues*, or even Virgil's easier books, such as the fourth of the *Georgics* and the fifth and seventh of the *Aeneid*. From the Greeks, Saint John Chrysostom, Aesop, Agapetus, and authors similar to them.

§ 8. The distribution of time and the other exercises possess an analogy with the things that have been said. Nevertheless, everything is to be expounded more learnedly, and the highest account is to be taken of elegance. Poetry must also be begun: first with verses given in prose order, which the novices are to restore; next, with certain words changed; finally, with a dictated theme which they themselves are to bind in feet by their own effort and clothe in rhythms.

If this order is observed constantly and suitably, it produces immense fruit by rapid labor. I have seen innumerable boys who, after being instructed by this method and entering the lowest class in the ninth year of age, spoke and wrote purely and in Latin when the twelfth year came round; they also composed easy verses and explained Latin authors.

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And if an experiment is sought, our gymnasia exhibited hundreds of such pupils. It would be easy for me to prove this method of teaching from various authors. But I appeal to experience, the most certain witness of the things stated. Would that masters everywhere in the towns followed the same method, or that the magistrate labored so that they could. But frequently, because of the smallness of their stipends, they are drawn away elsewhere, since they are compelled to be pleaders of causes and scribes at the same time. Next, so great is the labor not only of teaching but of teaching by the water clock and changing at fixed turns that no one readily deigns to undertake this burden constantly except one who has devoted his life to God.

CHAPTER XIX

On Poetry

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 1. We now lead our novice to the studies of eloquence, to the orator--not so that he may approach private or public causes, but so that he may learn the things which he may afterward bring forth opportunely when practical experience demands them. Eloquence is twofold: copious and expanded, which inundates like a river and which they properly call eloquence; and contracted or compressed, as Cicero calls it in the book *On Famous Orators*, which is dialectic.

Again, each kind--but especially that more abundant kind, which resembles an open palm, not a fist--is divided into prose and discourse bound by rhythms, or metrical discourse. I say "especially," for even the precepts of dialectic can be comprehended in meters; indeed, certain acute, brief, and exceedingly concise poems imitate dialectic by their pointedness. The sacred poems of David and Job are full of examples, as are some Latin epigrams, if we consult them.

If you weigh these things according to the common manner, you will divide them into three faculties whose perfection few have attained; but if you look to the nature of eloquence, you will understand one end: to teach, move, and persuade by speech, whether it drives or draws minds with a flood of words, or penetrates by pointed brevity and performs the office of an orator without commotion. I am indeed accustomed to wonder at those who measure eloquence by the ornament and majesty of words and thoughts. Whoever speaks suitably for persuasion is eloquent, whether he governs his words with Ciceronian eloquence or invades minds with Chrysippean subtlety. Not only experience but also the divine writings teach this.

Experience does so, for a brief admonition, a clear maxim, and a timely axiom are often more powerful than long speeches, since we see that the briefest speeches have possessed the greatest force. Second Kings, chapter 14, verse 5: "Alas, I am a widow, for my husband is dead. And your handmaid had two sons, who quarreled with each other in the field, and there was no one who could restrain them; and one struck the other and killed him. And behold, the whole kindred rises together against your handmaid and says, 'Hand over the man who struck his brother, so that we may kill him for the life of his brother whom he killed, and so that we may destroy the heir.' And they seek to extinguish my spark which is left, so that no name or remnant may survive for my husband upon the earth." And the king said to the woman: "Go to your house, and I shall give orders concerning you."

And the woman of Tekoa said to the king: "Upon me, my lord king, and upon my father's house let the iniquity be; but let the king and his throne be innocent." And the king said: "Whoever contradicts you, bring him to me, and he shall no longer proceed to touch you." She said: "Let the king remember the Lord his God, so that the blood relatives are not multiplied to take vengeance and so that they by no means kill my son." He said: "As the Lord lives, not one of your son's hairs shall fall to the earth." The woman therefore said: "Let your handmaid speak a word to my lord the king."

And he said: "Speak." And the woman said: "Why have you devised a thing of this kind against the people of God, and why has the king spoken this word so that he sins and does not bring back his own banished man? We all die and flow away like waters upon the earth which do not return. God does not will a soul to perish but takes thought, considering that the one cast away should not perish utterly. Now, therefore, I have come to speak this word to my lord the king in the presence of the people. And your handmaid said: 'I shall speak to the king, if in some manner the king may do the word of his handmaid.' And the king heard, so that he might deliver his handmaid from the hand of all who wished to erase me and my son together from the inheritance of the Lord. Therefore, let your handmaid say that the word of my lord the king be like a sacrifice. For as an angel of the Lord, so is my lord the king, that he may be moved neither by blessing nor by cursing; hence the Lord your God too is with you."

Thus she pleads before the king in the presence of the people--and eloquently, for she truly obtains what she sought. Abigail likewise, First Kings, chapter 25, verse 24: "Upon me, my lord, let this iniquity be. Let your handmaid, I beseech you, speak in your ears, and hear the words of your servant. Let not my lord the king, I pray, set his heart upon that wicked man Nabal, for according to his name he is a fool, and folly is with him. But I, your handmaid, did not see your servants, my lord, whom you sent. Now therefore, my lord, as the Lord lives and as your soul lives, the Lord who restrained you from coming into blood and saved your hand for yourself--and now let your enemies and those who seek evil for my lord become like Nabal.

"Therefore receive this blessing which your handmaid has brought to you, my lord, and give it to the servants who follow you, my lord. Take away the iniquity of your servant; for the Lord will surely make for you, my lord, a faithful house, because you, my lord, fight the battles of the Lord. Therefore, let no malice be found in you during all the days of your life. For if at any time a man rises, persecuting you and seeking your life, the life of my lord will be guarded as in the bundle of the living before the Lord your God; but the life of your enemies will be whirled about as by the force and circle of a sling. Therefore, when the Lord has done for you, my lord, all the good things which he has spoken concerning you and has established you as ruler over Israel, this will not be for you, my lord, as a sob and a scruple of heart--that you shed innocent blood or avenged yourself. And when the Lord has done good to my lord, you will remember your handmaid."

These passages show an altogether different eloquence, accommodated to the manners and character of human beings. I warn of this so that we do not judge so great a matter by fluency and elegance of words alone. We must therefore now speak of these things, and first of eloquence bound by rhythms, or poetry. For the purpose of all is to teach and persuade, and this is done by speaking well. He speaks well who speaks well in the judgment of the judges or hearers. For if they reject you, if they judge that you speak falsely, vainly, and without elegance, you will have spoken well to no purpose. Concerning poetry I have chiefly these things

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to say: first, that it is useful to the state; next, what the method and system for it may be; finally, how varied it is.

§ 2. I easily show from many things that poetry is useful in the state. First, from its most praiseworthy antiquity, which always shone in well-established cities and kingdoms.

If we repeat the most ancient memory, we shall understand that poetry excelled not only among the Jews but also among neighboring peoples and was the work of princes. Although the true poetry of the ancients is unknown to us, we cannot be ignorant that poetry existed, and perhaps anyone will understand without much difficulty that hymns are rhythmical if he is willing to run through the various species of poems and their mixtures. Scaliger in the *Hyle*, or Book 2 of the *Poetics*, chapter 6, enumerates various kinds of verses: catalectic, acatalectic, brachycatalectic, hypercatalectic, pure, and impure. In some of these, as in melic and dithyrambic poems, hyporchemes, scolia, and paeans, they aim only that strophes and antistrophes correspond, and that at different intervals. Parts of verses are connected with different whole verses. He indeed goes so far as to recognize a verse or a degree of a verse in one foot or syllable.

Since, therefore, there are so many kinds of pyrrhics, iambics, dactyls, trochaics, spondaics, anapaests, ionics, aeolics, and paeonics; so many mixtures of feet in one poem; and so many compositions of poems, either recurrent or non-recurrent, it will not be difficult to refer most Hebrew poems to those kinds. Or surely you will understand many Greek poems of such a kind that, if they are written in the form of prose, you would scarcely believe from their rhythms that they were poems. I shall give examples. Bacchylides in Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists*, Book 2:

Ἑλπίς δ' αὖξουσα φρένας,

ἀναμινυμένα Διονυσίοισι δώροις,

ἀνδράσι δ' ὑψοτάτω

πέμπεται μερίμνας·
 αὐτίκα μὲν πόλεων
 κρήδεμνα λύει,
 πᾶσι δ' ἀνθρώποις
 μοναρχήσιν δοκεῖ·
 χρυσῷ δ' ἐλέφαντί τε
 μαρμαίρουσιν οἴκοι,
 πυροφόροι δὲ κατ' αἰγλήεντα
 νῆες ἄγουσιν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου
 μέγιστον πλοῦτον·
 ὥς πίνοντος ὀρμαίνει κέαρ.

And hope strikes the mind when it is mingled with Bacchic gifts, and projects the deepest cares upon men. At once he storms the walls of cities and thinks that he will be monarch of all human beings. Indeed, houses gleam with gold and ivory, and ships laden with grain carry most splendid and abundant wealth from Egypt, as the heart of the drinker imagines.

Who, moreover, would suspect poems where all the syllables are short, as in these lines of Pratinas?

Τίς ὁ θόρυβος ὅδε;
 τίνα τάδε τὰ χορεύματα;
 τίς ὕβρις ἔμολεν
 ἐπὶ Διονυσιάδα
 πολύπαταγα θυμέλαν;
 ἐμός, ἐμός ὁ Βρόμιος.

What is that tumult? What dances, what insolence, has invaded the altar of Dionysus, which possesses much clamor? My own, my own Bromius.

The scolion of Aristotle is better known, to which not a few Hebrew poems nevertheless correspond:

Ἀρετὰ πολύμοχθε γένει βροτεῖω,
 θήραμα κάλλιστον βίω,
 σᾶς πέρι, παρθένε, μορφᾶς
 καὶ θανεῖν ζηλωτὸς ἐν Ἑλλάδι πότμος,
 καὶ πόνους τλῆναι μαλεροῦς
 ἀκάμαντας· τοῖον
 ἐπὶ φρένα βάλλεις
 καρπὸν τ' ἀθάνατον
 χρυσοῦ τε κρεῖσσω καὶ γονέων

μαλακαυγήτοιό θ' ὕπνου.
 σεῦ δ' ἔνεκεν ὁ Διὸς Ἡρακλῆς
 Λήδας τε κοῦροι πολλ' ἀνέτλασαν,
 ἔργοις σὺν ἀγρεύοντες δύναμιν.
 σοῖς δὲ πόθοις Ἀχιλλεὺς
 Αἴας τε Αἰῖδο δόμους ἦλθον·
 σᾶς δ' ἔνεκεν φιλίας μορφᾶς
 Ἀταρνέος ἔντροφος
 ἀελίου χήρωσεν αὐγάς.
 τοιγὰρ ἀοίδιμον ἔργοις
 ἀθάνατόν τέ μιν αὐξήσουσι Μοῦσαι,
 Μνημοσύνης θυγατέρες,
 Διὸς ξενίου σέβας αὔξουσai
 φιλίας τε γέρας βεβαίαις.

Virtue, much laborious for the human race, most beautiful quarry of life: for the sake of your countenance, maiden, death is a desirable fate in Greece, and so is the endurance of fierce, untamed labors. You cast such a fruit into the mind, immortal and more excellent than gold and parents and sleep. For your sake Hercules, son of Jupiter, and the sons of Leda suffered many things, hunting your power by their works. Through desire for you Achilles and Ajax also entered the houses of Orcus. Indeed, on account of your lovely countenance the ward of Atarneus was deprived of the light of the sun. Therefore, most celebrated in works, the Muses, daughters of Mnemosyne, will exalt him as immortal, increasing veneration for hospitable Jupiter and the reward of firm friendship.

See most of the poems of that man whom no one has emulated without mishap, that is, Pindar. Unless you divide individual things in him, even sever words, and assign one word to the preceding poem and another to the following, you will assuredly show me a poem only with difficulty; nevertheless, we infer the poetry from a more divine manner of speaking. Behold, I propose that you read it thus:

Ὁ πλοῦτος εὐρυσθενής, ὅταν τις ἀρετᾷ κεκραμένον
 καθαρεῖ βροτήσιος ἀνὴρ, πότμου παραδόντος αὐτὸν ἀνάγῃ
 πολύφιλον ἐπέταν, ὃ θεόμορε Ἀρκεσίλα. Σὺ τοίνυν
 κλυτὰς αὐτὸν ἐκ βαθμίδος σὺν αἰὶ δόξα μετανίσσεται,
 ἑκατι χρυσάρματος Κάστορος, εὐδίαν ὅς
 μετὰ χειμέριον ὄμβρον τεὰν καταθάλλει μάκαιραν
 ἐστίαν.

Riches are widely powerful when some mortal man, fortune granting them, increases them tempered by pure virtue; they are companions who conciliate many friends. O Arcesilaus, you who have obtained a lot from the divine power, you surely exercise them from the highest steps of a renowned age, with glory, by the favor of Castor who is carried in a golden chariot, who after winter rain flashes tranquillity upon your blessed house.

You will observe all these things in the choruses of Euripides, Aeschylus, and others. From them, therefore, we shall gather that poetry does not fail to appear in Hebrew because it does not exist, but because we do not possess its system. I certainly recognize verses in many passages. The oracle given by Israel to the twelve patriarchs in Genesis 49 was composed in verse:

Reuben, my firstborn, you are my strength and the beginning of my sorrow, first in gifts, greater in dominion.

In Hebrew they are thus:

Ruben bchori, attha cochi

Verheschith oni,

Lether scheeth, veiether ghaz.

The remaining words, with some variation, can nevertheless be recognized as bound by rhythms. Antiquity also sang a song of victory when Sihon the Amorite had been conquered; its beginning is given in Numbers 21:27:

Come into Heshbon; let it be built,

and let the city of Sihon be constructed.

The Hebrew words have this form:

Bou Chesbon Thibane

Veticonen ghir Sichen.

It is the form of an Anacreontic poem, or catalectic dimeter, except that there are spondees in place of iambs, for short syllables are rare among the Hebrews. The Song of Moses in Exodus 15 consists of the same mixtures of verses, although brachycatalectics are interposed there as well. The Song of Moses in Deuteronomy 32 does not differ much, although it intersperses very many brachycatalectics. But in chapter 33 he begins the blessing with verse, at verse 2: "The Lord came from Sinai and rose from Seir for us; he appeared from Mount Paran, and with him were thousands of saints, and in his right hand a fiery law."

Those words in Hebrew give us this harmony:

Iehova Missinai -- catalectic verse

Ba, vezarach mescheghir -- catalectic

Lamo, hophigh meher Pharan -- acatalectic

Veatha mirceboth codesch -- catalectic

Mimino esch dath lamo, and the rest -- acatalectic.

In precisely this manner Deborah and Barak sang in Judges 5. But the Orpheus, Homer, and Virgil of the Hebrews--if it is lawful to compare sacred things with profane--King and Prophet David, adorned their poetry most greatly. His poems are more pleasing to us by their meaning of piety and mysteries than by their rhythms; nevertheless, in very many I have observed a certain exact measure of syllables, as also in the *Lamentations* of Jeremiah, who took care to begin the openings with the same letters according to a fixed manner.

No one doubts that Solomon's *Song of Songs* is sacred poetry, in which he sings the heavenly nuptial song of a blessed soul. Jeremiah, Job, and the Songs also have their own rhythms, pleasing by a certain more divine kind of speaking rather than by a perceptible sweetness of feet. For all recognize Pindar as the chief of lyric poets, and yet in him the system of verse is more often sought than felt. Thus Horace, who approaches nearest to him: "Whoever strives to emulate Pindar, Julius, relies upon waxen wings by the art of Daedalus, destined to give a name to the glassy sea. Like

a river running down from a mountain, which rains have swollen above its familiar banks, Pindar boils and rushes immeasurably from his profound mouth, deserving to be presented with Apollo's laurel, whether he rolls new words through daring dithyrambs and is borne along in rhythms freed from rule."

That praise of Pindar is deserved: equally **ἀμίμητος** (*inimitable*) and **ἄμεμπτος** (*blameless*). Yet without discriminating the rhythms employed, you may read as follows:

Ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ, ὃ δὲ χρυσὸς αἰθόμενον πῦρ ἄτε
 διαπρέπει νυκτὶ μεγανορῶς ἔξοχα πλούτου. εἰ δ' ἄεθλα
 γάρυεν ἔλδεαι, φίλον ἦτορ, μηκέθ' ἀλίου σκόπει ἄλλο
 θαλπνότερον ἐν ἀμέρᾳ φαεννὸν ἄστρον ἐρήμας δι' αἰθέρος.

Water indeed is best, and gold, like nocturnal blazing fire, flashes excellently among proud riches. But, my soul, if you desire to tell of contests, do not now contemplate another star more splendid than the sun, shining by day through the empty ether.

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§ 3. From these things I conclude that there was a use of poems among the Hebrews and that holy and great men were poets. Therefore, they were honored in the divine state and are not now lightly to be rejected.

Poets were once held in great honor among the Romans; among the Greeks I find them indeed cultivated excessively. Plato called them sons of the gods. An ingenious poet also said:

There is a god in us; when he stirs us, we grow warm;
 this impulse possesses the seeds of a sacred mind.

And:

That spirit comes from ethereal seats.

The sole reason why some denied poetry to the Hebrews is that they could find in that language no harmony similar to ours, but all things appeared similar to prose. Yet since the same thing must be conceded in the most eminent Greek poets, anyone will easily judge that what men admire in the Greeks must not be denied to the Hebrews.

Plato in the *Cratylus*, mocking philosophers and sophists, advises that poets be approached and an account of virtue sought from them. Democritus too believed that there was something divine in Orpheus, Homer, and others. Heraclitus says, **τῷ ἀβεβήλῳ ἐντὸς περιρραντηρίων ἡγνισμένος**. "Holy with undefiled and sacred sprinklings." They carried laurel as an emblem of divination when they sang their verses. Still others delighted even more in declaring a mystery in the fables of poets, to speak seriously. For since they defended everything in the fables, even foul things, as coverings of a more sacred philosophy, the result was that the majesty of nature was polluted by the foulness of the narratives, and many eagerly clung to the delights of the fables but did not understand--or indeed despised--the mysteries feigned to lie beneath them. But I shall speak of the abuse afterward.

These things were practiced in antiquity; but more cultivated ages procured greater honor for poetry. After Homer had been despised in death, cities contentiously claimed him:

Ἐπτα πόλεις διερίζουσι περὶ ῥίζαν Ὀμήρου.

Seven cities dispute concerning Homer's stock.

Cicero, *For Archias*: "And yet we have received from the greatest and most learned men that the studies of other things

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consist in learning, precepts, and art; but that a poet has power through nature itself, is aroused by the forces of the mind, and is breathed upon, as it were, by a certain divine spirit. Therefore, by his own right, our Ennius calls poets holy, because they appear to be commended to us as though by some gift and bounty of the gods. Therefore, judges, among you most humane men, let this name of poet be sacred, a name which no barbarity ever violated. Rocks and solitudes answer their voice; savage beasts are often bent by song and stand still. Shall we, instructed in the best things, not be moved by the voice of poets? The Colophonians say Homer is their citizen; the Chians claim him as their own; the Salaminians demand him back; the Smyrnaeans indeed affirm that he is theirs. And so they even dedicated a shrine to him in their town. Very many others besides fight and contend among themselves.”

And it is certain that poets were valued among kings--not so much, I believe, because of any utility, although that also existed, as from a desire for glory and immortality; for many lack memory because they lack a sacred bard. Virgil was valued by Maecenas and Augustus; Archelaus of Macedon cultivated Euripides; Hiero, Aeschylus and Simonides; Dionysius, Philoxenus; Polycrates of Samos, Anacreon; Antigonos, Antagoras and Aratus; the Spartans, Tyrtaeus. As he was dying, Plato placed the books of Sophron beneath his pillow.

§ 4. But if we also regard the use of this most honorable and difficult art, it is certainly manifold. First, holy men employed verse in the praise of eternal majesty; then, by corrupt imitation, the gentiles employed it for encomia of idols. For the hymn is the most ancient kind of poetry. Many hymns of Orpheus and the ancients survive, and so both hymn-singers and hymn-makers were named. They composed a *hypragon* for Diana, a paean or hyporcheme for Phoebus, a processional song for both together, a dithyramb for Bacchus, and an *iulus* for Ceres. Scaliger enumerates more in the *Idea*, chapter 112.

The ancient theologians Orpheus, Linus, and Musaeus divided not only these powers, which are the greatest and primary, but also other, lesser powers in such a way that they established various and diverse divinities, whom they likewise called gods. Therefore, while they acknowledged Jupiter as the supreme God, they feigned him father of the others, from whom all things had proceeded. Thus they established Pallas, Mars, Vulcan, Proserpina, Venus, and Bacchus for those functions which are recognized by us as united in one. Therefore, it should by no means appear strange if they divided the nature of hymns into various kinds: **ἱκετικούς, ἀποπεμπτικούς, φυσικούς, μουσικούς, γενεαλογικούς, πεπλασμένους, ἐντοπίους, ἀπευκτικούς, μικτούς**--supplicatory, dismissive, natural, musical, genealogical, fictive, local, deprecatory, and mixed. If **παιᾶνες** (*paeanes*) and **προσόδια** (*processional songs*) are not reduced to these kinds, species having different principles will be numbered with them. Didymus is authority that hymns with a cithara, **τὰ προσόδια** with pipes, were customarily sung by the Athenians at altars.

But we shall address a hymn to the one and only God, as that same excellent teacher of poetry rightly says. The praise of God should always occupy our entire mind and whole thought. Whatever you do without communion with him, do not judge that truly done; how much more must the mind be directed toward those modulations which receive as much of his divinity as they embrace of him, and become akin to those harmonies which have been assigned by the maker to the heavenly windings and proportions. The praise of God is called **ὕμνος** by the Greeks and *celebratio* by the Latins.

Since he is one and the same is three, a Christian man has the right either to sing of him alone or to celebrate the persons separately, adding their properties with reverence--not as morose disputants, but as pious poets have been accustomed to do. After many others, we too attempted this. For when we wrote a hymn to God the Father as creator of all things, we led it from the creation of the world itself down to us and our affairs. But we wrote of God the Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, as savior of the human race; in him we led our mind away from the prison of the body to the free fields of contemplation, which was to transform me into him. Then the ineffable power of the most holy Spirit was celebrated with such ardor that, although the hymn had begun in the gentlest rhythms, it blazed up under a sudden assault of divine fire.

Whatever is in God is God himself; but through the weakness of our knowledge, by the example and image of these lower things, many things are as it were distinguished: intellect, from which comes will, and afterward power. Yet nothing is before or after; they are not only simultaneous but also one. From these the ancients derived the two greatest principles of things and actions, Nature and Fortune. For Nature is the power of God, but Fortune is his will.

§ 5. A second use is in praises of heroes and great men. Thus Jeremiah praised Josiah; thus David praised Jonathan; thus Prudentius praised the martyrs. In this matter, indeed, poems are now for the most part consumed. Nor is the abuse new by which poets flatter powerful men without shame whenever they please to make poems. You will find plainly few men like Philoxenus. Virgil himself inaugurated his name with exquisite flattery:

It rained the whole night; the spectacles return in the morning:

Caesar possesses a divided sovereignty with Jupiter.

And our Lucan is thought deservedly slain by Nero because he flattered that monster so slavishly:

But if the fates found no other way for Nero's coming,

and eternal kingdoms are procured for the gods at great cost,

and heaven could not serve its own Thunderer

except after the wars of savage giants,

now, heavenly powers, we complain of nothing. These crimes and this wickedness

please us at this price. Let Pharsalia fill its dreadful fields,

and let the Punic shades be sated with blood;

let the final deadly battles meet at Munda.

Let Caesar add to these fates the famine of Perusia and Mutina's labors,

the fleets which rugged Leucas crushes,

and the servile wars beneath burning Etna.

Yet Rome owes much to civil arms,

because the business was conducted for you. When your earthly station is completed,

you will seek the stars late; the palace of heaven preferred for you

will receive you while the sky rejoices, whether it pleases you to hold the scepters

or to mount Phoebus's flame-bearing chariot

and survey with wandering fire the earth, fearing nothing from the changed sun.

Every divine power will yield to you, and nature will leave to your judgment

which god you wish to be and where to place the kingdom of the world.

But choose your seat neither in the northern region

nor where the warm pole of the opposing south inclines,

from where you may see your Rome beneath an oblique constellation.

If you press upon one part of the immense ether,

the axis will feel the burden. Hold the weights of balanced heaven

in the middle of its sphere. Let that whole part of serene ether
 be empty, and let no clouds obstruct Caesar.
 Then let the human race consult its interest after laying down arms;
 let every nation love in turn; let peace sent through the world
 restrain the iron thresholds of warlike Janus.
 But to me you are already a divinity; and if I receive you in my breast as bard,
 I should not wish to trouble the secrets of Cirrha to move the god,
 or to turn Bacchus away from Nysa.

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You alone are sufficient to give strength to Roman songs.

Nor are there lacking modern flatteries of souls that are not only profitable but also cheap.

The use of verse in transmitting history, laws, and arts is no smaller. The ancient laws of the Athenians were written by Draco in three thousand verses; Pittacus wrote those for his Mytilenaeans in fewer, namely six hundred. History too is written most elegantly in verse, and morals are taught, so that poets are called the fathers of wisdom even by Plato. Solomon's songs, *τῶν ᾠδῶν*, as the Septuagint translates, are numbered at five thousand; the Hebrew calls them three thousand parables, axioms, or distinguished maxims and, as it were, flowers of wisdom.

This is the primary purpose of sacred poetry: after praises have been sung to the divine power, to prepare the minds of men to approach God purely by a sweet melody which is readily retained. Horace attributes this to bards in Epistle 1 of Book 2:

The poet forms the tender and stammering mouth of the boy;
 even now he turns his ear away from obscene speech;
 soon he also forms his breast by friendly precepts,
 corrector of harshness, envy, and anger.
 He recounts things rightly done and instructs the rising age
 with famous examples; he consoles the needy and the sick.
 From where would the maiden ignorant of a husband learn prayers
 with chaste boys, had the Muse not given a bard?

