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Oration "Nisi satis exploratum" of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (13 October 1445, Vienna). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 5th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 8)

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(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 8)

**Oration "*Nisi satis exploratum*" of Enea Silvio Piccolomini
(13 October 1445, Vienna). Edited and translated by
Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

5th version

2019

Abstract

In autumn 1445, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, secretary in the imperial chancery of Emperor Friedrich III and poet laureate, was invited to give two academic lectures at the University of Vienna. The first one, the “*Nisi satis exploratum*”, was most probably delivered at the beginning of the winter semester at the Faculty of Law, in October. It is an oration in praise of all the arts and sciences taught at a contemporary university, belonging to a well-established rhetorical genre developed at Italian universities. It has two main sections: in the first Piccolomini outlines the benefits (*utilitas*) of each art and science, in the second he speaks of their enjoyments and distinction (*voluptates et ornamentum*). Noteworthy in the oration are Piccolomini’s treatment of history as a distinct art, his description of the pleasure of scholarship, and his insistence on the interrelationship between research and teaching.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Kaiser Friedrich III (Habsburg); Emperor Frederick III (Habsburg); Vienna University; Wien Universität; University of Vienna; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; Liberal arts; Praise of liberal arts; 1445; 15th century; History of universities; History as an academic subject; Pleasure of research; Interrelationship of research and teaching; Academic curricula; Inaugural lectures

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Foreword

In 2007, I undertook a project of publishing the Latin texts with English translations of the orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II. Altogether 80¹ orations (including papal responses to ambassadorial addresses) are extant today, though more may still be held, unrecognized, in libraries and archives.

At a later stage the project was expanded to include ambassadors' orations to the pope, of which about 40 are presently known.

I do not, actually, plan to publish further versions of the present volume, but I do reserve the option in case I – during my future studies - come across other manuscripts containing interesting versions of the oration or if important new research data on the subject matter are published, making it appropriate to modify or expand the present text. It will therefore always be useful to check if a later version than the one the reader may have previously found via the Internet is available.

I shall much appreciate to be notified by readers who discover errors and problems in the text and translation or unrecognized quotations.

7 September 2019

MCS

¹ 81 orations, if the "*Cum animadverto*" is counted as a Piccolomini-oration, see oration "*Quam laetus*" [18], Appendix

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

On 27 July 1442, Emperor² Friedrich III crowned Enea Silvio Piccolomini as poet.³ The emperor had not known Piccolomini before, and he was little interested in poetry, but he was solicitous to perform the traditional ceremonials of emperorship, and the coronation of poets was one such. Piccolomini, at the time secretary of antipope Felix V, had been recommended to the emperor by influential courtiers like Bishop Silvester of Chiemsee, and some months afterwards Piccolomini joined the imperial chancery as a secretary. He was to have a meteoric career as counsellor and diplomat at the imperial court,⁴ and later a career in the Church leading him to the papal throne in 1458.

By autumn 1445, Piccolomini had been member of the imperial chancery for almost three years, and he had already been on his first, very important, mission on behalf of the emperor to Pope Eugenius IV in Rome, from where he returned to the imperial court in early summer 1445.⁵

In the autumn of 1445, Piccolomini was twice invited to give a lecture at the University of Vienna.

Apparently, he had not finished his university studies in Siena (1423-1430) with an academic degree,⁶ but his diploma of poet laureate conferred on him the right of "*legendi, disputandi, interpretandi et componendi poemata liberam ubique locorum facultatem.*"⁷ The circumstances of the university's invitation are somewhat obscure and various interpretations have been given.⁸ The university may have been interested in a fresh humanist input from Italy, but at any rate the invitation to a member of the imperial chancery would have been a gesture of politeness to the court, and it was appreciated to the extent that the emperor was personally present when Piccolomini was presented with the topics for his second lecture.⁹

The first lecture was probably given at the beginning of the winter semester of the university, see below.

¹ Kisch, pp. 41-65; Lhotsky: *Aeneas*, pp. 32-33; Lhotsky: *Wiener*, p. 138; Strnad, pp. 80-81; Wagendorfer, pp. 22-23, 51

² Or more precisely, King of the Romans and Emperor-elect until his imperial coronation which took place in Rome in 1452

³ Kisch, p. 41; Lhotsky: *Wiener*, p. 138

⁴ Helmrath, p. 108

⁵ Voigt, II, p. 343

⁶ Lhotsky: *Wiener*, p. 33; Wagendorfer, p. 22

⁷ Kisch, p. 41; Lhotsky: *Wiener*, p. 138; Strnad, p. 80; Wagendorfer, p. 22

⁸ Kisch, p. 57-58

⁹ Participation in solemn academic functions might already in that age have been part of the extended ceremonial "system" of royalty. During his coronation travel in 1452, Emperor Friedrich III also assisted at the doctoral promotion at the University of Padua of another of his officials, Johannes Hinderbach, see Strnad, p. 134

The lecture consisted in a praise (*laudatio*) of all the arts and sciences practiced at a contemporary university.

This type of oration was well-known from Italy,¹ where laudatory lectures initiated both academic years, semesters, and even individual courses.² Indeed, they had become so common and well-rehearsed that the great Argyropoulos³ dismissed them scornfully.⁴

Piccolomini himself would presumably have heard a number of such lectures, and maybe not only at the University of Siena, but also at other universities in Italian cities visited by him during his *Wanderjahren* in the late 1420s. He may even have heard the lecture given by the Milanese scholar and historian, Andrea Biglia, whom he greatly respected,⁵ at the University of Siena in 1430.

The reactions of the professors and masters to Piccolomini's lecture are not known, but they were sufficiently favourable for him to have been invited back to the university, the following month, to give a *quod-libet*⁶ lecture at the annual celebration of the Feast of Saint Catherine of Alexandria.⁷

¹ Müllner, pp. iv ff.; also Kisch, p. 54

² Four examples of lectures *in initio studiorum* may be mentioned: (1) Andrea Biglia's *Oratio de laudibus disciplinarum*, delivered at the University of Siena in 1430, and possibly heard by Piccolomini. Printed in Müllner, pp. 64-70; (2) Ugo Benzi's *Oratio quam recitavit in principio studii Florentiae*, delivered at the University of Florence in 1421. Printed in Müllner, pp. 107-115; (3) Giulelmus Fichet: *[Oratio] in laudem artium liberalium*. In: Basel UB, F IX 5, ff. 252r-54r; (4) Gianantonio Campano's *Oratio de scientiarum laudibus Perusiæ initio studii habita anno MCCCCLV*. A lecture "in initio studiorum" at the University of Ferrara is also mentioned by the Dutch humanist, Rudolph Agricola: *Necque quicquam est, quod de Ferraria aptius uerisque dici potest quam quod in initio studiorum in oratione mea posui*. (Agricola: *Epistolae* (Laan/Akkerman), ep. 13, p. 94)

³ Johannes Argyropoulos (1415 – 1487): Greek humanist. Taught at the universities of Florence, Padua, and Rome

⁴ Müllner, pp. 4, 32-33

⁵ See oration "Audivi" [1], Introduction, sect. 4.1

⁶ Interestingly, some years before, in 1438?, Piccolomini had, in his description of Vienna, written about it's university that it spent too much time on dialectical exercises: *Maximum autem huius gygnasii vitium est, quod nimis diutinam operam in dialectica nimiumque temporis in re non magni fructus terunt* (Epistolarium, p. 79)

⁷ The oration "Nuper aderat" [9]. For literature on Piccolomini's importance for the development of the humanities in Austria, Germany and Central Europe, and especially his relations with the University of Vienna, see the bibliography

2. Themes

2.1. Liberal arts

It is sometimes said - and stated even in the colophon to the text of the oration in ms. Basel Univ.bibl. F IV 14 - that the "*Nisi satis exploratum*" is an oration in praise of the liberal arts.

The liberal arts (the *artes liberales*) comprise the *trivium* (grammar, logic, and rhetoric¹) and the *quadrivium* (astronomy, arithmetic, geometry, and music), and these are included in Piccolomini's oration. However, they only take up a third of the section on the benefits of the arts and sciences, whereas two thirds deal with the other arts and sciences, i.e. philosophy, medicine, law, and theology. Indeed Piccolomini barely mention the four arts in the quadrivium, he gives very scant attention to grammar² and logic, and the starting point of the oration is not the liberal arts at all, but law:

This is the time that our forefathers decided upon for the beginning of studies, and they also established [the custom] that even the smallest course of lectures should begin with a praise of the subject matter. ... Not [wishing] to be considered the only one to have neglected this ancient custom, I have decided to perform the task as appropriate to the venue³ chosen [for the occasion], and thus to praise the science of law. But, so as not to appear to enter [this subject]⁴ with completely dry feet (as they say), I have decided to add and append something in praise of the other arts. [Sect. 2-3]

So, it is not correct to consider the "*Nisi satis exploratum*" as belonging to the rhetorical genre of an oration in praise of the liberal arts.

Rather, the oration is in praise of all the arts and sciences taught at a complete university in the middle of the 15th century, even including a discipline not taught in Vienna at that time, i.e. Civil Law, since the Faculty of Law at that time only taught Canon Law.⁵

¹ Lhotsky: *Wiener*, p. 143: *Die ars artium war für ihn [Piccolomini] die "Rhetorik" – sein lebhaft leichter lateinischer Stil, den er sich ohne Zweifel schon durch seine ersten Übungen in Studentenzeiten angeeignet hatte, um ihn allmählich zum schmiegsamen Instrument seiner individuellen Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten zu machen, und eben dieser war unlernbar, wenn er nicht zur Selbstentäußerung führen sollte*

² Lhotsky: *Wiener*, p. 143: *So kommt es dass er die Grammatik meist nur kurz, in jener Rede vor der Universität gar nur mit einem Satze von kaum zwei Zeilen abtat. Sie war nicht seine Stärke: das wusste er selbst und die anderen merkten es*

³ i.e. the building housing the faculty of law

⁴ i.e. the praise of law

⁵ Kisch, p. 57

As mentioned, Piccolomini may have heard just such an inaugural lecture by one of his teachers at the University of Siena in 1430. In the lecture, Biglia said: *De disciplinarum atque artium laudibus sermo expetitur*, and the text of the lecture makes it evident that it was not only about the liberal arts, but about the whole spectrum of arts and sciences known at that time,¹ corresponding closely to the those arts and sciences which Piccolomini covered in his lecture in Vienna, 15 years later.

