



1956

Leon Battista Alberti, Renaissance Humanist and Educator : A Study Based on the First Book of a Cura Della Famiglia

Anthony John DeFilippis
Loyola University Chicago

Recommended Citation

DeFilippis, Anthony John, "Leon Battista Alberti, Renaissance Humanist and Educator : A Study Based on the First Book of a Cura Della Famiglia" (1956). *Master's Theses*. Paper 968.
http://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_theses/968

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses and Dissertations at Loyola eCommons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of Loyola eCommons. For more information, please contact ecommons@luc.edu.



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/).
Copyright © 1956 Anthony John DeFilippis

LEON BATTISTA ALBERTI, RENAISSANCE HUMANIST AND
EDUCATOR. A STUDY BASED ON THE FIRST BOOK
OF LA CURA DELLA FAMIGLIA

by

Anthony John DeFilippis

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

June

1956

LIFE

Anthony John DeFilippis was born in Chicago, Illinois, January 17, 1931.

He attended St. Rita and St. Philip High School, and graduated from the latter in January, 1949. He began his college studies at Queen of Apostles Seminary, and graduated from Loyola University, Chicago, June, 1954, with the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

He began his graduate studies at Loyola University in the summer of 1954, and completed his graduate studies through night courses at Loyola University.

The writer is presently teaching in the Chicago Public School system as a substitute teacher.

HOC OPUS
MARIAE
TER ADMIRABILI MATRI ET
APOSTOLORUM REGINAE
ADSCRIPTUM ATQUE DEDICATUM

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
I	INTRODUCTION..... Lack of English Studies on Alberti—Historical back- ground—The New Learning—Renaissance Characteristics— Faith of the <u>literati</u> —Humanist Educators—Alberti, the educator—Statement of the Problem.	1
II	LIFE AND WORKS OF LEON BATTISTA ALBERTI..... Alberti family Exiled—Religious and Political disorders—Birth and education of Alberti—Law at Bologna—Illness causes Alberti to terminate legal studies— <u>De Commodis Litterarum</u> —Alberti named Apostolic Abbreviator— <u>Pontifex</u> — <u>Intercoenales</u> , a period of despair— <u>Della Tranquillita Dell' Animo</u> —Alberti and the vernacular— <u>La Famiglia</u> —Porscare's revolt— <u>De Re Aedificatoria</u> —Alberti released from papal duties— His death.	9
III	THE CARE OF THE FAMILY, BOOK I..... Lorenzo's illness—Entrustment of sons to Ricciardo— Correction of bad habits—Envy— <u>Virtu</u> —Excessive license—Elders—Their knowledge—Moral lessons—Love— Natural talent—Solicitousness—Nurses—Prudence— Exercises—Nature—Recognizing individuality— Memorising—Teachers—The obstinate—The truthful— Correcting children—Studies—Choosing professions— Temperaments—Laziness—Combating vices.	51
IV	CONCLUSION..... Renaissance Education—Physical training—Mental training—Moral development—Spiritual life— <u>La Famiglia</u> —Alberti's religious thought— <u>Virtu</u> —the problem.	109
	APPENDIX I.....	112
	APPENDIX II.....	118
	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	121

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

An English study of Leon Battista Alberti as a Christian and educator has been flagrantly neglected. In fact, there is not even an authoritative biographical sketch of his life available in the language.¹ Author of the renowned La Cura Della Famiglia, Alberti is considered as one of the most important Humanist educators of the Renaissance. However, no attempt has been made as yet to make this fifteenth-century social and educational masterpiece available in English.

Alberti was an active participator in the intellectual and aesthetic revivals of Northern Italy. And his works and ideas are most valuable in any evaluation of the new theories of life and education during his age. Alberti was definitely influenced by the fact that his family was of the Florentine merchant class that took an active part in literary pursuits. Their humanism blended with the new outlook on life.² It was this nouveaux riches class that

1 Cf. S. G. Santayana, Two Renaissance Educators: Alberti and Piccolomini, Boston, 1930. Santayana's biography of Alberti is extremely short. In addition, the book is not reliable. His inaccurate quotations are non-traceable in many instances. In checking both the primary and secondary sources, this writer was unable to find foundation for many of his premises, let alone the conclusions. His discussion of Alberti's La Cura Della Famiglia must be read with great caution.

2 Hans Baron, "A Sociological Interpretation of the Early Renaissance in Florence," The South Atlantic Quarterly, Durham, N.C., XXXVIII, Oct., 1939, 437.

was able to furnish financial assistance to the scholars. Their financial aid enabled the literati to purchase ancient classical manuscripts.

Petrarch was the new classical monument, and his immediate successors mastered Greek and explored the realms of antiquity. They "purified" the medieval Latinists, introduced the science of literary criticism, and extolled the literature and art of the Graeco-Roman past.³ But Humanism was more than the mere study of Latin and Greek classics; it reflected human achievements and dwelt on the human problems of antiquity. They developed the theory that the study of man was the noblest study. In many respects, they reflect the spirit of the modern mind.⁴

One main aspect of the Revival was to reveal the Italians to themselves. In it, the Italians developed their own innate self-assertion, their love for fame and distinction, and their deep sense of individuality.⁵ However, that individualism was not the exclusive possession of the Renaissance man; there are definite signs that such a conception was not neglected during the Middle Ages. To give but one example, Saint Francis of Assisi was deeply cognizant of this human trait.⁶ He was a true and devout Catholic, in sympathy with the ascetic concepts of the middle ages. His followers did not shut

3 John Addington Symonds, The Renaissance in Italy: The Revival of Learning, II, London, 1877, 310.

4 Edgar W. Knight, Twenty Centuries of Education, Boston, 1940, 155.

5 William Harrison Woodward, Studies in Education During the Age of the Renaissance, Cambridge, Eng., 1906, 6.

6 Norman Nelson, "Individualism As a Criterion of the Renaissance," The Journal of English and Germanic Philology, Urbana, Ill., XXXII, July, 1933, 316-335.

themselves up in solitude, but went out into the world to minister to their fellow-men. St. Francis was not worldly, but rejoiced in the pleasures and goodness of living. He loved animals, birds, all nature, and above all, mankind. His example reflected the coming change from the medieval to the modern man.

The New Learning brought a body of conflicting doctrines. These "served as a form for the ideological expression of instability and uncertainty which every thinking man knew in life."⁷ These conflicting philosophies were incidental in themselves, but when considered "against a background of change and insecurity, they became, for many spirits, pregnant of pessimism."⁸

In every form of art and life was felt the lack of a center of equilibrium. This lack was gradually removed by asserting the various forces operating in the individual and society.⁹ This feeling, combined with the imitation of the classics, gave rise to a new spirit of criticism. The imitation of the classics became essential to literary creation. Scholars attempted to find the relation between the imitation of the classics and the imitation of nature.¹⁰ As a result, the scholars criticized the men and institutions of

7 Arnold L. Williams, "A Note on Pessimism in the Renaissance," Studies in Philology, XXXVI, April, 1936, 246.

8 Ibid.

9 Fortunato Rissi, "Contrasti, Dissidi E. Melanconia Nel Cinquecento," Nuova Antologia, Roma, CCXX, Dicembre, 1922, 251.

10 Joel Elias Spingarn, A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance, New York, 1899, 131-132.

their day because these were not comparable to the ancients. This explains, to some extent, the abuse heaped upon clergy and Church. The former were attacked, because some were illiterate and offensive to the well-educated layman. However, as a group, the Humanists still accepted the authority of the Church as an institution, and continued to reverence Christianity.¹¹

It must be realized that these Renaissance characteristics are not solely a consequence of the period. There had been a spirit of criticism and individualism in the Middle Ages, and medieval habits, respect for papal authority, some superstition, and an interest in the transcendental were quite common in Renaissance times.¹² "The piety of the Italian Humanists was more complacent in its attitude toward the traditional church"; therefore, it is erroneous to believe "that what was not unchristian was not Renaissance."¹³

The faith of most Renaissance men remained unshaken, and the growth of a secular spirit brought no outward change in religious beliefs. For some, religious observance tended to become somewhat more formal, but there were few heretics and fewer atheists in Renaissance Italy. That a few classical scholars showed a trend toward paganism can be considered a kind of literary fad.¹⁴

11 Ferdinand Schevill, The First Century of Italian Humanism, New York, 1928, 6.

12 George Clarke Sellery, The Renaissance, Its Nature and Origins, Madison, 1950, 6.

13 Wallace K. Ferguson, The Renaissance in Historical Thought, Cambridge, Mass., 1948, 346.

14 Wallace K. Ferguson, The Renaissance, New York, 1940, 69.

Paganism was no adequate substitute for Christianity. And even though the greek classics were important, the Bible was in no sense obsolete or superfluous.¹⁵ St. Augustine and St. Ambrose were still cited, but the approach to them reflected the new spirit.¹⁶

Because of lay patronage, a distinct lay literary class developed which deprived the church of its exclusive control over higher education, and the clergy of their monopoly on learning.¹⁷ New educators reorganized education in order to accomplish their end. They developed a new curriculum, new teaching methods, and a new philosophy of education. There was an emphasis on reason as a free and even rebellious process. In addition, a deeper sense of the personal relation of man's spirit to the moral order and to God was accented.¹⁸

Educationally, the Renaissance was not a mere study of the classics and emphasis of grammar drills. It was a return to the ideals established by the ancients, ideals opposed to the prevailing disciplinary methods of the scholastics. Nor was man considered an isolated individual, he was viewed as an important part of the Italian Community.¹⁹

15 Albert Hyma, Renaissance To Reformation, Grand Rapids, 1951, 149.

16 Giuseppe Saitta, Il Pensiero Italiano Nell Umanesimo E Nel Rinascimento, Bologna, 1949, I, 263.

17 Wallace K. Ferguson, "The Church in a Changing World: A Contribution to the Interpretation of the Renaissance," AHR, LXIX, Oct., 1953, 16.

18 S. S. Laurie, Studies in the History of Educational Opinion From the Renaissance, Cambridge, Mass., 1904, 6.

19 Paul Monroe, A Brief Course in the History of Education, New York, 1925, 167-168.

As a whole, the Humanists were men capable of translating their educational aims into forms of instruction needed by the new generation. The finer humanists sought to prepare men for service in church and state; nor were all these humanists professionally occupied in teaching. The best example is Alberti himself.²⁰ He would stand in the company of men like Leonardo Bruni (1369-1444) who wrote De Studis Et Letteris, which gave the fundamental orientation to the humanist educators; Pier Paolo Vergerio (1370-1445) author of De Ingeniis Moribus; and Maffeo Vegio (1408-1458), author of De Educatione Liberorum, a work which concerned of christian education entirely distinct from scholasticism. Vegio introduced the element of mundane living, and taught that glory was the highest emotion in man. On the other hand, Guarino Veronese (1453-1513) considered education as a divine creation. Vittorino da Feltre (1378-1456), perhaps the greatest of them all, inspired the education of humanism with the spirit and faith of Christianity.²¹

The outstanding feature of these traits is their Catholic spirit. The educators gloried in the golden age of classical culture; but they drew from the classics that which was not detrimental to Christian principles and Catholic tradition. They put insistence on physical, moral, and religious training, patriotism, self-sacrifice, courage, and restraint. Emphasis was placed on respect for the doctrines and ordinances of the Church. With these

20 Paul Monroe, A Cyclopedia of Education, New York, 1913, V, 154.

21 The quotations just given are from Saitta, Il Pensiero, I, 264, 267, 273, 281, 287.

principles, they believed the student was trained for true citizenship.²²

High on the list of educational requirements was the absolute necessity of physical exercise, and under this was the emphasis on practical judgement. Through games one was to learn matters of conduct and behavior.

"The humanist educators placed stress on physical education for purposes of health, and to secure that the mental activities should be as free and vigorous as possible. Games were a security against indulgence, meanness, and selfishness."²³

Hence, humanist educators intended to educate the whole man. Mentally the student was to be instructed in the Greek and Latin classics. Grammar was studied for the perfecting of grammar; but ancient ideas were not omitted, and games and exercises became a part of the new curriculum. Mens sana in corpore sano was the guiding principle. Spiritually, however, Christianity and the Church were not excluded, and religious training was considered indispensable.

In education, the philosophy of the humanists was definitely not one solely of "this-worldliness;" the supernatural was still basic. True, some educators lapsed from the teachings of the Church, but from these few one cannot generalize. Education did take on some new aspects, and there was greater emphasis on developing a man for this life, for these writers were interested

22 W. Kane, S.J., An Essay Toward a History of Education, Chicago, 1935, 206. Also of Patrick J. McCormick, History of Education, Washington, D.C., 1949, 334-335.

23 William Harrison Woodward, Vittorino Da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators: Essays and Versions, Cambridge, Eng., 1921, 244.

in training the sound moral man who would become the good citizen.

Leon Battista Alberti ranks high among the educators of this period. True, he was not a professional educator, yet his work, La Cura Della Famiglia, is considered as one of the important educational and humanistic documents of the age. La Famiglia is divided into four books. The first deals with the education of children, the second considers the relationship between a husband and his wife, the third treats of the economy in the family household, the fourth is a fascinating essay on friendship.

Alberti's importance as an educator cannot be questioned. But we are confronted with a man variously interpreted. To what extent was he a pagan or a Christian? What did he mean by his definitions of some of the basic principles of Renaissance thought as the role of physical exercise or virtù? These are but a few of the problems on which we hope to touch, and we feel that an understanding of them in relation to his life and to the actual text in La Famiglia will give us a far more profound insight into the true nature of Renaissance thought on education than we have, in our own experience, found so far translated into English.

CHAPTER II

LIFE AND WORKS OF LEON BATTISTA ALBERTI¹

During the fourteenth century political difficulties in Florence, the Alberti clan sided with the Ricci against the Albizzi. However, after 1393, the Albizzi convinced the malcontents of the city to join forces with them. By 1400, the Alberti were either killed, imprisoned, fined, exiled, or a combination of any of these. Lorenzo Alberti, the father of Battista, accordingly was sent into exile.

The Alberti were a wealthy merchant family of Florence. They exported woolen products to England, France, Avignon, Rhodes, Syria, and Greece. In Florence, their influence and wealth brought them the office of supervising commercial operations. By the fifteenth century they were one of the principle families of Florence. However, during their exile, which ended in 1428, they were reduced to a deplorable financial condition.

¹ Leon Battista Alberti, Vita di Leon Battista Alberti di Autore Anonimo, in Opere Volgari di Leon Battista Alberti, Per la piu parti Inedite E Trattate dagli Autografi Annotate E Illustrate dal Dot. Anicco Bonucci, Firenze, 1844-1850, I, XCII-XCVII. Bonucci proved that the anonymous author was Alberti himself. The autobiography does not tell us much about him. He speaks of his studies and expertness in music. For mental relaxation he would play ball, wrestle, or climb mountains. His assiduous study of canon and civil law made him ill. Before he was twenty, he wrote the Philodoxes, soon followed by Efebia, Religione, and Deifira. He wrote the first three books of La Famiglia in ninety days "for those who did not know Latin." When not yet thirty, he wrote the Interscenales. The best and most authoritative work on his life is that of Girolamo Mancini, Vita di Leon Battista Alberti, 2nd ed., Firenze, 1911. Therefore unless stated otherwise, this text will be used as the basis for this chapter.

The political disorders of Italy and Florence were aggravated by religious problems. From 1307 to 1377, the Popes had resided in Avignon. In 1377, Gregory XI returned to Rome and on his death in 1378, Urban VI was elected to the papacy. Because he refused to return to Avignon, the French cardinals elected the anti-Pope, Clement VII, and began a most disastrous period of church history. Parishes, cities, countries, and even saints took sides. Anti-Popes clashed with popes until the Emperor Sigismund called the Council of Constance in 1415. Two years later Martin V was elevated to the papacy. It is impossible to describe here the effects of the Western Schism on public morality. Authority was divided. Whom could the people follow and believe? In the meantime, the tyrannical Albizzi had usurped the political powers of Florence.

On January 14, 1401, Lorenzo Alberti was exiled for twenty years. He was condemned to live one hundred and twenty miles from Florence, though no particular locality or city was prescribed. He chose Genoa.

On February 11, 1404, Leon Battista Alberti was born there. He was the illegitimate son of Lorenzo; his mother, of whom we know nothing also gave birth to a brother, Carlo Alberti. Fifteenth century civil law tolerated concubinage, and the children were allowed to take the father's name. Perhaps the mother died during the plague in Genoa during 1406, and Lorenzo left the city with his two sons in order to protect them. In 1408, he married Margherita Benini di Piero who had also been banished from Florence.

In 1414, Lorenzo was in Venice attempting to invest some capital in a commercial enterprise. Most likely Battista and Carlo began their studies

there. Between 1415 and 1421, Carlo and Battista studied at Padua in the gymnasium of Gasparino di Barzizza. It was here that they most likely learned the elements of Greek. Gasparino was also considered one of the foremost Latinists of his time. Not only did he make a profound study of Cicero, but he also used him as the basis of his educational system.² This training explains perhaps why Alberti's style has often been compared with Cicero's.

"In boyhood he lived under the guidance of his teacher, and spent his juvenile days as a solicitous student of the laws and institutes of his fatherland."³ In 1421, at the age of seventeen, Battista was studying civil and canon law at Bologna. The great days of Bologna were past, but it was still famous as a center of law. Yet, by 1423, there were a mere thirty-two teachers on its great faculty.

On May 26, 1421, Lorenzo died in Padua; his sons were at his bedside. Carlo and Battista each received a legacy of four thousand ducats. Benedetto, a brother of Lorenzo, was left a share of the estate, and Ricciardo, his eldest brother and executor of the estate, was left the greatest part. By modern standards, such an act would be considered unjust; however, Carlo and Battista were not legitimate children nor natural heirs. A few months later, Ricciardo, Battista's uncle, died. Battista now began to feel the misery of

² McCormick, History, 323.

³ Leon Battista Alberti, Dialogo di Messer Leon Battista Alberti, ed. da Venturino Rofinello, Vinegia, 1543, 24.

poverty; he wrote:

I have lost my father, have been deprived of my ancestors, exiled from my patria, robbed of my whole paternal patrimony by my closest relatives, and deprived of their company. I have been abandoned to begging from strangers. I have become ill from excessive study, and my relations have not compassionated me....⁴

Returning to Bologna, Alberti resumed his studies with his customary intentness. But the excessive mental tensions, long hours of nightly study, his disgust for his relatives, and the lack of money for expenses made him gravely ill. During his illness, in order to distract himself, he wrote a Latin comedy, Philodoxos.

In this work, a youth of modest means is inflamed with love for a beautiful young woman. She also is pursued by a rich and audacious youth who wants to bear her off. In the confusion he seized her sister by mistake, and, to add to the blunder, married her. The first youth, in turn, married his love.⁵ This work was an indication of his later greater works, for he shows how a man with determination can gain glory and fame. And his Latin was so excellent that the work was mistaken for a tract of a classical author.

Recovering somewhat from his illness, Alberti resumed his legal studies, but before long, he became more seriously ill than before. His illness has been diagnosed as cerebral anemia which resulted in a lack of balance and hissing sounds in the ear. To distract himself from his laborious

⁴ Leon Battista Alberti, Religio, da Opera Inedita Et Pauca Separatim Impressa, a Cura di Hieronymo Mancini, Florentiae, 1890, 126.

⁵ Alberti, Opere Volgari, I.

studies, he turned to music, painting, and physical exercises. His doctors finally advised that he abandon his legal studies, and to this Alberti agreed. However, since he had attended the lectures for five years, he was given a doctorate in canon law.

In 1424, Pope Martin V began negotiations with the city of Florence in behalf of the exiled Alberti's, and, by 1428, they were allowed to return. The initial steps of enlisting Martin's support had been begun by Alberto di Giovanni Alberti, a Roman prelate and a papal treasurer at Bologna.⁶

About this time, Alberti wrote De Commodis Litterarum Atque Incommodis,⁷ dedicated to his brother, Carlo. In it, he recalled the toils and vexations suffered at the University of Bologna. He presented the thesis that anyone who dedicates himself to study cannot aspire to honors, riches, or pleasure. The work reflects a pessimism in which he sadly considers the ignorance and injustice of man. Dolci⁸ believes that Alberti's main proposition is that:

Notwithstanding the incorrigibility of the businessmen and the ignorance and vanity of the rich and noble, who, either through one verse, or through another, render the profession of letters detestable and tedious, study ought to be loved and cultivated disinterestedly, for there is no material satisfaction from them;

6 Paul-Henri Michel, La Pensée de Leon Battiste Alberti, Paris, 1930, 59.

7 Leon Battista Alberti, De Commodis Atque Incommodis Ad Carolum fratrem. Accidit T (o) graphia Urbis Romae Antiquae, M.S., cart. della seconda metà del Sec. XV. One must be a paleographer to read this manuscript. Also cf. L.B.A., Opuscoli Morali di Leon Battista Alberti, tradotti parte corretti da M. Cosimo Bartoli, Venetia, 1868.

8 Giulio Dolci, Leon Battista Alberti, Pisa, 1911, 30.

If one sought wealth, he ought enter the military, or commercial, or agriculture. Yet, though plagued with poor health, Alberti complicated things further by falling in love and being rejected. His emotions here were expressed in a new work, Deifira.⁹ In a dialogue¹⁰ between the interlocutors, Pallimario and Pilarco, he expresses almost a feeling of despair:

Oh Lord, others by loving it receive some glory and benevolence from their faith. To me alone, more so than the other most faithful men, is given the reward of wrath, hate, and exile, To God my patria. To God my friends.¹¹

Though Alberti seems to take God to task for his misfortunes, he still devotedly turned to Divine Providence.

His second work on love¹² was the Ecotomfilia,¹³ in which he

9 Leon Battista Alberti, Deifira in Biblioteca Rara: Mescolanze d'Amore, a cura di G. Daelli, Milano, 1883, I.

10 Francesco De Sanctis, History of Italian Literature, translated by Joan Redfern, New York, 1931, I, 414: "Alberti's favorite medium is the dialogue, a sort of familiar and easy manner of discoursing, so alien to scholastic pedantry."

11 Alberti, Deifira, in Biblioteca, 62.

12 "Love especially was always a favorite subject, and innumerable treatises were written about it, many of which were familiar to English readers." Thus Leon Alberti's Art of Love was translated into English, Lewis Einstein, The Italian Renaissance in England, New York, 1903, 83. "Philosophical disquisitions on love were common long before the day of the Platonic Academy but tracts arrived at a peculiar stage of development during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries...."

... Alberti's discussions are no attempt at a philosophical discussion of love. He was most likely inspired by Marsilio Ficino." Also cf. Resca A. Robb, Neoplatonism of the Italian Renaissance, Univin, 1935, 179; 183.

13 Alberti, Ecotomfilia, in Biblioteca, n.p.

narrated his anxieties, and counseled prudence and astuteness to those who, in loving, attempt to hold the affection and the possession of the loved one. It may be considered as his first literary work.¹⁴

Shortly after he wrote this tract, Alberti entered the services of Cardinal Albergati a very humble and simple man being sent to France and Germany as a legate of Martin V. It was customary to have well-educated men accompany a legate; so Albergati took Alberti in his entourage. The trip lasted two years, but Alberti makes few references to it. On his return to Italy, Battista went to Rome.