In Aristophanes--otherwise a buffoon and a certain pus and poison of poetry--there is a useful conversation on this matter between Euripides and Aeschylus:

Αἰσχύλος: Ἀποκρίναι μοι· τίνος οὕνεκα χρή θαυμάζειν
 ἄνδρα ποιητήν;
 Εὐριπίδης: Δεξιότητος καὶ νουθεσίας, ὅτι βελτίους τε ποιοῦμεν
 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ταῖς πόλεσιν.
 Αἰσχύλος: Ταῦτα γὰρ ἄνδρας χρή ποιητὰς ἀσκεῖν. Σκέψαι
 γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς

ὥς ὠφέλιμοι τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ γενναῖοι γεγένηται.
 Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετάς θ' ἡμῖν κατέδειξε φόνων τ'
 ἀπέχεσθαι,
 Μουσαῖος δ' ἐξακέσεις τε νόσων καὶ χρησμούς, Ἡσίοδος δὲ
 γῆς ἐργασίας, καρπῶν ὥρας, ἀρότους· ὁ δὲ θεῖος Ὅμηρος
 τάξεις, ἀρετάς, ὀπλίσεις ἀνδρῶν.

That is:

“Aeschylus: Answer me: for the sake of what ought a poet to be admired? Euripides: For skill and admonition, because we make the men of our country better. For poets ought to practice these things. Consider from the beginning how many of the noble poets have been useful. Orpheus showed us sacrifices and abstention from slaughter; Musaeus, cures of diseases and oracles; Hesiod, the working of the earth, the seasons of fruits, and plowing; divine Homer, the orderings, virtues, and armaments of men.”

Nature has indeed so arranged it that verses are heard more sweetly, cling more deeply, and move more readily. Hence we see not only philosophers but Paul too employ verses of noble poets. No one is more cultivated than Paul to whom many things of this kind are not already known.

Poets are not only pleasing and good teachers of virtue, but also the sharpest censors of vices; for what is more bitter, what more forceful, than satire? They alone lash the vices of magnates after steeping them in sharp vinegar. Then you may see:

Mighty Tituses tremble when poems enter their loins
 and their innermost parts are scratched by a quivering verse.

Finally, the precepts of almost all arts and of philosophy itself are found comprehended in verse. Astronomy, agriculture, wars, laws, and whatever comes into use--the writings of bards disclose them to us.

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§ 6. Yet an ancient opinion recalls and draws some men away from this most liberal art: namely, that poetry obstructs prudence. Plato in the *Phaedrus* says:

ὅς δ' ἂν ἄνευ μανίας Μουσῶν ἐπὶ ποιητικὰς θύρας ἀφίκηται,
 πεισθεὶς ὥς ἄρα ἐκ τέχνης ἱκανὸς ποιητῆς ἐσόμενος,
 ἀτελὴς αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ ποίησις ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν μαινομένων
 ἢ τοῦ σωφρονοῦντος ἠφανίσθη.

Whoever has knocked at the doors of poetry without frenzy, persuaded that he can become a poet by art alone, finds his attempt fruitless, and his poetry likewise vanishes.

They therefore think frenzy necessary, for:

Father Ennius himself never leapt forth to arms unless he had been drinking.

For drunkenness is a voluntary frenzy, as anger also is.

“The mind,” says Seneca, “cannot speak anything grand and above others unless it has been stirred. When it has despised common and customary things and risen higher by a sacred impulse, then at last it has sung something grander than a mortal mouth. It cannot attain anything sublime and placed on high so long as it is with itself.”

Hence the Platonists taught that poems were poured forth by inspiration and madness. Ptolemy asserts that the soul is thus stirred by the stars.

§ 7. But slenderness of ability keeps very many away from poetry. I judge that in this way a great injury is inflicted upon compressed eloquence through this calumny. The reason is that no one can be a poet unless he is gifted. And this is the first testing of young men: it belongs to anyone to recite lessons with a faithful memory, to remember expositions and the meanings of words, and to translate Latin into the vernacular; it belongs to the gifted to compose a poem. An orator can be made; a poet must be born.

I interpret this so that I judge that a great ability, together with a knowledge of art and precepts, is necessary for poetry; small abilities knock at the doors of the Muses only with ridicule, middling ones without praise. Art and nature have great force if they are joined. Cicero, *For Archias*: “I also add this: nature without instruction has more often availed for praise and virtue than instruction without nature. And I likewise contend that when a certain systematic training and formation by learning has been added to an excellent and illustrious nature, then that unknown something glorious and singular customarily comes into being.”

Thus Horace too:

Whether a praiseworthy poem was produced by nature or by art
has been asked. I see neither what study can do without a rich vein,
nor what untrained ability can do: thus each thing
seeks the aid of the other and conspires in friendship.

In other matters art can assist nature when it is deprived of aid; in poetry, without nature, art plays in a void. The same Cicero shows this in the passage already recited.

From the same opinion, therefore, comes what they write concerning a certain madness of ingenious men and poets, concerning which I have spoken in its place. This is also confirmed by the fact that a middling orator, a soldier neither timid nor very brave, and a certain mediocrity of industry in other matters are customarily commended. But among poets whatever is praiseworthy is magnificent:

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Neither men, nor gods, nor booksellers' pillars
have permitted poets to be mediocre.

If he departs a little from the summit, he inclines to the bottom.

§ 8. But it is most difficult to be a distinguished, grandiloquent, polished poet to whom you would wish to add nothing and from whom you would wish to remove nothing. Cicero truly said that scarcely in each age has one good poet been found. Since, therefore, good poets are so few, there are nevertheless many who seek the honor of this name, which is to sound out great things. No ape fails to love its young, and even a bear despises death for offspring which appears an unformed mass and leaps over hunting spears. Likewise, no poet ever wrenched from his talent a poem so gaping in words or tasteless in sense that he did not love it desperately--ὅτι αὐτῶν γάρ, says Aristotle.

And so in no matter have more men endeavored to display their ability than at limpid Hippocrene and chilly Parnassus. Hence those ineptitudes; hence so many verses which we marvel could have been made by sane men. Compare the

matter with morals: scarcely one age receives one poet. But I judge that there are ten myriads of men who even at this time judge themselves good poets. Horace deservedly says of them:

Add poems now--that is, add oil to the furnace.

If anyone made these while sane, you too act sanely.

Persius lashes the custom of his own age:

Shut in, we write: one man in rhythms, another with foot set free,
some grand thing for a lung over-generous with breath to pant forth.

Naturally, this is for the people, with hair combed and a fresh toga,
gleaming at last in birthday white with sardonyx,
reading from a lofty seat, when with liquid modulation you have gargled
your mobile throat, languishing with a lascivious little eye.

Here you may see mighty Tituses, neither in seemly manner nor with serene voice,
tremble when poems enter their loins
and their innermost parts are scratched by a quivering verse.

Then, old man, do you gather bait for the ears of others--
ears to which you, ruined in skin, may say, "Enough!"?

What is the use of learning unless this leaven, and the fig tree
once engrafted within, bursts the liver and comes out?

Behold pallor and old age--O morals! Is your knowledge
altogether nothing unless another knows that you know this?

But it is beautiful to be pointed out with a finger and to have it said, "This is he."

Do you count it nothing that you were the lesson dictated to a hundred curled youths?

Behold, amid their cups the satiated sons of Romulus ask
what the divine poems tell.

Here someone with a hyacinth-colored mantle around his shoulders,
after speaking something rancid through his stammering nostril,
filters out Phyllises, Hypsipyles, and whatever is lamentable among the bards,
and trips up words with his tender palate.

The men assent. Is not that poet's ash now happy?

Does not his tombstone now press more lightly upon his bones?

The dinner guests praise him. Do not violets now spring
from those shades, from that tomb and fortunate ember?

You laugh, he says, and indulge your hooked nostrils too much.

Will there be anyone who refuses to wish to have merited the people's voice,
and, after speaking things worthy of cedar oil, to leave poems
which fear neither mackerel wrappers nor incense?

Among these, how many thousands are there whom it is harder and more laborious to hear than to work in the quarries, where all weariness must be driven from the body? Accordingly, good poets are few; many are, as Aristophanes jokes, *ἐπεφύλλιδες καὶ φυλλώματα, χελιδόνων μουσεῖα, λωβηταὶ τέχνης*: spurious excrescences which grow upon leaves, not clusters; chatterers, museums of swallows, disgraces of art. Refer here wandering beggar-poets and certain men who name themselves poets laureate. Because the race of bards is irritable, I certainly should not wish to irritate them. Yet it is necessary to acknowledge that many foreheads unworthy of so royal a foliage are shaded by it.

It is contrary to equity to impute the madness and stupidity of these men to true and prudent poets. Moses, Deborah, Barak, David, Solomon, Isaiah, and Jeremiah were most prudent men and nevertheless most excellent poets; their poems are sung daily to cast the seeds of wisdom and piety and to increase the virtues. Nor would you rightly call Homer imprudent in mind although blind. A bard is witness for a bard: Horace, Book 1, Epistle 2:

While you declaim at Rome, Lollius, I reread at Praeneste
the writer of the Trojan War,
who tells what is beautiful, what shameful, what useful and what not,
more fully and better than Chrysippus and Crantor.
Hear why I believe this, unless something detains you.
The tale in which Greece is related to have collided with barbarism
in protracted war on account of Paris's love
contains the passions of foolish kings and peoples.
Antenor judges that the cause of war must be cut away.
What of Paris? He denies that he can be compelled to reign in safety and live happily.
Nestor hastens to settle the quarrels
between the son of Peleus and the son of Atreus.
Love burns the one; anger, indeed, burns both alike.
Whatever madness kings commit, the Greeks are punished.
Within and outside the walls of Troy men sin
by sedition, deceits, crime, lust, and anger.
Again, as to what virtue and wisdom can accomplish,
he proposed Ulysses to us as a useful example:
the conqueror of Troy, who prudently examined the cities
and manners of many men and, while preparing a return
for himself and his companions over the broad sea, endured many harsh things,
incapable of being submerged by the adverse waves of affairs.

Inspect the subjects of Virgil, Lucan, Horace, Juvenal, and others. If you remove the wicked and impure things, you will clearly find that nothing in political life lay hidden from them; indeed, they understood most of the philosophers' deepest matters.

§ 9. But many have judged that poets should be expelled from the city. I admit it is so. Augustine relates the reasons in Book 2, chapter 14, of *The City of God*: "Next we ask: the poets themselves, composers of such fables, who are prohibited by the law of the Twelve Tables from injuring the reputation of citizens, while hurling such disgraceful revilings against God--why are they not held dishonorable like actors? And by what reasoning is it right that the actors of poetical fictions and of ignominious gods should be defamed, but their authors honored? Is the palm perhaps rather to be given to Plato the Greek, who, when he fashioned by reason what a city ought to be, judged that poets should be expelled from the city as adversaries of the city? He both bore indignantly the injuries done to the gods and refused to allow the minds of citizens to be painted and corrupted by fictions."

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"Compare now the humanity of Plato, expelling poets from the city lest citizens be deceived, with the divinity of the gods demanding theatrical games for their own honor. Plato, lest such things should even be written, although he did not persuade the frivolity and wantonness of the Greeks, nevertheless advised it by disputation. Those gods, by commanding, extorted from the gravity and modesty of the Romans that such things should even be acted. Nor did they merely wish these things to be acted, but dedicated, consecrated, and solemnly exhibited to themselves. To whom, then, would the city more honorably decree divine honors: to Plato, who prohibited these foul and impious things, or to the demons who rejoice in this deception of human beings, whom he could not persuade of true things?"

There are two reasons: because they fashioned false gods--concerning which Augustine also complains in Book 18, chapter 14, of *The City of God*--and because they corrupted morals. By the best law, such men are expelled as corrupters of the state. In Book 2 of the *Republic*, Plato judges them to be expelled on account of the disgraceful deeds and crimes which they fasten upon the gods; and in Book 10, after Socrates has said many things against poets, he at last decides the suit by a just judgment in favor of good poets. For he judges that those poets should be retained whose poems induce courage and chastity. Pythagoras held no other opinion. From this it plainly appears that this corruption of morals was most ancient; indeed, the Sibyl too sang concerning them:

Ἑλλάδα τὴν τριστάλαιναν ἀνήσει ποιητής.

Poets will afflict thrice-wretched Greece.

Epicurus indeed has less authority in this matter. Although he may perhaps have proscribed the songs of bad poets from the state as the deliriums of little old women, nevertheless, because he condemned all the liberal arts by one ballot, he did no peculiar insult to poetry. It was more honorable for her to be proscribed with the rest as an honorable matron than to be retained alone in the kingdom of pleasure like a little prostitute. Eratosthenes and others, however, punished not the thing itself but its vices with exile.

It was charged as a fault against Fulvius Nobilior that he had taken a poet into his province. For at that time, as Cato is witness, if anyone pursued this study, he attached himself to banquets and was called a marauder. Fulvius therefore acted badly in taking him into the province, as though he were a flute-player, for the sake of pleasure. Would that today too the magistrate awakened to this matter, proscribed obscene and blasphemous little books with a grave penalty, and punished their authors. But I have said enough about these things where I treated the preservation of chastity in the state.

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§ 10. I shall show briefly what method there is for attaining this eloquence, which ought to be stricter in rhythms, freer in words, and more sublime in thoughts. Aristotle wrote concerning poetry, but neither suitably enough for the abilities of learners nor in a complete treatise. Horace teaches how to avoid faults more than he instructs the beginner, and in his customary manner acts the satirist. In our time Vida and many others occupied themselves with teaching that art. Julius Scaliger snatched the palm from them all by writing seven books to his son Sylvius. I judge this a finished work, by which alone he merited more nobility than if, with Italy's approval, he had truly traced his stock to the family of the Scaligers of Verona.

But it was a great disgrace not only to poetry but also to philosophy and the other arts that Julius and Joseph, such famous alumni of those arts, labored with so persistent an imposture to insert themselves into another man's race and family. If they had possessed the strength, they would have attempted something after the ancient manner. As it is, they vigorously accomplished what they could and avenged themselves with savage poems, as dogs do by barking. Joseph wrote an elegant but bitter poem against the Most Serene Republic of Venice, in which he arraigns the Venetians as though they had unjustly wrested Verona from his ancestors, although his ancestors were no more counts of Verona than Irus was king of the *πτωχῶν* (*beggars*) of all the Achaeans.

But these are the errors of men who dream of great fortunes; when they fall upon great and troubled minds, they also stir great movements, as when a great force of winds has lain upon the great Ocean. Yet however his morals may have conducted themselves, Julius explained the art more accurately than everyone else and was himself a great poet. Nevertheless, his manner and system of writing were accommodated more to perfecting a bard than to instructing a novice.

Our Pontanus therefore undertook this care and disclosed the whole matter in an orderly and learned manner. I have seen no book more useful for learning poetry. Yet if anyone, after reading it, seeks more and more recondite matters, let him seriously unroll Julius. If he labors over comedy or tragedy, let him read through all of Martin Delrio upon Seneca; for he not only shows the road but carries and conveys a man, as though on swan's wings, to the high summit of Parnassus. Joseph Scaliger too, before their friendship was broken, preferred Delrio to everyone. Our Society imitates these authors in teaching poetry. I intend to place its method before the eyes.

§ 11. I said that in the middle grammar class an easy poet is explained and tender minds are thus gradually imbued with poetic rhythms; for although they do not know the system of verse, they are nevertheless delighted by measure and harmony.

In the highest grammar class, when they have now learned syntax, metrical art is learned. Thus the professor's rule provides: "On alternate days, the general precepts of metrical art are to be taught, with the exceptions omitted. In the later semester, however, for at least two months, let that part of grammar which is proper to the first class be reviewed; and on alternate days let metrical art be reviewed by running briefly through the rules already explained and dwelling upon the others as much as necessary. When the repetition of grammar has been completed, let metrical art thereafter be explained daily, with the exceptions, kinds of poems, and the things transmitted concerning patronymics and accent added."

Selected elegies of Ovid, Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius and the easier books of Virgil are joined to this explanation. One hour each day is assigned to explaining and reviewing these authors. Accordingly, when the system of poems has been learned, they themselves are also gradually taught to compose, or to restore verses dissolved into feet and rhythms; next to compose Adonics, heroic verses, and elegies, and not attempt greater things. It will be sufficient if a student possesses the rhythms in his own poem and recognizes them in another's.

Thus instructed, he will be led to the humanities class, concerning which our method prescribes as follows: "The degree of this class, after the pupils have left the grammar classes, is to prepare, as it were, the ground for eloquence.

This occurs in three ways: through knowledge of the language, some erudition, and a brief instruction in the precepts pertaining to rhetoric. For knowledge of the language, which consists chiefly in propriety and abundance, Cicero is used in the daily lectures, generally in those books which contain moral philosophy; from the historians, Caesar, Sallust, Livy, Curtius, and any similar authors; from the poets, chiefly Virgil, with the *Eclogues* and the fourth book of the *Aeneid* excepted; in addition, selected odes of Horace, likewise elegies, epigrams, and other poems of illustrious ancient poets, provided they have been purged of all obscenity. Erudition is to be employed moderately, so that it may sometimes stimulate and refresh the ability, not impede observation of the language.”

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“A brief summary of the precepts of rhetoric from Cyprian will be transmitted, namely in the second semester. At that time, with Cicero’s philosophy omitted, some of his easier speeches may be taken, such as *For the Manilian Law*, *For Archias*, *For Marcellus*, and the others delivered before Caesar. That part of the Greek language which is properly called syntax belongs to this class. Care must moreover be taken that the pupils understand writers moderately well and know how to write something in Greek.”

The authors prescribed here will now be easy after the instruction of which we have spoken has preceded in the lower classes.

Here too, in the first semester, metrical art or prosody is expounded on alternate days with a historian so that it may cling more firmly to the mind; in the second semester, the precepts of rhetoric and a historian alternate.

There are besides exercises which are designated in these words:

“In the second morning hour, let the most recent lecture be repeated briefly and a new one explained for half an hour or a little longer; soon afterward let it be demanded, and if any time remains, let it be placed in mutual contention among the pupils.

“In the final half-hour at the beginning of the first semester, let a historian and metrical art alternate by days; but after metrical art has been completed, let a historian be treated daily. In the second semester, let Cyprian’s *Rhetoric* be either explained, reviewed, or disputed every day.”

Greek authors and syntax likewise; composition of poems. Because the precepts of rhetoric are also common to poetry--for the poet is neighbor to the orator--the ornament and method of verse and several precepts of the art are also expounded. Rule 5 comprehends the whole method: “Let the lecture be lightly sprinkled at times with ornaments of erudition, as much as the explanation of the passage demands. Let the master pour himself out rather wholly upon observations of the Latin language; upon the force and etymology of words, which he will seek from approved authors, chiefly the ancients; upon the use and variety of expressions; and upon imitation of the author. Nor let him judge it foreign to express something at times in the native language, if it is chiefly useful for interpretation or possesses something distinguished. But when he explains a speech, let him examine the precepts of the art. At the end, if it seems good, it will be permitted to translate everything into the native language, but as elegantly as possible.”

And Rule 6: “The subject for writing is to be dictated. In the first semester it is generally to take the form of a letter, word for word in the common speech. It will often be useful to compose it so that the whole has been torn from passages already explained in the lectures, here and there. About once each week, however, let them compose by their own effort, after some kind of letter has first been explained and letters of Cicero or Pliny pertaining to it have been indicated. In the second semester, let ability then be stimulated; and let chriae first, then proems, variations, and embellishments be composed when an easy and copious subject has been proposed. Let the master dictate the subject of a poem in Latin, with much variety of expressions. The method for a Greek theme will be the same as for Latin prose, except that it should generally be drawn from the author himself and the system of syntax shown beforehand.”

And Rule 10: “Let poems be affixed to the walls of the school about every other month to adorn some more celebrated day, to promulgate officeholders, or on some other occasion, with all the most select poems copied by the pupils.

Indeed, according to the custom of the regions, let there also be something in shorter prose, such as inscriptions for shields, temples, tombs, gardens, or statues; descriptions, such as of a city, harbor, or army; narratives, such as of a deed performed by one of the saints; and finally paradoxes. Let pictures corresponding to the emblem or proposed subject sometimes be added, but not without the rector's permission."

Concerning Greek reading, Rule 9 provides: "In the Greek lecture, grammar and an author will be explained on alternate days. As to grammar, after briefly running through the matters transmitted in the first class, let the teacher pursue syntax and the system of accents. In the first semester, an author in prose will be taken from the easier writers, such as some speeches of Isocrates and Saints Chrysostom and Basil, some of the letters of Plato and Synesius, or something selected from Plutarch. In the second semester, some poem will be explained--for example, from Phocylides, Theognis, Saint Gregory Nazianzen, Synesius, and authors similar to them. The explanation, as the level of this class permits, is to serve knowledge of the language rather than erudition."

As the year inclines toward its end, the system of Greek syllables can be transmitted on alternate days with an author. Poems dissolved into prose order can also sometimes be composed anew.

Ancient poetry transmitted good precepts of morals and did not minister to wantonness. The more cultivated Greeks and Romans afterward made a prostitute from a virgin.

By this exercise a future poet or orator is not yet perfected, even if he possesses ability. For many precepts necessary to know are lacking, and especially practice, which requires a longer time; moreover, in our gymnasia the pupils' age is frequently not yet mature for more difficult labors. Accordingly, there follows another class, which we call rhetoric.

CHAPTER XX

Eloquence in Prose Speech

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 1. Usage has customarily called this eloquence properly so called. Some define it as wisdom speaking copiously; others, as the art of speaking well. Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, Book 1, chapter 2:

Ἔστω δὴ ἡ ῥητορικὴ δύναμις περὶ ἕκαστον τοῦ θεωρήσαι τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον πιθανόν.

Thus, therefore, rhetoric is the faculty which considers what has force for persuasion in each particular matter. For this is proper to no other art. For although both those who speak without art and those who proceed dialectically and philosophically endeavor to persuade, rhetoric nevertheless transmits the method of persuasion in all matters; for no one will have taught dialectic, medicine, or jurisprudence perfectly without eloquence.

No one can attain eloquence unless he has already become accustomed beforehand to speak correctly:

Ἀρχὴ τῆς λέξεως τὸ ἐλληνίζειν.

“The beginning of expression is to speak Greek correctly,” says Aristotle, when discussing the eloquence of his native language. For the man who fastens the figures of eloquence upon faulty speech will do just what one does who sews golden borders and jeweled meanders upon a ragged and torn cloak. For he both dishonors the ornaments and makes poverty more conspicuous by the neighboring abundance, since contiguous contraries manifest one another. And, what is the chief point, he produces a monster fit to be laughed at: Irus in purple, golden sandals soiled with mud, a chamber-pot made of a gem.

Here there comes to my mind the premature haste of many parents in the education of their sons: they order those who do not yet speak to become orators. Hence we discern that the books of many theologians, jurists, physicians, and philosophers, though most polluted in their utterance, sometimes contain phrases and sentences ridiculously affected.

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For it usually happens that the most infantile man is the one who most affects eloquence. Eloquence is altogether a rare thing. Cicero is witness, in Book 1 of *On the Orator*: “For what reasons should anyone not rightly wonder that, from the whole memory of ages, periods, and states, so small a number of orators is found?”

He gives the reasons in the same book: “But unquestionably it is something greater than men suppose, and gathered from more arts and studies. For amid the very great multitude of learners, the great abundance of masters, the most excellent abilities of men, the infinite variety of cases, and the most ample rewards proposed for eloquence, what else could anyone think to be the cause, except a certain incredible magnitude and difficulty of the thing? For there is both a knowledge of very many matters to be comprehended, without which fluency of words is empty and ridiculous; and the speech itself must be established not only by the choice but also by the construction of words; and all the movements of minds which nature has bestowed upon the human race must be thoroughly known, because the whole force and method of speaking must be displayed in either soothing or arousing the minds of those who hear. To this must be added a certain charm and wit, an education worthy of a free man, and speed and brevity both in replying and in assailing, joined with subtle grace and urbanity. Moreover, all antiquity must be grasped, together with the force of examples; nor must knowledge of laws or civil law be neglected. For why should I say more about delivery itself, which must be governed by bodily movement, gesture, countenance, and the formation and variation of the voice? How great this is by itself, the slight art of actors and the stage declares: although all labor over the regulation of face, voice, and movement there, who does not know how few there are, or have been, whom we can watch with an

untroubled mind? What shall I say of memory, the treasury of all things? Unless it is applied as guardian to matters and words discovered and conceived, we understand that all of them, even if most splendid, will perish in the speech. Therefore let us cease wondering what the cause of the scarcity of eloquent men is, since eloquence consists of all those matters in each of which it is an exceedingly great thing to labor. Let us rather exhort our children and the others whose glory and dignity are dear to us to embrace in mind the magnitude of the matter, and not to trust that they can attain what they seek by those precepts, masters, or exercises which everyone uses, but by certain others. And in my judgment no one will be able to be an orator heaped with every praise unless he has attained knowledge of all great subjects and arts. For speech ought to flower and overflow from knowledge of things; unless the matter has been perceived and known by the orator, speech possesses a certain empty and almost childish eloquence. Yet I would not impose so great a burden upon our orators, especially amid so great an occupation with the city and with life, as to think that they may be ignorant of nothing--although the force of the orator and the very profession of speaking well seem to undertake and promise this: that upon every matter whatsoever proposed, he may speak ornately and copiously."

§ 2. Eloquence must indeed be maintained in a state because it conciliates the highest dignity for the state; but it must especially be cultivated by the nobility and by the prince. Aristotle truly says to Alexander:

"Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐσθῆτα σπουδάζεις τὴν εὐπρεπεστάτην τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔχειν, οὕτως εὔρεσιν λόγων λαβεῖν ἐστὶ σοι πειρατέον τὴν ἐνδοξοτάτην. Πολὺ γὰρ κάλλιον ἐστὶ καὶ βασιλικώτερον τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχειν εὐγνώμονουσαν ἢ τὴν ἔξιν τοῦ σώματος ὀρᾶν εὐειματοῦσαν. Καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπὸν ἐστὶ τὸν τοῖς ἔργοις πρωτεύοντα φαίνεσθαι τῶν τυχόντων τοῖς λόγοις ὑστερίζοντα, καὶ ταῦτα εἰδότα ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ πολιτευομένοις ἢ ἀναφορὰ περὶ πάντων τῶν πραγμάτων εἰς τὸν δῆμόν ἐστι, τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἡγεμονίαν τεταγμένοις, πρὸς λόγον. Ὡσπερ οὖν τὰς αὐτονόμους τῶν πόλεων διορθοῦν εἴωθεν ἐπὶ τὸ κάλλιστον ἄγων ὁ κοινὸς νόμος, οὕτω τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν καθεστῶτας ἄγειν δύναιτ' ἂν ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέρον ὁ σὸς λόγος. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἐστίν, ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, λόγος ὠρισμένος καθ' ὁμολογίαν κοινὴν πόλεως, μνηύων πῶς δεῖ πράττειν ἕκαστα.