It may be noted, that in this oration Piccolomini does not speak about poetry as one of the arts, though other humanists were by now including it among the liberal arts. Some months later he would be speaking extensively on poetry in his second lecture at the University of Vienna, the “*Nuper aderat*” [9].

2.2. History

Piccolomini’s treatment of history in the oration merits special attention.

Firstly, he considers it as an art growing out of the liberal art of rhetoric, but having a separate status vis-a-vis this discipline:

And under the guidance of rhetoric we are led to the knowledge of history which our forefathers – excellently - called mother of virtue and teacher of life. These arts concern morals and excellent precepts and they have been handed down in order make the lives and deeds of noble men better known. [Sect. 7]

This concept of history as growing out of or especially related to rhetorics Piccolomini may have had from Cicero, e.g. the *Orator*, where Cicero says that the orator *should also be acquainted with the history of the events of past ages, particularly, of course, of our state, but also of imperial nations and famous kings.*²

Secondly, it is remarkable that in this early period of Piccolomini’s literary activity, before he had begun to write his historical works, he seems to have considered history as a pedagogical instrument, a device for inspiring people with examples from the lives of great men from old days.

Who doubts that the deeds of other men which we have learnt to be admirable are easier for us to imitate and more readily stimulate us to be honourable than such things which are taught

¹ Müllner, p. 65

² Cicero: *Orator*, 120

in cumbersome lectures? I declare that knowledge of history makes us want to eagerly imitate the best of men whom we greatly admire and esteem. [Sect. 7]

Piccolomini would eventually develop a much richer concept of history, but in the “*Nisi satis exploratum*” from 1445 he apparently considered it mainly as a discipline closely related to rhetorics, aiming at inspiration and edification – and rhetorical embellishment.¹

In 1445, history was not yet established as a proper scholarly discipline, and it is tempting to see the passages on history in Piccolomini’s oration as a testimony to its gradual emergence as an academic discipline.

2.3. Law²

During his studies at the University of Siena Piccolomini had acquired some grounding in law, among others from the law professor, Antonio Rosselli, whose teachings influenced Piccolomini’s view of imperial power. Seven years later, in the – probably never held - oration “*Sentio*” [20], he developed a comprehensive legal argumentation concerning the papal monitorium to the Austrian rebels against the emperor and concerning inappropriate use of appeals in the legal system.

Nonetheless, in the scholarly literature, Piccolomini has some reputation for having a strong prejudice against law and lawmen. This view is gainsaid by Kisch, partly on the basis of Piccolomini’s statements on law in the “*Nisi satis exploratum*.”³

And indeed these statements, on the two branches of law, civil law and canon law, are very positive:

I should have to say more about this, but since I have not yet turned to praising civil and pontifical law, I have been called to order by the task I have undertaken. To praise them adequately is so difficult that it surpasses and excels the eloquence of even the most learned of men. ... For who is so eminently eloquent that he can praise these disciplines as they merit? Through them the life of all men is being constantly developed and improved through salutary and divine precepts, and through them cities, peoples and nations are being ruled, protected

¹ Lhotsky: Wiener, pp. 144-145: *Für ihn [Piccolomini] waren alle die alten Autoren im Grunde nur da, um eine unerschöpfliche Quelle interessanter, literarisch vielseitig verwendbarer dicta et facta zu bilden – und nebenher Vorbilder eleganter aber – dies muss betont werden – keineswegs sklavisch imitierter Latinität zu sein. ... die Dinge der Vergangenheit hatten für diesen Sohn des Augenblicks wenigstens damals noch kaum mehr Wert als Dekorationen oder Kulissen für seine hübschen Briefessays und Novellen*

² Kisch, pp. 60-66

³ Kisch, p. 65-66

and multiplied, united by law. ... Lactantius Firmianus, that most learned man, is author [of the statement that] even primitive and uncultured men desire wisdom, since – by immortal God – our nature wants and craves nothing more than wisdom and religion. To the first of these [two] we are brought by civil law, and the second we are taught by pontifical or canon law. In this human life, no other discipline may be considered more noble, eminent and admirable than these two disciplines, and no other discipline should be better able to attract young men and enflame the souls of men than this discipline [whose subject] is the government of cities and the rule and government of the clergy. [Sect. 12 and 14]

However, given the circumstances in which Piccolomini delivered his academic lecture, it is uncertain to what extent these positive statements really reflect a personal, positive view of law as an academic discipline and of the law profession.

2.4. Enjoyment of scholarship

The arts and sciences are not only useful, they are also enjoyable, highly enjoyable:

By immortal God, what pleasure or delight can be greater than to ponder the reason for something ... ? No food is sweeter to the mind, which nature has given us, and no fare more pleasant than acquiring knowledge of things, and the more often we have this food, the greater is the pleasure. Therefore, all we who have associate with the Muses¹ lead a life of pleasure. [Sect. 17]

Piccolomini's statements on the joy of arts and sciences do not appear to be part of the standard praise of the arts.² They reveal, in a glimpse, a character which is open to life's joys and enjoyments, and a view of life and the world which is far remote from the negative view of the middle ages and its fear of the world and its flight from the world. It was the same positive attitude which formed the oration, or rather the sermon, "*Non est apud me dubium*" [6], to the parishioners of Aspach, from the same period. That oration is really a moral treatise, and one of its main teachings is that men must not only seek paradise in Haven and in afterlife, but create a paradise on Earth and in their present life.

¹ Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes*, 5, 66: *Who in all the world, who enjoys merely some degree of communion with the Muses (Quis est omnium, qui modo cum Musis, id est cum humanitate et cum doctrina, habeat aliquod commercium)*

² Cf. Lhotsky: *Wiener*, p. 144: *Aeneas Sylvius ist vielleicht nicht der erste Entdecker, aber doch der erste folgerichtige Vertreter der ... Genusskomponente in der geistigen Arbeit*

2.5. Teaching as sharing

Inaugural academic lectures then, as now, are replete with exhortations to students to study hard. However, Piccolomini also had words for the teachers: it is not enough for oneself to acquire knowledge, this knowledge must also be shared - here he was directly addressing the doctors and masters seated in front of him:

What is more delightful than to transmit and communicate to others what you have found through your own studies? It was nature herself who taught and formed us for this, so that we should with the greatest eagerness and alacrity share with others what is fruitful to all. [Sect. 17]

Piccolomini's writings reveal a clear pedagogical interest which already came to the fore in his academic lecture of 1445, and his insistence on the close interrelationship between academic research and academic teaching prefigures public policy of much later ages with its insistence that academic teaching should be based on research.

Further studies are necessary to assess to which degree Piccolomini, in the present oration, expresses original viewpoints on enjoyment of scholarship and the interrelationship between research and teaching, but at any rate they are remarkable – and remarkably modern - elements of a 1445 view of the arts and sciences.

3. Date, place, format and audience

As an inaugural (*initium studiorum*) lecture at the University of Vienna in 1445¹, the "*Nisi satis exploratum*" was either held either at the opening of the Summer Semester on 14 April or of the Winter Semester on 13 October.²

¹ Lhotsky, Kisch, Wagendorfer

² "From 1384 until 1629, there was no academic year in a strict sense, since all holders of academic offices (rectors, deans, heads of the four academic nations) were elected at the beginning of each semester. Thus their respective terms lasted for one semester only. Summer semester started on April 14th (the day of the saints Tiburtius and Valerianus), winter semester on October 13th (the day of St. Coloman)." Personal communication of 24 May 2016 from Mag. Thomas Maisel, University of Vienna

Piccolomini was in Rome from January to March, on an important diplomatic mission for Emperor Friedrich III, and according to Voigt he left Rome on 1 April.¹ He could not possibly have returned to Vienna, agreed to address the university, and prepare an inaugural lecture before 13 April.

According to Heinig's itinerary of Friedrich III, the emperor, whose court Piccolomini followed as an increasingly important imperial secretary, was in Wiener Neustadt on 1 March and 8 May with no recorded stay in Vienna in between. On the other hand, the emperor was present in Vienna on 11 August and 13 December with no recorded stay in any other place between those two dates.²

In conclusion, Piccolomini most likely delivered the "*Nisi satis exploratum*" in connection with the opening of the Winter Semester of the University of Vienna on 13 October 1445, and this is the date retained in the present edition.

Since it took place in the building of the Faculty of Law, as Piccolomini himself states,³ and not in the aula of the university,⁴ some have assumed that the lecture was given to teachers and students at that faculty.⁵ On the other hand, the colophon only states that the oration was delivered to the doctors and magisters of the University of Vienna without special mention of the Faculty of Law,⁶ and Piccolomini speaks not just about law, but about all the disciplines of the university, though he does this as if taking a liberty.

The statutes of the Faculty of Law of 1389 stated as follows: "*De modis, locis et horis legendi, statuimus, ut in crastino sancti Colomanni⁷ legens Decretum principium facere tenetatur, ad quod omnes doctores, nobiles, licentiati, baccalarii et scolares convenire tenetur. Die vero sequenti incipient omnes alii legentes seu regentes.*"⁸ This confirms that the winter semester at the Faculty of Law began on 14 October, with a lecture by the professor who taught the Decree (of Gratian, presumably), whereas the other teachers began their lectures on the following day. It does not say anything about a general academic lecture which might even be given by an outsider, but such practice could have developed in the period since 1389.

¹ Voigt, II, p. 343

² Heinig: *Chronologisches*, p. 1357

³ See the passage in which Piccolomini says: *A quo pro vetusto more ne unicus descivisse puter, faciendum mihi esse sum ratus, ut illius muneris perfungar, quod susceptus hic locus jure suo videtur postulare, hoc est sapientiae juris commendationem.* [Sect. 2]. Cf. Kisch, p. 57

⁴ In the Nova Structura built 1423-1425

⁵ Strnad, p. 80-81; Wagendorfer, p. 23

⁶ The text of the colophon is: *Explicit recommendatio artium liberalium Enee Silvii facta Wienne coram doctoribus et magistris feliciter*

⁷ 14th October, the Feast of Saint Coloman being the 13th

⁸ Kink, II, p. 141

On the basis of present evidence it may be concluded that: a) either the university had decided that the inaugural lecture for the whole university should – for some reason or other – be held in the building of the Faculty of Law, the audience consisting of doctors and magisters from the whole university¹ b) or the event at which Piccolomini spoke was not the opening of the university semester, but the opening of the Faculty of Law semester, the audience consisting of doctors and magisters of that faculty.

