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Oration "Non est apud me dubium" of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Aspach 1445). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. Final Version. 2024. (Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 6)

Michael Cotta-Schønberg

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Oration “*Non est apud me dubium*” of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Aspach, 1445). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 6

Final Version

2024

Abstract

In 1445, Enea Silvio Piccolomini was appointed parish priest of the Marienkirche in the parish of Aspach, in the diocese of Passau. The oration "*Non est apud me dubium*" is written as if it were his first sermon to his parishioners. It may, however, never actually have been held, quite possibly because of a lack of time. The main theme is twofold: how to ensure a happy life on Earth and how to gain eternal life in Heaven. The choice of subject is indicative of the new, positive humanist focus on earthly life, in contrast to mediaeval concepts of earthly life as a valley of tears and of flight from the world (*fuga mundi*) to the sphere of the divine. In his prescriptions for a happy life on Earth, Piccolomini relies heavily on classical Stoic concepts of eliminating those emotions that disturb the soul. The way to Heaven, as described by Piccolomini, goes through fulfilling one's obligations towards one's superiors, equals, and inferiors in the great social order of the world, as well as towards oneself. His notions of obligation and his many concrete pieces of advice to his parishioners derive to a large extent from classical authors, especially Cicero, but he also draws heavily on both the Old and New testament and the Church Fathers.

Keywords

Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Morals; Parish of Aspach; Parish of Hasbach; Religious hierarchy; Secular hierarchy; History of sexuality; Christian life; Renaissance orations; Renaissance rhetorics; Renaissance oratory; 1445; 15th century

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

By 1445, the life of Enea Silvio Piccolomini had taken a radical turn. From important official at the Council of Basel and later secretary to antipope Felix V, he had become a secretary in the imperial chancery of Emperor Friedrich III and a favourite of the chancellor, Kaspar Schlick. From fervent conciliarist, he had turned towards the papalist party. And from being a rather secular person, he was turning towards religion, taking religious orders, and giving up those amorous pursuits that he had celebrated in erotic poems, the comedy *Chrysis*, and the famous *De duobus amantibus* from the year before, 1444.

He probably had various reasons for taking religious orders and becoming a priest.

One was his personal spiritual development. It may not properly be called a religious conversion, for Piccolomini had always been a believer, though at some point in his life he may have had anti-clerical leanings, like so many other Italians at the time. And his piety was not of the emotional or mystical kind. But he did turn away from the, by then, schismatic Council of Basel and embraced the Roman Church.²

And he had reached a point in his life where the pleasures of youth and sex had lost their importance. Indeed, he quite honestly and openly recognised the fact that he was, by that time, losing his libido.

Secondly, there were limits to the importance of the ecclesiastical benefices he was entitled to enjoy without being a proper ecclesiastic.³ It was quite normal for secular officials in administrations like the emperor's chancery to be salaried by way of incomes from minor benefices, with incumbents appointing ecclesiastical vicars to administer the pastoral duties. Piccolomini himself had various such benefices while still a layman.

Thirdly, choosing an ecclesiastical career over a secular one was a highly sensible career move for a man who was poor and who did not have the family connections and the social standing

¹ Voigt, II, 2, pp. 293-294; Boulting, pp. 144-150; Mitchell, pp. 94-98

² See Piccolomini's letter to Jordan Mallant, Rector of the University of Cologne (his first "retraction"), of 13 August 1447, in: Wolkan, II, 54-6: *Just as Saul went to Damascus as an enemy of the Christians, so I departed from Frankfurt hostile to Eugenius*. Translation quoted after Reject, p. 277. See also his papal bull, *In minoribus agentes*, of 1463 (second retraction): *the scales which, like spider webs, had kept us from distinguishing the truth, fell from our eyes. We acknowledged our error, came to Rome, rejected the teaching of Basel, bowed our head to Eugenius, the supreme pontiff...* Translation quoted after Reject, p. 402

³ Zimolo, p. 16, n. 1: *Da una lettera a Giovanni Campisio del 21 Maggio 1445 ... si ricava che il Piccolomini fruiva allora, benchè laico, di un altro beneficio ecclesiastico (dopo quello di San Lorenzo in Milano), e sentiva la necessità di prendere gli ordini sacri*

necessary for pursuing a brilliant career. By then, Piccolomini knew that he was quite suited for such a career - and evidently, he wanted one.

Some believe that these motives are mutually exclusive and that Piccolomini's decision to become a priest was merely an opportunistic career move. This view does not do justice to Piccolomini's complex character.

R.J. Mitchell put it neatly:

It does seem that setting this matter down in writing cleared his mind and made Aeneas ready to think out his convictions with fundamental honesty. The change in his attitude to religion, the putting of first things first, had probably begun much earlier ... Henceforward not a breath of scandal is connected with his name; Aeneas had enjoyed his amours, admitted his error, and now he resolutely closed this chapter of his life. He even ceased to describe himself as a 'poet'. Gluttony and drunkenness had always been abhorrent to him, sloth was foreign to his nature.¹

As for the appointment to the parish of Aspach towards the end of 1444 / beginning of 1445, Piccolomini says in his *Commentarii*:

Aeneas soon gave up this church [the benefice of the parish of Sarntal], having secured a better one, that of St. Mary of Aspach in Bavaria, not far from the River Inn. Leonard, bishop of Passau, a man of noble birth and character, offered him this of his own accord and sent the presentation to him at Styria, free of all duties.²

On 21 May 1445, Piccolomini informed a friend in Rome, Giovanni Campisio, that the bishop of Passau, Leonhard Laiming, had granted him the benefice of parish priest to the church of Aspach in the diocese of Passau (now the diocese of Linz). This meant that he had to become ordained as a priest within a year:

I have a parish church and must become a priest. I acquired it about half a year ago, and I fear that I cannot obtain the promotion [to the priesthood] within the required year because the king³ will not give me leave [to be ordained]. I therefore want an extension for another year, and with it, the license to become ordained by any bishop ... My church is called Saint Mary in Aspach and it has been conferred on me by the authority of the local bishop.⁴

¹ Mitchell, pp. 96-97

² CO, I, 12 (Meserve, I, pp. 52-53)

³ Friedrich III

⁴ Epistolarium, 170, p. 432: *Ecclesiam habeo parochialem fierique me presbyterum oportet, iam vero medius annus est adeptae possessionis. Timeo, ne infra annum possim promoveri, quia rex non indulget mihi. Cupio ergo prorogationem ad alium annum et cum hoc facultatem, ut a quocumque episcopo possim ordinari.* See also Zimolo, p. 16, n. 5

Piccolomini was ordained deacon in March 1446,¹ in Vienna, and his priestly ordination took place a year later, on 4 March 1447, in Rome.² In the meantime, he was so occupied with the great affairs of the empire that the delay was quite excusable by any standard. Those great affairs were connected with the German nation giving up its neutrality in the conflict between Pope Eugenius IV and the rump Council of Basel with its antipope, Felix V, and finally recognising Eugenius as the true pope. This political development is mirrored in the personal development of Piccolomini, who, as an eminently able diplomatic agent, played a decisive role in some of the major events leading the Germans back to Rome. That he made the same choices for himself is not surprising; anything else would have been quite intolerable. Indeed, he had recognised papal supremacy already in March 1444 when he wrote the oration “*Si putarem*” [5]. This oration concerned the matter of the diocese of Freising³ and was given by Kaspar Schlick, the emperor’s chancellor, in a court hearing held in Wiener Neustadt, the emperor’s residence. In this oration, Piccolomini/Schlick directly exhort the emperor to give up neutrality and to recognise the pope’s primacy. Their motives may have been mixed, but the direction was clear.

The oration “*Non est apud me dubium*” is by far the longest of Piccolomini’s orations. It is written as Piccolomini’s first sermon to his new congregation in Aspach. The text (“as your priest”, etc.) shows that he clearly intended to give it as an ordained priest, but since he was appointed bishop of Trieste in April 1447, very shortly after his priestly ordination in Rome in February 1447, he would not then have had the time to write it and go to Aspach to deliver it. So he must have written the sermon before his ordination, possibly many months before.

Georg Voigt’s position on this issue was the following:

*Wir haben eine Antrittspredigt übrig, die Enea vor seiner Gemeinde in Aspach entweder hielt oder verdeutschlicht halten liess oder, was wir auch für sehr möglich halten, als ein blosses literarisches Schaustück an den Bischof sandte.*⁴

So, whether or not he actually gave the sermon in Aspach, as an appointed but not ordained parish priest, is uncertain. For the sake of his rustic parishioners, one might hope not, since they would not have been in a position to appreciate his oratorical skills and classical learning, and the process of interpreting the sermon from Latin to German would have been quite tedious. However, the image of the four coins to be given to Saint Peter, inspired by the classical myth of Styx and Charon, might have appealed to his rustic parishioners.

¹ Mitchell p. 96

² Zimolo, p. 16, n. 5. Cf. his papal “retraction bull” *In minoribus agentes*. In: Rejact, p. 398

³ Two nominees were fighting for the appointment as Bishop of Freising: Heinrich Schlick, the brother of the imperial chancellor, appointed by the pope, and Johann Grünwalder, an illegitimate son of a Bavarian duke, appointed by the Council in Basel

⁴ Voigt, II, 2, pp. 293-294

At any rate, Piccolomini used the occasion to formulate a coherent, religious view of life, really a treatise on Christian life and morals, which in some sense represents his taking stock of the fundamentals before entering his new life. There is no documentary basis for Voigt's snide remarks.

His text is a synthesis of classical, pagan authors on the one hand and the Bible and Christian fathers on the other. As he says himself, *I have found wholesome herbs that Holy Doctors and philosophers of old have shown to me and which I can use to remedy your afflictions, if you so desire* (sect. 10). The classical authors are not used primarily as an embellishment (*ornatus*) of the text but as a source of moral teaching that may certainly not be on par with the Christian authorities, but which is nonetheless a valid source.¹

2. Themes

2.1. Main theme

The main theme is twofold: how to ensure a happy life on Earth and how to gain eternal life in Heaven.

This choice of subject is indicative of the new humanist positive focus on earthly life, in contrast to mediaeval concepts of this life as a valley of tears and of contempt of the world (*contemptus mundi*) and flight from the world (*fuga mundi*) to the divine sphere. It must also be noted that Piccolomini does not try to describe the wonders and pleasures of celestial life to his parishioners: it is all a matter of how people can get there and how they can persuade Saint Peter to admit them into Paradise.

In his prescriptions for a happy life on Earth, the norm of moral living, the *regula bene vivendi*, Piccolomini leans heavily on classical, Stoic concepts of eliminating violent emotions that disturb the soul, like anger, pride, avarice, and concupiscence. Freed of such emotions and cares, a person may focus on those things that make it possible to live a contented and peaceful life: paradise on Earth.

The way to Heaven, as described by Piccolomini, goes through fulfilling one's obligations towards one's superiors, equals, and inferiors in the great social order of the world, and also towards one

¹ See Piccolomini on the use of classical authors in oration "*Si quis me roget*" [2]

self. His notions of obligation and much of his concrete advice to his parishioners derive from Cicero's *De Officiis*. Piccolomini's choice of hierarchy as the structuring principle of his exposé is not surprising: all during his life and career he was occupied by order and structure, a personal trait that may have been reinforced by his experience of social disorder in Siena, which had led to the loss of status and economic difficulties for his own family. Moreover, the conflicts, tumults, and divisions at the Council of Basel, eventually leading to a new schism in the Church, had shocked him¹ and may be believed to have set in motion the personal development, which led him from the conciliarist party to the papal party.

2.2. Minor themes

2.2.1. Sexuality

In 1444, Piccolomini had, as mentioned, written the erotic comedy *Chrysis* and the erotic book *De duobus amantibus*. And in his letter of 20 September 1443 to his father, concerning the birth of his second son out of wedlock, he wrote:

*Since you were yourself of the flesh, you sired a son who is made neither of stone nor iron. You know what a cock you were yourself once, and I am neither a castrate nor frigid nor a hypocrite... This plague [of sexuality] is widespread, if indeed it is a plague to use the gifts of nature. I really do not understand why sexual intercourse should be so greatly condemned when nature, which does nothing wrong, has instilled this urge in all living beings so that the human race may be continued.*²

However, already by 1446, Piccolomini had not only renounced a sex-life for himself, but he had also become a fervent opponent of free sexuality, as witnessed by letters to his friends. On 8 March 1446, he wrote to his friend Johann Vrungt in Cologne:

How brief is the pleasure experienced with women! What momentary joy! Is he not fool enough who, for the sake of temporary and momentary things, squanders things eternal.

And later, in the same letter, with great honesty:

¹ Cf. letter to Piero da Noceto of 21 May 1437. *Epistolarium*, nr. 24; *Reject*, nr. 13

² Wolkan, I, I, p. 189: *Certe nec lapideum nec ferreum genuisti filium, cum esses tu carneus. Scis, qualis gallus fueris, at nec ego castratus sum neque ex frigidorum numero nec sum ypocrita ... Late patet haec pestis, si pestis est naturalibus uti, quanquam non video, cur tantopere dampnari coitus debeat, cum natura, quae nichil perperam operatur, omnibus ingenuerit animantibus hunc appetitum, ut genus continuaretur humanum*

I am full, stuffed. Venus makes me nauseous! It is also true that my powers have declined. I am sprinkled with grey hairs; the muscles are withered; the bones, rotten; and the body is shrivelled with wrinkles. Neither am I able to bring pleasure to a woman, nor is a woman able to give pleasure to me... In truth, I might declare that Venus has run away from me more than I from her.¹

In the present oration, written in the same period, Piccolomini completely adopted the official Church position on sexuality. He had to, of course, given the nature of the text, but his pastoral statements on the matter agree with his private letters to his friends.

Still, it is quite strange to hear our Piccolomini state that sex is immoderate and shameful, the foulest of all things, something that men have in common with animals (sect. 43).

Happily, Piccolomini allows his parishioners to sleep with their own wives, but only for the sake of begetting offspring and to avoid fornication and not for pleasure. Otherwise, sex is sinful.

Indeed, in this area, Piccolomini had come a very long way in a very short time.

2.2.2. Hierarchy and order

In this text, society and human life are structured on the basis of hierarchy and order. This concept reflects Piccolomini's great personal fascination or need for order, if not an inherited trait, then at least a reaction to the disorders and tumults he had experienced at very close range both in Siena, at the Council of Basel, as mentioned above, and in Germany, where the imperial authority, which he then represented, was not sufficient to quell the many disturbances and conflicts between princes and between princes and cities.

The two first levels of hierarchy are God and his saints.

The third level is the religious hierarchy on Earth. Note that this hierarchy ranks above the secular hierarchy: these two hierarchies are not equal, as the secular sphere is firmly subordinated to the religious.

¹ Wolkan, II, pp. 30-33. Reject, pp. 236-237. Cf. also Piccolomini's letter to Hans Vrungt of 20. November 1445, Epistolarium, nr. 193

Concerning the religious hierarchy, it is to be noted that Piccolomini puts the ecumenical councils first, even though the Roman Church, with its bishop, the pope, is declared to be the head of all other churches. The lowest degree in that hierarchy is the parish priest, i.e., Piccolomini himself in relation to the parishioners of Aspach. Piccolomini gives some attention to the need for parishioners to support their parish priest in all ways, but especially by paying tithes!

Concerning the secular hierarchy, the fourth level of hierarchy, it is quite remarkable that Piccolomini, secretary to the emperor, completely fails to mention the emperor as the head. He does, however, state that he only instructs the parishioners in what is relevant to them, and imperial authority seemingly is not, being too far above low-life farming communities! Still, the parishioners of Aspach were subjects of the empire, and the omission of the emperor as head of the secular hierarchy is notable. Piccolomini did, after all, mention the pope as the head of the Church, and he would be even more remote from the parishioners than the emperor.

2.2.3. Miracles and religious doubts

During his lifetime and even as pope, Piccolomini was rather sceptical of miracles.¹ In this oration, he takes the proper official position (happily supported by a pagan Roman authority, Valerius Maximus):

So, we should not be sceptical when they tell us about the miracles of the saints, for God is wonderful in his saints, as the Prophet says. Therefore, we should do away with all scornful laughter and scurrilous talk when you speak about the saints. [Sect. 91]

Piccolomini's admonition of his parishioners may be indicative of a widespread - and healthy - popular disenchantment with the miracle business of the mediaeval Church.

Related to scepticism concerning miracles is the issue of religious doubts that Piccolomini introduces in section 78, having dealt with the major tenets of faith, like the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist and the Virgin Birth. Piccolomini recognises that such doubts arise quite naturally - due to our "primary impulses" - meaning thought processes that we do not control. His advice is to simply ignore them, i.e., to dash them against the rock of Christ.

Basically, he reasons, the miracles related in the Bible are not greater than the great miracle of nature, which is God's creation, too. For a woman to conceive through the Holy Spirit is no more

¹ When he became pope he did, however, and permit himself to interpret certain weather conditions and battle outcomes as interventions of the good Lord himself in favour of his Vicar on Earth

miraculous than for her to conceive with a man's sperm; it is all God's doing. The biblical miracles may be exceptions to the laws of nature, but they as well as nature itself are created by God: they are both, and equally, a manifestation of God's omnipotence.

Scepticism and doubts concerning miracles and dogmas do not appear to be extraordinary to a Renaissance person like Piccolomini. But there is a limit: in other works, he is a staunch opponent of atheism that he appears not to understand at all.

3. Date, place, format, and audience

Johannes Helmrath gives the date of the sermon as 21 May 1445,¹ but without indicating the reasons for this dating.

It is possible or likely that the sermon was in fact never held, see above.

The sermon was written – and possibly held – in the period between his being granted the benefice of Aspach towards the end of 1444 or the beginning of 1445 and his appointment as Bishop of Trieste in April 1447. As it is the result of extensive work and reflection, the year 1445 or 1446 seems to be the most probable.

The present text is clearly a sermon to be delivered to an audience of parishioners belonging to the farming community of Aspach. However, the text is rather a proper treatise on Christian life and morality written in the form of a sermon.

4. Text²

The text of the "*Non est apud me dubium*" is extant in two versions, an Early Version and a Final Version. The changes in the text from the Early to the Final Version are mostly changes of vocabulary and syntax, not of content (meaning).

¹ Helmrath, p. 141

² For the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see COR, 1: ch. 5

4.1. Early Version¹

The Early Version is extant in the manuscript:

- **München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek**
Clm 215, 329v-342r²
- **Nürnberg / Stadtbibliothek**
Cent. V, App. 15, ff. 189r–212 r **(N)***

4.2. Final Version

The Final version of the text was included in the Collected Orations of Pius II, compiled in 1462 under the pope's direct supervision.³ This collection is contained in the first seven manuscripts listed below.

4.2.1. Manuscripts

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 24r-51r **(G)***
- **Mantova / Biblioteca Comunale**
100, ff. 19v-55v **(F)***
- * **Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana**
I. 97 inf., ff. 17r-45r **(E)***
- * **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Chis. J.VI.211, ff. 21r-47r **(D)***
Chis. J.VIII.284, ff. 13r-34r **(A)***
Chis. J.VIII.286, ff. 24r-65r **(C)***
Vat. lat. 1788, ff. 17v-47r **(B)***

¹ Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in COR, 11, are marked with an asterisk

² I have not seen this manuscript, so it is possible that it does not contain an Early Version but rather a Final Version of the oration, like the manuscript from Trieste / MCS

³ See COR, 1: ch. 5.2

- **Trieste / Biblioteca Civica Attilio Hortis**
II, 13, ff. 1r-43r **(T)***

The manuscript from Trieste is a humanist collective manuscript, which contains the “*Non est apud me*” as an individual text (and not as part of the papal collection). It clearly derives from B and is written in the same hand as E (which also derives from B), sharing a number of its specific variants and reproducing certain features of writing and a number of margin notes.¹ Thus, it is a rare example of transmission of individual orations deriving from of the Collected orations.

4.2.2. Editions

The Final Version was published by Mansi, based on the manuscript in Lucca (G), i.e. the latest of the seven manuscripts containing the collection:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca, 1755 // I, pp. 54-106

4.3. Present edition

For principles of edition (incl. orthography) and translation, COR, 1: ch. 11-12.

Text:

The text of the Early Version is based on the Nürnberg manuscript.

The text of the Final Version is based on all 8 listed manuscripts, with A as the lead manuscript. The text edited by Mansi (MA) has also been collated with a view to giving the reader the possibility to assess the quality of this text as based on the Lucca ms.

¹ Certain omissions from E and from T show that they cannot have been copied one from the other. However, they do share some (max. 10) variants which are not in B

Pagination:

Pagination is from the Chis. J.VIII.284.

Textual apparatus:

Differences between the Early Version (N) and the Final Version of the oration are marked in bold.

5. Sources¹

In the “*Non est apud me dubium*”, altogether **297** direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified:

Biblical	160
Classical	77
Patristic and medieval	56
Contemporary	4
All	297

The biblical quotations form by far the largest group, more than the other three groups taken together. However, the use of classical authors is quite extensive, as would be expected in a text endeavouring to create a synthesis between Biblical/Christian and classical secular authors.

Biblical sources

Old Testament

- Genesis: 1
- Exodus: 6
- Numbers: 3
- Deuteronomy: 9
- Ecclesiasticus: 13
- Ecclesiastes: 1

¹ For an analysis of Piccolomini’s use of sources, see COR, 1: ch. 8

- Isaiah: 5
- Jeremiah: 1
- 1. Machabees: 1
- Proverbs: 8
- Psalms: 6
- Tobit: 2
- **All: 56**

New Testament

- Matthew: 22
- Mark: 1
- Luke: 5
- John: 4
- Apocalypse 2
- Colossians: 2
- 1. Corinthians: 13
- 2. Corinthians: 4
- Ephesians: 10
- Galatians: 2
- Hebrews: 4
- James: 7
- 1. John: 3
- 1. Peter: 3
- Philippians: 3
- Romans: 7
- 1. Thessalonians: 2
- 2. Thessalonians: 1
- 1. Timothy: 4
- 2. Timothy: 2
- Titus: 3
- **All: 104**

All OT/NT: 160

Classical sources

- Cicero: 39¹
- Gellius: 1
- Horatius: 1
- Juvenalis: 3
- Macrobius: 7
- Ovidius: 6²
- Plutarch: 3
- Publilius Syrus: 3
- Sallustius: 1³
- Seneca: 8⁴
- Valerius Maximus: 4
- Vergilius: 1
- **All: 77**

Patristic and medieval sources

- Ambrosius: 1
- Augustinus: 1
- Bernhard of Clairvaux: 1⁵
- Burley: 20
- Decretum Gratiani: 10
- Gregorius I: 1
- Guiges: 1⁶
- Jacobus de Voragine: 3⁷
- Jeronimus: 2⁸
- Lactantius: 6⁹

¹ De amicitia 2; De Officiis 19; De re publica 1; De senectute 3; Epistolae ad Quintum 1; Pro Ligario 1; Tusculanae disputationes 8

² Metamorphoses

³ De conjuratione Catilinae

⁴ Epistolae morales 6; De beneficiis 1; De ira 1

⁵ De laude novae militiae

⁶ Scala Paradisi

⁷ Legenda aurea

⁸ Epistolae

⁹ Divinae institutiones

- Pseudo-Clementine writings: 1¹
- Pseudo-Isidorus: 8
- Pseudo-Jeronimus: 1
- **All: 56**

Contemporary sources:

- Albertanus Brixiensis: 1
- Poggio Bracciolini: 3²
- **All: 4**

By 1445, Piccolomini's knowledge of the Bible, both the Old and the New Testament, had grown quite extensive, and he was able to use it to support his argumentation in a relevant and effective manner. Indeed, he used the Bible so extensively that it is fair to assume that he did so by design and – also - in order to impress the reader with his knowledge of Holy Scripture, at the point of taking sacred orders and entering the ecclesiastical career.

He had by this time acquired his own copy of the Bible.³

Piccolomini evidently had some knowledge of the *Decretum Gratiani*, which he quotes in various places, mainly on subjects familiar to him from the great debates at the Council of Basel. Presumably, his knowledge of Canon Law at this time did not go deeper than a number of quotations relevant to the major ecclesiastical issues of the time. It is remarkable that his quotes from Gratian are mostly from the *Pseudo-Isidori Decretales*, a forgery of early ecclesiastical documents and letters, dating from the second quarter of the 9th century, that had found its way into the ecclesiastical decretals of the Middle Ages and through them into the *Decretum*. Piccolomini may actually have had access to a manuscript containing the *Decretales* of Pseudo-Isidore, for in the oration "*Si putarem*" [5] of 1444, he lets Kaspar Schlick, the imperial chancellor, say: *Thus writes Isidore the Spaniard concerning the councils. I have the text in my chamber and have read it earlier because of the present division in the Universal Church.*⁴ The texts from the *Decretals* used by Piccolomini, professing to be letters of the earliest popes, mainly support the

¹ Letter to the apostle James

² De avaritia: 2; Oratio ad patres reverendissimos

³ From a friend, Johann Tuschek in Bohemia, where copies of the Bible were the easiest to acquire, a remarkable by-product of the Hussite movement. See letter to Joh. Tuschek of 20 November 1445 (EPI, 4: 192). *Procopius, eques Bohemus, cui de Rabenstein cognomen est ... bibliam quam ex te concupivi, ad me tulit*

⁴ Oration "*Si putarem*" [5], sect. 40: *Sic Isidorus Hispalensis de gestis conciliorum scribit, quem cubiti apud me habeo, quem cum propter divisionem universalis ecclesiae, quae nunc viget, aliquando legissem*

claims of papal primacy. They began to be contested in the Renaissance by learned men like Cardinal Nikolaus of Kues, who – like Lorenzo Valla, and Piccolomini, too – also contested the validity of the so-called *Constantine Donation*.

Piccolomini's many references to classical Greek philosophers appear to be based on the work of the mediaeval philosopher, Walter Burley¹: *De Vita et Moribus Philosophorum*.

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¹ Walter Burley, or Burleigh, (ca. 1275–1344): one of the most influential philosophers of the fourteenth century. Master of Arts at Oxford by 1301 and Master of Theology at Paris by 1324. Author of about fifty works, extant in many manuscript copies and early editions

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Piccolomini, Enea Silvio SEE ALSO Pius II

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7. Sigla and abbreviations

A = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VIII.284

B = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. Lat.1788

C = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VIII.286

D = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VI.211

E = Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana / I. 97 inf.

F = Mantova / Biblioteca Comunale / 100

G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

N = Nürnberg / Stadtbibliothek / Cent. V, App. 15

T = Trieste / Biblioteca Civica Attilio Hortis / II, 13

Abbreviations

Works

AC = Acta Cusana

APD = Acta pontificum danica

CAR = Eneas Silvius Piccolomineus (postea Pius II): *Carmina*. Edid. Adrian van Heck. 1994.

CB = *Concilium Basiliense*.

COD = *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. G. Alberigo. 1952.

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

COR = *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. Ed. and transl. by Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg. 12 vols. 2019-2020. [Final Version, 2024-2025]. [Available in HAL Archives].

CRDM = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Collected Reports of Diplomatic Missions, 1447-1455*. Edit. and transl. by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 2021.

DBI = Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani.

DGCB = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *De Gestis Concilii Basiliensis Commentariorum Libri II*. Ed. and transl. by Dennis Hay and W.K. Smith. London, 1967.

DIA = Enea Silvio Piccolomini: *Libellus Dialogorum*. A cura di Simona Iaria. 2015. (Edizione Nazionale dei Testi Umanistici; 12).

DLE = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *De Liberorum Educatione* [1450]. In: *Humanist Educational Treatises*. Ed. and transl. by C.W. Kallendorf. 2002, pp. 126-259.

DRBG = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *De Rebus Basiliae gestis Commentarius*. [1450]

DVI = *De Viris Illustribus and other biographical Writings* of Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Edit. and transl. by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 2021.

EPI = Collected Letters of Enea Silvio Piccolomini. 10 vols. Ed. and transl. by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 2022-2026.

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KO = *Epistolae familiares. De duobus amantibus Euryalo et Lucretia. Descriptio urbis Viennensis.*
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ME = Enea Silvio Piccolomini: *Briefe. Dichtungen.* Übers. Max Mells. 1966.

MPL = Migne. Patrologia Latina.

RE = Reject Aeneas, Accept Pius. Selected Letters of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II). Edit. Th. M. Isbicki. Washington, 2006.

RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten.

SRD = *Scriptores rerum danicarum.*

ST = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Les misères des gens de cour. Le songe de Fortune.* Trad. Serge Stolf. 2015.

VO = Voigt, Georg: *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini als Papst Pius der Zweite und sein Zeitalter.* 3 vols. 1856-1863.

WI = Widmer, Berthe (ed.): *Enea Sivio Piccolomini, Papst Pius II. Ausgewählte Texte aus seinen Schriften.* 1960.

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

Others

** Lead manuscript.

BC = Christian Era

BCE = Before Christian Era

DV = digital version.

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Sermo¹ Aeneae Silvii Picolominei² Senensis qui³ postea pontificatum maximum adeptus Pius secundus appellatus est⁴ ad plebem suam Ecclesiae Sanctae Mariae in Haspach Pataviensis Diocesis⁵

[1] {13r} Non⁶ est⁷ apud me dubium, viri⁸ circumstantes, quin plerosque vestrum admiratio teneat, me vobis alienigenam et alterius linguae magis quam vestrae peritum, in animarum esse vestrarum pastorem rectoremque datum. Majorem namque fortasse vestri curam putavissetis habiturum, qui versatus inter vos diu et virtutes et vitia vestra novisset. Sicut enim medicus eorum, quibuscum vicitat, naturas melius noscit meliusque medetur aegrotantibus, sic sacerdotem arbitrantur nonnulli ex convictu mores plebeculae⁹ suae perspicere melius et animabus consulere salubrius.

[2] At sacerdos, qui sacrarum scripturarum notitiam vel mediocrem habet ac sanctos doctores perlegit, non solum civitatis suae, sed orbis totius quae sint vitia quaeque virtutes intelligit, nec ullibi non dare salubre consilium nesciet. Una est enim salutis via et apud Graecos et apud Latinos, quam dominus et salvator noster in evangelio docuit, Jesus Christus: *Si vis ad vitam ingredi, serva mandata*. Quod non solum nobis¹⁰, sed omnibus dictum est, qui sub caelo sunt. Est igitur sacerdotis praecepta, quae Deus dedit, praedicare tam veteris quam novi¹¹ Testamenti, et quid boni in observatione, et quid in transgressione mali¹² lateat edocere. Ac propterea et timeri simul et amari sacerdotem oportet. Sic enim facilius fiunt¹³, quae jubet.

¹ *omit.* D, G

² *oratio add.* D, G

³ *quod* T

⁴ *qui ... est omit.* D, G

⁵ Ex Lucensi codice nunc primum prodit *in marg.* MA

⁶ *ll. in marg.* B

⁷ *esse* F

⁸ **ac feminae add.** N

⁹ *plebeculaeque* E

¹⁰ *vobis* D, G, MA

¹¹ *tam veteris quam novi : tam novis [sic!] quam veteris* E

¹² *in transgressione mali: mali in transgressione* G, MA

¹³ *fient* G, MA

Sermon of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini of Siena, who as pope was called Pius II, to his people in the parish of Holy Mary in Aspach in the Diocese of Passau

1. Introduction: Appointment of Piccolomini as parish priest of Aspach

[1] You men present here today, no doubt many of you are wondering why I have been appointed your pastor and rector of souls, being a stranger and knowing another language better than yours.¹ You may have thought that somebody who had been living among you for a long time and knew your virtues and vices could take better [pastoral] care of you. For the physician knows better the constitution of those with whom he lives, and therefore he can better cure them when they are ill. In the same way, many believe that the priest who lives among his people knows them better and therefore can take better care of their souls.

[2] But the priest who has – even a limited - knowledge of Sacred Scripture and reads the holy Doctors [of the Church] understands the faults and virtues not only of his own community but of the whole world, and he is therefore able to give sound advice everywhere. For the Latins and the Greeks, there is only one road to salvation, which Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, taught in the Gospel: *If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments.*² This has been said not only to us but to everybody who lives under the sun. Thus, it is the task of the priest to preach those commandments that God has given both in the Old and the New Testament, and to teach how good it is to observe them and how bad it is to transgress them. Therefore, the priest should both be feared and loved, for thus people will be more inclined to do as he tells them.

¹ By this time, Piccolomini may have picked up some German without being able to speak it fluently

² Matthew, 19, 17

[3] Convictus autem et *familiaritas contemptum parit*. Nam quis vestrum est, qui vereatur eum, qui secum nutritus est¹, qui convixit, combibit, collusit, et pueritiae suae rudimenta simul egit? Vera est evangelica vox, nec potest veritas nostra mentiri. *Non est propheta sine honore nisi in patria sua et in domo sua*. Hinc apud antiquos usurpatissimum fuit extraneos episcopos dare. Quod si, pontificales cathedras ac metropolitanicas, qui primi apud Italos ac vos Germanos rexerint, percontari {13v} voluerimus, alienigenas plerumque ac² per interpretem locutos³ fuisse comperiemus.

[4] Fit enim, nescio quomodo, ut extraneum quisque et peregrinum potius quam civem et proximum demiretur vereneturque⁴. Forsitan ideo est, quod omnes putamus bonos, quorum vitia ignoramus. Quos autem bonos credimus, eosdem etiam honoramus. Peregrinorum⁵ vitam non possumus non bonam existimare, qui mali nihil scimus. Veniunt enim ad nos jam aetate proveci, cum vel vitia reliquerunt vel tegere⁶ sciunt et virtutes ostentare. Hinc eos demiramur, amamus, observamus, veneramur⁷, hisque paremus et obsequentissimi sumus recta monentibus⁸.

[5] Hoc fortasse in mentem venit praestantissimo patri et domino meo colendissimo⁹, Leonardo, episcopo Pataviensi, excellentis et clari nominis¹⁰ principi, dum hanc mihi ecclesiam et vestri curam¹¹ commisit. Reri namque potuit vos mihi extraneo libentius parituros, quam si conterraneum vobis aliquem¹² praefecisset. Quod ut efficiatis¹³ eo magis vos hortor, moneo, requiro, quo vestris animabus id conducibilius et salubrius fore animadverto.

¹ **qui vereatur ... nutritus est omit. N**

² *omit. C; et G, MA*

³ *locutus corr. ex locutos T*

⁴ **quam add. suprascr. N; suum add. N**

⁵ **autem add. N**

⁶ **regere N**

⁷ *veneremur G*

⁸ *moventibus E*

⁹ **domino add. N**

¹⁰ **luminis N**

¹¹ *coram T*

¹² *vobis aliquem: aliquem vobis D, G, MA*

¹³ *faciatis G, MA*

[3] Living together and *familiarity breeds disrespect*.¹ For who among you can respect somebody with whom they have grown up, with whom they have been living, drinking, and playing, and with whom they have shared those basic things of childhood? True is the word of the Gospel – and our Truth cannot lie:² *A prophet is not without honour, but in his own country, and in his own house, and among his own kindred*.³ Therefore, in old days, it was quite common⁴ to appoint foreign bishops. And if we ask about those men who were first appointed as bishops and archbishops of the Italians and of the Germans, we find that quite often they were foreigners and had to speak through interpreters.

[4] I do not know why it is that foreigners and strangers are more highly honoured and respected than one's fellow citizens and neighbours. Maybe it is because we believe that people are good if we do not know their faults. And those whom we believe to be good, we also honour. So, as we do not know anything bad about the lives of strangers, we have to believe it to be good. For they come to us at an advanced age, when they have overcome their faults or know how to hide them and show their virtues. Therefore, we admire and love them, we follow them, we respect them, and we eagerly obey them when they bid us do what is right.

[5] That is what my eminent Father and Reverend Lord, Bishop Leonhard of Passau,⁵ a prince from an excellent and famous family, may have had in mind when he entrusted your church and your care to me. For he could think that you would rather obey me, a stranger, than one of your own countrymen. And this I exhort, admonish, and require you to do, as I think it will be good and salutary for your souls.

¹ Cf. Guiges: *Scala Paradisi*, 8: *vulgare proverbium est, quod nimia familiaritas parit contemptum* (MPL 40, 1001). Cf. also Jeronimus: *Epistola ad Heliodorum* (60) 10. MPL, XXII, 595: *Assiduitas familiaritatem, familiaritas contemptum illius fecit*.

² Cf. Hebrews, 6, 18; Titus, 1, 2

³ Mark 6, 4

⁴ "usurpatissimum"

⁵ Leonhard von Laiming (1381 -1451): Prince Bishop of Passau 1424 -1451

[6] Ceterum supra me quantum pondus acceperim, et quot me vinculis obligaverim, non ignoro, qui et vobis iter ad salutem ostendere et animas vestras curare sum astrictus. Quid enim aliud est¹ animas regere quam animarum esse iudicem? Non est haec res leviuscula, neque minima. *Noli quaerere fieri iudex, inquit sapiens, nisi valeas virtute² irrumpere iniquitatem.* Non sum virtutis hujusce. Nemo³ bene aliis praeest, qui seipsum regere nescit: quomodo aliorum tuebitur animas, qui negligit suam⁴? Qui alios rectificare vult, et ipsum rectum esse oportet. Nusquam enim curvarum virgarum rectae sunt umbrae. Incurvum esse me non erubesco fateri, sed doleo talem me fore.

[7] Praedicare vobis evangelium possum, hortari, ut virtutis opera faciatis, monere, ut vitia fugiatis, sed memini verborum Lactantii⁵: *Homines enim malunt exempla quam verba*, quia loqui facile est⁶, praestare difficile. Utinam quidem tam multi bene facerent⁷ quam multi bene loquuntur. Sed qui praecipunt, nec faciunt, abest ab eis fides. Amplius enim oculis quam auribus credunt homines. Turpissimum est cum dicitur: qui praedicas non furandum, furaris; qui dicis non moechandum, moecharis; qui⁸ abominaris idola, sacrilegium facis. Nec enim committendum est, ut orationi vita dissentiat. Atque idcirco, sicut ad Titum Paulus⁹ scribit: *Oportet episcopum, idest presbyterum - teste Jeronimo – sine crimine esse sicut Dei dispensatorem, non superbum, non iracundum, non vinolentum¹⁰, non percussorem, non turpis lucri cupidum, sed hospitalem¹¹, benignum, {14r} sobrium, justum, sanctum, continentem, amplectentem eum, qui secundum doctrinam est fidelem¹², sermonem, ut potens sit exhortari in doctrina sana et eos, qui contradicunt, arguere.*

¹ aliud est: est aliud G, MA

² intente B, T; intendere E

³ non MA

⁴ qui ... suam *omit.* MA

⁵ Lactantii verba *in marg.* A; Lactantius *in marg.* D, G

⁶ et *add.* MA

⁷ ut *add.* MA

⁸ enim *add.* G, MA

⁹ Paulus ad Titum *in marg.* A; Paulus de episcopo *in marg.* D, G

¹⁰ violentum C

¹¹ hospitalitatem E

¹² fidem E

[6] I am quite aware of the great burden I have taken upon myself and the chains that will bind me, as I am now responsible for showing you the way to salvation and taking care of your souls. For what is it to govern souls other than to be their judge? This is not an easy or small matter. *Seek not to be made a judge, unless thou have strength enough to extirpate iniquities*, says the Wise One.¹ I do not myself possess this kind of virtue. And someone who does not know how to govern himself cannot govern others well, for how can he take care of other souls if he neglects his own? Anyone who wants to make others better must be good himself. For never do crooked rods have straight shadows. I am not ashamed of confessing that I am not straight, but I do regret that this is how I am.