For just as you strive to excel other men especially in the adornment and magnificence of clothing, so you must also strive to receive that invention and force of speaking which is most beautiful and surpassingly most illustrious. For it is far more beautiful and more kingly to be well constituted in mind than to behold the condition of the body adorned with beautiful garments. For it is absurd that one who excels others in the glory of deeds should appear to yield in speaking to certain men of the lowest rank, especially since you are not ignorant that those who live under popular government refer all matters to the people, while those who have been placed under the guidance of one man's rule refer them to reason and speech. Just as the common law which leads toward some most honorable end has been accustomed to direct free states, so in the same manner may your speech also be able to lead those whom you hold under your rule to what is advantageous and useful. For law, so to speak, is a certain speech which, defined by the common consent of the state, commands in what manner each thing is to be done.

Certainly, speaking has been given commonly to all men; eloquence is what shows men to be learned, or makes them appear learned. Speech joined to learning is the guide of life. And certainly, after reason itself, nothing greater than the majesty of speaking has been given to man; for he who speaks well is heard both pleasantly and beneficially. Indeed, this is the chief ornament: as ability is the glory of a man, so eloquence is the light of ability. Afranius, when asked what he had learned in eighty-one years, replied: "Nothing except to teach well and to speak well," placing in this not only the whole dignity but even the majesty of life.

Nothing has raised more men to dignity than eloquence. Generals have attained the government of the state with greater danger, orators with greater labor. Yet there is this difference: orators hold authority both in war and in peace; generals hold it only in war and are neglected in peace. And certainly generals themselves who were distinguished in war, such as Vespasian, Hadrian, Domitian, and Alexander, established salaries for orators and immunity from burdens; thus Modestinus in *Si duos*, §6. Leo and Anthemius joined advocates and eloquent patrons of causes to them.

In free states, as there was always greater regard for eloquence, so there was also greater danger. Pericles held tyranny with arms.

Cicero, in Book 1 of *On the Orator*, commends it splendidly: “Nor indeed does anything seem to me more excellent,” he says, “than to be able by speaking to hold assemblies of men, entice minds, drive wills wherever one wishes, and lead them away from wherever one wishes. This one thing, among every free people and especially in peaceful and tranquil states, has always flourished preeminently and has always held dominion. For what is so admirable as that, out of an infinite multitude of men, there should arise one who, either alone or with a few, can do what has been given by nature to all? Or what is so pleasant to know and hear as speech adorned and polished with wise thoughts and weighty words? Or what is so powerful and magnificent as for the movements of the people, the religious scruples of judges, and the gravity of the senate to be turned by the speech of one man? What, moreover, is so kingly, so liberal, so munificent as to bring aid to suppliants,

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raise up the afflicted, grant safety, free men from dangers, and retain men in the state? And what is so necessary as always to possess weapons by which you can either be protected yourself, challenge the wicked, or avenge yourself when provoked?”

I marvel at the great affection of the Athenians toward Gorgias of Leontini, for they called the days on which he had delivered a speech *ἑορταίς* (*festivals*), and named the speeches themselves *λαμπάδας* (*torches*). He was the first to adorn speech with antitheses, equal clauses, similarly falling endings, and other figures; and therefore Greece erected a golden statue at Delphi for him alone.

§ 3. This indeed is the dignity of eloquence; its force and efficacy in moving are far more conspicuous. Pyrrhus’s orator Cineas is commonly adduced as an example: by speech he captured more cities than the most skillful commander captured by war. Cicero spoke most truly: “The authority and speech of a good citizen wrench weapons from the hands of angry citizens.” More men have attained kingdoms and principalities through eloquence than through military courage. More men have also retained them. Caesar himself is an example. When the soldier enlisted for service against his fatherland had grown fierce because men stained by the same crime boasted that they had been made equal even to their commander, Caesar restrained them by a brief speech and brought it about that they inflicted punishment upon themselves:

He stood upon a rampart of supported turf,
 Undaunted in countenance, and deserved to be feared
 By fearing nothing; and, as anger dictated, he spoke these words:
 “Soldier, who just now raged with face and right hand
 Against me while absent, you have my breast bare and ready for wounds.
 Flee from here, if the end of war pleases you, after abandoning your sword.”
 The mutiny disclosed unwarlike minds, having dared nothing bravely;
 The young soldiery had contemplated only flight
 And had grown weary of the undefeated leader’s successes.
 “Go, and leave me to my own fates for war.
 These weapons will find hands, and when you have been rejected,
 Fortune will restore as many men as spears will be vacant.

Or do the peoples of Italy follow the flight of Magnus
With so great a fleet, while victory will not give us a throng
Which, merely driven on, may carry off the prizes of war,
Seize the reward of your labor, and attend
Laurel-bearing chariots without a wound?
You, old men despised and a throng exhausted of blood,
Will behold our triumphs, now the Roman commons.
Do you think Caesar's course can feel
Any loss from your flight? Even if all the rivers
Should threaten to withdraw the springs which they mingle with the sea,
The deep would never sink more when those waters were removed
Than it now rises through their waters. Do you think that you
Have given me any weight at all? Never does the care of the gods
Press itself down so far that the fates have leisure for your death
Or your safety. The movements of the great--all these things follow them.
The human race lives in a few. The terror of the Iberian world
And the northern soldier under my name
Would certainly have fled with Pompey as leader. Labienus was brave
In Caesar's arms; now, a worthless deserter,
With his preferred leader he traverses lands and seas.
Nor is your loyalty better to me if you wage wars
With neither enemy nor me as leader. Whoever abandons my standards
And does not deliver his weapons to Pompey's party
Never wishes to be mine. Surely these camps are
The care of the gods, who wished me to engage in such great wars
Only after my soldiery had been changed.
Alas, how great a burden Fortune removes from shoulders
Now weary beneath its weight! It is granted to disarm right hands
That hope for everything, for which this world is not enough.
Now surely I shall wage wars for myself. Depart from the camp;
Cowards, hand over my standards to men--Quirites!
But a few, through whose instigation this madness blazed,
Are held back not by Caesar but by punishment. Prostrate yourselves upon the earth,

Lower your guilty heads, and stretch forth your necks to be struck.
And you, raw recruit, upon whose strength alone the camp will now stand,
Behold the punishment, and learn to strike;
Learn to die.” Under the savage voice of the threatening man
The inert multitude trembled, and so great a body of young men feared
One head, although they were about to make it a private man,
As though he commanded their very swords
And would set the steel in motion even against his soldiers’ will. Caesar himself fears
Lest weapons and right hands be denied him for this crime.
Endurance conquered the savage leader’s hope
And offered throats, not merely swords.
Nothing does more than readiness to die to destroy minds accustomed to crime.
And each fears to perish. By the stroke of so dreadful a compact
Peace was obtained, and the soldiery returned, reconciled by punishment.

There is certainly great force in speech, nor should the eloquence of Hegesias, the Cyrenaic philosopher, seem astonishing: he discoursed so effectively upon the good of death and the evils of life that many laid hands upon themselves and sought lakes and precipices. Valerius, Book 8, chapter 9: “How powerful in eloquence do we suppose Hegesias, the Cyrenaic philosopher, to have been? He represented the evils of life in such a way that, when their pitiable image had been planted in the breasts of his hearers, he engendered in many a desire to meet voluntary death. Therefore King Ptolemy prohibited him from discoursing further on this matter.”

Hence also the tales of the Gallic Hercules, of Thebes built to the lyre, of trees and wild beasts led along, and of the underworld pacified are told for this reason. The discipline of speaking well pertains no less to the providence of a prince than that of acting rightly. For since the multitude which addresses the prince is infinite, and since many have deserved exceedingly well of him, he cannot satisfy everyone in deed; therefore kindly words are necessary, so that he may raise them up and sustain them. For an honorable profusion of words is more welcome to many than benefits--benefits which princes insufficiently skilled in eloquence bring into hatred through harshness of words and a haughty brow. Such is often their arrogance that one regrets having obtained the request. For a benefit is unwelcome when given with hateful speech.

Anger, consternation, and arms yield to eloquent words. For learned eloquence both leads kings wherever it wishes and draws peoples. “After the kings had been expelled,” says Valerius, Book 8, chapter 9, “the commons, in dissension from the fathers, settled under arms beside the bank of the river Anio upon the hill which is called Sacred. And the condition of the state was not only disgraceful but also most wretched, the remaining part of the body being divided from its head by a pestilential sedition. And had the eloquence of Valerius not come to its aid, the hope of so great an empire would have collapsed almost at its very birth. For by a speech he recalled the people, rashly rejoicing in a new and unaccustomed liberty, to better and sounder counsels and subjected it to the senate; that is, he joined city to city. Therefore anger, consternation, and arms yielded to eloquent words.”

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He next produces from Greece an example not unlike it: “But Pericles, polished and equipped by the most earnest study under his teacher Anaxagoras, in addition to nature’s most fortunate augmentations, placed the yoke of servitude

upon the free necks of Athens. For he drove the city and turned it at his own judgment. And although he spoke against the will of the people, his voice was nevertheless pleasant and popular. Therefore the slanderous tongue of Old Comedy, although it desired to lash the man's power, nevertheless confessed that a charm sweeter than honey dwelt upon his lips, and proclaimed that certain stings, as it were, were left in the minds of those who had heard him. It is reported that a certain man, when already very old, attended the first public address of the young Pericles, and that the same man, as a youth, had heard the now decrepit Pisistratus address the assembly; he could not restrain himself from exclaiming that this citizen ought to be guarded against, because his speech was most like the speech of Pisistratus. Neither his assessment of the utterance nor his augury of the character deceived the man. For what difference was there between Pisistratus and Pericles, except that the former exercised tyranny armed, the latter without arms?"

Victor likewise relates concerning Constantine that by eloquence he accomplished what could either scarcely be obtained or could be obtained only with much blood.

§ 4. But two things must be considered by a prince. First, he must carefully take heed that wicked men are not cultivated by eloquence. Second, eloquence must be accommodated to his own state.

The first is necessary, for power generally follows eloquence. Curios, Alcibiadeses, and the others of that kind must be kept away, lest they be armed against the state.

The second is that eloquence is not to be considered true unless it is accommodated to the manners of the people. If an Asiatic orator brings verbal cosmetics and luxuriance to Sparta, he will accomplish this: he will be mad according to method. For streams of words are not agreeable to them. When the Samians, oppressed by the tyrant Polycrates, came as suppliants to the Lacedaemonians for aid and set forth their calamities in a long speech, the latter--certainly arrogant in the face of another's calamity--replied that they did not remember the earlier things and for that reason did not understand the later. Then the Samians, to show that they too could *λακωνίζειν* (*speak laconically*), brought forward a bread-basket and said that it needed bread. The Lacedaemonians said that "bread" was superfluous; and thus aid was then decreed and given to them. For since the end of speech is that you disclose your mind to another and persuade him of what you wish, one must not employ speech from which the other is estranged. He speaks best who speaks suitably not only to art but also to the minds of his hearers, for this is considered the highest art. A calamitous yet royal woman attributes everything to eloquence:

Τί δήτα θνητοὶ τᾶλλα μὲν μαθήματα
μοχθοῦμεν ὥς χρὴ πάντα, κάματεύομεν;
Πειθῶ δὲ τὴν τύραννον ἀνθρώποις μόνην
οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐς τέλος σπουδάζομεν,
μισθοὺς διδόντες μανθάνειν, ἢν' ἦν ποτέ
πεῖθειν ἃ τις βούλοιτο, τυγχάνειν θ' ἅμα.

Why, then, do we mortals labor in the other disciplines and, as is proper, investigate them all, yet not rather pursue Persuasion, or Suada, who alone is queen of men, giving payment so that a man may be able to persuade others of what he wishes and at the same time obtain it?

If, therefore, the hearer is devoted to brevity, you will persuade briefly. Demetrius of Phalerum thinks that concise expressions penetrate more vehemently and that brevity befits those who command. Brief are those replies of the Spartans: to the Argives, *αἶκα* (*if*); to Philip, *Διονύσιος ἐν Κορίνθῳ* (*Dionysius at Corinth*). Indeed, they also had laws written with the same brevity. Charilaus spoke truly: *ὅτι τοῖς ὀλίγα λέγουσιν ὀλίγων καὶ νόμων ἐστὶ χρεια*. "Since they speak with few words, they also have need of few laws."

Yet I judge that brevity so extreme should scarcely be used, for it indicates great contempt and can be drawn into various meanings. Certainly you will not easily render a man well-disposed by a single little sentence; you will, however, collect great and eternally enduring hatreds if, as with a sharp weapon, you dig into his innermost parts. For deep and small wounds can scarcely be healed. The brevity of Phocion is praised by the ancients. When someone said to him, **Σκεπτομένῳ ἔοικας, ὦ Φωκίων**--“You seem like one looking intently, O Phocion”--he replied that he was looking to see what he could remove from the things he was going to say before the Athenians. Certainly, he was considering most properly what he could remove without prejudicing the cause; otherwise brevity would be unadorned and harmful. For he who omits the things that ought to be said betrays his trust; and he too betrays the matter who touches only in passing upon things that must be driven home, impressed, and repeated. But he who drives home foreign, exotic, and obscure things does not speak in order to persuade, nor does he wish to be believed, but to seem learned.

CHAPTER XXI

The System and Method of Learning Eloquence

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 1. It is not my purpose to write a rhetoric. Many learned men have done that, especially Cicero, and Aristotle before him. But because I am instructing a prince who will place orators over his youth, I shall propose a brief practice for teaching this most beautiful science. For I protested above that nothing is more ruinous to academies than that each man should have the right to teach according to his own judgment: many lack prudence in establishing an order; more lack love of labor; and most lack constancy, for they gradually grow languid. I shall therefore propose the laws which our Society prescribes for the professor of rhetoric: both that I may answer those who criticize our method of teaching because they do not know it, and that I may show the reason by which it comes about that so many men distinguished in eloquence proceed from the schools of the Society. The professor's rules therefore read as follows:

“The level of this school cannot easily be defined by certain fixed limits, for it forms the pupil toward perfect eloquence, which embraces the two greatest faculties, oratory and poetry--of these two, however, the first place must always be assigned to oratory--and it serves not utility alone but also indulges ornament.”

Eloquence certainly extends very widely, as I demonstrated in the preceding chapter, and it is not altogether perfect without knowledge of the other sciences. But young men must be instructed in such a way that they can carry the common precepts and the exercise of style over to the other sciences to which they will devote their labor. The first place is assigned to prose speech, because its use and necessity are chief in the state.

§ 2. Yet poetry must not be neglected altogether, even by those of middling ability. First, it confers a more perfect knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, for poets speak, as it were, another language. Next, nothing is equally useful for abundance and elegance of speech, since the laws of verse compel a variety of words, thoughts, and figures to be devised. Nothing, however, is equally praiseworthy in young men as abundance of speech and a certain, as it were,

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luxuriance. For since wisdom is not yet mature enough to cut away and restrain everything that flows too excessively, there nevertheless ought to be something which a more mature judgment may one day remove. A vine which luxuriates prodigally is rendered fruitful by pruning; one which does not put forth superfluous shoots withers before autumn. Professors therefore provide very badly for abilities when they exercise with sharp epigrams and maxims those who do not yet comprehend them. For they confine abilities just as much as those who enclose growing bodies in garments smaller than their measure.

Let ample and customary subject matter be given: let them describe woods, seas, battles, and the common exercises of all poets--sunrise and sunset. The third utility of verse is that through practice they may learn thoroughly the quantities of syllables. I have indeed seen learned men who not only did not dare to pronounce and read but could not determine the quantity of syllables even while reading poets. This matter is so important that it impedes the freedom not only of delivering a speech but even of speaking privately. A constant fear of error threatens and oppresses speech with anxious dread.

This strict rhetoric therefore assists the other marvelously, renders it abundant, and adorns it; it brings it about that one dares to speak and read freely. Finally, prose speech also demands rhythms for itself, but generally avoids poetic rhythms, concerning which no one can judge unless learned. Cicero certainly labored very much in verse, but with neither Muses nor Apollo. Yet this exercise was an aid to him in eloquence. Nor, however, should Cicero's poems be

judged so harshly; for before him, who among the Romans wrote better ones? He read the ancients and spoke in their manner. For in Cicero's time prose speech flourished, and poetry a little afterward. The words of the rule follow:

§ 3. "In general, it can be said that eloquence is contained chiefly in three things: the precepts of speaking, style, and erudition."

Those three perfect eloquence if the natural goods of ability, memory, and disposition have been added. The individual matters must now be discussed.

Concerning precepts, the rule decrees as follows: "Although precepts can be sought and observed from every quarter, nevertheless in the daily lecture none are to be explained except Cicero's rhetorical books and Aristotle's *Rhetoric*--if it seems good--and his *Poetics*."

And in the distribution of time: "The second hour before noon is to be given to a lecture either on the precepts, if a speech is explained after dinner, or on a speech, if the precepts are explained then, provided that constancy is preserved in what was begun at the start of the year. A repetition is to follow, and when necessary a subject is to be given for writing a speech or poem. Whatever time remains is to be assigned either to contest or to the things they wrote in the first hour." And: "In the first hour after noon, after repetition of the last lesson, a new lecture is to be held, either on a speech, if precepts were expounded in the morning, or on the precepts, if a speech was. A repetition is to follow this in the customary manner."

No one has doubted that precepts are necessary. And it indeed seems to me that, although men are lower and weaker in many respects, they especially excel beasts in this: that they can speak. Therefore he seems to me to have attained something glorious who excels men themselves in the very thing by which men excel beasts. If perhaps this is accomplished not by nature alone nor by exercise, but is acquired also by a certain artifice, it is not foreign to the subject to see what those men say who left us certain precepts concerning that matter.

But before we speak of oratorical precepts, it seems necessary to speak of the kind of the art itself, its office, end, material, and parts. For when these matters are known, each person's mind will be able to consider the system and life of the art itself more easily and readily. There is a certain political science which consists of many great matters. A great and ample part of it is artificial eloquence, which they call theoretical rhetoric. For we neither agree with those who think that political science does not need eloquence, nor dissent greatly from those who think that it is wholly contained in the power and artifice of the rhetorician.

The precepts of the rhetoricians are innumerable and their books manifold; they must be sought from every quarter, for no book is so bad that it does not confer something good. But our public law commands that in the schools they be sought by explaining Cicero and Aristotle alone. And indeed I marvel at Cicero when he says in Book 2 of *On the Orator* that he will transmit only those things which practice itself taught him, and adds that, with us as guides, one should come to the place to which we came without a guide, since we are able to teach better things. I marvel, I say, since he had so many books of the Greeks and heard their orators, as he acknowledges concerning himself in the book *On Famous Orators*; nevertheless, once carried higher himself, he left everyone below him.

He certainly had Aristotle's books, in which Aristotle treated those things accurately; he is, however, more obscure and concise than is suitable for his explanation everywhere, especially in the three books of the *Rhetoric*. In the *Rhetoric to Alexander* he is plainer and professes great diligence, for he begins thus:

Ἐπέστευλάς μοι ὅτι πολλάκις πολλοὺς πέπομφας πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς διαλεζομένους ὑπὲρ τοῦ γραφῆναί σοι τὰς μεθόδους τῶν πολιτικῶν λόγων. Ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ διὰ ῥαθυμίαν ὑπερεβαλόμεν ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ζητεῖν οὕτως ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γραφῆναί σοι διηκριβωμένως, ὥς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος γέγραφε τῶν περὶ ταῦτα πραγματευομένων.

"I have been informed by your letters that you have often sent certain men to us to ask me to write out for you the precepts of civil causes. I did not delay the matter up to this time through any negligence, but in order to seek to write

to you about these things so diligently that certainly no other person who had labored in these matters ever wrote more diligently.”

Rightly and deservedly, therefore, do we follow those authors, but we Latins chiefly follow the Latin Cicero, who not only meditated upon the laws of eloquence in the shade but exercised them in the field and dust. He therefore transmitted genuine precepts and, what is chief, with such elegance and dignity that, while others are barren in them, he displayed the greatest eloquence in slender matters. Then, if we depart from Cicero, whom at last shall we explain? For what schoolman has lately arisen so speechless that some *Rhetoric* of his has not come forth into the light? Will you teach those laws from a compendium? It is not fitting: unless you teach eloquence eloquently, you will render pupils tongueless and mute. Soarius’s *Rhetoric* itself is collected principally from Cicero and Quintilian; it is proposed to beginners at first, until they draw all the precepts from the fountains themselves. So much concerning precepts.

§ 4. Concerning style, the instructions for the rhetorician teach many things, especially those of Cicero. The chief point is that each person should propose someone to himself to be reproduced by imitation. Thus Cicero indeed says in Book 2 of *On the Orator*: “Therefore let this be first among my precepts: that we show whom he is to imitate, and in such a way that he most diligently pursues those things which excel most in the man whom he will imitate. Then let exercise be added, by which, in imitating, he may reproduce and so express the man whom he previously selected--not as I have often known many imitators to do, who in imitating pursue either things that are easy or even those that are conspicuous and almost faulty. Nothing is easier than to imitate someone’s clothing, stance, or movement. If there is also something faulty, it is no great thing to take it up and be faulty in it. Thus that Fufius, who even now rages in the state after losing his voice--

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does not attain the sinews in Gaius Fimbria’s speaking, which Fimbria nevertheless possessed, but imitates the distortion of his mouth and the breadth of his words. Yet that man did not know how to select the person to whom he should especially be similar, and in the very man whom he had selected he wished to imitate even his faults. But anyone who does as he ought must first keep watch in selecting; then, in the man whom he has approved, let him most diligently pursue the qualities that excel most.”

“For what cause do you judge there to be why individual ages have produced almost individual kinds of speaking? We cannot judge this so easily among our orators, because they certainly did not leave many writings from which a judgment could be made, as among the Greeks, from whose writings the system and inclination of speaking belonging to each age can be understood. The most ancient men whose writings survive are generally Pericles and Alcibiades, and in the same age Thucydides: subtle, acute, brief, abounding more in thoughts than words. It could not have happened that the kind was one and the same for all unless they had proposed someone to themselves for imitation. Critias, Theramenes, and Lysias followed them. Many writings of Lysias survive, some of Critias; concerning Theramenes we hear. All still retained at that time the sap of Pericles, but they were of a somewhat more abundant thread. Behold, Isocrates arose, the master of all those men, from whose school innumerable leaders issued as from the Trojan horse; but some of them wished to be illustrious in procession, others in battle.”

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§ 5. Whom, then, will a young man imitate, if not Cicero? Those who lived before Cicero did not leave many writings, and now none survive; those who followed him are inferior to Cicero, and each followed a certain peculiar kind of speaking. Each also had certain faults of his own, greater than Cicero’s, and virtues much smaller. The first reason, therefore, why we propose Cicero is that no one has given us a better man.

No ancient author escaped criticisms. Pericles and Thucydides were judged acute and unadorned by many. Many blamed Plato’s σύγχυσις, his confusion; the ancients said that many things in him were useless and many foreign to the matter. Athenaeus, Book 11, chapter 22 of the *Deipnosophists*, and Theopompus in his book *Against Plato’s*

Manner. Aristotle's accurate diligence and often his **μικρολογία** (*minuteness of discourse*) were tiresome; because of his obscurity he displeased many, and to such a degree that they judged the ink of the cuttlefish to have been poured over his writings.

But, to withdraw from the quarrels and rivalries of the Greeks, let us treat the Latins. Lenaeus, Pompey's freedman, called Sallust a monster, a thief of Cato's words, and a most unlearned affecter. Trogus charged Livy with Patavinity; Caligula judged him verbose. Seneca, while he always desires to speak acutely, often drives home empty and frigid subtleties; nevertheless, Caligula almost removed him from the midst of life because of his eloquence. Quintus Remmius Palaemon called Varro, commended in so many ways by his contemporaries, a pig. All either had faults or envy fastened faults upon them. Terence, Virgil, and Cicero are accused by the Greeks of extortion; but Terence and Virgil gloried in having transferred Greek things to their own use. Cicero joined the force of Demosthenes, the sweetness of Isocrates, and the abundance of Plato, as Quintilian judged truly.

Nor ought it to deter us from him that he himself is not the author of everything; rather, it ought to allure us to imitate a man who so expressed by imitation the three virtues of the three most excellent orators that he surpassed them all. Yet among the men of his own age he was called rather swollen, Asiatic, excessively redundant in repetitions, sometimes frigid in witticisms, fractured and spineless in compositions. Indeed, Brutus called him soft, as the same Quintilian reports. He himself acknowledges the swelling, but, admonished by Molon, corrected it; and would that there were a similar swelling in all young men. Cicero, Book 2 of *On the Orator*. That swelling was ornament before the people, redundancy before the senate. The other faults belong to his rivals, not to Cicero; although nothing prevents a man who speaks daily in the senate or courts from having said many things which he would bring back to the anvil. Who does not know the difference between a public speaker who is well prepared and one who speaks for the occasion?

We speak of the speeches which have been left to us. They carried off this prerogative: the age was able to preserve no speeches of any earlier Roman orator besides them. Nor does the authority of Brutus move me. As a follower of Stoic discipline and an admirer of Cato, he despised a more polished and copious speech. But I shall convict those who censure the labors of our Society in this department and call men elsewhere, using as witnesses the very men whom they have cited to me; and I shall produce an argument to which not even calumny will attempt to reply.

He must be regarded as a great orator whose speeches brought it about that the speeches of all who flourished in the Roman state by the praise of eloquence ceased to be read--and this in a free state, not through fear or flattery but by the freest judgment, even that of his bitterest enemies--and whom posterity then imitated. But it is manifest that this happened to Cicero. In the *Brutus*, Brutus himself and the experience then present are witnesses. "Curio, therefore, was almost of the same age, certainly an illustrious orator, concerning whose ability one can judge from his speeches. For there are others, and also his noble speech *For Servius Fulvius on Incest*. When we were boys, it was judged the best of all; now it scarcely appears amid this crowd of new volumes."

"I understand excellently," says Brutus, "who brought about that crowd of volumes." "And I," Cicero says, "understand, Brutus, whom you mean. Certainly we both brought something good to the young--a kind of speaking more magnificent than it had been and more ornate--and perhaps caused harm because the ancient speeches, after ours appeared, ceased to be read, not indeed by me, for I prefer them to my own, but by most men." "Number me," he says, "among the most, although I see, on your authority, that many things which I formerly despised must now be read by me."