The format was an academic lecture at the inauguration of an academic semester.

4. Text²

For unknown reasons, the “*Nisi satis exploratum*” is not mentioned in Pius’ *Commentarii*, and it was not included in the Collected Orations of Pope Pius II, compiled under his direct supervision in 1462. Possibly, the text had disappeared from his personal files at some point during his many travels as imperial secretary and diplomat.

It is only known to be extant in two manuscripts, both from Basel Universitätsbibliothek. The two manuscripts are rather difficult to read and the text is corrupt in several places.³

4.1 Manuscripts

Basel / Universitätsbibliothek

F IV 14, ff. 312r-313r (dig. pp. 269-271) **(L)**^{4 5}

F IX 5, ff. 238r-242r (dig. pp. 472-481) **(K)**⁶

¹ As Kisch appears to believe, p. 55. See also Lhotsky: *Wiener*, p. 143

² For the textual transmission of Pius II’s orations, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 5

³ Cf. Kisch, p. 49, 51: *Trotzdem diese Rede* [the “*Aderat nuper*”] *somit seit Jahrhunderten der Eneaforschung leicht zugänglich war, ist sie niemals gründlich untersucht worden. ... Dass dasselbe Schicksal der ersten Rede* [the “*Nisi satis exploratum*”] *zuteil wurde, ist eher entschuldbar, da sie nie im Drucke erschien und bisher nur in einer ausserordentlich schwer lesbaren, abkürzungsreichen Handschrift* [the Basel F IV 14, ff. 312r-313r] *des 15. Jahrhunderts bekannt war, an die siech niemand von denen, die sie kannten, je herangewagt hat.* In a note Kisch adds: *Herr Dr. Gabathuler hat mich auf die Existenz einer zweiten Handschrift dieser Rede in der Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Mscr. F IX 5, fol. 238r-242v, vermutlich ebenfalls noch dem 15. Jahrhundert entstammend aufmerksam gemacht. Diese kann für einighe schwer entzifferbare Stellen der ersten zur Klärung herangezogen werden, obwohl sie selbst keineswegs leicht leserlich ist und durchaus keinen unverderbten Text aufweist*

⁴ Cf. Kisch, p. 55

⁵ http://aleph.unibas.ch/F/?local_base=DSV05&con_lng=GER&func=find-b&find_code=SYS&request=000117230

⁶ http://aleph.unibas.ch/F/?local_base=DSV05&con_lng=GER&func=find-b&find_code=SYS&request=000117387

4.2. Editions^{1 2}

Probably due to the difficulties of the extant texts, the oration has not as yet been published in its entirety,³ though excerpts, particularly the sections on law, were published by Kisch:

- Kisch, Guido: *Enea Silvio Piccolomini und die Jurisprudenz*. Basel, 1967 / pp. 55, 61-63

4.3. Present edition

For principles of edition (incl. orthography) and translation, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 9-10.

Text:

The present edition is based on both the Basel manuscripts.

Pagination:

Pagination is from the digitized version of the F IX 5. Line numbers (5, 10, 15 ...) are given in italics.

¹ Pius II: *Epistolae de laude poetica, de differentia inter scientiam et prudentiam et de poetis, de laude litterarum, cur libri cumulentur*. Köln, Dictys / Arnold ter Hoernen, 1470-1471: the *de laude poetica* is Piccolomini's letter to Wilhlem Stein of 1 June 1444, and the *de laude litterarum* is his letter to his nephew Antonio Piccolomini Todeschini of November 1442

² Johannes Presbyter: *De ritu et moribus Indorum*. Add.: Pius II: *Commendatio Ladislai Regis Hungariae; De laude litterarum*. Deventer: Richardus Pafraet, between 29 June 1490 and 25 Jan. 1492. The *de laude litterarum* is his letter to his nephew Antonio Piccolomini Todeschini of November 1442

³ Helmraath, p. 110; Kisch, p. 49; Wagendorfer, p. 23

5. Sources¹

In this oration, altogether 30 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified:

Biblical	1
Classical	23
Patristic and medieval	5
Contemporary	1
All	30

The classical quotations dominate heavily, and there is only one quotation from the bible. This distribution is probably due to the character of the oration as an academic lecture.

Biblical sources: 1

Old Testament: 0

New Testament: 1

- 2. Corinthians: 1

Classical sources: 23

- Cicero: 14²
- Ovidius: 2³
- Plutarch: 2⁴
- Terentius: 1⁵
- Valerius Maximus: 2

¹ For an analysis of Piccolomini's use of sources, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, ch. 8

² De finibus bonorum et malorum 1; De inventione 1; De officiis 1; De oratore 3; De senectute 2; Pro Archia 1; Tusculanae disputationes 5

³ Metamorphoses

⁴ Parallel lives

⁵ Adelpheo

- Vergilius: 2¹

Patristic and medieval sources: 5

- Burley: 1
- Lactantius: 4²

Contemporary sources: 1

- Francesco Barbaro: 1³

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¹ Aeneid 1; Georgica 1

² Divinae institutiones

³ Introduction to Plutarch's Life of Aristides

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7. Sigla and abbreviations

K = Basel / Universitätsbibliothek / F IX 5

L = Basel / Universitätsbibliothek / F IV 14

Abbreviations

CO = Pius II: *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae suis temporibus contigerunt* [1464]

HA = Eneas Silvius Piccolomini: *Historia Austrialis*. Teil 1: Einleitung von Martin Wagendorfer. 1. Redaktion ed. von Julia Knödler. Teil 2: 2./3, ed. Martin Wagendorfer. 2 vols. Hannover, 2009. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum. Nova Series; 24)

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MPL = Migne, Jacques-Paul: *Patrologia latina*. 217 vols. 1841-1865

RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

WO = *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. Hrsg. von Rudolf Wolkan. 3 vols. Wien, 1909-1918. (Fontes rerum Austriacarum, 2 / 61, 62, 67, 68)

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Eneae Silvii poetae ad universitatem Wiennensem de commendatione artium oratio incipit¹

[1] {238r / dig. p. 472} Nisi satis exploratum haberem, patres amplissimi, ea, quae a me dici oportere video, non modo patienter sed benigne (5) vos audituros, suscepti profecto muneris magnitudo me prorsus attonitum efficeret stupentemque² exaninaret. Ea enim mihi dicenda forent, quae eloquentissimo cuique³ haud parvam, sed uberem dicendi materiam suppeditarent. Humanitate tamen vestra fretus in bonam spem venio facillime a vobis me veniam posse (10) impetrare, si minus accurate quam rei dignitas postulet a me fuerit peroratum, cum non sim unus ex his, qui⁴ vitam in eloquentiae⁵ exercitatione continent⁶.

[2] Et quoniam hoc est tempus, quo majores⁷ nostri instituerunt esse studiorum initium, ita eorum institutis introductum est, ut non ante vel ad minimum quodque⁸ legendum (15) descendatur quam in ipsius rei, de qua fuerit agendum, laudatio anteiret. Praeclare profecto haec⁹, ut omnia, statuerunt¹⁰. Futurum enim esse putabant¹¹ eo ardentius studiis nostris intentos¹² [nos]¹³ esse, quo¹⁴ majorem laudem ex ipsis nos consequi speramus. A quo pervetusto more ne unicus deseruisse¹⁵ puter, faciendum mihi esse sum ratus, ut illius muneris perfungar, quod (20) susceptus hic locus jure suo videtur postulare, hoc est sapientiae juris commendationem.

¹ Eneae ... incipit *omit.* L

² stupentem L

³ *illeg. add.* K

⁴ per L

⁵ admodum *add. in marg.* K

⁶ *em.*; continere K, L

⁷ quo majores *omit.* L

⁸ quodcumque Kisch

⁹ *omit.* K

¹⁰ fuerunt *add.* L

¹¹ ut *add.* L

¹² mutemur L

¹³ intentos nos *em.*; *illeg.* L

¹⁴ putabant ... quo *omit.* K

¹⁵ descivisse K

Here begins an oration in praise of the arts by Enea Silvio, Poet, to the University of Vienna

1. Introduction

1.1. Captatio benevolentiae

[1] Honourable Fathers, I know quite well that you will listen not only patiently, but even kindly to what I should say. If I did not know it, the greatness of the task I have undertaken would completely overwhelm and baffle me. For I shall be talking on a subject which gives even the most eloquent [speaker] not little, but abundant matter for speech. But trusting in your kindness, I have good hope that I shall easily obtain your forgiveness if I speak less stringently than the importance of the matter requires, as I am not one of those who spend their life in the exercise of eloquence.

1.2. Subject of oration

[2] This is the time that our forefathers decided upon for the beginning of studies,¹ and they also established [the custom] that even the smallest course of lectures should begin with a praise of the subject matter. This was excellently done - as everything [they did] - for they believed that the more we hope to gain praise from our studies, the more fervently we shall apply ourselves to them. Not [wishing] to be considered the only one to have neglected this ancient custom, I have decided to perform the task as appropriate² to the present venue, chosen [for the occasion], and thus to praise of the science³ of law.⁴

¹ In this instance, 13 October 1445

² "iure suo"

³ "sapientia"

⁴ The lecture took place in the building housing the Faculty of Law

[3] Sed ne omnino sicco - ut ajunt - pede videar incessisse, statui adjicere¹ atque appendicere quendam aliorum quoque artium laudationem. Qua in re ita diverso orationis genere mihi video esse utendum², ut ferme a quo potissimum (25) incipiam prorsus ignorem. In hoc vero convenire videntur, quod non voluptatem³, sed immensam etiam utilitatem parturiunt. Quare si placet, ipsarum artium simul et⁴ juris⁵ utilitatem conspiciamus. Deinde quanta ex ipsis voluptas et ornamentum percipi possit, considerabimus.