[7] I can certainly preach the Gospel to you, exhort you to act virtuously, and admonish you to abstain from vice, but I also remember the words of Lactantius² that *men want examples rather than words*.³ For talking is easy, but doing is difficult. If only just as many would do well as speak well. Those who teach others what to do but do not do so themselves, are not trustworthy. People believe their eyes more than their ears. It is really disgraceful when those who preach about not stealing are themselves thieves; or when those who tell you not to fornicate are themselves fornicators; or when those who profess abhorrence of idols are themselves sacrilegious. It is not acceptable when somebody's deeds do not match his words. And therefore, as Paul writes to Titus: *A bishop, i.e., a priest, according to Jerome⁴, must be without crime, as the steward of God: not proud, not subject to anger, nor given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre: But given to hospitality, gentle, sober, just, holy, continent: Embracing that faithful word which is according to doctrine, that he may be able to exhort in sound doctrine and to convince the gainsayers.*⁵

¹ Ecclesiasticus, 7, 6

² Lactantius (ca. 240-ca. 320): early Christian author

³ Lactantius: *Divinae Institutiones*, 4, 23

⁴ Jerome (ca. 347-420): Church father and saint. The quote is actually not from Jerome, but from Pseudo-Jerome, 6. MPL, XXX, col. 157

⁵ Titus 1, 7-9. NB: also quoted in Piccolomini's oration "*Si ea quae justa*" [4]

[8] Quae certo¹ dotes in me non sunt, et vereor ne cum vobis praedicavero, ipse reprobus inveniar. Scio me peccatorem esse ac miseris circumdatum. *Si dixero*, inquit Johannes², *quia peccatum non habeo, mendax sum, et veritas in me non est*. Quid igitur faciam? Curamne relinquam? Non certe! *Manendum est*, ut³ inquit Paulus⁴, *in ea vocatione qua sumus vocati*⁵. Mihi necessum⁶ est, quod praesul meus Pataviensis injunxit munus obire. Quod si nequeo, ut par⁷ esset, bene absolvere, danda est opera, ut id quam minus possum inepte, curem. Est autem meum officium docere vos viam vitae. Quod ut efficiam, non solum vos reddere meliores, sed et me ipsum corripere studebo, ut eamus simul in vitam aeternam. Stultum enim esset et omnino insanum alios potius velle salvos quam se ipsum. Sed quoniam mihi lingua expedita non est idiomatis vestri, possumque cum Isaia⁸ dicere *a a a*⁹, *puer ego sum, nescio loqui*. Interdum legendo, interdum loquendo per interpretem verbum Dei vobis annuntiabo, et, quae ad salutem vestram fuerint, demonstrabo. Verum quia primus est hic sermo omnium, quos ad vos sum habiturus, audite me, obsecro¹⁰, hac vice patienter et benigne, attentasque aures adhibite, commendantes memoriae, quae dixero, et observare¹¹ curantes. Sic¹² enim bene ac quiete in hoc mundo vitam ducetis, et in alio vitam accipietis¹³ aeternam.

¹ certe B, E, T

² Joannes *in marg.* A, D, G

³ *omit.* MA

⁴ Paulus *in marg.* A, D, G

⁵ sumus vocati : vocati sumus F

⁶ **necessarium N**

⁷ pars D [*NB: error in D, corrected in G*]

⁸ Isaia *in marg.* A

⁹ a a a : alia, a, a A; **alia N**

¹⁰ me obsecro : obsecro me C

¹¹ observate F

¹² si MA

¹³ **recipietis N**

[8] I certainly do not have those qualities myself, and I fear that as I preach to you, I shall be found a reprobate myself. I know that I am a sinner and mired in misery. *If we say that we have no sin, says John, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.*¹ So what shall I do? Quit my pastoral office? Most certainly not. *Walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called, says Paul.*² I am obliged to perform the office entrusted to me by the Bishop of Passau. If I am not able to do that as well as I ought to, then at least I shall strive to do it as well as I can. So, now it is my duty to teach you the way of living. In order to succeed, I shall endeavour not only to make you better but also to improve myself so that we can walk towards eternal life together. For it would be stupid and completely foolish to want to save others more than oneself. But as I cannot speak your language readily, I may say with Isaiah:³ *Ah, I cannot speak: for I am a child.*⁴ So, sometimes reading, sometimes speaking through an interpreter, I shall proclaim the Word of God to you and show you the way to your salvation. Indeed, since this is the first of all my sermons to you, I ask you this time to listen patiently, benignly, and attentively, to remember my words, and to observe them carefully.

Thus, living morally⁵ and tranquilly in this world, you shall have eternal life in the next.

¹ 1. John, 1, 8

² Ephesians, 4, 1

³ Not Isaiah, but Jeremiah

⁴ Jeremiah, 1, 6: *a a Domine Deus ecce nescio loqui quia puer ego sum*

⁵ "bene": well

[9] Audite, obsecro, filioli mei in Christo Jesu, estis quippe propter curam omnes filii mei, et sicut pater naturalis disciplinam hujus saeculi suos filios docet, sic ego vobis bene vivendi regulam ostendere debeo: quod ut rite possim¹ facere, Deum supplex oro et matrem ejus Mariam virginem, dominam nostram, in cujus honorem vestri majores hoc templum construxerunt; nec despero meis precibus subveniri. *Praesto est enim*² *dominus omnibus invocantibus eum*, nec beata virgo quemquam³ spernit, qui suum patrocinium imploravit. Audite ergo filii, discite⁴ normam bene vivendi, apprehendite disciplinam, quam dominus demonstravit, a quo est *omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum*. Medicus ego animarum vestrarum ad vos venio; et quia potestis dicere: "*Medice, cura te ipsum*," studebo non me solum praeceptorem, sed etiam testem veritatis exhibere, et tam me quam vos docebo *timorem domini, in quo est initium sapientiae*. In exordio ergo sermonis mei, quae sint⁵ infirmitates animae quaeve⁶ molestiae, videndum est. Sic enim facilius remedia reperiemus.

[10] Singulos vestrum, si verum fateri vultis, duae molestiae conturbant.⁷ Una est quod {14v} inquietam in hoc mundo vitam degitis; altera est quia moriendum est, timetisque, ne perditis aeternae vitae gaudia⁸, apud inferos perpetuas poenas inextinguibilis⁹ ignis incidatis. Quas molestias, si mihi credere oboedireque¹⁰ volueritis, levare et adimere non erit arduum. Inveni namque salutiferas herbas, quas sancti doctores ac prisci philosophi mihi demonstrarunt¹¹, quibus possum¹², si modo velitis, molestiis¹³ vestris mederi. Docent enim nos¹⁴ viri sancti, qui ad nostram salutem scripserunt, quomodo et hic in terris felicem vitam et in caelo denique beatam possimus¹⁵ habere. O rem magnam, stupendam, incredibilem, inauditam! Quis est qui¹⁶ putet eum, qui laete jucundeque vixit in hoc saeculo, paradysum in alio obtenturum?

¹ **possum N**

² est enim: enim est G, MA

³ quemque MA

⁴ addiscite G, MA

⁵ sunt D, G, MA

⁶ quaeque MA

⁷ turbant MA

⁸ *em.*; gaudiis codd.

⁹ **extinguibilis N**

¹⁰ credere oboedireque: oboedire credereque G, MA

¹¹ **demonstraverunt N**

¹² possim MA

¹³ modestiis B, E, T

¹⁴ vos T

¹⁵ **possumus N**

¹⁶ *omit.* B, E, T

2. How to ensure a happy and tranquil life on earth

[9] I ask you to listen well, my children in Christ – for by virtue of my pastoral office, you are all my children. And as a natural father will teach his children how to conduct themselves in this world, I have the duty to explain the rule of living morally. To be able to do this well, I pray to God for assistance and to his mother, the Virgin Mary, our mistress, in whose honour your forefathers built this temple. I am sure that my prayers will be heard, for *the Lord is nigh unto all them that call upon him*,¹ and the Holy Virgin does not deny anybody who begs for her protection. So listen, my children, and learn about the rule for living morally. Learn the lesson taught by the Lord, from whom is *every best gift and every perfect gift*.² I come to you as the doctor of your souls, and since you may say, “*Physician, heal thyself*”,³ I shall endeavour to show myself not only as a teacher but also as a witness to the truth. And I will teach both you and myself *the fear of the Lord, in which is the beginning of wisdom*.⁴

First in this sermon, we shall look at the infirmities and troubles of the soul, for thus we shall better be able to find the remedies.

2.1. Introduction

2.1.1. The troubles of the soul

[10] Truly, two afflictions beset each and every one of you: one is that you live a restless life in this world. The other is that since you shall eventually die, you fear that you will lose the joys of eternal life and fall into the eternal punishments of inextinguishable fire in hell. If you believe and obey me, it will not be arduous to put an end to these afflictions, for I have found wholesome herbs that holy doctors and philosophers of old have shown me and which I can use to remedy your afflictions, if you so desire. For the holy men who have written about our salvation teach us how to have both a happy life on Earth and afterwards a blissful life in Heaven. O, what a great, stupendous, incredible, and unheard of matter!⁵ Who would have thought that someone who has lived joyfully and happily in this world may afterwards gain access to Paradise in the next.⁶

¹ Psalms, 144, 18

² James, 1, 17

³ Luke, 4, 23

⁴ Ecclesiasticus, 1, 16

⁵ An example of a rhetorical device, the *exclamatio*, which Piccolomini used frequently

⁶ Piccolomini here addresses the difficulty of both living happily on Earth and gaining access to Paradise. In the Renaissance period, men were turning away from the concept of the world as a sinful valley of tears where good Christians could not be happy

[11] *Oportuit Christum pati et sic intrare in gloriam suam. Virtus in arduo sita est. Et arcta est via, apud Matthaeum dicit dominus, quae ducit ad vitam: et pauci sunt, qui inveniunt eam.* At ego dico juroque vobis paradisum quam infernum minor labos¹ acquirit: arcta est via vitæ, nec enim latam esse oportuit, per quam² non multi erant ituri: pauci eam inveniunt, quoniam pauci³ quaerunt. Nemo umquam non invenit, qui diligenter investigavit. Circa difficile virtus operatur, antequam in habitum venerit; postquam habitus factus est, et ut ita dicam callus, nihil difficultatis habet. Non propter se, sed propter nos passus est Christus. Nos autem propter vitam⁴ non cogimur magna pati, sed levia, sed suavia, sed dulcia. Testis est ipsa veritas: *Tollite jugum meum super vos*, in evangelio inquit⁵, *et discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde: et invenietis requiem animabus vestris: Jugum enim meum suave est, et onus meum leve.* Quis⁶ ad haec aliquid replicabit⁷? An non est satis efficax testimonium Christi?

¹ labor E

² quas MA

³ prava E

⁴ **eternam add. N**

⁵ **in evangelio inquit : inquit in evangelio N**

⁶ enim *add.* G, MA

⁷ respondebit F

2.1.2. The yoke of the Lord is light

[11] *Christ had to suffer, and thus to enter into his glory.*¹ *Virtue is based on hardship.*² *Narrow is the way, says the Lord in Matthew, that leadeth to life: and few there are that may find it!*³ But I tell you and swear to you that Paradise takes a smaller effort to acquire than Hell. If the way of life is narrow, it is because it does not have to be broad since not many will walk it. Few find it because few seek it. But everybody who has ever searched diligently for it has found it. Virtue is difficult until it becomes a habit. When it has become a habit, a hardened skin, so to speak,⁴ it is no longer difficult. Christ suffered not for his own sake but for ours. We are not bound to endure great sufferings for life's sake, but to experience easy, sweet, and delightful things.⁵ He who is Truth itself⁶ bears witness himself, saying in the Gospel: *Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light.*⁷ Who will object to this? Is the testimony of Christ not sufficient?

¹ Luke, 24, 46

² Traditional maxim

³ Matthew, 7, 14

⁴ An example of a rhetorical device, the metaphor

⁵ Note this emphatic expression of the new conception of life on Earth

⁶ Cf. John, 14, 6

⁷ Matthew, 11, 29-30

[12] *Non bonis viris, ut Lactantius¹ ait, sed vitiosis et male viventibus amara sunt praecepta justitiae.* Multi sunt, qui arduum iter in caelum ac difficilia praedicant Christi mandata, quos ipse redarguens, *Vae² vobis, inquit, scribae et pharisaei hypocritae, qui clauditis regnum caelorum ante homines.* Et³ in epistola Johannes apostolus *Mandata ejus, ait⁴, gravia non sunt.* Quid amplius indigemus testibus, nisi fortasse aliquem ex gentilibus ad ruborem nostrum volumus⁵ advocare? Seneca⁶, ex Romanis acerrimus philosophus stoicidae⁷ sectae, cum multa Lucillo suo bene vivendi praecepta dedisset, subjungit denique: *Ceterum magnae indolis est ad ista non properare tamquam meliora, sed tamquam facilia, et sunt, Lucilli, facilia: cum vero multum ante⁸ meditatus accesseris, jucunda quoque inest enim illis, sine qua nihil est jucundum, securitas.* Videtisne, viri boni honestaeque mulieres, legis mandata non esse gravia et habere {15r} jucunditatem? Dixi supra et iterum dico viam patere, si volumus, nobis, quae vitam hic jucundam praebeat et post obitum ad aeternae vitae gaudia perducatur.

¹ Lactantius *in marg.* A, D, G

² ut E

³ ut G

⁴ *omit.* D, G, MA

⁵ **nolumus N**

⁶ Seneca *in marg.* A, C, E, G

⁷ Stoicae D, G, MA

⁸ antea G, MA

[12] Lactantius says that *the precepts of righteousness are distasteful to the wicked, and to those who lead an unholy life.*¹ Many are preaching that the road to Heaven is arduous and that Christ's precepts are difficult, but Christ himself contradicts them when he says, *Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men.*² And in one of his epistles, the Apostle John says, *His commandments are not grievous.*³ We do not need more witnesses, unless maybe we want, blushing, to call upon one of the gentiles: Seneca,⁴ a most perspicacious Roman philosopher of the Stoic school,⁵ gave many precepts to his friend Lucilius for living morally, adding that *it is the mark, however, of a noble spirit not to precipitate oneself into such things on the ground that they are better, but to practise for them on the ground that they are thus easy to endure. And they are easy to endure, Lucilius; when, however, you come to them after long rehearsal, they are even pleasant; for they contain a sense of freedom from care, - and without this nothing is pleasant.*⁶ So, don't you see, good men and honourable women, that the precepts of the Law are light and joyful? I said it before, and I repeat: if we so wish, a road is open to us that offers a joyful life here and after our death leads us to the joys of eternal life.

¹ Lactantius: *Divinae Institutiones*, 1, 4

² Matthew, 23, 13

³ 1 John, 5, 5

⁴ Seneca, Lucius Annaeus (ca. 5 BC-65): Stoic philosopher, statesman, and dramatist. Tutor and advisor to Emperor Nero

⁵ Stoic School: a school of Hellenistic philosophy founded in Athens by Zeno of Citium in the early 3rd century BC. The Stoics taught that destructive emotions resulted from errors in judgement, and that a wise man would not suffer such emotions

⁶ Seneca: *Epistulae Morales*, 20.12

[13] Quaeritis quaenam sit ista via? In promptu¹ est, quod quaeritis. Quisquis relinquit vitia et virtutes sectatur, hic jam est in via. Scio vos non ambigere, quin² omnibus recte viventibus cum virtute *certus sit in caelo diffinitus locus, in quo beati aevo sempiterno fruuntur*³. Sed vobis fortasse non videtur consentaneum jucunde vivere, qui secundum Deum⁴ vivit. Audite igitur, et agnoscetis me vera locutum. Contemplatine aliquando estis mulierculam quampiam Christi servam, nil amplius in terris quaerentem, quam quod esset ad vivendum satis? Quae oravit in templo, in domo negotiata est, in via tacita pertransivit. An non creditis hanc mulierculam feliciter vivere, cui nihil deest, nisi *mori et esse cum Christo*.

[14] Vultisne Christi servos agnoscere? Qui non sunt tristes, non quaeruli, non maledicentes, non anxii, sed laeti semper atque jucundi, quorum vultus eandem semper⁵ custodiunt⁶ serenitatem, quorum sermo modestus et vita sermoni consentiens, qui semper contenti sunt eo, quod adest, quod est sapientiae proprium. Stultitia vero, etsi adepta est, quod concupivit, numquam se tamen satis consecutam putat. At quid aliud est in terris habere paradisum quam laete jucundeque vivere?

¹ promptum T

² quoniam MA

³ perfruantur B, E, T

⁴ *omit.* F

⁵ eandem semper: semper eandem G, MA

⁶ custodit MA

2.1.3. Christian life is joyous

[13] You ask, “What road is that?”, but what you seek is right in front of you. Everyone who abandons vice and follows virtue is already on that road. You do not doubt, I know, that all those who live morally and virtuously *have a secure place assigned to them in heaven where they may happily enjoy eternity.*¹ But maybe you think that one cannot live joyfully and, at the same time, follow God. Then listen, and you will acknowledge that I have spoken truly. Have you ever seen some little woman, a servant of Christ, seeking no more on Earth than what is enough for living? What she prayed for in the temple, she had at home. She trod the silent path. Do you think that this little woman does not live happily, lacking for nothing except *dying and being with Christ?*²

[14] Do you want to be able to recognise the servants of Christ? Well, they are not sad, they do not complain, they do not curse, and they are not fearful. On the contrary, they are always happy and joyful, and their faces are serene. Their speech is modest, and their lives are in harmony with their speech. They are always content with what they have, which is the sign of wisdom. On the contrary, foolishness never thinks that it has enough, even if it has gotten everything it desires. But what else is Paradise on Earth than a happy and joyful life?

¹ Cicero: *De re publica*, 6.9.13 (Somnium Scipionis): *omnibus, qui patriam conservaverint, adiuverint, auxerint, certum esse in caelo definitum locum, ubi beati aevo sempiterno fruuntur*. Piccolomini applies the quotation to those who live morally, whereas Cicero speaks of those who protect the fatherland. Piccolomini would reuse the quotation in later orations, but in the proper sense

² Philippians, 1, 23: *dissolvi et esse cum Christo*

[15] Caput autem jucunditatis est securitas. Virtuosi quippe secure vivunt, quia et placere se Deo sperant, et quid eis facturi sint homines minime timent. Qui vero sequuntur vitia, servi sunt vitiorum, semper in metu sunt¹, semper inquieti, semper in cruciatu² mentis, nec bene in hoc saeculo vivunt, nec in altero spem habent. Brevis est omnis voluptas peccati, in quo semper extrema gaudii luctus occupat. Virtutis semper est jucunda possessio. Numquam poenitet, qui secundum virtutem operatur. Post delictum mox adest conscientia flagellatque delinquentem. Quo circa negat Epicurus, et bene negat, quemquam jucunde posse vivere, nisi idem honeste, sapienter justeque vivat. Vitia morbos nutriunt, virtus est mater suavitatis³. Si ergo rite consideratis, non est⁴ arduum intueri bonos viros, rectos, sanctos in⁵ jucunditate ac⁶ laetitia suam aetatem⁷ agere: quod est in in terris paradisum habere. Malos vero, iniquos, sceleratos in anxietate, maestitia doloreque semper esse: quod est viventi in terris inferni poenas tolerare. Quod si volumus evitare, necessarium est relinquere vitia, cum quibus est impossibile jucundam vitam habere, sicut jam dictum est in genere.

¹ sequuntur vitia ... sunt : se F

² in cruciatu : in cruciati T

³ **sanitatis N**

⁴ *omit.* F

⁵ *omit.* MA

⁶ *atque* MA

⁷ suam aetatem: aetatem suam G, MA

[15] The essential point about joyfulness is safety. The virtuous live safely, both because they hope to please God and because they do not fear at all what men may do to them. But those who follow the vices are their slaves, always in a state of fear, always disturbed, always suffering mental torments, and they neither live morally in this world nor have hopes for the next. Brief is all enjoyment of sin, and at the end of sinful pleasure, there is always sorrow. But the possession of virtue is always joyful. The man who acts virtuously never has regrets. After sinning, conscience arises quickly and scourges the sinner. Therefore, Epicure¹ denies, and rightly so, that anybody can live joyfully if he does not live decently, wisely, and justly.² Vice feeds illness, whereas virtue is the mother of sweet health. If you look around properly, it is not difficult to see that good, upright, and holy men live in joyfulness and happiness, which is the same as having Paradise on Earth. But bad, evil, and criminal people are always in a state of anxiety, grief, and pain, which is the same as suffering the punishments of Hell while still living on Earth. To avoid that, it is necessary to abandon vice, for it is impossible to live a joyful life with vice, as I have already stated generally.

¹ Epicurus (341-270 BC): Greek philosopher

² Burley, (Epicurus), implicitly

[16] Nunc, si placet, specialius rem attingamus, ut videatis luce clarius nullum esse peccatum sine molestia, perleuemque voluptatem, et cito casurum {15v} gaudium afferre vitia. Adhibete jam aures, animae justae¹ et cum Dei adiutorio salvandae. Attendite non mea, sed sanctorum verba doctorum, verba justitiae, verba sapientiae, verba, quae vobis auferre molestias et impartiri consolationem, laetitiam salutemque poterunt. *Omne*² *quod est in mundo*, inquit Johannes Apostolus, *concupiscentia carnis est et concupiscentia oculorum et superbia vitae*. Idem Lactantius³ ait, quamvis aliis⁴ utitur verbis: *Tres sunt affectus, qui homines in omnia facinora praecipites agunt: ira, cupiditas, libido. Ira ultionem desiderat, cupiditas opes, libido voluptates*. Ubi Johannes superbiam posuit, hic iram collocavit⁵. Sed nascitur ex superbia nimirum ira. Nos tamen non erimus nunc in verbis curiosi, qui laboramus in rebus. Sequemur autem ordinem Lactantii, qui superbiam sub cupiditate videtur voluisse comprehendere, studebimusque morbos istos depellere, ac mentes nostras aegritudine liberare. Est enim officium presbyteri *mederi animis, inanes sollicitudines detrahere, cupiditatibus liberare*⁶, *timores fugare*, quod juvante divina gratia jam in vobis incipiam facere.

[17] Principium⁷ hujus rei ira praestabit. Obsecro vos, filii fratresque mei: quid confert ira? Quid boni est in animo irato? Quid gaudii? Quid jucunditatis? Ira crudelitatem gignit, dolorem affert⁸, poenitudinem⁹, maestitiam, aufert mentem, rationem excaecat. Quis ridet iratus? Quis verba prudentiae inter irascendum profundit? Quid indicant oculi torvi, contortum os, erecta supercilia, frons crispata, nisi animum turbatum esse et in amaritudine degere? Quid sibi vult illa accidia, quam prae se ferunt irati? Numquid carere ira praestat quam illi servire?

¹ vestre T

² Joannes *in marg.* A; Joannes omne quod est *in marg.* D; Joannes apostolus omne quod est etc. *in marg.* G

³ Lactantius *in marg.* A; Lactantius, Ira, Cupiditas, Libido *in marg.* D, G

⁴ ira cupiditas ... opes *omit.* T

⁵ **collocat N**

⁶ est enim ... liberare *omit.* T

⁷ Ira *in marg.* C; De ira *in marg.* D; Ira *in marg.* G

⁸ auffert T

⁹ **plenitudinem N**

2.2. Three passions to be banished

[16] Now, if you please, let us consider the matter more specifically so that you may see clearly that there is no sin without affliction, that sensual pleasure is fleeting, and that enjoyment brought by vice will fade away quickly. Now listen, you just souls that are to be saved with the help of God: do not heed my words, but the words of the holy doctors, words of justice, words of wisdom, words that may take away your afflictions and bring consolation, joy, and salvation. For *all that is in the world*, says John the Apostle, *is the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life*.¹ Lactantius says the same, though in other words: *There are, then, three emotions that drive men headlong to all crimes: anger, desire, and lust... anger longs for revenge, desire for riches, lust for pleasures*.² Where John has pride, Lactantius has anger. But anger is born from pride. However, we who are dealing with realities shall not quibble about words. So, let us follow the order of Lactantius, who seems to have wanted to include pride under desire. Let us strive to banish those illnesses and free our minds from sickness. For it is the task of the priest *to heal souls, to remove empty cares, to liberate from desire, and to chase away fears*.³ Sustained by divine grace, I shall now begin to do this for you.

2.2.1. Anger

[17] Let us begin with anger. I ask you, my sons and brothers: what does anger bring us? What good is there in an irate soul? What gladness? What joy? Anger breeds cruelty, it brings pain, regret, and grief. It closes the mind and blinds reason. Does an angry person laugh? Does one speak sensibly when angry? What is the meaning of the wild eyes, the twisted mouth, the raised eyebrows, and the wrinkled brow other than that the soul is disturbed and bitter?⁴ What good comes from the depression⁵ that angry people carry with them? Is it not better to be without anger than to serve it?

¹ 1. John, 2, 16

² Lactantius: *Divinae Institutiones*, 6, 19: There are, then, three emotions that drive men headlong to all crimes: anger, desire, and lust. On which account the poets have said that there are three furies which harass the minds of Men: anger longs for revenge, desire for riches, lust for pleasures

³ Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 2.4.11: *for it shows the effect of philosophy: it is a physician of souls, takes away the load of empty troubles, sets us free from desires and banishes fears. (nam efficit hoc philosophia: medetur animis, inanes sollicitudines detrahit, cupiditatibus liberat, pellit timores.)* Piccolomini takes the liberty of substituting priests for philosophers!

⁴ Cf. Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.29.102

⁵ "accidia"

[18] “At injurias sum perpressus”, ais, “ulcisci volo”. Fuerunt, qui licitum esse putarunt nocere injuriantibus, inter quos etiam Cicero fuit. Non Ciceronis, sed Christi legibus vivendum est, cujus apud Matthaenum haec sunt verba: *Si quis te percusserit¹ in dexteram maxillam, praebe ei² alteram*. Quod et verbo³ docuit et confirmavit exemplo, dum captus, consputus⁴, caesus, flagellatus, confossus: *Pater, inquit, ignosce illis, quia nesciunt, quid faciunt⁵*. Dicet aliquis miranda magis quam imitanda esse Christi opera, non nego. Quid Stephanus, quid ceteri martyres? Numquid⁶ omnes pro suis persecutoribus orarunt?

[19] Transeo nostros, gentiles cito: Quid⁷ tu, obsecro, Pythagora⁸, qui Christi praecepta numquam vidisti nec evangelium audivisti? Hic unus fuit e VII sapientibus, quos numerare solebat Graecia, et cum de suo persecutore ulcisci posset: “Mihi, ait, pro vindicta et tibi pro poena sufficiat, quod nec auxilii, nec fugae praesidio te potes salvare, {16r} quin injuriarum⁹, si vellem, praemia reportares.” Dicere quoque solebat hic sapiens indulgentiam¹⁰ esse supplicio potiolem. Quid Julius Caesar, quamvis esset alias libidinosus, hoc tamen bono praeditus fuit, qui¹¹ nihil oblivisci consuevit, nisi injurias.

¹ percusserat D

² et D, G, MA

³ **verba N**

⁴ conspectus T

⁵ faciant A, B, D, E, G, T

⁶ non quid E

⁷ Pytacus *in marg.* D; Pythacus *in marg.* G

⁸ Pytace A, B, C, D, E, N; Pictace F; Pythace G, MA, T

⁹ injuriam G; injuriae MA

¹⁰ indulgentia G

¹¹ quod N, MA

[18] “But I have been grievously hurt,” you say, “I want revenge.” Some have thought that it is legitimate to seek revenge against those who hurt us. Cicero¹ was one of them,² but we should live not by the laws of Cicero but by the laws of Christ who, according to Matthew, said, *If one strikes thee on thy right cheek, turn to him also the other.*³ And what he taught in words, he confirmed by his own example, when he was seized, spat on, beaten, scourged, and pierced: *Father, he said, forgive them, for they know not what they do.*⁴ Here, someone may say that “the acts of Christ should be admired rather than imitated”. I do not deny it. But then, what about Stephen?⁵ What about the other martyrs? Did they not all pray for their persecutors?

[19] I now leave our own⁶ and pass on to the gentile authors. What about you, Pythagoras,⁷ who never saw the commandments of Christ or heard his Gospel?⁸ Pythagoras was one of the seven wise men, as Greece used to count them.⁹ Once, when he could get revenge over someone who persecuted him, he said, “For me, it is enough revenge, and for you, it is enough punishment that you cannot save yourself neither with help from others nor by flight, if I should now want compensation for the wrong you have done me.” This wise man also used to say that forgiveness was more potent than punishment.¹⁰ And what about Julius Caesar who,¹¹ though otherwise a lustful¹² person, was said to possess this virtue that he usually forgot nothing except wrongs done to him!¹³

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

² Cicero: *De Officiis*, 2.5.18: *ulciscamurque eos, qui nocere nobis conati sint*; 2.14.50: *Sin erit, cui faciendum sit saepius, rei publicae tribuat hoc muneris, cuius inimicos ulcisci saepius non est reprehendum*

³ Matthew, 5, 39

⁴ Luke, 23, 34

⁵ Stephen (died c. 35): the first martyr of the Christian church

⁶ I.e., Christian authors

⁷ Pythagoras (ca. 570-ca. 495 BC): Greek philosopher and mathematician

⁸ An example of the rhetorical device of *apostrophe*, used sometimes by Piccolomini

⁹ Seven Sages (of Greece) (620-550 BCE): title given by ancient Greek tradition to seven early 6th-century BCE philosophers, statesmen, and law-givers

¹⁰ Source not identified

¹¹ Gaius Julius Caesar (100-44 BCE): Roman general and statesman

¹² Meaning that as he otherwise gave free rein to his desires and passions, he could easily have given in to desire for revenge but did not

¹³ Cicero: *Pro Ligario*, 12.35

[20] Quare nescio quid¹ magis ad tranquillitatem mentis perducatur: aut enim vindicare injuriam potes, et satis supplicii habes ex inimico, cui parcis, qui eo facto continuis urgetur stimulis, iniquum se et te bonum² inspiciens. Aut non³ potes ulcisci, et unicum remedium est oblivisci, si vis quiete vivere. Ultio autem quid aliud facit⁴, nisi te similem injurianti? Deliquit in te ille, invidet sibi malum, potioresque sibi nequitiae partes non vis relinquere? Audite apostolum⁵ Paulum, qui ad Romanos sic⁶ scribit: *Date locum irae⁷: scriptum est enim: mihi vindictam, et ego retribuam. Si esurierit inimicus tuus, ciba illum. Si sitit, potum da illi. Hoc⁸ enim faciens carbones ignis congeres super caput ejus: Noli vinci a malo, sed vince in bono malum.* O verba memoriae commendanda! O doctrinam salubrem! Nullum genus vindictae majus est quam ignoscere. Ille vincitur a malo, qui malum vult ulcisci. Ille vincit in bono malum, qui vindictam remittit Deo.

[21] Rogo vos⁹, fratres carissimi, si quis vestrum, calce vel morsu laesus¹⁰ equino aut bove cornupeta vulneratus, animal laedens ferro impeteret¹¹ atque interimeret, nonne in risum omnes prorumperetis, stultumque illum ac furiosum judicaretis? Sed aliud esse forsitan bestiarum, aliud hominum injurias perpeti creditis? Vir autem sapiens aequè unum atque alterum fert: nec enim aliud est homo injurius quam bestia: et fortasse bestia bestior, qui plus sibi nocet quam toleranti. Hinc cum Socratem quidam colapho percussisset atque abiisset, et discipuli ejus insequi vellent percussorem atque vindictam exigere, "State", inquit, "sinite illum: vosne, *si me asinus calce caederet, ipsum repercuteretis?*" Existimandi sunt igitur¹² omnes bestiae, qui¹³ injuriuntur, equis¹⁴, bobus et asinis deteriores. Quod si fecerimus, facillime contemnemus injurias. *Sapiens*, inquit Seneca, *numquam potest injuriam pati, qui non aestimat injurias, quas sibi homines arbitrantur irrogare.* Verum si injurias contemnemus, nec vindictam exigemus, nec irae subjacebimus, nec accidia, duobus taeterrimis morbis liberati, quamvis et accidia¹⁵ in aliis quoque delictis serpere soleat¹⁶.

¹ quod G, MA

² te bonum : bonum te G, MA

³ **ut N**

⁴ faciet G, MA

⁵ Paulus *in marg.* A, E; Apostolus *in marg.* G

⁶ *omit.* D, G, MA

⁷ date locum irae: datum irae locum C

⁸ haec F

⁹ *omit.* G, MA

¹⁰ *omit.* B, E, F, T

¹¹ ipse tereret MA

¹² sunt igitur : igitur sunt G, MA

¹³ que T

¹⁴ *omit.* G, MA

¹⁵ accidiam F

¹⁶ solebat T

[20] Therefore, I do not know what contributes most to your tranquillity of mind: either you are able to get revenge¹ for some wrong done to you, but punish your enemy enough by sparing him (afterwards he will be constantly annoyed, seeing that he himself is evil while you are good). Or you are unable to get revenge, and the only remedy is to forget the whole thing if you want to live in peace. What does revenge do for you other than make you similar to the one who did you wrong? Someone committed an offence against you, and you bear a grudge against him for it. Why not leave the worst part of wickedness to him? Heed what the Apostle Paul writes to the Romans, *Give place unto wrath, for it is written: Revenge is mine, I will repay. But if the enemy be hungry, give him to eat; if he thirsts, give him to drink. For doing this, thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head. Be not overcome by evil: but overcome evil by good.*² Oh, words to remember! Oh, salutary doctrine!³ Forgiveness is the highest form of revenge. He who wants to avenge a wrong is overcome by evil. Whoever entrusts his revenge to God overcomes evil with goodness.

[21] I ask you, dear brethren, if one of you was hurt by the hoof or the bite of a horse or by the horns of a cow and then attacked and killed the offending animal, would you not all burst into laughter and consider him to be foolish and wild? Do you think that being hurt by an animal is so different from being hurt by a human? The wise man tolerates both with equanimity, for a harmful person is no different from a harmful animal – and maybe the person is even more of an animal than the animal, and he harms himself more than he harms the person who suffers the harm. Therefore, when someone had slapped Socrates⁴ in the face and went away, and his disciples wanted to go after him to get revenge, he said, “Let him go. *If an ass kicks me, would you then kick it in turn?*”⁵ So, all those who do harm we should consider as wild animals, lower than horses, cattle, and asses. By doing so, we shall easily be able to disregard wrongs done to us. *The wise man, says Seneca, can never suffer injury, for he does not consider anything that men can inflict upon him as an injury.*⁶ Truly, if we disregard wrongs done to us and do not demand revenge, then we shall be subject neither to anger nor depression, and we shall be free of those two terrible diseases - though depression is also lurking in other offences.

¹ Vindicare/vendicare: cf. Wagendorfer: *Zur Orthographie*, p. 435

² Romans, 12, 19-20: *Date locum irae. Scriptum est enim: mihi vindictam, ego retribuam, dicit Dominus. Sed si esurierit inimicus tuus ciba illum si sitit potum da illi hoc enim faciens carbones ignis congeres super caput eius. Noli vinci a malo sed vince in bono malum*

³ An example of the rhetorical device of *exclamatio*, which Piccolomini used frequently

⁴ Socrates (ca. 469-399 BC): Greek philosopher

⁵ Burley, (Socrates), p. 112: *Semel ictu calculus a quodam percussus est ... Si asinus calce me percussisset numquid eum in iudicium convenirem? Cur ego non sustinuerem sic equanimiter ictus hominum sicut percussuram ferrem irrationabilium bestiarum?*

⁶ Quotation not identified

[22] Nunc¹ ad cupiditatem transire oportet, ex qua multa emergunt vitia, sed duo potissime. Cupiditas namque ad honores et potentias se extendit, in quibus est superbia, et ad opes, in quibus² est avaritia, atque ex his duobus rivulis conficitur atque conflatur³ invidia, {16v} cum abundare alios⁴ his rebus cernimus, quibus ipsi caremus. Licet etiam libido sit mater invidiae. Nam et pulchram uxorem et elegantis formae concubinam et opiperas cenas et alias voluptates invidere solemus vicinis nostris. Verum circa cupiditatem tria vulnera inveniuntur, quae sanari restaurarique debent: unum superbia, alterum avaritia facit⁵, tertium ista duo, quandoque⁶ invidia ex alterius successu nascitur, superbia honores appetit⁷ atque potentiam⁸. Superbus est, qui plus sibi arrogat, quam debeat. Idem tumens dici potest et inflatus opinione sui. Sed veriori nomine ambitiosus, cujus est majora cupere, quam mereatur, et praesertim circa honores atque potentias. Quis ergo ambitiosi sive superbi est animus quam laetus, quam quietus, quam alacer, quam jucundus licet inspicere remque omnem expendere. Potestne quisquam superbus esse tranquillae mentis, cum res fluxas⁹, caducas, fragiles, et in alterius potius quam in sua potestate constitutas sequatur¹⁰?

¹ De cupiditate *in marg.* D; Cupiditas *in marg.* C, G

² est superbia et ad opes in quibus *omit.* B, E, T

³ inflatur G, MA

⁴ *omit.* G, MA

⁵ **alterum avaritia facit : facit alterum avaritia N**

⁶ quoniam N, MA

⁷ *omit.* G

⁸ honores appetit atque potentiam : ex honore atque potentia MA

⁹ *omit.* G, MA

¹⁰ *corr. ex sequantur* A, B

2.2.2. Cupidity

[22] Now we must pass on to cupidity, from which many other vices arise, but two in particular. For cupidity reaches out for honour, power, in which there is pride, and wealth, in which there is greed. And from these two sources, envy arises and grows, when we see someone having in abundance what we ourselves are lacking. For desire is the mother of envy, and we usually envy our neighbour his beautiful wife, elegant mistress, sumptuous dinners, and other pleasures. In cupidity, there are three wounds that should be healed: one is caused by pride, the other by greed, and the third by both of them together since envy arises from another person's success and pride desires honour and power. The one who claims more for himself than he should is proud. You could also say that he is puffed up and has an inflated opinion of himself. But even better, he may be called overambitious, for he wants more than he merits, anespecially honour and power. You can see for yourselves if the ambitious and proud man's mind is happy, tranquil lively, and joyful, and then be your own judge. Can any proud man have a tranquil mind as he pursues things that are fleeting, futile, fragile, and dependent on another man's power rather than on his own?

[23] Propter honorem¹ multi fiunt hypocritae, exterminantes *faciem suam, ut appareant hominibus jejunantes. Intus autem sunt lupi rapaces.* Ad quos dominus in evangelio² *Vae vobis, inquit, scribae et pharisaei, qui similes estis sepulchris dealbatis, quae foris apparent hominibus speciosa, intus autem plena sunt ossibus mortuorum et omni spurcitia.* Verum quam vanum est in honore suum finem ponere honorique inservire, quem saepius mali quam boni assecuti sunt³. Numquam invenies aliquem, qui Deo simul et honori hujus saeculi servire⁴ potuerit⁵. Videamus tamen, qualis est vita illorum, qui venantur honorem. Quis umquam secutus honores menti suae satisfacit? Quis non majores optavit honores, quam consecutus esset? Quidam, postquam omnibus honoribus functi sunt, qui hominibus praestari⁶ solent, divinos honores affectaverunt, sicut de Alexandro Neroneque⁷ et multis aliis legimus⁸. Est autem insatiabilis appetitus honoris. Sed illud in hoc miserrimum est, quod ad iudicium multitudinis honores adipiscimur, quae saepius malos quam bonos viros honorare consuevit. Nemo praeterea tot tantaque fecit, quin ubi destitit, a multitudine deseratur oblivionique detur. Quo fit, ut qui cupidus est honoris, is numquam possit esse quietus. Servit enim vulgari opinioni, cui non solum in dies⁹, sed in horas¹⁰ praebendum est aliquid admiratione dignum.

¹ Honor *in marg.* D, G

² **dominus in evangelio : in evangelio dominus N**

³ assecuti sunt : sunt assecuti B, E, T

⁴ inservire D, G, MA

⁵ poterit D, G, MA

⁶ prestare T

⁷ Nerone F

⁸ *omit.* F

⁹ **in dies : dietim N**

¹⁰ **in horas : horatim N**

2.2.2.1. Honour

[23] For the sake of honour, many become hypocrites, who *disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast.*¹ ² *Inwardly they are ravening wolves.*³ To those the Lord says in the Gospel: *Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees ... because you are like to whited sepulchres, which outwardly appear to men beautiful but within are full of dead men's bones and of all filthiness.*⁴ But how vain it is to make honour one's goal and to be the servant of honour that bad people pursue more often than do good people. You will never find somebody who can serve both God and worldly honour at the same time.⁵ Let us look at the lives of those who chase honour. Has anybody who pursued honour ever become satisfied? And did anybody who obtained honours not always desire even greater ones? Some who enjoyed all the honours usually given to men even aspired to divine honours, as we read about Alexander, Nero, and many others. Men's appetite for honour is insatiable. But the worst part of it is that we obtain honours at the whim⁶ of the mob, who very often honours bad men more than good men. And nobody has ever accomplished so many and so great things that, when he ceased doing so, he was not deserted and forgotten by the mob. The man who desires honour can never be tranquil, for he serves vulgar opinion that must be fed with new and wondrous things not just daily but hourly.