They will therefore concede this to me: even if we possessed an orator more ancient than Cicero, he should nevertheless not be proposed for imitation, since Rome ceased to read him when Cicero's volumes had been published and, as though acorns had been disdained after grain was discovered, rejected the ancient diction. Nor did the following age find anyone so foolishly arrogant that he would make himself equal to Cicero. Seneca, the most eloquent man of his time, acknowledges Cicero as the father of Roman eloquence. "Our Cicero too," he says, "from whom Roman eloquence arose, was a gradual worker." Let the same Seneca be heard concerning composition in Epistle 100:

“Read Cicero: his composition is uniform; it keeps its cadence, is carefully wrought, slow, and soft without disgrace. By contrast, that of Asinius Pollio is rough and leaping and will abandon you where you least expect. Finally, in Cicero everything comes to an end; in Pollio it falls, except for a very few expressions which are bound to a fixed measure and a single model.”

But in Epistle 114 he seems to wish to censure Cicero. Yet because he speaks ambiguously, let us rather accept it in a good sense and not impute envy to Seneca, as if, because he himself followed another form of speaking, he had censured Cicero’s style. Those who delight in criticisms of great men will believe this more readily, because writers transmit that Seneca turned Nero away from reading the ancient orators so that he might keep him longer in admiration of himself. I shall transcribe the whole passage because it treats imitation:

“Let us pass to composition. How many

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kinds of fault do you have in this? Some approve a stiff and rough composition. They deliberately disturb anything that has flowed out rather smoothly; they do not wish the joint to be without a rough place; they consider manly and brave whatever strikes the ear through unevenness. The composition of some is no composition but modulation, so greatly does it flatter and glide softly. What shall I say about that in which words are deferred and, long awaited, are scarcely returned at the close? What of that which is slow at its ending, as Cicero’s is, sloping downward and ending softly, and answering in no other way than it customarily does, according to its own manner and cadence? The fault is not only in the kind of thoughts, if they are either petty and childish or shameless and have dared more than decency allows, but if they are flowery and excessively sweet, if they issue into emptiness and effect nothing more than their sound.

“Some one man under whom eloquence then stands introduces these faults; the others imitate and transmit them one to another. Thus, while Sallust was in vigor, amputated sentences, words falling before they were expected, and obscure brevity stood for cultivation. Arruntius, a man of rare frugality who wrote histories of the Punic War, was Sallustian and strove toward that kind. In Sallust there is: ‘He made an army with silver,’ that is, he procured it with money. Arruntius began to love that expression and placed it on every page. In one place he says: ‘They made flight for our men.’ In another: ‘Hiero, king of the Syracusans, makes war.’ And elsewhere: ‘When these things were heard, they made the men of Panormus surrender to the Romans.’ I wished to give you a taste. The whole book is woven from these expressions. Things which were rare in Sallust are frequent and almost continuous in this man--and not without cause, for Sallust happened upon them, whereas this man sought them.

“You see, however, what follows when someone’s fault serves as a model. Sallust said, ‘while the waters were wintering.’ Arruntius says in the first book of the Punic War: ‘Suddenly the storm wintered.’ And elsewhere, when he wished to say that the year had been cold, he says: ‘The whole year wintered.’ And elsewhere: ‘Thence he sent sixty light transports, besides the soldiers and the sailors’ necessities, while the north wind was wintering.’ He does not cease thrusting this word into every place. Somewhere Sallust says: ‘Amid civil arms he seeks reputations for equity and goodness.’ Arruntius could not restrain himself from immediately placing in his first book: ‘There were enormous reputations concerning Regulus.’ These, therefore, and faults of this kind, which imitation has impressed upon someone, are not indications of luxury or a corrupted mind.”

In Book 2 of the *Natural Questions*, Seneca says that Caecinna would have had some name for eloquence had Cicero’s shadow not oppressed him. Lucan gave him the same testimony:

The greatest author of Roman eloquence,
Cicero, beneath whose law and toga fierce Catiline
trembled before the peace-making axes.
Eloquence added strength to a feeble cause.

What of Velleius Paterculus? “All eloquence burst forth under the leader of its own workmanship.” Pliny, Epistle 20: “The best speech of Cicero is the longest.” And Fabius 12.20: “Cicero is most eminent in all the qualities which are praised in each individual.” Indeed, even those who were his enemies charged him not with speechlessness but with immoderate eloquence; for no sane man denied that he was the most eloquent of Romulus’s descendants.

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§ 6. Nevertheless, some censure this: they say that those who imitate Cicero are not learned. They prefer Lipsius or another in whose individual periods and thoughts there is either a point worthy of an epigram, a precious word from antiquity, or a hemistich from the best Greek sayings. Those things do not move me; for while such men pursue them studiously and affectedly, they become not only dry but even barbarous.

In that kind of style Justus Lipsius had a most peculiar gift; yet he himself everywhere inculcates the imitation of Cicero, detests his own imitators, and no one ever--or certainly very few--has attempted without inept subtleties what Lipsius did. But if that charge is pressed against the Society, it will be repelled without great labor by those who understand that it is one thing to draw forth the thought of one’s mind evenly, in Latin, and considerately, and another to patch together rhapsodies by leaps.

Let Caelius Rhodiginus come forward, who opened the eyes of all antiquarians. Although he has often seemed to many to speak stones--for his whole speech is rough and rocky--he nevertheless pursues Cicero with true praises in Book 25, chapter 13: “And lest we seem through want to have passed over our own authors, what is more abundant than Cicero, whom Pliny admires as placed beyond every hazard of ability, Quintilian pronounces the best master of speaking, Jerome confesses to have stood upon the summit of Latin eloquence, and Augustine, so great an assertor of Christian truth, plainly acknowledged that he owed his salvation to the *Hortensius*? What is more eminent? What streams of water overflow so greatly? What sea inundates more spaciouly? What thunderbolt flashes more impetuously? You would believe him to seize the judge, envelop him, drive him headlong, and trample him down; you would think him not merely to set the hearer on fire, but himself to burn. Finally, you would believe him a certain god of minds. Whatever opposes and resists that rushing violence is judged to be beyond human comprehension.

“In him the force of Demosthenes ranges widely, the abundance of Plato shines, and Isocratean pleasantness caresses, entices, and moves--the school and workshop of speaking belonging to the man whose house lay open, as it were, to all Greece. Nor would you seek in vain the subtlety of Lysias, the acuteness of Hyperides, the resonance of Aeschines, the gravity of Africanus, or the gentleness of Laelius. So much the less tolerable is the book of Largus Licinius, which was portentously entitled *The Scourge of Cicero*. The qualities which shone singly in others all blossom together in one man, and indeed at the highest degree, so that you might judge the others hay, as they say. If you think that they should be compared with him, you would accomplish no more than if you attempted to compare act with potency, or with the entelechy which lies hidden in matter. Yet you will find men who, swelling with a censorious brow, contend that they have scented something of Asiatic swelling in so great an orator.”

Marcus Cicero writes concerning himself and Demosthenes: “You see,” he says, “that he accomplishes many things and we attempt many; that he is able, while we wish, to speak in whatever manner the cause demands.” There are afterward those who extol to me the brevity of Sallust with praises. I pass over what Seneca writes: while Sallust was in vigor, amputated sentences, words falling before they were expected, and obscure brevity stood for cultivation, which Arruntius, a man of rare frugality, imitated in the books in which he embraced the histories of the Punic War. That brevity is certainly plausible. I add also what the gravest authors have called it: immortal. Yet what is it to a judge whose attention is already occupied? Nor would I greatly approve Thucydides for this use. And because we seem to be tearing down great names before which it would have been far more honorable to rise, this is Marcus Cicero’s own judgment, from whom we know it was elsewhere also transmitted thus: “Brevity,” he says, “is a praise sometimes in some part of speaking; in eloquence as a whole it has no praise.”

Speeches from Cicero's books are therefore expounded so that the precepts of eloquence may shine more brightly in them, with all antiquity approving this. Yet other writings are not rejected, for the sixth rule also permits the exposition of others. The lecture is twofold: one pertains to art, in which the precepts are explained; the other to style, in which speeches are explained. In each, however, two things must be considered: first, which authors are to be taken up for exposition; then, what method of interpretation can be maintained. Enough has been said concerning the first in the first rule: Cicero alone is to be used for speeches; for precepts, Aristotle is to be added to Cicero.

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A speech must never be omitted; indeed, the explanation of precepts should be continued for almost the whole year, for the force of oratorical precepts is immense. Yet in place of this, where custom permits, as the year is now declining, the use of some author who contains greater erudition or variety is not forbidden. A certain lecture upon a poet may sometimes be interposed during the summer between lectures on precepts or on a speech.

§ 7. Of historians, Livy and Sallust are chiefly expounded. I do not trouble myself about the judgments of others; I shall use the testimony of the man whom I have already called forth on Cicero's behalf. "Moreover," says Caelius in Book 25, chapter 3, "that milky and overflowing amplitude of the Paduan historian, so often affecting the reader that it almost overwhelms him with a certain stupor, seems to me to nourish the ability far more richly; so much so that--as that man says of painters who did not know how to take their hand from the panel--you cannot tear your eyes away from the reading. In his speaking all things are not merely sketched but graphically expressed.

"That most sweet abundance, yet austere and not boiled down, shining and blossoming without labor--as Seneca writes of Theophrastus--is not merely poured over with nectar but anointed with a certain enchantment of Circe, whom Homer, the prince of letters, wished to be understood as a goddess. You desire to depart; the indescribable vastness of eloquence holds you with caressing loves. Yet it is not vast, but more honorably arranged, more preciously cultivated, divinely unencumbered. Nowhere is there childish paint or empty cosmetics, nowhere a more tightly curled lock. You are not present; the pleasantness already tasted summons you, far more powerfully than the songs of the Sirens, past which the deaf rower is at last said to have traveled. Not even a blind man could neglect this pleasantness if he perceived it only by its fragrance.

"What now shall I say of erudition? In this one man it so continually gushes forth, exults in such manifold fashion, and provokes every most ingenious man--his ear first well steamed and then washed with sharp vinegar--by a recondite knowledge of things, that in the very year when we were commenting upon these matters I drew this confession from my hearers for whose sake that labor was performed at Padua and whose inner fiber was by no means horn: that they carried away more benefit from one lecture dictated upon Titus Livy than from ten upon Sallust, whom we explained on spare days, that is, feast days."

Pollio Asinius nevertheless thinks that the phrasing of this man savors somewhat of Patavinity. I suppose this is because his speech is not colored with a certain urbanity, that is, the genuine propriety of the city of Rome--a quality which is perceived while reading rather than capable of being expressed in speech. For something greater rings and resounds more urbanely in Roman writers than in those of the other nations. Thus too Quintus Granius, a Roman herald, overwhelmed Tinea of Placentia, a most witty man, with some indescribable native flavor. And so a little old woman called Theophrastus, a man of divine eloquence, a foreigner, having marked his affectation of one word.

I believe that those Paduan hearers loved their fellow citizen too greatly. For who does not see that Sallust possessed greater ability and a more inward eloquence? Certainly Roman history has no men equal to these. Velleius is not to be despised; Curtius is customarily read in the humanities class. Tacitus surpassed all Romans and Greeks in prudence and judgment, but his style is more concise and weightier in thoughts than young men can comprehend or are able to imitate. Therefore he must be read by learned men, not proposed to beginners.

§ 8. But if someone asks me by what method those works are explained, I shall now state that too. Rule 7 speaks thus concerning precepts: “As to the method of interpretation, if precepts are being explained: first, the meaning of the precept is to be opened up, after the judgments of the interpreters have been compared, if it is rather obscure and they do not agree. Second, other rhetoricians who prescribe the same thing, or the same author if he prescribes the same elsewhere, are to be brought forward. Third, some reason for the precept itself is to be devised. Fourth, several similar and especially illustrious passages of orators and poets in which they employed that precept are to be adduced. Fifth, if anything from varied erudition and history contributes to the matter, it is to be added. Finally, it is to be shown how it can be accommodated to our own affairs; and this is to be done with the greatest possible selection and ornament of words.”

Rule 8 speaks in this manner concerning a speech or poem: “If a speech or poem is explained: first, the thought is to be expounded if it is obscure, and differing interpretations are to be judged. Second, the whole method of the art--namely, invention, disposition, and expression--is to be examined: how aptly the orator insinuates himself, how suitably he speaks, or from what topics he takes arguments for persuading, adorning, and moving; how many precepts he often mingles in one and the same place; in what manner he encloses reasoning for producing belief within figures of thought, and in turn interweaves figures of thought with figures of words. Third, several passages similar both in matter and words are to be brought forward, and other orators or poets who used the same precept to persuade or narrate something similar are to be produced. Fourth, the matters themselves are to be confirmed by the judgments of wise men, if the subject permits. Fifth, from history, fables, and all erudition, those things are to be sought which contribute to adorning the passage. Finally, the words are to be weighed, and their propriety, ornament, abundance, and rhythm observed. These things, however, have not been brought forward so that the master should always pursue them all, but so that he may select from them those which seem more opportune.”

§ 9. I do not think anyone will ask me about the utility or dignity of this interpretation, but rather that all will marvel how one man can be equal to so many and such varied labors. For it is the labor of a whole day, divided into various parts. First he reviews and corrects compositions. That immense labor is described in the fourth rule: “In correcting a composition, let him indicate if any fault has been committed in oratorical or poetic art, in elegance and cultivation of speech, in connecting the discourse, in arranging rhythms, in orthography, or otherwise; if any passage has been treated wrongly, obscurely, or humbly; if decorum has been insufficiently preserved; if any digression has been too long; and other things of the same kind. Finally, when the speech has been completed, let each pupil offer to the teacher the whole speech copied out together--or at least corrected--which he had previously brought in parts, so that it may appear that the speeches have been perfected by everyone.”

Ten things are proposed in the correction of a speech, five in its explanation, and still others in the theme; but I shall afterward explain the manner in which the Society forms its own instructors into professors.

§ 10. The exercises are daily, according to Rule 5: “The pupils’ exercises while the master corrects the compositions will be, for example: to imitate some passage of a poet or orator; to produce some description, such as of gardens, temples, a storm, and similar things; to vary the same expression in several ways; to translate a Greek speech into Latin or conversely; to embrace in prose the verses of a poet, both in Latin and in Greek; to change one kind of poem into another; to compose epigrams, inscriptions, and epitaphs; to excerpt expressions, whether Greek or Latin, from good orators and poets; to accommodate rhetorical figures to particular subjects; to draw forth from rhetorical and topical places many arguments concerning some matter; and other things of the same kind.”

Rule 9 determines the subject and kind of composition: “A subject for a speech is to be dictated, either the whole at the beginning of each month or in parts each week--for at most one speech is to be completed in each month. Let it be brief, but such as proceeds through all parts of a speech. Let the teacher indicate the topics of confirmation, the principal figures of amplification which could be employed, and, if it seems good, certain passages of good authors for imitation. Sometimes, after some writer according to whose imitation they should form the speech has been pointed out, let the matter be proposed word for word.”

And Rule 10: “The subject of a poem can also be transmitted either in writing or orally, either by indicating the matter alone or by adding a particular thought. Let it be either brief--such as the subject of an epigram, ode, elegy, or epistle--to be completed at one sitting; or longer, so that they may weave a poem, just as a speech, over several sittings.”

And Rule 19: “The master will sometimes be able to propose to the pupils, in place of a subject, some brief action--namely, an eclogue, scene, or dialogue--so that afterward the one which has been written best of all may be presented in the school, with the parts distributed among them, but without any theatrical ornament.” It is not merely to be presented to the master but also exhibited for public judgments.

Rule 18: “Let poems be affixed to the walls of the school about every other month to adorn some more celebrated day, to promulgate officeholders, or on some other occasion, with all the most select poems copied out by the pupils. Indeed, according to the custom of the regions, let there also be something in shorter prose”--

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§ 11. All this exercise tends to this end: that they exercise themselves as much as possible in writing and speaking. For eloquence is learned chiefly by practice. It is pleasing to marvel at the negligence of our age when it is estimated from the diligence of the ancients. Suetonius writes concerning Octavian Augustus: “From his earliest age he eagerly and most laboriously practiced eloquence and liberal studies. During the war at Mutina, amid so great a mass of affairs, he is said to have read, written, and declaimed every day. For thereafter he never spoke in the Senate, before the people, or before the soldiers except with a speech meditated and composed beforehand, although he did not lack the ability to speak extemporaneously upon sudden occasions. And lest he incur a hazard of memory or consume time in learning by heart, he instituted the practice of reciting everything. More serious conversations also with individuals, and even with his Livia, he had only from writings and from a little book, lest he say more or less extemporaneously. He pronounced with a sweet and peculiar tone of voice, and continually gave attention to Phonascus; but sometimes, when his throat was weakened, he addressed the people through the voice of a herald.”

Every circumstance increases our wonder. He was already eighteen years old; from his earliest youth he practiced eagerly. During the war at Mutina, where he was contending for reputation, resources, and life against powerful enemies, he read, wrote, and declaimed daily, so that you may recognize the genuine pupil of Cicero. That he chiefly read Cicero is evident from what was said above.

Posted compositions and declamations are proposed for this reason: that they may exercise mutual criticism and publicly furnish a specimen of their progress. We certainly see abilities wonderfully aroused by this means. In vain will they learn all the laws of all oratorical precepts; in vain will they read everything; they will not become orators without practice. No one becomes a soldier by reading or watching the gladiatorial art: it is necessary to strike the stake, to be burdened with arms and palisades, and to have struck the target with a practice weapon, so that at some time you may cut down an enemy. Tullius, the best master and model of speaking, chiefly commends this in Book 1 of *On the Orator*: “But the principal thing is that which--to speak truthfully--we do least; for it is a matter of great labor, which most of us flee: to write as much as possible. The pen is the best and most excellent maker and master of speaking, and not unjustly. For if meditation and reflection easily surpass a sudden and fortuitous speech, surely assiduous and diligent writing will surpass meditation itself. For all the topics, whether of art or of a certain ability and prudence, which are present in the matter concerning which we write, show themselves and occur to us when we seek them and contemplate them with the whole acuteness of our ability. And all the thoughts and all the words of every kind which are especially illustrious must come beneath the point of the pen and present themselves. Then the very arrangement and formation of the words is perfected in writing, not by a poetic rhythm but by a certain oratorical rhythm and measure.

“These are the things which produce cries and admiration in good orators, and no one will attain them unless he has written long and much, even if he has practiced most vigorously in these extemporaneous speeches. And one who comes to speaking from the habit of writing brings this ability: even if he speaks suddenly, nevertheless the things which are said seem like things written. And even if at some time in speaking he has brought something written, when he has departed from it, the remaining speech will follow in a similar manner. Just as, when a ship has been set in motion and the rowers have ceased, the ship itself nevertheless retains its motion and course when the impulse and beat of the oars have been interrupted, so in a continuous speech, when the written portions fail, the remaining speech nevertheless maintains an equal course, set in motion by the likeness and force of the written portions.”

§ 12. In the same place he relates a twofold exercise. For he used either to express a Latin speech or verses in other words--in which he says there was this defect, that others had already occupied the best words--or to translate Greek. “Afterward,” he says, “it pleased me, and I employed this method as a young man, to translate the Greek speeches of the greatest orators. By reading them I attained this: that when I rendered in Latin what I had read in Greek, I not only employed the best words, yet words in customary use, but also formed certain words by imitation which were new to our people, provided they were suitable.”

What hope of eloquence can there be for us if we stand so far from Cicero and every subject for writing is tedious? How slight a reason calls young men away from writing--indeed, from speaking! It is shameful to say: when they offer a theme, they believe that they are laboring for their teacher. Ludovicus Vives severely assailed that error in his commentary on Book 22, chapter 11, of Augustine’s *City of God*: “Certainly there was a divine force of ability in Marcus Tullius, who, amid the affairs and commotions of the whole world, so withdrew himself whenever he pleased that he found time not only in which to read, but also in which to write those things which we are never sated with admiring. If a little priestly benefice worth one or two annual sesterces, or a very small and very easy procuratorship, falls to one of us, we judge ourselves so hindered and entangled that we suppose we have obtained a lawful discharge from all letters and that we are treated with no slight injustice if we are summoned back to them. But if we handle any letters at all, first of all we of course cast up and repeatedly urge to the point of disgust our enormous and intolerable occupations, continually lamenting them, displaying them to others as objects of pity, and charging much to the account of the public advantage if anything has been wrought by us for their sake amid so many pressing affairs by which we are overwhelmed. Let us blush, by all the Muses, when idle, to reproach the parent both of Roman eloquence and of Latin philosophy for any lapse whatever, since his errors are more learned than all our well-spoken things.”

How far had those men withdrawn from Brutus, to whom Cicero’s age yielded and lowered its fasces?

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“Not so much the fruit and glory of speaking,” says that man, “as its study and exercise delights me, and nothing will take it away from me, especially since you are so devoted to study.” Thus plainly does Cicero describe his own youth in *On Famous Orators*: “The orators were heard by me every day in public assemblies. But grief first struck me, who was most eager to hear, when Cotta was expelled; while frequently hearing the others I was held by the keenest devotion, and every day, writing, reading, and preparing, I was not content with merely the exercises of an orator.” And again: “Every day I practiced by declaiming, and I did this much in Latin also, but more often in Greek.”

I had to set forth these things so that learned men who think otherwise may understand openly upon whose authority the schools demand daily writings--prose and verse, Latin and Greek--and resound with daily declamations. For at one time the frequency of compositions was objected to me; by displaying Cicero’s example I answered them without words of my own. And certainly, if Tullius returned to life and watched those exercises, he would admonish this alone: that each should exercise himself with the greatest accuracy and labor. For by speaking wrongly men become accustomed to speak wrongly, and by writing badly to write badly. I have seen young men who changed their style in three months through diligent exercise; I have seen those who after two years wrote humbly and abjectly, because they never wished to lift their pen from the ground.

§ 13. I have spoken about writing; it follows that I treat of delivery. Thus Rule 16: “On alternate Saturdays, during the last half-hour before noon, with the humanities pupils assembled, a declamation, or a lecture, or a poem, or a Greek speech, or a poem and speech together, is to be delivered from the lectern by one or two of the pupils.”

And Rule 17: “In the hall or church, a more serious speech or poem, or both--now in Latin, now in Greek--or a declamatory case, with arguments set forth on either side and a judgment delivered, is to be held about once each month; nevertheless, only after it has been reviewed and approved by the prefect of higher studies.”

And Rule 19: “The master will sometimes be able to propose to the pupils, in place of a subject, some brief action--namely, an eclogue, scene, or dialogue--so that afterward the one which has been written best of all may be presented in the school, with the parts distributed among them, but without any theatrical ornament.”

Rule 12 also pertains here: “The contest or exercise will consist both in correcting those things which one rival has detected in the other’s speech, and in proposing to one another those things in which they practiced during the first hour; then in recognizing or composing figures; then in reciting or applying the precepts of rhetoric, letters, poems, or history; then in expounding more difficult passages of authors and explaining difficulties; then in pursuing the customs of the ancients and matters pertaining to erudition; then in interpreting hieroglyphics, Pythagorean symbols, apophthegms, proverbs, emblems, and riddles; then in declaiming, and in similar matters at the teacher’s discretion.”

All those things form and perfect the orator, even the performances of comedies and the contests of disputants. They shake off useless shame, furnish boldness, and strengthen the voice. For the majesty of an orator shines forth in delivery; the very countenance, voice, and breath are what rule the minds of the hearers. “There ought to be added,” says Tullius in Book 2 of *On the Orator*, “a delivery varied, vehement, full of mind, full of breath, full of grief, full of truth. If in these works someone has comprehended that art by which, like Phidias, he can fashion the statue of Minerva, he will certainly not labor to learn how, like that same craftsman, to make the smaller works upon the shield.”

§ 14. Nor is the voice alone polished and made illustrious; it is also rendered more urbane if the instruments of speaking are exercised by frequent delivery. For we distinguish different nations, even when they speak one language, from their sibilations and a certain peculiarity; there is something which can be heard but cannot at all be explained. Nature gave the same instruments of speaking to all--the tongue, lips, teeth, and palate. All those things are more rustic in the unpracticed and draw much from the common people unless they are diligently exercised. For in a marvelous manner the part of the upper lip which they call *φίλτρον* (*philtrum*), and the lower which is called *τύπος* (*form*), are adjusted by speaking; the prominence itself and *προσωμία* (*facial configuration*) produce certain marks of speaking. The tongue also is drawn by habit toward a particular part in such a way that it can hardly be changed. There is no other cause than custom and a nature made from motion. For just as the fingers of lyre players strike most softly and swiftly the distinctions of the strings, so too words are formed by use. Why, indeed, are the Chinese inhabitants unable to utter letters which are expressed by a swift curling of the air and by a stroke of the tongue as though of a plectrum--such as L and R--unless because they have not exercised the tongue for it? Nicolas Trigault of our Society certainly reported to me that those who associate familiarly with Europeans gradually learn to pronounce those letters.

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§ 15. The most delicate judgment of the ears is also very greatly aided by rhythm, which is perceived only through the sound of the voice; because one who has not frequently heard men speaking, nor spoken himself, must necessarily be destitute of that faculty. Aristotle, in Book 3, chapter 8, of the *Rhetoric*, advises that speech ought indeed to possess rhythm:

Τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τῆς λέξεως δεῖ μῆτε ἑμμετρον εἶναι μῆτε ἄρρυθμον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπίθανον (πεπλάσθαι γὰρ δοκεῖ), καὶ ἅμα καὶ ἐξίστησι· προσέχειν γὰρ ποιεῖ τῷ ὁμοίῳ, πότε πάλιν ἤξει· ὥσπερ οὖν τῶν κηρύκων προλαμβάνουσι τὰ παιδιά, τὸ “τίνα αἰρεῖται ἐπίτροπον ὁ ἀπελεύθερος;” “Κλέωνα.” τὸ δὲ ἄρρυθμον

ἀπέραντον· δεῖ δὲ πεπεράνθαι μὲν, μὴ μέτρον δέ· ἀηδὲς γὰρ καὶ ἄγνωστον τὸ ἄπειρον. περαίνεται δὲ ἀριθμῷ πάντα· ὁ δὲ τοῦ σχήματος τῆς λέξεως ἀριθμὸς ῥυθμὸς ἐστίν, οὗ καὶ τὰ μέτρα τμήματα. διὸ ῥυθμὸν δεῖ ἔχειν τὸν λόγον, μέτρον δὲ μὴ· ποίημα γὰρ ἐστίν. ῥυθμὸν δὲ μὴ ἀκριβῶς· τοῦτο δὲ ἐστίν, ἔαν μέχρι τοῦ ἥ. τῶν δὲ ῥυθμῶν ὁ μὲν ἡρώδης σεμνὸς καὶ λεκτικῆς ἀρμονίας δεόμενος· ὁ δὲ ἱάμβος αὐτῇ ἐστίν ἡ λέξις ἢ τῶν πολλῶν· διὸ μάλιστα πάντων τῶν μέτρων ἱαμβεῖα φθέγγονται λέγοντες.