On March 3, 1431, Eugenius IV was elected Pope. Through the efforts of a friend, Biagio Molin, Alberti was named as an Apostolic Abbreviator. The Pope had to grant Battista a dispensation, because of his illegitimacy and such a bull had also been necessary for Alberti's ordination; for he was a priest by this time. In his Filodossio, Alberti mentioned that he left Bologna "insignito del dottorato e del sacerdozio."¹⁵ Later, he held two prebendaries in the Florentine metropolitan area.

14 Enrico Aubel, Leon Battista Alberti e i Libri della Famiglia, Castello, 1913, 26.

15 Alberti, Filodossio, in Opere Volgari, I, 173.

Shortly after his appointment, Alberti wrote the Vita Sancti Pottti,¹⁶ a story of an early Christian martyr. Pottius gave up everything to dedicate himself to God. In his attempt to convert the emperor, he had his tongue removed, but when he continued to speak, finally he was decapitated.¹⁷

¹⁶ Leon Battista Alberti, Vita Sancti Pottti, In Opuscoli Inediti Di Leon Battista Alberti, A Cura di Ucelli Grayson, Firenze, 1854. Grayson holds that the work was contrary to Alberti's belief. He was in favor of man as a social being; the Vita accentuated the contemplative side of life. In a letter to Leonardo, Ibid., 86, he admitted his inadequacy for the task. He complained to Leonardo of the lack of official documents. Grayson states that Alberti was to write a series on hagiography, but does not know why they were never completed. The reason, however, is rather obvious. On May 29, 1434 a revolution broke out in Rome. The capital was stormed, so Eugenius IV fled to Florence. His secretaries, Alberti among them, undoubtedly accompanied him. Eugenius did not return until October. Ludwig Pastor, The History of the Popes, Frederick Ignatius Antrobus, 6th ed., London, 1938, I, 291-296.

¹⁷ Guido A. Quarino, "Leon Battista Alberti's Vita S. Pottti," Renaissance News, VIII, No. 2, Summer, 1955, 85-88. Quarino's approach is rather naive. He begins with the unproven premise that Alberti is a pagan. "The subject he treated forced Alberti to accentuate the opposition between christian withdrawal from the world and his own ideal of an active life." The subject matter also forced him to place the former above the latter." Ibid., 86. He also claimed that perhaps Alberti did not continue the series, because the whole idea was repulsive to him.

While in Rome, Alberti developed a solid interest in aesthetics. His first work on this subject was Della Statua,¹⁸ followed by an even more famous tract, Della Pittura.¹⁹ The tract is divided into three Books dealing with basic geometry and physics, design, composition and color, and thirdly, the qualities of a good artist. Alberti completed this tract in August, 1435, at Florence.²⁰ There he remained with the Pontifical Curia until Eugenius IV departed for Bologna in April, 1436. At this time, he corrected the Philodoxeos, and dedicated it to Leonello d'Este.

The Pope remained in Bologna for twenty months during which time Alberti took trips to Venice and Florence. While in Venice in 1437, he heard that his friend, Paolo Codagnello, had fallen in love, and Battista wrote him a letter. In it, Alberti expressed his ideas on women; and he was quite outspoken.²¹ The letter was actually a dialogue entitled Sofrona, and is

18 Alberti, Opere Volgari, 1847, IV.

19 Ibid., also Della Pittura, Edizione Critica a Cura di Luigi Malle, Firenze, 1950.

20 Alberti, Della Pittura, in Opere Volgari, IV, 1847, 87.

21 Alberti, Sopra L'Amore Epistola di Leon Battista Alberti a Paolo Codagnello, Giureconsulto Bolognese, in Opere Volgari, V, 1850, 244. This is not the only example of Alberti's misogyny. "A woman is hasty and without any sanity, she is always reputed to follow that which is not honest and reasonable. Instead she allows her appetite to rule," Alberti, Al Tor Donna, in Opere Volgari, I, 222-223." Among mortals there is no animal more villainous than a woman. All women are unbalanced and deceitful. One receives nothing from them except displeasure and indignation. They are cupidous, bold, inconstant, suspicious, obstinant, and full of hypocrisy and cruelty," Alberti, Della Tranquillita Dell'Animo, Libro I, in Opere Volgari, I, 43. There are other examples of his mistrust for women. The only other note-worthy one, however, is found in the Governo Della Famiglia, Opere Volgari, V, 71-72. In this work he reproaches husbands who put too much faith in a woman's ability. Perhaps this excessive position was due to his classical background. It is even found in his works as an old man. F. C. Pellegrini, Storia Della Letteratura Italiana, XVIII, 358, cited in Vittorio Lugli, I Trattatisti Della Famiglia Nel Quattrocento, Bologna, 1909, 85, n. 1.

replete with solid Christian thought, quotations from the Bible, and with a conclusion that said that religion was an aid in obtaining virtu.²²

Late in 1437, Alberti left Bologna for Perugia. His uncle, Alberto Alberti, was being consecrated as bishop and papal governor of Umbria. The consecration must have made a deep impression on him, for he began to ponder the seriousness of the episcopal office. As a result, he wrote the satirical²³ dialogue Pontifex, in which the interlocutors are an old bishop of Perugia and a young pastor.²⁴ Alberti treated the duties of a bishop who was to be a pastor and head of a family, who must lead his flock to virtu. In the Pontifex, Alberti reproaches the clergy for their greed, ignorance, nepotism, and simony. The work is anything but unchristian; it is an attack against abuses he desired to see remedied.

In January, 1438, Alberti accompanied the Pope to Ferrara for the ecumenical council. Eugenius had intended to initiate some reforms, but there was still the prevailing fear of conciliarism. Yet, holding fast, the Pope won the backing of the secular governments. In 1439, the Council moved to Florence, because of a pestilence in Ferrara, and in the same year, the Eastern Church returned to the papal jurisdiction. The Pope was so overjoyed by the success of the Council that he created seventeen new cardinals, one of

22 Alberti, Sofrona, in Opere Volgari, I, 230-236.

23 Vitterio Cian, La Satira, Milano, 1945, I, 449.

24 Alberti, Pontifex, in Opera Inedita, p. 449.

whom was Alberto Alberti.

While in Florence, Alberti compiled the Intercoenales, a collection of his works written through the years. He dedicated it to the Florentine geometrician and astronomer, Paul Toscanellus,²⁵ but a note of pessimism pervades the work due primarily to poverty and despair he suffered as a youth.²⁶ Alberti's feelings are best summed up by Dolci:²⁷

Man is necessarily subject to sorrow, the virtuous and honest man more so than the viceridden and dishonest. Man's ignorance and stupidity, his envy of other men - strangers and friends, the volubility of the gods - these things, singularly or together with other misfortunes, concur and render life unsupportable to him [Alberti] It is better to die; even better not to have been born.

Alberti was basically the delicate emotional type, and his works reveal his moodiness and instability. During this period, he wrote his Faupertas, a tirade against the wealthy,²⁸ in which he said, "Come forth, O sad, suspected, abject, and unsmiling men; there are many others in this same poverty, so, as a result, they live in bitterness and bear disgrace and ignominy."²⁹

In Religio Alberti attacked the superstitions of the people whose prayers, he said, were motivated by fears, and only the good were received by

25 Alberti, Opera Inedita, 122.

26 Luigi Gaudenzio, Leon Battista Alberti, 1404-1472, Torino, 1932, 79.

27 Dolci, Alberti, 42.

28 Alberti, Faupertas, in Opera Inedita, 166-172.

29 Ibid., 169.

the Divinity.³⁰ He also complained about the superstitious practices in the daily religious observances. In Nummus he brought out the faults of an avaricious clergy;³¹ only the wealthy are heard; for they can always donate more to the priests. In addition, he wrote Felicitas, Parsimonia, Fatum et Fortuna, Patientia, and other minor works. But the same general spirit of bitterness, pessimism, and disgust pervades them all.

Another work written in the same vein, Teogenio, was dedicated to Leonello d'Este in 1442. Actually it had been written much earlier. Here, Alberti treats of Fortune and those subjected to its cruelty. The work probably expressed feelings of his exile, his suffering and the ignominy as a member of a rejected family. He perhaps wrote it to console himself in his adversities.

After publishing this collection, Alberti went to Ferrara where shortly after he wrote a work, De Equo Animante, on horsemanship.

About 1442, he wrote his work, Della Tranquillità Dell' Animo,³² a dialogue consisting of three books. Perhaps it was written "to pacify a spirit after he had failed to receive his civil. . . . law degree. In any

30 Alberti, Religio, Ibid., 129-131.

31 Alberti, Nummus, Ibid., 172.

32 The date of this work is not known. But in a letter from Carlo to Lorense Vetteri, the former says, ".... Battista wrote this work with the mind of a then impetuous juvenile who was moved by the injuries of certain perfidious men - his rivals and secret enemies," Alberti, Opere Volgari, I, 5-6.

event a more peaceful concept of life is evidenced."³³ In the work, he imports a superabundance of classical array not as pure humanist exercises, but, rather, to give bolster to his sincere and intimate sentiments. He counsels modesty, prudence, and temperance, and the general tone is Christian. Mancini describes Alberti's state of mind by saying:

The ideas of Alberti are not pagan as compared to the greater part of the most illustrious writers of the time. For him, Christian precepts form the guide of private and public morals, the way of salvation for every man and his fatherland.... He wants free citizens, pure and honest in habits and fearful of God. He holds that all, rich and poor, have the obligation to work, and to render themselves useful to their fellow citizens and patria. For him there is one morale: man has the obligation of remaining honest and virtuous either as a private citizen or a government of the State.³⁴

Alberti is not always easy to evaluate. With his classical background and love for antiquity, he is permeated with the spirit of classicism and his Christian concepts are often disguised by mythological characters. Hence, unless read with a mind sensitive to religion, his works can easily be misunderstood. Curiously the Tranquillita, far from revealing pagan thought, is definitely considered, even by Symonds, a work on the contemplative life.³⁵

Alberti must be classed also as one of the chief fifteenth century supporters of the vernacular. As he observed, "the ancients did not write in

³³ Gaudenzio, Alberti, 73; He erroneously claims that Alberti did not receive a canon law degree.

³⁴ Mancini, Vita Alberti, 184-185.

³⁵ Symonds, Renaissance, IV, pt. 2, 140.

a little-known language."³⁶ "Alberti's most dramatic gesture in his championing of the Italian language as a literary medium was the Certame Coronario, the contest for the crown."³⁷ The purpose of this contest was to prove that Italian could treat worthily the most august themes. Accordingly on October 22, 1441, a contest was held in the Cathedral of Florence; the subject was friendship; the prize a crown of laurel. Eight poets, including Alberti, entered the fray, but the judges could not decide on a winner and no prize was given.³⁸

His greatest work in the vernacular was La Famiglia, the main interest of our study. The first three books of La Famiglia were written in some ninety days at Rome between 1432-1434. Alberti used the Tuscan dialect which was actually somewhat unfamiliar to him.³⁹ The fourth book on friendship had been presented at the Certame Coronario in 1441. The place of this work was prior to 1432-1434, and its basic theme was his sorrow on his father's death.⁴⁰

³⁶ Leon Battista Alberti, I Primi Tre Libri Della Famiglia, Testo E Commento di F. C. Pellegrini, Riveduti da R. Spongano, Firenze, 1946, Proemio, Libro III, 232. Cf. also Opere Volgari, II, 221.

³⁷ Ernest Hatch Wilkins, A History of Italian Literature, Cambridge, Mass., 1954, 129. Also Cf. Vernon Hall Jr., Renaissance Literary Criticism, New York, 1946, 23. "Florence was a city where popular spirit was strong."

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Alberti, Autore Anonimo, in Opere Volgari, I, XCIV.

⁴⁰ Aubel, Alberti, 38.

The Proemio of La Famiglia states the reason for the work. He is moved by the ruin of so many noble families, and wished to consider the true reason for their failure and suggest a remedy. There is a spirit of independence and observation which Alberti attached to his work.⁴¹ In Book II, he discussed true love and marriage. Marriage is necessary, because it is a command of nature, yet he cautions men to marry after twenty-five. He suggests that a man marry a woman modest in words, work, and dress. Book III dealt with the rational use of money in the household. Book IV is the Platonic treatment of friendship to which we have referred.⁴² Of all the Renaissance tracts dealing with the family, Alberti's is perhaps the most eminent. Not only because of the delicateness of the author's personal emotions, but because of his wise use of ancient precepts and their adaptation to new situations.⁴³

Alberti's third book was later plagiarized by Agnolo Pandolfini who, in his Il Governo Della Famiglia, gives an almost exact duplicate.

41 Ibid., 40. Alberti intended to use his own family as an example: "Procure the good, increase your honor, amplify the fame of your house, listen to what the most studious and learned Alberti pointed out in regard to family needs. I remind you to do the same. Read my work and love it." Alberti, I Primi Tre, Proemio, 17.

42 Fritz Schalk, "Il Libro De Amicitia dell' Alberti (Della Famiglia, IV)," in Sodalitas Erasmiana, Napoli, 1949, 102-110.

43 Lugli, I Trattati, 109-110.

Indeed, for centuries, Alberti was considered the plagiarizer, but modern research has proven him the true author.⁴⁴

While in Florence Eugenius IV encountered difficulties with the Sforza family. Fearing for his own safety, he departed for Rome where he arrived on September 28, 1443. Alberti was in his entourage. On his arrival in Rome, Alberti began writing his work entitled Momus.⁴⁵

Eugenius IV died on February 23, 1447, and on March 6, Nicholas V ascended the papal throne. In 1453, during his reign, Constantinople fell to the Turks. In vain he pleaded for aid against them. Though militarily a

⁴⁴ Agnolo Pandolfini, Trattato Del Governo Della Famiglia D'Agnolo Pandolfini Colla Vita Del Medesimo, Scritta da Vespasiano da Bisticci, Firenze, 1734. The only secondary source writer who could not take a definite stand on this question is John Addington Symonds, Renaissance in Italy: Revival of Learning, London, 1877, I, 193. However, the more authoritative works on Alberti have proven that the work was originally written by him. Cf. Mancini, Alberti, 234-235, Luigi Passerini, Gli Alberti, Firenze, 1869, Pt. 1, 145. However, the most conclusive arguments are given by F. C. Pellegrini, Agnolo Pandolfini E Il Governo Della Famiglia, Milano, 1882, 15, 52. He holds that Alberti wrote the work. Pandolfini died later than 1440. Pellegrini feels that the Governo is a "dressed up" version of Alberti's Book III. Moreover, he feels that Pandolfini was not the guilty one. The plagiarizing was, he says, done by an enemy of Agnolo who wanted to defame his good name.

⁴⁵ Leon Battista Alberti, Momus O Del Principe, in I Scrittori Politici Italiani, Testo Critico, Traduzione, Introduzione, E Note a Cura di Giuseppe Martini, Bologna, 1942, XIII. Momus was not so important a work. "It is a mythological fiction pregnant with fifteenth century Platonism and without any medieval characteristics. In this work, Juppiter, an incapable sovereign, mute to good counsils, sensible to flattery, timid in danger, shows us by his example of bad government what ought to be good." Michel, La Pensee, 75. It is very likely that Jupiter was meant to be Eugenius IV. Mancini, Alberti, 266.

failure, his reign was a success. He surrounded himself with some of Italy's leading scholars--Poggio, Valla, Manetti, and encouraged Alberti at this time, when the latter began to produce some of his works on architecture. In 1453, Alberti designed a fountain in Rome for Nicholas; in 1452, he designed the Vatican Palace. Plans for a new Saint Peter's were being submitted at this time, and Nicholas actually approved those of Alberti. Unfortunately, the Pope died before they could be carried out.⁴⁶

1453 was a dramatic year, for it witnessed the conspiracy of Stefano Porcaro against the temporal authority and life of the Pope. Porcaro, a humanist, sought to establish a Roman Republic on the Florentine pattern. A misguided humanism had revived the ancient idea of murdering tyrants. Porcaro concealed his opinions in order to procure papal favors and gain entrance to his presence. But when he made an attempt on the Pope's life, he failed. He was forgiven, but when Porcaro tried again, he was apprehended and hanged. After this, the humanists were alarmed because Nicholas became very suspect of them.⁴⁷ Some criticized the Pope and condemned his action. Alberti, however, sided with Nicholas:

When I hear such people talk, their arguments do not touch me in the least. I see only too clearly how Italian affairs are going. I know by whom all has been cast into confusion. I remember the days of Eugenius. I have heard of Pope Boniface and read of the disasters of many Popes. On the one side I have seen this demagogue surrounded

46 Pastor, History of the Popes, II, 171, 177-178, 195.

47 Ibid., 215-239.

by grunting swine and on the other side the Majesty of the Holy Father. That cannot surely have been right which compelled the most pacific Popes to take up arms.⁴⁸

There is no reason to suspect Alberti's devotion to the pope. True, he could have been motivated by personal gain; he was in Nicholas good graces, and an attack on him might have meant the end of his commissions. However, Alberti never delved in politics either in word or deed.

In 1452, Alberti presented his views on architecture in his famous De Re Aedificatoria.⁴⁹ He cautioned the architect to consider every detail before building, use a wooden model of the project. He then treated the building of arches and roofs. The architect, he said, should consider both durability and beauty. His most important ideas are associated with the building of churches; they follow the ancient principles basic to the building of temples. This work was brought out in printed form in 1485, and was later translated into English, Italian, French, and Spanish.

Nicholas V died on March 24, 1455, and was succeeded by Calixtus III. There is no record of Alberti's work during this reign. However, since many learned humanists were working for the Pope, it can be assumed that Alberti did the same. Certainly, sometime during this period, he wrote a

⁴⁸ Ludovicus Muratorius, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores Praecipui ab Anno Aerae Christianae D ad MD quorum potissima pars nunc primum in lucem predit codicibus, Mediolani, 1723-1725, XXV, 314 or XXCIII in fol., cited in Pastor, History of the Popes, II, 252.

⁴⁹ Leon Battista Alberti, The Architecture of Leon Battista Alberti, London, 1726, 2 vols.; De Architectura, a cura di Vitruvius Pollio, Amstelodami, 1654, X; Opere Volgari, IV.

tract on astronomy, De Signorum Ascensionibus.

In December of 1458, Pius II, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, succeeded Calixtus III. He, too, enjoyed a great reputation as a humanist, and one of his famous works was the educational tract De Educatione Liberorum. Pius had great admiration for Alberti. Battista is mentioned as a Papal Abbreviator, and often accompanied the Pope on his archaeological excursions. On the occasion of a stay in Mantua, Alberti worked for Ludwig Gonsaga, and designed the church of San Sebastiano for him. Alberti frequently returned there, at least as late as 1470, to supervise its construction.

Around 1462, Alberti wrote an appendix to La Famiglia entitled Gens di Famiglia in which he discussed how the dreams of his youth had not been realized. He also treated the reasons for the failure of Florence, and included a special section on how he felt he had made himself a true man.⁵⁰

Pius II died in August of 1464. In the same month, he was succeeded by Paul II. Paul initiated a program of economy, and dismissed the College of Apostolic Abbreviators. Ludwig Gonsaga asked his son, a cardinal, to intercede for Battista; but the Pope was not in sympathy with the humanists. Nevertheless, Alberti remained in Rome. He now used his talents solely in the field of architecture. Giovanni Rucellai asked him to design his palace in Florence; Alberti accepted, and built one of the most beautiful private palaces in the city. Later he designed a loggia near the palace. He then

⁵⁰ Aubel, Alberti, 83-84.

designed Saint Pancratius Church and a replica of the Holy Sepulchre which was to be part of the structure. Various other buildings have been attributed to Alberti; but there is no proof that he actually did them. One of these is the famed Triumphal Arch of King Alfonso of Aragon which still stands in Naples.

In philosophy, Alberti is associated with Marsilio Ficino and the Platonic movement which centered in the Platonic Academy.⁵¹ Its members were devoted to Christian philosophy and curiously, because of the Medici influence in the Academy, he was in sympathy with Savanarola.⁵² In fact, Marsilio Ficino was one of his warm apologists.⁵³ In his De Christiana Religione, Ficino sought to harmonize Christianity with Platonism; and to prove that they were of one and the same philosophical origin, "that the one was the logical consequence of the other."⁵⁴ Ficino believed that religion and philosophy were not to be separated--both sought the attainment of the highest

51 Saitta, Il Pensiero, I, 490. Mancini refuses to accept the opinion that Alberti was a Neoplatonist. He admits that the two argued about a philosophy, but this does not prove that Alberti is a Platonist. Mancini seems to err when he claimed that the Neoplatonists believed that the active life was preferred to the speculative. Alberti, however, believed that both could be joined to each other's advantage. Mancini, Alberti, 444, 445, 447. Mancini's arguments are definitely weak.

52 Philippe Monnier, Le Quattrocento, 7th ed., Paris, 1920, II, 75.

53 "Savanarola criticized priests spending more time on the classics than on religious studies. Priests should prepare for the care of souls," Augusta Theodosia Drane, Christian Schools and Scholars, 2nd ed. London, 1861, 626.

54 Pasquale Villari, The Life and Times of Niccolò Machiavelli, trans. by Linda Villari, 7th ed., London, 1929, 132.

good; religion saved philosophy from an inferior notion of the highest good, and philosophy saved religion from rational ignorance.⁵⁵ Ficino frequently quoted Saint Augustine, and considered Socrates and Plato as precursors of Christianity, allowing them a place in heaven along with the prophets of the Old Testament.⁵⁶

To what extent Alberti was actively associated with the philosophy of the Academy is not known. Certainly he was well acquainted with Ficino, and was invited by him to the Camaldolese discussions in 1460. There Alberti gave a treatment of Platonism which he developed in terms of the thought of Vergil.⁵⁷

Alberti's last work,⁵⁸ *De Iohiarchia* was the final stone in his pyramid of works dealing with the family.⁵⁹ Written about 1470, it is not

55 Josephine Burroughs, "Marsilio Ficino," The Renaissance Philosophy of Man, ed. by Ernet Cassirer and Paul O. Kristeller, Chicago, 1948, 187.

56 Paul Kristeller, The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino, trans. by Virginia Conant, New York, 1943, 27. Ficino's position was dangerous. "St. Augustine had declared that Platonic doctrine was implicit in the faith of the Church; and if Ficino's Della Religione Christiana represented the faith of the Church as just Platonism restated, it was not at once apparent to his friends how alarming was this advance beyond the liberal thought of the Confessions." Herbert L. Stewart, The Platonic Academy of Florence, The Hibbert Journal, London, XLII, October, 1944, 236.

57 Arnaldo Della Torre, Storia Dell' Accademia Platonica di Firenze, Firenze, 1902, 36.

58 Alberti's works named in this chapter are by no means a complete listing. The writer has attempted to introduce only those works which are of importance in this thesis or would demonstrate that Alberti was an uomo universale. To limit the subject, it seemed advisable to place emphasis on his moral and practical tracts.