¹ Matthew, 6, 16: *Cum autem ieiunatis nolite fieri sicut hypocritae tristes demoliuntur enim facies suas ut pareant hominibus ieiunantes*

² Poggio Bracciolini: *Oratio ad patres revendissimos* (1417). In: Opera, II, p. 18: *Tu faciem exterminas, ut appareas hominibus jejunans*

³ Matthew, 7, 15: *Intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces*

⁴ Matthew, 23, 27: *Vae vobis scribae et Pharisei hypocritae quia similes estis sepulchris dealbatis quae a foris parent hominibus speciosa intus vero plena sunt ossibus mortuorum et omni spurcitia*

⁵ Cf. Luke, 16, 13: *You cannot serve God and Mammon*. Here Piccolomini replaces Mammon with Honour

⁶ "judicium"

[24] Nos vero honorem istum spernere debemus imitarique sanctos patres, qui saeculi honores tamquam pestem aliquam saevissimam devitarunt. Johannes apostolus, cum vidisset {17r} Cratonem philosophum ex contemptu mundi coram plebe gloriam quaerere ac discipulos ejus pretiosas margaritas in publico terere, *stultus est, inquit, iste mundi contemptus, qui hominum ore¹ laudatur, condemnatur autem divino judicio.*

[25] Superbi ergo, qui venantur honores, nec Deo placent, nec sibi quiete vivunt. Quaerunt enim, quod non possunt assequi. Quidam² superbi sunt, qui se vel nobiles, vel virtuosos, vel litteratos, vel astutos gloriantes³ dedignantur ceteros, ad quos Paulus Apostolus⁴ *hoc enim, inquit, sentite in vobis, quod et in Christo Jesu, qui cum in forma Dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est se esse aequalem⁵ Deo⁶, sed semetipsum exinanivit formam servi accipiens, in similitudinem⁷ factus, et habitu inventus ut homo. Humiliavit semetipsum⁸, oboediens⁹ usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis, propter quod¹⁰ Deus exaltavit illum et dedit illi¹¹ nomen, quod est super omne nomen, ut in nomine Jesu omne genu flectatur caelestium, terrestrium, et infernorum.*

¹ hominum ore : ore hominum F

² enim *add.* C

³ gloriantur T

⁴ Paulus *in marg.* D, G; Paulus apostolus *in marg.* E

⁵ se esse aequalem : esse se aequalem B, E, V; se aequalem esse C

⁶ *omit.* G, MA

⁷ hominum *add.* Vulgata

⁸ factus *add.* N, Vulgata

⁹ obediensque G, MA

¹⁰ et *add.* F

¹¹ *omit.* D

[24] So we must spurn this honour and imitate the holy fathers, who fled secular honours like a horrible plague. When John the Apostle saw the philosopher Crato seek glory in front of the people through contempt of the world and his disciples crushing precious pearls in public, he said: *This manner of despising the world is foolish, for while it is praised by men, it is condemned by divine justice.*¹

2.2.2.2. Pride

[25] Therefore, the proud who chase honours do not please God, nor do they have peace of mind, for they are seeking what they cannot get. Some are proud because they are nobles; others are proud because they are virtuous, educated, or clever; and in their vainglory, they despise other people. To those, Paul the Apostle says: *For let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus: Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: But emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and in habit found as a man. He humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, even to the death of the cross. For which cause God also hath exalted him and hath given him a name which is above all names: That in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of those that are in heaven, on earth, and under the earth.*²

¹ Jacobus de Voragine: *Legenda aurea*, vol. 1, ch. 9 p. 51

² Philippians, 2, 5-11

[26] Quis est, qui se velit exaltare, cum Christus, Dei filius, seipsum exinaniverit, cum superbia ruinae subjaceat, humilitas exaltationi¹? Quid est in te, homo, dignum laude? Quid fecisti cinis²? Quid superbis terra? *Quid habes*, ut Apostoli Pauli verbis utar³, *quod non accepisti*⁴? Si autem accepisti, quid gloriaris, quasi non acceperis? Abice hunc fastum⁵, hanc ventositatem. Scito te hominem esse, cogita, quia breves sunt dies tui. Superbia tibi nihil affert boni. Semper plus vult, quam habet. Non socium, non amicum patitur, et cum omnes subjicere sibi velit, omnium calcatur pedibus. Nulla pax est, nulla quies, ubi superbia dominatur. *Inter superbos*, inquit sapiens,⁶ *semper jurgia sunt*. Nos vero, si pacem volumus, si tranquille vivere cupimus, si paradysum in terris optamus, honores istos mundanos oportet fugere, quos Christus contempsit, apostoli refutarunt, discipuli spreverunt, et omnes sancti quasi perniciosissimam pestem ab sese abdicarunt.

[27] Ad potentiam transeo,⁷ quam superbia non minus quam honores exoptat. Quid boni est in potentatibus? Quid est, quod tantopere quaeritur? Estne melius principantibus quam privatis hominibus? *Regibus multo pejus est*, inquit Crispus, *quam servantibus*. At⁸ pulchrum est fieri statim, quod jusseris, splendidis uti vestibus, longum famulantium ordinem ducere, exquisitissimis frui cibariis, egregiis equis insidere⁹, uxores habere quot¹⁰ velis. Sed nescitis, inter tot voluptates quot amaritudines misceantur?

¹ **exaltationem N**

² eius T

³ apostoli Pauli verbis utar : Pauli apostoli utar verbis G, MA

⁴ Omnia accepimus *in marg.* D, G

⁵ festum T

⁶ Sapiens *in marg.* D, E, G

⁷ Potentia *in marg.* C; De potentia *in marg.* D, G

⁸ ac C

⁹ equis insidere : insidere equis F

¹⁰ quod T

[26] Who wants to glorify oneself when Christ, the Son of God, abased himself, and when pride leads to ruin and humility to elevation? What is praiseworthy in you, oh, man? What have you done, you who are as ashes?¹ What is Earth to the proud? *What hast thou*, to use the words of the Apostle Paul, *that thou hast not received?*² Why do you glory in what you have received as if it had not been given to you? Put away this arrogance and presumptuousness³. Know that you are a man, and consider how short your days are. Pride brings you nothing good. It always wants more than it has. It does not suffer a companion or a friend, and as it wants to make all subject to itself, it tramples all under its feet. Where pride prevails, there is no peace and no calm. *Among the proud*, says the Wise One, *there are always contentions.*⁴ But as for us, if we want peace, if we wish to live tranquilly, if we desire Paradise on earth, then we should flee those worldly honours that Christ despised, the apostles rejected, the disciples spurned, and all the saints renounced as a most terrible plague.⁵

2.2.2.3. Power

[27] I now pass on to power that pride craves just as much as honours. What good is there in power? Why do people desire it so intensely? Is it better for rulers than for private people? Crispus⁶ says that it is *much worse for those who rule than for those who serve.*⁷ But it is lovely to be obeyed immediately, to use splendid clothes, to be followed by a long row of servants, to eat exquisite foods, to ride noble horses, and to have as many wives as you want. But do you not know how many miseries may be mixed up with so many pleasures?

¹ Cf. Ecclesiasticus, 10, 9: *Quid superbit terra et cinis?*

² 1. Corinthians, 4, 7

³ “ventositas”

⁴ Proverbs, 13, 10

⁵ An example of the rhetorical device of *accumulatio*

⁶ Sallust

⁷ The quotation is not from Sallust but from Publilius Syrus Mimus: *Regibus multo pejus est quam servientibus, re vera, quia illi singulos, isti universos timent.* Publilii Syrus: *Sententiae*, Proverb. 86-87. Ed. E. Woelflin, p. 105. <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/syrus.html>

[28] Sine securitate nihil potest esse jucundum: principantes in assiduo versantur {17v} metu. Nunc venenum timent, nunc ferrum. Quod si aliunde non¹ intelligitis², aspice altos muros, profundas foveas, pontes elevatos, ferrata ostia, custodes ubique manentes. Quid haec aliud nisi metum indicant? Non fratribus, non consanguineis confidunt, nec illis ipsis, quos sui corporis custodes statuerunt. Dionysius Syracusanus³ asseveranti cuidam felicem vitam principes ducere: "Mecum," inquit, "ad cenam venito." Paritum⁴ est, cenatur. Interim super caput illius suspendi equina saeta gladium acutum e laquearibus Dionysius jussit. Quem cum aspexisset hospes, quamvis saepe⁵ invitatus cenare, non poterat, rogavitque sibi, quid hic gladius vellet. Ad quem Dionysius: "Sicut tu," inquit, "nunc vivis, sic assidue vivunt principes," et recte sane, numquam enim sine metu sunt, qui civitatibus ac⁶ provinciis dominantur. Et⁷ sicut in fabulis ad morem Sisyphi, casurum saxum semper supra se reformidant.

[29] Adde conscientiae stimulos. Sciunt⁸ principes debitum suum esse tam parvo quam magno justitiam ministrare, propterea namque creati sunt. Quod cum negligant, non sunt absque remorsu. In cenis vero et aliis voluptatibus cum assidue⁹ versentur, non sentiunt jucunditatem, quia non assiduitas, sed raritas efficit sapidas voluptates. Si quis praeterea numerare principes posset, quos vel ferrum vel venenum perdidit, in comparationem multitudinis et paucitatis multo sunt plures quam plebei. Quocirca tutissimum est potentias non ambire, quae multo plus habent molesti quam jucundi. Nos vero, si¹⁰ potentiam contempserimus¹¹ et honores, magnam cupiditatis partem sedaverimus, tranquillamque vitam, securam et quietam, in qua est felicitas, poterimus consequi.

¹ aliunde non : non aliunde B, E, T

² **intelligitis N**

³ Dionysius Syracusanus *in marg.* D, E, G

⁴ paratum E

⁵ *omit.* C

⁶ et G, MA

⁷ *omit.* G, MA

⁸ sicut T

⁹ **dietim N**

¹⁰ *omit.* C

¹¹ potentiam contempserimus : contempserimus potentiam F

[28] Without security, there can be no happiness; rulers live in permanent fear. Now they fear poison, now the sword. If this is not otherwise evident, then look to the high walls, the deep moats, the tall bridges, the ironclad gates, and the guards everywhere. What do they show, if not fear? Rulers do not trust their brothers, their relatives, or their own bodyguards. When someone¹ told Dionysius of Syracuse² that princes lead happy lives, Dionysius said to him, “Come to dinner with me.” He obeyed, and they had dinner. In the meantime, Dionysius ordered a sharp sword to be suspended over his head, hanging from the ceiling only by the hair from a horse’s tail. When the guest saw it, he could not eat at all, though Dionysius invited him to do so several times, and he asked himself what the meaning of that sword was. Then Dionysius told him, “As you are now, so princes live always,” and rightly so, for those who rule cities and provinces are never without fear.³ Just as in the fable of Sisyphus,⁴ they always fear that the rock will fall on them.

[29] Add the pangs of conscience. Princes know it is their obligation to administer justice both to the little man and to the great, for that is why they have been created. When they fail to do so, they are not without remorse. Moreover, when they continuously indulge in banquets and other pleasures, they do not feel joy, because it is not frequent repetition but rarity that makes pleasures tasty. Finally, if you count the princes who have died either by the sword or by poison and compare how many and how few, you will find that princes are murdered much more often than common people. Therefore, the safest course is not to aspire to power, for it yields far more trouble than joy. As for us, if we spurn power and honours, we shall allay a large part of cupidity and may have that tranquil, safe, and quiet life in which happiness is found.

¹ Damocles, courtier of Dionysius II of Syracuse

² Dionysius II the Younger (ca. 397-343 BC): ruled Syracuse, Sicily, 367 – 357 and 346 – 343

³ This is the famous story of the sword of Damocles, related by Cicero in his *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 5.21.61-62

⁴ Sisyphus: (Greek Myth.) King of Corinth, punished by the gods for deceitfulness by being compelled to roll an immense boulder up a hill, only to watch it roll back down, and to repeat this action forever

[30] Sed sunt etiam alia curanda vulnera, si volumus integram sanitatem nancisci. Sicut enim, febre remota, non est sanum corpus, quod iliorum dolore laborat, sic adhuc aeger est animus, in quo sublata superbia remansit avaritia. De hoc igitur avaritiae vitio in praesentiarum dicendum est,¹ in quo plures mortales periclitantur. Vos vero², si morbum hunc curari³ vultis, attendite. Est enim admodum pestifer, nec illum cognoscunt, nisi qui recte seipsos expendunt. *Avaritiam*, dicit Cicero,⁴ *vehementem esse opinionem de pecunia, quod valde sit expetenda⁵, inhaerentem penitus et insitam*. Augustinus⁶ in eo, quem *De libero arbitrio* scripsit⁷, libro *avaritiam⁸ censet esse plus velle quam satis est.*”

[31] Alii diffiniunt avaritiam esse habendi cupiditatem immensam, vel potius famem quandam divitiarum cumulandarum. Vitium hoc et divino {18r} et humano iudicio reprobatur damnaturque. Paulus⁹ ad¹⁰ Ephesios *hoc enim scitote, inquit, quod omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut avarus, quod est idolorum servitus, non habet haereditatem in regno Christi et Dei¹¹*. Ecclesiasticus¹² vero *nihil est, ait, avaro¹³ scelestius*. Et iterum: *Nihil est iniquius quam amare pecunias*. Hic enim animam suam venalem habet. Contrariatur autem avarus duobus maximis, quae sunt in lege, mandatis: nec¹⁴ enim Deum diligit, cum sit idololatra, nec proximum, quem¹⁵ spoliat. Sallustius¹⁶ vero *avaritia, dicit, pecuniae studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit*. Jam intelligitis damnatum et grande peccatum avaritiam continere.

¹ Avaritia quid *in marg.* C, D, G

² *omit.* G, MA

³ curare F

⁴ Cicero *in marg.* A, D, E, G

⁵ appetenda B, E, T

⁶ Augustinus *in marg.* A, D, E, G

⁷ de libero arbitrio scripsit : scripsit de libero arbitrio D, G, MA

⁸ avaritia F

⁹ Paulus ad Ephesios *in marg.* A; Paulus *in marg.* E, G

¹⁰ **omit. N**

¹¹ **Christi et Dei : Dei et Christi N**

¹² Ecclesiasticus *in marg.* E, G

¹³ auro A, B, C, F; *corr. ex auro* D, E [avaro Vulgata]

¹⁴ **non N**

¹⁵ qui G

¹⁶ Salustius *in marg.* A, E

2.2.2.4. Avarice

[30] But if we want to be cured completely, there are other wounds to heal. For if the body still feels back pain¹, for example, when the fever is gone, then it is not yet cured. In the same way, the soul is still sick if greed remains after pride has been removed. So, let us now talk about the vice of avarice, a danger to many men. If you want to cure this illness, then listen. For it is really a plague, and it can only truly be known by those who make the proper efforts. According to Cicero, *avarice is an intense belief, persistent and deeply rooted, which regards money as entirely desirable.*² And in his book *On Free Will*, Augustine considers that *greed is wanting more than is enough.*³

[31] Some define avarice as having immense greed or rather hunger for amassing riches. This vice is censured and condemned both by human and divine judgment. Paul said to the Ephesians: *For know you this and understand: That no fornicator or unclean or covetous person (which is a serving of idols) hath inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God.*⁴ And Ecclesiasticus says: *Nothing is more wicked than the covetous man.*⁵ And again: *There is not a more wicked thing than to love money.*⁶ The greedy man has his soul for sale, and he breaks the two greatest commandments in the Law: he does not love God but idols, and he does not love his neighbour whom he despoils. And Sallust⁷ says: *Avarice entails the pursuit of money which no wise man covets.*⁸ Now you understand that avarice contains a sin that is great and damnable.

¹ "iliorum dolor"

² Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 4.11.26: *Est autem avaritia opinatio vehemens de pecunia, quasi valde expetenda sit, inhaerens et penitus insita*

³ Augustine: *De libero arbitrio*, 3, 17, 48. MPL, XXXII, col. 1294. Quoted from Poggio Bracciolini: *De avaritia*, p. 12

⁴ Ephesians, 5, 5: *Hoc enim scitote intellegentes quod omnis fornicator aut immundus aut avarus quod est idolorum servitus non habet hereditatem in regno Christi et Dei*

⁵ Ecclesiasticus, 10, 9: *Avaro autem nihil est scelestius*

⁶ Ecclesiasticus, 10, 10: *Nihil est iniquius quam amare pecuniam hic enim et animam suam venalem*

⁷ Sallustius Crispus, Gaius (86-ca. 35 BC): Roman historian and politician

⁸ Sallustius: *De conjuratione Catilinae*, 11.3

[32] Nunc, qualis sit avarorum vita¹, discutiamus, et an aliquid in ea sit, quo delectemur. *Avarus*, inquit² Ecclesiastes³, *non implebitur pecunia, et qui amat divitias, fructus⁴ non capiet ex eis*. Et Satyrus⁵ poeta:

Crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crescit.

[33] Intueamur⁶ avari mores atque naturam. Quis est pecuniae studiosus, qui umquam⁷ quiescat, qui pacem habeat, qui noctes non ducat insomnes, qui sine pavore sit, sine anxietate, sine cura diurna atque nocturna? Semper lucrari studet aut parta⁸ tueri, estque in lucrando anxietas animi, in custodiendo timor. Per mare, per saxa, per ignes, per strictos enses lucra sectatur. Non comedunt, non bibunt avari, sed omne studium cumulandi est. Ajunt se casus vereri fortunae, et arcam potius plenam quam ventrem cupere: recte, si hoc facerent tamquam naturam sequentes, quae paucis minimisque rebus contentatur, stulte, quia pecuniam cumulando evitare *fortunae impetum* credunt. Non enim, qui amat, sed qui spernit pecunias, fortunae resistit. At avarus nihil magis timet quam pecunia carere, et ut non careat, semper caret. *Avaro namque tam deest, quod habet, quam quod non habet.*

¹ Avarorum vita *in marg.* D, G

² dixit F

³ Ecclesiastes *in marg.* A, E, G

⁴ fructum B, E, T

⁵ Satyrus *in marg.* A, G; Juvenalis *in marg.* E

⁶ Intuemur A

⁷ **numquam N**

⁸ parata E

[32] Now, let us talk about the life of greedy people and whether there is anything enjoyable in it. Ecclesiastes says: *A covetous man shall not be satisfied with money: and he that loveth riches shall reap no fruit from them.*¹ And the Satyrical Poet:²

*Your love of gain grows as much as the money itself has grown.*³

[33] Let us look at the behaviour and character of the greedy man. Does anybody whose mind is on money ever rest, have peace, sleep well, and be without fear, anxiety, and worry night and day? He is always intent on gain or keeping his gains. In amassing money, there is anxiety; in guarding it, there is fear. The greedy man pursues gains through sea, through rocks, fire, and drawn swords. Greedy men do not eat or drink; all they care for is amassing money. They say that they fear the blows of fortune and prefer a full storehouse to a full stomach, and they would be right in doing so if they were following nature, which is content with few and small things. But they are actually wrong because they think that they can avoid the assaults of fortune⁴ by accumulating money. For the one who resists fortune is not the one who loves money, but the one who despises it. The miser fears nothing more than lacking money, and in order not to lack money, he is actually always lacking it. *The miser misses what he's got no less than what he hasn't.*⁵

¹ Ecclesiastes, 5, 9

² Juvenalis, Decimus Junius (active in the late 1st and early 2nd centuries CE). Roman poet. Juvenal was one of Piccolomini's favourite classical authors

³ Juvenalis: *Satirae*, 14.139

⁴ Cicero: *Epistolae ad Quintum*, 1, 5

⁵ Poggio Bracciolini: *De avaritia*, 7. Verbatim quote. The proverb is from Publilius Syrus: *Sententiae*

[34] Timet paupertatem, et ipse semper est pauper. *Non enim qui parum habet, si modo contentus¹ est, sed qui plus cupit, quam habet, is pauper est.* Cujusmodi est omnis avarus, qui omnibus nocet, omnes laedit, omnibus est infensus, dum sibi aliquid quaerat. Avaritia omnem virtutem aufert. Sine amicitia, sine benevolentia, sine caritate vivit avarus, plenus fraude, malevolentia, impietate, *nulli bonus, sibi pessimus, qui nihil recte facit, nisi cum moritur.* Audiamus Paulum² apostolum, cujus ad Titum haec sunt verba: *Nihil enim intulimus in hunc mundum; haud dubium quia nec auferre quidquam possumus. Habentes autem alimenta, et quibus tegamur³, his contenti simus. Nam qui volunt divites fieri, incidunt in tentationem, et laqueum {18v} diaboli et desideria multa inutilia et nociva, quae mergunt homines in interitu et in⁴ perditione. Radix enim omnium malorum est cupiditas.*

¹ contemptus T

² Paulus ad Titum A; Paulus *in marg.* E

³ regamur F

⁴ omit. T

[34] The miser fears poverty, but he is always poor. For a man is *poor not because he has little*, if only he is content with little, *but because he wants more* than he has.¹ This is how every greedy man is: he harms everybody, he wounds everybody, and he is angry with everybody who asks something of him. Avarice removes all virtue. The greedy man lives without friendship, without kindness, without love; he is full of deceit, spite, and impiety; *he is good to nobody, but he is worst to himself.*² *He does nothing right except when he dies.*³ Let us hear the words of the Apostle Paul to Titus:⁴ *For we brought nothing into this world: and certainly we can carry nothing out. But having food and wherewith to be covered, with these we are content. For they that will become rich fall into temptation and into the snare of the devil and into many unprofitable and hurtful desires, which drown men into destruction and perdition. For the desire of money is the root of all evils.*⁵

¹ Seneca: *Epistulae Morales*, 2.6

² Poggio Bracciolini: *De avaritia*, p. 23: The proverb is from Publilius Syrus: *Sententiae*, 233: *In nullo avarus bonus est, in se pessimus*

³ Poggio Bracciolini: *De avaritia*, p. 23. The proverb is from Publilius Syrus: *Sententiae*, 24: *Avarus nisi cum moritur nil recte facit*

⁴ Not Titus, but Timothy

⁵ 1. Timothy 6, 7-10: *Nihil enim intulimus in mundum haut dubium quia nec auferre quid possumus. Habentes autem alimenta et quibus tegamur his contenti sumus. Nam qui volunt divites fieri incidunt in temptationem et laqueum et desideria multa inutilia et nociva quae mergunt homines in interitum et perditionem. Radix enim omnium malorum est cupiditas*

[35] Jam cernitis omnia mala ex avaritia provenire. Quid igitur in ea re potest esse bonitatis¹, ubi est omne malum? Quid jucunditatis? Quid laetitiae? Nullum potest esse verum gaudium, ubi tot scelera reperiuntur conjuncta. Nos autem si volumus pie, juste tranquilleque vivere, abjiciamus hoc vitium, quod est omnis laetitiae² omnisque jucunditatis expers, salvatorisque nostri vocem audiamus, qui non in terris, *ubi aerugo et tinea demolitur, et ubi fures effodiunt et furantur*, sed in caelo dumtaxat thesaurizandum jubet. *Nemo nascitur dives*, inquit Seneca: *quisquis exit in lucem jussus est lacte et pane esse contentus*. Si quis tamen vult dives fieri, dabo vobis certam regulam: non cumulando pecunias, sed minuendo cupiditatem divites eritis. Quisquis³ contentus est fortuna sua, is dives est. Et nos igitur per hunc modum divites esse nitamur.

[36] Sic enim et taeterrimum vitium avaritiae fugiemus, et vitae tranquillae gaudiis potiemur, non solum superbia atque avaritia, sed invidia⁴ quoque nudati. Nam qui nec potentiam appetit, nec gliscit honores, nec opes sequitur, quod cuiquam invideat, nihil habet, nisi fortasse voluptates sectetur, de quibus post dicemus. Cur enim potenti invideat, quem brevi casurum noscit? Cur honorato, qui mox carebit honore? Cur opulento, qui, quod habet, non habet? Ceterum hoc vitium, carissimi, quod invidiam appellamus, maxime fugiendum est, si non solum placere Deo, sed etiam nobis vivere volumus. Prohibuit omnem sane invidiam dominus, cum proximum diligere jussit. Quomodo enim tamquam seipsum diligit proximum, qui de proximi successu tristatur?

¹ bonitas E, T

² est omnis laetitiae : omnis laetitiae est F

³ quis G; qui MA

⁴ De invidia *in marg.* D, G

[35] You see now that all evils derive from greed. What good can there be in something that is wholly wrong? What joy? What happiness? There can be no true gladness where so many crimes are found together. But if we want to live piously, justly, and tranquilly, then let us throw off this vice that is devoid of all joy and happiness, and let us hear the voice of Our Saviour bidding us to *lay not up to yourselves treasures on earth, where the rust and moth consume, and where thieves break through and steal, but gather treasures in heaven only.*¹ *No man is born rich,* says Seneca. *Every man, when he first sees light, is commanded to be content with milk and bread.*² If any of you want to be rich, I shall give a sure rule: you will not become rich by accumulating more money but by becoming less greedy. The man who is content with his fortune is rich. So let us, too, strive to be rich in this way.

2.2.2.5. Envy

[36] Thus we shall flee that horrible vice of avarice and gain the joys of a tranquil life, stripped not only of pride and avarice but also of envy. For the man who does not want power, nor swells with honours, nor pursues wealth has nothing that anyone may envy him – unless he possibly pursues sensual pleasures, which we shall speak about later.³ Why should someone envy a powerful man if he knows he will fall shortly? Why envy a man for his honourable position that he will soon lose? Why envy a rich man who does not possess what he has? Moreover, dear Brethren, we have to avoid this vice called envy not only if we want to please God but also if we want to live for ourselves. For the Lord certainly forbade all envy when he commanded us to love our neighbour.⁴ For how can you love your neighbour as yourself if you are saddened by his success?

¹ Matthew, 6,19-20: *Nolite thesaurizare vobis thesauros in terra ubi erugo et tinea demolitur ubi fures effodiunt et furantur; thesaurizate autem vobis thesauros in caelo*

² Seneca: *Epistulae Morales*, 20.13: *Nemo nascitur dives. Quisquis exit in lucem iussus est lacte et panno esse contentus.* NB: panno = a diaper!

³ From his personal experiences as a young man, Piccolomini knew very well the combination of poverty with great needs for sexual pleasure

⁴ Matthew, 19, 19: *diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum*

[37] Hoc etiam vitium gentiles explodunt. *Cor*¹ *non commanducabis*, inquit Pythagoras, quasi non invidendum diceret. Comedit enim cor suum, quisquis invidet. Invidia, ut Cicero putat, in eo est, qui invidet, et in eo, cui invidetur. Invidentiam² autem dicunt stoici aegritudinem esse, susceptam propter alterius res secundas, quae nihil noceant invidenti. Nos ergo invidiam invidentiae loco suscipimus, ne simus³ in verbis occupati. Sic enim communis habet usus loquendi.⁴ Vidistis, carissimi, nonnumquam vicini segetem⁵ in agro quam multam surgere, pratum herbidum, pingue pecus, lanosum gregem, et doluistis: invidia est, fugienda est⁶. Laetari, non dolere debemus, cum proximo nostro bene videmus esse. Nam si defuerit nobis victus, habemus ad {19r} quem recurramus. Invidere autem quid confert? Quid boni habet? Estne aliquis vestrum, quem oblectet⁷ invidia? An non est in poenis atque suppliciis omnis invidus?

[38] *Animus gaudens*, inquit in parabolis sapiens, *aetatem floridam facit; spiritus tristis exsiccat ossa; tristis est omnis invidus*. In omnibus vitiis videtur aliquid esse⁸ jucunditatis, quamvis non vera jucunditas⁹ est, quam vitia parant. In¹⁰ invidia nec est voluptas, nec apparet. Non¹¹ ei, cui invidet, sed sibi ipsi nocet invidus, se laedit, se macerat, se cruciat, de se ipso supplicium sumit. Bene ait ille poeta:

*Invidia*¹² *Siculi non invenere tyranni majus tormentum*.

Verum, ut videatis, quam miser sit, qui deditus est invidiae, non verebor ingeniosi vatis verba referre quamvis gentilis. Afferunt magnum lumen nonnumquam ad fulminanda vitia litterae saeculares, sicut et Basilium et divum Hieronymum novimus dicere.

¹ Pictagoras *in marg.* A; Pythagoras Cor non commanducabis *in marg.* D, G

² invidentia A, B, C, F

³ scimus T

⁴ sic enim ... loquendi *omit.* V

⁵ segentem A

⁶ *omit.* E

⁷ oblectat T

⁸ aliquid esse : esse aliquid D, G, MA

⁹ nobilitas B, E, T

¹⁰ *omit.* T

¹¹ *omit.* C

¹² invidiam E

[37] The gentiles also spurn this vice. Pythagoras says, *You shall not eat your heart*,¹ meaning that you should not be envious. For the one who is jealous eats his heart. And according to Cicero, *invidia* refers both to him who is envious and to him who is being envied.² The stoics say that envy (*invidentia*) is an illness caused by another person's success³ even if it does no harm to the one who envies. But we shall use the term *invidia* instead of *invidentia* so as not to quibble about words, for today this is the term generally used.

Dearly beloved, sometimes you have seen a bounteous crop growing in the field of a neighbour, his grassy meadow, his fat cattle, his woolly sheep, and you have felt a stab of pain: that it is envy! Cast it behind you! We should be happy, not pained, when we see our neighbour prosper. For if we should lack food, we have someone to go to for help. What does envy bring you? What good is it? Does anybody among you enjoy being envious? Is not everyone who is envious in pain and suffering?

[38] In the Parables,⁴ the Wise One says: *A joyful mind maketh age flourishing: a sorrowful spirit drieth up the bones. Sorrowful is everyone who is envious.*⁵ In all [other] vices, there seems to be some joy, though it is not true joy. But in envy, there is neither real nor illusory joy. The jealous person does not harm the person he envies; nay, it is himself that he harms, hurts, vexes, torments, and punishes.⁶ The poet said it well:

*Than envy Sicilian tyrants invented no worse torture.*⁷

Indeed, so that you may see how miserable the envious man is, I do not fear to quote the words of a talented poet though he is a gentile. For, as Basil⁸ and Saint Jerome say, secular literature is often very helpful⁹ in the branding of vices.¹⁰

¹ Burley, (Pythagoras), p. 74: *Cor non comedendum, id est: maerorem de animo expellendum*

² Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 3.9.20

³ Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 3.9.20-21

⁴ I.e., Proverbs

⁵ Proverbs, 17, 22: *animus gaudens aetatem floridam facit, spiritus tristis exsiccat ossa*

⁶ Cf. Ovidius: *Metamorphoses*, 2.782: *herself [i.e.] her own punishment (supplicium suum est)*

⁷ Horatius: *Epistulae*, 1.2.58-59

⁸ Basil of Caesarea (ca. 329-379): Greek bishop of Caesarea Mazaca in Cappadocia, Asia Minor (modern-day Turkey). Doctor of the Church. Saint

⁹ "brings light to"

¹⁰ This theme is developed by Piccolomini in his oration "*Si quis me roget*" [2], sect. 23-24

[39] Quid igitur de invidia dicat Ovidius,¹ animadvertite. Domum primum {69r} describit, ubi manet invidia. Est operae pretium ista cognoscere:

*Protinus invidiae nigro squallentia tabo
Tecta petit, domus est imis in vallibus hujus
Abdita, sole carens, non ulli² pervia vento,
Tristis et ignavi plenissima frigoris, et quae
Igne vacet semper, caligine semper abundet.*

Talis est domus omnis invidi, squallet putrido sanguine, qui rixas videre cupit et sanguinis effusionem. Est in vallibus, quia in tenebris et mentis caecitate consistit, sine sole, sine lumine veritatis³, sine vento, sine refrigerio, plena frigoris⁴, igne carens, quia caritatis non habet ardorem, in caligine, in errore, atque ignorantia. Sic domus est invidi.

¹ Ovidius *in marg.* A, E; Ovidius de invidia *in marg.* C, D, G

² non ulli : nonnulli E

³ *omit.* G, MA

⁴ frigore G, MA

[39] So, hear what Ovid¹ says about Envy.² First, he describes the house where Envy lives - it is worthwhile to know:

*Straightaway Minerva sought out the cave of Envy,
filthy with black gore.
Her home was hidden away in a deep valley
where no sun shines and no breeze blows;
a gruesome place and full of numbing chill.
No cheerful fire burns there,
and the place is wrapped in thick, black fog.³*

Such is the house of an envious man, and the person who wants to see fights and bloodshed is himself filthy with rotten blood. He is said to be in the valleys because he stands in the shadows and blindness of the mind, without sun, without the light of truth, without wind, without pleasant coolness, full of chill, and lacking fire, because he does not have the warmth of love. Thus, the home of the envious man is in darkness, error, and ignorance.

¹ Ovidius Naso, Publius (43 BCE-17/18 CE): Roman poet

² I.e., the goddess Envy

³ Ovidius: *Metamorphoses*, 2.760-764

[40] Sed qualis invidia?

videt intus edentem?

Vipereas carnes, vitiorum alimenta suorum,

Invidiam.

Et iterum:

Surgit humo pigra, semesarumque relinquit

Corpora¹ serpentum, passuque incedit inert.

Pallor in ore sedet, macies in corpore toto;

Nusquam recta acies, livent rubigine dentes,

Pectora felle virent, lingua est suffusa veneno,

Risus abest, nisi quem visi fecere dolores;

Nec fruitur somno vigilantibus excita curis;

Sed videt ingratos, intabescitque videndo

Successus hominum, carpitque, et² carpitur una.

¹ corporea A; corr. ex corporea D

² ut N

[40] But what is Envy like?

She sees her sitting within, eating snake's flesh, the proper food of her venom.¹

And again:

*She rose heavily from the ground,
leaving the snakes' carcasses half consumed
and came forward with sluggish step.²*

*Pallor o'erspreads her face
and her whole body seems to shrivel up.
Her eyes are all awry, her teeth are foul with mould;
green, poisonous gall o'erflows her breast,
and venom drips down from her tongue.
She never smiles, save at the sight of another's troubles;
she never sleeps, disturbed with wakeful cares;
unwelcome to her is the sight of men's success,
and with the sight she pines away;
she gnaws and is gnawed.³*

¹ Ovid: *Metamorphoses*, 2.768-769. In Ovid's text, it is the goddess Minerva who sees Envy in this state

² Ovid: *Metamorphoses*, 2.775-781

³ Ovid: *Metamorphoses*, 2.768-769

[41] Qualis invidia est, talis est invidus, iners, pallidus, macer, strabo. Comedit viperas, idest cor suum viperinum. In lingua et pectore fert venenum. Non ridet nisi ex alieno malo. Rubiginosi dentes, ut, cum mordeant, magis laedant. Ex alieno bono dolet, semper detrahit aliis, et sibi quoque detrahitur. *Estque omnis invidus sibi supplicium*, ut poeta subjungit. Habetis, quid sit invidia, quantum noceat, ut quietam¹ vitam impediatur, et ut sine molestia {19v} numquam sit, plane cernitis. Nunc officii nostri est hunc morbum relinquere et induere² caritatem sibi contrariam, si feliciter volumus vivere, et non cum accidia, quae alumna est invidiae, semper tristis, semper torpore atque inertia plena. Sic enim ex tribus affectibus, qui nostras mentes³ excaecant⁴, duos⁵ abdicaverimus, iram atque cupiditatem.

[42] Superest tertius, quem libidinem vocitamus. Libido⁶ voluptates sequitur. De qua re dicam, quid sentiant auctores sanctique viri, quod non minus praestat agnoscere, quam ea, quae supra retulimus. Sunt enim admodum pauci, qui voluptate non capiantur. Quidam vero etiam⁷ summum bonum in ea collocarunt, et animam simul perdiderunt et corpus. Expedit igitur hunc affectum depellere, nec voluptates ullas sequi, quae non sint⁸ honestae.

¹ quietem N

² inducere C

³ nostras mentes : mentes nostras G, MA

⁴ excaecans MA

⁵ duobus D, G; duo MA

⁶ Libido *in marg.* C, D, G

⁷ vero etiam : enim B, E, T

⁸ sunt B, E, T

[41] The envious man is just like Envy itself: sluggish, pale, scraggy,¹ squinting, eating snakes, i.e., his own snakelike heart. He has poison on his tongue and in his heart.² He only laughs when something bad happens to somebody else.³ His teeth are rusty⁴ so they will hurt more when they bite. He feels pain whenever something good happens to someone else. He always takes from others – and even from himself. *Every envious man is his own punishment*, as the poet adds.⁵ So now you know what envy is and how harmful it may be, and you see clearly that it prevents a quiet life and is always troubled. Now it is our duty to do away with this sickness and to embrace love, which is the opposite of envy, for then we shall live happily and without that depression, which is the companion of envy, always sad and always full of apathy and sloth.

Of the three emotions that blind our minds, we have now dealt with anger and greed.

2.2.3. Lust: sexual indulgence and gluttony

[42] A third emotion remains, the one we call lust. Lust pursues pleasure. Concerning this matter, I shall explain what the authors and holy men thought – and which is just as important to understand as the things I said above. For very few people, indeed, are unaffected by pleasure. Some even considered pleasure to be the highest good,⁶ thus losing their soul along with their body. So we should banish this emotion and only pursue pleasures that are decent.

¹ Ovid: *Metamorphoses*, 2.775 *pallor in ore sedet, macies in corpore toto*

² Ovid: *Metamorphoses*, 2.757: *pectora felle cirent, lingua est suffusa veneno*

³ Ovid: *Metamorphoses*, 2.778: *risus abest nisi quem movere dolore*

⁴ Ovid: *Metamorphoses*, 2.776: *livent robigine dentes*

⁵ Cf. Ovid: *Metamorphoses*, 2.782: *herself [i.e.] her own punishment (supplicium suum est)*

⁶ Like the Epicureans

[43] *Quinque igitur¹ sunt hominum sensus², per quos voluptas³ animo aut⁴ corpori quaeri videtur: tactus, gustus, odoratus, visus, auditus. Ex his omnibus, ut Aristotelem dicere Macrobius asserit, voluptas, quae immodice capitur, turpis et improba est, sed ea praesertim, quae ex gustu tactuque est. Ea igitur gemina voluptas, sicut sapientes viri censuerunt, omnium rerum foetidissima⁵ est, istasque duas voluptates, cibi et veneris⁶, solas hominibus communes esse videmus cum bestiis; atque idcirco pecudum ferarumque numero habetur quisquis⁷ est his voluptatibus occupatus. Ex aliis tribus sensibus proficiscentes voluptates hominum propriae sunt, non tamen extra modum neque⁸ in turpibus rebus sumendae⁹.*

¹ igitur sunt : sunt igitur F

² Quinque sensus *in marg.* D, G

³ *in add.* C

⁴ et F

⁵ fedissima B, E, T

⁶ ventris F

⁷ **habetur quisquis : quisquis habetur N**

⁸ nec F

⁹ **sunt del. A; sunt add. N**

[43] *Human beings have five senses, touch, taste, smell, sight, and hearing which are the pathways by which the body and mind seek pleasure. According to Macrobius¹, Aristotle² claims that pleasure derived immoderately from all these senses is base and wicked, but excessive pleasure derived from taste and touch – a compound pleasure, as wise men have judged it – is the most disgusting of all ... The two pleasures of food and sex are the only ones that human beings share with the beasts and that's why anyone wholly in the grip of these pleasures should be counted among the animals of the fields and the wilds; all other pleasures, which derive from the three remaining senses, are peculiar to human beings and should be considered as immoderate and shameful.*³

¹ Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius (flourished during the early fifth century): Roman author

² Aristotle (384-322 BCE): Greek philosopher

³ Macrobius, 2. 8.10-12. Slightly reworded by Piccolomini. He also used this passage in his *De Liberorum educatione*, 18

[44] Quis igitur habens aliquid humani pudoris, voluptatibus his duabus, coeundi atque comedendi, quae homini cum suae atque asino sunt communes, gratulari potest? Socrates dicebat multos homines propterea¹ velle vivere, ut ederent et biberent, se² bibere atque esse, ut viveret³. *Hippocrates autem, divina vir scientia, existimabat coitum venereum⁴ partem esse quandam morbi taeterrimi, quem nostri comitalem dixerunt.* Pythagoras vero dicenti cuidam: *Mallet cum mulieribus quam cum philosophis conversari, Et sues, inquit, libentius⁵ in ceno quam in aqua versantur,* luxuriososque homines porcis adaequavit. Intellexistis, quid gentiles de gula atque luxuria sentiant.