[4] Grammaticam ergo primum qui parum bene calleat, ea se moderatrice carere sciat, ut sibi ad ceteras disciplinas aditus sit clausus, quod enim in coeptis⁶ fundamento et regula claudices.

[5] Logicae vero sive dialecticae si non fueris⁷ nescius, quod verum in primis, quod falsum, quod antecedens, quod⁸ consequens, quod⁹ syllogismus, quod enthymema ubi libet facile cognosces, ut¹⁰ nullo fallaciarum laqueo implicari, {238v} nullo¹¹ errore labi, nulla falsitate arripi possis, quae usque adeo necessaria est, ut omnium paene scientiarum sit adminiculum et multorum judicio scientia scientiarum iudicatur¹².

¹ statui adjicere *omit.* L

² utandum K

³ voluptatem K

⁴ a K

⁵ jurum L

⁶ *em.*; *add.* si K, L

⁷ *em.*; fuerit K, L

⁸ quid K

⁹ quid K

¹⁰ *omit.* L

¹¹ nulle L

¹² iudicetur L

[3] But, so as not to appear to enter [this subject]¹ with completely dry feet² - as they say - I have decided to add and append something in praise of the other arts. As here I must use a different oratorical genre, I almost do not know where to begin at all. However, they [all] have this in common that they do not give pleasure only, but also immense benefit. Therefore, we shall - with your permission - [first] look at the benefit of the [liberal] arts and law together, and thereafter we shall consider the great pleasure and ornament to be gained from them.

2. Benefits of arts and sciences

2.1. Trivium

2.1.1. Grammar

[4] Firstly, anyone who is not sufficiently grounded in grammar should know that he lacks the guidance necessary for access to the other disciplines³, because he stumbles [already in the beginning of] his undertaking, both with regard to the basics and with regard to the rules to follow.

2.1.2. Logic

[5] And if you know logic (or dialectic), you will easily recognize first of all what is true and what is false, and what is an antecedent⁴, a consequent⁵, a syllogism, and an enthymeme, whenever they occur, so that you will not be ensnared by fallacies, misled by error, and caught by false statements. Logic is so necessary that it is the support of almost all sciences, and many consider it as the science of sciences.⁶

¹ I.e. the praise of law

² I.e. abruptly and without any lead-up

³ Note Piccolomini's use of the terms arts, disciplines, and sciences

⁴ I.e. a premise

⁵ I.e. a conclusion

⁶The notion of logic as the science of sciences derives from Petrus Hispanus (fl. 13th c.), author of a treaty on logic, later called *Summulae Logicales*, cf. Rijk, p. 1

[6] Jam rhetorica¹ subsequitur², id est tam verborum, tam sententiarum et nitor et ornatus (5) cum gravitate commixtus. Cur haec vero sit appetenda, ut³ nihil ineptum ex se proferat⁴, scribat, aut enuntiat, vel ut eloquentissimos quaque⁵ artium scriptores⁶ ipsa eloquentia⁷ discat, cognoscat, intelligatque quanti sit facienda, ex hoc intelligi potest: nam si *idcirco homines a bestiis differamus*, (10) ut ait Tullius, *quod loqui possumus, qua laude dignus est, qui⁸ in ea re ceteros superat, in qua nos⁹ homines bestias antecellunt¹⁰.*

(7) Qua etiam duce ad historiae cognitionem perducimur, quae optimo jure a majoribus nostris virtutis parens vitaeque *magistra¹¹* est vocitata. Quaevis¹² enim artes, (15) *quae de moribus¹³ et praestantissimis institutis traditae sunt, quo plus vita et facta¹⁴ clarissimorum virorum illustrantur. Quis¹⁵ enim ambigat ea, quae ab aliis gesta didicimus (30) quam¹⁶ admirabilia sunt, faciliora nobis imitatu videri¹⁷ et promptius ad honestatem incitare quam si praeceptione (20) solum lentius disputentur.* Hoc, inquam, historiae notitia facit, ut summos homines, quos tantopere et admiramur et probamus magno studio imitari velimus. Sic Alexandrum Caesar, sic Marcus Brutus Junium illum, gentilem suum, sic Tullius Demosthenem, sic denique multi incredibili (25) ardore admirandos praestantissimos viros historiae veritate¹⁸ incensi magnas et honestissimas res gesserunt.

¹ rethorica K, L

² subsequetur L

³ vel *add.* K

⁴ profereat L

⁵ quosque K

⁶ scripturos K

⁷ cernite *add.* K; carnute *add.* L

⁸ *em.*; quod K; que L

⁹ *omit.* L

¹⁰ antecellant L

¹¹ moram K

¹² *illeg.* L

¹³ de moribus *omit.* L

¹⁴ *em.*; factis K, L

¹⁵ quomodo K

¹⁶ quamquam K

¹⁷ *omit.* L

¹⁸ vitatu K

2.1.3. Rhetoric

[6] Now follows rhetoric which is the splendour and elegance combined with gravity of both single words and sentences. Why rhetoric should be sought – so that [someone] will not express himself or write or speak ineptly (like eloquence itself teaches even the most eloquent writers of the arts), but know and understand how much it should be treasured – may be understood from [the fact] that, as Tullius¹ says, *men differ from animals in that they are able to speak.*² So, how greatly should we not praise him who excels others in that very area where we men excel animals.³

2.1.3.1. History

[7] And under the guidance of rhetoric we are led to the knowledge of history which our forefathers – excellently - called mother of virtue and *teacher of life.*⁴ *These arts concern morals and excellent precepts and they have been handed down in order make the lives and deeds of noble men better known. Who doubts that the deeds of other men which we have learnt to be admirable are easier for us to imitate and more readily stimulate us to be honourable than such things which are taught in cumbersome lectures?*⁵ I declare that knowledge of history makes us want to eagerly imitate the best of men whom we greatly admire and esteem. Thus Caesar⁶ [imitated] Alexander,⁷ ⁸ thus Marcus Brutus⁹ [imitated] his [distant] relative Junius,¹⁰ thus Tullius¹¹ [imitated] Demosthenes,¹² and thus many others, inspired by true history, enthusiastically performed great and honourable deeds in imitation of admirable and eminent men.

¹ Cicero, Marcus Tullius (106-43 BC): Roman statesman and author

² Cicero: *De inventione*, 1.4.5: *Ac mihi quidem videntur homines, cum multis rebus humiliores et infirmiores sint, hac re maxime bestiis praestare, quod loqui possunt.*

³ Cicero: *De oratore*, 1.8.32-33: *Hoc enim uno praestamus vel maxime feris, quod colloquimur inter nos, et quod exprimere dicendo sensa possumus. Quam ob rem quis hoc non iure miretur, summeque in eo elaborandum esse arbitretur, ut, quo uno homines maxime bestiis praestent, in hoc hominibus ipsis antecellat?*

⁴ Cicero: *De oratore*, 2.9.36

⁵ Francesco Barbaro: Introduction to Plutarch's *Life of Aristides*, (Pade, II, pp. 81-85): *Artes enim optima, quae de moribus et praestantissimis institutis traditae sunt, apud omnes longe plus possunt, si vita ac factis clarissimorum hominum illustrantur. Quis enim dubitat ea, quae ab aliis gesta didicimus, quamquam admirabilia sint, faciliora nobis videri et promptius ad honestatem incitare, quam si praeceptione solum lentius disputentur?*

⁶ Julius Caesar, Gaius (100-44 BC): Roman general and statesman. Imitated Alexander in endeavouring to create a world empire

⁷ Alexander III the Great (356-323 BC): King of the Greek kingdom of Macedon. Created one of the largest empires of the ancient world, stretching from Greece to Egypt and into present-day Pakistan

⁸ Plutarch: *Parallel lives / Julius Caesar*, 5

⁹ Marcus Junius Brutus the Younger (85-42 BC): politician of the late Roman Republic. One of Caesar's assassins

¹⁰ Lucius Junius Brutus: founder of the Roman Republic and one of the first consuls in 509 BC. He was claimed as an ancestor of the Roman gens Junia, including the most famous of Julius Caesar's assassins. He overthrew the Tarquinian monarchy, as his descendant overthrew the monarchy of Julius Caesar

¹¹ Cicero

¹² Demosthenes (384-322 BC): Greek statesman and orator of ancient Athens. Fought for the Greek republics against King Philip of Macedonia, as Cicero fought for the Roman republic, opposing Julius Caesar and Octavian Augustus

[8] Sed ad rhetoricam¹ revertamur, quae si ita frivola res esset, ut eam multi aestimant, non usque adeo apud veteres culta et celebrata et in summo honore habita esset, (30) nec eloquentissimis² solum ferme viris regendarum urbium et moderandarum rerum publicarum cura fuisset demandata.

[9] {239r} Verum ut etiam de astrarum, numerorum³, et mensurarum ac etiam melodiae⁴ scientia⁵ a⁶ proportione dicam, reliquum⁷ est quae sane omnia ex quattuor aliis⁸ artibus habentur: astronomia verum, arithmetica⁹, geometria, et musica. Ea profecto (5) in his sit artibus utilitas, (40) ut sine his ducibus atque magistris nihil divinum sive humanum, nullus¹⁰ perfectus nec imperfectus, nihil superius, nihil inferius, nihil rectum nec obliquum, nihil denique¹¹ suave¹² nec¹³ absonum¹⁴ perfici aut cognosci paene queat, quo fit, ut optimo sane jure majoribus (10) nostris liberales appellatae sunt artes, sive quod ab omni ignorantiae nubilo studiosorum mentes immersas¹⁵ liberare consueverunt, sive quod eas utpote¹⁶ dignissimas ac nil¹⁷ servile redolentes nulli nisi libero liberaliterque¹⁸ enutrito homini ediscere¹⁹ licebat.

¹ rethoricam K, L

² eloquentissimos K

³ numerarum K

⁴ etiam melodiae : geometriae L

⁵ scientie L

⁶ et K

⁷ antequam K

⁸ *em.*; aliquis K, L

⁹ arismetica K, L

¹⁰ minus *add.* K; numquam L

¹¹ *omit.* L

¹² mane L

¹³ neque L

¹⁴ obscenum L

¹⁵ immensas L

¹⁶ utpute K

¹⁷ *omit.* L

¹⁸ liberaliter esset L

¹⁹ adiscere K

[8] But let us return to rhetoric. If it was so frivolous as many believe, it would not have been so greatly cultivated, celebrated and honoured as it was in Antiquity, and the charge of governing cities and ruling states would not have been entrusted almost exclusively to very eloquent men.