59 Gaudenzio, Alberti, 76. Gaudenzio describes the tract as one "with excessive loquacity and a very fluent style."

unlike La Famiglia. He discussed the importance of having happy youth in the family, and insists that love is a solid foundation for uniting members of the family. He adds some considerations of the father as head of the family, comparing him to the ruler as head of the State.

Late in life architecture again became his main interest. Before his death, Giovanni Rucellai commissioned Alberti to design the facade of the Church of Santa Maria Novella, but this edifice does not rank high architecturally and is a monstrosity compared to the other works he had constructed.⁶⁰

In 1470, Alberti designed another Mantuan church, Sant' Andrea. The exterior is beautiful in its simplicity, unfortunately some changes were made after the actual construction, but these cannot be attributed to Alberti for they detract from the beauty of the edifice.

Alberti died in April of 1472 at Rome. His body was later moved to Florence, and interred in the family sepulchre at Santa Croce. Nothing is known of his death but he had lived a full life of sixty-eight years. He was a typical uomo universale. He was a man learned in nearly every phase of the intellectual life of the Renaissance. He may rightly be considered "the true precursor of Leonardo da Vinci."⁶¹ An examination of his pedagogical tract will introduce us to one phase of his many talents.

60 Cf. the picture in Mancini, Alberti, 462.

61 Eugene Muentz, Les Précurseurs de la Renaissance, Paris, 1882, 83.

CHAPTER III

THE CARE OF THE FAMILY;¹ BOOK I²

19 When Lorenzo Alberto, our father, was gravely ill with the final illness which took him from this life, he desired very much to see his brother, Ricciardo Alberto.³ When he heard of the latter's forthcoming visit, he sat up in bed and showed signs of being gay. We who had been continuously around him were comforted by his delight. Seeing Lorenzo more relieved than usual was joyful for us; we became hopeful from what we saw.

1 Alberti defined the family as "the children, wife, relatives living in the house, their families, and the servants. I Primi Tre, Libro III, 286. Alberti's family structure is built on age - father first. In Medieval Italy, the family council idea, consorteria, prevailed. This was the Roman principle of the absolute authority of the father. Alberti believed in the family clan which was also a medieval feudal tradition. Michel, La Pensee, 311. The political and social conditions of fifteenth-century Florence were so degenerate, that the work of Alberti was rather well-timed. There was a rise and decadence of families, and the vengeance, personal jealousies, and factions only upset the security of the citizen. Woodward, Studies in Education, 54.

2 Alberti referred to this work in his Vita. "He Alberti wrote the Tuscan books I, II, III of De Familia at Rome in ninety days, before thirty years old." Opere Volgari, I, XCIV. The best annotated text of this tract is I Primi Tre Libri Della Famiglia, edited by F. C. Pellegrini. This work is a translation from that text; numbers on the left refer to the pages in that text.

3 Alberti, I Primi Tre, XLIX; Son of Benedetto Alberto and brother of Lorenzo. Engaged in commerce. Declared a rebel in 1412, because he returned to Bologna from which he was exiled. Died there in 1422.

Adovardo⁴ and Lionardo Alberti,⁵ most gentile and learned men, were

20

addressed by Lorenzo in almost these same words: Words could not express how much I wanted to see Ricciardo Alberto, for I desired to settle certain family affairs with him. In addition, I would recommend to him my two sons, Battista and Carlo. I am in deep thought because of them, but not that I would ever deny their goodness to anyone. Though Ricciardo may not seem sprightly and diligent to you, the fact weighed upon me not to leave our relatives this burden. It displeased me to leave such a pitiful task to anyone, but I instructed Ricciardo and each of you at length as to how to make my sons good men and to develop the virtuousness they should possess for their deeds.

Then Adovardo, the older of the two, replied: Lorenzo, your words have moved me very much! I perceive that you possess the paternal love and kindness which still stimulates me. I have noticed that you instructed everyone in the house to have similar charity⁶ toward one another. You have always

21

4 Ibid., XXXIII, 1376-1422, son of Alberto and Margherita Alberti.

5 Ibid., XLVII, 1392-1428, son of Neresso di Bernardo.

6 References also made to charity in: La Famiglia, Libro II, 189. Libro III, 328, 329 in I Primi Tre. Cena di Famiglia, 187, Matrimoniali, 193, Opere Volgari, I; Della Famiglia, Libro IV, 408, 440, Ibid., II, Dei Chierchia, Libro II, 112, 130, Libro III, 147, 194, Ibid., III; Governo Della Famiglia, 22, 60, Epistola, 258, 259, Ibid., V; Pontifex, Opera Inedita, 75, 85, 102. Dello Amministrare La Ragione, Opuscoli Morali, 129.

LEVINSON
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

shown diligence and care to all, and have put the goodness and honor of the family above all things. It seems to me that you judge correctly the faith and integrity of Ricciardo, your brother in blood, likeness, and habits. No one is more affable, more tranquil, or more content than he. However, do not doubt that we are not of the same mind as he; he is interested not only in your sons, but even in the least member of the household.

What is foremost in our minds is that you should be known as a good and most faithful parent. If friendship is more enduring than relationship, we, as true and upright friends, will do the following: What you hold dear, Lorenzo, and what you desire and recommend shall be carried out as much as possible; for each of us also loves them. We shall do this most willingly because it should be a joy for us to assist these young men in the acquisition of praise and honor. You are the best example they could have of the need for reputation and virtu in their lives. In addition, we see them endowed with such an intellect and character that would make them become worthy men.

22

But God has given all of us health and joy, Lorenzo, so do not think that you have not used them to give your sons everything possible. It seems to me that you are growing better, and I hope that you yourself may be able to care for your own sons.

Lorenzo: How? I should be at fault, if I did not esteem both of you as dear brothers and true friends. How could I honestly have believed that my affairs would be considered insignificant to those who are related to me and have always been showered with my benevolence and love? Yet, it would

be more pleasing to me not to leave you my work.

Although dying does not trouble me much, yet the sweetness of living, the pleasure of discoursing with you and my friends, and the delight received from my business affairs are all sorrowful to leave! I should not wish to be deprived of them ahead of time. Perhaps that would be less grave for me to lose, if I were to say of myself as Julius Caesar⁷ used to say of himself: I am not so old that I should die, nor do I possess the happiness that a longer life might bestow upon me. It would be the greatest joy for me to be in my father's house, in la patria, and in possession of our lost power. If life has not given me any reward, at least I shall die and be entombed among my forefathers!

If fortune does not allow it to me, or nature which follows its own course, or even if I were born to suffer these miseries, I think it would not be wise for me to do those things without patience⁸ which not even force did

7 References also made in the following: Alberti, I Primi Tre, Libro II, 143, 158; Della Tranquillita Dell' Animo, Libro III, 122, Al Tor Donna, 219, Opere Volgari, I; Teogenio, Libro II, 205, Ibid., III; Dell' Arte Edificatoria, Libro I, 212, Libro II, 260, Ibid., IV; De Equo Animante, Opera Inedita, 240; De Discorsi Da Senatori, Opuscoli Morali, 123; Dialogo, 21.

8 References also made in the following: Alberti, I Primi Tre, Libro III, 262, 289; Della Tranquillita Dell' Animo, Libro II, 74, 79, Libro III, 94, 95, 98, Opere Volgari, I; Della Famiglia, Libro IV, 391, Ibid., II; Deichiarchia, Libro II, 105, 106, Libro III, 149, Leonora E Ispolliti, 280, Deifira, 396, Ibid., III; Della Pittura, Libro III, 81, Ibid., IV; Governo Della Famiglia, 23, Epistola, 258, 259, 265, Ibid., V; Momus O Del Principe in I Scrittori Politici Italiani, XIII, Testo Critico, Traduzione, Introduzione, E Note a Cura di Giuseppe Martini, Bologna, 1942, Libro IV, 296; Pupillius, 127, Patientia, 143-147, De Porcaria Coniuratione, 261, Opera Inedita.

for me. I should be more content, my children, not to abandon you at this time. I should not die young, so that I may then work for the honor of our

23

house. But if another fate requests my spirit, I do not want to act contrary to that which gave me it to enjoy. Be it done to me to the extent that it pleases God.⁹

Advarde: What you say is true, and such thoughts are an aid in overcoming every fear of death. Remember that the termination of life is necessary for mortals. Although you wish to overcome the fear and shadow of death,¹⁰ it is necessary, even in sickness and weakness, not to excuse yourself. I believe that the ever-mindful anxieties disturb the tranquility of the soul; such anxieties consist of thinking of those whom one leaves and those to whom one should entrust them. I do not know who could manage your numberless affairs, yet I do not believe that this concern helps your infirmity.

Hence, I think it will be better for you to remain more restful,

24

Lorenzo, and encourage yourself to do the following: Have hope for both yourself and your lot; dwell on the thought that your sons will be of such a type that you will be very contented with them.

9 "ne piglio contro a mio animo." A Christian thought in conformity with the will of God. Cf. Appendix I.

10 "la paura et l'ombre della morte. Cf. Alberti, I Primi Tre, 23 n. 10; Cf. Job, III, 5, X, 22, XII, 22; Psalms, XXII, 4; LXXXVII, 7, CVI, 10, 14; St. Luke, I, 79.

Lorenzo: My sons, always possess virtu, and consider it as the foremost thing which can lead you to a better life. It is impossible not to praise it even if one does not wish to. Notice how these men esteem you, and how they have promised to do a great deal for you. If you will emulate them, you will develop more honor, Every commendable virtu can increase good talents.

Perhaps, Advarde and Lionardo, I am saying what is really not true. But perhaps it is permitted that a father think the virtu of his sons is greater than it actually is. Nor should it be considered unwise in urging my sons to love virtu. In your presence I have shown them how much I revere it, and how much it would please me to see them very virtuous. In this way even the least praise they receive will seem great to me.

It is true that I endeavored in every action to be more loved than feared by all. Nor did I ever seek to be a segnore, and my sons, on their part, have always been obedient and reverent men who have listened to and followed my commandments. Never have I seen any stubbornness in them, nor have

25
they ever revealed any vices. I prepared them to be patient, and hope with me that their good habits would daily improve. But who does not know how uncertain the life of a youth may be?¹¹ It could be that if they had a vice,

¹¹ "Chi non sa quanto dubbiosa la via della gioventu'." Cf. Parables of Solomon, Prov., XXX, 18-19.

they would hide it from the elders¹² out of fear of shame, but in time, it is revealed and manifested.

If there is a lack of fear and reverence in youth, vice, as a result, increases daily. They tend to deprave and corrupt themselves by ugly conversations, habits, and a thousand other ways to make a good man wicked. In our land and elsewhere, we have seen the sons of the most valiant citizens manifest the best dispositions as little children, they would be full of gentleness and politeness. Then, due to the negligence of those who should have corrected them, they ended life as infamous men.

I am reminded, at this point, of our father, Benedetto Alberto,¹³ We know him as a man of prudence, of excellent reputation, and sought after in many things for the good and honor of the family. He was encouraged by the other Alberti forefathers to be as diligent as they were in family affairs. He would often say: It is often said that the only duty of a father is to refill the cellar granery. But he has much more to do. A father ought to watch over all, to know the company they keep, and to observe all habits.

12 Alberti placed great trust in the ability of the elders to govern the family. ". . . by nature the office of governing the multitude is in the elders. Not because they have lived a long time, but because experience in things, which is needed, is not acquired except with the space and process of time and age." Deichiarhia, Libro III, Opere Volgari, III, 130. Again he said, "One often found me in the presence of the elders; I asked them questions, listened to them, and obeyed them." Governo Della Famiglia, Ibide., V, 64.

13 Alberti, I Primi Tre, XI, 1320-1328. Grandfather of Battista. Engaged in commerce, and respected in Florence as a man of importance.

Any bad habits discovered should be corrected and amended with words of reason¹⁴ and not of wrath.

A father's authority should be more strict than a commander, but he should be more a counselor than a commander. Yet, if necessary, he must be more severe and sharp. A father should be ever-mindful of the peace and tranquility of his whole family. He ought to use his counsel and fatherly talent like a target to guide his family with virtu and honor. In times of misfortune, he should guide the youth and not abandon them to the violence of fortune. Never allow them to remain fallen. Never permit them to attempt anything foolish either to vindicate themselves or to prove some youthful and

27

frivolous ideas. In times of good fortune, and more so in tempestuous times, never allow them to leave the guide of reason and rule of living.

Be watchful and provident of every mist of envy, every cloud of hate, every contrary wind, and every reef and danger which could strike the family. Be like an experienced pilot who is mindful of the winds and uses

14 ". . . the influence of Horace's Ars Poetica, with its ideal of "good sense," all tend to make the element of reason predominate in literature and literary criticism." Spingarn, A History of Literary Criticism, 149. Alberti had read Horace. His opinion of reason was that "man was not born to be similar to a beast . . . by his nature man investigates the reasons for things, and examines them in their relationship to the true." Deichiarhia, Libro I, Opere Volgari, III, 47. "Reason by its nature always provokes the mind to the best and most praiseworthy things and moderates desires." Deichiarhia, Libro II, Ibid., 66. Alberti believed that God gave man his use of reason, but an unbalanced reason always errs. Della Tranquillita Dell' Animo, Libro I, 25, 32, Opere Volgari, I.

his knowledge of previous dangers. He remembers that one who spreads out all the sails while in port might rip them. He knows that it is more dangerous to sail badly one time than it is to reach port safely a thousand times.

Envy vanishes when pomp is modest. When nothing but happiness prevails, hate is quenched. When you fortify yourself with kindness and grace, and not with scorn and anger, unfriendliness is checked and restrained. The elders of the family ought to be mindful of all these things. They ought to be prompt and attentive to various aspects of a situation. And, in addition, you should be solicitous and careful in making a good youth more virtuous and acceptable to our citizens.

28

Fathers in every age know that a virtuous son offers them much happiness. A son's virtu depends on his father's care. Laziness¹⁵ and sloth grow wild and diminish decency, but a solicitous and dutiful father will embellish it. Covetous, lascivious, iniquious, and proud men burden a family with infamy, ill-fortune and miseries. Good men who possess kindness, moderation, and gentleness will not be a source of concern to a family. This depends on the diligence and solicitude of the family to amend and govern the youth. They know that if part of the family should fall, it might cause the rest to become debased. And if the family is of a high rank or fortune, the ruin will be the greater.

15 "Through their laziness and negligence, many lose their most honored place among the citizens, their fortune, and their dignity." Alberti, Deichiarhia, Libro I, 24, Opere Volgari, III.

The top stones of a wall the youth are those that are broken in falling. But these same stones may be better for the good of the family, if they are properly amended. Nor will praise, mildness, and sweet words alone restrain the appetites of the young, awaken the lazy minds, or enkindle wills cold to personal honor or the greater good of the family and patria. Nor does any work seem more easy to do or more worthy of a father than to restrain the excessive licenses of youth with prudence¹⁶ and measure. If you wish to make yourself more deserving in youthful eyes, retain in yourself the esteem of the authority and reverence of old age.

29

Nor is there any other way in which the elders can acquire, increase, and preserve in themselves greater authority and dignity than by caring for the youth, making them virtuous, more learned, honored, loved and esteemed. They should instill in them the desire of more sublime things, direct them in the studies of the best and most praiseworthy things, enkindle in their minds the desire for praise and honor. Moreover, the elders should root out

¹⁶ References also made to prudence in the following: Alberti, Proemio, 8, 13, 14, Libro II, 162, 180, 184, 185, 215, 219, Libro III, 241, 288, 335, 338, 345, 348, 361, 399, I Primi Tre; Della Tranquillita Dell' Animo, Libro II, 68, Libro III, 101, 113, 112, Matrimoniali, 195, 200, Al Tor Donna, 221, Saffrona, 233, 235, Opere Volgari I; Della Famiglia, IV, 378, 385, 386, 405, 411, 440, 447, 450, 476, Ibid., II; Delchiarchia, Libro I, 21, Libro II, 65, 66, 77, 82, 98, 99, Libro III, 116, 124, 127, 130, 137, 143, 147, Scatomfilia, 245, 253, Leonora E Ippolito, 283, Deifira, 376, Ibid., III; Governo Della Famiglia, 22, 70, 71, Governo Al Fondolfini, 150, Ibid., 150; Musca, Opuscoli Inediti, 48, 53; Pontifex, Opera Inedita, 74, 82.

every dissolute wish and discontentment of the soul in the young, and thus the very root of vice and cause of hate shall be extirpated from the soul. Shower them with good example.

Never do what some avaricious old men do. There are those who want their sons to do much, and, as a result, their sons are more miserable and servile. These men esteem riches above honor, and teach their sons ugly habits and vile practices. I do not praise that harmful liberality which is without reward of fame or friendship. I censure greatly all niggardliness, but excessive display is also displeasing.

Old men, then, are as common fathers to all youth. They are comparable to the mind and soul of the whole body of the family. As a man who goes about with bare feet is disdained, so, too, a negligent elder does not merit great regard. I blame such men, in part, too for leaving a dishonored

30

family. They should be like the ancient Lacedaemonians who were reputed to be fathers and tutors to all those under age.¹⁷ They would correct any deviation from the rule, and were grateful to anyone who would correct their own sons by any better methods. It was praiseworthy for a father to render kindness and mercy to all he could, if they were not occupied in some manner, they would always try to make their sons more civil and modest. Through this excellent discipline of habits, they rendered glory to their country and

¹⁷ Spartan education was a public and not a domestic affair. References also made to the Lacedaemonians in the following: Matrimoniali, Opere Volgari, I, 191; Della Famiglia, IV, Ibid., 467; Teogenio, Libro I, 191, Libro II, 208, Ibid., III; Musca, Opuscoli Inediti, 51; Dialogo, 15.

honored it with immortal and well-merited fame. To avoid the development of enmities, they would immediately remove and destroy any anger or unfriendliness. They created a land of virtue and politeness in its place. Everyone made use of all of the zeal, strength and talent he possessed. The elders would advise the young, and set themselves up as good examples. The young, in turn, would obey and imitate.

Benedetto would relate these and many other such things as being necessary for fathers. Thus it is praiseworthy for fathers or their substitutes to govern the youth. And I reject the opinions of those who believe that none other than fathers should govern the young. And I urge that my dear sons remain faithful and affectionate to their parents and those to

31

whom they are entrusted.

Hence, my sons, I think it is the duty of the young to love and obey their elders, revere them, esteem them as if they were their fathers, and render them, as is their due, the greatest respect and honor. The elders have proof of many things, they know the many habits, customs, and minds of men, and they have the best remedies in times of misfortune.

Our father, Benedetto, was such a man as I. He always wanted us to be known as most civil and prudent men in all things. One time, when he was in Rhodes with some friends, he began considering the iniquitous calamity of our family. He thought fortune had bestowed too much injury on our family. He was perturbed, because some of the citizens were envious and had unjust hate for him. Benedetto foretold many things which have already come to pass.

It seems that he would hear marvelous things, and would relate them to his listeners who found it difficult to account for his wisdom. They would beg him to reveal to them how he could foretell so far in advance what would

32

happen. Sir Benedette, a most kind and gentle man, would laugh and uncover his head. He would point to his gray hairs and say: These hairs are what makes me prudent and wise. Who would doubt that in a long life there is a great memory of the past, a training in many things, much intellectual exercise in coming to know the cause and effect of things. In addition, an old man can learn how to compare present things with past things, and thus see how much chance they have of success. Does this not seem to be the best advice for rendering and sustaining the family in times of trials and tribulations? If the family is in dire straits, will this not restore it? The knowledge of the elders, use of the intellect and prudence, when combined with diligence, are those things that keep fortune in bloom, and adorn the family with praise, glory and splendor.

There should be a great reverence for elders. Who else could keep the family in happiness, and guide it from unhappiness? You have received your very life and training in the acquisition of virtu from your fathers. Their sweat, solicitude and labor have led you to become men of your age, men of fortune, and men of the social stratum in which you find yourselves. You are obligated to whomever aided you in necessity and hardship, and you

33

are most obligated to whomever never allowed you to leave the house with a

need for anything. If you find it necessary to reveal every thought, affair, and fortune to a friend whom you love and for whom you suffer inconveniences, labor and sweat, remember you should do even more for your fathers to whom you are more obligated. If your friends and acquaintances can share your riches and possessions, your fathers can even more. For, you have received life, a name and nourishment from him. Therefore, in accordance with the desires of the father and elders of the house, one should give the youth his every wish, thought and reason. Above all, one should advise them to love their fathers and elders more than others. They should be taught to be prudent and experienced, and to follow joyfully the instructions of those who should have more good sense.

Nor should young men be reluctant to aid their elders in old age and physical weakness. They should hope that others do the same for them in their old age. They should be prompt and diligent in trying to give comfort,

34

pleasure and composure to the aged. The aged do not believe there is any pleasure comparable to that of seeing their young develop good habits and a lovable nature, and, certainly, they find the greatest comfort in seeing those for whom they have the greatest expectations become sought after, loved and honored. An old age is spent in greater contentment when one sees his young on the straight path and with the good habits of a quiet and honorable life.

However, young man, it is your duty to make your fathers and elders content not only in these things, but also in everything which renders joy, happiness and pleasure to your own. Thus, my sons, follow virtu, flee from

VICES, revere the elders, live joyfully, honored and loved.

The first step in reknowm is to make yourself well-liked and beloved. The first step in acquiring benevolence is to be virtuous and honest with all. The first step in adorning yourself with virtu is to hate vices and to flee from bad companions. One should always be in the company of men who have enough moral worth to sustain you. Never leave those who give good example and teach you how to acquire virtu and good habits. You ought to love and revere them, and enjoy being known by men of honor. Do not be hardened, obstinate, loose or vain. Rather, on the contrary, be tractable, docile and, in old age, serious and pensive. Try to be most pleasing to all; be as reverent and obedient as possible to your elders.

36

Kindness, gentleness, continence and modesty in youth are always praised and extolled. I do not wish to boast about myself, but it is good to give you an example of my own household. Such an example is easier to remember and more pleasing to hear than unrelated ones. I do not ever recall being in any place with Ricciardo or the elders unless I too was there, whether I sat or stood, ever paying them the greatest reverence. In any public place I was always prepared, so that I could render the necessary services when requested. Whenever I would see them, I would rise, take off my hat, and pay them honor. If I should encounter them anywhere, I would leave my amusement and company to be with the elders and accompany them. Nor did I ever leave them and return to my company without my father's permission. I was praised for this obedience and observance by both the older people and the

young. To me, it seemed that I did my duty. It would have been shameful to me not to greet and acquiesce to my elders.

36

It always seemed proper to me to open my heart to and seek advice from Ricciardo whom I respected as a father. The idea of venerating and honoring old age was ever in my mind.

Notice, my sons, that virtu is apparently difficult. Its opposite, at first sight, may seem easy and delightful. However, inwardly the following difference is found. In vice, there is more repentance than contentment, more pain than pleasure, more is lost than is found to our advantage. In virtu, on the contrary, joy, pleasure and sweetness always content you. This virtue never pains or burdens you, and it becomes more and more pleasing and useful to you. You will grow more in good habits and sane judgements; you will be sought after and desired. But if you think you can be a man without some kindness, you will never find the least bit of happiness in yourselves.