[45-46] Jam nostri, quid dicant, attendite. Inter praecepta legis est illud: *Non moechaberis.* In evangelio autem inquit dominus: *Omnis, qui viderit mulierem ad concupiscendum eam, jam moechatus est⁶ in corde suo.* Ad Corinthios vero scribens Paulus: *Templum Dei {20r} nos esse, dicit, et spiritum Dei in nobis habitare⁷ et omnem, qui templum Dei violaverit, disperdendum esse a Deo.* Quibus ex verbis damnandos esse libidinosos⁸ nequaquam ambigimus tamquam templi Dei violatores. Nam et ad eosdem Corinthios idem doctor *Fugite, inquit, fornicationem: omne enim peccatum quodcumque fecerit homo extra corpus est. Qui autem fornicatur, in corpus suum peccat.* Violatur ergo per fornicationem templum animae, quod est corpus⁹, et anima illinc suscipit labem et immunditiam, quae Dei est templum. In luxuria namque est omnis immunditia, cum nupta, vidua, moniali, virgine, meretrice. Superius autem dixi vobis, ex auctoritate Pauli, nullum fornicatorem in regno Christi haereditatem habiturum. Poena ergo luxuriae privatio est haereditatis aeternae¹⁰.

¹ preterea E

² se T

³ viverent B, E, T

⁴ venerum A, C; *corr. ex. venerum* D

⁵ *omit.* F

⁶ eam *add.* A, B, C, E, F, T

⁷ in nobis habitare : habitare in nobis G, MA

⁸ luxuriosos C

⁹ est *add.* G

¹⁰ privatio ... aeternae : est haereditatis aeternae privatio MA

[44] Will anyone with a shred of human decency, then, indulge in these two pleasures of sexual intercourse and gluttony, which human beings share with swine and asses? Socrates used to say that many men wish to live so they might eat and drink, whereas he ate and drank so that he might live.¹ *Hippocrates*,² a man of godlike understanding, thought that sexual intercourse has something in common with the utterly repulsive illness we call ‘comitial disease.’³ ⁴ When someone told Pythagoras: *I would rather keep company with women than with philosophers*, he replied that swine would rather move around in filth than in water,⁵ and he considered people who indulge in sex to be like swine. Now you know what the gentile authors thought about gluttony and sexual indulgence.

[45-46] Now hear what our own⁶ say. Among the commandments of the Law is this: *Thou shalt not commit adultery.*⁷ And in the Gospel the Lord says: *Whosoever shall look on a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart.*⁸ Moreover, Paul writes to the Corinthians: *You are the temple of God and the Spirit of God dwelleth in you. But if any man violate the temple of God, him shall God destroy.*⁹ These words make it absolutely clear that libidinous people are condemned as violators of the temple of God. And to the same Corinthians, the same teacher says: *Fly fornication. Every sin that a man doth is without the body: but he that committeth fornication sinneth against his own body.*¹⁰ So, fornication violates the body that is the temple of the soul, and through the body it stains and fouls the soul, which is the temple of God. For in sexual indulgence is every moral foulness, whether it involves a married woman, a widow, a nun, a virgin, or a harlot. Above, I have told you, on the authority of Paul, that no fornicator will inherit the Kingdom of Christ. Thus, the punishment of sexual indulgence consists in being deprived of the inheritance of eternal life.

¹ Burley, (Socrates), p. 112: *Dicebat autem multos propterea velle vivere ut ederent et biberent, se autem edere et bibere ut viveret.* Also related by Plutarch. Also quoted in *Oration “Si quis me roget”* [2], sect. 27

² Hippocrates of Kos (ca. 460-ca. 370 BCE): ancient Greek physician, an eminent figure in the history of medicine

³ Aulus Gellius, 19.2.8. “Hippocrates believed that sexual climaxes were a form of ‘petit mal’, a small epilepsy. Moralists dwelt on that theory for nigh on two thousand years.” (M. Screech: *Montaigne and Melancholy*. 2000, p.55)

⁴ Macrobius, 2.8.15-16

⁵ Burley, (Pythagoras), p. 78: *Cum quidam ... diceret se malle cum mulieribus esse quam philosophis conversari, “Et sues,” inquit Pythagoras, “libentius in ceno quam in aquis claris versantur”*

⁶ i.e., Christian authors

⁷ Exodus, 20, 14

⁸ Matthew, 5, 28

⁹ 1. Corinthians, 3, 16-17: *templum Dei estis et Spiritus Dei habitat in vobis; si quis autem templum Dei violaverit disperdet illum*

¹⁰ 1. Corinthians, 6, 18

[47] Idem quoque de gula vobis dixerim, nam et gula mater est luxuriae. Hinc ad Ephesios Paulus *nolite*, inquit, *inebriari vino, in quo est luxuria*. Sed audite prophetam Isaiam et terreamini omnes, qui ebrietati¹ crapulaeque incumbitis, aut potius emendetis vitam: *Vae, qui surgitis mane ad ebrietatem sectandam et ad potandum usque ad vesperam, ut vino aestuetis. Cithara, et lyra, et tympanum, et tibia, et vinum, in conviviis vestris, et opus domini non respicitis*. Et iterum: *Vae, qui potentes estis ad bibendum vinum, et viri fortes ad miscendam ebrietatem*.

[48] Audistis prophetam: non parum est, quod inquit “*Vae*”. Per hoc enim verbum aeternam mortem comminatur, sicut et Christus, dum ait: *Vae vobis, scribae et pharisaei, qui decimatis anetum*, et cetera. Verba sunt enim aeternum supplicium comminantia. Crapulosi² namque et ebriosi regnum Dei non possidebunt.

[49] Non prohibeo vobis vinum, carissimi, sed ut modice sumatis instruo, non ad extinguendam sitim, quod aqua melius faceret, sed *ad reficiendum reintegrandumque animos, ad instauranda³ sobrietatis officia*, sicut et Platonem⁴ de legibus refert voluisse Macrobius. Scitis enim ex testimonio David⁵, quia *vinum laetificat cor hominis*, quod intelligendum est, si moderate frugaliterque bibatur. Immodice vero sumptum gignit ebrietatem et in⁶ omnem turpitudinem provolvit hominem, sicut de Loth legimus, qui vino inebriatus cum propriis filiabus jacuit.

[50] Sic etiam de carne praeceperim: cum propriis uxoribus jacere non veto, sed refero vobis ad Thessalonicenses, Paulum ipsum audite atque sequimini: *Haec est enim, inquit, voluntas Dei, sanctificatio vestra, ut abstineatis vos a fornicatione, ut sciat unusquisque vestrum suum {20v} vas possidere in sanctificatione et honore, non in passione desiderii, sicut et gentes, quae ignorant Deum*.

¹ **inebriati N**

² Crapula *in marg.* D, G

³ restauranda C

⁴ Plato *in marg.* D, G

⁵ David *in marg.* D, G

⁶ **omit. N**

[47] The same I should say concerning gluttony, for gluttony is the mother of indulgence. Therefore Paul says to the Ephesians: *And be not drunk with wine, wherein is indulgence in sensual pleasure.*¹ But hear also the prophet Isaiah and tremble, all ye who are addicted to drunkenness and wine orgies, or rather: reform your life: *Woe to you that rise up early in the morning to follow drunkenness, and to drink in the evening, to be inflamed with wine. The harp, and the lyre, and, the timbrel and the pipe, and wine are in your feasts: and the work of the Lord you regard not.*² And again: *Woe to you that are mighty to drink wine, and stout men at drunkenness.*³

[48] You have heard the prophet. It is significant that he says “Woe”, for with this word he threatens eternal death, just as Christ does when he says: *Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; because you tithe anise, etc.*⁴ These words are a threat of eternal punishment, for drunkards and inebriates *shall not possess the kingdom of God.*⁵

[49] I do not forbid you wine, dear brethren, but I tell you to use it sparingly and not in order to quench your thirst – water is better for that – but *to refresh and restore your minds and make you able to resume the duties of sobriety,*⁶ as, according to Macrobius, Plato⁷ says in *The Laws*. From the testimony of David, you know that *wine may cheer the heart of man,*⁸ but only on the condition that you drink it moderately and sparingly. Immoderate consumption of wine leads to drunkenness and pushes men into all kinds of indecency. Thus we read that Lot laid with his own daughters once when he was drunk.

[50] Here is what I bid you concerning the flesh: I do not forbid you to lie with your own wives, but I refer you to Paul’s words to the Thessalonians; hear him and follow him: *For this is the will of God, your sanctification: That you should abstain from fornication: That every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour, not in the passion of lust, like the Gentiles that know not God.*⁹

¹ Ephesians, 5, 18

² Isaiah, 5, 11-12

³ Isaiah, 5, 22

⁴ Matthew, 23, 23

⁵ 1. Corinthians, 6, 9

⁶ Macrobius: *Saturnalia*, 2.8.6. Also used by Piccolomini in his *De liberorum educatione*, written in 1450, and dedicated to King Ladislaus, then 10 years old

⁷ Plato (428/427 or 424/423-348/347 BCE): Greek philosopher. Student of Socrates

⁸ Psalms, 103, 15

⁹ 1. Thessalonians, 4, 3-5

[51] Cum propria dormire conjuge sobolis procreandae causa ac propter evitandam fornicationem, comedere ac bibere ad sustentationem corporis permissum est. Quidquid¹ aliter sit, delictum habet. Verum quia adhuc de voluptatibus loquimur, videamus, quid mali afferat voluptas gutturis atque veneris, non dico de caelestis amissione regni, hoc enim jam est ostensum², sed quomodo etiam in terris vitam nobis felicem eripit inifinitasque infert calamitates et animorum perturbationes inquietationesque mentis, cum quibus nulla potest regnare jucunditas.

[52] De voluptatibus³ ergo sic accipite, quoniam *nulla capitalior pestis est hominibus, nulla noxior, quam voluptas corporis*, sicut⁴ Archita Tarentinus, clarus philosophus, solebat dicere. Homines namque, qui voluptatibus dediti sunt, hujusmodi patrimonium liguriunt omnesque dissipant facultates; ut tamen perseverare possint ac voluptatibus suppeditare⁵ sumptus, omnibus se⁶ periculis objectant, et omnia aggrediuntur scelera, nullumque malum facinus est, ad quod suscipiendum non libido voluptatis impellat.

[53] *Nihil praeterea Deus atque natura praestabilius mente dedit hominibus*. Per hanc enim bona et mala cognoscimus, et per hanc Deo similes sumus. At huic tam⁷ divino muneri ac dono nihil est tam inimicum quam voluptas. Dominante namque libidine non habet temperantia locum, neque⁸ in regno voluptatis potest consistere virtus. Quisquis enim aut veneris⁹ aut cibi potusque voluptatibus est immersus, nihil agitare mente potest, nihil¹⁰ ratione cogitationeque consequi. Tantum pensi est in ebrio quantum in porco. Cibo plenus crapulaque distentus, iners, tardus ac somnolentus est, extra se est et alienus a mente, quisquis luxuriae succubuit. Quo major est voluptas corporea¹¹, eo magis animi lumen extinguit. Plato¹², philosophus sapientissimus, *voluptatem omnium malorum escam appellat, quod ea videlicet homines capiantur ut pisces*. At non videtis ad cellas vinarias ramos frondentes poni hominesque illuc quasi pisces currere et quasi hamo capi, dum inebriantur, mentemque perdunt ac bestiis fiunt similimi?

¹ **quidquam N**

² est ostensum : ostensum est F

³ Voluptas *in marg.* C, D, G

⁴ sic MA

⁵ **suspendere N**

⁶ si T

⁷ **omit. N**

⁸ nec F

⁹ veneris E, T

¹⁰ nisi F

¹¹ *corr. ex corpora E; corpora T*

¹² Plato A; Plato *esca in marg.* D; Plato *esca omnium malorum voluptas in marg.* G

[51] It is permitted to sleep with one's own wife for the sake of begetting offspring and to avoid fornication, as well as to eat and drink in order to sustain the body. Otherwise, it is sinful. But since we are still talking about pleasures, let us look at the evil consequences of the pleasure of eating¹ and of sex – not with regard to losing the Kingdom of Heaven, for that has already been dealt with – but how it robs us of a happy life on Earth and causes an infinite number of calamities, disturbances of the mind, and unrest of the soul that make it impossible for joy to prevail.

[52] So be aware that *mankind suffers no greater or more dangerous plague than the pleasure of the body*,² as Archytas of Taranto,³ a famous philosopher, used to say. Men who are addicted to such pleasures waste their inheritance and squander all their means. And in order to be able to afterwards continue and afford their pleasures, they expose themselves to all kinds of risks, they commit all kinds of crimes, and no deed is so evil that they will not be pushed into it by lust for pleasure.

[53] Moreover, *God and Nature*⁴ *have given men nothing more precious than the mind*,⁵ for through the mind we know what is good and what is evil, and through the mind we are like God. But nothing is more harmful to this divine gift and present than bodily pleasures: when lust prevails, there is no place for moderation, and virtue cannot survive in the realm of pleasure. Whoever is immersed in the pleasures of sex, food, and drink cannot use his mind properly or achieve anything through reason and thought. There is no more thought in a drunkard than in a pig. A man full of food and bloated with wine is sluggish, slow, and sleepy. The man who gives in to sexual indulgence is out of his mind. The more bodily pleasure is enjoyed, the more the light of the mind is extinguished. Plato, the wisest of philosophers, calls *bodily pleasure the nourishment of all evils, because by pleasure men are caught like fish*.⁶ Do you not see how they put leafy branches in front of wine taverns and that men rush there like fish and get hooked, and drinking themselves into stupor, they lose their minds and become complete animals?

¹ I.e., "of the gullet"

² Burley, (Archytas), p. 92: *Nulla pestis capitalior quam voluptas corporis*. Cf. also p. 90

³ Archytas of Taranto: Greek philosopher, mathematician and statesman

⁴ Note the juxtaposition of God and Nature

⁵ Burley, (Archytas), p. 90: *Cum enim nil mente prestabilius Deus dedisset homini huic divino muneri nichil tam inimicum esse quam voluptatem*

⁶ Burley, (Plato), p. 228: *Item dixit escam malorum esse voluptatem eo quod ea capiuntur homines sicut hamo pisces*

[54] Sed non solum mentem perdimus voluptatibus delibuti corporeis, quod maximum est, sed etiam corpus ipsum, cui servimus, reddimus imbecillum, corruptum, putridum. Mater est enim omnium infirmitatum venus. Cibis autem¹ atque potus plures interficit homines quam gladius. Addite molesiam mentis cum nos absumpsisse patrimonia voluptatis causa cernimus. *Foedissimus*, inquit Seneca, *patrimoniorum* {21r} *exitus est culina*. Juvenalis autem de immoderato cibo sic ait:

Hinc subitae mortes atque intestata senectus.

[55] Nemo est, quem non tandem poeniteat immoderatae voluptatis. Cum aegrotamus in lecto, tum potum, tum cibum, tum coitum² habemus odio. Nec umquam³ in his deliquisse vellemus, et abstinere deinceps promittimus; liberati tamen nequaquam servamus. Quod si quis ita viveret, quemadmodum in adversa valetudine se victurum spondit, is proculdubio bonus, sanctus felixque vir esset, et viveret hic in terris jucunde, et post obitum vitam beatam consequeretur. Videtis, dilectissimi, quomodo in omnibus vitiis nihil est laetitiae, nihil jucunditatis, nihil verae fixaeque voluptatis. Sed contra vitiosi omnes inquieti sunt, moesti, tristes, insani, furiosi, nullam vel corporis vel animi, quae duret, consolationem sentientes.

[56] O igitur pius ac clementissimus Deus! O providentiam⁴ ineffabilem majestatis aeternae! O veram divinae pietatis caritatem! Nihil Deus nobis⁵ praecipit, nisi quod nobis est sanitati; nihil mandat, nisi quod est⁶ utilitati; nihil injungit, nisi quod est jucunditati. Recte ergo vereque⁷ dicitur: *Jugum meum suave est, et onus meum leve*. Nec enim ad aliquid nos Deus astringit, quod nobis in terra manentibus et ad suavitatem⁸ corporis et ad quietem mentis non sit necessarium. Nos ergo, si - quemadmodum ab initio promissi⁹ - paradysum in terris volumus possidere, jucundam¹⁰ tranquillitatem pacemque possidentes, abjiciamus a nobis opera tenebrarum. Sit procul ira, absit libido, facessat cupiditas.

¹ *omit.* F

² tum coitum *omit.* E [NB: not T]

³ **numquam** N

⁴ prudentiam F, G, MA

⁵ Deus nobis : nobis Deus G, MA

⁶ *omit.* C

⁷ vere quae E [NB: not T]

⁸ **sanitatem** N

⁹ promissi T

¹⁰ *omit.* G, MA

[54] When we are addicted to bodily pleasure, we not only lose our mind, which is the most important, but we also make the body, whose slaves we are, weak, spoiled, and stinking. For sex is the mother of all infirmities, and food and drink kill more people than the sword. Add the anguish of the mind when we see that we have spent all that we own on pleasures. Seneca says that *the most shameful scourge that assails fortunes is the kitchen*.¹ And Juvenal has this to say about immoderate eating:

*Hence a sudden death, and an intestate old age.*²

[55] There is nobody who does not regret immoderate pleasure. When we lie ill in bed, we cannot stand the thought of drink, food, and sex. We should like never to have transgressed in these respects, and we promise to be abstinent from now on. But when we have recovered, we never keep our promises. If every man lived as he vowed when he was ill, he would undoubtedly be a good, holy, and happy man. He would live joyfully on this Earth, and passing away, he would obtain the blessed life. You see, beloved, how there is no happiness, no joy, and no true and lasting pleasure in any vice. On the contrary, all people who are given to vice are troubled, gloomy, sad, mad, and furious, and they feel no lasting comfort, neither in the body nor of in the mind.

[56] Oh, truly pious and merciful God! Oh, ineffable wisdom of the Eternal Majesty! Oh, true love of pious God! He has not commanded us to do anything that is not conducive to our health. Everything he bids us do is for our own health, advantage, and joy. Therefore, rightly and truly it is said: *My yoke is sweet and my burden light*.³ For God does not oblige us to do anything that is not necessary for a healthy body and a tranquil mind while we live on Earth. So, as promised in the beginning, if we want to possess Paradise on Earth, with joyful peace and tranquillity, we should leave behind us the works of darkness. So, do away with anger, lust, and greed.

¹ Seneca: *De Beneficiis*, 1.10.1: *nunc conuiuiorum uigebit furor, et foedissimum patrimoniorum exitium, culina*

² Juvenalis: *Satirae*, 1.144

³ Matthew, 11, 30: *iugum enim meum suave est et onus meum leve est*

[57] Si non sunt divitiae, non appetamus, quae plus curarum quam voluptatis afferunt. Si res nostra nobis non sufficit, sufficiamus ei parce viventes, ut Socrates monuit. Si minor est noster ager quam vicini, minori opera indiget. Si non sunt pecora, non timemus raptores. Si parva est domus, minori cum damno ruet. Si pecuniam debes, creditori magis quam tibi est cura. Si ventura est paupertas, scies qui veri amici fuerint, et illi te non deserent, nec tibi victum negabit dominus, qui *dat escam omni carni*. Si deformis est uxor, non vereris moechum. Si vitiosa est et litigiosa, habes domi, unde patientiam discas. Si non sunt liberi, non times pestem, et levior est inopia rerum, quam cum paucioribus toleras. Si sunt filii, nec habes, unde nutrias, invenies, qui nutriant¹, et gratiam Deo referre debes, qui ex duobus tibi, quod magis amas, dedit: quaerebas enim liberos atque divitias, jam vero filios cum divitiis non commutares, sicut barbari faciunt et praesertim Scythae². Si nubilus est filia, nec dotis pecuniam habes, magna dos est cum virginitate probitas.

[58] Si princeps nimis emungit, {21v} nihil tuum aufert, nihil enim in hunc mundum portasti. Si mendicare cogeris, memento quia et³ ⁴ Christus et apostoli et alii multi⁵ sancti elemosynas petiverunt. Si sunt illatae injuriae, minus tibi quam injurianti nocuerunt⁶. Si mala teneris valetudine, vel morte vel sanitate liberaberis.⁷ Si non es corpore pulcher, animi pulchritudinem quaere, ex qua magis Deo placebis. Si vili te in loco pater genuit, *non quali⁸ sis natus patria, sed quali⁹ sis dignus*, considera, et fac, ut bene vivendo supernae civitatis Jerusalem civis efficiaris. Si non¹⁰ es litteratus et in saeculo sapiens, stude, ut in simplicitate cordis Deo placeas, apud quem, sicut Paulus dicit: *“tultia est hujus mundi sapientia*.

¹ nutriat MA

² Scithes F

³ *omit.* E, F, G [NB: not T]

⁴ quia et : quod MA

⁵ alii multi : multi alii C

⁶ si sunt ... nocuerunt *omit.* T

⁷ si sunt illatae injuriae, minus tibi quam injurianti nocuerunt *add.* T

⁸ quasi F

⁹ qualis E

¹⁰ *omit.* F

2.3. Be content with what you have

[57] If we do not have wealth, then we will not desire those things that bring more worry than pleasure. If our needs exceed our means, then we shall adapt the needs to our means by living frugally, as Socrates taught.¹ If our field is smaller than our neighbour's, then it needs less work. If we have no cattle, then we shall not fear thieves. If our house is small, then the damage will be smaller if it collapses. If you owe money, then your creditor will worry more than you. If poverty comes, then you will know who are your true friends: they will not fail you, and the One *who giveth food to all flesh*² will not deny you food. If your wife is ugly, then you will not fear the adulterer. If she is vicious and quarrelsome, then you may learn patience in your own home. If you do not have sons, then you will not fear the plague, and the lack of things will be easier to bear when you have to share it with fewer people. If you have sons whom you cannot feed, then you will find someone who can feed them, and you will owe thanks to the Lord who, of two things, gave you what you treasure most: you wanted both sons and wealth, but now you would not exchange your sons for wealth – unlike the barbarians, especially the Scythians.³ If your daughter is marriageable and you do not have money for the dowry, then probity, together with virginity, is a great dowry.

[58] If the prince fleeces his people, then he will really take nothing from you, for you brought nothing into this world. If you are forced to beg, then remember that Christ, the apostles, and many other saints asked for alms. If someone wounds you, then the wounds will hurt him more than you. If your health is bad, then you will be freed either by death or by recovery. If your body is ugly, then strive for a beautiful soul that will please God more. If your father sired you in a vile place, then *do not consider what place you were born to, but what place you are worthy of*,⁴ and see to it that through a good life you become a citizen of the city on high, Jerusalem. If you are not educated and world-wise, then strive to please God in simplicity of heart, for to God, says Paul, *foolishness is the wisdom of this world*.⁵

¹ E.g., Burley, (Socrates), p. 126

² Psalms, 135, 25

³ The Scythians: used as a designation for the main barbarian peoples of old, whom Piccolomini later identified as the progenitors of the Turks. His knowledge of the Scythians derived wholly from classical sources. The "classical Scythians" known to ancient Greek historians were located in the northern Black Sea and fore-Caucasus region

⁴ Burley, (Aristotle), p. 240: ... *non esse considerandum ex qua patria ortus sit, sed quali sit patria dignus*

⁵ 1. Corinthians, 3, 19

[59] Si non habes dominium neque potentiam, non est cur tibi parentur insidiae. Si non honoraris, non est unde superbias. Si mortuus est filius, *mortalem* genueras. Si caecus es, non vides mala multa, quae fiunt. Si surdus es et^{1 2} non audis citharoedi vocem, nec stridorem ferri, cum acuitur, nec grunitum porci, cum jugulatur, audis. Si servus es, et regina Hecuba³ et Plato et Diogenes philosophi serviverunt⁴. Si exul es patria, totum mundum esse patriam tuam cogita, sicut Socrates, et non existimabis te exulem. Si senex es, gaude, quia privatus es his⁵ voluptatibus, quae te in perditionem adducebant. Si mors appropinquat, laetare quia corporis carcerem⁶ cito exhibis, et sic vivito, ut lucis potius quam tenebrarum adire loca⁷ jubearis.

[60] Sed ne per singula discurremus, quod est non minus taediosum quam longum: si quis hujus saeculi, quae dicuntur, mala facilius vult tolerare, apud Euripidem, quod Theseus fecisse dicitur, imitari debet. Sic enim ait:

*Futuras mecum commentabar miserias,
Aut mortem acerbam, aut exilii moestam fugam,
Aut semper aliquam molem meditabar mali,
Ut si qua injecta diritas casu foret,
Ne me imparatum cura laceraret repens.*

¹ *omit.* C

² *omit.* D, G, MA

³ Eccuba A, B, C, E, F, T

⁴ servierunt T

⁵ is E

⁶ carcere MA

⁷ loca adire D, G, MA

[59] If you do not have lordship or power, then there is no reason why people should plot against you. If you are not honoured, then you will not be puffed up with pride. If your son has died, then it is simply because you *had sired a mortal being*.¹ If you are blind, then you will not see the many evil things that are being done. If you are deaf, then you do not hear the voice of the citharist, but neither will you hear the harsh sound of iron being sharpened nor the squealing of pigs being slaughtered. If you are a slave, then both Queen Hecuba² and the philosophers Plato³ and Diogenes⁴ were slaves at one time. If you are exiled from your fatherland, then you may think of the whole world as your fatherland, as Socrates did⁵, and you will not feel an exile. If you are old, then rejoice because you are freed from those pleasures that led you to perdition. If death approaches, then be happy that you will soon leave the prison of your body, and live in such a way that you will be bid to go to the place of light rather than the place of darkness.

[60] But let us not talk about each single issue – that would be just as tedious as long. If someone wants to be able to bear the evils of this world we are talking about, he should imitate what Theseus,⁶ according to Euripides,⁷ is said to have done. For he says:

*I treasured up what some learn'd sage did tell,
And on my future misery did dwell;
I thought of bitter death, of being drove
Far from my home by exile, and I strove
With every evil to possess my mind,
That, when they came, I the less care might find.*⁸

¹ Burley, (Anaxagoras), p. 82: *Ego enim illum ex me natum sciebam esse mortalem*. Cf. Jeronimus: *Epistola ad Heliodorum* (60), 5. MPL, XXII, col. 592

² Queen Hecuba: (Greek Myth.): wife of King Priam of Troy. Taken as a slave by Odysseus after the fall of Troy

³ Plato initially visited Syracuse while it was under the rule of Dionysius. The tyrant himself turned against him, and he was sold into slavery and almost faced death in Cyrene, a city at war with Athens, before an admirer bought Plato's freedom and sent him home

⁴ Diogenes of Sinope (412/404 -332 BCE): Greek philosopher and one of the founders of Cynic philosophy. Once he was captured by pirates and sold into slavery

⁵ Cf. section 71. NB: Here in a positive sense

⁶ Theseus: the mythical founder-king of Athens

⁷ Euripides (ca. 480-406 BCE): ancient Greek tragedian. The tragedy itself is lost, but the above passage was quoted in Greek by Plutarch in his *Moralia*, 112D

⁸ Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 3.14.29

[61] Cogitare debemus¹ et animum nostrum ad omnia parare, quae possunt accidere, ac non solum, quae ante oculos sunt, sed etiam futura de longe prospicere, ac praemeditari omnia, ne² nos improvisos tempestas submergat³. *Minus enim*⁴, inquit beatus Gregorius⁵, *jacula feriunt, quae providentur*⁶, *et nos tolerabilius mundi mala suscipimus, si contra haec per providentiae clipeum munimur*. Infirmittates namque, dilectissimi, quae nos affligunt⁷, exilia, captivitates, vulnera, mortes, inopiae, filiorum orbitates, delicta conjugum, detractiones et cetera istiusmodi, quae videntur mala mentemque vexant, communia sunt et bonis et malis viris, {22r} sed malis duriora quam bonis. Armatur se namque patientia vir bonus, redditque leviora, quaecumque eveniunt. Mali autem opprimuntur et deficiunt sub pondere.

[62] Et quamvis in Apocalypsi dicat Johannes⁸: *Ego, quos amo, arguo et castigo*; et iterum ad Titum Paulus: *Omnes, qui pie volunt vivere in Christo Jesu, persecutionem patiuntur*; ac rursus ad Hebraeos: *Quem enim diligit dominus, castigat, flagellat enim omnem filium, quem recipit*. Et postea: *Quis enim filius, quem non corripit*⁹ *pater?* Non sunt tamen ad mortem hujusmodi correctiones¹⁰, sed ad vitam, ad quas facilius sustinendas verborum Senecae meminisse debemus, qui sic ait: *Deus homines pro liberis habet, sed corruptos et vitiosos luxuriose ac delicate patitur vivere, quia non putat emendatione sua dignos. Bonos autem, quos diligit, castigat saepius et assiduis laboribus ad usum virtutis exercet, nec nos caducis ac*¹¹ *mortalibus bonis corrumpi ac depravari sinit*. Quae verba cum Paulo¹² conveniunt, qui ait: *Mali autem homines et seductores proficiunt in pejus errantes*.

¹ Parati semper simus *in marg.* D, G

² **et N**

³ **emergat N**

⁴ *omit.* E [NB: not T]

⁵ Beatus Gregorius *in marg.* A; Gregorius *in marg.* D, G

⁶ *praevidentur* MA

⁷ **nos affligunt : in corpore sunt N**

⁸ Johannes in apocalypsi *in marg.* A; quos amo arguo *in marg.* D; Joan. Quos amo arguo et castigo *in marg.* G

⁹ *corripit ex corripit* G; *corripit* MA

¹⁰ *correptiones* F

¹¹ *et* F

¹² Paulus *in marg.* A, G

[61] We should reflect and prepare our soul for everything that may happen, looking not only at what lies immediately ahead but also at what lies in the far future. And we should ponder everything in advance so as not to be overwhelmed by an unforeseen storm. The blessed Gregory¹ said: *Darts do less damage if we foresee them, and we bear the evils of the world more easily if we protect ourselves against them with the shield of foresight.*² Beloved, the infirmities that afflict us - exile, captivity, wounds, death, poverty, loss of children, faults of spouses, slander, and everything that seems bad to us and troubles the mind - all these things are common to good men and evil men, but they are worse for the evil than for the good. For good men arm themselves with patience and thereby make things happening to them easier to bear, whereas evil men are weakened and overcome by them.

[62] In the Apocalypse, John says, *Such as I love, I rebuke and chastise.*³ And Paul to Titus⁴: *All that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution;*⁵ and again to the Hebrews: *For whom the Lord loveth he chastiseth: and he scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.*⁶ And later: *For what son is there whom the father doth not correct?*⁷ Such corrections, however, lead not to death, but to life. To accept them more easily, we should remember the words of Seneca saying, *God regards men as His children, but He permits the corrupt and vicious to live in luxury and delicacy, because He does not think them worthy of His correction. But He often chastises the good whom He loves, and by continual labours exercises them to the practice of virtue: nor does He permit them to be corrupted and depraved by frail and perishable goods.*⁸ These words agree with those of Paul: *But evil men and seducers shall grow worse and worse.*⁹

¹ Gregorius I (ca. 540-604): Pope from 590 to his death in 604

² Gregorius I: *Homiliae in Evangelia*, 35, 1. MPL, LXXVI, col. 1259

³ Apocalypse, 3, 19

⁴ Error for Timothy

⁵ 2. Timothy, 3, 12

⁶ Hebrews, 12, 6: *quem enim diligit Dominus castigat flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit*

⁷ Hebrews, 12, 7

⁸ Lactantius: *Divinae Institutiones*, 5, 23

⁹ 2. Timothy, 3, 13

[63] Quae omnia non sunt contraria his, quae praemisi, dum bonos omnes viros possidere in terris dixi paradisum. Nam etsi persecutionem¹ patiantur, non tamen minus felices sunt, quia mentis tranquillitatem et pacem non perdunt. Cogitant namque semper, quod Epictetus² philosophus ait, *non omnino Deo exosos esse, qui in hac vita cum aerumnarum varietate luctantur; sed esse arcanas causas, ad quas paucorum hominum potuit pervenire curiositas*. Verum sicut cupidis gloriae militibus leves habentur belli labores, semperque jucundi videntur et hilares, sic athletae Christi tanto magis laetantur, quanto majora patiuntur incommoda, nam et Stephano lapides et Laurentio carbones dulces fuerunt.

[64] Qui³ vero perfectionem hanc non possunt attingere doloresque sentiunt, secum ipsi Lactantii⁴ dicta revolvunt ac se consolantur, cujus haec verba sunt: *Exiguus enim momentis status rerum humanarum novantur, nec prosperitas diuturna, nec aerumna est pertinax. Itaque⁵ nec miserum esse, nec contra perpetuum est, sed alternae sequentur⁶, et in hisdem⁷ variae vices rerum*, quae omnia vir bonus considerat, et in miseria quamvis miser esse non possit, felicitatem sperat. In felicitate vero fortunae mutationem⁸ meditatur et armat se, ne prosperitate desinente in adversitate deficiat. Mali autem et in adversitate desperant, et in prosperis rebus superbiunt, nec secundae, nec adversae fortunae sciunt modum tenere, Miseri, dum fortuna aridet et dum irascitur miseriores, nec uni, nec alii statui convenientes.

¹ **justi add. N**

² Epithetus A, B, C, D, E, F, G, T

³ quo E

⁴ Lactantius *in marg.* A, C, D, G

⁵ ita G, MA

⁶ sequantur T

⁷ iisdem MA

⁸ fetationem F

[63] Nothing here contradicts what I said before, i.e., that all good men have Paradise on earth. Even if they suffer persecution, they are not less happy, for they do not lose peace and tranquillity of mind. They always ponder the saying of the philosopher Epictetus¹: *Those who in this life struggle with many different hardships are absolutely not unloveable to God; but there are hidden things that only few inquisitive people could get at.*² To soldiers thirsting for glory, the labours of war are light, and they always appear cheerful and gay. It is the same with the athletes of Christ: the more they suffer hardships, the more they rejoice. Sweet were the stones to Stephen³ and the coals to Lawrence.⁴

[64] But those who cannot attain this degree of perfection and who do feel pain may console themselves by reflecting on the words of Lactantius, who said, *In critical times, human affairs are turned upside down: prosperity does not last, nor does hardship persist. Thus, neither the state of misery nor the opposite lasts forever, but they follow each other, and the same person experiences both successively.*⁵ The good man knows this, and in bad times he hopes for happiness, though he cannot himself be truly miserable. In happy times, he contemplates the change of fortune and prepares himself so that he will not fail when prosperity ceases and adversity begins. But evil people despair in adversity, and in prosperous times they are proud. They know moderation neither in good times nor in bad. When fortune smiles, they are miserable, and when fortune gets angry, they are even more miserable, unable to adapt to either state.

¹ Epictetus (55-135): Greek sage and Stoic philosopher

² Macrobius: *Saturnalia*, 1.11.45; Gellius, 2.18

³ Stephen: the first Christian Martyr. Killed by stoning, cf. Acts, 6

⁴ Laurentius (225-258): one of the seven deacons of ancient Rome serving under Sixtus II who were martyred during the persecution of Valerian in 258. Killed by being roasted over a fire. While he was being grilled, he is reported to have said: *I am done on this side. Turn me over and eat (Assatus sum, jam versa et manduca)*

⁵ Not Lactantius, but Saint Ambrose: *Historia de excidio urbis Hierosolymitanae*, 1, 32. MPL, XV, col. 1996C

[65] Verum {22v} ego, dilectissimi, cum hominum vitas intueor, et quid quaeque gens agat, attente considero, non video genus aliquod¹ vitae, in quo homines et jucundius et salubrius versari possint, quam vestrum est, qui colitis agros et in rure commoramini sequestrati ab omni civili ambitione atque furore; qui, si non habetis magnas divitias, cum Sapiente potestis dicere: *Melius est parum cum justitia, quam multi fructus cum iniquitate; qui rationem habetis cum terra, quae numquam recusat imperium, nec umquam sine usura reddit² quod accepit;* qui non pestiferas, si vultis, sed sanas atque jucundas in colendis agris potestis percipere voluptates; *qui non solum ex fructu, qui est honestissimus, sed etiam ex ipsius terrae vi atque natura delectamini.*

[66] An non est jucundum visu, *cum terra ipsa gremio suo mollito, bene culto atque subacto sparsum semen excipit, quae primo occatum cohibet? Deinde tepefactum vapore et³ compressu suo diffundit et elicit herbescentem ex eo viriditatem, quae nixa ac sustentata radicibus et fibris stirpium sensim adolescit, culmoque tecta geniculato vaginis jam quasi pubescens includitur, e quibus, cum emergerit, fundit⁴ frugem, ordinibus spicarum structis, et contra avium minorum morsus aristarum vallo munitur:* ex hinc metitis et in horreum defertis.

[67] Credo vos non posse satis delectationem vestram enarrare, quam percipitis, dum *vim omnium, quae generantur e terra, conspicitis, quae facit, ut ex tantulo grano, aut ex acino vinaceo, aut ex ceterarum frugum aut stirpium minutissimis seminibus tantos truncos ramosque procreet.* Quanta in hortis pomariis, lucis pratisque jucunditas datur⁵, quorum cultura et natura ipsa delectat. *Sunt irrigationes, fossiones agri, repastinationes, quibus sit multo terra fecundior.* Quid cum piro⁶ malosque inseritis ac ex agresti arbore aspera et inutili domesticam, mollem⁷ et⁸ utilem redditis? Quanta in *pecudum pastu* voluptas, quanta in lactis munctura⁹, quanta in pullis novellis cornua producentibus et unguis, quanta *in apium examinibus et florum omnium varietate?* Quid de venandi piscandique oblectatione, quid de aucupiis loquar?

¹ omit. G, MA; **aliquid N**

² sine usura reddit : reddit sine usura F

³ in add. T

⁴ effundit G, MA

⁵ dat MA

⁶ pinos MA

⁷ molem F

⁸ ac G, MA

⁹ **iunctura N**

2.4. Happiness of a simple rural life¹

[65] But, beloved, when I look at the lives of men and consider closely what various kinds of people do, I see no way of life where people can live with greater joy and health than yours. You cultivate the fields and live in the countryside, far from all urban ambition and unrest. You may not have great wealth, but then you can say with the Wise One: *Better is a little with justice, than great revenues with iniquity.*² You are dealing with the earth that never resists your bidding, and it always returns what it receives with interest. If you want to, you can enjoy the happy, wholesome, and innocent pleasures of cultivating the fields, *and you may delight not only in the honest fruits of the earth, but even in its very force and nature.*³

[66] Is it not lovely to see when the earth itself, *its womb having been softened, well cultivated, and subjugated, receives the seed? When the seed has fallen, it first lies hidden, then, warmed by the vapour of the earth, it breaks out of its membrane and draws forth from itself a green sprout that spreads with the roots and filaments of a plant and slowly matures. As it ripens, it develops a knotty stem with sheaths from which, in due time,*⁴ *it brings forth its fruit in the form of ears of grain, protected against the bites of small birds by a brush*⁵; then you harvest it and bring it to the barn.