2.2. Quadrivium: Astronomy, arithmetic, geometry and music

[9] But to speak fittingly¹ also about the science of stars, numbers, measures and melody, almost all the rest comes from the four other arts: astronomy, arithmetic, geometry and music.² Indeed the benefit of these arts is so great that without them as guides and teachers almost nothing can be done or known that is divine or human, perfect or imperfect, above or below, straight or crooked, pleasant or unpleasant. Therefore it was completely justified when our forefathers called these arts the liberal arts,³ whether it was because they used to free the minds of students from the whole cloud of ignorance in which they were immersed, or because it was only allowed to teach these noble arts, having nothing servile about them, to someone who was a free man and raised as such.

¹ "a proportione"

² I.e. the four arts of the quadrivium

³ Artes liberales: the common of studies in Antiquity. The classification of the liberal arts has varied over the centuries. The one established by Martianus Capella (5th c. AD), comprising the three "human" arts of the trivium and the four "natural arts" of the quadrivium, lasted until the renaissance when the humanists began to use the term "studia humanitatis" about the disciplines of the trivium, adding history, Greek, ethics, and poetry

[10] Jam vero harum omnium (15) artium matrem et procreatorem quandam et omnium reginam philosophiam quis satis pro dignitate laudare valeat, quando ipsam Cicero, oratorum¹ princeps, in *Tusculanis virtutis ducem et indagatorem, donum deorum, morum magistram* appellavit²; quando denique ipsa³ causarum omnium ratio et explicatio unaque (20) omnium voce atque sententia praedicetur, asseratur atque comprobetur⁴. Et non immerito⁵ in ejus laudem poeta protulerit in secundo *Georgicarum*⁶:

*Felix qui⁷ potuit rerum cognoscere causas
atque metus omnis et⁸ inexorabile fatum subiecit⁹ pedibus
strepitumque¹⁰ Acherontis avari.*

Per ipsam (25) namque omnium generabilium et¹¹ corruptibilium, vegetalium, sensibilibium, rationabilium superrationaliumque corporum, nobis¹², ut dici solet, ad unguem causae, rationes et effectus exprimuntur atque distribuuntur.

¹ aratorum L

² appellaret L

³ ipsarum L

⁴ comprobatur K

⁵ in merito K, L

⁶ Georgicorum K

⁷ que K

⁸ *omit.* K, L

⁹ subiecerit L

¹⁰ strepitum *illeg.* L

¹¹ *omit.* L

¹² ubi L

2.3. Philosophy

[10] And now, who can adequately praise philosophy, mother,¹ creator, and queen of all the arts. In the *Tusculanae*, Cicero, prince of orators, named her *the guide to virtue*² *as well as its explorer, gift of the gods,*³ *and teacher of morals.*⁴ All agree to proclaim and accept her as the reason and explanation of all causes. And in the second book of the *Georgica*, the poet⁵ justly said in her praise:

*Blessed is he who has succeeded in learning the laws of nature's working,
has cast beneath his feet all fear and fate's implacable decree,
and the howl of insatiable Death.*⁶

Through her, the causes, reasons and effects of all created and corruptible, vegetal, sensible, rational and superrational bodies are expressed and distributed to us – to the fingernail, as they say.⁷

¹ Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes*, 1.26.64

² Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes*, 5.2.5

³ Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes*, 1.26.64

⁴ Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes*, 5.2.6

⁵ Vergilius Maro, Publius (70-19 BC): Roman poet

⁶ Vergilius: *Georgica*, 2.490-492

⁷ I.e. exactly

[11] Deinde¹ philosophiae effectum², medicinam ipsam, mirae utilitatis esse quis³ dubitet, quandoquidem (30) ea est ars, qua nobis⁴ corpus humanum bene affectum reddatur⁵, sanetur⁶ et incolume praeservetur? Quemadmodum enim philosophia animorum, {239v} quos sanat, morbos tollat, ita et ea corporibus ipsis, quorum servationem⁷ proficit,⁸ medeatur quadruplici utilitate. Nihil⁹ sane ad vitam salutemque¹⁰ homini praestantius inveniri possit et profecto nullo¹¹ dubio aliquo affici puto medicum (5) ipsum Dei ministrum esse, ut, quos omnium conditor Deus creavit hac arte divina divinitusque exhibita¹² conservet incolumes, lapsus curet, et paene a mortuis mortales¹³ saepe ad vitam reducat¹⁴, ut verum comprobetur, quod Aesculapio ipsi prognosticatum¹⁵:

*Tibi se mortalia (10) saepe corpora debebunt
animas tibi reddere ademptas fas erit.*

Quo ex merito¹⁶ et prisci illi medici ob suam admirandam utilitatem in deorum numerum sunt¹⁷ collocati. Sic Apollinem¹⁸, sic Aesculapium vetustas divinis honoribus est prosecuta.

¹ demum K

² et *add.* K

³ quod L

⁴ nos K

⁵ reddant L

⁶ sanent L

⁷ *em.*; surationem K, L

⁸ profitetur K; proficere L

⁹ nil K

¹⁰ salutem esset L

¹¹ nullum K

¹² exhabita K

¹³ mortale K

¹⁴ inducat L

¹⁵ pronosticatum K

¹⁶ meriti K, L

¹⁷ *omit.* K

¹⁸ Apolline L

2.4. Medicine

[11] Next, who doubts the marvellous benefits of medicine, an outcome of philosophy? She is the art through which our human body is cared for, healed and preserved undamaged. For just as philosophy removes and heals illnesses of the souls, medicine heals the bodies whose care it assures, with quadruple benefit. Indeed nothing can be found that is more beneficial to a man's life and health, and I believe that there can be no doubt whatsoever that the physician is God's servant since with his divine and divinely revealed art he preserves those whom God, the creator of all, has created, he cures illnesses and often restores people who are almost dead to life. Thus it may be seen to be true what was foretold about Aesculapius¹:

*Often shall mortal bodies owe their lives to thee,
and to thee shall it be counted right to restore the spirits of the departed.*²

Therefore it was quite justified that the physicians of old were counted among the gods because of their admirable usefulness. And thus Antiquity gave Apollo³ and Aesculapius divine honours.

¹ Hero and god of medicine, representing the healing aspect of the medical arts

² Ovidius: *Metamorphoses*, 2.644

³ Apollo (Gk. Myth.): and one of the deities of the Greek and Roman pantheon, recognized as a god of healing, but also as god of music, truth prophecy, the sun and light, plague, poetry, and more

[12] Plura de hac re mihi (15) superessent dicenda, nisi me suscepti muneris officium ad civilis pontificiique juris commendationem non omnino convertentem¹ provocaret. Quorum utrumque tam² explicandum difficile est, ut disertissimi cujusque hominis facundiam exuperet atque excellat³. Quare illud Virgilianum cogor erumpere:

Major rerum mihi nascitur ordo, majus opus moneo.

Quis enim tam insignite eloquens, ut harum disciplinarum debitas laudes efferre possit, quippe per eas omnium mortalium vita salutiferis ac divinis praeceptis (25) excolitur, per eas civitates, populi, nationes sanctissimo inter se jure sociati reguntur, proteguntur⁴, amplificantur⁵.

[13] Soleo equidem, viri ornatissimi, saepenumero mecum⁶ cogitare⁷ atque animo mecum repetere, quibus rebus civitates ab initio constitutae sint⁸ aut postea (30) conservatae et in hanc ipsam, quam videmus⁹, fabricam erectae. {240r} Nulla mihi alia videtur ratio hoc effecisse quam ipsa vis justitiae aut nostri juris timor quidam vel reverentia. Quae enim alia virtus vel quae artes quivissent homines locis silvestribus dissipatos vitamque ferarum agentes conducere (5) unum in locum et eos imbuere, ut¹⁰ his, qui^{11 12} virtute et sapientia praestarent¹³, oboedire atque temperare mallent¹⁴ quam passim ferarum et ita vitam trahere, ni ratio ipsa et sapientia juri consentanea eos¹⁵ a consuetudine sua revocasset et ad cultum quendam normamque vivendi incendere potuisset.

¹ convertentem K
² *em.*; tamquam K, L
³ excellat L
⁴ protegunt L
⁵ amplificant L
⁶ *illeg.* K
⁷ cogitariam K
⁸ sunt K
⁹ vidimus L
¹⁰ et L
¹¹ que K, L
¹² in *add.* L
¹³ prestarunt K
¹⁴ *em.*; mallant K, L
¹⁵ *em.*; *omit.* K; eo L

2.5. Law

[12] I should have to say more about this, but since I have not yet turned to praising civil and pontifical law, I have been called to order by the task I have undertaken. To praise them adequately is so difficult that it surpasses and excels the eloquence of even the most learned men. Therefore I am forced to say, with Virgil¹:

*Greater is the story that opens before me; greater is the task that I attempt.*²

For who is so eminently eloquent that he can praise these disciplines as they merit? Through them, indeed, the life of all men is being constantly developed and improved through salutary and divine precepts, and through them cities, peoples and nations are being ruled, protected and multiplied, united by law.

[13] Indeed, distinguished men, I often consider and ponder how cities were formed in the beginning, how they were preserved afterwards, and how they developed the structure³ we see today. I can see no other reason why this happened than the force of justice itself or fear of justice or respect for it. For what other virtues or what other arts could make men scattered in forests and living like wild animals come together in one place and make them prefer to obey and submit to those who excelled in virtue and wisdom rather than to live like animals?⁴ Indeed, this could only happen because reason itself and wisdom consistent with justice could bring them away from their customs and incite them to live a cultured life based on rules.⁵

¹ Vergilius, Publius Vergilius Maro (70-19 BC): Roman poet

² Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 7.44-45

³ "fabrica"

⁴ Cicero: *De oratore*, 1.8.33-34: *To come, however, at length to the highest achievements of eloquence, what other power could have been strong enough either to gather scattered humanity into one place, or to lead it out of its brutish existence in the wilderness up to our present condition of civilization as men and as citizens, or, after the establishment of social communities, to give shape to laws, tribunals, and civic rights? (Ut vero iam ad illa summa veniamus; quae vis alia potuit aut dispersos homines unum in locum congregare, aut a fera agrestique vita ad hunc humanum cultum civilemque deducere, aut, iam constitutis civitatibus, leges, iudicia, iura describere?).* Note that Cicero is here speaking about the power of eloquence, not about justice!