The following principle alone could be virtu: Render blessed and those who with all their souls and works dedicate themselves to following and observing every precept with which to remove oneself from vice. Flee from every wicked habit and every unpraiseworthy thing.¹⁸

I would prefer leaving you virtu as an inheritance instead of riches. However, my sons, this is not possible. I have done everything possible to

¹⁸ Cf. Appendix II.

teach you every principle, help and means with which to accumulate honors, favours, and great renown. It remains for you to use the ability given you by nature.¹⁹ I do not think that you are ungifted. Make your nature better by study, the exercise of good works, and labour in the good arts and letters. You must use the wealth I leave you to better yourselves and make yourselves

37

more acceptable to the family and outsiders. I think you prefer to see me alive and with you, my sons, for my absence may be known to you in times of trouble and necessity. I know well what the fortune can do to the unexperienced minds of youth to whom counsel and aid are lacking. I should give you our house as an example. It abounds in prudence, reason, experience, firmness, virility and clarity of mind. Nevertheless, furious and iniquitous fortune knows how strong we are--bulwarked with solid counsel and firm reason--against adversities.

Be of strong mind, for adversities are of the very substance of virtu. Are not these of firm mind, balanced understanding, and strong natural

19 Alberti's concept of nature included joy and pleasure in addition to harmony and order. Saitta, Il Pensiero, I, 405. In Book Three of La Famiglia, Alberti spoke through Gianozzo who said that nature bestowed three things on us from "our first day time, free will--"you can choose good or bad in so much as it seems such or pleases you"--and the body--"nature subjected it like an instrument...in which the soul is moved; nature commands and never obeys any other except its own soul." Opere Volgari, II, 241-242.

talent²⁰ able to acquire great honor in both difficult and adverse circumstances as well as in those tranquil and prosperous? However, conquer fortune with patience,²¹ and the iniquity of men with zeal for virtu. Adapt yourselves to the habits of men with solid reason and prudence.²² Conform yourselves to the habits of men with modesty, kindness, and discretion. Above all, by means of your natural talent, tact, zeal and work seek to be among the virtuous and counted among the noble.

Let nothing be more dear to you than virtu. Always be dedicated to knowledge and wisdom, putting behind everything else not to your advantage.

20 References also made to natural talent in the following: Alberti, I Primi Tre, Libro II, 123, 136, 150, 169, 191, 192, 196, 216, 218, 222, Libro III, 245, 255, 257, 263, 268, 282, 295, 328, 334, 344, 354, 390; Seffrona, Opere Volgari, I, 234; Della Famiglia IV, Ibid., II, 440; Deichiarohia, Libro I, 24, 49, 54, Libro II, 88, 90, 91, 94, 98, 101, Libro III, 125, 130, 146, Teogenio, Libro I, 166, 191, 196, 200, Ecatomfilia, Proemio, 237, 243, Deifira, 395, Ibid., III; Della Pittura, Proemio, 13, Libro I, 36, Libro II, 53, 64, Libro III, 84, Dell' Arte Edificatoria, Proemio, 199, Ibid., IV; Governo della Famiglia, 22, 36, 37, 59, 69, 71, 73, 93, Governo al Pandolfini, 146, 149, 177, 198, 206 Sopra I Amore, 234, 240, 242, Amiria, 267, Efemie, 316, Lettere Amatorie, II, 327, III, 331, Agiletta, Poesie, 370, Ibid., V; Momus, Scrittori Politici, Libro I, 206, Libro II, 236, 246, Libro III, 251; De Letteris Commodis, Opuscoli Morali, 142, 148, 176; Dialogo, 4, 5, 8, 13, 17, 18; Defunustus, 221, De Equo Animante, 239, De Porcaria Conjurations, 258, Opera Inedita.

21 "They say that patience, with manifest courtesy, overcomes the scornful look of the bitter Furies." Della Tranquillita Dell' Animo, Libro III, 95, Opere Volgari, I.

22 "They say that prudence is a most secure wall which cannot be cast down by machines, nor overcome by treachery. The true foundation of prudence is a good mind, and a well-matured and examined reason." Deichiarohia, Libro II, 65, Opere Volgari, III.

As for your desires, let honor and praise alone obtain first place. Never

38

put riches before acclaim. No other labor will seem more arduous than that of seeking true honor and esteem. If one finds the fruits of his works, he will always be virtuous. Do not hesitate to persevere in learning²³ and the arts. Persevere in praiseworthy things, and hold on to good doctrine and discipline. It pleases me that you have built a good solid foundation [matter]²⁴ during your early years by learning to be strong in adversity. You will be honored, my sons, not only in the tender years but those that remain as well. Go through the years and overcome the problems and severities of necessity. If you have learned to fear evil and overcome the rough blows of fortune, it will be a great triumph for you when you attain adult age. Until now you have remained strong. Since you do not lack diligence,

39

solicitude and love for esteemed and honorable things, you will very rarely need either my help or that of any other mortals.

Those who have virtu within them find that they need very few other things. A great deal of wealth, virtue and singular happiness will abide in those who know how to be content with virtu alone. Blessed are those who

23 After his student days at Bologna, Alberti held a different view on studies. "But this most arduous labor of studies, and this most grave thought of the mind always causes us more torment than contentment." Delle Comodita Et Delle Incomodita Delle Lettere, Opuscoli Morali, 151.

24 Note above. Adversities are the matter of virtu.

present themselves adorned with good habits, many friends, and full of favour and rich in kindness for his fellow citizens. No one will be greater and more glorious than those who have dedicated themselves to increasing their fathers' land, their families and fellow citizens with fame and deeds to be remembered. This alone will earn for them names rich in everlasting praise, worthy to stand with those of ancestors. My sons, it will be your duty to exert yourselves in virtu, in good acts, and in good discipline. Do the following: Try in every possible honest way, in every work, and with all 40

your strength, to merit praise and thanks from Adovardo, Lionardo and the elders of the Alberti family. Seek benevolence and reverence from strangers. Leave a memory of your exceptional deeds to our relatives and their descendants.

Be of good mind, for you will have Adovardo, Lionardo and the others with you. I hope that they will have an affectionate care for you. I know that the nature of the Alberti's is to be lovable. I do not believe that they ever wish to be thought hard or inhuman. And they will aid you in striving to acquire virtu. Therefore, I beseech you, Adovardo and Lionardo, to note the age of these boys. You know the dangers of youth; you appreciate the great honor of your family. Be solicitous and take this task as your own.

It is the obligation of everyone to study how worthlessness grows in the same house with virtue and fame. Why do they honor those already dead? Is it not so that the kindness and responsibility of the living may be praised and thought good? If such is the case, is it not even more necessary

to honor the living? I am not saying this because I desire praise for my two sons. I say it that my recommendations will be helpful to them after I die.

41

Lorenzo spoke thus while Lionardo and Adovardo were silent. The doctors were surprised at his mental alertness, and advised him to rest. He did so and we left the room.

Who would ever think, said Adovardo, a father would have such love for his sons? Lorenzo has it. All love is powerful. I have seen many expose their goods, time, fortune and effort to show how faithful a friend could be. There are many stories of men who have had similar devotedness, but I certainly do not believe that any love it more firm or sincere than the love of a father toward his children.

I should well confess to Plato²⁵ that his four furies are very

25 References also made to Plato in the following: Alberti, I Primi Tre, Libro II, 149, 193, 223; Della Tranquillità Dell' Animo, Libro I, II, 47, Libro II, 61, 74, 81, Al Tor Donna, 223, Opere Volgari, I; Della Famiglia, IV, 378, 406, 415, 456, 489, 472, 476, Ibid., II; Teogenio, Libro I, 168, 192, Libro II, 206, 223, 228, 229, Ibid., III; Della Prospettiva, Libro I, 118, Della Statua, Libro I, 167, Dell' Arte Edificatoria, Libro I, 223, Ibid., IV; Governo A Pontolfini, 142, Ibid., V; Musca, Opuscoli Inediti, 58; Amator, 1, Virtus, 133, Paupertas, 169, Opera Inedita; Dialogo, 4, 19, 22, 32.

powerful and strong in the minds of mortals.²⁶ He classed them as prophecies, ministers, poets and love. Thus love disturbed by corporeal beauty seems more ferocious and furious to me. But it more frequently seems to become shameful,

42

dangerous and disgrunting because of disdain or a new desire. I do not deny that true love is bound by an interior strong love. However, I do not believe that true friendship has a more ardent and more devout affection of the soul than that which spurges spontaneously in the father's soul. Here it takes root and is born.

Leonardo: It is not for me to judge how much interior affection a father should have for his sons. I do not have children, and do not know what pleasure it is. But judging what I know from conjecture, it seems advisable for me to agree with you. I say that a father's love may well increase as it is more regarded. As an argument, I submit that which we just saw. Lorenzo recommended his sons to us with much devotion and tenderness. I do not think that he wanted to render them more dear to us, but I believe that the spirit of paternal love moved him. He did not seem to think that any man could have enough solicitude and prudence for another's sons as manifested by the regard and counsel of a father. To be truthful, Lorenzo's bequests affected me this way: He thoroughly convinced me it is just and

²⁶ Reference to this may be found in Plato's Phidros. Alberti either read it in the original Greek, or the translation by Leonardo Bruni. Cf. Alberti, I Primi Tre, 41, No. 18.

reasonable to be diligent and mindful of the orphans and youths of the house-

43

hold. At times, I could not restrain my tears, but then I saw you more deep in thought than I.

Adovardo: Every word of Lorenzo moved me now to compassion than to tenderness. I shall have the same reactions to the sons of my friends and those of my relatives. I shall do the same for all. It is true, Lionardo, I cannot treat them as I do my own sons. Were I to do so, I would think I was either fraudulent or out of my mind.²⁷ But who ought not be kind to orphans? Who would not be ever-mindful of the father of these orphans and his last words written in your hearts? Did not your dying friend leave you his children, his dearest possessions, and place them in your arms? Lionardo, I would prefer to allow my own to be without something rather than suffer the least want, for I alone am the judge of the necessities of my own. We must aid them to receive honor, fame and grow in good habit.

44

I believe that anyone who, by negligence or avarice, allows a natural talent, striving for honor and fame, to suffer, merits not only reprehension but the greatest punishment. If one does not take care of a bull, the animal suffers because of his negligence. But think of the man who allows

²⁷ Alberti later said that "it is a sign of little charity to disdain your own and benefit others; It is a sign of faithlessness not to entrust your own and then to entrust the sons of others," Governo Della Famiglia, Opere Volgari, 80.

others to suffer miseries of the body and spirit, because he is shiftless and negligent. Will not such a man deserve to be hated and considered of no regard by good men? Ah! Be on guard against such cruelty. Fear the prophecies of God. Give me that true prophecy that says: If one does not observe the families of others, his own will not take root.

Leonardo: I see somehow now how serious it is to be a father. It strikes me that the words of Lorenzo have touched you more than I thought. Your words remind me of your sons. While you spoke, I felt a doubt grow within me as to which is greater—the care and solicitude of a father toward his sons or the pleasure and contentment received in educating the youth. I do not doubt that it is a serious task. I do not think it is a father's first concern to make his sons more dear to him. Almost everyone naturally likes his own deeds whether he be the writer or the poet. I think a father

45

loves his sons more because they are his own work. All desire that their works endure forever and be praised and pleasing to all.

Adovardo: It is true that that to which you have utterly devoted yourself is always most dear. In addition, there seems to be a certain natural propensity in a father to have and raise well his children. Later they rejoice themselves by beholding in them their own likeness. All their hopes in old age are crystallized in them, and they have a strong support in their children.

But one should reflect that there are much anxieties and sadness in raising children. One will observe how fathers are always concerned when

their sons do not return. Recall Terence,²⁸ Did he not worry when his sons had not returned? What were his thoughts? What suspicions ran through his mind? How fearful he was? He feared that his son might have fallen and broken a bone or suffered some other mishap. There are men who put the things dear to them above themselves. We are always solicitous and watchful in guiding our sons on the road to good fortune. If nature did not require this solicitude and care from fathers, I think there would be few who would repent having sons. Notice that the birds and animals do just what nature demands.

46

They labor to make a nest or den, and are assiduous and effective in defending and guarding their young. They search solicitously for food for their young, and nature aids them in this.

What you consider an annoyance or inconvenience is a pleasure or delight to us fathers. Such a feeling is born of almost a natural necessity in us. Do not children mean more to us than anything else? Riches are reputed to be useful, and are diligently sought after, but they are proven to replete with worry and melancholy. The signori are revered and feared, and it is very clear they are burdened with the cares of office.

It seems that everything has a corresponding opposite. To death, life; to darkness, light. You cannot have the one without the other. Thus

²⁸ References also made to Terence in the following: Alberti, Della Tranquillità Dell' Animo, Libro I, 43, Libro II, 59, 66, Opere Volgari, I; Teogenio, Libro I, 187, Libro II, 217, Ibid., III; Dialogo, 27.

it is with children. We cannot have hopes for them without despair, nor joyfulness and sweetness without sadness and bitterness. I do not deny that as children grow older, they also bring joy, but even then the melancholy can also increase. In human minds, more misery than happiness is felt, and less pleasure and happiness than sorrow and harshness. However, they hurt with the latter and give joy with the former.

It is always wonderful to have thoughtful sons, yet there is cause in more concern when they grow up. More diligence, care and work is required when they get older. Do not doubt, Lionardo, that the role of a father

47

causes both solicitude and melancholy.

Lionardo: I can readily believe that all affairs are similar. I notice that nature is always careful that every created thing be conserved. Whenever a created thing begins to exist, it receives nourishment and help for the preservation of life. I see how the roots of plants and little trees extend nourishment to the trunk, the trunk to the branches, and the branches to the leaves and fruit. Thus it is natural to think that fathers will fail in nothing in the upbringing of their children.

I think it is the fathers' duty to be solicitous in the raising of their children. Now, I ask, is that paternal watchfulness an absolute necessity, or is it a love born of the pleasures they receive from their children's acts? When a father sees a rare virtue in his children, he is very pleased. He will be more eager to compliment him. Yet, the day is often seen when the son goes off to a far away country. There, wearied from want,

he becomes a man of evil. It is not our intention to investigate which basic love everyone should have, nor why any disparity of love should develop in a father. You have told me that every abnormality is derived from a corrupted nature and depraved talent. The same nature which seeks perfection

48

in all things also separates and deprives the son of evil from true, internal paternal love. Then it can also be said that fathers prefer to be praised by another's sons, especially those born of domestic servants.

I do not wish to contradict you, but I would like to clarify a point. You mentioned that fathers are often saddened by their sons. I do not think that a wise father would become disturbed and sad, nor should he have scruples or worries. To exemplify: There are duties which pertain to the nurse or mother more so than to the father. I think the early years of the child ought to be entrusted to women rather than men. I am not one of those who wants his son to play ball near his father. Foolish men, how little they realize the dangers of a young child in those strong manly arms. The slightest embrace might distort the small tender bones. They can hardly manage them with gracefulness. In fact, a bone could be broken, which would not be discovered until much later.

49

Then again, the first age of a child is always outside the father's arms, for a child rests and sleeps in a mother's bosom. The age that follows this is a delightful one, for the child begins to utter words and signifies his wishes. The whole house listens, and the neighborhood talks about it.

It is a joy to interpret and command what the child says and does; he seems to bud like spring. Fond hopes, signs of a clever mind, and a solid memory are the source of comfort to fathers and a joy to the adult.

Nor do I believe there is a father so busy that he will not find amusement in the presence of his children. Cato,²⁹ the good man of antiquity, had the surname "Wise," and so he was reputed to be. Though he was very constant and strict in all things, he would often interrupt his public and private affairs to spend a day with his children. Children apparently were no cause of trouble to him, for he delighted to see them smile and talk; he enjoyed their simple charms. Adovardo, if the fathers' concern is slight and affected by delight, hope, laughter and good humor, what are the melancholies associated with paternity? Help me see them.

50

Adovardo: It will be a pleasure to tell you. It pains me to see you and others without heirs for our family; and I must have a larger family to compensate for your lack. I think your condition exists, because you wish to live alone rather than suffer any of the inconveniences or trials associated with a family. Why, you are not even trying to succeed to your father's

References also made to Cato in the following: Alberti, I Proemio, 8, Libro II, 131, 136, 141, 149, 169, I Primi Tre; Della Tranquilla Dell' Animo, Libro III, 124, Al Tor Donna, 221, Opere Volgari, I; Della Famiglia, IV, 412, 421, 424, 461, 473, Ibid., II; Dell' Arte Edificatoria, Libro II, 272, 273, 278, 284, 291, 316, Libro 3, 340, Ibid., IV; De Equo Animante, 240, 255, Opera Inedita; De Discorsi Da Senatori, 123, De Letteris Commodis, 160, Opuscoli Morali.

name or position. I especially wanted you, among all the others, to make a name for yourself. Your children would increase the Alberti family, but I hesitate to encourage you regarding anything about which you have hesitated.

I believe I can show you that a father's sadness is great and enduring. You will see that even the most affectionate fathers of every age have a sadness and tears besides happiness and laughter. We must consider seriously before finding good authority, and we appeal to it at the opportune time. We must find an authority that lacks weakness and lewdness. In addition, we must have a mind that is free from vices and blemishes. These corrupt the blood; we must prevent them from bringing scandal and shame to our houses.

It will take a long time to recount how necessary filial respect is, and the labor required to discover the honesty and goodness of authority. Perhaps you will not believe that melancholy can be very great, but you must remember that fatherhood is not always full of joy and happiness.

You know that there is great danger of leprosy and epilepsy in an infirm and weak nurse, and these are said to come from a woman's breast.³⁰ Moreover, you know there is a shortage of good nurses. Why do I recount every little thing? I cherish more the fact that sons may be (and to tell the truth, they are) a source of great enjoyment to their fathers. You are charmed

51
by their every act and word; they show promise of every buona speranza. Every

³⁰ Many of the moral and pedagogical writers of the Renaissance believed that children should be nursed by their mothers. At the time, many rich merchants left their children to the care of nurses or oriental slaves. Lucii, I Trattasti, 95.

little action can make these little treasures sweet, and lead them on to greater pursuits. Does it not pain one to see them fall and hurt their little hands? It is not hard to see why the mortality rate among infants is so high, and think of a father's concern when deprived of so much pleasure.

The childhood stage is a father's sadest, for a child is more susceptible to smallpox, measles, upset stomachs and many other minor illnesses. Many of them are not recognizable; nor can children themselves tell you what ails them. You become all the more frightened, because you do not know how

52

serious the illness might be. The slightest hurt to a child is a great torment to the father.

Leonardo: Since I never had a wife, and such a one is supposed to be a happy blessing, I cannot say more. You know that I would come to you, if I were to desire one. Many have repeatedly exhorted me to take a wife, and there are those who lack good sense and chatter about giving me one. Then, with fires of eloquence, they discuss and laud their cousins, prate about society and the origins of the human species and the procreation of heirs. I am advised to take one for whom I have no desire or who has no beauty or preparation for life. A just indignation rises up in me, because they seek to limit the freedom of my will.

Yet, I do not wish to live forever without a wife or sons. Both you and God know how anxious I am to find a wife. We have often sought a wife who would be agreeable to me, but those who seemed acceptable to me did not seem comely to you. I have been ardently seeking to take my place in the

family, but since I have no sons, my name shall be buried with me. But my heart desires me not to leave my friends in such a state of annoyance, for

53

my single state, which is one of liberty, is displeasing to them. I fear that things do not happen as they did at the sacred font of Dodona in Epirus. Marvelous happenings are told about this place. Flaming ships would be extinguished and extinguished ships would be inflamed. Perhaps it would be better for me to remain inflamed to satisfy you, or, if you believe waiting is advisable, time should cool this ardent inner desire.

We have laughed a great deal. If I had children, I would not bother to find a nurse; a child has his mother! I recall that Favorino, the philosopher of Aulus Gellius, and all the other ancients praise maternal milk more than any other. Perhaps doctors think that nursing will weaken or render women sterile, but I think we are well provided for by nature. In any

54

way we ought to remember that the milk supply is abundantly increased during pregnancy. By the same token, we can judge the size of the expectant child by the mother's physical appearance. I would provide, as you do, a good experienced wet-nurse to give the children good milk, if the mother's should be bad. But do not provide such a nurse to give your wife more leisure or to take the children away from her. There is an even greater danger than the sickness a child might receive from bad milk, for a poor inexperienced nurse can hurt a child and give him a penchant toward vices. She can fill the spirit with fiery and beastly passions, like anger, fear or other evils.

I believe that a nurse with a fiery nature, because of her natural disposition, too much wine, or easily-aroused passions could well lead children to follow her in anger and bestiality. Unhealthy milk, full of mental rancor, can render a child torpid, timid and enervated. Such conditions can have many bad effects on a child's first years.

55

Sometimes a little tree is found in a place where it lacks proper nourishment for its leaves. In its first years, a tree needs much air and water, lest it become languid and sterile. It is a fact that a minor scratch to a tender branch is more harmful than two strong blows to an old trunk. Therefore, one should provide a nurse who is joyful, clean, cool-tempered, moderate and lives a modest life. But it remains for you to agree with me that a mother means more to a child than even the most modest and experienced nurses. After all, she is inclined to nourish her own children; more love, diligence and assiduity come from her than come from any hired nurse. A son fed from his mother's breasts will possess more love. Of course, if a mother lacks milk, seek a happy, experienced and modest nurse.

I notice many men will exhaust themselves with joy in preserving the health of their sons. This is admirable, but we must accept the fact that

56

many children die in their first years. Childrens' pains are worse when they come in pairs. Yesterday, the baby lay languid and near to death, but today he is lively and strong. When God has determined to take your sons early in life, it is a father's duty to give thanks for the many pleasures the children

have given him. I recall the response of Anaxagora, the wise and prudent father, whom when he heard of his son's death, patiently said: It was a wise thing to have generated a mortal man. It did not seem unbearable to him that he, born to die, had already died. Nothing is more certain than the fact that nothing is dead which was not first alive. Every living thing must die.

Adovardo, I believe that the concern of fathers should be that their sons die without vices or the anxieties of life.³¹ Nothing is more exerting

57
 than life. Blessed are those who leave mundane troubles and die young in their paternal house and fatherland! Happy are those who have not felt our miseries! They were not forced to wander through foreign lands without dignity and respect, nor were they exiled far from their parents and friends disdained, hated, cast out by all who were once treated well by us. Wandering through foreign lands seeking some rest from our adversities is our unhappiness. At the same time, we seek pity and compassion in our calamities from utter strangers. We have not been able to receive any mercy from our own citizens, have been banished without cause, persued without reason, and neglected and hated without any human feeling.