[67] I cannot justly⁶ describe the delight you feel when you see *the force of all the things that are produced by the earth. That force begets those great trunks and boughs growing out of the trifling seed, the grape pit, or the minute seeds of the other fruits and roots that give so much pleasure in gardens, orchards, and meadows. Their care and even their very nature give joy. And then there is the irrigation, the digging of ditches, and the turning of the soil that make the earth so much more fertile. And what about the grafting of pear trees and apple trees, when you make a wild, rugged, and useless tree into a domesticated, pleasant, and useful one? How great is not the pleasure in grazing cattle, in milking, in the new chicken growing comb and claws, in the swarms of bees and the variety of all the flowers?*⁷ And what shall I say about the joys of hunting and fishing and about bird-catching?

¹ Piccolomini had also treated this theme in a letter to Giovanni Tolomei (EP, 2: 37).

² Proverbs, 16, 8

³ Cicero: *De Senectute*, 15.53, slightly rephrased. Cf. also *De officiis*, 1.42.151

⁴ "when it emerges"

⁵ Cicero: *De senectute*, 15.51, slightly rephrased

⁶ "satis" = enough

⁷ Cicero: *De senectute*, 15.52, slightly rephrased

[68] Omnia ista licita et honesta sunt exercitia, voluptatesque permissae, quae suscipiuntur ex eis. Si modo rerum istarum studio ab aliis iustitiae et pietatis officiis non cessatis, si statis contenti fortuna vestra, si nulli infertis injuriam¹: credite mihi, facile vobis est caelum acquirere in hac vestra communi et rustica vita. Hinc est, quod inter rusticos² quam inter³ urbanos homines, qui feliciter viverent, facilius sunt reperti, sicut de Aglao⁴ Arcade ruris cultore, qui rege Persarum {23r} felicius iudicatus fuit. Solon autem, unus e VII sapientibus, interrogatus a rege Lydiae potentissimo, qui ei viderentur esse felices, non reges aut magnates urbiumque cultores, aut hos, quos dicimus nobiles, sed eos, qui sine fama forent ignorarentque vitia, respondit esse felices. Cujusmodi homines in rure saepius quam in urbibus reperiuntur.

[69] Vos tamen, si vultis esse felices - debetis autem omnes velle - non invidere divitibus debetis, sed scire, quia *magnae divitiae sunt lege naturae composita paupertas*, ut⁵ Seneca dicit⁶; ne plus cupere, quam adsit, ac laetari vos esse pauperes, quia segura est paupertas et expedita; nec de cibo anxios vos⁷ esse⁸ oportet, quia facile est pascere paucos ventres bene institutos et nihil aliud desiderantes quam impleri. *Parvo fames constat, magno fastidium*. Quod si haec perfectiora non potestis attingere nec paupertatem quasi divitias reputare, hoc saltem efficite, ne vel divitias in prima felicitatis parte ponatis, vel paupertatem in ultimo miseriarum statu collocetis, quia *divitiarum saepe frons hilaris, multis⁹ intus amaritudinibus est referta. Et paupertatis horridior aspectus certis bonis et solidis nonnumquam¹⁰ abundat*. Et si divitias laudatis, dicite cum Sapiente: *Quia bona est substantia, cui non est peccatum in conscientia*.

¹ **injuriarum N**

² felicius inter rusticos vivitur *in marg.* D, G

³ *omit.* G, MA

⁴ Aglaus felicius rege Persarum D; Aglaus rege Persarum felicitior *in marg.* G

⁵ et F

⁶ ait G, MA

⁷ nos B, C, E, T

⁸ vos esse anxios : anxios vos esse F

⁹ **multus N**

¹⁰ numquam F

[68] All these activities are legitimate and decent, and the pleasures derived from them are permissible. If only your occupation with these matters does not make you neglect your other obligations of justice and piety, if you remain content with your fortune, and if you harm nobody, then - believe me - it is easy for you to reach Heaven already in this common and rustic life. This is why it is easier to find men living happily among rural people than among city people, like the farmer Aglaus from Arcadia,¹ who was thought to be happier than the King of the Persians. And when Solon,² one of the seven wise men, was asked by the powerful King of Lydia³ who he considered to be happy, he answered: not kings, magnates, people who live in cities, or those whom we call noble; but those who are without fame and vice, they are happy.⁴ That kind of person you find more often in the countryside than in cities.

[69] If you want to be happy, as you all should, then do not envy the rich, but know that *poverty, brought into conformity with the law of nature, is great wealth*,⁵ as Seneca says. Do not desire more than you have, and be glad that you are poor, for in poverty there is safety and freedom. You should not worry about food, for it is easy to feed a few stomachs that are treated sensibly and only desire to be filled. *Hunger costs but little, squeamishness costs much*.⁶ If you are unable to reach this degree of perfection and to think of poverty as wealth, then at least endeavour not to consider wealth as the ultimate happiness and poverty as the ultimate misery. For *although the face of wealth is often cheerful, internally it contains much that is bitter. And the grim appearance of poverty is often rich on safe and solid advantages*.⁷ But if you praise wealth, then say with the Wise One that *riches are good to him that hath no sin in his conscience*.⁸

¹ Aglaus: a semi-mythological poor citizen of Psophis in Arcadia, whom the Delphic oracle pronounced to be happier than Gyges, king of Lydia, on account of his contentedness, when the king asked the oracle if any man were happier than he

² Solon (638-558 BCE): Athenian statesman, lawmaker, and poet

³ Croesus (595-ca. 547 BCE): King of Lydia from 560 to 547 BC until his defeat by the Persians

⁴ Cf. Burley, (Socrates), p. 14

⁵ Seneca: *Epistulae Morales*, 4.10

⁶ Seneca: *Epistulae Morales*, 17.4

⁷ Valerius Maximus: *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, 4.4

⁸ Ecclesiasticus, 13, 30

[70] Quae, si reperiri¹ debet, facilius apud vos, ex fructu terrae viventes, quam apud cives ex pecunia mercaturisque lucra trahentes, comperietur, si modo veraces esse vultis, fideles, sinceri, recti. Vestrum namque negotium cum terra est, quae sine verbis reddit, quod accepit. Illi cum hominibus mercantur, nec lucrari multum possunt, nisi admodum mentiantur. Estote igitur contenti vestra fortuna, carissimi, et si non habetis maximas facultates, gaudete, quia non deest vobis victus. *Mihi amictui est*, dicebat Anacharsis philosophus, *Scythicum tegmen*², hirsuta scilicet aliqua pellis, sicut de Johanne Baptista legimus, praebebat hirtum tegmen camelus. *Calciamentum est solearum callus*³, *cubile terra*, *pulmentum fames*, *lacte*, *caseo*, *carne vescor*. Vobis melior est quam illi, qui et laneas vestes et calceos non ex vestro, sed ex alieno habetis corio, dormitisque mollius, si non plumis⁴ omnes, at non in terra. Merito ergo contenti esse debetis paupertatemque vestram jucunde ferre, cum ille hilariter summam gestarit inopiam, ac se sic felicem existimaret. Quod si feceritis, ut vos precor et moneo, ducetis hic in terra felicem vitam laetamque, tranquillam, hilarem nudatique⁵ passionibus singulis, quam vobis ab initio promisi, invenietis et possidebitis paradisum.

¹ repperi E [NB: not T]

² tecture N

³ callum N

⁴ pluma G, MA

⁵ nudatisque F

[70] And if real wealth should be found, it will be easier to find it with you, living of the fruits from the earth, than with city people, making a profit from money and trade – if only you will be truthful, faithful, sincere, and upright. Your occupation is with the earth, which gives back what it receives, without words, while those people trade with men and cannot gain a lot unless they lie a lot. So, be content with your fortune, beloved, and if your means are not very great, then rejoice because you do not lack food. The philosopher Anacharsis¹ said: *My clothing is a Scythian mantle* (that is a hairy pelt, just as we read about John the Baptist: *The camel gave him a hairy covering*),² *my shoes are the tough skin of the soles, my couch is the earth, and I live of milk, cheese and meat.*³ You are better off than Anacharsis, for you have woollen clothes and shoes, not of your own skin but from something else. You sleep more softly, if not all on feathers, then at least not on the earth. Rightly, you should be content and bear your poverty gladly, as Anacharsis cheerfully managed his poverty and considered himself to be happy. If you do that, as I ask and advise you to, then you will have a happy, joyful, tranquil, cheerful life here on Earth, and freed of all passion, you will find and possess Paradise, as I promised you in the beginning.

¹ Anacharsis (flourished 6th c. BCE): Scythian philosopher who travelled from his homeland on the northern shores of the Black Sea to Athens

² Cf. Matthew, 3, 4: *ipse autem Iohannes habebat vestimentum de pilis camaelorum*

³ Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes*, 5.32.90: *Mihi amictui est Scythicum tegimen, calciamentum solorum callum, cubile terra, pulpamentum fames, lacte, caseo, carne vescor*

[71] Ceterum, quia non cives in hoc mundo, sicut ait¹ Socrates, sed peregrini {23v} sumus, aliam patriam aliamque² civitatem inquirentes, cumque parum sit, quod hic vivimus, vitaque nostra sicut fumus transit, et qui hodie adest, cras aberit. Non satis est vobis haec³ paradusus, de qua sumus locuti, quia finem habet et brevem. Inquirenda est igitur altera paradusus caelestis⁴ ⁵, ad quam adipiscendam omnes navare operas, omnes curas adhibere omniaque impartiri debemus studia⁶, ut ibi sine fine divitiis illis fruamur atque deliciis⁷, quae tot tantaeque sunt, ut nec dici possint nec cogitari. Sed quamvis omnia, quae dicta sunt, gradus quidam fuerint⁸ et scalae, per quas ire in caelum debemus, non tamen sufficiunt, nec portas illas paradisi possunt aperire⁹, nisi alia jungamus.

¹ *omit.* N

² aliam nanque F

³ **vobis haec : haec nobis N**

⁴ *omit.* T

⁵ Paradusus caelestis *in marg.* D, G

⁶ debemus studia : studia debemus B, E, T

⁷ *omit.* F

⁸ fuerit E, T

⁹ aperiri T

3. How to gain eternal life in heaven: the four coins

[71] However, we are not citizens of this world,¹ as Socrates put it, but only pilgrims seeking another fatherland and another city. Here we only live a short while, and our life passes away like smoke: one who is here today will be gone tomorrow. The [earthly] Paradise that we spoke of has an ending and is short. Therefore, we must seek that other, heavenly Paradise, and to attain it, we must use all our strength, care, and zeal so that we may without end enjoy its riches and delights, which are so many and so great that they are both ineffable and unfathomable. All the things that I have talked about until now are like steps on ladders that we must use in order to go to Heaven, but they are not enough, and they cannot open the gates to Paradise unless we add other things.

¹ "in hoc mundo" = mundanus", cf. Burley, (Socrates), p. 124: *Interrogatus ... de qua patria esset, ait: mundanus sum.* Quoted by Plutarch, *On Exile* in *Moralia*: "... the saying of Socrates is still better, that he was no Athenian or a Greek, but a "cosmian" (as one might say Rhodian or Corinthian), because he did not shut himself up with Sunium or Taenarus and the Ceraunian Mountains. Also quoted by Cicero in *Tusculanae Disputationes*, which Piccolomini knew and used. Piccolomini may have taken over the notion of world citizenship, which he also used in the oration "Audivi" [1], from Francesco Filelfo, whose lectures he heard, as a young man, in Florence: ... in his early career Filelfo imagined himself a stoic "world citizen", attached to no particular city and and detached from political concerns (Meserve: Nestor, p. 62, quoting Blanchard)

[72] Ducunt nos ista, quae praemissa sunt, usque ad caelum¹. Sed cum illuc ventum est, antiquus ille gravisque senex, prolixam² barbam demulcens, aeternae vitae claviger, beatus Petrus apostolus, nequaquam nobis aperiet, nisi³ quattuor aera sibi⁴ obtulerimus⁵. Sunt enim omnes janitores⁶ avari, nec ulli aperiunt nisi corrupti⁷ muneribus. Vos scitis⁸, qui aliquando principum atria visitatis, qui nihil magis horretis quam janitoris iratam faciem. Sic ergo et beatus Petrus terribilis est nullique exorabilis, nisi qui suum sibi tributum reddiderit. Quicumque igitur vult post obitum suum paradisi portas intrare, is quattuor aera secum deferat, non adulterinae, sed verae monetae. Antiqui gentiles stulte crediderunt apud inferos esse flumen, quod transire haberent omnes, qui ad felices campos (quos Elysios appellabant) essent ituri, ibique nautam exposcere naulum, ac propterea in ore mortuorum unum nummum ponebant. Non sic est: minime namque⁹ in Campis Elysiis, sed in caelo est vera beatitudo. Nec¹⁰ nummus unus, sed quattuor necessarii sunt intrare cupientibus. Jam scio vos¹¹ quaerere, quales esse debeant¹² isti nummi quaque signati imagine. Dicam vobis evestigio, sed vos curate, ut haec aera vobiscum deferatis, si vultis beatum Petrum invenire benignum.

[73] Primus¹³ nummus est superioribus nostris debitum impartiri; secundus est inferioribus bene praeesse; tertius est aequales bene tractare; quartus est seipsum bene regere. Haec sunt quattuor aera, quae beato Petro necessarium est offerre, quisquis regni caelestis aulam ingredi cupit. Nunc vero attendite, quomodo haec aera possitis acquirere atque illuc deferre.

¹ quae praemissa sunt usque ad caelum : usque ad caelum quae praemissa sunt B, E, T

² **promissam N**

³ Janitori quattuor era *in marg.* D, G

⁴ *omit.* G, MA

⁵ **propinaverimus N**

⁶ janitore E [not T]

⁷ corruptis G

⁸ sitis E [not T]

⁹ minime namque *omit.* B, E, T

¹⁰ que E [not T]

¹¹ scio vos : vos scio T

¹² esse debeant : debeant esse G, MA

¹³ Quattuor era *in marg.* D, G

[72] Those things we spoke of before lead us to [the gates of] Heaven. But when we arrive there, that ancient and venerable¹ man, stroking his long beard, the bearer of the keys to eternal life, Saint Peter the Apostle, will not open the gate to us unless we offer him four copper coins. For all doorkeepers are greedy, and they open to nobody without a bribe. Those among you who sometimes visit the courts of princes fear nothing more than the angry face of the doorkeeper.² Saint Peter, too, is terrible and relentless towards all who do not give him his due. So, anyone who wants to enter the gate of Paradise after death must bring four copper coins along, and not fake money, but true money. The gentiles of antiquity had this foolish notion that in the nether world there was a river³ that must be crossed by all going to the Happy Fields (called the Elysian Fields⁴). At the river was a sailor⁵ who demanded passage money, and therefore they placed a coin in the mouth of the dead. This is not really so, of course, for true beatitude is not found in the Elysian Fields but in Heaven. And those who desire to enter do not need just one coin, but four. Yes, I know that you are now asking: what kind of coins are needed, and whose picture must they carry? I shall tell you right away, but do care to bring these copper coins if you want to keep Saint Peter happy.

[73] The first coin is to give our superiors their due. The second coin is to lead our inferiors well. The third coin is to treat our equals well. And the fourth coin is to govern ourselves well. These are the four copper coins that must be given to Saint Peter by all who desire to enter the court of the Heavenly Kingdom. Now, listen carefully to how you can acquire those coins and bring them there.

¹ "gravis"

² In the *De curialium miseriis* Piccolomini wrote: *What shall I say about the janitor? How often hasn't he shut the doors in your face? How often hasn't he driven you away with blows and kicks? How often hasn't he closed the door that was standing open when he saw you coming? How often hasn't he kept you out, even after you gave him money, only to admit actors, buffoons, or even your rivals? How often hasn't he lied to you, claiming that the prince was sleeping, in council, or even sick?* (Piccolomini: *De curialium* (Mustard), p. 58. My translation/MCS). And in the *Pentalogus*, asked by Emperor Friedrich III why he comes to him so infrequently, Piccolomini answers: *It is either your own fault or that of the doorkeeper. I come daily to the gates, and in vain I knock on them, sometimes using my hands and sometimes my feet. In between, I beg to be admitted. "Good doorman," I say, "let me see the king. I am a courtier, I am a servant of the emperor." But he is deaf, he does not hear. Like Ulysses, he has put wax in his ears so as not to hear the song of the Sirens. I do not even talk to him in Latin, since I do actually know a little German - and when it is not enough, I put forward my boy. But maybe the doorman is actually following his orders. The taster enters, as does the cook, the hunter, the bailiff, the Moor, the horse groom, and the keeper of dogs. Only your poet and, as you say, secretary stays outside the door or leaves in frustration. I am only let into your presence together with the common people, and then I am not allowed to speak to you, only to see you* (Piccolomini: *Pentalogus*, p. 58. My translation / MCS)

³ The Styx: (Greek Myth.) a river that formed the boundary between Earth and the Underworld

⁴ Elysium or the Elysian Fields: a conception of the afterlife that developed over time and was maintained by certain Greek religious and philosophical sects and cults

⁵ Charon: (Greek Myth.): the ferryman who ferried the dead to the underworld over the river Styx

[74] Primus noster superior Deus est¹. *Deus* vero, ut Cicero dicit, est *mens quaedam soluta et libera, segregata ab omni concretione mortali, omnia sentiens et movens*. Hic est pater et filius et spiritus sanctus, {24r} trinus in personis et unus in substantia, omnipotens, aeternus, increatus, immensus, qui machinam istam², quam cernimus mundumque dicimus, caelum, et terram, et aquam et omnia, quae in eis sunt, creavit ex nihilo. Qui licet sit Deus et dominus noster, mitiori tamen vocabulo patrem compellari se sinit et affectu nos patrio respicit atque gubernat. Nam et³ propter nos, cum essemus mancipia diaboli ex delicto primi parentis, incarnari voluit persona filii, nasci ex virgine, inter homines conversari, sitim et famem et alia, quae fert humana conditio, pati, veritatem praedicare, capi, caedi, flagellari, conspui, contumelias audire, crucifigi, mori propter salutem nostram⁴, transire ad inferos, tertia die resurgere, apparere multis, et demum in caelum astante credentium multitudine visibiliter elevari, ac postmodum spiritum⁵ paraclitum, *qui locutus est per prophetas*, et qui docet nos omnia in sancta matre ecclesia, quique mansurus est nobiscum usque ad consummationem saeculi, pro tutela directioneque nostra transmittere, dimisso⁶ nobis eucharistiae sacramento, in quo per manus sacerdotis carnem et sanguinem ad vitam consequendam manducaremus filii Dei, Jesu Christi.

[75] Quae omnia firmiter credere nos oportet, si volumus vivere ad vitam aeternam. *Justus enim*, ut Paulus dicit, *ex fide vivit*. Nec alium⁷ quam unum Deum, unum quoque dominum credere debemus, quia praeceptum est: *Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde diliges, et non ibis post deos alienos*. *Scimus*, inquit ad Corinthios Paulus, *quoniam nihil est idolum in mundo, et quod*⁸ *nullus Deus nisi unus*. Nam si sunt, qui dicantur dii sive in caelo sive in terra, sive quidem sunt multi dii et multi domini, nobis tamen unus Deus pater est, ex quo omnia et nos in illo, et unus dominus Jesus Christus, per quem omnia et nos per ipsum.

¹ Deus est : est Deus MA

² *omit.* MA

³ *omit.* F

⁴ salutem nostram : nostram salutem B, E, T

⁵ sanctum *add.* G, MA

⁶ dimissio G

⁷ aliud G, MA

⁸ quoniam MA

3.1. First coin: Fulfilling our obligations towards superiors

3.1.1. God

[74] Our first superior is God. According to Cicero, *God is a mind unfettered and free, severed from all perishable matter, conscious of all, and moving.*¹ He is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, three in persons and one in substance, almighty, eternal, uncreated, and immeasurable. Out of nothing, he created the machine² that we see and call the world, heaven, earth, and water, and everything in them. Though he is our God and Lord, He allows Himself to be addressed by the gentler word of Father, and he cares for us and governs us with paternal love. For when we were still the servants of the Devil because of the sin our first forefather, he decided to become flesh for our sake in the Person of the Son; to be born from a virgin; to live among men; to suffer thirst and hunger and the other things that belong to the human condition; to preach the truth; to be arrested; to be scourged; to be spat upon; to be mocked; to be crucified; to die for our salvation; to pass to the nether world; to rise again on the third day; to appear to many people; to be visibly elevated to Heaven in the presence of a multitude of believers; to send to us, for our protection and guidance, the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, who *has spoken through the prophets*, and who teaches us all things through Holy Mother Church, and who will stay with us to the end of the world; and to give us the sacrament of the Eucharist in which, by the hands of the priest, we eat the body and drink the blood of God's Son, Jesus Christ, in order to attain Life.

[75] All this we must believe firmly if we want to live in such a way that we attain eternal life. As Paul says, *The just man liveth by faith.*³ And we must believe that there is no other God than the One, and only one Lord, according to the command that *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart,*⁴ and *You shall not go after the strange gods.*⁵ Paul said to the Corinthians: *We know that an idol is nothing in the world and that there is no God but one.*⁶ Some may be called gods, either in Heaven or on Earth, and many may be called gods and lords, but for us there is only One God, the Father, from whom are all things and we in Him, and One Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and we through him.

¹ Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 1.27.66: *Mens soluta quaedam et libera, segregata ab omni concretione mortali, omnia sentiens et mouens*

² Note the concept of the world machine

³ Romans, 1, 17: *iustus autem ex fide vivit*

⁴ Matthew, 22, 37: *diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et in tota anima tua et in tota mente tua*

⁵ E.g. Deuteronomy, 6, 14: *non ibitis post deos alienos cunctarum gentium quae in circuitu vestro*

⁶ 1. Corinthians, 8, 4: *scimus quia nihil est idolum in mundo et quod nullus Deus nisi unus*

[76] Debemus et mortuorum resurrectionem expectare¹ neque his² assentiri ullo pacto, qui hoc negaverint³. Namque⁴ ut ad eosdem Corinthios scribit Paulus, *si resurrectio mortuorum non est, neque Christus surrexit*⁵. Et iterum: *Nam si mortui non resurgunt, neque Christus surrexit*⁶; *quod si Christus non surrexit*^{7 8}, *vana est fides nostra*⁹. Tu ergo, qui credis et credere debes Christum surrexisse, et mortuos quoque resurrecturos credito, quia¹⁰ qui negat unum, negat etiam aliud, et animam suam interficit. Oportet et¹¹ unam ecclesiam catholicam et apostolicam, Christi sponsam immaculatam, tenere, unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum et vitam aeternam, quam consecuturi sunt in regno Dei et Christi, quicumque recte credentes praecepta servaverint. Pro hac autem {24v} fide neque mortem effugere¹² convenit, si necessarium fuerit, sed mori potius quam negare Christum debemus: *Corde, namque, ut inquit Paulus, creditur ad justitiam, ore autem confessio sit ad salutem.*

[77] Quod si quis metu mortis negaverit Christum, salvus esse nequaquam poterit, nec super huiusmodi fide quidquam dubitare fas est. Sed omnia inconcusse firmiterque tenere, quae tradit ecclesia. Nam *qui haesitat*, ut Iacobus ait¹³ apostolus, *similis est fluctui maris, qui a vento movetur et circumfertur.*

¹ spectare F

² iis T

³ negaverunt F

⁴ neque T

⁵ surrexit C

⁶ et iterum ... Christus surrexit *omit.* C, T

⁷ surrexit E

⁸ quod si ... surrexit *omit.* F

⁹ et iterum: Nam si mortui non resurgunt, neque Christus surrexit *add.* T

¹⁰ *omit.* N

¹¹ ut G; *omit.* MA

¹² fugere N

¹³ tradit B, E, T

3.1.1.1. Resurrection and the Church

[76] We must also expect the resurrection of the dead and in no way agree with those who deny it.¹ As Paul writes to those same Corinthians, *But if there be no resurrection of the dead, then Christ is not risen again.*² And again: *For if the dead rise not again, neither is Christ risen again. And if Christ be not risen again, our faith is vain.*³ Therefore, you who believe and should believe that Christ has risen again, you should also believe that the dead will rise again, for anyone who denies the first also denies the second, and thereby he kills his own soul. Also, it is necessary to believe in the one Catholic and Apostolic Church, the immaculate bride of Christ, and in one baptism for the remission of sins, and the eternal life that all who have the right faith and keep the commandments will attain in the Kingdom of God and Christ. In this faith, we must be ready to die if necessary: we must rather die than deny Christ. For as Paul says, *With the heart, we believe unto justice: but, with the mouth, confession is made unto salvation.*⁴

[77] If somebody denies Christ for fear of death, he cannot be saved. It is not right to doubt these tenets of faith. All that the Church teaches, in accordance with tradition, should be believed unshakenly and firmly, as James the Apostle says, *For he that wavereth is like a wave of the sea, which is moved and carried about by the wind.*⁵

¹ 1. Corinthians, 15, 12: *some among you say that there is no resurrection of the dead (quidam dicunt in vobis quoniam resurrectio mortuorum non est)*

² 1. Corinthians, 15, 13: *si autem resurrectio mortuorum non est neque Christus resurrexit*

³ 1. Corinthians, 15, 16-17: *nam si mortui non resurgunt neque Christus resurrexit; quod si Christus non resurrexit vana est fides vestra*

⁴ Romans, 10, 10: *corde enim creditur ad iustitiam ore autem confessio fit in salutem*

⁵ James, 1, 6: *qui enim haesitat similis est fluctui maris qui a vento movetur et circumfertur*

[78] Si quem autem vestrum mens sua nonnumquam exagitat ac dubia movet, et nunc de partu virginali, quem etiam prophetae praedixerunt ut Jeremias: *Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium, et vocabitur nomen ejus Emmanuel*, nunc de sacramento altaris, de quo Christus ipse salvator noster testimonium perhibet¹, qui ait: *Caro mea vere est cibus, et sanguis meus vere est potus*, quaestio vertitur - potest enim hoc saepe² contingere, quia non sumus³ primi motus nostri potentes – *jactate cogitatus vestros in domino, et ipse vos enutriet. Allidite pueros vestros ad petram*, hoc est primos motus ad Christum, qui petra est, allidite et *nolite plus sapere quam oporteat sapere⁴, sed sapite ad sobrietatem*. Cogitate Deum omnipotentem, nec majus opus esse credite mulierem ex viri⁵ semine quam virginem ex afflatu spiritus sancti concipere. Nec majus miraculum putate sub modica panis specie Christum contineri, quam Christum ipsum⁶ clausis januis in carne et ossibus domum intrasse, in qua erant discipuli. Scitote, quoniam manus Dei non sunt alligatae, nec aliquid ab eo non posse fieri putate, qui mundum fecit ex nihilo.

[79] Et gaudete, quia talia creditis, quae ratione humana probari non possunt. Sic enim est nobis⁷ majus meritum, et absque dubio plus meretur, qui non vidit et credit, quam⁸ Thomas, qui ideo⁹ credidit, quia vidit. Fides¹⁰ namque nostra non habet meritum, ubi humana ratio praebet experimentum. Verum¹¹ cum *fides sine operibus mortua sit¹², nam et daemones credunt, quia unus est Deus, et contremiscunt*, oportet etiam alia superaddere, quia *non omnis, qui dicit "Domine, domine," intrabit¹³ regnum caelorum, sed qui Deum ex toto corde, ex tota anima, et ex tota fortitudine sua dilexerit¹⁴*, timuerit, et ei soli serviverit, et mandata ejus impleverit¹⁵.

¹ **testimonium perhibet : perhibet testimonium N**

² saepius G

³ sunt E, T

⁴ oporteat sapere : oportet F

⁵ **virili N**

⁶ *omit.* G, MA

⁷ uobis T

⁸ quomodo MA

⁹ in deo T

¹⁰ Fides *in marg.* D, G

¹¹ **tamen N**

¹² est N, T

¹³ in *add.* B, E, F, T, MA

¹⁴ dilexit E

¹⁵ impleverit B, E, G, MA

3.1.1.2. Religious doubts

[78] Sometimes some of you may be upset and doubtful concerning the virgin birth, even though it was predicted by prophets like Jeremiah¹: *Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son and his name shall be called Emmanuel.*² Or you may have doubts concerning the sacrament of the altar³ about which Christ our Lord himself gives testimony, saying: *My flesh is meat indeed: and my blood is drink indeed.*⁴ Such doubts may arise often because we are not masters of our own primary impulses. If [this happens, then] *cast thy care upon the Lord, and he shall sustain thee.*⁵ *Dash thy little ones against the rock,*⁶ which means that you should dash your primary impulses against Christ, who is the rock, and do not wish *to be more wise than it behoveth to be wise, but to be wise unto sobriety.*⁷ Consider that God is omnipotent, and do not believe that it is more difficult for him to make women conceive from the seed of a man than to make a virgin conceive from the breath of the Holy Spirit. And do not think it is a greater miracle that Christ is present in a little piece of bread than that Christ physically and through closed doors could enter a room where the disciples were staying. Know that the hands of God are not bound, and do not believe that anything is impossible for him who created the world from nothing.

[79] And be glad that you believe in such things that cannot be proven by human reason, for thus our merit will be greater, and there is no doubt at all that one who believes what he does not see has greater merit than one who, like Thomas,⁸ only believed what he saw. For our Faith has no merit where it is verified by human reason. Moreover, *faith if it have not works, is dead in itself.*⁹ *For also the demons believe that there is one God and tremble.*¹⁰ It should be added that *not every one that saith to me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven,*¹¹ but the one who *loves God with his whole heart, and with his whole soul, and with his whole strength,*¹² and fears him, serves him alone, and observes his commandments.

¹ Not Jeremiah, but Isaiah

² Isaiah, 7, 14

³ I.e., the eucharist

⁴ John, 6, 56

⁵ Psalms, 54, 23: *iacta super Dominum curam tuam et ipse te enutriet*

⁶ Psalms, 136, 9: *adlidet parvulos tuos ad petram*

⁷ Romans, 12, 3

⁸ The Apostle Thomas refused to believe that the resurrected Jesus had appeared to the eleven other apostles until he could see and feel the wounds received by Jesus on the cross, see John, 20, 24-29

⁹ James, 2, 17: *fides si non habeat opera mortua est*

¹⁰ James, 2, 19: *tu credis quoniam unus est Deus bene facis et daemones credunt et contremiscunt*

¹¹ Matthew, 7, 21: *non omnis qui dicit mihi Domine Domine intrabit in regnum caelorum sed qui facit voluntatem Patris mei qui in caelis est ipse intrabit in regnum caelorum*

¹² Deuteronomy, 6, 5: *diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua et ex tota fortitudine tua*

[80] Cavendum est ne deos sequamur¹ alienos², quod si nunc apud nos minus quam olim apud Hebraeos verendum sit, quia non sunt in his terris idola, quidam tamen in tantum pecunias, mulieres, cibosque diligunt, ut eos sibi deos faciant et idololatrae dicantur³, sicut supra retuli. Et de gulosis⁴ inquit apostolus, *quorum Deus venter est*. Similiter, {25r} qui veneficas mulieres et incantationes sequuntur, et in earum verbis adhibent fidem, deos alienos colunt, indignosque se reddunt caelesti regno.

[81] Jubet etiam Moyses, *ne nomen Dei nostri usurpemus frustra, quia non erit impunitus, qui super⁵ re vana⁶ nomen ejus assumpserit*, cujus mandati violatores sunt perjuriantes, blasphemi, turpiloqui, et omnes qui Deum nominantes falsum testimonium dicunt, quique in amatoriiis carminibus Dei nomen assumunt, quod omnino⁷ vitare necesse est, nec in re quapiam⁸ non seria et honesta⁹ Deum debemus inserere.

[82] Sabbata quoque sanctificanda sunt, idest omnia festa, quae custodiri mandat ecclesia, non solum cessando ab opere, sed jejunando, ubi praeceptum est, interessendo divinis officiis, orando, non fabulando, offerendo sacerdoti. Dicit enim per Moysen dominus: *Non apparebis in conspecto meo vacuus*. Visitare autem tabernas vinarias, computare, commessari, inebriari, rixari, ductare choreas, joculari cum feminis, taxillis {25r} atque alea ludere non sanctificare est sabbatum, sed profanare et diaboli potius quam Dei festum celebrare. Si quis ergo rite vult sabbatum sanctificare, nec¹⁰ lucri causa, neque voluptatis aliquid agat.

¹ deos *add.* F

² Ne deos alienos *in marg.* C, D, G

³ vocantur G, MA

⁴ ut *add.* B, E, T

⁵ semper D, G

⁶ nova F

⁷ domino F

⁸ re quapiam : rem quampiam E

⁹ et honesta : inhonesta MA

¹⁰ non C

3.1.1.3. Do not have other gods

[80] We should take care not to follow other gods. This is less to be feared today in our countries than in old times in the land of the Hebrews, for in our countries there are no idols. Some, though, love money, women, and food so much that these become their god, and they are said to be idolatrous, as mentioned above. Concerning the gluttonous, the Apostle said that *God is their belly*.¹ Similarly, those who follow witches using poisons and incantations and put faith in their words worship other gods and make themselves unworthy of the Kingdom of Heaven.

3.1.1.4. Taking the name of God in vain

[81] Moses commands us *not to take the name of the Lord thy God in vain: for he shall not be unpunished that taketh his name upon a vain thing*.² Those who disobey his commands are the perjurers and blasphemers, those who speak shamelessly, those who give false witness using the name of God, and those who use the name of God in love poems, something that should be avoided completely: we must simply not refer to God in any matter whatsoever that is not serious and decent.

3.1.1.5. Keeping the Sabbath

[82] The Sabbath should be kept holy. This means to observe all the feast days that the Church bids us keep not only by not working but also by fasting when it is demanded, by participating in the religious ceremonies, by praying, by not indulging in idle talk, and by giving offerings to the priest. For through Moses, the Lord says: *Thou shall not appear empty before me*.³ But visiting wine taverns, drinking together, eating together, getting drunk, brawling, dancing, flirting with women, gaming, and dicing profane the holy sabbath, you do not keep it holy but celebrate the Devil's rather than God's feast. So, if someone wants to keep the Sabbath properly, he should do nothing for the sake of gain or pleasure.

¹ Philippians, 3, 19: *quorum deus venter*

² Deuteronomy, 5, 11: *Non usurpabis nomen Domini Dei tui frustra: quia non erit impunitus qui super re vana nomen ejus assumpserit* . Cf. Exodus, 20, 7

³ Exodus, 23, 15

[83] Quod si bos vel¹ aliud animal in specum ceciderit, non vetaverim patrefamilias² adhibitis operis illud liberare, nec juvare sustentaculis domum, quae minetur ruinam, nec pecus adaquare, nec rivos avertere, qui inundantes nocerent satis, et talia, quae sine magno damno praetermitti non possunt. Nec enim imitari Judaeos debemus³, qui, ut est in Machabaeorum libris, occidi se potius permittebant a militibus Antiochi quam arma sumerent in die sabbati, quod nec ipsi postea continuarunt. Apud Romanos consultus Scaevola⁴, quid feriis liceret agere, respondit: *Quod praetermissum noceret*. Pulchra ad nostrum propositum quamvis gentilis hominis auctoritas. Nos tamen nocumentum, non in lucro perdendo, sed in damno⁵ subeundo, eoque non quocumque minimo, debemus accipere.

[84] Post haec *si quis virorum*, ut ait per Moysen Dominus, *votum Domino voverit aut se⁶ constrinxerit juramento, non faciet irritum verbum suum, sed omne, quod promiserit, implebit. Uxor quoque in domo viri cum se voto constrinxerit, sponsioni, non contradicente viro, reddet quodcumque promiserit.*

¹ aut F

² patresfamilias MA

³ Judei a militibus Antiochi *in marg.* C; Judei in Sabbato *in marg.* D, G

⁴ Scevola *in marg.* D, G

⁵ dando F

⁶ omit. G, MA

[83] But if a cow or some other animal should fall into a hole, I do not forbid family fathers to labour to get them out,¹ nor to prop up a house that is threatened with collapse, nor to water the cattle, nor to change the course of overflowing rivers that would cause great damage, and other such things that cannot be left undone without serious harm. And we should not imitate the Jews, who, according to the Maccabean books,² would rather let themselves be killed by the soldiers of Antiochus than take arms on the day of the Sabbath – a practice they themselves discontinued afterwards! In Rome, the jurist Scaevola³ was asked what it was permissible to do on work-free days,⁴ and he answered, *That which would cause damage if left undone.*⁵ Though Scaevola was a gentile, his authoritative answer fits our purpose beautifully. We should, however, accept some discomfort, not in losing gain but in suffering damage – and not of the smallest kind.

3.1.1.6. Vows

[84] Moreover, *if any man, as the Lord says through Moses, make a vow to the Lord, or bind himself by an oath: he shall not make his word void but shall fulfil all that he promised.*⁶ *And if a wife, being in her husband's house, binds herself with a vow, and her husband does not gainsay it, then she shall give whatsoever she promised.*⁷

¹ Macrobius: *Saturnalia*, 1.16.11: *Quapropter si bos in specus cecidisset eumque paterfamilias adhibitis operis liberasset, non est visus ferias poluisse*

² 1. Machabees, 2, 31-41

³ Quintus Mucius Scaevola

⁴ "feriae"

⁵ Macrobius: *Saturnalia*, 1.16.11: *Scaeuola denique consultus, quid feriis agi liceret, respondit: quod praetermissum noceret*

⁶ Numbers, 30, 3: *si quis virorum votum Domino voverit aut se constrinxerit iuramento non faciet irritum verbum suum sed omne quod promisit implebit*

⁷ Numbers, 30, 7-9

[85] In orationibus autem, carissimi, quas in ecclesia coram Deo¹ facitis, cavete ne quid inhonesti petatis, sed sic loquamini cum Deo tamquam homines audiant. Supplicate Deo vestri, ut curam gerat, ut ignoscat, quod erratum est, et gratiam sequendi virtutes infundat. Nemo divitias, vel potentiam, vel desideria carnis exoptulet. Socrates *nihil esse a Deo petendum*² {25v} dicebat *nisi bona*. Scit enim Deus, quid unicuique sit utile. Nos autem saepe id³ votis expetimus, quod non impetrasse melius fuerat⁴. Hinc beatus apostolus Petrus⁵ impetrare sanitatem filiae suae, Petronillae, noluit, quia non expediebat ei. Juvenalis vero optandum, ut sis *mens sana in corpore sano*, nec plura, putat. Vos vero orationem dominicam habetis, illam vos scire oportet, nec plura petere quam ibi contineatur⁶. Illic enim satis est homini provisum. Cum autem oratis, cogitate, ut etiam⁷ operemini, quae Deo placent. *Sapiens enim*, ut inquit Pythagoras, *non reputat Deum honoratum suis alloquiis, sed operibus*. Propheta vero de his, qui multum orant et opera justitiae praetermittunt, *populus hic, ait, labiis me adorat, cor autem eorum longe a me est*⁸.