“The form of expression ought neither to possess meter nor to be without rhythm. The former is less suited to persuasion, for it seems to have been fabricated, and at the same time it distracts; for it causes attention to be given to when the like will come again. Thus children anticipate the heralds: ‘Whom does the freedman choose as patron?’ ‘Cleon.’ But that which is without rhythm is without a limit. It ought to be bounded, but not by meter; for what is unbounded is unpleasant and not accommodated to cognition. All things are bounded by number. But the number of the form of speech is rhythm, of which meters also are sections. Therefore speech ought to have rhythm, but not meter; otherwise it will be a poem. Nor ought it to seek rhythm with exactness. This will be accomplished if it possesses it only up to a certain point. Among rhythms, the heroic is grand and suited to diction, but in need of harmony. The iambus, however, is the very expression of the multitude. Therefore those who speak utter iambs more than any other meter.”

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Indeed, the voice itself is made vibrant, the movements are made smooth, and confidence in speaking is prepared when one remembers that it has gone well. But nothing is equally necessary to the voice as moderation, or frequent change, so that it may be accommodated to every emotion. And this is the one reason why we frequently impose dialogues, little comedies, and contests upon youth who must be exercised; for by that method they learn to bend the voice to all movements of minds, much better than by the flute of Gracchus. But this matter also was once a concern to the greatest orators. Cicero, Book 3 of *On the Orator*: “For the use and praise of delivery, the voice without doubt obtains the greatest part. First it is to be desired by us; then, whatever it shall be, it is to be preserved. Concerning how the voice is to be cared for, nothing now pertains to this kind of instruction; yet I certainly judge that it must be cared for greatly. But it does not seem foreign to the office of this discourse of ours to observe that, as I said a little before, in very many matters that which is most useful is somehow also most becoming.

“For maintaining the voice in speaking, nothing is more useful than frequent change; nothing more destructive than an unrestrained exertion without interruption. And as regards our ears and the pleasantness of delivery, what is more fitting than alternation, variety, and change? Accordingly, that same Gracchus--as you can hear, Catulus, from Licinius, your client, a learned man whom he had as a slave at his hand--was accustomed to have a skilled man stand concealed behind him with a little ivory flute when he addressed the assembly. This man would quickly sound that note by which he might either arouse him when relaxed or call him back from exertion.”

“By Hercules, I have heard it,” says Catulus, “and I have often admired both the man’s diligence and also his learning and knowledge.” “But I,” says Crassus, “have heard it too, and indeed I grieve that those men fell into that deception in the state--although such a web is now being woven and such a manner of life is being urged on in the state and displayed to posterity that we already desire to have men like those citizens whom our fathers did not endure.” “Leave that conversation, I beg you, Crassus,” says Julius, “and return to the flute of Gracchus, whose rationale I do not yet fully understand.”

“In every voice,” says Crassus, “there is some middle pitch, but one proper to each voice. To raise the voice gradually from this point is useful and pleasant. For there is something rustic in beginning with a shout, and that same practice is salutary for strengthening the voice. Then there is a certain extreme of exertion, which nevertheless is lower than the sharpest shout; the flute will not permit you to proceed to that shout and will nevertheless call you back from the exertion itself. Conversely, there is likewise a certain deepest point in relaxation, to which one descends as though by steps of sounds. This variety and this course of the voice through all its sounds will both preserve the voice and bring

pleasantness to delivery. But you will leave the flute-player at home and carry with you into the forum the perception produced by this habit.”

It is especially important, however, that by hearing and speaking the discourse should be colored, as it were, by a certain urbanity. But what is the color of urbanity? Tullius answers in *On Famous Orators*: “‘I do not know,’ I said; ‘I only know that there is a certain one. You, Brutus, will now understand it when you come into Gaul. You will indeed hear certain words not current at Rome, but these can be changed and unlearned. The greater matter is that something more urbane rings and resounds in the voices of our orators. Nor does this appear in orators alone, but also in others. I remember Titus Tinca of Placentia, a most witty man, contending in sharp speech with our friend Quintus Granius, the herald.’ ‘Is he,’ says Brutus, ‘the one concerning whom Lucilius says many things?’ ‘The very same. But Granius overwhelmed Tinca, though he said no fewer things wittily, by some indescribable native flavor. Thus I no longer marvel that what is related happened to Theophrastus. When he asked a certain little old woman for how much she was selling something, and she answered and added, ‘Stranger, it cannot be sold for less,’ he took it ill that he could not escape the appearance of a foreigner, although he had passed his life at Athens and spoke excellently. In all our urbane speakers, as I think, there is a certain sound, just as there was among the Attic speakers.’”

§ 16. Therefore those who despise these things as though accidental deprive their pupils of a great and almost the whole fruit of their labors: either because the matter is one of great labor, or because the teachers themselves do not know the laws of delivery, or because instruction in this part is disagreeable to the pupils; for to correct the voice and gesture very often contains a silent reproach of rusticity.

§ 17. I wish the things which I have said concerning Latin to be understood concerning Greek also, although I observe that pupils generally make less progress in it, because that language is less loved and does not seem to many to possess the same utility. Nevertheless, I shall not omit the things which have been established among us concerning it.

“In the second hour before noon,” it says in the distribution of time, “after the last lecture upon a Greek author has been repeated, a new one is to be explained and exacted. The remaining time is to be reserved now for correcting Greek compositions, now for Greek syntax and metrical art, and now for a Greek contest.”

Rule 13 indicates to us a selection of authors and the most excellent ones: “The Greek lecture, whether upon orators, historians, or poets, is to be only upon ancient and classical authors: Demosthenes, Plato, Thucydides, Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, and others of that kind--provided that they have been expurgated--among whom, with the best right, Saints Nazianzen, Basil, and Chrysostom are to be placed. During the first semester, orators or historians are to be interpreted; yet once each week some epigrams or brief poems may be interposed. In the latter semester, conversely, a poet is to be explained, with an orator or historian interposed once. Although the method of interpretation ought not entirely to reject matters of erudition and art, it will nevertheless look rather to the propriety and use of the language. Therefore some expressions are to be dictated in each lecture.”

Rule 14 provides thus concerning Greek precepts: “At the beginning of the year, Greek syntax and the measure of syllables are to be explained on alternate days, if there is need; syntax indeed briefly, by recalling certain principal heads.”

The last part concerns erudition, about which Rule 15 is written thus: “For the sake of erudition, on a vacation day, in place of a historian and poet, it is permitted sometimes to bring forward other more recondite matters: such as hieroglyphics; emblems; questions pertaining to the poetic art--concerning the epigram, epitaph, ode, elegy, epic, and tragedy; concerning the Roman senate and the Athenian senate; concerning the military practice of each nation; concerning gardening, clothing, the dining room, the triumph, the Sibyls, and other things of the same kind--yet in moderation.”

What we call erudition therefore extends very widely and embraces every knowledge of histories and antiquity. This is the knowledge of history and of those things which are attached to it, such as laws, institutions, and customs.

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CHAPTER XXII

That a Prince Can Have Professors Who Accomplish All These Things

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 1. To one considering the matter more carefully, it will certainly seem arduous to find a man who either wishes or is able to accomplish so many and such varied things. Nor do I deny that the labors in this matter are very great. I recall with grief that certain most able men among my colleagues lost their lives in that course, when, through ardor for study, they flew past the limit.

But I shall set forth without any concealment the method which our Society employs in this matter. For princes and states which do not employ the work of our Society will also be able to train other professors according to this norm; and these things cannot be useless to the other religious orders which educate youth. For it will be conceded that certain distinguished seminaries of the best teachers may be established with great utility.

§ 2. The first requirement, therefore, is that none but suitable men be admitted into that company of future professors. The Society determines in general as follows concerning those to be admitted into the number of its members, in Part 1, chapter 2, of the *Constitutions*: “Speaking universally of those who are to be admitted, the more gifts of God, natural and infused, with which they are endowed for advancing the divine service according to the institute of the Society, and the more certain the trials by which they have been examined, the more suitable they will be to be admitted into it.

“As regards externals, they ought to be endowed with an honorable appearance, health, age, and strength for enduring the bodily labors which offer themselves in the Society; and they should seem to possess, or certainly to be likely at some time to possess, some talent for assisting it.

“Although it would not be useless to the men themselves to be admitted, nevertheless, considering the end and manner of proceeding of our institute, we persuade ourselves in the Lord that it is not expedient for His greater service and praise to admit men of very intractable ability or men useless to the congregation.

“Those who would be admitted for this purpose, that they assist the Society in spiritual matters, ought--considering what a ministry of this kind requires in order that the souls of their neighbors may be assisted--to be adorned with the following gifts of God.

“As regards the intellect: with learning, or an aptitude for acquiring it; and with discretion in conducting affairs, or certainly a disposition of good judgment for acquiring it.

“As regards memory: with an aptitude for apprehending and faithfully retaining precepts.

“As regards the will: that they be devoted to universal virtue and spiritual perfection; calm, constant, and strenuous in the things which they undertake for the divine service; that they possess zeal for the salvation of souls and, for that reason, be well disposed toward our institute, which directly tends toward assisting those souls and disposing them to attain their ultimate end from the hand of God, our Creator and Lord.

“In externals, a grace of speech is desirable, as being most necessary for dealing with one’s neighbors.

“An honorable appearance, which is accustomed to be edifying to those with whom one deals.

“Good health and strength by which they can endure the labors of our institute.

“An age suitable for those things which have been said: for admission to probation it ought to exceed the fourteenth year; for profession, however, the twenty-fifth.

“External gifts of nobility, riches, good reputation, and similar things, just as they are not sufficient if the others are absent, so, when the others are present, these will not be necessary. Nevertheless, insofar as they contribute to edification, they render more suitable for admission those who would otherwise be suitable without them on account of the other aforesaid endowments. The more one who desires to be admitted excels in these, the more apt he will be for this Society, to the glory of the Lord our God; but the less he excels, the less suitable he will be. Yet the holy unction of divine wisdom will teach those who have undertaken this care for His obedience and more abundant praise what measure ought to be observed in all these matters.”

If a state assigns young men of this kind to a seminary, there is no doubt that it will shortly possess a great supply of learned men.

§ 3. The Society admits them either when they have completed these studies of rhetoric or when they have finished the course of logic, physics, metaphysics, ethics, and mathematics. Hearers of rhetoric are admitted with greater difficulty; for although many possess mature and prudent judgment, we nevertheless prefer both that their judgment should grow while they hear philosophy for three years and that constancy should be strengthened by duration.

§ 4. For two entire years they are instructed in piety in the house of probation, and every day all the labors to be undergone throughout their whole lives are impressed upon them. The rules of the master of novices explain this matter excellently, and I have shown it in the little book *On the Secrets of the Society of Jesus*. Every six months they examine the apostolic letters and the rules with renewed attention, and test their strength and spirit. Those who, when the two years have been completed, have been approved by us, if they themselves also wish it, offer to God vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. They must be prepared for any ministries and offices whatever; to labor, teach, preach, depart for either India, and go to death for the conversion of nations. And we are perpetually admonished not to seek any human recompense from our labors, but to offer the whole to God.

Although this does not pertain to studies, it is nevertheless the foundation of studies. For one who has some proposed aim for his labor other than the glory of God and the welfare of youth and of the state which depends upon it will never persevere amid so great labor. But those who have voluntarily chosen insults, mockeries, chains, prisons, shipwrecks, the ἀνθρωποφαγία (*cannibalism*) of barbarians, and prolonged troubles throughout their whole lives are not wearied by the lesser labors of schools, although no remuneration answers to them in this life.

§ 5. If, therefore, some state trains professors in this manner and takes care that they do not aspire to repose and hunt after honors through the momentary labors of three or four years, it will protect and educate youth excellently. For men never treat studies seriously when they salute them as though from the road, tend elsewhere, and--as they are accustomed to say--judge themselves born for greater things.

§ 6. Although the two years of novitiate are spent in the exercise of virtue and Christian philosophy, they nevertheless produce no moderate progress in letters; for through companionship with learned men, the reading of sacred books, meditation, and preaching, it is necessary that they become more learned.

§ 7. When probation has been completed and the vows pronounced, if they have heard philosophy before, another two years are granted for the repetition of humane letters and philosophy. Everyone understands how important this is.

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For young men who have already made good progress apply themselves to studies alone, without any other labor and without any care. During this time they recall the precepts of learning, orators, histories, and every memorial of antiquity; they look ahead to the lectures which they will one day explain; they note what will be useful; they conceive and write the subject matter to be dictated for speeches and poems. And just as Cicero did not come into the forum in order to learn, but brought there what he had already learned, so too our professors do not rush unprepared into their labors, but come after meditation.

§ 8. If they have not yet been imbued with the philosophical sciences, for three entire years they are educated most studiously in them, not only by the exercises of the academy but also by domestic instruction. Nevertheless, meanwhile there are daily exercises of some kind in eloquence, and toward the end of philosophy they devote themselves wholly for several months to the study of humane letters.

§ 9. These arrangements, therefore, contribute greatly to training teachers, and it would be worthwhile for all states to establish for themselves that law which was laid down for our provincial superiors and is the fourth in the order of those concerning studies: “Well in advance let him provide which professors he can have for each faculty, observing those who seem more apt for that matter—who are learned, diligent, assiduous, and devoted to the progress of the students both in lectures and in other literary exercises.”

For learned men are not born but made. But that they may become such, no expense is to be spared; they are to be invited by every method and advantage. The same matter is commended to the others; the ninth rule of the rector expressly provides concerning professors of humane letters: “Lest the teachers of the lower classes approach teaching while inexperienced in teaching, the rector of the college from which teachers of humane letters and grammar are customarily drawn shall select some one man most skilled in teaching. Near the end of their studies, those who are soon to be teachers shall assemble before him three times each week for an hour, to be instructed for their new teaching office; and this by turns through lecturing, dictating, writing, correcting, and performing the other duties of a good teacher.”

§ 10. But after they now proceed into the academies and seem instructed in everything, they are not immediately sent to teach those things which they are able to teach, but begin from the lower subjects. Those who were able to be engaged in poetry and oratorical ability with praise and distinction teach grammar. This has a twofold utility. The first is that those who were capable of greater things explain easier matters without great labor and anxiety. For those who can carry the palisade and provisions are no more wearied by carrying their arms than by carrying their limbs. For one who already knows the most difficult passages of Tullius, Virgil, Horace, and others, the exposition of easier passages is familiar conversation, not a profession.

The second is that in spare hours and private study they can treat greater things and thus proceed most fully prepared to the higher sciences. Finally, all these things overflow to the advantage of the pupils; for it cannot happen that a learned and widely read teacher, even while doing something else, should not scatter many learned things which, although they do not adhere in all, nevertheless adhere in more capable minds.

§ 11. When this course of humane letters has been traversed, they are sent to hear theology for four years; during this time they both repeat philosophy and equip themselves to teach it. Indeed, many who are already nobly educated in philosophical and theological studies return to those studies so that they may teach eloquence with greater judgment.

§ 12. Obedience first renders all those things light. Through it they cheerfully receive everything as though commanded by God; and they attend not to what they do, but to the diligence, charity, and humility with which they discharge their office. For they know that the highest reward is placed even in a humble station, and each chooses to be abject in the house of God.

§ 13. “Poems,” says that man, “seek the retirement and leisure of the writer.” The professors of the Society possess very much leisure—but busy leisure, literary leisure. This arises first from the freedom of a mind which has most fully claimed itself into its own power by submitting itself entirely to the will of another. Thus they neither complain about their present condition nor think anxiously about the future, while the rest of men, generally suspended upon what is to come, allow the present to slip past. No care for food, clothing, or provisions to be accumulated for old age torments them. There is no burdensome trouble concerning wives, children, or grandchildren; no banquets and drunken bouts which steal time by delighting and, after pleasure, assail them with diseases and pains. Dinner is finished in half an hour, and the little supper even more quickly; yet not even that refreshment is without the choicest reading. I have said more concerning these matters in the little book *On the Secrets of Our Society*.

The familiarity and conversations of many learned men, which are often more useful than study itself, also help very greatly. Finally, there is the abundance of books which each college is accustomed to procure according to its resources. After God, we are accustomed to call this also our treasure. If a prince were to establish some college in this manner from an order of religious or of canons, he would certainly provide most excellently for the provinces and would possess constant teachers of wisdom.

CHAPTER XXIII

Philosophy Is Useful to the State, and How It Is to Be Taught

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 1. The judgments of many concerning philosophers and philosophy are, and formerly were, bitter. For I said above that they were driven from the state, and the books of others were burned. The books of Numa, king of the Romans, written in the Greek language, were burned in the sight of the Quirites by authority of the Senate. Lactantius, Book 1, chapter 22. By the same judgment the memorials of Labienus were burned, Seneca, *Controversies*, Book 10; and Tacitus, Book 4 of the *Annals* and the *Life of Agricola*, laments that the memorials of the most illustrious abilities were burned. Alcius and Philiscus were driven from Rome when Lucius Postumius was consul. Antiochus also drove philosophers from his kingdom, threatening hanging to their followers and grave penalties to their parents. In the year 593 of the city, by a decree of the Senate, they were ordered to depart from the city. In the year 615, the Chaldaeans were ordered to depart from the city and Italy within ten days. Cato judged that Carneades and Diogenes, the philosophical ambassadors of the Athenians, should either not be admitted into the city or be dismissed at once. Plutarch, *Cato*. Indeed, he judged that the Greeks should universally be expelled. “Whenever that nation shall give us its letters,” he says, “it will corrupt everything.” Concerning Lysimachus, Sophocles, Agrippa, Tiberius, Nero, Domitian, Vespasian, and the Messenians, our Laelius writes at length in Book 3, chapter 7.

§ 2. Next, philosophers are accused of innumerable vices: with great haughtiness they despise everyone and admire themselves. Third, they are seen not only to be vicious--

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--but nothing is more vicious than a vicious philosopher, since they are not *sophi* but *asoti*, as Salvian says in Book 1, chapter 4, *On the True Judgment and Providence of God*. “Nothing,” he says, “is more shameful than a philosopher pursuing obscene vices, because, in addition to that deformity which the vices possess in themselves, the name of wisdom is still more disgraced.” But philosophers were most vicious--not only those concerning whom Plautus writes in *Curculio*, Act 2, Scene 3:

Then those cloaked Greeks, who walk with covered head,

Who walk stuffed with books and with little baskets,

Stand still and confer discourses among themselves like runaway slaves;

They obstruct and stand in the way with their opinions;

You may always see them drinking in the wine shop.

There, what they have stolen, with covered head they drink hot,

And go about gloomy and drunken;

but their leaders also. For apart from the fact that most of them learned the magical arts--as Pliny teaches concerning Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus, and Plato in Book 30, chapter 4--they went to the Egyptians and Chaldaeans, among whom there was little of purer philosophy and much of superstition. Concerning Pythagoras, Laertius certainly writes that he was seditious, furnished an occasion for sedition, and was desirous of tyranny. Indeed, how far from the precepts of philosophy is that which the same Laertius and Hermippus relate! For when he had come into Italy, in order to subdue the uncultivated peoples by imposture, he made an underground house. He instructed his mother to record upon tablets, with the time noted, whatever happened meanwhile among those above. And when, after a year,

almost killed by filth and emaciation, he emerged and secretly read the tablets, he recounted everything to those who marveled, but lied that he had been among those below, so that by this method he might hunt after a reputation for divinity.

How destructive was Empedocles, who, through love of a famous death, cast himself headlong into burning Etna? Socrates also, if we believe Aristophanes, taught those tricks by which men are injured under an appearance of law--namely, to make **τὸν ἥττω, τὸν κρείττω λόγον**, to make a bad cause good by speaking. Porphyry, writing about him from Aristoxenus, says that he was lustful, accustomed to become most violently angry, burdensome to his parent, and most shameful in every vice. Plato, the pupil, was not much better than his master: a slave of foul lust, liable to anger, possessed of scurrilous sharp speech, initiated into the rites of Egyptian monsters, a reviler, abusive, vain, eager for glory--Athenaeus, Book 1, chapter 22--and finally a teacher of tyrants.

Aristotle possessed no smaller vices, if we believe Laertius. Through helplessness in his love of Hermias's concubine, he sacrificed to her as though to Eleusinian Ceres. Shame certainly forbids us to speak concerning Diogenes the Cynic and that entire cohort of dogs and herd of Epicureans. In how great crimes of teaching and living were the Stoics themselves engaged? They bound God's providence to fate and abolished freedom and every distinction in sin. Seneca the Stoic, who surpassed all philosophers in holiness of speech, is accused in Tacitus, Book 13 of the *Annals*, and in Dio's *Nero*, of adulteries with princely women. Hence Lucian also, the mocker of all men and especially of philosophers, compares philosophy to a poison, which, when taken immoderately, kills like hemlock and other poisons; and thus, lest it be harmful, it ought merely to be tasted.

They next allege in summary the doctrines of the philosophers, as absurd and altogether abhorrent from civil government: such as the community of all things, even of wives, which is found in Plato. Next, they were judged inept for civil affairs; Antonius, in Cicero, Book 1 of *On the Orator*, thinks that Socrates was condemned on account of his inexperience in speaking. Finally, that case is pleaded in Seneca, *On the Happy Life*, chapter 17:

"Why do you speak more bravely than you live? Why do you submit your words to a superior, regard money as a necessary instrument for yourself, become moved by loss, let tears fall when you hear of the death of your wife or friend, look toward reputation, and become touched by malicious reports? Why is your country estate cultivated beyond what natural use demands? Why do you not dine according to your own prescription? Why is your furniture more splendid? Why is wine older than your own age drunk in your house? Why, moreover, is a house arranged? Why are trees which will give nothing beyond shade planted together? Why does your wife carry in her ears the valuation of a wealthy household? Why is your troop of young attendants girded in costly clothing? Why is ministering an art in your house? Why is the silver not set down casually and as one pleases, but service is rendered skillfully, and there is someone who is master of carving the provisions?

"Add, if you wish: Why do you possess property across the sea? Why do you possess more things than you know? Shamefully, you are either so negligent that you do not know your few slaves, or so luxurious that you possess more than memory suffices to know. I shall presently assist your reproaches and shall cast up against myself more than you suppose. For now I shall answer you this: I am not a wise man, and--to feed your malevolence--I shall not be one. Therefore I require of myself not that I be equal to the best, but that I be better than the bad. It is sufficient for me to remove something from my vices every day and to rebuke my errors. I have not arrived at health, nor indeed shall I arrive. For my gout I compose palliatives rather than remedies, content if it comes more rarely and gnaws less. Compared with your feet, however, I am a feeble runner.

"I do not say these things on my own behalf, for I am in the depth of all vices, but on behalf of that man in whom something has been accomplished. 'You speak in one way,' he says, 'and live in another.' This was cast up against Plato, cast up against Epicurus, cast up against Zeno, by most malicious heads hostile to every excellent man. For all those men said not how they themselves lived, but how one ought to live. I speak concerning virtue, not concerning myself; and when I reproach vices, I reproach my own first of all. When I am able, I shall live as I ought. Nor will that

malice of yours, steeped in much poison, deter me from the best things. Not even that venom with which you bespatter others and kill yourselves will prevent me from persevering in praising the life not which I live, but which I know must be lived; from adoring virtue and following it, crawling at an immense distance.

“Am I, to be sure, to expect anything to remain inviolate from malevolence, to which neither Rutilius nor Cato was sacred? Why should anyone not seem too rich to those for whom Demetrius the Cynic is not poor enough? O most vehement man, fighting against every desire of nature! In this he is poorer than the other Cynics: although he forbade himself to possess, he also forbade himself to ask. They say that he is not sufficiently in need. Do you see? He professed not the knowledge of virtue but of poverty.

“They say that Diodorus, an Epicurean philosopher who within the space of a few days placed an end upon his life by his own hand, did not act according to the decree of Epicurus when he cut his throat. Some wish this deed of his to seem madness, others rashness. He meanwhile, happy and full of a good conscience, bore witness to himself as he departed from life, praised the repose of an age passed in harbor and at anchor, and said what you heard unwillingly, as though it must also be done by you:

I have lived, and completed the course which fortune gave.

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“You dispute concerning the life of one man and the death of another; and at the name of great men distinguished by some exceptional praise, you bark like little dogs at the approach of unknown men. For it is expedient for you that no one should seem good, as though another’s virtue were a reproach of your offenses. Unwillingly you compare splendid things with your filth, nor do you understand at how great a cost to yourselves you dare to do it. For if those who follow virtue are avaricious, lustful, and ambitious, what are you, to whom the very name of virtue is hateful?

“You deny that anyone accomplishes what he says or lives according to the model of his speech. What wonder is it, since they speak brave and immense things which escape every human tempest, since they attempt to tear themselves loose from crosses into which each one of you himself drives his own nails? Those driven to punishment nevertheless hang upon single stakes. Those who exact punishment from themselves are torn apart by as many crosses as they have desires; and, abusive men, they are elegant in insulting another. I would believe them, were it not that some spit upon the spectators from their own gallows.

“Do philosophers not accomplish what they say? Nevertheless they accomplish much by saying it and by conceiving honorable things in their minds. For if they also did things equal to their words, what would be happier than they? Meanwhile there is no reason for you to despise good words and breasts filled with good thoughts. The pursuit of salutary studies is praiseworthy even short of the effect. What wonder if they do not ascend when they have assailed steep heights? But look up to men who attempt great things even if they fall. It is a noble thing, looking not to one’s own strength but to the strength of one’s nature, to strive after high things, to attempt them, and to conceive in the mind things greater than can be accomplished even by men endowed with an immense spirit.

“The man who has proposed this to himself: ‘I shall hear of death with the same countenance with which I shall see it. I shall submit to labors, however great they will be, supporting the body by the mind. I shall despise riches equally, whether present or absent: I shall not be sadder if they lie somewhere else, nor more high-spirited if they shine around me. I shall perceive fortune neither as it comes nor as it departs. I shall regard all lands as though mine, and mine as though belonging to all. I shall live as though I know that I was born for others, and I shall give thanks to the nature of things on this account. For in what better manner could it have conducted my affair? It gave me alone to all, and all to me alone.

““Whatever I shall possess, I shall neither guard sordidly nor scatter prodigally. I shall believe that I possess nothing more than what has been well given. I shall weigh benefits neither by number nor weight, nor by any valuation except that of the recipient. Nothing which a worthy man receives will ever be much to me. I shall do nothing for opinion,

everything for conscience. Whatever I do with myself as witness, I shall believe to be done with the people as witness. The end of eating and drinking will be to extinguish the desires of nature, not to fill and empty the belly. I shall be pleasant to friends, mild and easy to enemies; I shall be persuaded before I am asked, and shall anticipate honorable requests. I shall know that the world is my fatherland, and that the gods stand above and around me, as judges of deeds and words.