But what did I wish to say? Grave infirmities are prevalent in every age, but especially in infancy. Even the illustrious suffer from the

³¹ Cf. Alberti, *I Primi Tre*, 56, N. 19. The idea is comparable to that in *Wisdom*, IV, 11, 14, "Raptus est ne malitia mutaret intellectum eius, aut ne frotio deciperet animam illius. . . placita enim erat Deo anima illius: propter hoc properavit educere illum de medio iniquitatum."

gout, colds and colic, in fact even more so than the lesser class. Fevers, pains and disease weaken the robust youth as well as the infants, so when a child is struck with a malady, it is not justifiable to blame the father. Does he not search for a remedy with a solicitous mind?

58

Adovardo: I do not intend to argue with you nor dispute such poorly reasoned conclusions. I am content that you think it is foolish to fear the irremediable. Yet, do not think I am unbalanced, for I am never without fear even for my own sons. You think all fathers are foolish. No one lives who does not fear losing those who are most dear to him. I refrained from telling you this, Licardo, but there are fathers who feel that their sons will live to a healthy and prosperous old age. They do not fear any illnesses. Cannot an illness be almost as intolerable as death? The life and death of sons are in the fathers' absolute power. The gods promised Althea that her son, Maleager, would live as long as the fire-brand was safe. When she threw it into the fire, he died. I affirm that sons should not be forerunners of unrest to fathers.

Licardo: Your statement compares with a confession, and you, who do not care to argue, may call it such. But it should not be taken as a general principle. I think you can tell me why less-wise fathers exhaust themselves in labors, in long voyages and live in hardship to leave their sons abundant wealth.

59

Adovardo: I know that you do not put me in the class of one so

occupied in gathering short-lived things for my sons. Fortune can take the one who leaves wealth and he who acquires it. I would prefer to leave my sons rich rather than poor and in need. I intend to leave them enough so that they will not need the charity of others. Do not think that fathers do not fear death and poverty for their sons? Who has the duty of making them polite? The father. Who has the burden of having them learn letters and virtu? The father. Who has the unmeasured weight of making them learned in one or another doctrine, art or science? You know it is the father. Add to these the great concern that fathers have in choosing which study, science or profession conforms to his son's nature, family name, the country's customs, present conditions and the hopes of his fellow citizens.

60

Does not our country allow some to become great in military victories? It would be dangerous to our most ancient liberty, if we did not have citizens who followed the call to arms. But it does not make our land more sought after by the learned. It is harder to study than to guard your wealth. Our country, nature, tradition and citizens direct our every thought to the saving of money. I do not know whether our Tuscan dispositions depend on the heavens. The ancients said that Athens³² had a pure heaven, but men there were more miserable and more in need than elsewhere. Thebes had a more

³² References also made to Athens in the following: Alberti, Della Tranquillita Dell' Animo, Libro II, 69, Libro III, 118, Opere Volgari, I; Teogenio, Libro II, 213, Ibid., III.

shrewd heaven, but the Thebians were not so astute. Some believe that the Carthaginians found their country arid and sterile, so necessity forced them to deal with their neighbors and foreigners, and they learned many things from them.

61

Perhaps we can think that the traditions of our people force us to conquer. As Plato, the Prince of Philosophers, wrote: Every tradition of the Lacedaemonians was fired with the desire to conquer.³⁵ As to our land, I believe that Heaven provides astute men to observe the wealth, place and position of others. Heaven does not fire them first with glory, but with the idea of conserving and implementing those things which increase them in power over its citizens.

The same is true of a father who has a son more interested in the army than in building a fortune. Will any father be less disturbed, if he were to lose the honor of his sons and family? It will be more necessary for him to avoid the citizens' hate and malice, because he had directed his son to an undesirable vocation. I cannot presently think of all possible paternal

62

troubles, and it would take too long for me to mention them individually. It suffices for you to see that children are a source of grief and sadness to their fathers.

³⁵ The thought is borrowed from Cicero's De Officiis Ad Marcum Filium, I, 19, 7. Cf. Alberti, I Primi Tre, 61, N. 4. Cicero wrote, "Ut enim apud Platonem est omnis mores Lacedaemoniorum inflammatus esse cupiditate vincendi."

Lionardo: You speak as if I had said that all life, as Crisippus³⁴ said, is serious and full of labor. Pain affects every mortal; sickness, fear and sadness depress them. Suffering is given to all who live in this world. Fathers are found with tears, anguish and black clothes of mourning, and they are no more free from death than any other mortal. Nor are they free from the necessary annoying cares of men. Yet, I believe that fathers are more happy than others, though I do not deny that they ought to be strengthened by every counsel to make their sons more honorable. A son's good way of living is more to be valued than wealth. It will render prestige to the house, fatherland and the son himself. It is considered better for the patria to have virtuous, honest men than those powerful and wealthy.

65

Ill-bred sons are the greatest sorrow to a wise father. Fathers dislike unhumaneness in their sons, and no one can deny that a wayward son is a source of shame. The true reason for this is that all know the father is responsible for making his sons honest, virtuous and well-bred. No one can deny that a father can do what he wishes with his sons. As a good trainer will make an untamed colt obedient, a good father can make his sons more modest and civil by solid diligence. Fathers who have wicked and wayward sons are covered with the ignominy of disgrace. However, as Lorenzo previously

³⁴ References also made to Crisippus in the following: Alberti, I, Primi Tre, Libro II, 193; Della Tranquillita Dell' Animo, Libro I, 33, Libro II, 59; Opere Volgari, I; Dialogo, 24.

said, the elders' main concern is to see that the young are adorned with as much virtu and good habits as possible. Fathers should be more concerned about the good of the family rather than the opinions of people. Virtu always abides in someone; many seek it in order to praise and love it.

However, I would do what Appolonius Alabandense,⁵⁵ the rhetorician, did. If he saw that a man were not eloquent, he would move him to a profession to which he were naturally suited. No time was lost by this method. It is written that the Oriental Sophists⁵⁶ considered among the wisest of India,

64

would not raise the children according to the fathers' wishes, but followed instead the dictates and opinions of the wise men. These would tell the young the profession to pursue, and their advice was followed. If a youth were weak and unable to perform exercises, they would try to make him proficient in them. If the youth failed, he was either drowned or exposed to danger.

Fathers should listen to the Oracle of Appoline⁵⁷ which told

35 Appolonius taught in Rhodes where he was famous during the praetorship of A. Muzius Scevola.

36 Saint Augustine and St. Jerome also mentioned them. They were famed for their frugality and simplicity of life. They considered exercise especially important.

37 Cf. also Alberti, Dialogo, 16, 20.

Cicero;³⁸ Wherever nature and talent draw you, follow with zeal and action. If your sons are drawn to virtu, science, arts or the military, and are given work to do, they will be without vice. If less endowed with natural talent, intellect or wealth, they cannot do greater things, let them perform their lesser exercises with honor. If some youths cannot obtain a station with the most praised men or are in general useless to others, their fathers inspire them with a desire for money and enkindle in them the desire for gold instead of honor.

Adovardo: Lionardo, it pains us not to know with certitude which road is easier for our sens, nor can we perceive which course nature has arranged for them.

38 References also made to Cicero in the following: Alberti, I Primi Tre, Libro 2, 119, 149; Della Tranquilita Dell' Animo, Libro I, 26, Libro II, 72, 75, Al Tor Donna, 221, Opere Volgari, I; Della Famiglia, IV, 384, 399, 422, 444, 461, 462, 473, 474, 479, Ibid., II; Teogenio, Libro II, 205, Ibid., III; Dell Arte Edificatoria, Libro I, 208, Libro II, 312, Ibid., IV, Concieni, 343, Ibid., V; Virtus, 153, 154, Opera Inedita; Letteris Commodis, 180, Opuscoli Morali; Dialogo, 19, 21. "Quintilian was used as the guide in the concrete organization of school curricula and Cicero was the model for style in composition. At Padua and Florence many prominent Ciceronian stylists could be found in the first half of the fifteenth century." Isora Scott, Controversies Over the Imitation of Cicero, New York, 1910, 8. Cicero was one of Alberti's favorite authors. His Latin and vernacular works show the influence of Cicero on his style.

Lionardo: I personally do not think that an alert father will find it so difficult to know to which exercises⁵⁹ his sons are inclined. What is more uncertain than to discover all those things which nature kept hidden within the earth? Who told the avaricious that the earth would contain gold and silver? Who showed them? Who opened this most difficult and uncertain road for them? There were signs which led them to investigate it, and then they found the precious metals and piled them high. Man's diligence is such that none of these hidden things is unknown to us. Consider the architect who wishes to build a fountain. First he looks for a water supply. He does not look everywhere, for he knows it would be useless to search where no spring or vein of water exists. He judges from various signs on the earth what lies underneath. He does not bother searching at soft, sandy or arid spots. He

66

⁵⁹ Exercise, according to Alberti, is a moral, intellectual, and physical training. Moral training consists of recognizing the good and evil in oneself, then cultivating the former and eradicating the latter. Michel, La Pensee, 608. There can be no physical or moral formation without exercise, and a man can only become virtuous through it because it is an act of the will. Nino Sammartano, I Pedagogisti Dell' Eta Umanistica, Mazara, 1949, 173, N. 12. That new principle of exercise was opposed to the old which stressed only booklearning, and it became an inherent part of the curriculum. Through it man will recover all of his spirituality and his perfect Humanistic character. Benetti, Alberti, 123, 169. Mental training was more affectively achieved through exercise. Alberti considered it the master and doctor of health; however, it should be temperate and agreeable. Alberti, I Primi Tre, Libro III, 265. Even the house should be constructed so as to allow room for exercise. "Just before the vestibule nothing can be nobler than a handsome Portico, where the youth, waiting till their old gentlemen return from transacting business with the Prince, may employ themselves in all manners of exercise, leaping, tennis, wrestling, or throwing of stones." Alberti, The Architecture of Leon Battista Alberti, trans. by James Leoni, 2 vols., London, 1726, 80.

decides his work is more fruitful where he observes young sprouts.

Fathers do the same with their sons. They try to note their inborn inclinations, to what extent their wills are strong, and they note what they do assiduously and voluntarily. You are right if you believe that men are by nature lovers of society and live joyously in the company of others; they flee from solitude and despise it. Nature is such that man lives openly and in the company of others; it imposed this on man of necessity.⁴⁰ This same nature seems to discover the useful things and shows us how to use them.

67

Nature has already seeded and nourished a knowledge of infinite causes in our natural talent and in our intellect. It tells us whence come all things, and has given us a marvelous divine power to discern good from bad.⁴¹ You can tell from the first day that a son begins to display his

40 Woodward, Education, 54-55, ". . . the dominant note is that action, not contemplation, nor speculation, is the normal end of human life; as qualities and gifts are to be viewed as they further or hinder the fulfilment of this function. Not that the studious or religious life is to be decried, but either of these is incomplete if divorced from a definitely apprehended aim of contribution to the social good. To live for personal security in another life may be justifiable, but the duty of improving the condition of the life we have to live here admits of no doubt whatsoever...."

41 Ibid., 56. "This complete acceptance of free will is again characteristic of the man of the Renaissance." Alberti later said that "God gave us natural talent, docility, memory and reason, most divine and useful things, for investigation, distinguishing, and knowing the things to flee or to follow in order to conserve ourselves. . . . Therefore, we can state . . . that in our duties the mind is never a slave; it is always free," Alberti, I Primi Tre, Libro II, 196.

appetites just how nature has decided he should be.⁴² Some medical men believe that if youths see a father gesticulating, they will be inclined to virile exercises and arms. If verses and songs strike their fancy and lull them to sleep, it shows that they shall lead a quiet life of letters and science.

68

A diligent father will consider each day all his son's actions and his words, as did Servius Oppidus Canusinus,⁴³ the rich farmer. He noticed one of his sons distributing nuts to anyone from a full purse; the other son was quiet, and would count his nuts passing them from one bucket into another. He knew their types by these acts. Before he died, he called them to divide his inheritance, and told them he wanted them to have the same amount of material goods. Servius knew they were of opposite natures; one was strict and avaricious, the other lavish and a squanderer. Since he wanted to avoid any domestic discord, he divided his money; neither then was in complete control of the household. Such is the sort of diligence fathers should have.

⁴² The principle of nature is the base of Alberti's educational principles. It is the clean cut between the old and new. For him it "is resolved in the fecundity of the creative artistic ability." Nature is indeed the new principle enunciated by Alberti; he began a new epoch in education. Benetti, Alberti, 49, 50, 64-65. Alberti recognized the principles that men are naturally different. "Not all men are similar to you; their desires and opinions are dissimilar. . . ." De Iohiarchia, Libro II, 97, Opere Volgari, III.

⁴³ A rich and powerful farmer mentioned by Horace in his Satire, II, 3.

They should attentively consider every act of their sons, and to judge in terms of them their thoughts or desires.

69

There are many signs by which a father can well discern for what each son is suited. No one is so artful or so talented that he can hide his appetites, desires and passions. If you have a watchful eye and understand their acts and mannerisms, none of their vices will be veiled. Plutarch⁴⁴ writes that Arpollo recognized Demosthenes⁴⁵ avariciousness solely by the latter's glance at some jars of foreign money. Thus one word or glance oftentimes opens a man's mind to our eyes. This is more easily discernible in children who have not yet learned to cloak their actions with falsity.

I believe that it is a sign of great talent when children are not slothful and seek to imitate what is done. It is a sign of goodness and pleasant disposition when they quickly forget an injury inflicted on them, are not obstinate or stubborn, or do not seek always to have their own way. Signs of a virile disposition in a child are that he answers you promptly,

44 References also made to Plutarch in the following: Alberti, I Primi Tre, Libro II, 126, 127, 139, 149; Della Tranquillita Dell' Animo, Libro I, 41, 47, Libro II, 80, Libro III, 122, 134. Opere Volgari, I; Della Famiglia, IV, 378, 452, 468, Ibid., II; Teogenio, Libro I, 181, 183, Libro II, 209, 220, Ibid., III; Della Pittura, Libro II, 39, 89, Dell' Arte Edificatoria, Libro I, 318, Ibid., IV; Dialogo, 12, 23.

45 References also made to Demosthenes in the following: Alberti, I Primi Tre, Libro II, 149; Al Tor Donna, 222, Opere Volgari, I; Virtus, 133, Opera Inedita.

appears ardent among men, and lacks stubbornness and childish fears.

It is better to keep children in the company of others rather than in his own room or in his mother's arms. Train them to be reverent, do not leave them alone, and never seat them with women or leave them alone in their
70

presence. Plato scolded Dione⁴⁶ for remaining ever in solitude, and he said that it was the companion to pertinacity. Cato, seeing a youth quiet and alone, asked him what he was doing. The youth replied that he was talking to himself. Be careful, said Cato, lest you speak with evil men.

A prudent man is one who knows either through habit or age, how much more the skilled will can be corrupted by libidie, irascibility or erroneous opinions than by true sound reason. Cato knew that those who talked to themselves would consent more easily to temptations rather than virtue, for the mind by itself will turn to voluptuous thoughts: L'ozio E padre dei visi.⁴⁷ When you combine solitude, slothfulness and vice, you will become the father of vices. Therefore, it is desirable that from the first children should learn more about virtu than vice. They should be taught and trained early to do things in which they can make true progress. Divert them from all feminine practices.

The Lacedaemonians forced their children to go through the tombs

⁴⁶ Reference also made to Dione in the following: Alberti, Della Tranquillita Dell' Animo, Libro I, 25, Opere Volgari, I.

⁴⁷ "Laziness is the father of vices."

at night, so they might disbelieve the tales of the old ones. They knew that no one doubts a prudent man, and this meant so much to them during adolescence.

71

And those who are raised in virile and manly actions from early childhood will become superior to the forces that tend to make life difficult.

However, it is necessary to accustom children to do hard and laborious things, for with work they strive and hope for true praise and much grace. Therefore, they must exercise their natural talents. Doctors, who have long studied the human body, say that exercise conserves life.⁴⁸ It enkindles heat and natural vigor, casts off bad and superfluous matter, and strengthens virtu and nerves. Exercise is necessary for young and old. Those who do not exercise are those who do not wish to live happily and in good health.

Exercise is one of those natural medicines with which everyone can medicate himself without any danger. It is like sleeping and working, keeping warm or cool, and sitting quietly or exercising when it is necessary. The infirm become accustomed to dieting and living by a rule, but they exercise in order to purge and strengthen themselves. But if a child is so weak that it cannot sustain itself, it would be better to have it lie quietly most of the time; standing and suffering weariness will cause them to become weak.

⁴⁸ "I am reminded of seeing our youths box. . .they receive blows and bruises. . . They do not become languid. . . ." Alberti, Della Tranquillità Dell' Animo, Libro II, 36, Opere Volgari, I.

For some children too much rest is harmful; for others the danger is too much physical strength. Too much rest causes the veins to fill up with phlegm, and they become flabby and pale; the stomach easily becomes upset, and the whole body sluggish. Talent declines and virtu becomes inert through too much rest. Much exercise, on the contrary, is helpful, for one's physique

72

is restored, nerves are prepared for action, every member of the body is strengthened, the muscles are hardened, and the natural talent is alert. It is not necessary to state how necessary exercise is to all--especially to the young. You will notice that children are more refreshed after work than rest. Columella⁴⁹ said that death, more than anything else, was the judge of the wicked. Children who do not exercise have small, pale dry eyes, but if they are accustomed to work, they would be used to virile things.

I praise those who train their sons to stand with uncovered hands and frigid feet. Feed them only so much as is needed to invigorate the body; for it is recommended to accustom them to deprivations and make them as manly as possible. It is better to hurt them to make them useful than not to hurt them and to make them useless.

Thus, Licurgus, the prudent King of the Lacedemonians, wanted the youth to become accustomed to work and not to delicateness. He did not want

⁴⁹ References also made to Columella in the following: Alberti, I Primi Tre, Libro II, 149; Della Tranquillità, Libro III, 123, Opere Volgari, I; Della Famiglia, IV, 383, ibid., II; Dell'Arte Edificatoria, Libro III, 327, ibid., IV; De Equo Animante, 240, 255, Opera Inedita.

them amusing themselves in public places, but working in the fields and at military exercises. Are there not upright and brave men among us who once were

73

weaklings? Did they not become the best runners, jumpers, lancers and archers, because of their strong exercises?

Demosthenes became an orator by making his tongue agile and versatile. From birth he always entangled words, so he put pebbles into his mouth and shouted in a loud voice. He did this so often that finally no one spoke more sweetly or more clearly than he. Frequent exercise can do a great deal of good; the languid and weak become strong; the ill-bred and those tempted to evil become honorable and content, a weak talent is made strong, and a weak memory is developed. There is no habit so strong or so deeply imbedded that cannot be corrected or modified in a few days by attention.

Stipone was a drunkard by nature, but by exercise in abstinence and virtu, he conquered his nature and became the best-bred of all. Vergil,⁵⁰ our divine poet, was a lover from his youth, and developed corrupted habits. He corrected them by doing good. As long as one follows reason, exercises can be good for the body and the soul. Metrodoro, the philosopher at the time of

74

50 References also made to Vergil in the following: Alberti, I Primi Tre, Libro II, 157, 204; Della Tranquilita, Libro I, 48, Libro II, 64, 75, 84, Libro III, 96, 115, 121, Al Tor Donna, 220, Opere Volgari, I; Della Famiglia, IV, 410, 475, Ibid., II; Teogenio, Libro I, 184, Ibid., III; Della Pittura, Libro I, 31, Libro II, 56, Ibid., IV; Amator, 5, De Equo Animante, 240, Opera Inedita; Dialogo, 12, 19.

the cynic Diogene, acquired much knowledge by mental exercise. He could repeat the exact words of several people speaking simultaneously. Consider Sidonius Antipar who could repeat hexameters, pentameters, comedies, tragedies and every kind of verse; one only had to begin a verse, and he would continue to the end. Those who exercised their natural talent a great deal found it possible and easy to do that which seemed impossible to those accustomed to less learned exercises.

The Pythagoreanists knew this well, for they improved their memory by memorizing nightly something that happened during the day.⁵¹ If exercise is of such value, who will doubt its importance? Children should exercise themselves; every night they should learn what they were taught during the day. Our father often sent us as ambassadors to improve our memories. More often he would wish to hear our opinions, so as to sharpen our mind, and to awaken the talent in us. He would praise what was said best, so that we would rival to receive more commendation. It is wise for fathers to test their sons natural talents and note their every act, praise the good and virile, and correct the lazy and lascivious. They should have their sons exercise themselves as much as is required.

75

It is harmful to exercise immediately after eating. Exercise without

⁵¹ Memory work was an integral part of Alberti's education theory. He felt that it should be done daily and sufficiently to satisfy our needs. Alberti, I Primi Tre, Libro II, 150.

the child has received a slap from the teacher, it is still necessary for the father to chastise him. Do you know that a father's love and pity are tender and consoling? There are some children that become greedy and vice-ridden. I do not wish for such a thing because I remember our own troubles.

76

Leonardo: Does what you say concern more the father, state or welfare of the son? Socrates,⁵⁶ that old philosopher, would say that if he could, he would proclaim from the highest places: O citizens, O foolish men, in what respect are you ruined? Do you labor to collect riches? Do you intend to leave them to one who is careful and diligent?

We all wish to procure the proper things for our sons. It would be foolish not to do what would bring you the good you deserve. It would be less prudent to have your sons govern and manage affairs about which they know nothing. One does not give hard-earned money to those who do not know how to use it. I would not give a horse to one who does not know how to ride.

55 "The Roman magistrates punished the father when the child erred or was not corrected in time." Alberti, Cena di Famiglia, 174, Opere Volgari, I. "This passage leads us to believe in a theory of state intervention in education. This is a contradiction with his ideas of paternal authority and family independence." Michel, La Pensee, 514.

56 References also made to Socrates in the following: Alberti, Della Tranquillità, Libro I, 22, 46, Opere Volgari, I; Leonis Ad Crates Philosophum, 271, Opera Inedita. These references were under the name Crates Alberti's shortened form for Socrates. References to Socrates under that name are in: Alberti, Della Tranquillità, Libro I, 15, Libro II, 62, 72, 74, Libro III, 109, 123, Opere Volgari I; Teogenio, Libro I, 165, Libro II, 224; Momus, Libro III, 256, 264, 266, 267; Virtus, Opera Inedita, 133; Dialogo, 4; Ragione, 131, De Commodis Letteris, 142, Opuscoli, Morali.

Are not the baggage and equipment used for making a stockade as useful as they

77

are necessary? Everyone knows it is useless to fight without the necessary equipment. What prudent man does not favor that which is moderate, and consider harmful that which is immoderate. Arms are necessary to defend oneself as well as to repel the enemy. Armed troops assemble to conquer and rout the enemy or to lose the fight, and if they lose, they try to save themselves.

A ship is not secure unless all the sails are in place. The wealth left to children should be the same. If only a little it should not be any less than what they need. It would certainly be something of a blessing to be able to leave our sons a great fortune. Then they would not have to say the bitter words "I beg you" to the magnanimous. But it is better to leave our sons with such a fortune that they will know how to suffer poverty; then they will not have to bow low to obtain a florin.⁵⁷ The great legacy is that which satisfies the necessities and desires of life. A desire is a virtuous thing; an unvirtuous desire is always found in a corrupted mind.