¹ *omit.* C

² a Deo petendum : petendum a Deo G, MA

³ saepe id : id sepe G, MA

⁴ **foret N**

⁵ apostolus Petrus : Petrus apostolus G, MA

⁶ contineantur D, G, MA

⁷ et MA

⁸ longe a ... est : longum est a me F

3.1.1.7. Praying

[85] Dear brethren, when you are praying in the church before God, take care not to ask for improper things, but talk with God as if other people were listening. Pray God to take you into his care, to forgive your errors, and to instill in you the grace of practicing the virtues. Let no one ask for wealth, power, or the pleasures of the flesh. Socrates said that *we should only ask God for good things*,¹ for God knows what is useful for each of us. Often, when making vows, we ask [God] for something that it would be better for us not to get. Therefore, Saint Peter the Apostle refused to pray for health for his daughter, Petronilla,² because it would not be good for her. Juvenal believes that we should ask for a *sound mind in a sound body* and nothing more.³ But you have the Lord's Prayer.⁴ This prayer you should know, and you should ask for nothing more than is mentioned there, for it provides sufficiently for man's needs. And when you are praying, think of what you should do to please God. For, as Pythagoras⁵ says, *the wise man considers that God is honoured not by his words but by his works*.⁶ And one of the prophets says thus about those who pray much but neglect the works of justice: *This people draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips glorify me, but their heart is far from me*.⁷

¹ Burley, (Socrates), p. 138: *A diis immortalibus nichil ultra petendum esse quam ut bona tribuerent, quia hii scirent quid unicuique utile esset*

² Petronilla: legendary daughter of Saint Peter who, thinking his daughter too beautiful, asked God to send her a fever, of which he refused to cure her until she began to be perfected in the love of God, cf. Jacobus de Voragine: *Legenda aurea*, vol. 1, ch. 78, p. 315

³ Juvenalis: *Satirae*, 10.356: *orandum est, ut sis mens sana in corpore sano*

⁴ The Our Father

⁵ Pythagoras (ca. 570 - ca. 495 BCE): Greek philosopher

⁶ Source not identified

⁷ Isaiah, 29, 13: *populus iste ore suo et labiis suis glorificat me cor autem eius longe est a me*

[86] Ad commemorationem quoque Dei et ad nostram salutem debemus communicare et corpus domini suscipere. Nos quidem clerici saepius, vos autem laici ad¹ minus semel in anno. Quod qui praetermiserit, reus est mortis, nisi² poenituerit. In sacramento³ autem recipiendo verborum apostoli meminisse debemus: *Probet autem se ipsum homo, et sic de pane illo⁴ edat et de calice bibat. Qui enim manducaverit et biberit indigne, iudicium sibi manducat et bibit.* Videtis ergo, dilectissimi, quia⁵ non communicantes⁶ rei sunt mortis. Quod ut evitemus, communicandum est, et digne communicandum. Digne autem omnis communicat⁷, qui vere dolet de peccatorum suorum commissione et vere confitetur, ac, ubi est opus, satisfacit⁸.

¹ saltem *add.* in marg. C

² ni MA

³ sacro MA

⁴ **ille N**

⁵ quod MA

⁶ **et indigne communicantes add. N**

⁷ omnis communicat : communicat omnis G, MA

⁸ satisfaciat C, D, G

3.1.1.8. Communion

[86] We should go to communion and receive the Lord's body in remembrance of God and for our own salvation. We clerics should do so often; you laypeople should do so at least once a year. Whoever neglects this obligation commits a mortal sin unless he repents. In receiving the sacrament, we should remember the words of the Apostle: *Let a man prove himself: and so let him eat of that bread and drink of the chalice. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily eateth and drinketh judgment to himself.*¹ So you see, beloved, that not receiving communion is a mortal sin. If we want to avoid that, we should receive communion and receive it worthily. He receives communion worthily who is truly sorry for his sins, confesses them sincerely, and makes up for them when necessary.

¹ 1. Corinthians, 11, 28-29: *probet autem se ipsum homo et sic de pane illo edat et de calice bibat. Qui enim manducat et bibit indigne iudicium sibi manducat et bibit*

[87] Verum ad hoc, ut sciatis melius, quomodo erga Deum debetis¹ vos² gerere³, Lactantii⁴ verba vobis commemorabo, sic enim ait: *Hac conditione gignimur, ut generanti⁵ nos Deo justa et debita obsequia praebeamus. Hunc solum noverimus, hunc sequamur, quod tunc rite faciemus, cum a vitiis abstinebimus. Nihil enim, ut idem Lactantius inquit, sancta et singularis illa majestas aliud ab homine desiderat quam solam innocentiam, quae omnium est vitiorum⁶ expulsio. Vitiorum autem carentia, ut prius dixi, non solum Dei gratiam nobis reconciliat, sed etiam vitam in hoc saeculo quietiorem praestat. Et ista in praesentiarum de debito Deo reddendo sufficienter dicta putentur.*

[88] Secundum superioritatis gradum⁷ obtinent sancti et in primis beatissima virgo Maria, quae absque virili semine nobis peperit salvatorem, et jam modo in caelis pro nobis assidue intercedit, suoque filio⁸ supplex iram, quam pro peccatis meremur, avertit⁹. Nulliusque, licet maximi peccatoris, preces fastidit, qui ad eam cum humilitate recurrit suorum poenitens delictorum. Hanc igitur {26r} venerari et¹⁰ verbis collaudare debemus, numquam sermonem de ipsa nisi cum reverentia facere, jejuna vigiliis festaque sua devote celebrare, ac dedicata sibi templa saepius visitare diebusque sabbatinis specialem ejus commemorationem efficere, quibus diebus, si quis ob ejus reverentiam abstinerit devoteque habuerit se¹¹, sicut doctores quidam asseverant, sine fide et confessione non morietur. Advesperascentibus quoque diebus introduxit ecclesia pulsari campanas in memoriam annuntiationis, quod, cum fit, debetis omnes felicitis redemptionis nostrae reminisci beatamque virginem cum angelo resalutare.

¹ debeat E

² debetis vos : vos debetis G, MA

³ agere F

⁴ Lactantius *in marg.* A, D, E, G

⁵ generati F, T

⁶ est vitiorum : vitiorum est F

⁷ Secundus gradus *in marg.* D, G

⁸ suoque filio : filioque suo G, MA

⁹ advertit D

¹⁰ *interlin.* A; **omit.** N

¹¹ **habuerit se : se habuerit** N

[87] But so that you may better know how to act towards God, I remind you of the words of Lactantius, who says, *For we are created on this condition, that we pay just and due obedience to God who created us, that we should know and follow Him alone.*¹ This we shall rightly do when we keep away from vice. For as the same Lactantius says, *That sacred and surpassing majesty requires from man nothing more than innocence,*² which is the expulsion of all the vices. As I said before, being free of vice will not only restore us to the state of divine grace but also give us a tranquil life in this world. This will be enough about giving our dues to God.

3.1.2. Virgin Mary, angels, and saints

[88] The second level in the hierarchy is occupied by the saints and especially the Holy Virgin Mary, who conceived Our Saviour without the seed of a man. She now tirelessly intercedes for us in Heaven and averts from us her son's anger that we deserve because of our sins. She accepts the prayers of all, even the greatest sinners who repent of their sins and humbly ask for her help. We should venerate and praise her; we should never speak irreverently about her; we should fast on her vigils;³ we should devoutly keep her feast days, often visit the temples dedicated to her, and make special commemoration of her on Saturdays. Some learned people say that all, who, out of reverence for her, are abstinent on these days and perform the devotions to her will die in the Faith and with confession. Moreover, the Church has introduced the practice of ringing the bells in the evenings in memory of the Annunciation, and when this is being done, you should all commemorate our blessed redemption and once again salute the Holy Virgin together with the angel.⁴

¹ Lactantius: *Divinae Institutiones*, 4, 28

² Lactantius: *Divinae Institutiones*, 6, 1

³ Vigil: the day before a Church Feast

⁴ Angelus: a special prayer to the Virgin Mary. Pope Gregory IX (d. 1241) decreed that a bell should be rung each evening to remind the faithful to pray for the Crusades. The Franciscans adopted the custom of saying three Hail Marys when they heard the evening bell, and in 1269, Saint Bonaventure recommended the three Hail Marys to all the faithful. By the sixteenth century, the Angelus was standardised in its present form

[89] Post hanc sunt spiritus illi caelestes, angeli et¹ archangeli, throni, dominationes², potestates, cherubin³, seraphin⁴, et omnis ille spiritualis⁵ exercitus, qui adversus draconem proeliatu est in caelis et astitit agno, de quibus nonnulli ad nostram custodiam sunt deputati, diabolicis fallaciis obviantes, ac nostra, quocumque pergimus, vestigia subsequentes et cogitationes bonas ministrantes⁶, quibus profecto magnas diebus singulis⁷ referre grates debemus, ac nos ipsos sedulo commendatos efficere devotisque mentibus ea festa celebrare, quae in honorem supernorum spirituum introduxit ecclesia.

[90] Post hos Johannem Baptistam, *quo major inter natos mulierum non surrexit* - testimonio veritatis - ac prophetas, apostolos, evangelistas, martyres, confessores, virgines, viduas et⁸ omnes, qui relicto ergastulo carnali per ecclesiam in caelis esse creduntur, pia convenit prosequi devotione, reliquias venerari, jejunare vigiliis, ubi praeceptum est, festivitates celebrare, miracula, quae ab his facta dicuntur, pie credere,

¹ **omit. N**

² *omit.* G, MA

³ Cherubim T

⁴ Seraphim G, N, T, MA

⁵ spiritalis A, B, C, D, E, G, T, MA

⁶ subministrantes G, MA; **inserantes N**

⁷ **diebus singulis : dietim N**

⁸ ac F

[89] After her come the celestial spirits, the Angels, Archangels, Thrones and Dominations, Cherubim, Seraphim, and all the spiritual army that fought against the dragon in Heaven and stood by the Lamb.¹ Some of these are sent to us for our protection, opposing the deceits of the Devil, following our footsteps wherever we go, and inspiring good thoughts in us. Certainly, we should offer them great thanks every day, eagerly entrust ourselves to them, and devoutly celebrate the feasts that the Church has instituted in the honour of the celestial spirits.

[90] After these comes John the Baptist. *There hath not risen among them that are born of women a greater than*² him, as testified by Him who is Truth itself. Then come the prophets, the apostles, the evangelists, the martyrs, the confessors, the virgins, the widows, and all those, who, having relinquished the prison of the flesh, are believed by the Church to be in Heaven. All these we should show pious devotion, venerate their relics, fast on their vigils when demanded by the Church, celebrate their feasts, and piously believe in their miracles.

¹ Cf. Apocalypse, ch. 12

² Matthew, 11, 11: *non surrexit inter natos mulierum maior Iohanne Baptista*

[91] nec propterea illa negare, quia videantur impossibilia. *Miracula namque*, ut inquit Valerius¹, *ideo dicuntur, quia unde manaverint² aut qua ratione constiterint, arduum est dignoscere*. Christus autem, qui *mentiri non potest*, cum caecis lumen reddidisset et claudos ambulare fecisset, aut – quod erat maximum³ – jam mortuis vitam restituisset, mirantibus discipulis, *Et vos*, inquit, *majora horum facietis*. Non ergo increduli esse debemus⁴, cum miracula referuntur, quia *mirabilis est Deus in sanctis suis*, ut propheta testatur: amovete risum et omnem sermonis turpitudinem, cum de sanctis loquimini. Non blasphemetis eos, non contemnatis, non⁵ scandalizetis, quia licet nocere eis nihil possitis, non tamen erit inultum scelus. Sed honorate omnes vestrosque intercessores semper aliquos habere curate, qui apud Deum vobis patrocinentur, et praesertim gloriosissimam⁶ virginem Mariam, sub cuius titulo haec est fundata⁷ {26v} ecclesia⁸, de qua re summam potestis consolationem recipere summeque laetari, quia patronam habetis in caelo, cui negare Deus⁹ nec¹⁰ ¹¹ vult, nec audet quidquam.

[92] In tertio¹² superminentiae gradu ecclesia est universalis,¹³ mater omnium Christianorum, quae nos per baptismum Christo¹⁴ regeneravit, extra quam non est salus, cuius voluntati¹⁵ nefas est adversari. Ait enim¹⁶ Sanctus Calixtus: *Sicut filius venit facere voluntatem patris, sic et¹⁷ vos impleatis voluntatem matris vestrae, quae est Ecclesia*.

¹ Valerius *in marg.* A; *Miracula in marg.* C; Valerius de miraculis *in marg.* D, G

² manaverunt MA

³ erat maximum : maximum erat G, MA

⁴ debetis B, T; debetis *corr. ex* debeatis E

⁵ nec MA

⁶ *omit.* F; gloriosam T

⁷ **est fundata : fundata est N**

⁸ *omit.* G, MA

⁹ negare Deus : Deus negare G, MA

¹⁰ non MA

¹¹ Deus nec : nec Deus F

¹² Tertio *in marg.* D

¹³ humilis MA

¹⁴ **omit. N**

¹⁵ **voluptate N**

¹⁶ *omit.* F

¹⁷ *omit.* D, G, MA

3.1.2.1. Miracles

[91] We should not deny those miracles because they are seemingly impossible. For, according to Valerius¹, *miracles are called miracles because it is difficult to know where they come from, and how they are made.*² When Christ, who cannot lie, gave sight to the blind, made the lame walk, and – the greatest miracle of all – gave life to the dead, the disciples were astonished, but then he told them, *and greater than these you shall do.*³ So we should not be sceptical when they tell us about miracles, for *God is wonderful in his saints,*⁴ as the Prophet⁵ says. Therefore, away with all scornful laughter and scurrilous talk when you speak about the saints. Do not blaspheme against them, do not scorn them, do not offend them, for though you cannot harm them, every offence against them will be avenged. But honour them all and take care always to have someone to plead for you with God – and especially with the glorious Virgin Mary, to whom this church is dedicated: you may be greatly comforted and happy to have a patron in Heaven whom God will refuse nothing – nor dare to!⁶

3.1.3. The Church

[92] The third level of the hierarchy is the Universal Church, the humble mother of all Christians. Through baptism, she gave us a new birth in Christ, and outside of her, there is no salvation.⁷ It is wrong to oppose her will, for, as Saint Callixtus⁸ says, *As the son comes to do the will of the father, thus you should obey the will of your mother, who is the Church.*⁹

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

² Valerius Maximus: *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, 1.8, init.: *quae, quia unde manauerint aut qua ratione constiterint dinoscere arduum est, merito miracula uocentur*

³ John, 14, 12: *Qui credit in me opera quae ego facio et ipse faciet et maiora horum faciet*

⁴ 2. Thessalonians, 1, 10: *Cum venerit glorificari in sanctis suis*

⁵ I.e., the Apostle Paul

⁶ Presumably a humorous comment

⁷ The traditional axiom: *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*

⁸ Callixtus I (died 223): Pope from c. 218 to his death

⁹ Decretum, D.12.1. (col. 27). Cf. Pseudo-Isidorus: *Decretales / Letters of Pope Callixtus*, 1, 2 (To Bishop Benedict). MPL, CXXX, col. 130

[93] Hanc generalia concilia repraesentant, ac propterea, quod patres in generalibus¹ synodis congregati sanxerunt, servandum est. Verum, cum multae sint ecclesiae particulares, sciendum est² Romanam ecclesiam omnium esse caput aliarum. Hinc Calixti verba: *Nulli ergo³ dubium est, quod apostolica ecclesia mater sit omnium ecclesiarum, a cujus regulis⁴ nullatenus convenit deviare.* Clarius⁵ quoque Anacletus *Apostolica*, inquit, *sedes cardo et caput, ut factum est a domino et non ab alio, est constituta. Et sicut cardine ostium⁶ regitur, sic hujus sanctae sedis auctoritate omnes ecclesiae, domino disponente, reguntur.*

[94] In ecclesia vero⁷ universali quidam superiores sunt, quibus oboedientiam et reverentiam impendere tenemini, quibusdam vero solam reverentiam. In priori parte sunt Romanus pontifex, legati ejus, archiepiscopus Salzburgensis, episcopus Pataviensis et plebanus vester. Possibile esset aliquem praepositum⁸ vel archidiaconum super vos habere jurisdictionem, vel aliquem ex monasticis, de quibus non dicam, quia non⁹ constat. Quidquid sit, limitatum esse oportet et, quatenus se jurisdictio extendit, parendum est. In secunda parte sunt omnes sacerdotes omnesque clerici tam saeculares quam religiosi, qui non habent in vos jurisdictionem, sive sint cardinales, sive patriarchae, sive archiepiscopi, sive episcopi¹⁰, sive alii quicumque clerici, qui propter dignitatem sunt vestri superiores, quibus transeuntibus debetis assurgere, loco cedere honorareque ipsos et operibus et sermonibus, nec injuriantes eis nec ab aliis sibi injurias¹¹ inferri permittentes.

¹ conciliis *add.* G; conciliis ac *add.* MA

² verum cum ... *est omit.* E

³ *omit.* E; **vero N**

⁴ **regalibus corr. ex regalis N**

⁵ clarus E

⁶ hostium B, E, T

⁷ *omit.* B, E, T

⁸ propositum T

⁹ dicam quia non *omit.* G, MA

¹⁰ sive episcopi *omit.* B, E, G, MA

¹¹ sibi injurias : iniurias sibi F

3.1.3.1. Ecumenical councils

[93] The Church is represented by the general councils. Therefore, the decisions of the Fathers in the general synods¹ should be obeyed. But as there are many local churches, you should know that the Roman Church is the head of all the other churches, as Callixtus says, *There is no doubt that the Apostolic Church² is the mother of all churches and that nobody should disobey her precepts.*³ And Anacletus⁴ says it even more clearly, *The Lord made the Apostolic See the hinge and head, and it is not dependent on anybody else. And just as the door is ruled by the hinge, thus, as the Lord has ordained it, all the churches are governed by the authority of this Holy See.*⁵

3.1.3.2. Religious hierarchy

[94] In the Universal Church, there are some superiors whom you should both obey and honour, and others whom you should only honour. The first ones are the Roman Pontiff and his legates, the Archbishop of Salzburg, the Bishop of Passau, and your parish priest. Actually, some dean,⁶ archdeacon, or someone from a monastery might also have jurisdiction, but I shall not speak about that since such is not the case here. Whatever the case may be, jurisdiction should be clearly delimited and only obeyed as far as it extends.

The second ones⁷ are all priests and clerics, both secular and religious, who do not have jurisdiction over you, whether they be cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, or other clerics. They are your superiors by virtue of their office, and when they pass you, you should rise, give up your place to them, honour them in words and acts, and not offend them or allow anybody else to harm them.

¹ I.e., councils

² I.e., the Roman Church, founded by the Apostles Peter and Paul

³ Decretum, D.12.1. (col. 27). Cf. Pseudo-Isidorus: *Decretales / Letters of Pope Callixtus*, 1, 2 (To Bishop Benedict). MPL, CXXX, col. 130

⁴ Anacletus (d. ca. 92): Pope ca. 79 to his death

⁵ Decretum Gratiani, D.22.2. (col. 74). Cf. Pseudo-Isidorus: *Decretales / Letters of Pope Anacletus*, 3, 34. MPL, CXXX, col. 78. Also used in the oration "*Si putarem*" [5], sect. 41

⁶ "praepositus"

⁷ I.e., the clerics who should only be revered, and not obeyed

[95] Sed revertamur ad eos, quibus est etiam parendum¹. In tota universali ecclesia primus superior est Romanus pontifex, Petri successor ac Christi vicarius, cui datae sunt claves regni caelorum, ut *quidquid in terra ligaverit², sit etiam in caelo ligatum, et quod³ solverit, solutum* existat. In cuius oboedientia omnino manendum est, nec aliter quisquam salvari potest. Ait enim beatus Augustinus⁴: *Nec studium bonae actionis, nec opus sanctae contemplationis, nec lacrimae poenitentis extra oboedientiam Romanae ecclesiae possunt esse Deo accepta*. Huic ergo et⁵ oboedire debetis et reverentiam impartiri ac plus sibi {27r} quam ceteris hominibus credere atque parere, nihilque omnino moliri, quod sibi vel damno sit vel dedecori. *Observe*, inquit per Moysen dominus, *diligenter, ne incurras in lepram leprae⁶*, quod doctores interpretantur pro majori excommunicatione, quam fert in rebelles Romanus pontifex.

[96] Hujus quoque Romani pontificis nuntiis, sive legati⁷ de latere, sive quivis alii fuerint, eatenus parere debetis, quatenus eorum se facultates⁸ extendunt. Verum quia non potestis ista cognoscere, pontificis vestri Pataviensis jussionem expectari⁹ oportet, ne quid plus minusve faciatis, quam sit necesse, plebanique vestri super hoc captare consilium, sed honorare et humanitatem impendere absque ulla cunctatione debetis.

[97] Similiter archiepiscopo Salzburgensi, qui est hujus terrae metropolitanus, in certis casibus parendum est, quando¹⁰ ex appellationis vigore ad eum causae devolvuntur. In quibus rebus non facio multa verba, quia raro¹¹ ista contingunt, et tunc magis ex consilio quam ex vestro sensu procedendum est vobis. Ac sic¹² trium superiorum, qui sunt in ecclesia, meritum scietis.

¹ parandum T

² in terra ligaverit : ligaverit in terra C

³ **quidquid N**

⁴ Beatus Augustinus *in marg.* A; Augustinus de Romana ecclesia *in marg.* C; Augustinus *in marg.* D, E

⁵ *omit.* G, MA

⁶ In lepram lepre *in marg.* D, G

⁷ legatis G, MA

⁸ se facultates : facultates se G, MA

⁹ expectari *corr. ex.* expectare G; expectare MA

¹⁰ quin MA

¹¹ rato F

¹² si E, F

[95] But let us return to those who should not only be honoured but also obeyed. In the whole Universal Church, the first superior is the Roman Pontiff, the Successor of Peter, and the Vicar of Christ. He has been given the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven. *And whatsoever he shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever he shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven.*¹ It is absolutely necessary to remain in obedience to him, for otherwise you cannot be saved. According to Saint Augustine, *neither the zeal for good deeds, nor the work of holy contemplation, nor the tears of the penitent are pleasing to God if outside the obedience to the Roman Church.*² So, you must both obey and revere the pope, and you should believe him above all other people, and obey him, and not endeavour to do anything, which may harm or shame him. Through Moses, the Lord said, *Observe diligently that thou incur not the stroke of the leprosy.*³ Some learned men interpret this as the major excommunication that the Roman Pontiff uses against rebels.

[96] You should also obey the envoys of the Roman Pontiff, be they legates *de latere* or any other, to the extent of their powers. However, as you cannot ascertain these powers on your own, you should await the command of your Bishop of Passau so that you do no more and no less than is necessary. You should also consult your parish priest on the matter. But in any case, you should, without hesitation, honour the pope's envoys and treat them politely.

[97] Similarly, you should, in certain matters, obey the Archbishop of Salzburg, the metropolitan⁴ of this area, namely when cases are referred to him by virtue of an appeal.⁵ I shall not say much about such cases since they occur so rarely. But when they occur, you should seek counsel and not just follow your own opinion.

And thus you know your obligations towards your three highest superiors in the Church.

¹ Matthew, 16, 19: *Et quodcumque ligaveris super terram erit ligatum in caelis et quodcumque solveris super terram erit solutum in caelis*

² Not found in Augustine, but see Bernard de Clairvaux: *De laude novae Militiae*, 13. MPL, CLXXXII, col. 939: *Nec studium bonae actionis, nec opus sanctae contemplationis, nec lacrymae poenitentis extra Bethaniam accepta esse poterunt illi qui tanti habuit oboedientiam ...*

³ Deuteronomy, 24, 8: *Observa diligenter ne incurras in plagam leproae*

⁴ I.e., the archbishop

⁵ I.e., appeal as a legal procedure

[98] Quartus superior est et vobis et mihi Pataviensis episcopus, cujus speciales estis oves, in quem respicere multo diligentiori oculo quam in alios¹ debetis². Hic enim ex Dei et apostolicae sedis³ ordinatione pater vester est factus, rector,⁴ pastor. Vos autem ejus⁵ estis oves. Ac propterea, cum haec vestra ecclesia vacat, ejus est vobis directorem⁶ plebanumque dare, qui suo ac Dei nomine vestras animas curet. Hunc venerari debetis, et operibus et sermonibus oboedire sibi, nullisque adversari mandatis⁷, nullam molestiam facere, numquam obloqui, numquam vel facta ejus accusare vel dicta, oves namque estis. Hinc Pius papa⁸ sanctissimus⁹ *Oves, inquit, pastorem suum non reprehendant. Plebs vero episcopum non accuset, nec vulgus eum arguat, quia non est discipulus super magistrum, neque servus super dominum suum. Episcopi autem a domino Deo sunt judicandi, qui eos sibi oculos elegit*¹⁰. Eusebius etiam papa¹¹ *Oves, inquit, quae pastori suo commissae fuerint, eum non debent reprehendere, nec*¹² *ullatenus*¹³ *accusare possunt, nisi a recta fide exorbitaverit*¹⁴.

¹ alios *corr.* ex alias A; alias C; aliis D, F

² *add. in marg.* A; **omit.** N

³ apostolicae sedis : sedis apostolicae G, MA

⁴ et *add.* G, MA

⁵ *omit.* G, MA

⁶ directionem T

⁷ adversari mandatis : mandatis adversari C

⁸ Pius papa *in marg.* A; S. Pius papa *in marg.* D; Pius papa sanctissimus *in marg.* G; Pius papa *in marg.* E

⁹ summus MA

¹⁰ *eligit* E, T

¹¹ Eusebius *in marg.* A; Eusebius papa *in marg.* D, G

¹² neque F

¹³ ullatenus *corr.* ex. nullatenus D; nullatenus A, G, MA

¹⁴ exorbitaverint MA

[98] The fourth superior, both for you and for me, is the Bishop of Passau. You are his particular flock, and you should follow him more diligently than others. He has been ordained by God and the Apostolic See to be your father, superintendent, and shepherd, and you are his sheep. Therefore, when this church of yours is vacant, it is his responsibility to give you a rector and parish priest to take care of your souls, in his own name and in God's. You must honour him as your bishop and obey him both in words and in acts, not oppose his decisions, not give him any trouble, never speak out against him, never criticise his words or deeds, for you are the sheep. As holy Pope Pius¹ says, *The sheep should not rebuke their shepherd. The people should not make accusations against their bishop, nor should the common people make complaints against him, for the disciple is not above the teacher, nor the servant above his lord. But bishops should be judged by God, who chose them for his eyes.*² And Pope Eusebius³ says, *The sheep who have been entrusted to the shepherd should not criticise him nor make any accusations against him, unless he has strayed from the true faith.*⁴

¹ Pius I (died ca. 154): Pope from ca. 140 to his death

² Decretum, C.6.1.9 (col. 555). Pseudo-Isidorus: *Decretales / Letter of Pope Pius I*, 1, 1. MPL, CXXX, col. 112

³ Eusebius (d. 309/310): Pope for four months

⁴ Decretum, C.2.7.13 (col.485). Cf. Pseudo-Isidorus: *Decretales / Letters of Pope Eusebius*, 2. MPL, CXXX, col. 232

[99] Et iterum Evaristus papa¹: *Non est itaque aut² a plebe aut a vulgaribus hominibus arguendus vel accusandus episcopus, licet sit inordinatus, quia pro meritis subditorum disponitur a Deo vita rectorum³. Cui et Calixtus⁴ astipulatur dicens: Ex merito vero⁵ plebis nonnumquam episcopi depravantur⁶. Ex quibus sanctorum dictis potestis intelligere, dilectissimi, vestri officii non esse in⁷ aliquo episcopum reprehendere, nisi fidem Christianam abnegaret⁸. Sed oboedire incumbit vobis et facere, quae mandantur, tueri {27v} statum⁹ et honorem episcopi. Si quid¹⁰ adversus eum machinationis audiri¹¹ contingat, sibi vel suis consiliariis referre. In casibus reservatis, quos alio vobis exponam tempore, ad eum recurrere fidelitatemque sibi in omnibus tamquam patri et domino spirituali stabilem et inconcussam servare.*

¹ Evaristus *in marg.* A, C, D, G

² *omit.* B, E, T; **ut N**

³ rector E

⁴ Calixtus *in marg.* A, G; Calistus *in marg.* C

⁵ namque G, MA

⁶ Propter demerita plebis *in marg.* D

⁷ *omit.* E

⁸ abnegare E, T

⁹ statutum T

¹⁰ quod C

¹¹ audire G, MA

[99] And again Pope Evaristus¹: *Neither the people nor ordinary persons should make complaints or accusations against a bishop, even a bishop who is not yet ordained, for the life of the rulers is ordained by God according to the merits of their subjects.*² And Calixtus³ adds: *Bishops are sometimes led astray because of the people.*⁴ From the sayings of these holy men, you understand, beloved, that it is your duty not to criticise your bishop in any way unless he rejects the Christian faith, but to obey him, to carry out his decisions, and to defend his state and honour. If you happen to hear of some plot against him, you should report it to himself or to his counselors. In the reserved cases - that I shall explain to you another time - you should have recourse to him, and you should in all matters be unshakenly and constantly faithful to him as your spiritual father and lord.

¹ Evaristus (died ca. 107): Pope ca. 99 to his death

² Decretum, C.2.7.1 (col. 483). Cf. Pseudo-Isidorus: *Decretales / Letters of Pope Evaristus*, 2, 9. MPL, CXXX, col. 86

³ Not Callixtus, but Anterus (Anterius)

⁴ Decretum, C.6.1.13 (col. 557). Pseudo-Isidorus: *Decretales / Letter of Anterus*. MPL, CXXX, col. 148

[100] Quintus superior vester est plebanus, quem vobis dederit¹ Pataviensis antistes, qui etiam pastor est² animarum vestrarum³, dux, rector et gubernator. Quod onus in praesentiarum, sicut eidem domino Pataviensi placuit, meum est. Scio me non sufficientem tantae dignitati tantoque ponderi, sed mihi necessarium est oboedire superiori, vosque regere et in vitam aeternam dirigere. Quod tunc recte faciam, cum vos etiam debitum vestrum erga me adimplebitis. Namque si excesseritis, timeo ne me quoque praevaricari contingat. Inquit enim Isaias: *Et erit sicut populus sic et sacerdos*⁴. Si ergo me vel alium plebanum bene ac sancte vobis praeesse vultis, facite, quod vestrum est, honorate plebanum, nolite sibi esse⁵ molesti, nolite obloqui, facite quod Ecclesiasticus⁶ jubet: *Presbytero, inquit, humilia animam tuam*. Et iterum: *Honorifica sacerdotes*⁷. Quod vobis non erit grave, si sciveritis, ut in epistola beati Clementis legitur⁸, *summum pontificem locum Christi tenere, episcopos vicem apostolorum gerere, ac reliquorum discipulorum figuram gestare presbyteros*.

[101] Debetis igitur, ut Paulus jubet, *oboedire praepositis vestris et subjacere eis. Ipsi enim pervigilant quasi rationem pro animabus vestris reddituri. Studete igitur, ut cum gaudio haec faciant, non gementes*. Sinite plebanum vestrum ejusque vicarium et singulos, qui ab eo sunt, ecclesiastica libertate gaudere. Possessiones eorum nemo turbet, nemo agris, pecoribus aut aliis presbyterorum rebus noceat. Oblationes, quae fiunt in ecclesia, nemo⁹ vestrum attingat. Ait namque per Moysen Dominus: *Omnes quoque primitiae, quas offerunt filii Israel, ad sacerdotem pertinent*¹⁰, *et quidquid in*¹¹ *sanctuarium offertur et a singulis traditur in manus sacerdotis, ipsius*¹² *erit*.

¹ presul *add.* F

² pastor est : est pastor F

³ animarum vestrarum : vestrarum animarum F

⁴ Isaias: *Et erit sicut populus sic et sacerdos in marg.* D, G

⁵ sibi esse : esse sibi G, MA

⁶ Ecclesiasticus *in marg.* D, G

⁷ Sacerdotes honorandi *in marg.* E

⁸ Beatus Clemens *in marg.* A; Clemens papa *in marg.* G

⁹ *omit.* F

¹⁰ Primitiae ad sacerdotem *in marg.* D, G

¹¹ ad F

¹² eorum F

[100] Your fifth superior is the parish priest whom the bishop of Passau has given you and who is the shepherd, leader, guide, and governor of your souls. At present, this task is mine, as it has pleased my Lord Bishop of Passau. I know that I am not equal to this great office and burden. But I must obey my superior, govern you, and lead you to eternal life. I can only do that right if you fulfil your own obligations towards me. For if you stray away, I fear that I shall do so, too - as Isaiah says, *And it shall be as with the people, so with the priest.*¹ So, if you want me or any other parish priest to lead you well and in a holy manner, then do what you should do: honour your parish priest, do not cause him trouble, do not speak up against him, but do as Ecclesiasticus bids, *Humble thy soul to the priest.*² And again, *Honour to the priests.*³ This will not be difficult for you if you keep in mind what is said in the *Letter of Saint Clement*, that *the supreme pontiff holds the place of Christ, whereas the bishops act on behalf of the apostles and the priests represent the other disciples.*⁴

[101] As Paul bids us, you should *obey your superiors and be subject to them. For they watch as being to render an account of your souls. Endeavour that they may do this with joy and not with grief.*⁵ Allow your parish priest, his vicar, and those who depend on him to enjoy ecclesiastical freedom. Let no one disturb their possessions; let no one harm the fields, cattle, and other things belonging to the priests; and let no one touch the offerings made in the church. For the Lord says through Moses, *All the firstfruits also, which the children of Israel offer, belong to the priest: And whatsoever is offered into the sanctuary by every one, and is delivered into the hands of the priest, it shall be his.*⁶

¹ Isaiah, 24, 2: *sicut populus sic sacerdos*

² Ecclesiasticus, 4, 7

³ Ecclesiasticus, 7, 33

⁴ *The letter of Clemens to the apostle James*, 30. <http://www.pseudoisidor.magh.de/htmai/007.htm>. MPL, CXXX, col. 30. Also quoted by Piccolomini in his oration "*Si ea quae justa*" [5], sect. 6

⁵ Hebrews, 13, 17: *Oboedite praepositis vestris et subiacete eis ipsi enim pervigilant quasi rationem pro animabus vestris reddituri ut cum gaudio hoc faciant et non gementes*

⁶ Numbers, 5, 9-10: *Omnes quoque primitiae quas offerunt filii Israhel ad sacerdotem pertinent et quicquid in sanctuarium offertur a singulis et traditur manibus sacerdotis ipsius erit*

[102-103] Decimas eorum, quae singulis annis colligitis, absque cunctatione persolvite, quia non hominis, sed jussu divino debentur. Nam et Abraham, qui, teste ad Hebraeos Paulo, rex justitiae interpretatur, rediens a caede regum, decimas dedit Melchisedech sacerdoti¹, regi Salem, sibi benedicienti. Deponat quilibet vestrum murmurationem, quam nonnumquam facitis, dum petuntur decimae et alia ecclesiae jura. "Cur nos," inquiunt aliqui, "res, quas nostro labore atque sudore quaerimus, sacerdotibus dividere tenemur, cum ipsi aliunde satis² habeant?" Damnata est enim haec consideratio murmurationeque, quia non sacerdotibus, sed Deo dividitis, nec de vestro datis, sed ex {28r} eo, quod Deus largitus est, *cujus est terra et plenitudo ejus*, sicut ait psalmigraphus. Sed audite, obsecro, in hac re Paulum ad Corinthios scribentem, qui et ipsi non libenter victum et alias oblationes praebebant sacerdotibus: *Quis pascit gregem, inquit, et de lacte gregis non manducat? Et iterum scriptum est in lege Moysi: Non alligabis os bovi trituranti. Numquid de bobus Deo cura est, an utique non propter nos haec dicit? Nec his contentus subjicit: Si vobis spiritualia seminamus, magnum³ est, si nos carnalia vestra metamus? Et rursus: Nescitis, quoniam⁴ qui in sacrario operantur, que de sacrario sunt, edunt? Qui altario serviunt, cum⁵ altario participantur? Ita et dominus ordinavit his, qui evangelium annuntiant, de evangelio vivere⁶.*

¹ omit. G, MA

² aliunde satis : satis aliunde F

³ non add. F

⁴ quia hi B, E, T

⁵ de MA

⁶ debent add. T

[102-103] Pay tithes unhesitatingly of all that you gather every year, for they have been instituted not by man but by God. According to Paul in his letter to the Hebrews, Abraham, which means the King of Justice, gave tenths to Melchisedech, the priest-king of Salem, who blessed him as he was on his way back from the slaughter of kings. So, stop the murmuring that is sometimes heard when tenths and other dues to the Church are requested. "Why," some say, "must we share with the priests those things that we gather with our own labour and sweat when they themselves have enough otherwise?" This opinion and murmuring is wretched, for it is not the priests you are sharing with but God, and you do not give from your own possessions but from what has been given to you by God whose *is the Earth and the fulness thereof*,¹ as the Psalmist says. But hear - I ask - what Paul writes to the Corinthians, who also did not gladly give food and other offerings to the priests: *Who feedeth the flock and eateth not of the milk of the flock? And again it is written in the law of Moses: Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn. Doth God take care for oxen? Or doth he say this indeed for our sakes?* And not content with these words, he² adds *If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter if we reap your carnal things?* And again, *Know you not that they who work in the holy place eat the things that are of the holy place; and they that serve the altar partake with the altar? So also the Lord ordained that they who preach the gospel should live by the gospel.*³

¹ Psalms, 23, 1: *Domini est terra et plenitudo eius*

² I.e., Paul the Apostle

³ 1. Corinthians, 9, 7-14: *quis pascit gregem, et de lacte gregis non manducat? Numquid secundum hominem haec dico? an et lex haec non dicit? Scriptum est enim in lege Moysi : Non alligabis os bovi trituranti. Numquid de bobus cura est Deo? an propter nos utique hoc dicit? Nam propter nos scripta sunt : quoniam debet in spe qui arat, arare : et qui triturat, in spe fructus percipiendi. Si nos vobis spiritualia seminavimus, magnum est si nos carnalia vestra metamus? Si alii potestatis vestrae participes sunt, quare non potius nos? Sed non usi sumus hac potestate : sed omnia sustinemus, ne quod offendiculum demus Evangelio Christi. Nescitis quoniam qui in sacrario operantur quae de sacrario sunt, edunt : et qui altari deserviunt, cum altari participant? Ita et Dominus ordinavit iis qui Evangelium annuntiant, de Evangelio vivere*

[104] Reddite igitur sponte jus suum sacerdotibus, non¹ contradicentes, non murmurantes. De sacerdotibus inquit enim² idem Paulus, *quia Dei sunt adjutores; vos autem Dei agricultura estis, Dei aedificatio estis*. Sicut igitur terra sine contradictione ac sine querela cultori suo multiplicatum semen³ reddit, ita et vos libenti animo puraque⁴ mente decimas reddite sacerdotibus. Nec miremini, si absque tributo sint, quia et semper⁵ magna libertas sacerdotum fuit. Nam cum tota olim Aegyptus⁶ ex ordinatione Joseph quintae partis frugum tributaria redderetur, sola terra sacerdotum libera mansit, quia non hominibus, sed Deo subsunt sacerdotes, ac propterea *de sorte domini* esse dicuntur. Neque suorum superiorum, qui vel apostolorum vel Christi vicem tenent, injussu gravandi sunt.

[105] Et sane cavendum est diligenter, si quid adversus⁷ plebanum vel ejus ministros habetis, ne coram alio quam spirituali iudice vestrum jus prosequamini⁸, quod et vocanti et cognoscenti perniciosum esset. Ait enim beatissimus papa Clemens⁹: *Et qui¹⁰ est, qui alterius iudicet servum?* Nam si¹¹ ista non patiuntur homines, nec *Deus deorum et dominus dominantium* haec ullatenus¹² patietur. Cavete igitur, ne plebanum vestrum contristemini, ne sibi vel suis ministris injuriemini, ne quid in eum mali machinemini, quia pater est, et non sibi, sed Deo molesti estis, cum praepositis vestris spiritualibus¹³ estis injuriosi. "

¹ **et N**

² inquit enim : enim inquit N, MA

³ *omit.* G, MA

⁴ pura F

⁵ et semper : semper et T

⁶ Egyptus tributaria *in marg.* D, G

⁷ adversum T

⁸ prosequamini G, MA

⁹ Clemens papa *in marg.* A; Clemens papa *in marg.* D; Clemens papa beatissimus *in marg.* G

¹⁰ quis MA

¹¹ *omit.* D, G, MA

¹² ullatenus *corr. ex. nullatenus* A; nullatenus D, G, MA

¹³ specialibus MA

[104] Therefore, give the priests their due willingly, without contradiction or murmuring. For the same Paul says about the priests that they are *God's coadjutors*, while *you are God's husbandry: you are God's building*.¹ The earth gives multiplied seed back to its cultivator without objections or complaints. In the same way, you should pay tenths to the priests with a willing mind and a pure heart. And do not wonder why the priests themselves do not pay tax, for they have always had great freedom. When, once upon a time, Joseph ordered that the whole of Egypt should pay a fifth of the crop as tribute, only the lands of the priests remained exempt, for priests are under God, not under men, and therefore they are said to be *of the lot of the Lord*.² Nor should their superiors, who hold the place of the Apostles or of Christ,³ be burdened without just cause⁴.