“‘But whenever nature reclaims my breath or reason dismisses it, I shall depart having borne witness that I loved a good conscience and good studies; that no one’s liberty was diminished through me, least of all my own.’ The man who shall propose, wish, and attempt to do this will make a road to the gods.”

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 3. The whole dispute comes back to this: ought the vices of philosophers to be prejudicial to philosophy? The answer is easy: they ought not. All things are full of evils; vices prevail publicly, but the vices of philosophers are noticed. The most cruel of tyrants and the most ruined of prodigals speak about Socrates, Plato, and Seneca.

Philosophy must therefore be retained, without which the state will end in barbarism. The Christian princes Theodosius and Valentinian embraced it. “And since we desire a glorious youth to be instructed not only in these arts, we also associate with the aforesaid masters authors of more profound knowledge and learning. We therefore wish one man to be added to the others who may search the secrets of philosophy.” For philosophy is a divine gift, the love of wisdom--indeed, divine love. Moses, Solomon, and others most practiced in it joined integrity of life to knowledge. Nor was the mind of the most holy men otherwise: Dionysius, Heraclas, Pantaenus, Clement, Athenagoras, Justin, Basil, Nazianzen, Nyssen, Jerome, Hilary, and Augustine, who were not only philosophers but also advanced toward virtue from the books of philosophers.

Augustine wrote most truly: “No one is ordinarily considered a philosopher other than a lover of God.” Theophrastus calls philosophy the guide of life and the expeller of vices; if someone should remove it from life, he would sin more than if he had extinguished the lamp at a banquet. Its advantages are many and frequently hidden. When the father of the Eretrian, threatening blows, imperiously demanded from his son, a pupil of Zeno, what he had learned, he was calmed by a prudent answer: the son declared that he owed this to philosophy, that he could bear his father’s anger with an even mind.

§ 4. Next, the decrees of philosophy are excellent; they reproach every vice, even the smallest. Few apprehend virtue without them. “What, then?” says Seneca in Epistle 95. “Have not some without subtle instruction become upright and attained great advancement, while obeying only bare precepts? I confess it. But theirs was a fortunate disposition, and they seized salutary things in passing. For just as the immortal gods learned no virtue, since they were born with every virtue and it is a part of their nature to be good, so certain men, having obtained an excellent disposition, arrive without prolonged teaching at those things which are customarily transmitted, and embraced honorable things as soon as they heard them. Whence are those abilities so rapacious of virtue, or fruitful from themselves? But from those who are either dull and obtuse or beset by bad custom, the rust of minds must long be rubbed away. Moreover, just as one who transmits to them the tenets of philosophy more quickly leads those who are inclined toward the good to the summit, so he will assist the weaker and draw them out of evil opinions. You may see how necessary these tenets are. Certain things reside within us which make us sluggish toward some things and rash toward others. Neither can this boldness be repressed nor that inertia aroused unless their causes--false admiration and false fear--are removed.”

Epistle 17, which sufficiently explains its power, should also be read. But now we dispute this question in vain, since the customs and laws of all Christian nations embrace philosophy. I must therefore explain how it is to be taught. For the state ought also to regulate it politically.

§ 5. At the outset, therefore, a state that loves philosophy will impose this law upon its professors, or even exact it by oath: that they teach philosophy in such a way that through it, as through aids, students may come to the more serious

sciences--medicine, jurisprudence, politics, and theology. The Society chiefly regards theology, especially in its own members. Thus the first rule of the professor: "Since the arts or natural sciences dispose abilities toward theology, serve toward its perfect knowledge and use, and of themselves assist toward the same end, the teacher shall treat them with the diligence that is proper, sincerely seeking the honor and glory of God in all things, in such a way that he prepares his hearers, and especially ours, for theology, and above all arouses them to knowledge of their Creator."

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Thus also the *Constitutions*, Part 4, chapter 12, §3. Dialectic is necessary to all, physics to physicians, ethics to jurists, and metaphysics to theologians; yet every part of philosophy is both an aid and an ornament to every science.

And this is what Saint Thomas admonished: that philosophy should serve theology as a waiting-maid. Thus it was also customary of old to say that the Christian mysteries begin where the dogmas of the philosophers end, and that Plato's summits are the threshold of Christians. Plato seems to have understood this through a shadow, since--as Augustine also recalls from him--he called a philosopher a lover of God. He said that the philosopher's office is to know divine things excellently and so far as reason permits, but in no way to abandon human affairs; rather, to place labor and zeal in disposing them according to the norm of prudence.

The state will provide for this not only with greater caution but also by command and punishments, because philosophers are an unbelieving nation and weigh everything in the deceitful balance of the understanding, unless you subject the judgment of reason to divine censure. Otherwise empty philosophy knocks at truth but does not enter it. Tertullian speaks excellently against heretics in *Prescription*, chapter 7: "These are the doctrines of men and demons, born for itching ears from the ingenuity of worldly wisdom, which the Lord, calling foolishness, chose the foolish things of the world even to confound philosophy itself. For worldly wisdom is the material of those very heresies: a rash interpreter of the divine nature and dispensation. Finally, the heresies themselves are suborned by philosophy.

"From it came the Aeons, and certain forms, I know not what, and the trinity of man in Valentinus: he had been a Platonist. From it came Marcion's better god, from tranquility: he had come from the Stoics. That the soul is said to perish is observed from the Epicureans. That the restoration of the flesh is denied is taken from the one school of all the philosophers. Where matter is made equal with God, it is the discipline of Zeno; and where anything is alleged concerning a fiery god, Heraclitus intervenes. The same subjects are rolled about among heretics and philosophers; the same reconsiderations are entangled. Whence is evil, and why? And whence is man, and how? And what Valentinus very recently proposed: whence is God? From an enthymesis, of course, and an ectroma.

"They insert Aristotle, who established dialectic for them: an artificer, changeable in form, of building and destroying; constrained in opinions, hard in conjectures, productive of contentions in arguments, troublesome even to itself, reconsidering everything lest it should have treated anything at all. Hence those fables and interminable genealogies, fruitless questions, and discourses creeping like a cancer. The Apostle, restraining us from these things, expressly testifies that philosophy must be guarded against, writing to the Colossians: 'See that no one circumvent you through philosophy and empty seduction, according to the tradition of men, apart from the providence of the Holy Spirit.' He had been at Athens and from its encounters had learned that human wisdom, the affecter and adulterator of truth, itself also divided into manifold heresies by the variety of mutually opposing sects.

"What, therefore, has Athens to do with Jerusalem? What has the Academy to do with the Church? What have heretics to do with Christians? Our institution is from the porch of Solomon, who himself had transmitted that the Lord is to be sought in simplicity of heart. Let those who have produced a Stoic, Platonic, and dialectical Christianity look to it. We have no need of curiosity after Christ Jesus, nor of inquiry after the Gospel."

§ 6. If Aristotle and others possess anything contrary to the orthodox faith, let them seriously refute it. This has been diligently provided for among our professors in Rules 2, 3, and 4: "In matters of some importance, let him not depart from Aristotle unless something occurs alien to the doctrine which the academies everywhere approve, and much more

if it opposes the orthodox faith. If there are arguments of his or of another philosopher against it, let him strive vigorously to refute them, according to the Lateran Council.

“Let him neither read nor bring into the school interpreters of Aristotle who have deserved badly of the Christian religion without great discrimination; and let him take care that the pupils are not disposed toward them.

“For that reason, let him not gather the digressions of Averroes--the judgment is the same concerning others of that kind--into any separate treatise. If anything good is to be brought forward from him, let him bring it forward without praise and, if it can be done, show that he took it from elsewhere.”

§ 7. But because contests of sects sometimes arise, it will be altogether fitting in every state that visitors and magistrates inquire what opinion each man teaches. For affection and admiration for those authors truly cast young men headlong into the dangers of empty and false opinions, magical impostures, and atheism. My mind shudders to remember Cardano, Massilio, and others whom an excessive eagerness for knowledge compelled to die doubtful concerning religion. “Depart from the heathen, heretic; give back to them their own opinions, because he too is not instructed from yours.” Cyril already showed in Catechesis 18 that offense was once committed in this matter. Why does it help to animate impiety and license concerning the atheism of the ancients? Why, so that you may hunt after the glory of subtle speaking, do you desire to derive a name from condemned names and errors? The memorials of so many holy philosophers are in our hands; do you reckon it a glory to approach the patriarchs of heretics?

Formerly the battle lines of sects were innumerable: the Eretrian, Epicurean, Cyrenaic, Megarian, Theodorean, Pyrrhonian, Stoic, Peripatetic, Old and New Academic, Cynic, Potamonian, and Eleian. It would be more fitting for them to assemble among clocks than among philosophers. Those which quickly raised their head quickly failed. The Old and Minor Academics left no leader; who is there who transmits the precepts of Pyrrho? That hateful crowd of the Pythagorean school found no teacher; the new sect of the Sextians, possessed of Roman strength, was extinguished amid its beginnings, although it had begun with great impetus. Therefore, whoever is entrusted with Christian youth must teach truth according to the opinion of pious philosophers and academies.

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§ 8. Let him also recognize his office, which consists in life, not in disputation alone. Golden is the admonition of the Roman sage in Epistle 20: “But this, my Lucilius, I ask and exhort you to do: that you send philosophy down into your innermost breast and take proof of your advancement, not by speech or writing, but by firmness of mind and diminution of desires. Prove words by deeds. One purpose belongs to those who declaim and seek the assent of a surrounding crowd; another to those who detain the ears of the young and idle by varied or fluent disputation. Philosophy teaches doing, not speaking; and it exacts this: that each should live according to its law, lest life disagree with speech, and that the one life itself should be of one color throughout, without disagreement among its actions. This is both the greatest office and the greatest indication of wisdom: that deeds agree with words, and that a man should everywhere be equal to and the same as himself. Who will accomplish this? Few, yet some. This is difficult; nor do I say that the wise man will always proceed at one pace, but along one road.” Let him therefore live according to the law of philosophy and teach men to live thus.

For if the professor of philosophy corrupts morals, as did the Epicureans and Cynics, the discipline of the state will suffer, and he will give himself over to delights.

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§ 9. Let the teacher diligently apply himself to this: that pupils of philosophy, while they inquire into everything, should not only refrain from disputing against divine laws but should also render honor to magistrates and obey political laws. It was formerly objected to the Stoics that magistracy and laws were despised by them; and it certainly was ready to think this concerning men who were accustomed to say that all were insane, that there was no praetor, no

consul, and no king. It is charged against Rubellius Plautus in Tacitus, Book 14, that he had assumed the arrogance and sect of the Stoics, which makes men turbulent and eager for affairs.

Seneca answered in Epistle 73: “Those who judge men faithfully devoted to philosophy to be obstinate and refractory, and despisers of magistrates and kings or of those through whom public affairs are administered, seem to me to err. On the contrary, none are more grateful toward them, and not undeservedly; for they accomplish more for none than for those who are permitted to enjoy tranquil leisure. Therefore those for whom public security furnishes an approach to their purpose of living well must honor the author of this good as a parent--much more, indeed, than those restless men placed in the midst of affairs, who owe much to princes but also charge much against them, whose desires, which grow while they are fulfilled, no generosity can ever encounter so fully as to sate them.”

And in Book 2, chapter 5, of *On Clemency*: “I know that the Stoic sect has a bad reputation among the unskilled, as though it were excessively hard and would give counsel by no means good for princes and kings. For it is objected against it that it says that the wise man does not pity and does not forgive. These things, if set down by themselves, are hateful. For they seem to leave no hope for human errors, but to bring every offense to punishment.”

He excuses them, but I fear whether forcefully and truly; for Augustine accuses them of hardness. There are everywhere many examples of the obstinacy which they called fortitude. Therefore the professor of morals especially will inculcate this part and the foundations which nature itself laid down. The rule itself requires this of the professors of the Society: “Let him understand that it is in no way part of his institute to digress into theological questions, but, proceeding through the text, to explain briefly, learnedly, and gravely the principal heads of moral science which are contained in the ten books of Aristotle’s *Ethics*.”

The principal doctrine, however, is that in the state they should observe the lawful order of obeying, and finally recognize the virtues themselves.

§ 10. Flee contentions. For philosophy contains an investigation of truth, to which nothing is equally opposed as the cheap little glory of conquering and triumphing--yet it is a keen tyranny in the minds of sophists. With peace and charity preserved, citizens contend before the judge’s tribunal concerning estates and inheritances; philosophers declaim with fury concerning little words, beings of reason, and relations. Our professors are admonished in Rule 5 to teach not only their own doctrines but also to refute those of others with modesty: “In those questions in which it is free to follow either side, let one side be so defended that provision is made modestly and benevolently for the reputation of the other side also--and much more for that of the preceding professor, if he had taught the contrary. Indeed, if authors can be reconciled, it is desirable that this should not be neglected. Finally, in naming or refuting authors, let him conduct himself modestly.”

Let it therefore be your concern to possess philosophy, not to make a display of it. If you are more perspicacious than your colleagues in little questions, rejoice that your own ignorance has been taken from you; do not reproach others with theirs. If you wish to philosophize without envy, philosophize without parade. Hateful is the man who speaks in such a way that he seems to condemn whatever he himself does not teach.

§ 11. Novelty of opinions must also be avoided. For what is accustomed to happen in calamities--that novelty strikes us and adds weight to grief--is also accustomed to happen in this fickleness of opinions: they come with great impetus and applause, and then are rejected with rapid disgust. Men are long tormented by the difficulty and obscurity of common opinions, which even great abilities cannot overcome except by great labor; when they hear new things, they ponder within themselves not what they possess but what they desire. Therefore a desire for innovation is the summit of evil for the unskilled. Whatever novelty alone has made precious is rendered cheap when it is present, and an author is not esteemed when he has ceased to be new.

That novelty is seriously forbidden to us even in matters otherwise indifferent, in Common Rule 6: “Even in matters in which no danger to faith or piety is present, let no one introduce new questions in matters of some importance, nor any

opinion for which there is no suitable author, without consulting those who preside; nor let him teach anything against the axioms of the Doctors and the common sense of the schools. Rather, let all follow the most approved Doctors and those opinions which, as the use of the times has borne, have been especially received in the Catholic academies.”

Indeed, I judge this matter to be so important that I think no one should be admitted to the profession of philosophy unless he is prepared to travel by the old and well-worn--that is, royal--road. For if he expounds to youth that philosophy which Aristotle, Pantaenus, Augustine, Saint Thomas, and innumerable others professed with great agreement and in which they became illustrious, the state already knows what young men are being taught. If he brings new things, although they might perhaps be good, they are nevertheless doubtful and dangerous; but the state desires its youth to be placed in safety. No novelty completes its work in a moment, nor is it on solid ground except through a space of time; new things must therefore be imperfect.

The Dutch have long attempted new routes across the Ocean through the Arctic regions; great hope and great rewards are proposed to those who hazard them. But no prudent man commits himself to an uncertain voyage when wind and wave furnish enough dangers upon the course of the known sea. Therefore this caution is fitting for the state: let them not entrust youth to new and unknown opinions unless it has first become established that some have attained erudition by that doctrine and method which is vaunted. When that has happened, novelty will already have ceased; for great things come forth slowly. And the man who admits the hazards of a new philosophy into himself acts no less imprudently than one who perceives that an experiment with an uncertain medicine is being made upon his own health.

§ 12. Not only new but also old and useless opinions, which bring philosophy into disrepute, must be avoided. Thus Common Rule 8: “Let him not adduce useless, obsolete, absurd, or manifestly false opinions.” Nevertheless, there is nothing so absurd that some philosopher has not thought and said it; and if their absurdities are frequently recalled to memory, they will at some time find a follower. Philosophers possess much that is superfluous and will never come into use; let them not only cut those things away but omit mention of them altogether, lest abilities be made to struggle with unnecessary matters. I spoke above concerning excessive subtlety, which is hostile to truth. Now I admonish only this: that it pertains to public ordering to keep watch lest time and life be passed in empty little disputes.

Philosophy is threefold: moral, natural,

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and rational. The first orders the mind; the second searches the nature of things; the third, which is a part of eloquence, examines the properties and structure of words and arguments, lest false things creep in for true.

Let the industry of a good teacher be enclosed within these limits. Let him not draw in other matters--a thing which many will nevertheless neglect unless the care of their superiors restrains absurdities. Formerly it was done thus: philosophers descended even to distinctions of syllables and the properties of conjunctions and propositions, and envied grammarians and envied geometers. Whatever was superfluous in their arts, philosophers transferred into their own. Thus it was brought about that they knew more diligently how to speak than how to live. Indeed, even now many do not know how to speak, for while they entangle the mind in useless intricacies, they have not learned even to unfold and explain words.

§ 13. Let him cite illustrious philosophers, imitate them, and commend them to his pupils. Thus Common Rule 8: “In bringing forward the authorities of the Doctors, let him not be excessive. Yet if he possesses testimonies from more distinguished authors for confirming his opinion, let him recite the very words--as far as can be done, though few of them--and faithfully; much more those of the Sacred Scriptures, Councils, and holy Fathers.” Moreover, it belongs to the dignity of a master to bring forward almost no author whom he himself has not read.

Yet let him not report everything; let the hearers be referred to reading the authors themselves, as is stated in Rule 10: "If things contained in readily available authors must be adduced, let him explain rather than dictate them. Indeed, let him refer the hearers to those authors who have treated some subject copiously and accurately."

§ 14. Let him exercise the young men in disputation: nothing is more destructive than Pythagorean silence. For five years, like mute fish, they heard no great wisdom. I wish the future philosopher to hear, reflect, and inquire assiduously and diligently. But because many things fall from memory, many doubts occur, and many reasonings arise in the opposite direction, it is necessary that hearers be exercised every day and have someone to whom they may propose doubts and whom they may consult. In one word a master explains what had to be sought by prolonged labor. Proud is the man who considers it more honorable to err than to have the road shown to him.

Our laws provide concerning this matter as follows. Rule 11: "After the lecture, let him remain in the school or near it for at least a quarter of an hour, so that the hearers may approach him to ask questions. And let him sometimes exact an account of the lectures and take care that they be repeated."

The varied exercises in disputations in Rule 12 and the following rules also pertain here. "At home also, every day except Saturdays, vacations, and feast days, one hour is to be appointed in which our men repeat and dispute, so that by this means both their abilities may be exercised more and the difficult things which occur may be made more clear. Therefore, let one or two be forewarned to repeat from memory for no more than a quarter of an hour. Afterward let one or two likewise argue, with as many answering. If any time remains, let doubts be proposed. But so that it may remain, let the master strictly maintain the form of argumentation and cut off the argument when nothing new is brought forward.

"Toward the end of the year, the repetitions of past lectures are to be so arranged that, unless something prevents it, an entire month may be left free even from them, not only from lectures.

"On Saturday, or on another day which the custom of the academy requires, let them hold disputations in the schools for two hours--even longer where there is a great concourse of outsiders. But if two feast days, or one feast together with the weekly vacation, fall in any week, let there be no disputation, but a lecture on Saturday. Yet if this should continue for three weeks, let one disputation be interposed.

"Where the received custom of the academy does not prevent it, on some appointed day each month--except the final three summer months--or every other month if the hearers are few, let common disputations be held both before and after noon. As many hearers as there are masters shall defend, each one the questions of one master.

"As far as can be done, let other Doctors and professors of ours also attend the disputations, even those of different faculties. So that the contest may grow warmer, let them press the force of the arguments which are being discussed--provided that they do not undertake to pursue an argument upon which an arguer is still dwelling usefully and vigorously. Let it be permitted even to outside Doctors to accomplish this same thing; indeed, they can be invited expressly to argue, unless that custom is less approved somewhere.

"Among the hearers, let only the more learned dispute publicly; let the others be exercised privately until they are so instructed that they are not judged unworthy of that place.

"Let him judge the day of disputation no less laborious and fruitful than the day of lecture, and that all the utility and fervor of the disputation depend upon him. Let him so preside over it that he himself appears to be the one who contends in each contestant. Let him praise anything good that is brought forward and command everyone to attend. When some more serious difficulty has been proposed, let him continually suggest something brief by which he may either support the respondent or direct the arguer. Let him neither remain silent for long nor speak always, so that the pupils themselves may also bring forth what they know; but let him correct or polish what has been brought forth. Let him command the disputant to proceed while the difficulty retains force; indeed, let him himself increase the difficulty, and let him not conceal it if the one who argues has crept forward to another argument. Let him not permit either an

argument nearly solved to be pressed longer or an answer which does not cohere well to be sustained for long; but after some contest, let him briefly define and explain the whole matter. Finally, if anything else is anywhere in use by which disputations are customarily rendered more frequent and more fervent, it is to be retained diligently.”

Let him sometimes deal with the assistant, or beadle, appointed by the rector, and question him concerning the condition of the whole class and the diligence and progress even of the outside hearers. Let him take care that the same man performs his office faithfully and accurately.

§ 15. Let the professor be such as Rule 20 describes: “Finally, in all things, with divine grace inspiring him, let him be diligent and assiduous, and devoted to the progress of the students both in lectures and in other literary exercises. Let him not show himself more familiar with one than with another. Let him despise no one. Let him provide equally for the studies of the poor and the rich, and procure particularly the progress of each one of his students.”

But in order that he may be such, let a learned man be chosen who fears God and loves the state. And although he is such, let the eyes of the nobles nevertheless be fixed upon him, lest at some time he be changed by weariness.

CHAPTER XXIV

On the Study of Logic, Physics, Metaphysics, and Mathematics

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 1. It is not my intention to commend these faculties to states; those who became illustrious in each have accomplished that. Rather, it is to give counsel to the state which it may employ in admitting and teaching them. For concerning the necessity and use of dialectic--

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--since it is the principal instrument of reason, it is necessary to say nothing; nor is anything in it censured except sophistically. Those who removed it from philosophy judged that its necessity was almost greater than that of philosophy. Laertius, in the *Life of Epicurus*, says that philosophy was divided by him into canonical, physical, and ethical philosophy. The canonical is that which furnishes the means, approaches, and entrances to the work; and it was transmitted by him in one book which is called by him the *Canon*. The Stoics divided the canon into logic and rhetoric. Thus, although the Epicureans wished to separate dialectic, they nevertheless admitted it by another manner and way. "The Epicureans," says Seneca in Epistle 89, "thought there were two parts of philosophy, the natural and the moral; they removed the rational. Then, when they were compelled by the matters themselves to distinguish ambiguous things and to convict false things lying hidden beneath the appearance of truth, they themselves also introduced under another name the rational part, a place which they call 'Concerning Judgment and Rule.'"

But I have resolved to write the laws which the state should impose upon one who will teach dialectic; for I do not doubt that very much error is committed everywhere in teaching it.

§ 2. The first law for teaching dialectic: in Europe, let it admit no one to learn dialectic unless he is moderately practiced in eloquence. This rule is so necessary, at least in those provinces which are devoted to more cultivated letters, that it cannot be neglected without the greatest disgrace. For since one must discourse in Latin, if pupils have not previously apprehended the precepts and exercises of eloquence, they must necessarily be rendered altogether speechless. Dialectic disputes concisely and obscurely and employs words of its own alien to common use. Thus it comes about that they neither retain their former ability nor understand the acuteness of the dialecticians, and, through fear of committing a solecism, do not dare to utter the things which they understand.

§ 3. The second law is that the precepts of dialectic should be received from Aristotle alone, and indeed also the most recondite knowledge of physical things. Such is the custom of our Society, and almost eight hundred years now agree. But because many have gravely attacked us for this reason, and Francis Patricius of Venice attempted to overthrow Aristotle's philosophy, I shall defend us not only by the judgment of all the Peripatetics but also by the opinion of others. Justus Lipsius, a most learned man who always referred the use of learning to public utility, discusses this matter thus in Book 1, chapter 4, of his *Guide*:

"But matters have now come to such a point that, the others yielding, two schools contend almost alone for sovereignty: those of the Peripatetics and the Stoics. For common agreement has slain the Epicureans; the Academics, by professing that they themselves know nothing, ceased to have pupils. Concerning the Peripatetics, if you hear the judgments of the present day, you have a settled matter: they alone reign in the schools, having been admitted among Greeks and Latins for more than eight hundred years. Who shall drive them out? Perhaps I neither wish nor ought to do so. Yet I do not know whether wisdom with me desires to make this kingdom divided and to give it colleagues.

"Who would deny that Aristotle, that king of the Peripatetics, was great among men? Great men themselves assign him a place thus. Cicero among the first: 'A man not only abundant in speaking but also singular in philosophy.'

Elsewhere: ‘Of the highest ability, knowledge, and abundance.’ And again: ‘Than whom nothing is more polished, nothing more acute.’ He is called by the same man ‘a golden river of eloquence,’ and by Plutarch ‘a most eloquent man and skilled in bending minds wherever he wished.’ Finally Cicero with full hand: ‘Who of all was more learned, who more acute, who keener than Aristotle either in discovering or judging matters?’ Nor do others turn away from these praises. Pliny indeed calls him ‘a man supreme in every branch of learning’; elsewhere, ‘of immense subtlety.’ What of Arnobius? ‘A man powerful in ability and preeminent in learning.’

“But Averroes, as though raving, rushes into his praises. ‘Aristotle,’ he says, ‘invented three sciences: logic, natural science, and divine science; and no error has been found up to this time, which is one thousand five hundred years. That one man should be such is miraculous rather than human.’ The same elsewhere: ‘Aristotle is the rule and model which nature discovered to demonstrate the ultimate human perfection.’ Finally, with similar praise: ‘Aristotle’s doctrine is the highest truth, since his intellect was the limit of the human intellect. Therefore it is well said that he was created and given to us by divine providence so that we might know whatever can be known.’

“These are great and admirable things, I confess, and nearly make the man equal to the heavenly beings. What, then, do others say? Other things. Tertullian censures his minuteness of speech, and Irenaeus with the same expression censures his ‘minuteness of speech and subtleties concerning questions’; Jerome, his artifices. What do they mean? That he was excessively and slenderly subtle, and often an inquirer with obscurity. Therefore Sidonius: ‘Plato explains; Aristotle entangles.’ But Gregory Nazianzen casts up both this and graver things:

Βάλλε μοι, φημί, Ἀριστοτέλους τὴν μικρολόγον πρόνοιαν, ἢ τὸ ἔντεχον, ἢ τοὺς θνητοὺς περὶ ψυχῆς λόγους, ἢ τὸ ἀνθρωπικὸν τῶν δογμάτων.