⁵ Piccolomini also treated this theme in his treaty *De ortu et auctoritate imperii Romani*, finished half a year later on 1 March 1446, where he wrote i.a.: *Cum ergo premeretur ab initio multitudo ab his, qui viribus erant editiores, ad unum aliquem confugere placuit, virtute praestantem, qui et injurias prohiberet inferri tenuioribus, et aequitater constituta summos cum infimis pari jure teneret* (Wolkan, II, p. 8)

[14] (10) Agrestes autem et incultos homines sapientiam quoque desiderare Lactantius Firmianus, vir doctissimus, auctor est, qui¹ - [per²] immortalem Deum - nullius rei naturam nostram tam cupidam esse et³ appetentem voluisse affirmavit quam sapientiae et religionis, ad quorum primum jus civile (15) nos perducit, secundum vero jus pontificium sive canonicum affatim docet, quibus duabus disciplinis nulla certe dignior, praestabilior aut admirabilior hac in vita humana censi debet, nec est ulla, quae magis juventutem ad se allicere atque animos hominum flammare debeat (20) quam haec de gubernandis urbibus deque clero coercendo gubernandoque⁴ est⁵. Haec enim civitates in perpetua pace continet. Illa⁶, quo pacto ecclesia ceremonias suas instituere debet⁷, edocet. Haec homines inter se mutuo societatis et amicitiae vinculo conciliat. Illa sacerdotes (25) praesulibus subjicit et observantia vult esse prosequendos⁸. Haec homicidia⁹, furta, adulteria et omne aliud genus scelerum prohibet. [Illa¹⁰] simoniam, usuram voracem, clandestina matrimonia vetat. Haec denique aut metu poenae homines ab iniquitate deterret aut praemio (30) ad honorem virtutis et gloriae allicit. Illa demum {240v} aut anathemate in contumaces saevit aut suis professoribus uberem spem et aditum ad dignitates spondet, qua utilitate quid¹¹ sit praestabilius aut optatius nullus vel ingenio hebes ignorat. Longe plura quam attigi (5) de duabus his disciplinis dicenda mihi video superesse.

¹ quod K

² *em.* Kisch

³ ad *add.* K

⁴ gubernando L

⁵ *omit.* K

⁶ ille K

⁷ debeat Kisch

⁸ prosequendas K

⁹ homicida L

¹⁰ *em.* Kisch

¹¹ *em.* Kisch; quod K, L

[14] Lactantius Firmianus,¹ that most learned man and author, stated that even primitive and uncultured men desire wisdom, since – by immortal God – our nature wants and craves nothing more than wisdom and religion.² To the first of these [two] we are brought by civil law, and the second we are taught by pontifical or canon law.³ In this human life, no other discipline may be considered more noble⁴, eminent and admirable than these two disciplines, and no other discipline should be more able to attract young men and enflame the souls of men than this discipline [whose subject] is the government of cities and the rule and government of the clergy. Civil law keeps cities in permanent peace. Pontifical law teaches how the church should perform its ceremonies. Civil law unites men with bonds of society and friendship. Pontifical law subjects the priests to their bishops and prompts them to live according to [its rules]. Civil law forbids murder, theft, adultery and all other kinds of crime. Pontifical law forbids simony, voracious usury and clandestine marriages. And finally, civil law deters men from evil by fear of punishment and inspires them to the honour of virtue and glory by rewards, and pontifical law either severely punishes insubordinate men with excommunication or gives its adherents abundant hope and promises access to important offices. All, even the weakminded, know that nothing is more excellent and desirable than this benefit.

I still have much more to say [today] about these two disciplines than I have managed to [so far].

¹ Lactantius Firmianus (ca. 240-ca. 320): early Christian author

² Lactantius: *Divinae institutiones*, 3, 11, 2

³ At the time law. was divided into civil law, deriving from Roman law, and pontifical or canon law, consisting of the laws passed by the Church

⁴ "dignior"

[15] Verum omnium scientiarum regina theologia me currentem subsistere cogit nec vult silentio praeteriri. Qua in re in quo animo fero mihi eam¹ vim dicendi deesse, ut eam pro ejus splendore et majestate dignis (10) praeconiis posse commendare. Quis autem est ita optimarum artium studio praeditus, ut hanc omnium scientiarum facile principem non modo meritis laudibus prosequi nequeat, sed ne minimum quidem ejus decorem attingere posse confidat, quae eo illustrior et² praestantior habeatur, quo magis (15) ad veram et³ ingenuam naturam hominis⁴ accedat.⁵ Nam, ut ait Ovidius,

*pronaque cum spectent animalia cetera terram,
os homini sublime dedit caelumque videre iussit
et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.*

[16] Nempe quis⁶ ambigat nos natura ad hoc⁷ institutos esse, ut ait Lactantius, *ut eo (20) mentem dirigamus, quo vultus est erectus et quo corporis natura nos provocat*. Haec autem sola, de qua agimus, nos ad caelestem regnum⁸ perducit⁹. Haec enim summum thronum omnipotentis dei et omnem ordinem¹⁰ caelestis hierarchiae¹¹ docet intueri. Haec enim eo usque nos rapit, ut ea contemplemus¹², *quae non (25) licet homini*, ut ait Paulus, *loqui*. Haec suis professoribus et sequentibus¹³ immortalitatem promittit. Hos autem, [qui¹⁴] a suis¹⁵ institutis aberrant, ad¹⁶ poenas et tartari voragine¹⁷ horrenda tortos¹⁸ iri planum facit.¹⁹

¹ *omit.* K

² *omit.* L

³ *omit.* K

⁴ horum L

⁵ attendat K

⁶ que L

⁷ huc L

⁸ cognitionem L

⁹ producit L

¹⁰ *omit.* K

¹¹ gerarchiae K, L

¹² *em.*; contempleremus K; contemplens L

¹³ sequacibus K

¹⁴ *em.*

¹⁵ *em.*; suisque K, L

¹⁶ *illeg.* K, L

¹⁷ *illeg. add. in marg.* K

¹⁸ tartaros L

¹⁹ *Textus corruptus?*

2.6. Theology

[15] But as I am rushing forward, theology, queen of all sciences, forces me to stop and will no longer be ignored. However, I am aware that in this matter I am lacking the power of speaking adequately in praise of its splendour and majesty. Indeed, no one is so gifted with the best of arts that he may adequately praise theology, by far the most important of all sciences, or even its smallest ornament. It is considered to be so illustrious and eminent because it reaches the true and authentic nature of man. As Ovid says:

*And, though all other animals are prone, and fix their gaze upon the earth,
he gave to man an uplifted face and bade him stand erect and turn his eyes to heaven.¹*

[16] For no one may doubt that, as Lactantius says, we were taught by nature *to turn the mind in the same direction to which the countenance is raised,*² and *to which the nature of the body calls us.*³ The science we are talking about now is the only one which leads us to the Heavenly Kingdom. It teaches us to view the high throne of omnipotent God and all the ranks of the celestial hierarchy. It propels us to contemplate that which, as Paul⁴ says, *it is not granted to man to utter.*⁵ It promises immortality to its adherents and followers. But those who stray from her commandments, she makes go straight to punishment and torture in Hell's horrible abyss.

¹ Ovidius: *Metamorphoses*, 1.84

² Lactantius: *Divinae institutiones*, 3, 10. Translation quoted after the Advent edition

³ Lactantius: *Divinae Institutiones*, 3, 10. Translation quoted after the Advent edition

⁴ The Apostle Paul

⁵ 2. Corinthians, 12, 4: *Quoniam raptus est in paradisum: et audivit arcana verba, quae non licet homini loqui*

[17] Nunc postquam artium (29) liberalium, philosophiae, medicinae et una¹ cum theologia singulares {241r} praedixerimus utilitates, jam celeri passu properat oratio, ut earum voluptatem et ornamentum non silentio praetereamus. *Officium animi esse*, ait² Lactantius, *ea subtilius cernere, quae acies corporalis nequit intueri*. Afferenda³ ergo⁴ modo⁵ (5) est mens⁷ et ad cognitionem rerum occultarum⁸ sublimanda. Quae autem - per deum immortalem - major voluptas aut delectatio esse potest, quam dum cujusque rei rationem⁹ nobiscum consideremus aut cum aliis communicamus¹⁰? Nam cum animo, quam¹¹ nobis¹² dedit natura, nullus sit cibus dulcior, nulla esca (10) jucundior, nullum suavius pabulum quam rerum cognitio, et quo frequentius eo utatur cibo, eo majore fruatur voluptate¹³, quo fit, ut omnes *cum musis commercium habentes*¹⁴ voluptuariam vitam ducamus. Et existimemus, quod non¹⁵ voluptuosius fieri possit¹⁶ quam ex ipsa¹⁷ sapientiae fonte (15) vel nos ipsos¹⁸ potare¹⁹ vel alios potare²⁰. Quid²¹ dulcius quam, quod studio ipse tuo inveneris, id alteri impertire²² atque communicare. Ad quam quidem²³ rem natura ipsa nos instituit et formavit, ut quod omnibus fructuosum²⁴ esset, id in medium summa cum ardore [et²⁵] alacritate profunderemus²⁶.

¹ una cum *em.*; virium K, L

² ut L

³ offerenda L

⁴ ab *add.* K

⁵ est L

⁶ *illeg. add.* L

⁷ meus L

⁸ perocultarum L

⁹ *em.*; et nationem *add.* K, L

¹⁰ commitamus K

¹¹ *illeg. add.* K

¹² ubi K

¹³ *illeg. ubi add.* K; nostre est *add.* L

¹⁴ *em.*; habentibus K, L

¹⁵ enim L

¹⁶ posset L

¹⁷ *em.*; ipso K, L

¹⁸ nos ipsos *em.*; opere K, L

¹⁹ *em.*; portare K, L

²⁰ *em.*; portare K, L

²¹ *em.*; quod K, L

²² *omit.* L

²³ quedam K

²⁴ fructuosissimum L

²⁵ *em.*

²⁶ esset id ... profunderemus *omit.* K

3. Enjoyment and distinction¹ of arts and sciences

[17] Now that we have spoken of the individual benefits of the liberal arts, philosophy, medicine, and theology, our oration must move along with all speed so that we do not pass over, in silence, their enjoyment and distinction. According to Lactantius, "*it is the office of the soul to perceive those things more clearly which the eye of the body cannot behold.*"² So now mind must be brought forward and raised to the knowledge of those things which are hidden.