If you love your sons too much, it is an obstacle. Paternal love tries to make children happy, and not to burden them through love. Every overweighty burden is hard to handle; if we do not overcome it, we fall easily. Now nothing is less secure than wealth, and no one considers servitude the

⁵⁷ Perhaps Alberti was recalling his student days. Later he said, "And thus we find (the benefice of poverty) students in ragged clothes who are more learned and virtuous than if they had been educated in purple and ease." Del Teogenio, Libro I, 183, Opere Volgari, III.

worthy gift of a father. We bestow hardships on our enemies, but on our

78

friends joy. I admit that an abundance of wealth also involves servitude and sadness. It does not harm children to provide for themselves, lest they lose that which they need for comfort and daily life. If one does not know how to manage his heredity, all excess money will be spent in a superfluous way.⁵⁸

Teach them virtu, to govern their appetites, and to acquire praise, grace and favor. Thus they can preserve their honor. However, if a man wishes to crown himself with fame and dignity in this life, it will certainly be wise for him not to pass up any opportunity. If some fathers are not so actively engaged in the care of their sons, they should have another who could train their sons in prudence. Pelleus gave Achilles, his son, the company of prudent Phoenix from whom Achilles learned to be a good orator. Phoenix taught him how to live well and how to become educated in what was necessary

79

for living. Marcus Tullii Ciceronis, the prince of orators was entrusted by his father to the care of Quintus Mutii Scaevola, the juriconsul. A wise father wanted his son to be in the company of a learned and prudent man; one more learned and prudent than he.

Who can honor his son with virtu, letters and learning as you can?

⁵⁸ "Alberti feels that the problem of economic independence is united to the formation of a concrete social virtu capable of satisfying human needs, and then meriting them with consent, support, exchange," Benetti, Alberti, 95.

Who can leave his duties in order to make his sons well-bred, wise and civil? Cato was not ashamed to teach his sons how to work in addition to letters, military and civil affairs. He thought it was a father's duty to teach his sons virtu which should be possessed by any free man. He felt that no man was free, if he lacked virtus but he did not want anyone else to be the instructor of it. Cato never entrusted the task to anyone else, for he did not believe another would be as solicitous as he. He did not believe that another could

80

impart the same love to his sons as he could. It is a father's faith, zeal and care that makes a son virtuous. I am pleased to follow Cato and the other ancients in this regard. The ancients wanted their sons to be free of every vice and thus be more virtuous. They placed their sons under the care of those who were most experienced in talent and most illustrious in virtu, so they would prepare them for the other obligations of life.

If I were a father, I would act thus: My first care would be to make my sons well-bred and reverent. If, however, they were to fall into some vice, I consider that it is common for them to err at times. Children ought to be corrected moderately, and at times, even severely. Do not become like those fathers who chastise without reason or when angered. Do as Architta of Tarentine said: If I were not angry, I would punish you for it. Wisely said.

81

It did not seem wise to him to punish his son until his ire had been subdued. Anger cannot exist simultaneously with reason; to correct without reason is a

foolish thing.⁵⁹ He who does not know how to correct with reason does not deserve to be a father or a teacher.

A father would rather see his son cry and be continent than laugh and be vice-ridden. Above all, it seems very necessary to rid them of all those faults common to children, for these are the most harmful vices.⁶⁰ One should treat these with even greater care and diligence, so that they will not grow up to be vain, stubborn and liars.

82

The one who is most despised by all is the one who is obstinate in his opinions and never listens to another's counsel. Such men always have too much faith in themselves, and are not wise and reasonable enough to listen to the opinions of other learned men. They think they are the best, but they are full of bad poisonous words.

Gherardo Alberti, a most liberal and learned man, had a pleasant way of saying every obstinate act was displeasing to him. He would say that the head of an obstinate man was made of glass. The good reasons of another could never pass through to his mind, and, on the other hand, it was easily shattered. An obstinate man is prone to anger, and tries to justify himself with loud harsh words. His stubbornness brings him to say things for which he

59 "What of those irate people who do not know how to control themselves in peace and tranquility? How can they control others?" Alberti, *Della Tranquillità*, Libro I, 39, Opere Volgari, I.

60 "The worst principle is to permit children and women to accustom themselves in maintaining their own wishes," Alberti, *Deiichiarhia*, Libro III, 143, Opere Volgari, III.

must suffer.

Diligent fathers watch for this vice, and uproot it from the mind and character of their children. If an old tree is cut, new branches grow from the roots. An eradicated vice, on the contrary, will not redevelop unless

85

chooses to allow it. Vices grow from many sources.

It seems that the prodigal and Jewish at first live like a king, then adversities force them to follow their pleasures to satisfy their appetites. They then become thieves, rapists, deceivers and infamous men. They had been accustomed to an easy life; suffering was not part of their training. They valued their own judgments above others, and cared not for the judgments of others. Nor did they care for honor, friendship, or the good things desired by mortals. All these come second to their judgments, and they prefer to suffer without any regard just to have their own way. Therefore, if one cares but a little for himself, he will care even less for the welfare of his family. A father has to begin at once to cast out such a vice often found in the good and the bad families. The elders should never allow it to exist, no matter how infinitesimal it may be.

Many maintain that children must be truthful in everything, for they feel that there is nothing worse than a liar.⁶¹ He who lies easily will

⁶¹ "Lies are the most cunning and crafty of men. They are the sort of people who never refrain from complaining and being indignant." Alberti, De la Trankullita, libro I, 40-41, Ibid., I. Reference also made to liars in the following: Alberti, Sentense, 486, Ibid., II.

swear falsely so as not to make himself seem bad. If he perjures enough, he will grow to fear God less and despise religion. He who does this is evil.

84

Remember that a liar is always infamous, vile, unworthy, rebuked by all, and is without friend or reputation. A liar will not possess any virtue for this vice is so wicked that it blemishes all honor. We are always in touch with religion. If one seeks to fill the minds of the little ones with the greatest reverence and fear of God, he acts so because he knows that the love and observance of divine things are a profound restraint on many vices.

If it pains a father to correct and chastise his children, he should do as Simonides, the poet, used to say to Xerxes: The things that please sons are done by fathers; the displeasing are left to others. In this way, the father appears benevolent, and the hate is left for another. Your sons fear their teachers more for the corrections they might receive than for the blows.⁶² A teacher is more solicitous in not allowing his students to err than he is in chastising them.

85

There are some fathers who forgive their sons of everything more out of sloth than pity. To them it suffices to say not to do it any more. Foolish fathers! If a son should scratch his foot, a doctor is called immediately, the house is in an uproar, and everything else is interrupted.

62 ". . . piu tosto con paura che con busse." Perhaps Alberti had St. Paul's admonition in mind: "And you, fathers, do not provoke your children to anger, but rear them in the discipline and admonition of the Lord." Ephesians, VI, 4; Alberti, I Primi Tre, Libro I, 84, n. 18.

But if a son is allowed to do and say what he pleases, he is ruined. He falls onto the spear of obstinacy from which no one can draw him. He does not want his teacher to cure his corrupted soul, so who will open such a spoiled mind? Who will tie up that open sore of license with honesty and fear? How do they become so disobedient and obstinate? What foolish father will say that he does not want to see his son cry, or it pains him to see the child punished, or that he cannot do his duty? Are you one of those who thinks it is a teacher's duty to punish a child and not a father's? Are you one of those who thinks less of his son's vices than of any other work? I certainly do not think so.

However, if you allow a known vice to become worse, you will be proclaimed one who has made the greatest error. It pains you very much to see your son vice-ridden, therefore, you must make them learned and virtuous. This is a father's duty. Does not a gardener step on some fruitful herbs in order to get rid of the evil ones? The same is true of a father. In order to do better things for his children, he must exert himself a little more than he

86

might be inclined ordinarily to do.

There are some who encourage bad habits in youths; they sow a thousand vices. Do you not think it is harmful for a youth to see his father ill-bred, talking about beastly things, always raising his voice proudly, swearing and blaspheming? It is outrageous! The young man thinks he must and ought to have the same bad habits. When children are sucklings, they chew on a capon or partridge bone. After they have learned the names for things, they

ask for certain foods that can be eaten with their teeth. A gluttonous father will readily assent, for these dissolute fathers do not want their children to cry.

Then there are those who find vices displeasing in others but not in themselves. If they are gluttonous, they hate gluttons; or if they are liars, they hate the same. If they are obstinate and base in everything, they do not correct the same vices in their sons--after all, they are themselves full of them. These unworthy men breathe out this unworthiness on their sons.

87

They cannot rid themselves of what they possess and despise in themselves. To them it can be said: O foolish ones, O stupid ones, how do you expect the little ones not to learn what you have taught them?

There are some solicitous fathers who verbally admonish their sons and physically chastise them. They weed out all those newly-sprouted vices from their souls, and then sew virtu and make them honored and well-bred. They make them exercise, and bring them out of that state of lethargy. These fathers know that only what comes from hard work merits praise.

Adovardo: I am so happy that we have engaged in these useful discussions! This reminds me of the occasional evening dances we had at the villa. There was the dance in which there were two lines of people; a person at one end of the line would dance with a partner from the opposite line. In this discourse, Lionardo, you are proving to me that being a father is delightful and sweet, and, at the same time, you are teaching me how good fathers are made. You want fathers to be more diligent than strict, and this opinion

pleases me. A person never considers thinking of anything which is not good-- this is your practice. Let us consider your opening argument, as you said, rationally.

88

I wish to be a little malicious with you, Lionardo. There are those who always wish to be reputed as the best speaker during a conversation. They note every little inflection in a word. You just said, Lionardo, that sons wish to be guided in the path nature points out to them; then you said it was a joy for them to correct their evil inclinations by exercise. Do you not think that even with all our work there will still be many difficult things for our sons to encounter? Do you not think that it is difficult to discern the obscure inclinations of our sons, and then to correct them to a life contrary to that which their natural inclinations direct them? There were still problems even when we could approach them with solicitude, discretion and vigilance. When two propositions are proposed, it sorrows a father not to know which to choose for his sons. But a father's greatest sorrow is to know his son's vices, and not be able to root them out.

There are fathers who want their sons to be well-lettered; but then they are content that their sons should know how to count enough to make a living in civil life, or these same fathers want their sons to be strong and robust in arms and physical exercise. I would make up my mind; I detest the sorrow of a father who does not know what to do. They deliberate about many things, and fear lest they commit an error.

89

Lionardo: Adovardo, please correct my poorly said words. Pretend that we are in a school of disputation where stress is less on appearing crafty in talents than eopious in letters and doctrine. We are permitted to speak freely and without too much thought. Perhaps we are not so perfectly polished as others would desire, but this conference has been a domestic rationalization. I do not expect to teach you things about which you are more learned than I. It would please me to think that what I say is agreeable to you.

The learned say that nature adapts itself in all ways, for it produces things possessed of members and powers which can preserve a being in accord with its nature. We see this in animals, for they have imate qualities which are enough for them to seek out what is necessary and flee that which is harmful.

90

It is clear that any vice in others is naturally displeasing to rational men, for they know that something is lacking in such people. There are those who can prove everything essentially by its original and uncorrupted nature⁶³--as if everything can become perfect by its own efforts alone. I honestly believe that virtu makes all men possess this nature. The perfect have what is necessary to love and retain virtu: an imperfect and undeveloped nature, on the contrary, there is no virtu. I think it is in the souls of

mortals may ruin good habits and corrupt reason, for a vice comes from vain opinion and imbecillities of the mind. I agree with you that it is more or less joined to mens' desires and appetites by nature.

I remember that the sanguine are naturally more amorous than the melancholy; the choleric, more prone to anger; the phlegmatic more prone to laziness; and the melancholy are more timid and suspicious than the others,⁶⁴ Therefore, if any natural talent, memory or intellect appear in your sons,
91

you must use every ounce of energy to lead them where nature draws them, whether this be in the path of the subtle sciences, letters or the most illustrious doctrines.

If you see that they are robust and willing to perform military exercises more so than letters, allow them to follow their nature. Teach them to ride a horse, and to learn the art of warfare. Teach them to follow that which is useful with a good disposition.⁶⁵ However, you will have to control their bad inclinations with great care and constant diligence; the prudent think that a vice can be more easily uprooted this way than by any other

64 "Some by nature are suspicious, bitter, prone to anger...there are those who are inert, lazy, and, at the same time, wanton and followers of their own wishes." Alberti, Della Tranquilita, Libro I, 39, Opere Volgari, I.

65 "It is more difficult to recognize natural talent in strangers than in your own. It is desirable to help our own when they are good and apt and if they are not, we ought to use our every aid to make them better daily." Alberti, I Primi Tre, Libro III, 328.

natural approach. This is proven everyday, because the young degrade themselves and become immodest through bad company and by living in houses of ill-repute. Some bad habits make us so vice-ridden that we become libidinous. Hence, was born the ancient proverb: Love is cold without such wine and food.

Bad habits corrupt and contaminate every good act of nature; good habits, in time conquer and eject every unreasonable appetite and every imperfect act. It is the fathers' duty to draw their sons to virtu by seal and exercise and good things especially if a son is inclined to idleness, avarice, anger and similar vices. If a son is on the road to virtu and renown, a father should aid him by instruction and good example. If a person on the way to the theater stops, he might be late; the road to fame and honor is the same; the road may be open or closed.

However, there are fathers who know their sons minds and wills, and help them grow in honorable deed, and divert them from vices. I do not believe that it is difficult for a diligent and mature father to know the potentialities of his son. If they are not good, better them. I am one of those who would prefer to see his son rich in true honor and distinction.

Adovardo: I agree with your ideas, Lionardo, and believe them worthy of regard, but to discern and to correct filial vices are more difficult than it may seem. Youth is fickle, indefinite and unstable, and it is almost impossible for a prudent man to instill any solid educational principles in them. How can you judge what is good and bad in such a mind? How can you find a certain method of correcting vices in those who are always changing?

Lionardo: It seems that our presence here is like one who receives

a small present of great worth. You use only a few words, but I must of necessity answer you at great length. Judging from your attentiveness, you seem quite willing to go along with me.

Those who have no manifest vice might be very good men; those with much virtu and no vices are perfect men; those who have virtu with some manifest vice are less perfect men. Vices can be seen out in the open. Vespasiano Caesar⁶⁶ said that a wolf changes hair but not color. Yet, a vice will always appear to be only a vice. Be ever mindful that the gluttonous and lascivious cannot rid themselves of their evil desires even when they suffer melancholy or poverty, and when the opportunity presents itself, they immediately return to their natural habits.

However, take care, and do not allow vices to take hold in the young. Here follow the advice given by Hannibal to Antiochus, King of Syria: Tell them that the Romans were not able to conquer the enemy any easier in
94

Italy where they had the same arms and terrain. Youth are like a river which wants to swerve from its original channel, and seek new ways. It does not want to wait until its old channel becomes deeper. A father should prevent this, because every stagnated puddle of vice is rectified by covering it with virtu. He should not allow the puddle to become a river, for if it became

⁶⁶ References also made to Vespasiano in the following: Alberti, Della Famiglia, IV, 380, Opere Volgari, II; Teogenis, Libro II, 208, Ibid., III.

larger, it is more difficult to handle. There is no reason not to see this or be slothful in this matter.

If the vice should leave a son, do not immediately direct him through the field where virtu is planted; do not forbid him immediately from virile exercises. Give them a place where they can progress without harm, and show them the vices of others, so the ugliness can reflect like a mirror. They

95

will hate everything that is without honor or undesirable. It will be useful to show them how vices are held in contempt and hated by every decent man; the honest flee from them. Show them how others avoid the lascivious, and pursuers of it will always have unhappiness, worry and troubled minds.

In this connection I remember Antonio Alberti telling me something that always results. Those who have vices never possess peace of mind. Of what do you imagine murderers and thieves think? I think every hour is spent reflecting on their infamy or sin. They are like the sad who never lift their eyes from the ground; they fear God's chastisement, and are ashamed when they are in the presence of others, for they know their evil deeds are censured by all.

96

One who cheats at cards never seems to rest. You see him sitting in agony and swearing more than winning. He loses enough to lose his shirt, yet he desires to spend more than he has. He loses and wants to wager still.

A glutton is in the same category, for he never has peace of mind. He is only content when filled with wine, yet he is ashamed to be seen in the

street like a pig. Demosthenes, the orator, answered the prostitute who asked for a thousand denarii: I do not buy repentance for that much. Every vice is like that, for everything done without reason and modesty leaves you full of repentance. Architta Erentino, the philosopher, used to say that there is no pestilence greater than pleasure. Pleasure raises up traitors to the fatherland, brings ruin to the State, for these traitors will give our secrets to the enemies. Use these and other similar reminders to fill the youth with hate for vices.

At the same time, exhort the youth with virtu, and praise that which they already have. If they cannot attain to the highest level, at least they should seek to reach a high degree of honor and dignity. Teach

97

them to honor anyone who has virtu. At banquets the ancients were accustomed to sing praise of the bravest men with the most illustrious virtu. They would honor Hercules, Esculapius, Mercury, Ceres and other most celebrated gods. The Romans sought to pay such men honor, and create in others an ardor for virtu, praise and glory. O what a wise and recommendable custom! What an example to follow!

Fathers should never cease to extol the virtu of others to their sons, and thus show how they hate vices. Everyone who is completely sure by nature desires praise and glory, and youth want them more than anyone else. It will do your sons much good, if you insist in them a love for worthy things. At the same time, establish in them the greatest repugnance for brutish things. Give them good advice when they err, but not with a caustic tongue. A

disgraced man becomes worse through his own unworthiness or the hatred born

98

of it, for he is lost and morally abandoned. He no longer cares for honor. Hence, if there is any virtu in your sons, praise it highly, yet, do not exaggerate it. Too much praise can make them proud. The purging of vice should not be done in a devious manner, for it is best to do it immediately and straightforwardly. In other words, create in them true dignity and virtu.

Adovardo: I do not deny, Lionardo, that fathers should be able to govern the habits of their sons to the extent that you wish. They can correct and better their children by devotion and care. I do not know how a father's love can be so blinded as not to see easily the few vices his sons might have. Then, again, you must consider how difficult it is to uproot vice imbedded through habit. It seems that even the fathers of well-bred sons do not know how to lead them to the knowledge of true praise and fame.

Lionardo: Everyone knows that letters ought to obtain first place among practical things. Even a noble without a knowledge of letters is con-

99

sidered rustic. I would prefer to see a young nobleman with a book rather than a falcon, and I am displeased with those who say that it is enough to write one's name or possess the rudiments of arithmetic.

The tradition of our family is a good one, for almost all our Alberti were well-lettered. Benedetto was learned in physics and mathematics; Niccolao and his sons were well trained in letters, and were most learned in

literature and doctrines⁶⁷ in addition to the greatest interest in the various sciences. Antonio wished to read every work of the best writers, and his free hours were spent in such pursuits. In addition to being an astronomer, he also wrote the History of Illustrious Men and Contented Lovers. Ricciardo was always interested in the studies of rhetoric and poetry. Lorenzo was superior to all in mathematics and music.⁶⁸ You, Adovardo, studied Civil Law, so you know how much law and good judgement are needed in all things. I cannot recall all the learned Alberti, and since my words would not suffice to praise Alberto, the light of learning and splendor of our family, I shall remain

100

silent. Nor shall I enumerate the younger men whom I hope will leave a great name to our family.

Therefore, because our family always excelled in arts and sciences, we ought to raise our youth in such a way that they will advance in age together with science and knowledge. There are many ways for one to become learned, but we ought to preserve our own past good traditions. Our family policy has been to have the young study the deeds, practices, and traditions of their predecessors. We want them to enjoy the knowledge they receive, for

⁶⁷ "Doctrines teach one to know the true from the false, and to choose the better part. Otherwise we are no different from a beast." Alberti, Deiarchia, Libro I, 55, Opere Volgari, III.

⁶⁸ References also made to music in the following: Alberti, Della Tranquillita, Libri I, III, Passim, Opere Volgari, I; Ecatomfilia, 246, Ibid., III. Religious music fills him with reverence for God and stills the disturbances of the mind, Della Tranquillita, Libro I, 8-9, Opere Volgari, I.

they delight in being learned.

You young people work seriously in the study of letters. You are assiduous and enjoy knowing what is thoughtful and memorable.⁶⁹ You nurture your talent by reading the ideas of others, and adorn your souls with splendid habits. You seek to abound with gentleness in your conversations with your fellow citizens.⁷⁰ You study to know the human and divine things. There is not so sweet or harmonious a combination of voices and sounds that can compare with the accuracy and elegance of one verse of Homer,⁷¹ Vergil or any of the other masters. There is nothing so delightful or pleasing as the orations of Demosthenes, Cicero, Livy, Xenophon⁷² or any of the most perfect orators.

101

No work is so rewarding as that of reading and rereading good

69 "Man by nature is most desirous of knowing everything.... With this cupidity for knowing he would err, if his nature were not combined to man with the highest natural talent," Alberti, Deiarchia, Libro I, 54, Ibid., III.

70 "Again, there was a further influence making for new standards of manners in the marked growth of the commercial city, where distinction sprang from merit in council or trade," Woodward, Studies in Education, 245.

71 References also made to Homer in the following: Alberti, Della Tranquillita, Libro I, 36, Libro II, 75, 77, Libro III, 94, 97, 99, 100, 106, 107, 115, 116, 118, 119, 124, Opere Volgari, I; Teogenio, Libro I, 181, 182, Libro II, 209, 224, Ibid., III; Della Pittura, Libro III, 76, Dell' Arte Edificatoria, Libro I, 207, Ibid., IV; Mamus, Proemio, 193, Dialogo, 19, 23, 24, 30, 31.

72 References also made to Xenophon in the following: Alberti, I Primi Tre, Libro II, 170, Proemio a, Libro III, 234; De Equo Animante, 240, Opera Inedita; Dialogo, 19, 21.

thoughts, for you will find the mind rich with noble examples, copious with opinions, and strong in arguments and reasons. You force yourselves to listen to the citizens whom you praise and love. I need no more room to tell you how necessary and useful letters are to those in government affairs. I will not mention how they appear as ornaments to the republic.

We Alberti forget that our predecessors were loved and admired by our fellow citizens. Our family always held public office; we were appointed, because our family always had more learned men than the others. Nothing better than letters accords more with nobility, gives more polish to men, or gives credit to the family. No one can be said to possess true gentleness, a happy life or a stable family unless he has studied the letters.

I enjoy extolling literature before these young men who seem well-pleased with our conversation. And, Adevarde, the study of letters is certainly enjoyed by you and your sons. Such studies are useful to every necessity of life. Fathers should see to it that their sons assiduously dedicate themselves to letters. They should teach the children to write correctly, and not consider them well-educated until they are good readers and
102
writers.⁷³

It is almost as bad to know things badly as not to know them at all. They should learn arithmetic and geometry which are always useful to and

⁷³ Most girls received only a domestic education, and the circle of family duties and diligent observance of religion afforded all that was needed, Woodward, Studies in Education, 266.

enjoyed by the bright youths. Be sure that they study the poets, orators and philosophers. Above all, have good teachers from whom the youth can learn good habits as well as letters. I made certain that mine were acquainted with the grammar of Priscian, Servius, and, above all, Cicero, Livy and Sallust. They learned the first principles of grammar from these, and then attained the

103

perfection and splendor of eloquence.