“‘Cast away from me Aristotle’s minuteness of speech, his sagacity and artifice; cast away those mortal discourses concerning the soul and, universally, those human dogmas.’ He condemns one who does not rise and remains fixed upon humble and earthly things.

“Atticus says this also in Eusebius:

Ἀριστοτέλους λεπτή ἦν καὶ ταπεινὴ δριμύτης, ἥτις διαδύναμι μὲν τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς πραγμάτων ἢ τὴν ἐν τοῦτοις ἀληθειαν ἰδεῖν ἐδόνατο, τῆς δ’ ὄντως ἀληθείας ἐποπτεύσαι τὸ πανδήλιον οὐχ οἶα τε ἦν αὐτῷ.

“‘Aristotle’s subtlety was slender and humble; it could indeed penetrate earthly matters and perceive what was true in them, but he was not able to behold the clear and serene light of that solid truth.’ Lactantius likewise says: ‘Aristotle disagrees with himself concerning God, and says and thinks contradictory things.’ Again: ‘Aristotle neither worshiped nor cared for God.’ Philo the Jew:

Ἀριστοτέλης μήποτ’ εὐσεβῶς, ἢ ὁσίως ἐπιστάμενος.

“‘Aristotle was never learned piously or holily.’ Therefore you see, my hearer, that he is raised up and you see that he is cast down, suspended as though upon this swing of judgments.

“Indeed, learn this also: that Plato was preferred to him by the almost unanimous agreement of the ancients. Cicero himself, his herald by profession--indeed, as though hired for it--takes away the palm and transfers it to Plato’s right hand: ‘Aristotle, excepting Plato, is the prince of philosophers.’ Does he not openly make him second? Again: ‘Aristotle, far surpassing all men--always excepting Plato--in ability and diligence.’ And very many of our own nobles also cast their vote to this side. Arnobius: ‘That divine Plato, thinking many things worthy of God and not common to the multitude.’ Again: ‘That great Plato, wisely pious and holy.’ Tertullian agrees and acknowledges that in Egypt Plato chiefly drew these dogmas from that Trismegistus and his writings. But others send him to the Prophets and sacred books, and Numenius says openly:

Τί γάρ ἐστι Πλάτων ἢ Μουσῆς ἀπτικίζων;

“‘What is Plato but Moses speaking Attic?’ Augustine, however, that summit of our writers, far and widely prefers Plato to the other philosophers of the nations. Indeed, he almost places him in heaven, insofar as he piously can. ‘Labeo,’ he says, ‘thought that this Plato should be numbered among the demigods; he places the demigods above the heroes and locates both among the divine powers. Nevertheless, I do not doubt that the man whom he calls a demigod should be preferred not only to the heroes but even to the gods themselves.’ Elsewhere, in the same sense, he says that a temple should more justly be erected to him than to those gods of the nations. And he himself sets forth the reason why: ‘The philosophers of the Platonic family can most easily of all, with few things changed, become Christians.’

“And certainly it is much in a philosopher--indeed, it is the principal thing--to rise to God and divine things, upon which all other wisdom is joined and depends. Therefore you see that in these matters Aristotle is far surpassed and left behind by Plato--and also by the Stoics; no prudent man would deny it.

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“What, nevertheless, is the case? He transmitted dialectic firmly and systematically; likewise physics, concerning which there is this testimony of Tullius: ‘Nature was so investigated by the Peripatetics that no part in heaven, sea, or earth was passed over.’ And Laertius:

Ἐν τοῖς φυσικοῖς αἰτιολογικώτατος πάντων ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων ἀποδιδόναι τὰς αἰτίας.

“‘In natural matters he rendered reasons more than all men, even down to the smallest matters.’ I therefore confess that, so far as these two parts are concerned, he was usefully received into the schools; for whom rather should they receive? The other ancients who transmitted these things perished through age. Youth also needs a fixed Doctor and dogmas to which it may become accustomed. ‘Just as leaves,’ says Seneca, ‘cannot flourish by themselves but require a branch to which they may adhere and from which they draw sap, so precepts, if they stand alone, wither; they desire to be implanted in a sect.’

“Youth, I say, needs this. But as regards mature men, what envy or sloth is it not to send them farther? In theology, in ethics, and in physics itself, how many excellent and rare things did the Pythagoreans or Stoics say, and certain other men also! Shall I not approach and appropriate these things and regard them as an inheritance left by my ancestors? I shall act boldly and, as though I sat in the Senate, shall not only hear but examine, and, when asked, shall myself give my opinion. For always to follow that opinion of one man--as our Annaeus acutely says--is not the part of a senate but of a faction. I indeed rise and venerate the discoveries and discoverers of wisdom, but as a man venerates men, and men who are not our lords but our leaders. Who was ever so fortunately--indeed, so divinely--wise that he poured forth everything from a truth-speaking mouth? There was no such man, and there will not be. It belongs to that eternal benignity to scatter the gifts of abilities through ages and among men, and not to have conferred all things together and at once upon that one age or this one man. The best of poets says:

Ἀλλ’ οὕτως ἅμα πάντα θεοὶ δόσαν ἀνθρώποισιν.

“‘But the gods do not give all their gifts together and at once.’

“The testimony of great men had to be employed, so that our cause, approved by such great authorities, might be protected by the dignity of its patrons. Concerning logic and physics no one will deny it, unless someone should show a better author, a more accurate one, and one more skilled in argumentation. Plato’s dialectic is almost nonexistent; his physics is scanty and full of errors. His moral disputations are more numerous, but none transmit the whole of ethics compendiously. In the age of the Fathers he was considered great because he taught many things in moral matters, approached Christians in divine matters, and supplied many arguments to bishops against idolaters.”

§ 4. The third law: in logic and physics, let Aristotle be expounded in such a way that whatever learned and useful matter can be collected from the ancients and moderns is accurately transmitted at the same time. For that others saw nothing besides Aristotle and that so many thousands of interpreters added nothing to Aristotle is not merely incredible; innumerable books also demonstrate it.

§ 5. The fourth: in dialectic, let the matter be expounded briefly; let useless intricacies and subtleties be removed. Let no new questions be added; let many of the old ones be cut away.

§ 6. The fifth law: in every kind of mathematical science, this must be accomplished--that the most perfect authors and professors should be possessed. For the very system of all machines, crafts, and time useful in the state flows from them. First, let there be one who contemplates the motions of the heavens and the stars and expounds all its parts. That matter contributes much to civil life and even to heavenly life: to consider the works of God, to know their magnitude and symmetry, and to divide the tracts of lands. Many ridiculous superstitions and fables have arisen from ignorance of these matters, even among barbarous nations; indeed, magical incantations rest upon nothing other than ignorance of such things. Therefore let geometers, geographers, arithmeticians, gnomonists, experts in optics, and even makers of instruments be joined to astrologers; for there is none of these arts which does not at some time possess the greatest necessity and use.

§ 7. Finally, let the highest care be assigned to metaphysics, which is nearest to theology--indeed, a certain natural theology--a principal part of which is even now taught in theology. Concerning this matter, Francis Suárez of our Society disputes very extensively and accurately at the beginning of his *Metaphysics*.

A prince ought to know letters, practical philosophy, the foundations of jurisprudence and theology, and politics, the art of arts. It is especially fitting for a prince to be wise, to judge, and to live well.

CHAPTER XXV

That the Greatest Care Ought to Be Taken for Medicine

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 1. What was said to everyone by Ecclesiasticus, chapter 38, concerning honoring the physician has been commanded especially to the state and the prince. For it belongs to them to provide not only for themselves but for the whole fatherland, so that diseases may be encountered at the proper time and excellent physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries may be possessed. They must be maintained with such munificence that they do not wish for a crowd of sick people. And just as a prudent head of a household, when he has relieved hunger, nevertheless stores provisions for future necessity, so too let a city possess one or more physicians who may remedy private and epidemic diseases. Let it not only foster him in the state but also assign him an honored place. I shall embrace in perspicuous words what I think concerning this matter.

§ 2. Let singular honor be assigned to physicians in the state. Thus the divine writings, Ecclesiasticus 38:1: “Honor the physician on account of necessity, for the Most High created him. For all healing is from God, and he shall receive a gift from the king. The physician’s learning shall exalt his head, and he shall be praised in the sight of the great. The Most High created medicine from the earth, and a prudent man will not abhor it. Was not bitter water made sweet by wood? Their power was made known to men, and the Most High gave knowledge to men, that He might be honored in His marvelous works. By these things the one who treats shall mitigate pain, and the perfumer shall make pigments of sweetness and compound ointments of health, and His works shall not be brought to an end. For the peace of God is over the face of the earth.”

Most modern Greek copies have:

Τίμα τὸν ἱατρὸν πρὸς τὰς χρεῖας τιμαῖς αὐτοῦ.

“Honor the physician according to necessities with his honors.” For it does not understand an honor by which you come to his aid lest he be in want. Rather, it means that you should honor him before the necessity of disease exacts it. Thus Ben Sira expounded it. And other Hebrews command gifts to be given to the physician and honor to be imparted to him, so that, remembering them, he may visit you willingly and promptly in time of illness.

§ 3. Let the dignity and rewards of a physician in the state be so great that even nobles and magnates aspire to them. Let there be no less an approach to undertaking the state for Machaon than for Demosthenes. For why should they not entrust a part of the state to the man to whom they entrust their own life and the lives of their children and wives--

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The reason why I so judge is that I consider the health of the citizens and the prince worthy of being cared for by men of the first rank. Nor is it unworthy of a noble man to visit the cottages of the poor, feel the pulse of an artery, judge the signs and criteria of diseases, and prescribe pills. It is human malice which has detracted esteem from the guardians of its health and yet surrounded the avengers of its crimes with majesty. Fasces, axes, and a lictor are added to magistrates as insignia of power, yet they are instruments of executioners. Magistrates approach prisons and command the guilty to be stretched, cut by claws, burned, and driven to the cross; and the ambitious names of judges and prefects lead to this power. Why should there be less honor for a physician, the patron of life and health, than for a judge, the minister of death? Our nature, the corrupter of order, has envied its own goods and esteems the power of destroying guilty men more than the ability to preserve a citizen. Whence comes this great evil, that the man who preserves good men is lesser than the man who destroys bad men?

I do not wish this to be said as though I wished physicians to be preferred either to jurists or to magistrates. For their own honor remains to magistrates, and no one moves the palm from its place in the order; and according to the custom of the academies, physicians yield to jurisconsults. I say it so that I may show that physicians also are to be adorned with public dignities and that nothing in their functions is to be judged base.

Nevertheless, the controversy between physicians and jurists concerning dignity of place is ancient. I do not make another's suit my own. But I shall copy in his own words what the most illustrious Christoph Besoldus, primary professor of the Academy of Würzburg, thinks in his juridical-political dissertation *On the Law of Academies*, chapter 3, page 200: "Immediately after theologians, or in second place, jurisconsults take precedence over physicians. Whether this happens by right is an ancient question. See Lipsius, *Oration 8*; Rodericus a Castro, *The Political Physician*, Book 1, chapter 12; Alphonsus Moditius, § *Prudentum*, question 12; Limnaeus, *Disputation on Academies* 2, thesis 10; the most illustrious Hilligerus on Doneau, Book 3 of the *Commentaries*, chapter 9, letter N; Johannes Gerardi, *Century of Political Questions*, decade 9, question 6; Johannes Baptista de Plotis and Count Rogerius, *Matrimonial Counsels*, tome 1, counsel 87 and following; Benius, *On the Privileges of Jurisconsults*, Book 3, chapter 55; Jacobus Martini, century 9 of *Various Questions*, disputation 2, question 10.

"I would not wish anything to be detracted from either art. But if it is fitting to pronounce an opinion from the feeling of one's mind and judge from true foundations rather than begged votes, I would determine the matter by this distinction, with the most excellent physician Francisco Valesio in his *Sacred Philosophy*, chapter 74: that medicine must altogether yield to true jurisprudence, which is engaged not in pleading causes but in administering the state; but not to that petty practice which merely arranges lawsuits--or rather mixes them into entanglements." This says that man who takes precedence among the jurisconsults.

§ 4. It is advantageous to a free state to summon physicians into the Senate. Kings and princes, however, provide most prudently for their own safety if they employ them in public counsels, provided that they are good and prudent men. For by that honor they bind their fidelity to themselves, and by trusting them they make them faithful to themselves. Next, since physicians know nature and natural affections, they can frequently persuade things which are advantageous, or certainly judge from countenances and eyes what things may be considered to be in the prince's interest. The example in Antiochus, son of Seleucus, was pitiable, yet it was an example of medical sagacity. For Erasistratus detected the love of Antiochus, just as Hippocrates marked the madness of Perdiccas. Plutarch, *Demetrius*; Soranus, *Life of Hippocrates*.

Nor is it marvelous that great honors and dignities in the state are decreed to physicians. For formerly this was the care of kings. Solomon certainly, while enumerating the gifts of his wisdom in Wisdom 7:15 and following, acknowledges medicine: "But God gave me to speak according to judgment and to conceive things worthy of those which are given to me, since He Himself is the guide of wisdom and the corrector of the wise. For in His hand are both we and our discourses, and all wisdom, and the learning of the knowledge of works. For He gave me true knowledge of the things which are: that I might know the ordering of the world and the powers of the elements; the beginning, completion, and midpoint of times; the alternation, changes, and transformations of seasons; the courses of the year and dispositions of the stars; the natures of animals and rages of beasts; the force of winds and thoughts of men; the differences of shrubs and powers of roots. And I learned whatever things are hidden and unforeseen, for wisdom, the artificer of all things, taught me."

Knowledge of these things is necessary to the physician; and when he has acquired it, he easily maintains the method of healing. Therefore men learnedly and fittingly called medicine the sister of philosophy. For the state will admit no one who is not well practiced in philosophy into the innermost things of medicine--that is, to preserve or destroy the lives of men. Dionysius the tyrant at Syracuse acted not only as a physician but also practiced surgery, as Aelian is the authority in Book 1. It is established that Mithridates, king of Pontus; Hermes of the Egyptians; and Ganges, king of the Medes, were most skilled in medicine and preserved the lives of many by their counsel. The emperor Pogonatus

also embraced that art. When many magnates are occupied with the labors of waters, oil, and sublimations, and adhere to their alembics, what else do they do than prepare medicines?

It is no less unbecoming that kings should be physicians than philosophers; for medicine is not only a most honorable but also a most useful part of philosophy. Formerly physicians were indeed called physicits because they not only knew the natures and changes of animals, plants, and elements, the constitution of man, the causes of diseases, and the method of health, but used their knowledge for the health of each individual. Among cultivated peoples physicians were once held in such esteem that they built shrines and erected altars to Apollo, Aesculapius, Chiron, Machaon, and even Hippocrates, and assigned them divine honors. Indeed, the fables appointed Paeon physician of the gods, because that uncultivated age--which attributed anger, childbirth, wounds, and pus to the wretched stars--judged that not even the gods could lack so divine a knowledge and its use. Nor did they relate that Apis of the Egyptians was worshiped so religiously for any cause as much as because he was held to be the inventor of medicine. Celtic Hercules also, who because of his skill in healing was called Alexipharucus, attained authority and resources no more through strength or bodily mass than by healing diseases.

Nor did physicians themselves despise their knowledge. Philo called the most efficacious medicines either *πολύχρυσσα* (*worth much gold*) or *πάγκρηστα θεῶν χειρᾶς* (*all-useful hands of the gods*). For four hundred years there were no physicians at Rome, as among a most turbulent and rustic people. At Athens they lived both few in number and without honor--

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But this is not marvelous, for *κακοβουλία* (*bad counsel*) was peculiar to the Athenians, and indeed was so well known that their prophet Aristophanes casts it up against them as a familiar fact:

Φασὶ γὰρ δυσβουλίαν τῇδε πόλει προσεῖναι.

“They say that rash and evil counsels are conducted in the city.” What wonder, therefore, if they esteemed physicians little, when through their envy the best citizens were cast into exile?

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§ 5. Finally, since very ready shortcuts to great riches are open to learned and faithful physicians, and since it is useful to the state that wealthy men should be in magistracies--both lest the dignity itself, having fallen into base men, be despised, and lest physicians, not bearing contempt for themselves, migrate elsewhere and abandon the state--the rulers ought to bind them to themselves by honor. Concerning the immense riches of physicians, others write, and especially our Laelius in Book 16, chapter 11, of *Leisure Hours*.

Erasistratus, who flourished about the year 600 of the city, after curing King Antiochus, as Pliny writes in Book 29, chapter 2, was given one hundred talents by King Ptolemy, his son--that is, sixty thousand of our gold pieces, as Budaeus calculates in Book 2 of *The As*. In the same place Pliny also numbers the Cassii, Carpitani, Arruntii, Albutii, and Rubrii, who received from princes an annual fee of 250,000 sesterces--that is, six thousand two hundred fifty gold pieces. Quintus Stertinius, however, charged the princes with the fact that he was content with five hundred thousand sesterces annually; for he showed that his gain from the city was six hundred thousand, the houses being named. That is, he obtained from citizens a sum greater by another such amount--fifteen thousand gold pieces--while the emperors themselves paid twelve thousand five hundred gold pieces.

Pliny adds: “An equal fee was poured upon his brother by Claudius Caesar; and although their property had been exhausted by works with which Naples was adorned, he left three hundred hundred-thousands of sesterces to his heir, as much as Arruntius alone had left up to that age”--that is, thirty million sesterces. “Recently,” says Pliny a little afterward, “Crinas of Massilia left ten million sesterces for the walls of his fatherland, when another man had also constructed fortifications for almost no smaller sum.” For it must be read thus, not “one hundred sesterces”; for how

could so small a sum have sufficed for walls? Charnus likewise, from the same Massilia, contracted to cure a sick man from among his fellow Massilians or provincials for two hundred thousand sesterces--that is, five thousand of our gold pieces.

Why should I commemorate the resources of Archontius? Claudius confiscated from this man alone--he was a physician of wounds--when condemned, ten million sesterces, that is, two hundred fifty thousand gold pieces; yet within a few years no less was acquired by the same man in exile and when he had returned to Rome. The very ancient Democedes, as reported by Herodotus, Book 3, was hired for each year by the Aeginetans for one talent, by the Athenians for one hundred minas, and by the tyrant Polycrates for two talents. Thus it is in no way marvelous that Asclepiades, a master of rhetoric in the age of Pompey the Great, when he did not make good gain from that faculty, suddenly turned himself to medicine so that he might become wealthy. Pliny mentions him in Book 7, chapter 37, as the founder of a new sect, and in Book 26, chapter 3, and Book 29, chapter 1.

Conversely, a certain Gallus, a physician who was indeed most acute but most greedy for money, when he saw that he made little gain from medicine at Nicopolis, turned himself to pleading cases, as Antonius Panormita is the authority in Book 4, *On the Deeds of King Alfonso*. He turned the forum upside down with sophisms and cavils, but with a different outcome, since it was decreed by an edict of King Alfonso that a suit which had Gallus as patron should by that very fact be judged unjust.

We know that Galen was very wealthy. He himself testifies in Book 9, chapter 9, *On Recognizing the Diseases of the Mind*, that he was accustomed to spend a tenth part of his revenues annually and add the rest; thus he surpassed all his fellow citizens in riches, although he confesses that he was wealthy from his patrimony.

I come to the Christians. Thaddaeus of Florence, whose books concerning medicine are also read, when he departed from his fatherland for the sake of some treatment, hired out his work for no fewer than fifty gold pieces each day; and after curing Honorius, the Supreme Pontiff, he carried away ten thousand gold pieces. The same is related concerning Pietro d'Abano, who acquired the name of Conciliator.

Dubravius, Book 23 of *Bohemian Affairs*; Antonius Bonfinius, Book 2 of decade 3; and Aeneas Silvius, chapters 35 and 42 of his *Bohemia*, relate that a certain physician named Albicus, through the very ample riches which he had acquired by his art, made for himself with Wenceslaus, king and most indolent emperor, a step to the prefecture of the Church of Prague. You will read similar examples in *The Theatre of Human Life*, volume 10, Book 6, under the title Avarice *ἐν λήψει* (*in receiving*).

There is a saying of King Philip to a wealthy but avaricious and importunate physician. For when Philip had received a wound in the neck near the clavicle and was being treated by him, speaking as though whispering to the man in a low voice, he said, "Take as much as you please, because you have the key"--that is, *λάμβανε ὅσα βούλει, τὴν γὰρ κλεῖν ἔχεις*--as Plutarch reports in the *Apophthegms*.

With the best right, a physician will receive a gratuity for his labor, because it is advantageous that he be wealthy so that he may treat the poor without payment--or even treat everyone. Hippocrates certainly did so, and so did the parent of Ausonius:

"I offered aid," he says, "to all who sought the service
of an art not purchased, and my office was joined with piety."

§ 6. Let no one be admitted to teach or practice medicine unless he has been taught for a long time and accurately. I spoke above concerning academic honors. Because they are often given to unworthy men, the prince ought not to rest upon that authority so that, if anyone comes from Italy or Gaul furnished with the testimony of some academy, he should thereby be judged a physician. For what is more unworthy than that a man who purchased the title of physician for a few gold pieces should possess a public right of killing and of seeking experiments of his art through deaths of

obscure men and sometimes even of illustrious men? Too often the common proverb, derived from what was once done and said, is customarily bandied about:

Μόνῳ δ' ἰατρῷ τοῦτο καὶ συνηγόρῳ

ἔξεστιν ἀποκτείνειν μὲν, ἀποθνήσκειν δὲ μή.

“To the physician alone and the advocate alone is it permitted to kill without the penalty of death.”

§ 7. Let it be a capital crime for an unskilled physician if he has undertaken to treat the sick, even if by chance he has cured them. For a good outcome is from God; his own rashness had destroyed the sick man. Certain laws reject such men and prohibit their practice, Book 6, § *Sed et reprobare*. And deservedly; for it is better that practice should cease than that men should be killed by drugs. But those who learn through our dangers, who conduct experiments through deaths, deserve a greater penalty. Pliny already complained long ago, in Book 29, chapter 1, that there was no law which punished the capital ignorance of physicians. To have given a deadly love potion was formerly a capital crime, because to have offered a doubtful medicine renders a man guilty of killing. But an unskilled physician cannot be certain. Thus he always hesitates in uncertainty whether he offers a salutary drug or a poison; and if it benefits, he does so by chance, not by knowledge. The woman who--

A jealous adulterous wife gave poisons to her husband,

Nor believed that enough had been given for death;

She mixed deadly weights of quicksilver--

is not free from crime; yet the husband's life prevailed over the poisons fighting among themselves, and his survival does not thereby absolve the sorceress.

The law which I recommend is not severe. It concerns the life of men--

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--and is on behalf of life. The man who treats a human life doubtfully has despised it. One who has led a city or army into danger is considered a traitor. What will you think concerning a man who, after receiving money, dispenses poisons and drugs with no certain discrimination? An unskilled advocate does less harm, because his error is more easily recognized and he has an opponent; therefore no one easily commits himself to the arena except with hope of victory. The affairs of physicians are secure: when they have killed, they are not accused; they deceive the sick. Thus there are few who plead cases while unskilled in law; but the error of physicians is recognized only when life has been despaired of, and it is frequently neglected by a greedy heir whom it benefited that the physician was unskilled.

I therefore think that, in a well-constituted state, this rashness must be restrained by a grave penalty, even a capital one. If this were done, not every village would abound with ignorant physicians. Otherwise there is no doubt that a physician of this kind binds himself by a crime. Navarrus, in chapter 25, concerning the sins of a physician and surgeon, says:

“It must be said, first, that a physician or surgeon sins when he practices without sufficient knowledge, even if he has been granted a laurel; and one who sufficiently knows the art but does not follow its precepts; and one who notably neglects to study or to visit the sick, although the sick man is cured--according to Saint Antoninus, with the obligation of restitution according to the opinion of Panormitanus and everyone; and one who applies medicines to a disease before he knows it. Nevertheless, one who through prolonged experience has learned to treat oblique maladies--for example scabies, a fracture of bones, a clouding of the eye, fistulas, and pain of the teeth, molars, ears, and other similar parts--can licitly treat them although he is ignorant of the rules of medicine, provided that he does it without any incantation or fascination, that when fever supervenes he employs a skilled physician for the sick man, and that he attempts nothing which he does not know.

“Second, one sins who, doubting whether some medicine was notably harmful or not, administered it so that he might experiment, make a profit, or not be regarded as ignorant, and so forth; and still more one who administers a thing which he knows to be notably harmful, even if he administers it from pity or in order to please the sick man; and one who abandons a sick man before he ought, from which death or prolongation of the disease results, with the obligation of restoring the loss; and one who, when some limb must necessarily be cut off, does not seek a man whom he believes will cut it off well, or who, doubting the necessity of amputation, ordered it to be cut off; and one who, not knowing how to let blood or cut off a limb, does either or both; and one who, knowing that an apothecary will use corrupted medicines, does not choose uncorrupted ones; and one who, in order that he may receive a greater fee, delays the treatment of a disease.”

The opinion of others is the same, and the counsel of Sylvester must altogether be maintained. “First, therefore,” says he, “it is asked what is required in a physician so that he can practice the art without sin. And I say that many things are required. First, it is required that he be so skilled that he is commonly considered suitable by men skilled in that faculty. It is not sufficient to possess a doctorate; otherwise, if from notable ignorance he harms the sick man in his treatment, he sins mortally, acting against the commandment ‘You shall not kill,’ *De poenitentia*, distinction 1, *Homicidium*. And according to Richard, he is held to make equivalent satisfaction to the sick man, since he cannot repair the principal thing. Indeed, even if health follows, he sins mortally, because he exposed himself to the danger of mortal sin--that is, to a work from which notable injury to his neighbor can follow. Nor is it an objection that he does not intend this, because he voluntarily places himself in a situation from which this is naturally able to follow: Article 15, question 1, *Merito*, and § *Sed obicitur*, concerning Lamech.

“Nor is he held only in the forum of the soul when he voluntarily harms--for example by prolonging illness and matters of that kind--but also when he harms from ignorance or inexperience or by not following the traditions of the art, as Petrus notes in *Authentica Sed hodie*, Code *De iudiciis*; because a physician’s inexperience is numbered as fault, law *Si quis fundum*, § Celsus, Digest *Locati*, and law *Imperitia*, Digest *De regulis iuris*. Panormitanus, however, in chapter *Ad aures*, *De aetate et qualitate*, limits this to when he voluntarily assumed the office; it is otherwise if from necessity and in good faith he did what he could when other physicians were lacking. Therefore let the man who chooses such a person impute it to himself, since that person said that he was unskilled.