[105] And if you have a complaint against your parish priest or his assistants, you should definitely pursue your cause with an ecclesiastical⁵ judge,⁶ for choosing any other judge⁷ would be extremely bad both for the one who puts the matter before him and for the one who deals with it, as holy Pope Clemens⁸ says, *And who will judge the servant of another man?*⁹ For if men do not allow this, then neither will *the God of Gods and the Lord of Lords*¹⁰ allow it in any way. So endeavour not to afflict your parish priest nor to harm his assistants, and do not devise evil schemes against him,¹¹ for he is your father, and when you abuse your spiritual superiors, you annoy God.

¹ 1. Corinthians, 3, 9: *Dei enim sumus adiutores, Dei agricultura estis, Dei aedificatio estis*

² Decretum, C.12.1.5 (col. 677): *Clerici ... de sorte sunt Domini*. The Greek word kleros (Latin: sors) means lot or part. The clergy are of the part or lot of the Lord

³ *Pseudo-Clementine Writings. The letter of Clement to the apostle James*, 30

⁴ "injussu"

⁵ "spiritualis"

⁶ I.e., in an ecclesiastical court

⁷ I.e., a secular court

⁸ Not Pope Clement, but Pope Evaristus.

⁹ Romans, 14, 4. Quoted in Decretum, C.30.5.10 (col. 1107). Pseudo-Isidorus: *Decretales / Letter of Pope Evaristus*. MPL, CXXX, col. 87

¹⁰ Deuteronomy, 10, 17: *Deus deorum et dominus dominantium*

¹¹ Genesis, 42, 11: *nec quicquam famuli tui machinantur mali*

[106] Videat unusquisque vestrum, ne cui confiteatur nisi plebano suo vel ejus vicario. Statuit enim Urbanus papa II.¹, ne quis *alteri* quam suo *sacerdoti* confiteatur absque licentia. Cum vero confitemini, filii fratresque dilectissimi, denudate conscientias vestras, nihil retinete, quia sicut non sanatur aegrotus, nisi ex toto putredinem² foras miserit, sic non mundatur peccator, nisi universam labem eructaverit³. Sit confessio vestra verecunda, integra, simplex, devota, oboediens, pura, {28v} humilis. Nemo propterea confiteri desistat, quia magnus peccator sit, sed eo celerius sacerdotem adeat. Paulus apostolus, ut ipse idem⁴ fatetur, blasphemus, persecutor contumeliosusque fuit, et misericordiam Dei consecutus est. Nullius sane tam magna iniquitas est, quin major sit omnipotentis⁵ misericordia, quae Judae non minus quam latroni pepercisset, si veniam petere voluisset. Sacramentum confessionis, carissimi, necessarium est ad vitam aeternam, quia nemo est sine peccato. Confiteamini⁶ ergo, sumite poenitentiam et adimplete illam.

[107] Recipite corpus dominicum. Pueros vestros baptismatis unda mundate. Confirmationem chrismatis petite. Matrimonia absque ritu ecclesiae non celebretis. Cum aegrotatis instareque periculum vitae cernitis, unctionem extremam requirite, et, ut Christianos decet, vitam bonam curate, ut bonus sequatur finis⁷, ut mereamini inter fideles sepeliri et introire caelestem aulam. Talibusque modis erga superiores vestros ecclesiasticos vitam vestram dirigite.⁸

¹ Urbanus *in marg.* A, C; Urbanus secundus *in marg.* D; Urbanus papa II. *in marg.* G

² putre MA

³ **eruptaverit N**

⁴ ipse idem : idem ipse G, MA

⁵ omnipotens D, G, MA

⁶ confiteamini *corr. ex* confitemini G; confitemini N, MA

⁷ sequatur finis : finis sequatur F

⁸ talibusque ... dirigite *omit.* B, E, T

[106] Let each one of you take care not to make confession to somebody else than your parish priest or his vicar. For Pope Urban II¹ resolved that *everybody should have his own priest as his confessor unless a license has been obtained*.² When you confess, beloved sons and brothers, you should bare your conscience completely, keeping nothing back, for as the sick do not recover unless the whole rottenness has been driven out, the sinner is not cleansed unless he has purged all his guilt.³ Let your confession be truthful, complete, simple, devoted, obedient, pure, and humble. Let nobody refrain from confessing because he is a great sinner, for then he should go more quickly to the priest. Paul the Apostle says about himself that he was a blasphemer, a persecutor, and an offender, but still he obtained God's mercy. Nobody's wickedness is so great that the mercy of omnipotent God is not even greater. Had Judas asked for mercy, God would have forgiven him just as he forgave the robber.⁴ Dear brethren, the sacrament of confession is necessary to eternal life, for nobody is without sin. Therefore, go to confession, accept your penitence, and fulfil it.

[107] Receive the Lord's body. Cleanse your children with the water of baptism. Ask for confirmation by chrism. Do not celebrate a wedding without the rites of the Church. When you are ill and feel in danger of your life, demand extreme unction. Generally, you should endeavour, as good Christians, to lead a good life so that a good end will follow, and you will merit to be buried among the faithful and enter the Heavenly Court.

These are the ways in which you should behave towards your ecclesiastical superiors.

¹ Urban II (ca. 1042 – 1099): Pope from 1088 to his death. Started the First Crusade. Saint

² I.e., to have another confessor. Decretum, *De Poenitentia*, 6.3. (col. 1244)

³ "labes"

⁴ As Jesus did on the Cross

[108] Superest nunc, ut de quarto¹ superioritatis gradu nonnihil dicamus. In temporalitate, qui multiplex est, in quo primum locum principes obtinent, de quibus multa referre oporteret, si vellemus singula examinare, quod mihi non videtur necessarium. Non enim modo generalem doctrinam tradimus, sed eam solum, quae vobis est necessaria. Inter principes igitur superior vester est praecipuus illustrissimus princeps Henricus, dux² Baioariae, hujus terrae dominus. Huic oboedite, hunc honorate³, hujus statum defendite, nec fraudem sibi facite nec ab aliis fieri, quantum in vobis est, permittite. Nam qui principem suum a fraude non eripit, se ipsum interficit.

[109] Nemo vestrum sui principis mandata contemnat, quia, ut inquit Seneca⁴, *contendere cum superiore furiosum atque periculosum est*. Et iterum: *Sapiens numquam potentum iras provocabit, sed declinabit*. Dies namque suos morte praevenit, qui principi repugnat⁵. Ecclesiasticus audiendus est, qui *neque contra faciem potentis, neque contra impetum fluvii conandum dicit*.

¹ Quarto *in marg.* D, G

² Henricus dux *omit.* B, E, T

³ onerate G

⁴ Seneca *contendere cum superiore furiosum in marg.* D; Seneca *in marg.* G

⁵ et *add.* G, MA

3.1.4. Secular superiors

3.1.4.1. Princes

[108] It now remains for us to say something about the fourth level of hierarchy.¹ In the secular sphere², which is actually rather complex, the princes hold the first place. We should have much to say about these if we wanted to consider everything in detail. However, that does not seem necessary here, as we are not giving you complete instructions in these matters but only what is relevant to you.

Among the princes, your own particular superior is the Illustrious Prince Heinrich,³ Duke of Bavaria and lord of this area. You should obey him, honour him, defend his state, and never trespass against him, nor - to the best of your ability - let others trespass against him. For a man who does not free his prince from wrongdoing kills himself.

[109] None of you should spurn the commands of his prince, for – as Seneca says, *A contest with one's superior is folly.*⁴ And again, *The wise man will never provoke the anger of those in power; nay, he will even turn his course.*⁵ Anyone who fights his prince will die before his time. And we should heed Ecclesiasticus saying, *Resist not against the face of the mighty, and do not strive against the stream of the river.*⁶

¹ I.e., the secular, temporal hierarchy as opposed to the religious hierarchy

² "temporalitate"

³ Heinrich XVI of Bavaria (1386-1450): Duke of Bavaria-Landshut from 1393 to his death

⁴ Seneca: *De ira*, 4.2.34: *Cum pare contendere anceps est, cum superiore furiosum, cum inferiore sordidum*; as quoted by Albertanus Brixiensis: *Liber consolationis et consilii*, 41, 395: *Contendere cum superiori furiosum est vel, cum pari dubium, cum minore verecundum*

⁵ Seneca: *Epistulae Morales*, 2.14.7-8

⁶ Ecclesiasticus, 4, 32: *Noli resistere contra faciem potentis nec coneris contra ictum fluvii*

[110] Sed ne ista fortasse peregrina videantur et non ex lege Christiana, Paulum apostolum audite: *Omnis anima, inquit ille, potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit. Non est enim potestas nisi a Deo; quae sunt autem, a Deo ordinata sunt. Itaque qui resistit potestati¹, Dei ordinationi² resistit; qui autem restiterint, sibi ipsi damnationem acquirunt. Nam principes non sunt timori boni operis, sed mali. Vis autem non timere potestatem³? Bonum fac, et habebis laudem ex illa; Dei enim minister est tibi in bonum. Si autem malum feceris, time, non enim sine causa gladium portat; Dei enim minister est, vindex in iram ei, qui malum agit. Ideoque necessitate subditi estote non solum propter iram, sed {29r} propter conscientiam. Ideo enim tributa praestatis; ministri enim Dei sunt in hoc ipsum servientes. Reddite ergo omnibus debita, cui tributum tributum, cui vectigal vectigal, cui timorem timorem, cui honorem honorem.*

[111] Audistis verba Pauli, quam praegnantia sunt, quam clara, quam limitata. Quid amplius est? Quid⁴ huic auctoritati possit adjungi? Satis haec verba vos monent⁵, quo pacto principibus vestris parere debetis. Nec hoc uno in loco Paulus dicit, sed⁶ ad Titum quoque sic ait: *Admone illos principibus et potestatibus subditos esse, dicto oboedire, ad omne opus bonum paratos esse.* Cui et apostolus Petrus astipulatur *subditi*, dicens, *estote omni creaturae propter Deum, sive regi tamquam praecellenti sive ducibus tamquam ab eo missis.* Quibus fretus auctoritatibus hortor vos, dilectissimi, ut principi vestro non solum mandanti⁷, sed etiam roganti praesto sitis oboedire. *Potestas* enim, ut ait Laberius⁸, eques romanus, apud Macrobius *non solum si invitet, sed etiam si⁹ supplicet, cogit.* Cogitate¹⁰, quod¹¹ in Parabolis scriptum est: *Sicut fremitus leonis ita et ira regis, et sicut ros super herbam ita et hilaritas ejus.*

¹ potestate E

² ordinationem T

³ **omit. N**

⁴ quod D, G, MA

⁵ haec verba vos monent : vos monent haec verba G, MA

⁶ **omit. T**

⁷ mandati E, T

⁸ Laberius, Macrobius *in marg. A*; Laberius *in marg. C*

⁹ **omit. B, E, T**

¹⁰ cogitare E

¹¹ quid E

[110] But, if these things seem strange¹ and not based on Christian law, then hear the Apostle Paul who says, *Let every soul be subject to higher powers. For there is no power but from God: and those that are ordained of God. Therefore, he that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God. And they that resist purchase to themselves damnation. For princes are not a terror to the good work, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good: and thou shalt have praise from the same. For he is God's minister to thee, for good. But if thou do that which is evil, fear: for he beareth not the sword in vain. For he is God's minister: an avenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil. Wherefore be subject of necessity: not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake. For therefore also you pay tribute. For they are the ministers of God, serving unto this purpose. Render therefore to all men their dues. Tribute, to whom tribute is due: custom, to whom custom: fear, to whom fear: honour, to whom honour.*²

[111] You have heard the words of Paul: how pregnant they are, how clear, how precise! What more is needed? What can possibly be added to this authority? These words are enough to instruct you on how to obey your princes. But Paul speaks about this matter not only here but also in [his letter to] Titus, *Admonish them to be subject to princes and powers, to obey at a word, to be ready to every good work.*³ And the Apostle Peter joins him: *Be ye subject therefore to every human creature for God's sake: whether it be to the king as excelling, Or to governors as sent by him.*⁴ Relying on these authorities, I urge you, beloved, to be ready to obey your prince not only when he commands but also when he asks. For according to Laberius,⁵ a Roman knight quoted by Macrobius, *power should it invite, should it even supplicate, compels.*⁶ Consider what is written in the Parables, *As the roaring of a lion, so also is the anger of a king: and his cheerfulness as the dew upon the grass.*⁷

¹ I.e., based on classical, pagan authorities (Seneca)

² Romans, 13, 1-7

³ Titus, 3, 1

⁴ 1. Peter 2, 13-14: *subiecti estote omni humanae creaturae propter Dominum sive regi quasi praecellenti sive ducibus tamquam ab eo missis*

⁵ Decimus Laberius (ca. 105-43 BC): a Roman knight and writer of mimes

⁶ Macrobius, 2.7.2

⁷ Proverbs, 19, 12

[112] Cujus proculdubio participes¹ eritis, si vestro principi et ejus officialibus obsequentes vos exhibebitis. Nam quod de rege dicitur, idem quoque ducibus et aliis principibus congruit, quibus in tantum estis obnoxii, ut nec fratribus, nec² filiis, nec parentibus assistere debeatis contra principes conspirantibus, quos nolentes vestris monitis desistere accusare potius decet quam pati, ut admittant³ facinus. Sunt item superiores⁴ vestri singuli, quorum colitis agros, quibusque⁵ servitia nonnulla⁶ tenemini, erga quos servare fidem oportet, nihil eos celare, nihil eorum rapere, nihil negligere, nec⁷ committere quidquam ex studio, quod rem illorum reddat deteriore: sed arbores, terram, et pecus non aliter curare⁸ quam si vestra essent omnia.

[113] De parentibus nunc dicendum est, qui et ipsi superiores existunt, erga quos magna est obligatio et forsitan nullatenus adimplenda. Quo enim pacto satis grati parentibus esse possumus⁹, qui nos genuerunt, paverunt, eduxerunt? Verum mira est clementia Dei, qui etsi nos obligatos lege naturae sciat honorare parentes, praemia tamen honorantibus pollicetur non solum in caelo, sed etiam hic in terris. Duo praecipue consequuntur in hoc mundo, qui parentes honorant: *Fiunt enim longaevi super terram*, ut ait per Moysen dominus, et *jucundantur in filiis*, ut Ecclesiasticus inquit. Diligite igitur, carissimi, parentes vestros et honorate ipsos. Mandata eorum custodite. Si sunt indigentes, nutrite¹⁰. Subvenite in omnibus adversitatibus. Bene inquit Socrates: *Filio modesto numquam {29v} grave est, quod pater jubet*. Tales ergo vestris parentibus estote, quales erga¹¹ vos fieri natos optatis. Ac¹² ne multa in hac parte dicam, quae notissima est, solum Paulum recensebo, qui sic ad Ephesios scribit: *Filii, oboedite parentibus vestris in domino; hoc enim justum est. Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam, quod est¹³ mandatum primum in promissione, ut bene sit tibi, et sis longaevus super terram*.

¹ particeps E

² neque F

³ amittant B, E, T

⁴ superioribus E

⁵ quibus F

⁶ servitia nonnulla : servitio nonnullo MA

⁷ neque G, MA

⁸ curate F

⁹ possumus G, MA

¹⁰ et *add.* C

¹¹ ergo G

¹² at F

¹³ honora patrem ... quod est *omit.* E [NB: not T]

[112] You will no doubt share this cheerfulness if you show yourselves obedient to your prince and his officials. What is said about the king also applies to dukes and other princes. Your obligations towards them are so great that you should not assist your brothers, sons, or relatives if they plot against their princes. And if they will not listen when you advise them to stop, you should rather denounce them than allow them to commit¹ the deed.

Your superiors are also those individuals whose fields you cultivate and to whom you owe several kinds of service. You should keep faith with them, conceal nothing from them, steal nothing from them, neglect nothing in their service, or do anything that may harm their property, but care for their trees, land, and cattle as if they were your own.

3.1.4.2. Parents

[113] Now we shall talk about parents, for they too are superiors. Our obligation towards parents is great, and maybe it cannot be fulfilled completely. For how can we be grateful enough to our parents, who gave birth to us, who fed us, and who brought us up? Wonderful indeed is the mercy of God: knowing that we are obliged by the law of nature to honour our parents, He still promises us rewards if we honour them, and not only in Heaven but also here on Earth. They who honour their parents will chiefly obtain two things in this world: they *shall be longlived upon the land*,² as the Lord says through Moses, and *have joy of their children*,³ as Ecclesiasticus says. Therefore, beloved, love your parents and honour them. Do as they tell you. If they are poor, feed them. Help them in adversity. Well did Socrates say, *To a modest son, no command of his father is burdensome*.⁴ Be towards your parents as you wish your own children to be towards you. I will not say much about this, since it is well-known, but only refer to Paul, who writes thus to the Ephesians, *Children, obey your parents in the Lord: for this is just. Honour thy father and thy mother, which is the first commandment with a promise: That it may be well with thee, and thou mayest be long lived upon earth*.⁵

¹ "admittant"

² Exodus, 20, 12: *honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam ut sis longevus super terram*

³ Ecclesiasticus, 3, 6: *qui honorat patrem iucundabitur in filiis*

⁴ Burley, (Socrates), p. 132: *Filio modesto numquam grave est quod jubet pater nisi impossibile*

⁵ Ephesians, 6, 1

[114] Nonnulli superiores sunt, quos dominos appellamus, qui jus habent vendendi servum. Quod licet his in terris raro contingat¹, referam tamen vobis Pauli verba, ut, si qui sint, qui dominos tales habeant, quo pacto se regere² debeant non ignorent. In hunc enim modum³ Ephesios alloquitur: *Servi, oboedite dominis carnalibus cum timore et tremore in simplicitate cordis vestri sicut in Christo, non ad oculum servientes quasi hominibus placentes, sed ut servi Christi facientes voluntatem Dei.*

[115] Superiores insuper sunt, qui vos ad cultioris vitae doctrinam instituerunt, quos tamquam parentes venerari debemus. Meminisse namque verborum convenit⁴ Aristotelis, qui *ex parentibus honorabiliores* asserit *esse, qui instruunt⁵, quam qui solum generant, quoniam hi quidem dant vivere, illi vero bene vivere.*

[116] Superiorum quoque loco recipere oportet, qui sunt litteratiores ac prudentiores quam nos. Et item⁶ omnes, qui meliores esse videntur et in⁷ quolibet exercitio peritiores. Hisque reverentiam et honorem⁸ convenit impartiri.

[117] Potentiores etiam atque nobiliores honorandi sunt, fugiendaeque cum his contentiones, quamvis jurisdictionem non habeant.

¹ contigat G

² se regere : regere se G, MA

³ ad *interlin.* T

⁴ verborum convenit : convenit verborum G, MA

⁵ ex parentibus qui instruunt *in marg.* D, G

⁶ iterum F

⁷ *omit.* E

⁸ et honorem *omit.* B, E, T

3.1.4.3. Masters¹

[114] Some superiors, whom we call masters, have the right to sell somebody as a slave. Though it happens rarely in these lands, I will quote the words of Paul so that if there are any who have such masters, they will know how to conduct themselves. This is what he says to the Ephesians: *Servants, be obedient to them that are your lords according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in the simplicity of your heart, as to Christ, not serving to the eye, as it were pleasing men: but, as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart.*²

3.1.4.4. Teachers

[115] Those who taught us a more cultured life are also our superiors, and we should revere them as parents. Remember the words of Aristotle, who claims that *teachers who educate children deserve more honour than parents who merely gave birth; for bare life is furnished by the one, the other ensures a good life.*³

3.1.4.5. Learned people

[116] As superiors, we should also accept those who are more educated and wise than us. The same applies to all who are better than us and more proficient in any area.⁴ These, too, we should revere and honour.

3.1.4.6. Powerful people and nobles

[117] And all who are more powerful and noble than us should be honoured, and we should avoid any strife with them even though they may not have jurisdiction over us.

¹ I.e., masters of slaves

² Ephesians, 6, 5-6

³ Burley, (Aristotle), p. 240

⁴ "exercitio"

[118] Quibus addimus et senes, qui vos aevo praecedunt, quibus et assurgendum est et¹ honor impendendus, ut praecedant, prius loquantur, prius bibant, prius sedeant². Ad quod propositum audiendus est Paulus, qui Titum his verbis admonitum reddit: *Seniorem ne increpaveris, sed obsecra ut patrem, juvenes ut fratres, anus ut³ matres, juvenculas ut sorores, in omni castitate viduas honora*. Petrus quoque Apostolus: *Similiter adolescentes, inquit, subditi estote senioribus*.

[119] Superest modo de mulieribus aliquid attingere, quae et ipsae viros suos tamquam superiores habent⁴. Audite igitur, optimae mulieres, nam haec pars vos potissimum respicit. Estote viris vestris obsequentes. Nolite adversari praeceptis eorum. Contentiones, rixas, et oblocutiones abjicite. Sic enim Paulus ad Colossenses⁵ scribit: *Mulieres subditae estote viris, sicut oportet in domino*. Dum ait “*in domino*”, turpitudinem universam secludit. Et iterum ad Corinthios: *Mulier alligata est legi, quanto tempore vir ejus vivit; quod si {30r} vir ejus dormierit, liberata est a lege viri*. Et rursus ad Timotheum: *Docere mulieri non permitto, neque⁶ dominari in virum, sed esse⁷ silentio*.

[120] Nec in praesentiarum plura de superioribus disseram. Satis enim⁸, ut opinor, ostensum est, quae reverentia quaeve oboedientia nostris superioribus sit exhibenda. In qua re⁹ si diligenter intenti fuerimus, habebimus illud primum aes, quod est ad vitam aeternam necessarium. Recondamus ergo hoc in pera nostra, et attente custodiamus usque in¹⁰ finem¹¹ vitae praesentis. Quod postmodum beato Petro, caelestis aulae clavigero, porrigentes intromitti facilius mereamur.

¹ omit. MA

² prius sedeant omit. MA

³ et E

⁴ habeant G, MA

⁵ Colocenses et passim T

⁶ nec F

⁷ in add. MA

⁸ etiam MA

⁹ omit. F

¹⁰ ad F

¹¹ hujus add. F

3.1.4.7. Old people

[118] To these we add the old people who precede you in age: you should rise before them and show them the honour of letting them walk, talk, drink, and sit before you do. On this issue, we should hear Paul admonishing Titus¹, *An ancient man rebuke not, but entreat him as a father: young men, as brethren: old women, as mothers: young women, as sisters, in all chastity. Honour widows.*² And the Apostle Peter says, *In like manner, ye young men, be subject to the ancients.*³

3.1.4.8. Women

[119] It only remains to say something about women: they have their husbands as superiors. Therefore, listen, good women, for this part concerns you closely: be submissive to your husbands; do not oppose their demands; avoid disagreements, quarrels, and disputes. For thus writes Paul to the Colossians, *Wives, be subject to your husbands, as it behooveth in the Lord.*⁴ When he says 'in the Lord', he banishes all that is shameful. And again he says to the Corinthians, *A woman is bound by the law as long as her husband liveth: but if her husband die, she is at liberty from the law of the husband.*⁵ And again to Timothy, *But I suffer not a woman to teach nor to use authority over the man: but to be in silence.*⁶

[120] I shall say no more about superiors now, since I believe that I have sufficiently explained the reverence and obedience due to our superiors. If we are diligent in this matter, we shall have the first copper coin necessary for eternal life. Let us put it in our purse and keep it carefully until the end of our present life. When, afterwards, we give it to Saint Peter, the Keybearer of the Eternal Court, we shall gain entrance more easily.

¹ Not Titus, but Timothy

² 1. Timothy, 5, 1-3

³ 1. Peter, 5, 5

⁴ Colossians, 3, 18

⁵ 1. Corinthians, 7, 39: *Mulier alligata est quanto tempore vir eius vivit quod si dormierit vir eius liberata est.* Piccolomini quotes from a version of the Vulgate containing the words *legi* and *lege*

⁶ 1. Timothy, 2, 12: *docere autem mulieri non permitto neque dominari in virum sed esse in silentio*

[121] Modo ad secundum nummum transeundum est, qui¹ in omnes aequales respicit, erga quos, nisi bene nos gesserimus, non inuenimus beneuolum janitorem. Expendamus igitur hanc pecuniam, et cuius signi esse oporteat videamus. Aequales nostri sunt fratres, propinqui, amici, vicini, conterranei, peregrini, inimici², hostes, quos omnes uno verbo sacra scriptura proximos appellat, ut est illud Pauli ad Galatas: *Omnis lex in uno sermone impletur: diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum*. Debemus igitur huiusmodi homines ut nos ipsos diligere, non mentiri eis, nihil auferre, nusquam³ injuriari. Et ut saluator apud Matthaeum dicit: *Omnia, quae vultis, ut faciant vobis homines, et vos facite illis; hoc est enim⁴ vobis lex et prophetae*. Sunt tamen quaedam praecepta seorsum danda.

[122] Nec enim ab re est germano melius velle quam peregrino. Nam etsi pater omnium unus fuit Adam, sanguis tamen ille per infinitas divisus generationes, cum fratre meo junctus est, estque suavissima recordatio in eodem domicilio ante nativitatem habitasse, in hisdem⁵ cunabulis infantiae tempora peregisse, eosdem appellasse parentes, eadem suxisse ubera, eadem arma ferre, eandem haereditatem expectare. Quibus ex rebus datur proculdubio venia, si fratres prae ceteris aequalibus diligimus. Juvet igitur frater fratrem, quia ut est in Parabolis: *Frater, qui adjuvatur a fratre⁶, quasi civitas firma*. Nulla interveniat in haereditatis divisione fraus, nullus audiatur, qui discidium seminet. Adsit correptio⁷, ubi criminis est commissio.

[123] Cum fratribus sunt sorores, quas sua portione fraudare non decet⁸. Custodiatur earum⁹ pudicitia, jungantur viris probis, si velint nubere. Cum viduae fuerint, recipiantur benigne¹⁰, defendanturque ab injuriis.

¹ quod MA

² amici G, MA

³ numquam F

⁴ est enim : enim est G, MA

⁵ eisdem C; iisdem MA

⁶ Frater qui iuvatur a fratre *in marg.* D, G

⁷ correctio E, MA

⁸ licet B, E, T

⁹ eorum B, E, T

¹⁰ recipiantur benigne : benigne recipiantur G, MA

3.2. Second coin: Fulfilling our obligations towards equals

[121] We must now pass to the second coin, the one that concerns all our equals. If we do not treat our equals well, we will not find a benevolent gatekeeper.¹ So let us take this coin and see whose image it should carry. Our equals are brothers, relatives, friends, neighbours, compatriots, travellers, enemies, foreigners, in one word, all those whom Sacred Scripture calls our 'neighbours'. Paul says to the Galatians, *All the law is fulfilled in one word: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.*² So we owe it to these people to love them as ourselves, not to lie to them, not to take anything from them, and never to harm them. As Our Lord says in Matthew, *All things therefore whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do you also to them. For this is the law and the prophets.*³ To this, however, certain precepts should be added.⁴

3.2.1. Brothers

[122] It is quite appropriate to like a brother better than a stranger. Though Adam was the common father of all men, his blood has been divided over an infinite number of generations, but with one's brother it is fully shared. It is truly delightful to share the memory of having had the same 'home' before birth, of having spent your infancy in the same cradle, of calling the same people parents, of sucking the same breasts, of carrying the same weapons, and of awaiting the same inheritance. For these reasons, anyone is undoubtedly forgiven if he loves his brothers more than other equals.⁵ Thus, a brother should help a brother, as is written in the Parables, *A brother that is helped by his brother is like a strong city.*⁶ Let there be no deceit in dividing the inheritance. Let no one be heard who sows dissension. And let there be rebuke where a crime is being committed.

3.2.2. Sisters

[123] With the brothers are the sisters. They should not be cheated of their part.⁷ Their chastity should be protected, and if they wish to marry, they should be given to decent men. When they become widows, they should be received kindly, and they should be defended from harm.

¹ I.e., Saint Peter, who guards the gate to the Heavenly Kingdom

² Galatians, 5, 14

³ Matthew, 7, 12: *omnia ergo quaecumque vultis ut faciant vobis homines et vos facite eis haec est enim lex et prophetae*

⁴ "danda"

⁵ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.17.55

⁶ Proverbs, 18, 19

⁷ I.e., of the common inheritance

[124] Propinquis consulendum est in eorum necessitatibus, subveniendum inopibus¹, propulsandaeque ab his² injuriae sunt. In lite propinquum potius quam alium defende, sed cave, ut justum sit, quod tueris, ne cui adversus veritatem {30v} patrocineris.

[125] Verum cum *amicitiae quoque vinculum praevalidum*³ sit neque ulla ex parte sanguinis viribus inferius, videndum est cum amicis quomodo sit vivendum. In qua re meminisse Biantis debemus, qui *diu deliberandum* dixit, *antequam amicus reciperetur*, sed postquam receptus esset⁴, *amici vitam nostram esse putandam*^{5 6}, recte namque⁷ apprehensum amicum spernere non convenit. Quia, ut inquit Valerius, *celerius est sine reprehensione propinquum quam amicum avertere*. Si tamen deferendus⁸ amicus sit, quia fortasse vitiosus est, nec vult corripi, amicitiam non praecidas repente, sed sensim dilue. Cum amico sic vivito, ne timeas inimicum fieri. Communica tamen omnia, quae te urgent, amico, quia seipsum jugulat, qui celat⁹ amicum. Inter amicos eam servato legem, ut nec roges turpia, nec rogatus facias. Loquar apertius: interfuistis caedibus, rapinis, adulteriis, combibistis, concenastis ultra quam satis est amici causa: sed *nulla est excusatio*, sicut¹⁰ Cicero tradit, *si propter amicum pecces*. Quod ne tibi accidat, *illos amicos*, ut Pythagoras jubet, *assumito, qui sequantur veritatem et fugiant multiloquium*.

¹ in opibus MA

² eis D, G, MA

³ pervalidum B, E, MA

⁴ est G, MA

⁵ putandum E

⁶ putandam esse C, G, MA

⁷ enim MA

⁸ differendus F

⁹ celat *corr.* ex cedat A; **cedat N**

¹⁰ ut D, G, MA

3.2.3. Relatives

[124] Relatives should be assisted when they face problems; they should be helped when they are poor; and all harm should be deflected from them. In lawsuits, you should defend them rather than anybody else. But take care only to support a just cause, so that you do not sponsor someone against the truth.

3.2.4. Friends

[125] However, also *the bond of friendship is exceedingly strong and certainly not weaker than the bond of blood*.¹ Therefore, we must consider how to live with one's friends. In this connection, we should remember Bias,² who said that *one should think for a long time before accepting someone as a friend*, but after he has been accepted, *his life should be considered one's own*.³ A friend who has been genuinely accepted should not be rejected. For, as Valerius says, *it is easier⁴ to turn away a relative than a friend*.⁵ But if a friend has to be given up, maybe because he is immoral and will not mend his ways, you should not cut off the friendship suddenly but dissolve it gradually. Live with your friend in such a manner that you will not have to fear him becoming an enemy.⁶ Tell your friend everything that bothers you, for a person who keeps secrets from his friend kills himself. Between friends, you should observe the rule not to ask him to do anything shameful, and you should not do anything shameful if he asks you to. To put it more clearly: you may have participated in murder, plunder, adultery, and been drinking and eating together excessively because of a friend, but, as Cicero says, *it is no justification whatever of your sin to have sinned on behalf of a friend*.⁷ To avoid this, do as Pythagoras says, *Take people as friends who follow truth and avoid loquaciousness*.⁸

¹ Valerius Maximus: *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, 4.7: *Contemplemur nunc amicitiae vinculum, potens et praevalidum, neque ulla ex parte sanguinis viribus inferius*

² Bias: One of the seven sages of antiquity

³ Burley, (Bias), p. 38: *Diu deliberatos amicos elige ... amici vitam tuam reputa gloriam*

⁴ "celerius": faster

⁵ Valerius Maximus: *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, 4.7: *Itaque celerius sine reprehensione propinquum aversere quam amicum*

⁶ Cf. Cicero: *De amicitia*, 59, where Cicero discusses a supposed saying by Bias that *We should love as if at some time we were going to hate. (Ita amare oportere ut si aliquando esset osurus)*

⁷ Cicero: *De amicitia*, 37: *Nulla est igitur excusatio peccati, si amici causa peccaveris*

⁸ Source not identified

[126] Inter conterraneos tuos aequo et pari jure vivito, neque te nimis submittas, neque abjicias, neque efferas¹. In patria semper tranquilla et honesta velis omnesque novitates detesteris.

[127] Peregrino non eris molestus, non infitiaberis debitum nullumque jus negabis. Ait namque per Moysen dominus: *Advenam non contristabis neque effugies eum*. Et iterum: *Peregrino molestus non eris*. Quidquid denique in aliena tibi vis fieri terra, idem in tua patria concedito peregrinis. Quod si te peregrinum esse contingat, *nihil praeter negotium tuum cures, nihil de alieno inquiras, nec de aliena republica curiosum te praebeas*.

¹ offeras E

3.2.5. Compatriots

[126] Live among your compatriots with equal and similar rights. You should neither defer too much to others, nor should you slight or exasperate them. In your own country, you should only wish for tranquility and decency and abhor all political unrest.¹

3.2.6. Strangers

[127] Do not harm strangers, do not default on debt, and do not deny anyone his rights. For through Moses the Lord says, *Thou shalt not molest a stranger, nor avoid him.*² And again, *Thou shalt not molest a stranger.*³ In sum, you should treat strangers in your own country just as you wish to be treated yourself in another country. And if you happen to be abroad, then *care for nothing but your own business, do not make enquiries about local matters, and do not interfere in the affairs of another country.*⁴

¹ "novitates"

² Exodus, 22, 21: *advenam non contristabis neque adfliges eum*. Piccolomini uses a version of the Vulgate having "effugies" in stead of "adfliges"

³ Exodus, 23, 9

⁴ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.34.125: *Peregrini ... officium est nihil praeter suum negotium agere, nihil de alio inquirere minimaeque esse in aliena re publica curiosum*

[128] Cum vicinis¹ custodiendi sunt termini, quia *maledictus est qui transfert terminos proximi² sui*, sicut in Deuteronomio legimus. Communicare, quae habemus bona, instrumenta commodare, servare pudicitiam domus suae, prohibere ab eorum bonis fures atque latrones, communique consilio tueri agros, focosque, liberos, conjuges, ecclesiam, ut si fieri possit, una fiat ex omnibus societas. *Inimicos amare debemus*, sic enim in evangelio jubet dominus³. Nam cum sint creaturae Dei sicut et nos, quod Deus creavit, nefas est odisse. Quod si vitiosi sunt, non vitia sunt amanda, sed anima illa diligenda est, quam inspiravit Deus supplicandumque⁴ est divinae pietati, ut illi gratiam praebeat, qua se a vitiis redimat virtutisque serviat.

[129] Cum hostibus servanda est fides, nec crudeliter convenit cum eis agere, quia et homines sunt, et fortasse juste se bellum existimant gerere. Nos tamen cavere oportet, {31r} ne bellum absque rationabili causa suscipiamus, semperque pacis consilia praeponenda sunt armis. Ubi tamen necessitas cogit, pro fide, pro patria, pro veritate tuenda non est detractandum⁵ certamen, sed adhibenda est moderatio, ne crudeles, infidi atque inhumani et immanes reputemur. Neque enim sitire sanguinem decet, sed parta victoria puniendi sunt auctores mali cum moderamine, multitudini vero parcendum est. Et quamvis jura civilia, quae bello quaeruntur, juste retineri⁶ posse⁷ diffiniant, Christianus tamen belli spolia fugiet, non subvertet urbes, non exercebit rapinas, non trucidabit multitudinem, sed⁸ satis existimabit se pacem ex bello consequi.

¹ vicini E

² Terminos proximi *in marg.* D, G

³ jubet dominus : dominus jubet *corr. ex.* jubet dominus G; dominus jubet MA

⁴ supplicandum F

⁵ detractandum D, G

⁶ retinere G, MA

⁷ possent F

⁸ *omit.* B, E, T

3.2.7. Neighbours

[128] We should respect the boundaries with our neighbours, for *cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's landmarks*,¹ as we read in Deuteronomy. Also, we should share the good things we have, lend our tools to others, respect the chastity of their home, and keep thieves and robbers away from their property. And finally, we should provide in common for the fields, the households, the children, the wives, and the Church, so that, if possible, we may unite all the people into one community.

3.2.8. Enemies

Our enemies we should love,² as the Lord commands in the Gospel. For they are God's creatures just like we are, and it is not right to hate what God has created. If they are immoral, then we should not love their vices but their soul, into which God breathed life, and we should beg merciful God to bestow on them the grace to free themselves from vice and serve virtue.

3.2.8.1. War

[129] In war, you must keep your word to your enemies. Moreover, you should not treat them cruelly, for they, too, are human beings, and they may even think that they are fighting a just war. On our part, we should take care not to engage in war without reasonable cause, and the counsels of peace should always prevail over arms. But when necessary, we should not decline to fight for our faith, country, and truth, but we should show moderation, lest we be regarded as cruel, faithless, and inhuman. We should not thirst for blood: after a victory, the authors of evil should be punished, but with moderation, and the many should be spared.³ And though civil law declares that [the victor] may legitimately keep the spoils of war, a Christian should not take any such; he should not destroy cities, or plunder, or slaughter the crowd, but consider it sufficient to get peace through war.⁴

¹ Deuteronomy, 27, 17

² Matthew, 5, 44: *diligite inimicos vestros*

³ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.11.34-35; 1.23.81

⁴ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.23.80: *Bellum autem ita suscipiatur, ut nihil aliud nisi pax quaesita videatur*

[130] Verum cum adhuc inter aequales versemur, adjicienda sunt aliqua, quae ad omnes pertinent, ut est illud Pauli ad Colossenses, *quod non debemus alter alterum irritare aut graviter quidquam ferre, sed tolerare, supportantes invicem, donantes¹ nobismet² ipsis, si quis adversus³ nos aliquam habet querelam, sicut et dominus donavit nobis*. Et iterum: *Alter alterius onera portate, et sic adimplebitis legem Christi*. Et ad Ephesios: *Loquimini veritatem unusquisquam⁴ cum proximo suo*. Non debet alter alterum carpere, non diffamare, non spernere, non mentiri invicem, non furari, sed oportet servare promissa.

[131] In vendendo apertum esse, ingenuum⁵, justum et bonum virum, nihil celare sui emolumentum causa, quod emptoris intersit scire, nihil insidiose, nihil simulate, nihil fallaciter facere. In vendendo emendoque quam minime loqui, et si possibile sit, tantum semel. Et ut omnia perstringam: in tutelis, societatibus, fideicommissis, mandatis, rebus emptis, venditis, conductis, locatis, singulisque contractibus et actibus, quibus vitae societas continetur, bonam fidem adhibere, fraudem et astutiam tolle atque malitiam. Prodesse omnibus stude, et nulli nocere. Quibus diligenter curatis, invenies nummum secundum, quem divo Petro, janitori regni caelestis, pro introitu praebeas.

¹ dominantes F

² uobismet T

³ adversum MA

⁴ unusquisque MA

⁵ ingenium B, E, F, G, T

[130] As we are still dealing with equals, let us add something that applies to them all in general. Paul wrote to the Colossians that *we should not irritate each other or take things badly, but be tolerant, bearing with one another, and forgiving one another if any have a complaint against another. Even as the Lord hath forgiven you.*¹ And again, *Bear ye one another's burdens: and so you shall fulfil the law of Christ.*² And to the Ephesians, *Speak ye the truth, every man with his neighbour.*³ We should not slander, mock, lie, bicker, or steal, but keep our promises.

3.2.9. Commercial partners

[131] When selling, one should be open, sincere, just, and good; conceal nothing for the sake of personal gain that the buyer should know; and avoid deceit, dissimulation and deception. In selling and buying, you should speak very little and, if possible, only once.⁴ And to wrap it all up: in wardships, partnerships, entrusted affairs,⁵ bequests,⁶ in things bought, sold, hired, and rented, and in all the various contracts and formal acts on which life in a society depends, show good faith and avoid deceit, cunning, and malice. Take care to benefit all and not harm anybody. Having done this diligently, you will earn the second coin to show to Saint Peter, Gatekeeper of the Kingdom of Heaven, to gain entry.