By immortal God, what pleasure or delight can be greater than to ponder the reason for something or share it with others? No food is sweeter to the mind, which nature has given us, and no fare more pleasant than acquiring knowledge of things, and the more often we have this food, the greater is the pleasure. Therefore, all we who have *associate with the Muses*³ lead a life of pleasure. And let us consider that nothing can be more pleasant than that we and others drink from the fountain of wisdom itself. What is more delightful than to transmit and communicate to others what you have found through your own studies? It was nature herself who taught and formed us for this, so that we should with the greatest eagerness and alacrity share with others what is fruitful to all.

¹ "ornamentum"

² Lactantius: *Divinae institutiones*, 2, 3. Translation quoted after the Advent edition

³ Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes*, 5.23.66: *Who in all the world, who enjoys merely some degree of communion with the Muses (Quis est omnium, qui modo cum Musis, id est cum humanitate et cum doctrina, habeat aliquod commercium)*

[18] Inde est Homerus ille, primus et summus poetarum, non prius se ad scribendum (20) contulit, quam ad majorem orbis partem¹ videndam ivisset, quod plus se voluptatis inde capturum putavit, si haec oculis vidisset, de quibus sibi² scribendum constituit. Hinc etiam est, quod Gallus ille, Scipionis familiaris, *tanta geometricarum ac astronomicarum descriptionum voluptate tenebatur, (25) ut cum noctu ad aliquid scribendum ingressum lux saepe deprehendetur³, vel cum mane coepisset nox eum (27) opprimeret⁴ potissimum cum mirum⁵ in modum eum delectaret {241v} solis et lunae defectiones aequalibus suis multo ante praedicere.*

¹ orbis partem : partem orbis L

² *omit.* K

³ deprehendentur K

⁴ opprimeret K

⁵ miris K

[18] This is why Homer,¹ first and greatest among poets, did not begin to write before he had gone to visit most of the world, for he thought that he would gain more pleasure [from writing] if he had seen with his own eyes what he had decided to write about.

And this is why Gallus,² an intimate friend of Scipio,³ took such pleasure in describing geometrical [issues] and astronomical [phenomena] that often the morning sun surprised him working on some chart which he had begun at night, and often night surprised him at a task begun at the break of day, taking much joy in telling his companions, long in advance, of eclipses of the sun and moon!⁴

¹ Homer: In the Western classical tradition, Homer is the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Most modern researchers place Homer in the 7th or 8th centuries BC

² Gallus, Gaius Sulpicius: general, statesman and orator of the Roman Republic. Studied astronomy and gained great reputation for having predicted a lunar eclipse on the night before the Battle of Pydna (168 BC)

³ Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Numantinus, Publius Cornelius [Scipio Africanus the Younger] (185–129 BC): politician of the Roman Republic, twice consul. As general he destroyed Carthage in 146 BC

⁴ Cicero: *De Senectute*, 14.49: *Videbamus in studio dimetiendi paene caeli atque terrae C. Gallum, familiarem patris tui, Scipio. Quotiens illum lux noctu aliquid describere ingressum, quotiens nox oppressit, cum mane coepisset! Quam delectabat eum defectiones solis et lunae multo ante nobis praedicere*

[19] Hinc est quod Archimedes, summus ille mathematicus, captis a Claudio Marcello Syracusis ac¹ hostili concessis, tanta cupiditate formis in pulvere (5) scriptis intentus quod supervenientis militis, a quo interfectus est, impetum et diruptionem non senserit. Inde est, quod Solon, unus ex Graeciae septem sapientibus, gloriari solebat se addiscendo senem² fieri. Hinc etiam factum fuit, quod Carneades tantam voluptatem ex crebra lectione aucupabatur, ut etiam inter (10) comedendum, quemadmodum ait Valerius Maximus³, se comedere debere fuisset oblitus. Quae haec, patres amplissimi, existimanda est voluptas, ut⁴ etiam nos illius muneris immemores⁵ facit, quod natura potissimum in nobis produxit?

¹ hostili directe in *add.* K

² senam K

³ *omit.* K

⁴ voluptas ut : ut voluptas K

⁵ in memores K

[19] And this is why Archimedes,¹ the greatest of mathematicians, [died]. For when Claudius Marcellus² conquered Syracuse³ and treated it as a hostile city, Archimedes was so occupied in studying the figures he had written in the sand that he did not notice the enemy soldier who approached and killed him, after having tried [in vain] to interrupt and warn him.⁴

This is why Solon,⁵ one of the seven wise men of Greece, used to *boast that he grew old learning*.⁶

And this is why Carneades⁷ took such delight in frequent reading that when eating, as Valerius Maximus⁸ tells, he forgot that he had to eat.⁹ Honourable fathers, how greatly should we not estimate a pleasure which makes us forget even the greatest gift that nature has bestowed on us?¹⁰

¹ Archimedes of Syracuse (ca. 287-ca. 212 BC): Greek mathematician, physicist, engineer, inventor, and astronomer. Generally considered the greatest mathematician of Antiquity

² Claudius Marcellus, Marcus (ca. 268-208 BC): Roman statesman and general. Conquered the fortified city of Syracuse in a protracted siege during which Archimedes was killed

³ 212 BC

⁴ Plutarch: *Parallel lives / Marcellus*, 19.4: *But what most of all afflicted Marcellus was the death of Archimedes. For it chanced that he was by himself, working out some problem with the aid of a diagram, and having fixed his thoughts and his eyes as well upon the matter of his study, he was not aware of the incursion of the Romans or of the capture of the city. Suddenly a soldier came upon him and ordered him to go with him to Marcellus. This Archimedes refused to do until he had worked out his problem and established his demonstration, whereupon the soldier flew into a passion, drew his sword, and dispatched him. Others, however, say that the Roman came upon him with drawn sword threatening to kill him at once, and that Archimedes, when he saw him, earnestly besought him to wait a little while, that he might not leave the result that he was seeking incomplete and without demonstration; but the soldier paid no heed to him and made an end of him*

Cicero: *De finibus bonorum et malorum*, 5.19.50: *What an ardour for study, think you, possessed Archimedes, who was so absorbed in a diagram he was drawing in the dust that he was unaware even of the capture of his native city! (Quem enim ardorem studii censetis fuisse in Archimede, qui dum in pulvere quaedam describit attentius, ne patriam quidem captam esse senserit!)*

⁵ Solon (638-558 BC): Athenian statesman, lawmaker, and poet

⁶ Cicero: *De Senectute*, 8.26: *Quid, qui etiam addiscunt aliquid, ut et Solonem versibus gloriantem videmus, qui se cotidie aliquid addiscentem dicit senem fieri*

⁷ Carneades (214/3-128/9 BC): Greek philosopher belonging to the Academic skeptic school

⁸ Valerius Maximus (flourished in the 1st c. under Emperor Tiberius): Roman writer and author of a collection of historical anecdotes

⁹ Valerius Maximus: *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri*, 8.7.ext. 5: *So marvellously had he devoted himself to the operations of learning that when he had lain down to take a meal, wrapped in thought he would forget to stretch out his hand to the table. (Idem illi vivendi ac philosophandi finis fuit, ita se mirificum doctrinae operibus addixerat, ut cum cibi capiendi causa recubisset, cogitationibus inhaerens manum ad mensam porrigere oblivisceretur)*

NB: Also Burley, (Carneades), p. 212

¹⁰ In his oration "*Non est apud me dubium*" [6] to the parishioners of Aspach, written in 1445-1446, Piccolomini said: *Moreover, God and Nature have given men nothing more precious than the mind, for through the mind we know what is good and what is evil, and through the mind we are like God. But nothing is more harmful to this divine gift and present than bodily pleasures: when lust prevails there is no place for moderation, and virtue cannot survive in the realm of pleasure. Whoever is immersed in the pleasures of sex, food and drink cannot use his mind properly nor achieve anything through reason and thought.* [Sect. 53]

[20] Quantum vero ornamenti afferant haec artes se colentibus¹ nobis² huic plus quam³ (15) omnes sui studiosos aut ex ignobilibus claros aut ex claris clarissimos et celebratissimos viros reddant, ...⁴ ut ignores plusne ornamenti possessoribus suis addiderint⁵, aut plus ipsae a suis possessoribus accipiant. Ex quo innumerabiles⁶ artium scriptores recenseri possunt, (20) quorum nomina una cum corporibus delesset vetustas, nisi illos⁷ artes ipsae immortalitati dicassent⁸. Quod intelligens Alexander ille magnus momenti non minus ponebat in bonarum⁹ artium cognitione quam¹⁰ in tanto suo imperio, quo maximam orbis partem occupavit. Verum etiam suarum (25) expeditionum comites et commilitones semper habuit cum praeclaros philosophos tum¹¹ et praeclarissimorum¹² auctorum¹³ (242r) codices, quibus omne ab armis otiosum tempus impenderet.

[21] Qua re illud Demetrii¹⁴ Phalerii praeceptum semper magnificum¹⁵ ac¹⁶ praeclarum putavi, quo vir sapientissimus Ptolomaeum, regem Aegyptiarum, admonuit, ut quam creberrime¹⁷ (5) libros legeret et nunquam, quoad posset¹⁸, ex manibus dimitteret¹⁹. Laudatus etiam semper est²⁰ ab optione quoque Alexandriae Caesar, quod historicis obeundis²¹ viris²² tamquam sapientissimos²³ consiliarios consulebat, ut si quid²⁴ hujuscemodi superiori²⁵ aetate bene factum esse²⁶ id vel usu probatum²⁷ vel (10) melius ac prudentius decerneret.