“Second, he ought to be diligent. Therefore one who, after having been requested, is notably negligent in reviewing books, visiting the sick man, examining the quality of medicinal things, and similar matters, if death follows, is irregular and sins mortally; and similarly if a great aggravation of the illness follows without death. But according to Antonius de Butrio, in chapter *Tua nos*, *De homicidio*, he is said to have employed all the diligence which he ought when he follows the traditions of the art, visits personally, and dictates a regimen to the sick man. He is not held to continuous personal watch, according to Hostiensis; and thus the outcome of death is not imputed to him: Digest *De officio praesidis*, law *Illicitas*, § *Sicuti*.

“Third, he ought to possess a justified intention, so that he does not intend to profit from another’s loss: *De regulis iuris*, *Nemo*, Book 6. Therefore he ought to conclude the treatment as quickly as he can. If he extends and prolongs the treatment for profit, he sins mortally and is held to restore the excess. Likewise, if he permits the apothecary to place in the composition of a medicine ingredients which are insufficient through age or some other defect so that he himself may profit more, he sins gravely, and each is held to the sick man for every loss. Indeed, according to the Archdeacon, he ought not to trust an apothecary unless he knows that he is conscientious, skilled, and practiced; rather, the composition of the medicine ought to take place beneath his own eyes. Nevertheless, if he gave the medicine according to the art and displayed all due diligence, it is not imputed to him if through a defect in the ingredients or some other admixture it is harmful: *De clerico excommunicato ministrante*, chapter *Apostolicae*, according to Innocent and Hostiensis. In all the aforesaid cases, however, he is held according to the judgment of good men.”

And again: “How ought a physician to conduct himself in applying medicines or remedies to bodies? I say many things. First, according to Innocent in chapter *Tuo nos*, *De homicidio*, he ought diligently to take care that he does not

apply medicines concerning which he is not certain according to the art; because if he doubts whether they ought to benefit or harm, he sins by giving them. For in doubtful matters the safer road is to be followed: this is to leave the sick man to nature and the Creator rather than expose him to a medicine which he does not know.”

Since, therefore, jurisconsults and theologians arraign unskilled physicians as guilty of killing, the vigor of the laws ought to be armed against them no less than against brigands, since they destroy more men; and magistrates who neglect their office in this part involve themselves in another’s sin.

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§ 8. Physicians, therefore, must be examined most diligently and severely before they are presented for the care of a state. Nor is an injury inflicted upon the academies which promoted a Doctor, for a great part are proclaimed Doctors before practice. But a prudent prince will admit no one unless he has already practiced under another master, lest he conduct experiments through deaths. Moreover, they must be examined in every part of medicine. Some establish three parts of medicine: dogmas, method, and experience. In academic promotions, dogmas, enunciations, and aphorisms are sought; their rationale, or method, is exacted; experience is not yet present. Yet this too must be known.

Plato divides medicine into that which assists a sick man with medicated plants, potions, and pastilles; then into surgery, to which belong emollient poultices, plasters, incisions, and cauterizations; third, into the care of daily diet and exercises--

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fourth, into that which quickly recognizes diseases and at last treats them; finally, into that which comes to aid with great and swift assistance, as though by a divine hand, and drives away pains. But these methods are generally so connected with one another that, with surgery almost alone excepted, they cannot be separated.

Our men divide it into that part which treats the constitution of man and embraces anatomy and complexion, or temperament; then into that whose office is to preserve bodies from diseases. Since very few men employ this part and are accustomed to consult a physician only when the violence of disease cuts off the hope of life, so many cohorts of diseases therefore rush upon them--as though God sent the heavenly gift of medicine to us from those ethereal seats only so that we might drive out a plague which has slipped into our entrails, and not also so that we might turn it away as it comes.

The third part investigates the causes of diseases and, in diseases, the causes of symptoms; complete knowledge of the first part is necessary to it. Joined to this is the part which teaches concerning signs and critical indications, judges future crises, and knows which things are present and which have passed. An experienced physician does this so dexterously that Hippocrates asserts medicine to be akin to prophecy. Hence ignorant antiquity also attributed foreknowledge of future things to Apollo. The fifth part maintains the method of healing, whether it be by diet, by medicines taken in any manner, injected into the viscera, or poured on, or by a different kind of surgery. This extends most widely. For it is necessary that the physician know every kind of medicine, simple and compound, and take care that they are prepared with great care.

In all these matters he will have to be tested long and much before he is approved. Nor must the learning of the novice Doctor be explored only by disputation; he will also be compelled to mix and compound the pills themselves and to approve and disapprove the drugs of apothecaries. Sylvester certainly shows this when he denies that an apothecary is to be trusted unless the physician knows him to be conscientious, skilled, and practiced; rather, the composition of the medicine ought to take place beneath his own eyes. The physician will inspect it in vain if he is ignorant of practice. Therefore this part also must be cultivated. For if he knows it and then learns the prescriptions of noble physicians, he will easily treat common and familiar diseases; but if he is ignorant of the substances to be compounded, as they call them, those precepts will help nothing. He will insert a melon in place of a radish and wrench the soul from a wretched man by a medical death.

§ 9. Let none even of the most approved physicians employ a new medicine unless it has also been approved by others. I am not unaware that many things can be added to the discoveries of the ancients, nor do I condemn new things in the arts. For if all sciences have received great increases through an interval of time, I do not see why this should be denied to this one alone. Yet because experiments upon the human body are dangerous, he will also hear the opinions of others. The law of the Egyptians, concerning which Diodorus Siculus writes in Book 1, chapter 6, did not seem unjust to me: it freed from blame a man who did not heal the sick after administering medicine according to the precepts of the sacred book, but punished with death one who instituted a treatment contrary to those doctrines.

Nor should those be heard who allege that they are unwilling to disclose great secrets and efficacious remedies. Through that boasting of secrets they build up in advance authority for their idleness and ignorance--indeed, often for imposture. If the remedies are good and possess a rationale, it is better that they be made known than lie hidden. They propose poisons dangerously compounded, distilled waters, and violent remedies; and while they treat one disease or part, they consume the whole body.

§ 10. So that medicine may be rightly administered, the prince will establish academic professors with great stipends and gratuities. Then he will liberally support, for six or seven years in that study, three or four men born of distinguished ancestry, of good morals, and endowed with great abilities. So that lawful physicians may possess honor and recompense, however, he will forbid there to be a multitude of physicians--a multitude, I say, of physicians. It is now so great that there is no village so abject in which several are not found; for where no one is a physician, everyone professes medicine.

I laughed when, in a noble city of Germany, I learned that there was no Doctor of medicine and asked whom, therefore, the sick consulted. The answer was that, besides prophetic old women, a pharmacist, surgeon, apothecary, confectioner, bath attendant, Jew, and even executioner compounded doses, observed signs, and discharged every office of a physician. "And all," they said, "grow rich by this art." I did not conceal my opinion, but said that the magistracy sinned gravely: not only because it called the health of the citizens into danger and made simple persons the prey of cunning men, but also because by this method it furnished an occasion for superstitions and magical deceptions.

The desire of living is great and natural in everyone and excessive in most. A sick man is deceived by nothing more easily than the hope of health. Thus they descend to every measure and, if they cannot bend those above, they move Acheron. Pliny, in Book 30, confesses concerning magic truly and according to the opinion of all the Doctors: "No one doubts that it was first born from medicine and crept in under a salutary appearance as something higher and holier than medicine. Thus to the most flattering and most desired promises it added the powers of religion, before which the human race is still especially benighted." And certainly, through the hope of medicine, the devil enticed many living men into this abyss. If, therefore, the magistracy desires to furnish a state pure from magic, let it forbid those clandestine physicians--or rather diviners--to exist. Let it enjoin silence upon them through fear of death.

I do not doubt that the custom of the Babylonians was foolish. They placed the sick in public so that, if anyone had at some time been healed of the same disease, he might transmit the method of healing to the sick man; nor was anyone permitted to pass by without learning about his disease. It was a foolish practice, I say, for the sick man was both afflicted publicly and made to struggle with so many counsels, and--what was gravest--he often had to trust an unknown and ignorant man. But such great ignorance existed publicly that they thought the same diseases in different men and at different ages were to be treated by the same remedies.

We therefore laugh at those things, but we see worse things committed by those who entrust the life and health of the body to unlearned men. For those men maintain some medical method by which they know that certain persons were at some time assisted; they apply it to everyone as a *πανάκειαν* (*panacea*), than which nothing is more destructive. They also often place souls in danger while they expect health through incantations from witches--that is, from the demon.

We marvel that the credulity of the ancients advanced so far that they believed still greater things. Democritus promised a composition of a medicine by which beautiful and fortunate children would be born, but we see such things every day. Asclepiades, the freedman of Pompey the Great, once innovated in medicine, and Pliny relates that “he turned almost the entire human race toward himself in no other manner than if he had arrived after being sent from heaven.” Furthermore, he drew minds by a marvelous artifice, promising wine to the sick and giving it at the proper time--

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and then cold water. Since Herophilus had first instituted the search for the causes of diseases and Cleophrastus had made illustrious among the ancients the rationale of wine, Asclepiades himself preferred to acquire a name by giving cold water, as Marcus Varro is the authority. He also devised other flatteries: now suspending little beds, by whose rocking he might either lessen diseases or elicit sleep; now instituting baths for the most eager desire of men; and many other things pleasant and agreeable to say. He acquired great authority and no less fame when, having encountered the funeral of an unknown man, he brought the man back from the pyre and preserved him--lest anyone suppose that so great a transformation was produced by light causes.

This alone we can regard with indignation: that one man, sprung from a most insignificant nation and without any resources, for the sake of his own revenue suddenly gave laws of health to the human race, which many afterward nevertheless abrogated. Many things assisted Asclepiades: the excessively anxious and crude care of those men, such as burying the sick beneath clothing and inducing sweats by every means; now roasting bodies beside fires or continually seeking the sun in a shady city; indeed, when all Italy was mistress of the world, then first flattering desire without limit by the use of suspended baths. Furthermore, in certain diseases he removed the tortures of treatment, as in anginas, which they treated by an instrument lowered into the throat. He deservedly condemned vomitings, then excessively frequent. He also accused medicinal potions as hostile to the stomach, which for the most part has been forbidden. Therefore we mark above all the things which are useful to the stomach.

These things possess some rationale. But that which Pliny adds in Book 26, chapter 4, is detestable: “Above everything, magical vanities assisted him, raised to such a height that they could abolish confidence in all herbs.”

§ 11. Let the care of an excellent physician be that, when it can be done, the sick employ simple and obtainable medicines. Pliny speaks truly in Book 22, chapter 14: “That parent and divine artificer of things did not make wax salves, emollient poultices, plasters, eye salves, and antidotes. These are inventions of workshops--indeed, more truly of avarice. The works of nature are born complete and perfect, with a few things assumed by reason, not conjecture: so that dry substances may be tempered with some juice for the passages, or moist substances with another body for cohesion. To collect and mix powers by scruples is not a work of human conjecture but of impudence.”

Hence it has been brought about that a pharmacy is not permitted to physicians, lest they devote themselves to selling wares rather than to health. But because there can be a conspiracy between the apothecary and physician, the state will do excellently if it itself undertakes that care. Yet I do not see this done, although it would be most praiseworthy, while in many places princes and cities assume for themselves as though a royal care the selling of wine, the grinding of grain, and other matters.

Pliny praises the diligence of the ancients in Book 23, chapter 6: “One cannot sufficiently marvel at the care and diligence of the ancients, who, having searched everything, left nothing unattempted. In this very pomegranate there are little flowers which burst forth before the fruit itself appears, which we have said are called *balaustium*. Therefore, having tested this too, they discovered that it opposes scorpions.”

But he says that that diligence was corrupted and removed and complains, in Book 24, chapter 1, that frauds succeeded in its place: “Hence medicine was born. These alone had pleased nature as remedies prepared for the common people, easy to discover and without expense, from which we live. Afterward the frauds of men and snares of abilities

invented those workshops in which his life is promised for sale to each man. At once compositions and inexplicable mixtures are loudly proclaimed. Arabia and India are valued in their midst, and a medicine from the Red Sea is charged to a little ulcer, although the poorest man eats the true remedies every day.”

The physician who heals without expense will not thus be less esteemed, but more readily available and more honored; for great care also exists in applying medicines liable to danger. Herophilus, the noble physician, said excellently that many herbs benefit when trodden underfoot.

§ 12. Let the state also possess men who gather medicinal plants at the proper time, for Pliny is the authority in Book 24, chapter 2, that the whole of medicine was once in these: “This was ancient medicine, which migrated entirely into the Greek language. But the reason why more plants are not known is that country people and those ignorant of letters test them, since they alone live among them; furthermore, the ready availability of a crowd of physicians gives security from searching. Names are also lacking for many discoveries, as for that plant which we reported in the care of grain and which we know, when buried at the corners of a field, causes no bird to enter. A most shameful cause of their rarity is that even those who know are unwilling to show them, as though what they transmitted to others would perish from themselves. Added to this is the uncertain method of discovery. Indeed, even among things discovered, chance finds some and--as I shall speak truly--God finds others.”

And these things were once valued so greatly that it was sufficient for the Arcadians to employ as medicine the milk of cattle which grazed in places rich in plants. Pliny, Book 25, chapter 8: “Otherwise they relate that Mount Pelion in Thessaly, Mount Telethrius in Euboea, and all Arcadia and Laconia are rich in plants. The Arcadians indeed employ not medicines but milk around springtime, since then plants swell especially with juices and udders are medicated by the pastures. They drink cow’s milk, since cattle are almost omnivorous among plants. The power of plants through quadrupeds is still made manifest by two illustrious examples.”

But this practice is Arcadian and belongs to ancient foolishness; for since the kinds of diseases are varied, that *γαλακτοποσία* (*drinking of milk*) cannot remedy everyone, but only some.

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

§ 13. The prince ought to take great care that new medicines are not introduced, as I have said; for the trial is attended by uncertainty. Those whom they call Paracelsists must therefore be admitted cautiously. Pliny proves that no art has been more inconstant, and that it was changed rather frequently even in his own time. The cause of the change is desire for gain, so that they may attract men to themselves by novelty. New things, however, are eagerly taken up by the sick, because they perceive that they are being cured slowly by the old ones; and, just as they delight in changes of rooms and beds, so too they delight in variety of medicine.

Hippocrates long held sway over everyone; he became renowned around the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. They say that he drew his ability to heal from remedies written in a temple according to custom; for it was the custom that those who had been freed from diseases should deposit in the temple a written account of the kind and method of the remedy. Having used these, he is said to have gained fame after the shrine had already been burned. But so great a knowledge of things sufficiently shows that he employed another teacher. He indeed healed everyone without payment, but Prodicus, his disciple, made the art profitable and instituted iatroleptics. Chrysippus, however, altered their doctrines, and Erasistratus, the grandson of Aristotle, altered those of Chrysippus; and thus the disciples rejected their teachers.

In Sicily there was a sect of Empirics, with Acron of Acragas as its founder. Since it rested upon opinions and experience, it was quickly dispersed into various little sects, all of which Herophilus deservedly condemned. The words of Pliny, Book 29, chapter 1, concerning the sect of Herophilus should be noted: “Then this sect too was abandoned, because it was necessary to know letters in it.” I marvel and am almost stupefied that there were sects of physicians which did not know letters, and that the one which required a knowledge of letters--

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was abandoned for that very reason. But even today, when illustrious physicians have been forsaken, do not many seek health from old women and country people, and embrace their sayings all the more because they come from the unlearned?

Asclepiades followed next. His hearer Themison altered his precepts; Antonius Musa altered Themison's doctrines when he had cured Augustus by a contrary treatment. But Valens Vectius, Messalina's adulterer and powerful for that reason, also founded another sect. Under Nero's rule Thessalus abolished all the decrees of the ancients and declaimed with a certain madness against the physicians of every age. He caused it to be inscribed upon his tomb that he was *Iatronicen*, "the conqueror of physicians." Meanwhile he drew the whole city after him; that age, Pliny says, "leapt over to him." No actor's or driver of a three-horse team of mares' appearance in public was more fully attended. But, while he was still alive, his own crowd deserted him. For Crinas of Marseilles, having doubled the art in order to appear more cautious and more religious, surpassed him in authority by giving foods according to the motions of the stars from a mathematical ephemeris and by observing the hours. "These men ruled the fates," says Pliny in Book 29, chapter 1, "when suddenly Charmis, from the same Marseilles, invaded the city. He condemned not only the earlier physicians but also the baths, and persuaded people to wash in cold water even amid the chills of winter. He plunged the sick into pools. We used to see aged men of consular rank stiff with cold even to the point of ostentation." Concerning this there also survives the supporting testimony of Annaeus Seneca.

Nor is there any doubt that all those men, hunting for fame by some novelty, immediately trafficked in our lives. Hence those wretched contests of opinions around the sick, with no one judging the same thing lest he appear to be another's appendage. Hence that inscription upon an unhappy monument: that he had perished through a crowd of physicians. "The art changes daily; so often are we altered, and we are driven by the breath of Greek talents. And it is manifest that, as each among them grows powerful in speaking, he is immediately made emperor of our life and death--as though thousands of nations did not live without physicians, yet not without medicine, just as the Roman people did beyond its six-hundredth year. Nor was that people itself slow in receiving the arts, and it was even eager for medicine, until, having tried it, it condemned it."

You indulge your pen too much, O Pliny. It did not condemn the art, but the vices of men: avarice, cruelty, and pride. The art is to be retained, the vices restrained, and, so that they can be restrained, their occasions must be removed. This is clear from the fact that the Roman people held Archagathus exceedingly dear; but since he was a wound-physician, through cruelty in burning and cutting his name passed over into "executioner," and the art into loathing. The very words of Cato show this:

"I shall speak about those Greeks in their proper place, my son Marcus: what I have discovered at Athens, and that it is good to inspect their literature but not to learn it thoroughly. I shall prove them a most wicked and unteachable race; and consider that a prophet has said this: whenever that nation gives us its literature, it will corrupt everything--even more so if it sends its physicians here. They have sworn among themselves to kill all barbarians by medicine. But they do this very thing for a fee, so that they may be trusted and may easily destroy us. They also repeatedly call us barbarians, and foul us more shamefully than others by the name of Opicans. I have forbidden you to have dealings with physicians."

And this Cato died in the 605th year of our city and the seventy-fifth year of his own life, lest anyone suppose that he lacked either public times or the private span of a life for making trial. What, then? Do we believe that a most useful thing was condemned by him? By no means, by Hercules; for he adds by what medicine he brought both himself and his wife to a long old age--namely, those very things which we now treat. He also declares that he possesses a notebook by which he may treat his son, his slaves, and the members of his household, which we set forth according to the kinds of its use. The ancients did not condemn the thing, but the art. Above all, however, they refused to let gain be made from life at a monstrous price.

§ 14. Let a sworn apothecary preserve all compositions and prescriptions of drugs; and every year let other physicians, with leading men from the senate joined to them, institute an examination not only of the apothecaries' shops but also of the medicines dispensed. For if an error has been committed, if a medicine was suited neither to the age nor to the person, many things will be able to be corrected; and if the matter rested upon injury to another's life, the physician can be warned not to sin further, and, if the error was more serious, can be removed. For since the people cannot judge, the prince ought to entrust that care to skilled men. In this matter nothing is more wretched than man, and so it was formerly as well. Pliny, Book 29, chapter 1:

"Roman gravity does not yet practice this one alone of the Greek arts, despite so great a benefit. Very few of the Quirites have touched it, and they themselves immediately became deserters to the Greeks. Indeed, authority does not belong to those who treat it otherwise than in Greek, even among the unlearned and those unacquainted with the language. And they trust less what pertains to their health if they understand it. And so, by Hercules, in this art alone has it happened that anyone professing himself a physician is immediately trusted, although in no falsehood is the danger greater. Yet we do not look at this, so beguiling for each person is the sweetness of hope on his own behalf.

"Moreover, there is no law which punishes deadly ignorance, no example of vengeance. They learn through our perils and conduct experiments through deaths; and for a physician alone, to have killed a man is the highest impunity. Indeed, abuse is passed onward, and intemperance is blamed, and those who have perished are accused besides. Yet panels of judges are, according to custom, examined by the censures of princes; an inquiry is conducted through walls; and one who is to judge concerning a coin is summoned from Gades and the Pillars of Hercules, while in a matter of exile a ballot is given only to forty-five selected men. But what kind of men enter into consultation concerning the judge himself, immediately about to kill him? Deservedly so, while none of us pleases to know what is needed for his own health. We walk with another's feet; we recognize with another's eyes; we greet by another's memory; we live by another's labor. The values of nature and the proofs of life have perished. We have nothing else as our own except pleasure."

Certainly, in civil cases an appeal is granted, and after the appeal a review, so that a good cause cannot perish through the law. Here, where human life may be lost, let an inspection be established, so that there may be some fear of killing.

§ 15. A physician who is to be admitted to practice in the state shall furnish an oath that he will be not only faithful, but will also, as much as he can, moderate expenses according to the circumstances of the persons. Let the inspectors also consider whether, in an ordinary disease curable by cheaper remedies, he has caused heavier expenses without reason. For why must pearls and gems be dissolved--a thing prodigious even amid royal luxury--if beet and mallow evacuate the bowels more beneficially? Things readily at hand are more harmless. For if God had willed that costly things alone should benefit, he would have provided only for the few rich men. I call things costly not only in kind, but also in mixture. Good God, how often have I heard that many things--seventy-four ingredients, if I am not mistaken--enter into a single most costly little powder. How are the powers of all of them tempered with one another? Pliny complained of these things long ago:

"A composition devised by luxury is called theriac. It is made from foreign things, although nature has given so many remedies which would suffice individually. The Mithridatic antidote is compounded from fifty-four things, with no two of equal weight, and for certain things the sixtieth part of a single denarius is prescribed. Which of the gods, by Faith, revealed these things? For human subtlety could not have been so great. A display of art and a portentous advertisement of knowledge--

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is manifest. And not even they themselves know it. I have discovered that red lead is commonly added to medicines in place of Indian cinnabar through ignorance of the name; we shall teach among the pigments that it is a poison." Behold: through the physician's ignorance poisons are given for medicines.

§ 16. But we deal with private persons in vain unless a public law comes to their aid. For just as there is a certain luxury of life, so there is also ostentation in medicine. A philosopher says nothing so absurd that it is not believed through someone's levity; a physician prescribes nothing so poisonous or vain that it is not taken even with danger. They have handed down medicines made from the ash and nest of the phoenix.

§ 17. When a disease is dangerous, let the physician warn the sick man concerning the salvation of his soul. The counsel of Navarrus and others in this matter is moderate, under the word "Physician":

"Thirdly, he sins who does not persuade a sick man to make confession before he applies medicine to him. This has no place when it is manifest that the disease is not dangerous, whatever Sylvester may say; nor even when he believes it to be dangerous and lethal, if, according to the custom of good and honorable physicians, he warns the man's parish priest, or those who have the care of him, that they should provide the sacraments to him, and physicians themselves omit to say this personally--not because they are unwilling to do it, but because they think, according to Cajetan, that it would harm the sick man. For, as he himself and we say, that constitution has been received and is observed in this manner; and although the sick man is unwilling to confess, he is not on that account to be abandoned by the physician, according to everyone."

§ 18. If any physician proposes shameful remedies for health, such as the warm blood of a slain infant, as was done for Constantine, drunkenness, *γυνόρροιαν* (*seminal discharge*), adulteries, or abortions, let him be *intestabilis*--legally disqualified--and let him be punished in proportion to his fault. For life ought not to be preserved through crimes. Therefore care must be taken that he be a good man, lest, while he treats diseases, he introduce greater evils of morals. Accordingly, let him believe that health is a gift of God, let him depend upon God, and let him not attribute this to himself, so as to assert that he can heal the sick when God does not approve.

Pliny testifies that morals have been corrupted under the appearance of medicine: "Those things destroyed the morals of the empire, those things which we endure while healthy: wrestling practices and wax salves, as though instituted for the sake of health; burning baths, by which they persuaded men that food was cooked within their bodies, so that no one came out without being weaker, while the most obedient were carried out for burial; then the drinking of those who were fasting, and vomitings, and again deep drinkings; and the emasculating removal of hair by means of their resins; and likewise the pubic regions of women actually exposed in public. Thus it is assuredly: a plague of morals, and none greater than from medicine, daily makes Cato altogether a prophet and his saying an oracle--that it is enough to inspect the talents of the Greeks, not to learn them thoroughly."

These things should have been said on behalf of that senate and the six hundred years of the Roman people against an art in which, under a most treacherous condition, the good create authority for the worst; and at the same time against the stupefied beliefs of certain men who think that nothing benefits unless it is costly.

I pass over Apollonides of Cos, who deservedly, after a year's *αἰκισμὸς* (*maltreatment*) and torture in the Persian manner, was buried alive, and others as well, because I treat of physicians, not of the vices of men, which are found monstrous in every class of men.

§ 19. The things said against physicians pertain to itinerant practitioners and impostors. There is scarcely any physician in Muscovy; the duke alone has one. Yet treatments are not lacking there, whether derived from experience or from superstition. The world has always wished to employ such things and has learned them by its own loss. See the *Questions* of Rodericus a Castro. At Rome medicine at first lay prostrate; afterward it ruled. Nor is that surprising in a rustic people which for many centuries lacked even bakers, when a dictator used to cook turnips for himself.

Many teach from Genesis 50:2 that physicians were slaves in Egypt; for Joseph commanded his servants, the physicians. But the proof is weak. For by that reasoning Joseph's brothers also would have been of servile condition: according to the custom of the East, magnates called themselves the servants of kings, not after the manner of chattels,

but to declare their readiness for obedience. Nevertheless, nothing prevents the most wise Joseph from having willed that certain chattels be taught medicine.

Solomon was the prince of physicians: he embraced the whole of natural philosophy and discussed most wisely whatever was ever known. Even now diviners, enchanter, empirics, Hermetics, and observers of the stars and constellations bring medicine into disrepute, as do the inventors of weapon-salve, or the diabolical advocates of magnetic cures. Concerning them, see the most learned man Johannes Roberti against Goclenius, and the disputations of Gaspar Wenck published at Dillingen; and the work of the same Roberti against the *Synarthrosis*.

These things concerning education. What can be said concerning jurisprudence and likewise theology is more properly set forth in the book concerning laws and the ecclesiastical magistracy. Education for military service and war itself must be treated in a separate book. I shall conveniently speak concerning the mechanical arts when I give an account of acquiring power; for although they can have another end, they nevertheless almost always have *χρηματοποιίαν* (*money-making*) set before them. Nor must I treat of them in any other way than that they be adapted to the state. For all things have their true use if they are conducted for the public good.