It is said that the intellect is like a vase, for you will always know once you have put bad liquor into it. However, if your sons wish to avoid the crude writers in order to follow the best, they must reread, recite and memorize the latter. I do not condemn the doctrines of any learned writer, but I positively propose the good ones. When I have copies of the best classical writers, it annoys me to see poor writing. Learn Latin from those who are the masters.

There have been many learned men in our house, but they were especially outstanding in letters. Since the knowledge of letters brings fame, I need not express their importance any further. Adovardo, do not believe that I want fathers to keep their sons imprisoned in a library, for sons should have sufficient recreation. Their pastimes should be virile and virtuous and without any vice or cause to censure. They should use the good exercises to which the ancients dedicated themselves.

104

I jest when I say that sitting is not worthy of a virile man. Chess and such games are permitted to old men, but they should not be permitted to

robust youths unless they do work and exercise. Let the women and lazy men sit down, for they talk among themselves or go horseback riding.

Among the ancients it was a sign of nobility to be seen in public with a bow and arrow, and it is written that they knew how to use them well. Domitianus Caesar was so experienced that he could shoot an arrow through the wide-spread fingers of a child. Our youth play ball, and are apt to procure the dexterity that is found among nobles. Even the greatest princes played ball; Gaius Caesar⁷⁴ was one who enjoyed it immensely. At one time he made a wager with Lurtius Cecilius for one hundred denarii. Cecilius gave him only fifty. Gaius claimed that he had won with two hands, and the amount given only paid for the work of one. At that rate, he asked, how much would you have given me, if I had only used one hand? Publius Mutius, Octavian Caesar,

106

and Dionysius, King of Syracuse, and many other noble men took their exercise by playing ball.

The youth should learn to ride horses and use arms so as to be prepared against the enemy. The ancients accustomed their youth to military exercises by adopting the Trojan game described in Vergil's Aeneid. As a result, they developed marvelous horsemen among the princes. Caesar⁷⁵ was

74 References also made to Gaius in the following: Alberti, I Primi Tre, Libro II, 173; Della Tranquillita, Libro I, 26, Opere Volgari, I; Della Famiglia, IV, 424, Ibid., II.

75 References also made to Julius Caesar in the following: Alberti, I Primi Tre, Libro 2, 143, 158; Della Tranquillita, Libro III, 122, Al Tor Donna, 219, Opere Volgari, I; Teogenio, Libro II, 205, Ibid., III; Dell'Arte Edificatoria, Libro I, 212, Libro 2, 260, Ibid., IV; De Equo Animante, 240, Opera Inedita; De Discorsi Da Senatori, 123, Opuscoli Morali; Dialogo, 21.

said to have run a horse at high speed with one hand tied behind his back. Pompey, at fifty-two, while riding a horse at full gallop, could throw a lance and catch it without stopping. I would like to see our young man do that.

Our youth should be taught to ride a horse, to fence, and other like exercises which will be helpful when they are older. You will discover that all these things which I have mentioned are necessary for public life. They are such that the little ones can learn them quickly and easily, and are useful to old men and all that can learn them without bodily harm.

106

Adovardo: I have listened to you with much pleasure, Licardo. I wanted to interrupt you, but did not because it was so interesting. Be careful, lest you give us fathers too much to do. All youths do not have your inclinations, and there are few who could be found to dedicate themselves wholly to studies. Perhaps you will never find anyone with so much virtu as you wish our sons to have. Which father could provide for so many things? Which son will attempt to learn all that is placed before him?

Licardo: I imagine my reasoning did not please you, Adovardo. I have tried to learn how necessary work is from talking to you as a father, but because you have tried to vindicate yourself, I have to do more talking. If one can teach a beast to do human things, we ought to expect more from one with a human intellect. Remember the raven that hailed Caesar, and he replied that there were many salutors in his house. The raven then replied that he

107

had lost the job. I believe that nearly everyone in our house has a greater

mind than I. Of all our youth, I do not see one who is not gentle, alert or well-mannered; our household was always like this. If it were otherwise, a zealous and diligent father easily remedied the situation.

Columella wrote the following story: Parririo Veterenese gave one of his daughters one-third of his vineyard for a dowry. He cared for the remainder so well that the yield was as much as when he had the whole field. Later, the second married, and he gave her one-third. Good God, what hard work and diligence can accomplish. Devotion overcomes the arduous and

108

laborious task. This man made the final third of his land produce as much as the original whole field did.

I would not wish to give only a partial examination of how much zeal and diligence a true father has for his sons. If fathers shower love and faith on their sons, they will aid them receive true honor. Of course there are those who always want others to become better, but never bother to better themselves. But you, Adovardo, are always solicitous about your family whether you are at home or away. Moreover, neither your family nor business affairs suffer from a lack of attention. Daily I see you writing and sending messengers to Flanders, Barcelona, London, Avignon, Rhodes and Geneva. You receive letters from many places, and are capable of handling domestic and foreign affairs.

Adovardo: You have led me to a point where, sad to say, I must admit that some sons are not cherished by their fathers. Your conclusion is

109

that negligent fathers are also melancholy. Tell me, Lionardo, what would you do, if you had proud sons whom you wanted to make obedient? I know actually your sons are devoted to virtu, and seek to make the family proud of them, but not everyone can be a Lionardo, Antonio or Benedetto. Who else has your intellect and alertness? Believe me, Lionardo, there is more than sadness, at times, in fathers, for the fact that he might give unsound advice is always a torment to him.

Lionardo: If I had sons, I would be mindful of it; but my thoughts would not be filled with sadness. My main concern would be to have them develop good habits and virtu. Every exercise not infamous is beneficial to the mind. There are practices which give birth to a honor and regard shown to noblemen. I admit that not every son can become so great as his father wishes, but I prefer those who seek what they can have rather than those who seek what they cannot have. Though a man fails to achieve everything he

110
desires, nevertheless it is more worthy of praise to work to something profitable rather than live inertly, lazily and devoid of exertion. One of our old sayings is that laziness is the baggage of life. It is a disgusting sight always to see the lazy man sitting down and doing nothing all day. I watch them become fat; they are no different from the pig.

Adoverdo, regardless how rich and noble a father may be, he ought to strive to his utmost that his sons know something else beside virtu. If some misfortune should occur, he could make a living by his trade and thus live an honorable life. Are the misfortunes of this life so slight that we

cannot expect adverse accidents? Was not the son of Perseus, King of Macedonia, seen in Rome as a clothes dyer, and thus able to satisfy his needs. If things are so unstable that the son of a very powerful king can be reduced to poverty, we ordinary men,⁷⁶ as well as our superiors, ought to provide against every misfortune. A wise pilot can control a ship during a storm;

lll

fathers see that their sons are trained in practical things. Sons, in turn, should have enough dignity to adapt themselves to a work to which they seem naturally inclined.

Adovardo: That sons are exposed to dangers is often disturbing to fathers. Fathers always want their sons to have the best, and, yet, it often happens that the young son grows up to be a proud man of no breeding, and there is not much a father can do about it.

And it often happens that because of poverty or adversity, a father must change the course of education planned for his sons. Then there is always the continuous fear that sons either will not in the end follow the good teachings necessary for later years, or that fortune will interrupt their plan for acquiring a great name. A father is continually worried, for he knows the instability of fortune and the inconstant habits of youths. How can one doubt that fathers do a great deal for their children? How can anyone consider

⁷⁶ De Sanctis seems to err when he describes Alberti's "man" as "the honest bourgeois idealized, the new type that had taken the place of the ascetic and chivalrous type of the Middle Ages--the bourgeois purged and refined." History of Italian Literature, I, 416.

him continuously happy or, at any time, unfaithful?

112

Lionardo: I do not know how a diligent father can have ill-bred proud sons, unless he became diligent too late and after they were already vice-ridden. A father must always be watchful and prevent any evil habit in the beginning; he must be scrupulous in extirpating them when they arise. He must not let them raise their heads, lest they ruin by their infamy the good name of his house. If a father does this, his sons will not be disobedient. In my opinion, if a vice develops, because of a father's sloth or negligence, the father should cut it off like a branch, so no part will ruin the family fame.

True, a good father will not ease his sons out, as some irate fathers do, lest the vice-ridden youths become more dangerous and infamous when left to themselves. It is a father's duty to root out every vice that grows in his sons; but if he attacks the first tiny germ of vice, he will not have to attack it when greater.

113

A father begins by watching and noting where his son goes when he first leaves the house. Of course, he does not allow them to go to the evil sections of the city. A father should always have himself thought of as a father; he should never be cruel but human. It is a fact that authority held by violence is less stable than that held by love. Fear does not endure too long, but love is lasting. Fear diminishes daily, whereas love develops more every day. Who will be so senseless that he thinks it is necessary to be

severe in everything? Severity without kindness gives birth to more hate than respect for authority. Since kindness is more affable and separated from harshness, it merits more respect and thanks.

Diligence is the habit of a father and not a tyrant. One does not have to be an excessive investigator of minute details, for the maligner does not become obedient. Sons should not be treated like servants, for it is sometimes better not to close our eyes than not to correct the evident. A son is less apt to lose respect for a father who does not know what is happening than for a father who is negligent.

He who is accustomed to deceiving his father thinks little of betraying others. If a negligent father raised a bad son, it will be difficult for him to call that child his son. The best laws, the customs of our country

114

and the judgement of good men have a remedy for this. If your son does not want you for a father, you do not want him for a son. Let it sorrow you less to have a son in prison than an enemy in the house or one who will dishonor the family name. One who gives you pain and sorrow is an enemy.

But certainly, Adevarde, one who has much time as you will be a most diligent father. If a father is not receiving much filial distress, he is not receiving much reverence and honor. Fathers will never have contentment and joy; a father's care is his son's virtu. The father wants his son to develop as many good habits as possible. If sloth does not predominate in an elder, the obedience of a son will not diminish.

Adevarde: O Leonardo, if all fathers could hear your advice, how

happy and blessed they would be. I admit that fortune cannot give good habits, virtu, letters or arts, for these are due to our diligence and solicitude. But the things said to be subject to fortune--riches and comforts--are necessary in the acquisition of virtu and a good name. Fortune will be on our

115

side as long as we have devoted fathers. Lionardo, can you expect to aid your sons receive the honors to which they were destined? Is it not permitted you to conduct your sons to the praise and fame they believe you can lead them?

Lionardo: Are you asking me whether I would be ashamed to be poor, or if I should fear that virtu would disdain our poverty?

Adovardo: Why mention poverty to you? Would it not obstruct every plan you have for life? Lionardo, what are these strange thoughts you have?

Lionardo: I seek simply to live as long as I can be happy. It does not trouble me to suffer what good men suffer, and I am not ashamed to be poor. Do you think I believe poverty an evil or inhuman thing and unconquerable by virtu? Does it not render some reward to the work of studious and modest men? If you look with care, you will find more virtuous men than the rich among the poor. Man's life has little content, but virtu has contentment within itself.

Adovardo: You will admit, Lionardo, that I never said poverty was difficult for every man or rendered every man miserable. I gladly agree

116

with you that the devoted fathers receive true joy from their sons. It will please me more, if you will give substantial reasons for what you say. If

you have enough proof, it is easier to reason about such things.

I wish you would marry and have children; raise them according to your ideas and with your devotion. I think your house will be more glorious and furnish more superior youths, if you follow your own instructions.

Lionardo: I thought I could teach you to be a father, and it is very foolish for me to try to teach you. You have more training in all learning than any other. I have seen how learned you are in the classics. Which foolish man, who had what we call an education, would contradict you. By your clever arguments where you criticized me for not having sons, you have actually restored to me my old excuse. I am content that you love me. But now you must repay me. If I have relieved you of some of the sadness which fathers possess, you, in turn, should not try to burden me with woe; however, if I can make you happy, I shall follow your advice and marry.

They laughed at these words. Someone entered and said that Ricciardo was outside waiting to see Lorenzo. Adevarde went out to greet him, for Ricciardo was his father-in-law, and he had to pay his respects. We remained, lest Lorenzo should need us.

Explicit primus liber Familie. Deo Gratias.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Alberti was a true uomo universale of the Renaissance. Not only was he acquainted with architecture, education, classics, astronomy, mathematics and religion, but he was also proficient in them. He imbibed the spirit of the same, and displayed characteristics of modified individuality, criticism, and classical pagan citations.

His life was unsettled, for his father's untimely death left him impoverished. Ill health, sorrow and despair caused him to leave his legal studies. The parentless youth turned against God and the world in a series of emotional works. Fortunately, conditions became better, for he was made an Apostolic Abbreviator. He continued to produce many tracts on diverse subjects in addition to his secretarial duties. He was recognized as one of the outstanding architects of the day, and his De Architectura was generally acclaimed. Though most of his works on ethics were written when he was young, his later life seemed to be dedicated to aesthetic tracts.

His most famous tract on the family and education is La Cura Della Famiglia. Its first book is a serious expose of the pedagogical theory of the Renaissance. His teaching is not limited to any particular development of the student; he sought to develop the "whole man." His curriculum included the physical, mental, moral and spiritual development of the child. Physical education is necessary, for it is conducive to a healthy mind. The child

should not be expected to spend the whole day on studies. The classics were to be studied for style and contents. The child should become proficient in literature, arts, and mathematics. A good teacher should be hired for this purpose. A child should be taught that there were moral obligations in life. No one respects the thief, liar, the proud and obstinate. These and many other vices must be removed. Discipline must be firm, but with reason. If there is no improvement after verbally correcting a child, a more effective method should be applied. Religion is also a form of education; it is necessary that the child be mindful of the Supreme Being.

Alberti was not a pagan. He referred to the pagans and classical authors in his tracts, but this was a literary fad. He criticized some of the clergy for their vices, but he remained a good Catholic throughout his life. He was cognizant of God's beauty and power. He believed in the redemption of Christ and other Catholic dogma. Both verbal and mental prayer were necessary; man should be mindful that God would aid him when asked.

The concept of virtu included various definitions. Borrowing a pagan term, he used it in reference to natural or developed talent and grace. Virtu is a medicinal grace given to pagans and Christians by God. It is, in a true sense, a divine aid for the development of natural virtues.

Alberti was a humanist; his life and works attest to this. He might not have actually taught, but his pedagogical treatise has exposed the Renaissance theories on education. His ideas are both educationally and morally sound; everything dominated by reason and exercise. Perhaps Alberti was not a philosopher or theologian, but his religious thought is usually sound, and

though some pagan influence is at times apparent, it remains Christian.

Alberti was a humanist, educator, and Christian; the first book of La Famiglia is the best proof of this.

APPENDIX I

ALBERTI'S RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

Most of the misconceptions concerning Alberti's religious thoughts stem from his writings in the Interoculares. It seems that the secondary-source writers base their arguments on Alberti's expressions in this work. As previously mentioned, these tracts were written during a period of mental and emotional distress, nevertheless they are not to be assumed as irrelevant.

In La Famiglia, Libro IV, Alberti spoke against some of the mercenary abuses of the clergy. Opere Volgari, II, 401. Nunnius attacked the priests from various aspects. Apollo instructs the priests to honor money above all the divinities, and the priests swear to respect the oracle. Opera Inedita, 172. Priests are described as lazy and mentally dull; they understand very little of the beautiful, ibid., 174. The clergy do not aid everybody, but only those who come with gifts. The poor are never heard, for they come with empty hands, Oraculum, ibid., 151-154. Pontifex was his most bitter attack on the clergy. Alberti discussed what a good pastor should do, and then criticizes the clergy severely for their vices. The patrimony of the Church is for the poor, and "not for the lazy and inert beasts who feed upon others like parasites," ibid., 74. The dishonesty of some bishops and hypocrisy of some religious is also criticized, ibid., 107. Very few priests are learned and even less are honest, but they always wish to appear with pomp and show among others. They have too much laziness and too little virtue, La Famiglia, IV, Opere Volgari, II, 264-265. It is evident that Alberti's attack is against the vices of some of the clergy, and not religion. His attack is not aimed at the institution of the clergy, but those unworthy men in the clerical hierarchy, Michael, La Pensée, 238.

Before considering Alberti's religious ideas, we shall present some opinions of the secondary writers on the subject. Dolci believes that Alberti is hardly a Catholic or even a Christian. Alberti spoke of Fortune so much that there seems to be little faith in a Divinity. St Augustine's influence on him is almost nil. Alberti does not think of the other world; his moral and religious ideal is essentially closely associated with the mundane, for his is a new spirit and product of the age. To him the Church is a nest of delights and religion only an artistic choice. Religion produces only an amiable pleasant character. Dolci, Alberti, 66, 69-70, 77, 78. Alberti's Artifex is the God-man of a new religion. "The new God is the product of human thought, indeed it is the science of nature..." Benetti, Alberti, 54, 118. Saitta believes that Alberti is a Stoic-Christian; that he was a believer and his later faith passed beyond the distressing doubt of youth, and he thinks that Religio reduces the old religion to a vulgar superstition. From one sentence

in this work (*an tu deos...deserent, opera Inedita, 131*), he deduces that Alberti is a theist, or even a deist. Alberti cannot conceive of God as an absolute, perfect, immutable spirit, Saitta, *Il Pensiero, I, 205, 395*. "Alberti frequently approaches the subject of religion, never dilates upon it, and in no place declares himself to be a Christian. His creed is that of the Roman moralists—a belief in the Benignant Maker of the Universe, an intellectual and unsubstantial theism. We feel this even in the passage of the *Famiglia* when Gianosso and his wife pray in their bed chamber to God for prosperity in life and happiness in children. There is not a word about spiritual blessings, no allusion to Christ or Madonna, though a silver statue of the Saint with ivory hands and face is standing in his tabernacle over them." And, "his science, morality, philosophy, and religion were aesthetic. He conformed to the ceremonies of the Catholic Church, but the religious sentiment had already become in him rational rather than emotional, and less a condition of the conscience than of the artistic sensibility," *ibid.* No where in Alberti's works is there any reference to the Blessed Mother. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy, IV, pt. 1, 206-207, 215*. Some writers hold the opinion that Alberti was a pantheist. For Alberti Fate and Fortune are the substance of one thing with nature, that is, God, Alberti, *Momus, a cura di Giuseppe Martini, 191; Dolci, Alberti, 67*.

Benetti presented another viewpoint when he said Alberti felt "the man who tramples the divine work is the man that acts contrary to nature; it is the man who obstructs the divine will. Nature is the will of God." Benetti, *Alberti, 110*. Alberti might have been acquainted with the Dominican rule. Its first two chapters are dedicated to the care of soul and body, and Alberti seems to have borrowed some ideas from them, Aubel, *Alberti, 64*. Alberti was a most sincere believer, ". . . the contemplation of death and judgement, of sin, of the inherent conflict between God and the world, were the dominant notes of his spiritual outlook." Woodward, *Studies, 86*. Mancini presents an interesting approach to the problem. He holds that "Alberti accepts the pagan doctrine when it is in accord with Christian ideas. According to him *Alberti*, charity ought to govern the family and their members ought to have the idea of rendering thanks to God for so many benefits. . . . Alberti believes in the world beyond. . . . Battista does not make a mystery of his intention of placing the writings of Christian wisdom in accord with those of pagan doctrines," Mancini, *Alberti, 228, 229*. The most theological approach to Alberti's religious thoughts is presented by Michel. He begins by listing some of Alberti's religious works, *The Tranquility of the Soul, The Life of St. Petrus, The Care of the Family, and The Psalms*. In *Pontifex*, Michel demonstrated Alberti's thoughts by citing the Scriptural texts quoted by him. None of the other secondary writers mentioned these. Some are: "Feed my lambs, etc.," *John, XXI, 15*; "The good pastor lays down his life for his sheep," *John, X, 11*. In *Religio*, there seems to be a phrase from St. Jerome—"The sun and light please God. . ." *Opera Inedita, 31, 83*. There are three aspects to Alberti's concept of the divinity. An abstract God who is the beginning and end of all things. The Trinity—the God whom one worships on the

altar, the One who protects the earth, the God whom we must serve and please, The Christian religion which he knows. Simplicity and Immensity are the negative attributes of God. Simplicity includes the use of Alberti's theological terminology. His reference to dei and superi poetically designate the celestial power. He is not a polytheist, for these expressions are just fantasies which have no religious significance. Alberti defines the immensity of God when he said that "everything is full of Jove." In Religio, Alberti said that "everything is full of the gods." Opera Inedita, 129. But this does not mean that he is a pantheist, for the expression signifies that God fills the world but is not confounded with it. Michael, La Pensee, 105, 551, n. 1, 555.

Alberti's De Architectura has caused many misconceptions among secondary writers. He continuously refers to a church as Templum. For those who begin with the premise that Alberti is a pagan, it is not unusual that all other thoughts follow suit. "If we adorn and beautify the house where a King or any great man is to dwell...what ought we do to those of the Immortal Gods?" Alberti, De Architectura, I, 24. In a letter to Mathaeo De Bastia he refers to a church in these terms, Opere Volgari I, LIXOLX. This, however, is unusual for him. Temple must not be considered as a pagan concept in the Renaissance, for Alberti believed that a house should have an altar at the entrance for common prayers. He held that the "temple" should be situated in a place which would be convenient for the old and infirm, and he objects to the Hebrew idea of one main Temple, De Architectura, II, 7, 5, 28. Though temple is a pagan term, also used in the Middle Ages, one cannot accuse Alberti of paganism for using it; in fact, the use of such classical language was common during the period even among good Christian writers. M. L. Gengaro, Leon Battista Alberti, Teorico E Architetto Del Rinascimento, Milano, 1939, 113, Michel, La Pensee, 546. Four lines from his work on architecture were condemned by the Spanish Inquisition in 1611. Alberti wrote that "I may venture to affirm, that as there is nothing in nature can be imagined more holy or noble than our Sacrifice (the Mass), so I believe no man of sense can be in favor of having it debased by being made too common." De Architectura, I, 42. Gasparis Quirega Cardinalis, Index, Hanoviae, 1611, 482. Lib. 7 de la Architectura de L. B. A., c. 13 line 4 en los impressos en Venecia, anno 1565, en lengua Italiana; cited in Michel, La Pensee, 546, n. 1. The whole work was not condemned; only the above four lines. Alberti cannot be considered a non-Christian because of this condemnation: "Battista's is not a philosophy of strict deductions, nor does he cease to be a good Christian, nor does he treat the things of religion irreverently...he did not imagine what dangerous consequences his philosophy would have." De Sanctis, History of Italian Literature, I, 415-416.