¹ nolentibus L

² vel K

³ quod L

⁴ *text missing* K, L

⁵ addiderunt K

⁶ in naturalibus K

⁷ illas K, L

⁸ ditassent L

⁹ bonorum K

¹⁰ quod L

¹¹ *omit.* L

¹² *em.*; preclarissimum K, L

¹³ auctorem L

¹⁴ Themetrii L

¹⁵ *omit.* K

¹⁶ atque K

¹⁷ ut quam crebre : creberiore L

¹⁸ passim L

¹⁹ dimittet K

²⁰ esset L

²¹ abeundis K

²² viribus L

²³ sapientissimas K

²⁴ quam L

²⁵ *omit.* L

²⁶ vel *add.* K

²⁷ probans K

[20] How excellent these arts are to us who cultivate them and how much they transform their students from lowly men to noble men, or from noble men to very noble and famous ... that you do not know whether the arts adorn their possessors more than they are adorned by them. Thus very many writers of the arts may be listed whose names would have been destroyed by age together with their bodies unless these arts had granted them immortality.¹ This was understood by Alexander the Great² who valued the knowledge of the good arts as highly as his great empire, occupying most of the world. For on his expeditions he always had as his companions and comrades in war famous philosophers as well as books of the most eminent writers³ on whom he spent all the time he was not fighting.

[21] This is why I have always considered the precept of Demetrius of Phalerum⁴ as magnificent and noble. That wise man admonished King Ptolemy⁵ of Egypt to read books as often as possible and never to leave them out of his hands. In Alexandria, Caesar⁶ was praised by a certain officer for treating historians he met as learned counsellors, so that if something had been well done in a former age he would consider it either to be proven by use or to be [otherwise] better and wiser.

¹ A favourite theme of the humanists for whom an important source of patronage was the praise of princes

² Alexander III the Great (356-323 BC): King of the Greek kingdom of Macedon. Created one of the largest empires of the ancient world, stretching from Greece to Egypt and into present-day Pakistan

³ Possibly a garbled version of this passage from Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 10.24: *Quam multos scriptores rerum suarum magnus ille Alexander secum habuisse dicitur*

⁴ Demetrius of Phalerum (ca. 350-ca. 280 BC): Athenian orator originally from Phalerum, one of the first Peripatetics. Ruled Athens for ten years. Exiled by his enemies in 307 BC, he stayed, after 297 BC, at the court of Alexandria. Wrote on the subjects of history, rhetoric and literary criticism.

⁵ Ptolemy I Soter (ca. 367-283 BC): Macedonian general of Alexander the Great, Ptolemy became ruler of Egypt (323–283/2 BC) and founded a dynasty

⁶ Julius Caesar, Gaius (100-44 BC): Roman general and statesman

[22] Dies me profecto deficiet, si hanc ipsam rem exemplis afferre conabor. Verum cum jure minime dubia testibus, id est exemplis, non egeamus, cumque jam ad exitum festinat oratio, illud pro confessis¹ relinquimus, quod jam² vel tritum (15) sit sermone proverbium, nihil esse³ inter mortales, quod adeo⁴ repente⁵ exornet et nobilitet et demum viros claros et immortales reddat quam haec opera disciplinarum⁶, de quibus jam longiorem sermonem habuimus.

¹ confesso K; eius *add.* L

² *omit.* L

³ est L

⁴ eo K

⁵ *inpente* L

⁶ *em.*; discipline K, L

[22] A whole day, however, would not be long enough to attempt [to document] this matter with examples. So, though we are certainly not lacking testimonies, that is examples, and our oration is hastening towards its end, we shall leave this matter, taking it for granted - as if it was a well-known proverb¹ - that nothing so quickly adorns and ennobles men and make them famous and immortal as the exercise of these disciplines about which we have now spoken extensively.

¹ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.10.33: ... est ... tritum sermone proverbium

[23] Qua re, amplissimi¹ viri, cum tantam utilitatem, voluptatem, ornamentum (20) his praedictis² artibus inesse intelligatis, quis non³ amari⁴, quis non mirari⁵, quis non⁶ inflammari ad illas pro sua virili capescendas⁷ debeat, quibus assiduis comitibus et tamquam ducibus nobis honores, emolumenta, gratiam et observantiam vindicare possumus? (25) Omnia vere haec pulchre assequamur, si omnia studio, cura, diligentia et⁸ vigilantia atque {242v} omne⁹ conatu, quae in has optimas artes et disciplinas incumbemus, talesque esse studebimus quales et haberi velimus et desideremus, nobisque¹⁰ ante oculos doctissimos viros proponamus et *in vitas* (5) aliorum tamquam in speculum, quod vel ex usu fiet¹¹ inspiramus, ut idem Terentianus ille senex in *Adelphis* iussit filium facere, imitandumque¹² nobis esse putemus tum Pythagoram tum Platonem, qui cognoscendae veritatis gratiam (10) non solum Graeciam, sed Aegyptum et Asiae (10) magnam partem lustrare et summis laboribus atque sudoribus praeexcellentes evasere¹³, compluresque alios priscos philosophos, praesertim Cleanthem¹⁴ illum, qui cum mirandae¹⁵ philosophie sibi¹⁶ ardet nec quemquam unum, [qui¹⁷] sibi¹⁸ victum suppeditaret, haberet, noctu, ut ait Valerius (15) Maximus, ad exhauriendam aquam operam locabat suam, ut diurno¹⁹ Chrysippi, summi per id tempus philosophorum²⁰, praeceptis capescendis vacaret²¹.

¹ ornatissimi L
² peditum K
³ *omit.* L
⁴ amari L
⁵ mirendi K, L
⁶ quis non *omit.* L
⁷ capessandas K
⁸ studio cura ... et : cura studio et diligentia K
⁹ nisi *add.* K
¹⁰ *illeg.* nobisque *add.* L
¹¹ sciet K
¹² imitandosque K, L
¹³ et vases L
¹⁴ *em.*; clamitum K, L
¹⁵ iubilende K
¹⁶ sui K
¹⁷ *em.*
¹⁸ unicum *add.* L
¹⁹ *em.*; interdiu K, L
²⁰ philosophie L
²¹ vacare K

4. Conclusion

[23] Therefore, distinguished men, as you see the great benefit, pleasure and distinction deriving from these arts that we have spoken of, who ought not be impressed and enflamed by them and inspired to pursue them with all their might? With them as constant companions and guides we shall be able to claim honourable offices, emoluments, favour and respect. For all these we shall acquire successfully if we pursue these excellent arts and disciplines with energy, dedication, diligence and zeal. So let us endeavour to be such as we wish and desire to be perceived, and let us put before our eyes the most learned of men and look at their lives as in a mirror in order to be inspired by them, just as the old man from Terence's¹ *The Brothers*² bade his son to do.³ And let us imitate both Pythagoras⁴ and Plato⁵ who in order to acquire knowledge of the beauty⁶ of truth not only visited Greece and Egypt and most of Asia and reached eminence through much labour and sweat. And let us also imitate many other of the old philosophers, and especially Cleanthes⁷ who so burnt for admirable philosophy that he, not having anybody who would provide him with food, earned money by working at night drawing water, as Valerius Maximus tells, so that during the day he might be free to study the teachings of Chrysippus, the greatest philosopher at that time.^{8 9}

¹ Terentius Afer, Publius (195/185-159 BC): Roman playwright

² *Adelphoe*, written 60 BC

³ Terentius: *Adelphoe*, 415: *inspicere tamquam in speculum in vitas omnium iubeo atque ex aliis sumere exemplum sibi.*

⁴ Pythagoras (ca. 570-ca. 495 BC): Greek philosopher and mathematician

⁵ Plato (428/427 or 424/423 BC-348/347 BC): Greek philosopher. Student of Socrates

⁶ "gratia"

⁷ Cleanthes (ca. 330-ca. 230 BC): Greek Stoic philosopher. Originally a boxer, he came to Athens where he took up philosophy, following Zeno's lectures. He supported himself by working as water-carrier at night. After the death of Zeno, c. 262 BC, he became head of the Stoic school

⁸ Error for Zeno, derived from Valerius Maximus. Chrysippus was a pupil of Cleanthes whom he succeeded as head of the Stoic school in Athens

⁹ Valerius Maximus: *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, 8, ext. 11: *You too, Cleanthes, so laboriously taking in wisdom and so perseveringly handing it on, did the divine power of Diligence herself admire. She saw you as a young man sustaining your poverty at night by drawing water for money, leaving time to study the teachings of Chrysippus by day, and instructing your pupils with the closest care until your ninety-ninth year (Te quoque, Cleanthe, tam laboriose haurientem et tam pertinaciter tradentem sapientiam numen ipsius Industriae suspexit, cum adolescentem quaestu extrahendae aquae nocturno tempore inopiam tuam sustentantem, diurno Chrysippi praeceptis percipiendis vacantem, eundemque ad undecentesimum annum attenta cura erudientem auditores tuos videret)*

[24] Prius quos quidem si diligenti imitatione sequemur ...^{1 2} . Est enim hoc³ certamine minime deliciarum, sed sudoris eas profecto nanciscendas⁴ facultates, (20) quae nos facile humo tollent, quae nobis commendatisque⁵ nostris laetitiam, quam⁶ prius nosces⁷, gloriam, et ornamentum affere⁸ possint, quod, ut faciatis, vos ita rogo, ut nil majori studio a vobis oratum vellem.

(25) Explicit recommendatio artium liberalium Enee Silvii⁹ facta Wienne¹⁰ coram (27) doctoribus et magistris¹¹ feliciter.

¹ sequimur L

² *text missing* K, L

³ ac K

⁴ nanciscandas K

⁵ *em.*; commendaque K, L

⁶ *em.*; que K, L

⁷ nostre L

⁸ afferi K

⁹ artium ... Silvii with *Greek letters* L

¹⁰ Vienne L

¹¹ *illeg. add.* K

[24] So let us begin by carefully imitating these men. For the acquisition of these abilities is indeed a fight, not of pleasure, but of sweat. They will easily lift us up from the earth, and they may bring us and ours¹ joy, glory and distinction before you know it. To make this happen, I ask you to care for nothing more than this.

Here ends, felicitously, the praise of the liberal arts by Enea Silvio, made in Vienna before the doctors and masters.

¹ "commendatisque nostris"