¹ Colossians, 3, 13: *subportantes invicem et donantes vobis ipsis si quis adversus aliquem habet querellam sicut et Dominus donavit vobis ita et vos*

² Galatians, 6, 2

³ Ephesians, 4, 25

⁴ 14 years later, in an oration to the Sieneese, the "*Vetus Majorum*" [31], bestowing the Golden Rose on the city, Pius II would mention a Sieneese saint who sold combs and only opened his mouth once during the sales transaction: *However, many Sieneese have also attained what is solid and eternal through their piety and moral life. In a former period, Pier Pettinaio was known for his great holiness; when he sold his combs, he only mentioned the price once and then pointed to his closed mouth* [sect. 5]. Pier Pettinaio [Pietro da Campi] (1180-1289) was a Sieneese merchant (combs), reputed for his holiness. The concept of not praising one's wares, performing lengthy transactions, and haggling when selling, may have been a medieval notion connected with the morals of commerce

⁵ "fideicommissis"

⁶ "mandatis"

[132] Superest tertium nummum inquirere, qui mox praesto erit, si circa inferiores officii nostri, quid sit, noverimus et¹ adimpleverimus. De quo jam dicere aggrediar². Inferiores tot numero sunt, quot superiores, quia non est alius sine alio. Sed in hoc loco non expedit de omni genere inferiorum dicere, quia non estis principes neque³ praelati ecclesiae, ut scire vos oporteat, quo pacto subditos regere debeatis⁴. Sed dicam vobis de illis inferioribus, quibus vos plerumque superiores estis. Inter quos primum locum tenent liberi, post conjuges, exinde pupilli, viduae, indocti, inexperti, debiles, servi, juniores, captivi⁵, pauperes, ignobiliores⁶, stulti, {31v} mercenarii.

[133] De liberis primum loquamur. His danda est nutrix bona, quia nonnihil ex lacte trahitur de natura nutricis. Sunt instituendi ad virtutes, edocendi ad sobrietatem, nutriendi ad laborem et ad patientiam animi et corporis indurandi. Tradantur his aliqui senes optimi *et probatissimi, quorum consilio atque*⁷ *auctoritate* utantur. *Ineuntis enim*^{8 9} *aetatis inscitia senum prudentia regi debet.* Cavendum est, ne coram filiis aliquid turpitudinis admittatur, ne sermo inhonestus habeatur¹⁰. Qui potest, litteris¹¹ tradat filios¹². De fide religioneque¹³ nostra nullus non instruatur. Quidquid tibi parentes boni fecerunt, idem tu filiis exhibebis. Timorem domini¹⁴ eos doce et justitiae cultum.

¹ *omit.* T

² *aggredior* C; **egredior** N

³ *nec* MA

⁴ **regere debeatis : debeatis regere** N

⁵ **capti** N

⁶ *ignobiles* C

⁷ *et* F

⁸ *etiam* MA

⁹ *optimi ... enim omit* B, E, T

¹⁰ *ne sermo ... habeatur omit.* B, E, T

¹¹ *litteras* MA

¹² *suos add.* F; *filiis* MA

¹³ *religione* B, E, T

¹⁴ *omit.* G, MA

3.3. Third coin: Fulfilling our obligations towards inferiors

[132] We now move on to the third coin. It will soon be ready if we know and fulfil our obligations towards our inferiors. About this matter, I shall speak now. There are as many inferiors as there are superiors, for there is not one without the other. But here it is not relevant to speak about all kinds of inferiors, as you are not princes or prelates of the Church and need to know how to rule subjects. But I shall speak to you about those inferiors to whom, mostly, you are superiors. Among these, children hold the primary place, then come wives, then orphans, widows, the uneducated, the unskilled, invalids, slaves, juniors, prisoners, the poor, those of very low birth, halfwits, and hired workers.

3.3.1. Children

[133] Let us speak first about the children. They should be given a nurse who is good-natured, for through the milk some of the character of the nurse passes on to the child. They must be instructed in the virtues, taught sobriety, brought up to work and to have mental and physical endurance. Around them should be some *old people, good and esteemed, from whose counsel and authority*¹ they may benefit. *For the inexperience of the young should be ruled by the wisdom of the old.*² You must take care not to let anything shameful happen in front of children and not to use indecent language. Those who can should teach their children the letters. Every child should receive instruction in our faith and religion. Whatever good your parents did to you, you should also do to your children. Teach them the fear of the Lord and the practice of justice.

¹ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.34.122

² Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.34.122

[134] Si quae sunt feminae, ad pudicitiam instruantur et parviloquium. Vinum fugiant, parum comedant, suo tempore nubant. Ait enim ad Titum Paulus: *Volo ergo juvenes nubere, filios procreare, matres familias¹ esse.* Quod tam de virginibus quam de viduis potest intelligi, si ulterius continere² non valent. Filii, dum pueri sunt, sub virga teneantur³. Inquit enim in Parabolis Sapiens: *Qui parcit virgae, odit filium suum.* Cum vero adulti sunt, mitius haberi debent. *Et vos patres,* inquit apostolus Paulus⁴, *nolite ad iracundiam provocare filios, sed educate illos in disciplina et correptione domini.* Apud Romanos *moris fuit, ut cum parentibus filii non lavarent, nec cum soceris generi.* Quod etiam inter vos servari vellem, quia nimia familiaritas reverentiam perimit, quam parentibus filii debent. Quod autem de filiis dico, id etiam de nepotibus ceterisque propinquis⁵ dico, qui vestrae curationi subjacent.

[135] De uxoribus praecipio vobis cum Paulo ad Ephesios: *Viri, diligite uxores vestras, sicut et Christus dilexit ecclesiam, et semetipsum tradidit pro ea.* Magnum verbum est, dilectissimi, nam etsi vobis uxores subjectas⁶ esse convenit, non tamen vos insanire ac saevire in eas decet, sed, ut jubet Paulus, *diligere uti corpora vestra, quia qui suam uxorem diligit, se ipsum diligit.* Quod si molesta est uxor, garrula, contentiosa, non tamen propterea repellenda est, sed imitari Socratem potius decet, qui cum rogaretur a suis uxorem Xantippem⁷ jurgiosam domo abigere, “Nolo,” inquit, “quia disco in domo, qualis esse in foro⁸ debeam; cum enim talem domi patior, assuesco et exercitor, quo pacto foris ceterorum petulantiam et injuriam facilius geram”⁹.

¹ filias F

² contineri B, E, T

³ Filii sub virga *in marg.* D, G

⁴ Paulus *in marg.* A, D, G

⁵ ceterisque propinquis *omit.* C

⁶ *omit.* F

⁷ Xantippam C

⁸ esse in foro : in foro esse F, G, MA

⁹ feram MA

[134] Females should be taught to be chaste¹ and to speak in few words. Let them abstain from wine, eat moderately, and marry when their time comes. For Paul says to Titus *I will, therefore, that the younger should marry, bear children, be mistresses of families.*² This applies not only to maids but also to widows if they cannot be continent in widowhood.

While the sons are still boys, they should be kept in line by the rod. For in the Parables, the Wise One says, *He that spareth the rod, hateth his son.*³ But when they have grown up, they should be treated more leniently, as the Apostle Paul says: *And you, fathers, provoke not your children to anger: but bring them up in the discipline and correction of the Lord.*⁴

In ancient Rome, it was *the custom that sons should not bathe together with parents, nor sons-in-law with their fathers-in-law.*⁵ I desire that you observe the same rule, for too much intimacy destroys the respect that sons should have for their parents.

What I say about sons also applies to grandchildren and other relatives who might be in your care.

3.3.2. Wives

[135] Concerning wives, my command to you is the same as Paul's to the Ephesians: *Husbands, love your wives, as Christ also loved the church and delivered himself up for it.*⁶ This is a very important saying, beloved, for although it is proper that your wives be subject to you, it is not right for you to rage and be violent against them, but, as Paul commands, *you ought to love them as your own bodies. He that loveth his wife loveth himself.*⁷

And if your wife is shrewish, garrulous, and headstrong, you should not drive her away but rather imitate Socrates. When asked by his friends to drive his quarrelsome wife, Xantippe⁸, from his home, he replied, "No, at home I learn how to behave in public. For as I suffer and learn to tolerate such a woman at home, I practice how better to bear up with other people's boisterous aggressiveness and abuse in public."⁹

¹ This rule does not seem to apply to the boys

² 1. Timothy, 5, 14 (not Titus)

³ Proverbs, 13, 24

⁴ Ephesians, 6, 4

⁵ Cicero: De officiis, 1.35.127: *Nostro quidem more cum parentibus puberes filii, cum soceris generi non lavantur*

⁶ Ephesians, 5, 25

⁷ Ephesians, 5, 28

⁸ Xantippe: Socrates' wife, who has had a – possibly undeserved – reputation for shrewishness

⁹ Cf. Burley, (Socrates), pp. 116-117

[136] Uxorem¹ praeterea, ut ait apud Matthaeum dominus, *non licet dimittere excepta causa fornicationis, et qui duxerit dimissam, adulterat.* {32r} Quod praeceptum etiam uxorem ligat. *His autem, inquit Paulus, qui juncti sunt, praecipio, non ego, sed Dominus, uxorem a viro non discedere, quod si discesserit², manere innuptam aut viro suo reconciliari.* Et iterum: *Alligatus es uxori, noli quaerere solutionem.*

[137] Ceterum, carissimi, *propter fornicationem, inquit ad Corinthios Paulus, unusquisque suam uxorem habeat, et unaquaeque suum virum. Uxori vir debitum reddat; similiter autem uxor viro. Mulier sui corporis potestatem non habet, sed vir; similiter autem et vir sui corporis potestatem non habet, sed mulier.* Ex quo fit, ut certis³ in casibus viro mulier sit superior. Verum, cum ait⁴ apostolus “propter fornicationem”, intelligendum est: “evitandam”. Namque, cum non potest conjunx continere, tunc reddendum est debitum. Non enim sine causa inquit “debitum”, quod tunc est, cum evitari non potest. Quod si quis ad voluptatem et non ad necessitatem matrimonio utatur, is proculdubio non evitat, sed committit fornicationem. Debet enim, ut supra est dictum, unusquisque vas suum in sanctificatione possidere.

¹ De uxore *in marg.* D, G

² discesseris T

³ ceteris E

⁴ fit ut certis ... ait *omit.* T

3.3.2.1. Divorce

[136] Moreover, as the Lord says in Matthew, a man may not *put away his wife, excepting the cause of fornication, and he that shall marry her that is put away, committeth adultery.*¹ This command applies to the wife as well. And Paul says, *But to them that are married, not I, but the Lord, commandeth that the wife depart not from her husband. And if she depart, that she remain unmarried or be reconciled to her husband.*² And again, *Art thou bound to a wife? Seek not to be loosed.*³

3.3.2.2. Sex in marriage

[137] Moreover, beloved, Paul says to the Corinthians, *Because of fornication, let every man have his own wife: and let every woman have her own husband. Let the husband render the debt to his wife: and the wife also in like manner to the husband. The wife hath not power of her own body: but the husband. And in like manner the husband also hath not power of his own body: but the wife.*⁴ Therefore, in certain cases, the wife is superior to the husband. But when the apostle says 'because of fornication', it means 'in order to avoid fornication'. For when the spouse cannot be continent, then the debt must be rendered. Not without reason does he say 'debt', which means that it cannot be avoided. But if anybody uses marriage for pleasure and not for necessity, then he certainly does not avoid fornication but actually commits it. For, as said above, *every one of you should possess his vessel in sanctification.*⁵

¹ Matthew, 5, 32: *But I say to you, that whosoever shall put away his wife, excepting the cause of fornication, maketh her to commit adultery: and he that shall marry her that is put away, committeth adultery (ego autem dico vobis quia omnis qui dimiserit uxorem suam excepta fornicationis causa facit eam moechari et qui dimissam duxerit adulterat)*

² 1. Corinthians, 7, 10-11: *his autem qui matrimonio iuncti sunt ...*

³ 1. Corinthians, 7, 27

⁴ 1. Corinthians, 7, 2-4: *propter fornicationes autem unusquisque suam uxorem habeat et unaquaeque suum virum habeat*

⁵ 1. Thessalonians, 4, 4: *That you should abstain from fornication that every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour (ut abstinatis vos a fornicatione ut sciat unusquisque vestrum suum vas possidere in sanctificatione et honore)*

[138] Pupilli et viduae ex inferiorum sunt numero, quorum causas tueri debemus, et maxime si ad nostram pertinent curam. Et viduis quidem, si continere possunt, suadendum est cum apostolo, ut sic maneant. Illis¹ - inquam - quae ad sobolem procreandam non sunt idoneae, quod si non se continent, nubant. *Melius est enim nubere quam uri*. Ceterum scire² vos³ convenit, *quod omnis qui pervertit iudicium advenae, pupilli et viduae, maledictus est a domino per Moysen*. Audite – obsecro - verba, et timete violare sententiam: *Viduae et pupillo⁴ ⁵*, inquit dominus, *non nocebitis; si laeseritis eos, vociferabunt ad me, et ego audiam clamorem eorum⁶, et indignabitur furor meus, percutiamque vos gladio, et erunt uxores vestrae⁷ viduae, et filii vestri pupilli*. Quod iudicium formidare omnes debent, qui ex bonis pupillorum et viduarum sese faciunt ditiores. Quod peccatum, carissimi, a vobis procul absit.

[139] De indoctis, inexpertis, atque debilibus admonet nos Paulus ad Romanos, sic inquit: *Debemus autem nos⁸ firmiores infirmitates imbecillorum sustinere et non nobis placere. Unusquisque nostrum proximo suo placeat in bonum ad aedificationem*. Si quis errat, labitur, decipitur, non irridendus est, sed instruendus.

¹ *del.* B; *omit.* E, T

² *omit.* B, E, T

³ nos C, D, G, MA

⁴ **pupille N**

⁵ De vidua et pupillo *in marg.* D, G

⁶ Nota horribile iudicium domini *in marg.* A

⁷ *omit.* G, MA

⁸ non E

3.3.3. Orphans, widows, and strangers

[138] Orphans and widows belong to the category of inferiors. We should protect them, especially if they are in our own care. Concerning *the widows, I urge them, together with the Apostle, to continue so if they can contain themselves. But let those who are not fit to have children marry if they cannot contain themselves. For it is better to marry than to be burned.*¹

Otherwise, we should know, from the Lord through Moses, that *cursed be he that perverteth the judgment of the stranger, of the fatherless and the widow.*² Hear these words, I beg you, and fear to violate this command: *You shall not hurt a widow or an orphan, says the Lord. If you hurt them, they will cry out to me, and I will hear their cry: And my rage shall be enkindled, and I will strike you with the sword, and your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless.*³ All who enrich themselves from the property of orphans and widows should fear this judgement.⁴ Beloved, may this sin be far from you.

3.3.4. Uneducated and invalids

[139] Concerning the uneducated, unskilled, and invalids, Paul admonishes us in Romans in these words: *Now, we that are stronger ought to bear the infirmities of the weak and not to please ourselves. Let every one of you please his neighbour unto good, to edification.*⁵ If somebody makes a mistake or is misled, he should not be laughed at but given guidance.

¹ 1. Corinthians 7, 8-9

² Deuteronomy, 27, 19: *Maledictus qui pervertit iudicium advenae pupilli et viduae*

³ Exodus, 22, 22-24

⁴ The fortune and status of Piccolomini's own family had been seriously affected when his grandfather, also called Enea Silvio, was orphaned and had relatives as his guardians. He wrote in his *Commentarii*: *As a boy, his property was squandered by his guardians and agents.* CO, I, 2 (Meserve, I, p. 7)

⁵ Romans, 15, 1-2: *debemus autem nos firmiores inbecillitates infirmorum sustinere et non nobis placere; unusquisque vestrum proximo suo placeat in bonum ad aedificationem*

[140] Cum servis clementer vivendum est, comiter, dulciter. Admittendi sunt in sermonem et nonnumquam in consilium necessarium, si sunt industrii. Nec enim fortuna aestimare¹ homines debemus, {32v} sed moribus, quia sibi quisque dat morem, conditionem vero casus assignat. *Remittendae sunt erga eos minae*, ut² jubet³ Paulus. Scire namque oportet, quia dominus, qui est in caelo, tam servorum quam noster est dominus, et *personarum acceptio non est apud Deum*.

[141] Sed quia usus servorum hic non est, transeo ad mercenarios, quos fraudare stipe sua non convenit: *Dignus est enim*, ut ait in evangelio salvator, *mercede sua mercenarius*. Si quis conducit operarios, reddat eis, quod suum est. Non sint cum famulis⁴ rixae, non jurgia, non deceptiones. Juniores⁵ instruite, bonum exemplum date⁶, revocate a libidine, laudate bene agentes, corripite delinquentes, capitivis commiserescite, nolite contemnere ignobiliores, quia unus est pater omnium Deus, qui bene agunt.

[142] Inter pauperes aliqui sani sunt, aliqui aegrotantes⁷, quibus omnibus convenit subvenire. Caeco ducatum praebete; nemo errorem sibi statuatur in via, quia *maledictus est a domino per Moysen, qui errare facit caecum in via*.

¹ extimare A, B, E; estimare corr. ex. extimare C; extimare corr. ex aestimare D

² et E

³ jubet corr. ex. inquit G; inquit MA

⁴ cum famulis : confabulis E

⁵ in mores D, G; in moribus MA; [A begins a new line after iu-: D is probably copied directly from A, the copyist reading in for ju, and mores for niores]

⁶ datae MA

⁷ sani sunt ... aegrotantes : egyptantes aliqui sani sunt E

3.3.5. Slaves

[140] With slaves, you should live kindly, agreeably, and pleasantly. If they are industrious, they should be allowed to speak and sometimes, when necessary, participate in discussions. We should not value people according to their fortune but according to their character, for people themselves decide how to behave, but it is chance that gives them their status in life. *You should forbear threatenings, Saint Paul bids, for it is necessary to be aware that the Lord both of them and you is in heaven. And there is no respect of persons with him.*¹

3.3.6. Workers

[141] But since we do not use slaves here, I continue with the hired workers. They should not be cheated of their salary, *for the labourer is worthy of his hire,*² as the Saviour says in the Gospel. If anyone hires labourers, he should give them their dues.

With regard to servants, let there be no quarrels, abuse, or deception. Instruct the young, give a good example, keep them away from sensual pleasures, praise those who do well, correct those who err, show compassion to prisoners, and do not despise the lowborn, for God is the father of all who do good.

3.3.7. Poor

[142] Among the poor, some are in good health and some are ill; help them all! Guide the blind, and let nobody misdirect them, for through Moses the Lord says, *Cursed be he that maketh the blind to wander out of his way.*³

¹ Ephesians, 6, 9: *et domini eadem facite illis remittentes minas scientes quia et illorum et vester Dominus est in caelis et personarum acceptio non est apud eum*

² Luke, 10, 7: *dignus enim est operarius mercede sua*

³ Deuteronomy, 27, 18: *Maledictus qui errare facit caecum in itinere*

[143] Date omnibus elemosinam¹, quia, ut inquit Ecclesiasticus, *ignem ardentem extinguit aqua², et elemosina³ resistit peccatis*. Praebete igitur affluenter elemosinas, ne *parce seminantes, parce metatis*, ut Paulus dicit. Nec propterea manum restringite, quia malus fuerit, qui elemosinam petit. Non⁴ enim illi, sed Deo datis. Aristoteles⁵, cum iniquo cuidam dedisset elemosinam, *naturae*, inquit, *non malitiae sum misertus*.

[144] Sed audite sacram scripturam. Apud Tobiam sic scriptum est: *Ex substantia tua fac elemosinam, et noli avertere faciem tuam ab ullo paupere; ita enim fiet, ut nec a te avertatur facies domini*. Sed dicitis fortasse: "Nos etiam parum habemus". Attendite, quod sequitur: *Si multum tibi fuerit, abundanter tribue: si exiguum fuerit tibi, etiam exiguum⁶ libenter impartiri stude; quoniam elemosina ab omni peccato et a morte liberat, et non patietur animam ire in tenebras. Fiducia magna erit coram summo Deo omnibus elemosinam facientibus*. Quis igitur elemosinam facere negligat, in qua tantus invenitur fructus? Habetis divi Martini exemplum, qui cum aliter nudo subvenire non posset, pallium suum partitus est⁷ textitque nudum. Nolite contemnere pauperes, dilectissimi, quia et *Deus*, ut ait apostolus Jacobus⁸, *pauperes in hoc mundo⁹ elegit¹⁰; divites autem fide et haeredes regni, quod repromisit Deus diligentibus se*.

¹ Elemosina *in marg.* C; De eleemosyna *in marg.* D, G

² ita *add.* G, MA

³ *omit.* G

⁴ nec MA

⁵ Aristoteles *in marg.* A, G

⁶ etiam exiguum : exiguum etiam F

⁷ **et add.** N

⁸ apostolus Jacobus : Jacobus apostolus G, MA

⁹ *omit.* C

¹⁰ eligit E, T

3.3.7.1. Alms

[143] Give alms to all the poor, for as is said in Ecclesiasticus, *Water quencheth a flaming fire, and alms resisteth sins.*¹ Give alms freely, *so that you shall not, sowing sparingly, also reap sparingly,*² as Paul says. And do not keep back your hand if the one who asks for alms has been wicked, for you are not giving to him but to God. When *Aristotle gave alms to a bad person, he said, I take pity on nature, not on wickedness.*³

[144] But listen to Holy Scripture! In Tobit's book, it is written, *Give alms out of thy substance, and turn not away thy face from any poor person: for so it shall come to pass that the face of the Lord shall not be turned from thee.*⁴ But maybe you say, "We have little enough for ourselves." Then hear what follows: *If thou have much, give abundantly: if thou have little, take care even so to bestow willingly a little. For alms deliver from all sin, and from death, and will not suffer the soul to go into darkness. Alms shall be a great confidence before the most high God, to all them that give it.*⁵ Why would anybody fail to give alms when the rewards are so great? You have the example of Saint Martin: when he could not help a naked man in other ways, he cut his mantle in two pieces and covered him.⁶ Do not despise the poor, beloved, for as the Apostle James says, *Hath not God chosen the poor in this world, rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom which God hath promised to them that love him.*⁷

¹ Ecclesiasticus, 3, 33

² 2. Corinthians, 9, 6

³ Burley, (Aristotle), p. 240

⁴ Tobit, 4,7

⁵ Tobit, 4, 9, 11-12

⁶ Jacobus de Voragine: *Legenda aurea*, vol. II, ch. 166, p. 292

⁷ James, 2, 5

[145] In Parabolis quoque dicit Sapiens: *Feneratur¹ domino, qui miseretur pauperum*. Nec existimet quispiam voluntatis esse et non praecepti elemosinas² dare. Dicit enim per Moysen Dominus in Deuteronomio: *Idcirco ego³ praecipio tibi, ut aperias manum fratri tuo, et egeno, et pauperi, qui tecum versatur⁴ in terra*. Vos autem ditiores, qui aliquando {33r} pecunias mutuo datis pauperioribus, cavete ne urgeatis eos quasi exactores neve usuris opprimatis, quia Deus id fieri vetat. Sed subvenite misericorditer inopibus⁵, pascite famelicos, date potum sitibundis, cooperite nudos, visitate infirmos et incarceratos, peregrinos in domum suscipite, mortuos sepelite, et omnes auxilio⁶ juvate, stultos declinate facultatemque nocendi ipsis eripite. *Cum fatuis*, inquit Ecclesiasticus, *non habeas consilium; non enim possunt diligere, nisi quae ipsis placent*. Atque ista de tertio nummo libasse sufficiat.

[146] Jam quartum atque ultimum attingamus⁷, qui nos⁸ ipsos respicit. Ad quem parandum sic vos meque instituam. Justitia opus est nobis non solum erga alios - de qua jam dictum est - sed etiam erga nos, quae consistit in voluntate et animo nostro, ut scilicet nihil cupiamus, quod sit⁹ injustum. In qua re unum est praecipuum consilium, ne quid faciamus aut facere velimus, quod dubitemus aequum an iniquum sit. Licet juvare nos lege consuetudineque possimus, si id conscientia non dictat, nullatenus nos defendamus. Adsit voluntas referendi gratias proficiendique omnibus, etiam si facultas absit, quomodo liberales erimus, ut simus fortes, non frangamur metu neque cupiditate, neque voluptate. Pecuniam, si abest, contemnamus; si adest, ad beneficentiam liberalitatemque conferamus.

¹ **veneratur N**

² eleemosynam G, MA

³ *omit.* D, G, MA

⁴ versantur F

⁵ in opibus MA

⁶ **indigentes N**

⁷ **attingens N**

⁸ vos B, E, T

⁹ *omit.* T

[145] In the Parables the Wise One says, *He that hath mercy on the poor, lendeth to the Lord*¹. Therefore, let nobody believe that almsgiving is one's own concern and not a matter of God's command, for through Moses the Lord says in Deuteronomy, *Therefore I command thee to open thy hand to thy needy and poor brother, that liveth in the land.*² Those among you who are affluent and sometimes lend money to the poor, take care that you do not press them as collectors nor burden them with interests, for this God forbids. But help the poor out of compassion, feed the starving, give drink to the thirsty, cover the naked, visit the sick and the prisoners, receive travellers into your home, bury the dead, and give assistance to all. But fools you should keep away and remove their capacity to do harm, as Ecclesiasticus says, *Advise not with fools, for they cannot love but such things as please them.*³

And this is enough concerning the third coin.

3.4. Fourth coin: Fulfilling our duties towards oneself

[146] We now come to the fourth and last coin, the one that concerns ourselves. To gain it, I would prepare you and myself in this way:

We need to be just not only towards others - as we have already said - but also towards ourselves. This justice depends on our own will and mind, so that we do not wish for anything that is unjust. In this matter, there is one especially important piece of advice: not to do or want to do anything if we are uncertain whether it is just or evil. We may, of course, rely on law or custom, but if our own conscience does not tell us to do it, neither law nor custom is an excuse. We should also have the will to show gratitude and to be of assistance to all, even if we cannot actually afford to be generous. We should be strong and not be broken by fear, greed, or lust. If we do not have money, let us despise it. And if we have it, then let us spend it with kindness and generosity.

¹ Proverbs, 19, 17

² Deuteronomy, 15, 11

³ Ecclesiasticus, 8, 20

[147] *Exerceamus corpus nostrum, ut oboedire consilio rationique possit, in exercendis negotiis et in labore tolerando, si simus juvenes. Senibus autem labores corporis minuendi, exercitationes animi augendae sunt. Caveant senes, ne se languori¹ ² desidiaeque dedant. Ne objectemus nos³ periculis sine causa: nemo plus famam quam salutem curet. Quanto superior quisquis⁴ est, tanto se gerat submissius. In rebus secundis potissime consiliis utamur. Nec assentemur ipsi, nec aures assentatoribus praebeamus. Quid de nobis alii sentiant dicantque, minime negligamus. Nihil agamus, cujus causam probabilem reddere non possimus⁵. Ludo vel joco, qui sit profusus aut inhonestus,⁶ non utamur: sic enim temperati erimus.*

[148] *Prudentia vero tunc augetur, cum mens hominis alitur discendo, cogitando, inquirendo, agendo, videndo, audiendo. Victus cultusque corporis ad valetudinem referatur⁷ et ad vires, non ad voluptatem. Ad quas res apti natura⁸ sumus, in his elaboremus, si modo honestae sunt. Si mutandum⁹ est genus vitae, bono consilio fiat. Non imitemur quemquam¹⁰ in vitium. In omni re agenda et consilio capiendo servemus constantiam. *Quae natura in nostro corpore occultavit, ea ab oculis hominum removeamus. Quidquid naturaliter ab oculorum auriumque approbatione {33v} abhorret, fugiamus. Status, incessus, sessus, accubatio, vultus, oculi, manuumque motus decore se habeant.* In vestitu nec odiosa munditia nec inhumana negligentia videatur. In gressu neque tarditas sit neque celeritas, nisi¹¹ coacta.*

¹ *em. after* MA; languori A, B, C, D, E, F, G, T

² se languori : lang(u)ori se G, MA

³ non G

⁴ quisque D, F, G; quisquam MA

⁵ possumus B, E, T

⁶ aut inhonestus *omit.* B, E, T

⁷ referat F

⁸ nam F

⁹ **imitandum N**

¹⁰ quemque G, MA

¹¹ sit *add.* E; neque F

3.4.1. Care of the body

[147] *Let us train our body so that it will obey good sense and reason. That we should do by physical exercise and labour¹ when we are young. Old people, however, should do less physical labour and instead devote themselves more to mental activities.² But old people must also take care not to fall into apathy and idleness.³*

Let us not throw ourselves into unnecessary danger; nobody should care more for fame than for safety. The higher you stand, the more you should lower yourself. You should seek advice, especially when you have success. Let us not be yeasayers, and let us not lend ears to such. Let us pay attention to what others think and say about us. Let us do nothing for which we do not have a reasonable cause. Let us not engage in costly or indecent games and plays.⁴ Thus we will show moderation.

3.4.2. Care of the mind

[148] Intelligence grows when the mind is engaged in learning, thinking, enquiring, acting, seeing, and hearing. Nourishment and care of the body should aim at health and strength, not pleasure. Let us engage in such things for which we are suited by nature, if only they are honourable. If we have to change our way of life, let it be done on good advice. Let us not imitate anybody's vices. Let us show constancy whenever we have to act or deliberate. *That which nature hid in our body, we should remove from the eyes of men.⁵ Let us avoid all that from which the eyes and the ears naturally shy away. Let our way of standing, walking, sitting down, lying down, our facial expression, eyes and gestures be decorous.⁶ In our dress, there should neither be excessive refinement nor uncultured negligence.⁷ And when walking, we should be neither slow nor quick, except in cases of urgency.⁸*

¹ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.23.79: *Exercendum tamen corpus et ita afficiendum est, ut oboedire consilio rationique possit in exsequendis negotiis et in labore tolerando*

² Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.34.123: *Senibus autem labores corporis minuendi, exercitationes animi etiam augendae videntur*

³ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.34.123: *Nihil autem magis cavendum est senectui quam ne languori se desidiaeque dedat*

⁴ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.29.103: *Ipsaque genus jocandi non profusum neque immodestum*

⁵ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.35.127: *Quae enim natura occultavit, eadem omnes ... remonent ab oculis*

⁶ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.35.128: *Nos autem naturam sequamur et ab omni quod abhorret ab oculorum auriumque approbatione, fugiamus; status, incessus, sessio, accubitus, vultus, oculi, manuum motus fugiamus*

⁷ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.36.130

⁸ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.36.130

[149] Motus animorum duo sunt, alteri cogitationis, appetitus alteri¹. Cogitatio in exquirendo vero versatur, appetitus ad agendum impellit. Cogitatione igitur ad res quam² optimas utamur, rationi appetitum subjiciamus. Facessat a³ splene nimia laetitia⁴, ira ex felle, libido ex jecore, timor ex corde. Avertamus *faciem nostram* ab omni turpitudine et praesertim *a muliere corrupta*,⁵ ut inquit Ecclesiasticus, quia *eruedus est oculus, qui scandalizat*, ut jubet salvator. *Sex sunt*, inquit in Parabolis sapiens⁶, *quae odit dominus*⁷, *et septimum odit anima ejus*, quae diligenter vitanda sunt: *oculos sublimes, linguam mendacem, manus effundentes innoxium sanguinem, cor machinans cogitationes pessimas, pedes veloces ad currendum in*⁸ *malum, testem fallacem, et eum, qui seminat inter fratres discordias.*

¹ omit. E

² omit. MA

³ e MA

⁴ Unde affectus *in marg.* C

⁵ compta MA

⁶ Salomon in Parabolis *in marg.* A

⁷ Sex odit C; Sex odit dominus in Parabolis *in marg.* D; Sex odit dominus ut in Parabolis et septimum anima eius *in marg.* G

⁸ omit. F

[149] There are two kinds of activity of the mind; one is thought, and the other is appetite. Thought has to do with establishing truth, whereas appetite moves us to act.¹ So let us use thought on the best things and let us subject action to reason. Let us remove excessive joy from the spleen, anger from the gall, lust from the liver, and fear from the heart. Let us *turn our face away* from everything that is indecent and especially *from depraved women*,² as it is said in Ecclesiasticus, for *if thy eye scandalize thee, pluck it out*,³ the Lord commands. In the Parables, the Wise One talks about the things that should be carefully avoided: *Six things there are, which the Lord hateth, and the seventh his soul detesteth: Haughty eyes, a lying tongue, hands that shed innocent blood, a heart that deviseth wicked plots, feet that are swift to run into mischief, a deceitful witness that uttereth lies, and him that soweth discord among brethren.*⁴

¹ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.28.100. *Ibid.* 1.4.12-13; 1.6.19

² Ecclesiasticus, 9, 8: *averte faciem tuam a muliere compta*. The version of the Vulgate used by Piccolomini has "corrupta" instead of "compta"

³ Matthew, 18, 9: *And if thy eye scandalize thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee (et si oculus tuus scandalizat te erue eum)*

⁴ Proverbs, 6, 16-19

[150] *Lingua modicum membrum est*¹, ut ait apostolus Jacobus, *et magna excitat incendia*². Plurimum erramus, carissimi³, in multiloquio. Ob quam rem *duo*⁴ *nobis praecepta sunt*⁵ *necessaria*, ut inquit Socrates, *unum ut tacere, aliud ut loqui discamus*. Tacenda sunt omnia turpia, honesta vero non⁶ semper dicenda. De loquendo autem haec sit regula: *sermo lenis* instituat, non *pertinax*, non contentiosus⁷; *insit in eo lepos* atque jucunditas. Nemo sic loquatur, ut *alios excludat*, nec semper de una re sit, sed varietur; non detrahat absentibus⁸, non irrideat, non sit maledicus, non contumeliosus. Si ad inhonestas res ventum fuerit, mox *revocetur* ad honestas. Ut *ratio est incipiendi*, sic et *finiendi sit modus*⁹. Nihil de nobis ipsis praedicemus falsa, praesertim cum inimicos alloquimur. Si quid audimus molesti, gravitatem tamen teneamus, et pellamus iracundiam. Nam *quae cum perturbatione fiunt, ea nec constanter fieri possunt, neque ab his, qui adsunt, probari*. Verum, cum¹⁰ os unum sit nobis, aures duae, audiamus multa, loquamur pauca. Sic ergo¹¹ et aures et linguam instruamus.

¹ *omit.* MA

² *add. in marg.* A; *omit.* N

³ *omit.* G, MA

⁴ *duobus* F

⁵ *nobis praecepta sunt : nobis sunt praecepta* G; *sunt nobis praecepta* MA

⁶ *omit.* MA

⁷ *contemptiosus* F

⁸ *omit.* G, MA

⁹ *sit modus : modus sit* G, MA

¹⁰ *omit.* C

¹¹ *erga* N

3.4.2.1. Conversation

[150] The Apostle James says, *The tongue is a little member and kindleth great fires.*¹ Beloved, we often go astray when we talk excessively. Therefore, as Socrates says, we should follow two rules: *one is to learn to be silent, and the other is to learn to speak.*² We should remain silent about all indecent things, and we should not always say those that are decent. Concerning speaking, let this be our rule: our conversation should be *kind* and neither *obstinate* nor quarrelsome. It should have charm and joyfulness. Let nobody speak in such a *way as to exclude others*, and do not talk about one subject only, but about various subjects. Do not slander or ridicule those who are absent; do not speak maliciously or insultingly. If conversation turns to indecent subjects, then quickly *return* to those that are decent. *Just as there is a way to begin the conversation, let there also be a way to end it.* Let us say nothing untrue about ourselves, especially not when we are talking to enemies. If we hear something annoying, then let us keep calm and drive anger away. *For whatever is done with a disturbed mind, cannot be upheld, nor approved by those who are present.*³ But as we have only one mouth but two ears, let us speak little and hear much. Thus let us instruct our ears and tongue.

¹ James, 3, 5: *Even so the tongue is indeed a little member and boasteth great things. Behold how small a fire kindleth a great wood (ita et lingua modicum quidem membrum est et magna exultat ecce quantus ignis quam magnam silvam incendit)*

² Burley, (Socrates), p. 122: *Duo, inquit, precepta sapientie tibi necessaria sunt, unum ut taceas, aliud ut loqui discas*

³ This whole section is based on Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.38.134-137

[151] Nares ab odoratu turpi custodiamus, neque oblectemur odoribus. Guttur atque palatum contentum sit esca communi¹, nec² vina pretiosa³, nec cibaria delicatiora quaeramus, et quantum satis est ad sustentandam⁴ naturam suscipiamus. Castigetur venter et in servitutum redigatur, ut obsequatur et obtemperet rationi. Somnus is⁵ recipiatur, qui foveat et nutriat spiritum, non hebetet. Nullum {34r} membrum in corpore nostro turpitudini serviat. Unam, ad quam vivamus, regulam praetendamus, et ad hanc omnem vitam nostram⁶ cum honestate timoreque domini exequemus.⁷

[152] Ac sic quartum illum et ultimum nummum inveniemus⁸, quem beatissimo Petro praebentes ingredi januam caelestis regni merebimur, et nihilominus, *dum spiritus hos reget artus*, vitam hic in terris tranquillam felicemque obtinebimus. Si tamen super his *modicum nunc contristari oporteat in tentationibus⁹ variis*, sustinete patienter et facite, *ut probatio vestrae fidei pretiosior sit auro, quod per ignem probatur in laudem, gloriam, honorem et revelationem Jesu Christi, quem, cum non videritis, diligitis, et in quem nunc quoque non videntes creditis; credentes autem*, ut inquit ille janitor, cui nummos afferre debetis, *exultabitis laetitia inerrabili et glorificata, reportantes finem fidei vestrae, salutem animarum vestrarum*. Et, ut apostolus Jacobus affirmat, *coronam accipietis, quam promisit dominus diligentibus se* in regno caelesti, ad quod vos meque¹⁰ perducatur Christus Jesus, quem cum patre et spiritu sancto regnantem per omnia saecula profitemur. Amen.^{11 12}

¹ *omit.* N

² neque F

³ spetiosa F

⁴ sustentandum G, MA

⁵ his T

⁶ **nostramque N**

⁷ equemus B, E, T; exequamur C; [blank space] ... quemus F; exequemur G, MA

⁸ inveniatur T

⁹ temptationibus F

¹⁰ *omit.* G, MA

¹¹ *omit.* B, E, T

¹² **sit laus deo add. N**; finis *add.* T

[151] Let us guard our nostrils from bad smells, and let us not enjoy odours at all. Let the gullet and the palate be content with ordinary food, and let us not demand precious wines or refined foods, but let us take only whatever is necessary to sustain our natural body. Let the stomach be chastised and reduced to service, so that it will be obedient and yield to reason. Let us only sleep as much as fosters and nourishes the spirit and does not weaken it. None of our members should serve indecency. Let us endeavour to follow one rule of life and to live all our life with integrity and fear of the Lord.

4. Conclusion

[152] Thus we shall acquire the fourth and last coin, and giving it to Saint Peter, we shall merit to enter the gate of the Kingdom of Heaven. However, we shall also obtain a tranquil and happy life on earth, *while breath governs these limbs*.¹ But *if now you must be for a little time made sorrowful in diverse temptations*, bear with them patiently and *take care that the trial of your faith (much more precious than gold which is tried by the fire) may be found unto praise and glory and honour at the appearing of Jesus Christ. Whom having not seen, you love: in whom also now though you see him not, you believe and, believing* – as says the doorkeeper to whom you bring the coins - *shall rejoice with joy unspeakable and glorified, receiving the end of your faith, even the salvation of your souls*.² Then, as the Apostle James says, *you shall receive the crown of life which God hath promised to them that love him*,³ in the Kingdom of Heaven, where we, you and I, shall be brought by Jesus Christ, whom we profess to reign with the Father and the Holy Spirit through all ages. Amen.

¹ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 4.336

² 1. Peter, 1, 6-9

³ James, 1, 12