Alberti's religious thought is filled with his religious concepts and Catholic observances. To him, true nature is God. The Supreme Prince imposes true eternal laws which all must obey; at the same time nature defines what man is to fear or flee, Deiarchia, Libro III, 120, Opere Volgari,

120. The soul of man is such that he can live happily and attain immortality: "I was not only born to contemplate the sky...but... primarily... to know and serve God. Serving God is done by choosing the good and maintaining justice." The ancients referred to God as the dii who are always good and wish to see man become better. Always invoke the aid of God in adverse affairs, but first do all that you can, then ask God for wisdom and virtue, Alberti, Della Tranquillità, Libro I, 24, 32, Libro III, 112, 113, Ibid., I. "Alberti said that God made man as a human and divine thing, Genesis, II, 7. There is no doubt that the divine element is the soul. He praised the opinion of those "who say that man is created for the pleasure of God, and to know the first true beginning of things." St. Augustine XIII, I, 4, Deuteronomy, XII, 25, 28, St. Paul, 2 Corinthians, 5, 5-9, 1 Galatians, I, 10. God is more compassionate than severe against those who err; at one time, he adds, "I held another opinion," Alberti, I Primi Tre, Libro II, 196, no. 3, Libro III, 272. Alberti later placed great confidence in the will of God when he said that "we should resolve that divine things ought to be left to God and his ministers...." Delle Amministrare La Ragione, Opuscoli Morali, 156. The necessity of good habits is emphasized for they bring much grace, Cena di Famiglia, Opere Volgari, I, 173. Alberti outlined two methods of keeping the soul in contact with God. "One is to keep my spirit as happy as possible, and never let God's wrath or any desires disturb me. It is my proposition that a pure spirit is always very pleasing to God, and I safeguard it against anything I doubt as good or bad." Man must thank God for the many benefits he bestows, and we must consider our ingratitude for not accepting the graces he sends us." Alberti, Governo, Ibid., V, 22, 23. Alberti was mindful of the gifts of God, for he believed that "God is hope; His mercy is infinite, and there is no number to His graces; His power is incomparable...therefore always hope in Him." Alberti, Deifira, Ibid., III, 404. God loves and helps those who strive to be like Him by using that which He bestowed on them. It is most compassionate to give others what you seek from God, Alberti, Deichiarchia, Libro II, 104; Ibid., 104. He often seems overawed by God's powers. God is the Creator who gave immortality to the soul. He is the God of love. "When we turn our eyes toward heaven and consider the admirable work of God, we are less confounded by His utility than His beauty," Alberti, Manna, Opuscoli Morali, no page; Istoriotta Amara, Opere Volgari, III, 285; De Architectura, I, 2. Perhaps one of Alberti's most beautiful references to God is the rhyme in Ippolito which reads:

O Somma Sapienza e vere Iddie
(O Sublime Wisdom, O true God,
Da cui procede ogni infinita gloria,
(From Whom all infinite glory proceeds,
A te recorro con tutto 'l cor Mio
(I have recourse to thee with all my heart)
Che gracia presti a mi debil memoria,
(For grace helps my weak memory),

Alberti, Ippolito e Dianora, Opere Volgari, III, 301.

120. The soul of man is such that he can live happily and attain immortality: "I was not only born to contemplate the sky...but... primarily... to know and serve God. Serving God is done by choosing the good and maintaining justice." The ancients referred to God as the dii who are always good and wish to see man become better. Always invoke the aid of God in adverse affairs, but first do all that you can, then ask God for wisdom and virtue, Alberti, Della Tranquillità, Libro I, 24, 32, Libro III, 112, 115, Ibid., I. "Alberti said that God made man as a human and divine thing, Genesis, II, 7. There is no doubt that the divine element is the soul. He praised the opinion of those "who say that man is created for the pleasure of God, and to know the first true beginning of things." St. Augustine XIII, I, 4, Deuteronomy, XII, 25, 28, St. Paul, 2 Corinthians, 5, 5-9, I Galatians, 1, 10. God is more compassionate than severe against those who err; at one time, he adds, "I held another opinion," Alberti, I Primi Tre, Libro II, 196, no. 3, Libro III, 272. Alberti later placed great confidence in the will of God when he said that "we should resolve that divine things ought to be left to God and his ministers..." Delle Amministrare La Ragione, Opuscoli Morali, 156. The necessity of good habits is emphasized for they bring much grace, Cena di Famiglia, Opere Volgari, I, 173. Alberti outlined two methods of keeping the soul in contact with God. "One is to keep my spirit as happy as possible, and never let God's wrath or any desires disturb me. It is my proposition that a pure spirit is always very pleasing to God, and I safeguard it against anything I doubt as good or bad." Man must thank God for the many benefits he bestows, and we must consider our ingratitude for not accepting the graces he sends us." Alberti, Governo, Ibid., V, 22, 23. Alberti was mindful of the gifts of God, for he believed that "God is hope; His mercy is infinite, and there is no number to His graces; His power is incomparable...therefore always hope in Him." Alberti, Deifira, Ibid., III, 404. God loves and helps those who strive to be like Him by using that which He bestowed on them. It is most compassionate to give others what you seek from God, Alberti, Deiarchia, Libro II, 104; Ibid., 104. He often seems overawed by God's powers. God is the Creator who gave immortality to the soul. He is the God of love. "When we turn our eyes toward heaven and consider the admirable work of God, we are less confounded by His utility than His beauty," Alberti, Mamus, Opuscoli Morali, no page; Isterietta Amara, Opere Volgari, III, 285; De Architettura, I, 2. Perhaps one of Alberti's most beautiful references to God is the rhyme in Ippolito which reads:

O Summa Sapientia e vere Iddio
(O Sublime Wisdom, O true God,)
Da cui procede ogni infinita gloria,
(From Whom all infinite glory proceeds,)
A te recorre con tutto 'l cor Mio
(I have recourse to thee with all my heart)
Che grazia presti a mi debbil memoria,
(For grace helps my weak memory),

Alberti, Ippolito e Dianora, Opere Volgari, III, 301.

From these statements of Alberti, it is evident he is not an atheist, theist, or deist. He is a good Christian and Catholic humanist. During a period of mental depression, he turned against God's will; later he repented.

APPENDIX II

ALBERTI'S DEFINITIONS OF VIRTU

Alberti's idea of virtu must be analyzed both negatively and positively. His negative approach is found in only a few works. In Memus, "the veil given to Memus in substitution of the sacred fire lost by him, represents the bad fruit of false virtu, which in substance is only weakness and ends up by giving victuals and aid to the conspiracies of the wicked. It is altogether the contrary of the sacred fire, which consists of the true virtu of man, and even first, of the gods: the sacred fire is spiritual virtu.... The sacred fire . . . confers divine power on man." Valeria Brunelli Benetti, Leon Battista Alberti e Il Rinascimento Pedagogico Nel Quattrocento, Firenze, 1925, 19. Alberti, Memus, Opuscoli Morali, Libro I, 4-5. "This virtu," to quote Saitta, "stands for the same autonomy as desiring that with its own energy it creates its own world for itself without the need of extrinsic aid or of transcendent powers. There are false and cowardly virtuosi that go in search of supports: their virtu, if it can be called virtu, can only be ridiculed and finds itself unequal to the errors of fortune," Saitta, Il Pensiero, I, 395-396. Alberti referred to false virtu by saying: "It ought to be hidden forever. I exclude it as bare and despicable." Alberti, Virtus, Opera Inedita, 135. At this point, Saitta seems to err gravely by saying that "it /false virtu/ is profoundly different, indeed, from virtu which has faith only in its own force, and moves fearlessly against fortune and arises to undermine it." Saitta, Il Pensiero, I, 395-396, cf. infra.

Albert's approach to the problem is far more definite. Virtu can refer either to talent or to grace. In Virtus, he mentioned the savants and artists as defenders of virtu; "Polyeoletus with his pencil, Phidias with his chisel, and Archimedes with his pulleys," Alberti, Opera Inedita, 134. In his work, De Jure, he is far more explicit: "Here we speak of virtu from the nature of men, that it should be cultivated whether it is in the hand, tongue, voice, feet, or whatever manner of learning: we call one adorned with virtu if he is thoroughly learned in faith, or pictures, or any form of art," Alberti, De Jure, Opere, f d 7r and v, cited in Michel, La Pensée, 371. There are many other allusions to this aspect of virtu; however, there is an important citation to it in Matrimoniali: ". . . I always strive that virtu and my works surpass the years and satisfy your expectations of me and my natural talents." Opere Volgari, I, 195.

Another view of his positive approach to the problem is in his consideration of virtu as grace. Saitta does not believe that Alberti's doctrine of virtu is a religious concept, Il Pensiero, I, 214. And Gentile

is far more outspoken in his opinion. He considers virtu as the principle of human greatness, but it is not a celestial grace—only human will, Giovanni Gentile, Giordano Bruno e Il Pensiero Del Rinascimento, Firenze, 1920, 151. If he had referred to anyone other than Alberti, his opinion might have been acceptable, but here it does not fit the man. Dolci also believes that Alberti's virtu is not associated with the spiritual order, Dolci, Alberti, 72. He seems to labor under the misconception that Alberti would have used the word grace and not virtu. However, Alberti was a humanist, and was definitely influenced by the classics. He simply borrowed a pagan term, used it in place of a Christian concept. Moreover, the important factor is not the word, but the thought behind it. Michel, on the contrary, refers to Alberti's virtu as the "firm disposition of the soul to flee evil and to do good," La Pensée, 581. True, Alberti does not refer to virtu as grace as such, but after considering some of his statements, we can make some definite conclusions.

"Happiness cannot be had without virtu. It is the chain and best peacemaker of friendship. Do not doubt that virtu, a divine and most holy thing, is perpetually shining with much light and splendor of praise and fame in whomever it may be." La Famiglia, IV, Opere Volgari, II, 406, 409, 436. "Virtu, the mother of happiness, holds the place of God among mortals," Sentenze Pitagoriche Utilissime A Buono e Beato Vivere, Opere Volgari, II, 486. In another reference, Alberti said, "He who learns how to hate vice acquires virtu for himself. It is the highest and supreme goodness: the desire of being virtuous brings us true happiness. Honor is the reward of virtu. Perhaps there is not so much as is expected from us, however, virtu has so much excellence in itself that nothing can equally merit it. One does not find virtu in a mind occupied with frivolous and puerile thoughts. Nor will you find it where there is the least vice. Our first and own usefulness will be to adopt the forces of our own spirit to virtu, to know the reason and order of things, and then to venerate and fear God. This will be virtu . . . goodness and wisdom." Deifira, Libro I, 24, 43, Libro II, 91, 101, Libro III, 144, Opere Volgari, II. "Virtu will aid to free us from corrupt opinions." Epistola, Opere Volgari, V, 283. Later Alberti said, "Virtu is truly superior to excellence. In as much as it is found joined and equal to a certain divine power, by means of which we withdraw ourselves from vices and all errors, and then pursue praise, honor, and the true and stable delight of the mind," De Lettere, Opere Morali, 177. Then again, "there is nothing easier to have and obtain than virtu. One does not have virtu unless he wants it. This is how you will recognize it: virile habits and works which men can have as much as they want, good counsils, prudence and a strong and constant spirit, a well-ordered reason, good discipline, and diligence. It is the most clear and illustrious of human goods. If you have it, you have little need of anything else. Virtu is necessary to the soul and contrary to vices. It helps us conquer the force, will, and ferocity of every other animal. It cannot be known and valued unless it is manifested by virtuous works. Nor will you have to occasion or opportunity to show it to the vice-ridden."

[For them] it is even considered virtu to overcome a malicious one with malice," I Primi Tre, ed. da Pellegrini, Proemio, 17 Libro II, 192, 194, 202, 206, 222; Libro III, 400, 405; Governo Della Famiglia, Opere Volgari, v. 147. "Virtu is necessary for you and yours," Governo, Opere Volgari, v. 147. He also said, "Virtu is joined to and completed in humans; God is truly virtu, for it is from God, but do not abandon yourselves by not doing whatever you can... excite virtu in yourselves..." Della Tranquillita Dell' Animo, Libro III, Opere Volgari, I, 113. Alberti also referred to it when he wrote of pagans. "It was la virtu in Ulysses that made him avoid danger. I believe that you too can do it by hoping in God," Al Tor Donna, Opere Volgari, I, 216.

Now the problem is whether or not Alberti is talking about grace. Alberti said that virtu is easy to obtain, and, also, that it is given to pagans. Pagans lived an exclusively natural life, so one might believe that virtu is not grace. On the other hand, because of its intimate association with the divine, as he mentioned, there is a valid reason for concluding that it is grace. What is the answer?

The essence of the response is that there is a grace that is easy to obtain and that is given the pagan. It is a true supernatural grace or help bestowed by God. In theology it is known as medicinal grace, and it corrects the faults and inclinations of a fallen nature. It also assists such a nature. However, in his insistence that virtu is so intimately associated with the divine, virtu can also apply to a strictly supernatural grace which is the essence of elevated nature. In theology, such a grace in its highest form would be the permanent state of divine sonship described by sanctifying grace. There is an excellent discussion of this gratia medicinalis and this gratia habitualis which, given the context of Alberti's writings, is true virtu. In A. Tanqueray, Brevier Synesis Theologiae Dogmaticae, Paris, 1931, 518-538. The way Alberti used "virtu," he placed the accent on effects associated with grace.

Furthermore, it must be noted that Alberti did not write formally as a theologian. He used his knowledge of the power of grace in terms of literature, education and living. Then, we consider the period in which he wrote, the context of his writings, and the people to whom he directed himself, we cannot be surprised that his discussion is not in the form of a theological treatise. Though his idea of virtu is associated with natural perfection, in so many instances he indicates that this natural perfection cannot be realized without some kind of grace. It is not the language of a pagan humanist. It is the language of a Catholic humanist, Leon Battista Alberti.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PRIMARY SOURCES

A. BOOKS

- Alberti, Leon Battista, The Architecture of Leon Battista Alberti, translated by James Leoni, 2 vols., London, 1726.
- Alberti, Leon Battista, De Architectura, a cura di Vitruvius Pollio, Vol. I, Amstelodami, 1654.
- Alberti, Leon Battista, Dei chiaroria e Deifira, in Biblioteca Rara, Miscelanea d'Amore, a cura di G. Daelli, Vol II, Milano, 1863.
- Alberti, Leon Battista, Della Pittura, Edizione critica a cura di Luigi Malle, Firenze, 1950.
- Alberti, Leon Battista, De Republica, De Vita Civile, De Vita Rusticana, De Fortuna, in Dialogo di Messer Leon Battista Alberti, Fiorentino, a cura di Venturino Rafinello, Vinegia, 1543.
- Alberti, Leon Battista, I Libri Della Famiglia, editi da Girolamo Mancini, Firenze, 1908.
- Alberti, Leon Battista, I Primi Tre Libri Della Famiglia, testo e commento di F. C. Pellegrini, riveduti da R. Spangano, Firenze, 1946.
- Alberti, Leon Battista, Manus e Del Principe, in I Scrittori Politici Italiani, testo critico, traduzione, introduzione e note a cura di Giuseppe Martini, Vol. XIII, Bologna, 1942.
- Alberti, Leon Battista, Opera Inedita et Pauca Separatim Impressa, a cura di Hieronymo Mancini, Florentiae, 1890.
- Alberti, Leon Battista, Opere Volgari di Leon Battista Alberti, per la piu parte inedite e trattate dagli Autografi annotate e illustrate dal Dot. Anicio Bonucci, 5 vols., Firenze, 1844-1890.
- Alberti, Leon Battista, Opuscoli Inediti Di Leon Battista Alberti, a cura di Cecil Grayson, Firenze, 1954.
- Alberti, Leon Battista, Opuscoli Morali di Leon Battista Alberti, tradotti e parte corretti da N. Cosimo Bartoli, Venetia, 1668.

Pandolfini, Agnolo, Agnolo Pandolfini e Il Governo Della Famiglia, a cura di F. C. Pellegrini, Milano, 1882.

Pandolfini, Agnolo, Trattato Del Governo Della Famiglia D'Agnolo Pandolfini, colla vita del medesimo scritta da Vespasiano da Bisticci, Firenze, 1754.

B. UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL

Alberti, Leon Battista, De Commodis Litterarum atque Incommodis Ad Carolum Fratrum, Accidit T(ō)graphia Urbis Romae Antiquae, M. S. Cart. dalla Seconda Meta del Sec. XV. Only obtainable at Newberry Library, Chicago.

II. SECONDARY SOURCES

A. BOOKS

Aubel, Enrico, Leon Battista Alberti e I Libri della Famiglia, Castello, 1913.

Benetti, Valeria Brunetti, "Leon Battista Alberti," Enciclopedia Italiana, Milano, 1929, II, 181-188.

Benetti, Valeria Brunetti, Leon Battista Alberti e Il Rinascimento Pedagogico Nel Quattrocento, Firenze, 1925.

Bulfinch, Thomas, The Age of Fables or Beauties of Mythology, Boston, 1863.

Burckhardt, Jacob, The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy, translated by S. G. C. Middlemore, New York, 1890.

Burroughs, Josephine, "Marsilio Ficino," The Renaissance Philosophy of Man, ed. by Ernst Cassirer and Paul O. Kristeller, Chicago, 1948.

Bush, Douglas, Classical Influence in Renaissance Literature, Cambridge, Mass., 1952.

Cian, Vittorio, La Satira, 2 vols., Milano, 1945.

Della Torre, Arnaldo, Storia Dell' Accademia Platonica di Firenze, Firenze, 1902.

De Sanctis, Francesco, History of Italian Literature, translated by John Redfern, 2 vols., New York, 1931.

- Dolci, Giulio, Leon Battista Alberti, Pisa, 1911.
- Drams, Augusta Theodosia, Christian Schools and Scholars, 2nd ed. London, 1881.
- Einstein, Lewis, The Italian Renaissance in England, New York, 1903.
- Ferguson, Wallace K., The Renaissance, New York, 1940.
- Ferguson, Wallace K., The Renaissance in Historical Thought, Cambridge, Mass., 1948.
- Gaudenzio, Luigi, Leon Battista Alberti, 1404-1472, Torino, 1932.
- Gongaro, M. I., Leon Battista Alberti, Teorico e Architetto Del Rinascimento, Milano, 1939.
- Gentile, Giovanni, Giordano Bruno e Il Pensiero Del Rinascimento, Firenze, 1920.
- Gherzi, Guido, La Pedagogia Del Rinascimento, Messina, 1950.
- Hall, Jr., Vernon, Renaissance Literary Criticism, New York, 1945.
- Hyma, Albert, Renaissance to Reformation, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1951.
- Kane, W., An Essay Toward a History of Education, Chicago, 1935.
- Knight, Edgar W., Twenty Centuries of Education, Boston, 1940.
- Kristeller, Paul Oskar, The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino, translated by Virginia Conant, New York, 1943.
- Laurie, S. S., Studies in the History of Educational Opinion From the Renaissance, Cambridge, Mass., 1904.
- Lugli, Vittorio, I Trattatisti Della Famiglia Nel Quattrocento, Bologna, 1909.
- Mancini, Girolamo, La Vita di Leon Battista Alberti, 2nd ed., Firenze, 1911.
- McCormick, Patrick J., History of Education, Washington, D.C., 1949.
- Michel, Paul-Henri, La Pensee de Leon Battista Alberti, Paris, 1930.
- Monnier, Philippe, Le Quattrocento, 7th ed., 2 vols., Paris, 1920.
- Monroe, Paul, A Brief Course in the History of Education, New York, 1925.

- Monroe, Paul, A Cyclopedia of Education, 5 vols., New York, 1915.
- Muents, M. Eugène, Les Précurseurs de La Renaissance, Paris, 1882.
- Passerini, Luigi, Gli Alberti, Parte Primo, Firenze, 1869.
- Pastor, Ludwig, The History of the Popes, translated and edited by Frederick Ignatius Antrebus, 6th ed., Vols. I, II, London, 1938.
- Robb, Mason A., Neoplatonism of the Italian Renaissance, London, 1936.
- Saitta, Giuseppe, Il Pensiero Italiano Nell' Umanesimo, e Nel Rinascimento, 2 vols., Bologna, 1949.
- Saitta, Giuseppe, L'Educazione Dell'Umanesimo In Italia, Venezia, 1928.
- Sammartano, Nino, I Pedagogisti Dell'Eta Umanistica, Mazara, 1949.
- Santayana, S. G., Two Renaissance Educators: Alberti and Piccolomini, Boston, 1930.
- Schevill, Ferdinand, The First Century of Italian Humanism, New York, 1928.
- Schalk, Fritz, "Il Libro De Amicitia dell'Alberti (Della Famiglia, IV)," Sodalitas Erasmusiana, Napoli, 1949.
- Scott, Izora, Controversies Over the Imitation of Cicero, New York, 1910.
- Sellery, George Clarke, The Renaissance Its Nature and Origins, Madison, 1950.
- Spingarn, Joel Elias, A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance, New York, 1899.
- Symonds, J. A., Renaissance in Italy, 4 vols., London, 1881.
- Symonds, J. A., Renaissance in Italy: The Revival of Learning, 2 vols., London, 1877.
- Teffanin, Giuseppe, History of Humanism, translated by Elio Gianturco, New York, 1954.
- Tanqueray, A., Brevier Synosis Theologiae Dogmaticae, Paris, 1931.
- Villari, Pasquale, The Life and Times of Niccolò Machiavelli, translated by Linda Villari, 7th ed., London, 1929.

- Weiss, Roberto, The Dawn of Humanism in Italy, An Inaugural Lecture Delivered At University College London on 28th, May, 1947, London, 1947.
- Wilkins, Ernst Hatch, A History of Italian Literature, Cambridge, Mass., 1954.
- Woodward, William Harrison, Studies in Education During the Age of the Renaissance, 1400-1600, Cambridge, England, 1906.
- Woodward, William, Harrison, Vittorino Da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators: Essays and Versions, Cambridge, England, 1921.

B. ARTICLES

- Baron, Hans, "A Sociological Interpretation of the Early Renaissance in Florence," The South Atlantic Quarterly, Durham, N. C., XXXVIII, October, 1939, 427-449.
- Ferguson, Wallace K., "The Church in a Changing World: A Contribution to the Interpretation of the Renaissance," AHR, New York, LIX, October, 1953, 1-20.
- Guarino, Guido A., "Leon Battista Alberti's Vita S. Potiti," Renaissance News VIII, n. 2, Summer, 1955, 84-92.
- Ivanoff, N., "La Beauté dans la Philosophie de Marsile Ficin et de Leon Hebreux," Humanisme et Renaissance, Paris, Tome III, 1936.
- Nelson, Norman, "Individualism As A Criterion of the Renaissance," The Journal of English and Germanic Philology, Urbana, Illinois, XXXII, July, 1933, 318-336.
- Rizzi, Fortunato, "Contrasti, Dissidi, e Melanconia Nel Cinquecento," Nuova Antologia, Roma, CCXX, Dicembre, 1922, 260-266.
- Stewart, Herbert L., "The Platonic Academy of Florence," The Hibbert Journal, XLIII, October, 1944-July, 1945, 226-237.
- Williams, Arnold L., "A Note on Pessimism in the Renaissance," Studies in Philology, Chapel Hill, N. C., XXXVI, April, 1936, 243-247.

APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Anthony John DeFilippis has been read and approved by three members of the Department of History.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

June 11, 1956
Date

John A. Keagy
Signature of Adviser