

# Columella and Xenophon

## 1.Introduction

The Latin language could neither swallow the meaning of οἶκος nor that of – νομέω. The rhetorician Quintilian (35-100 AD) had made this quite clear in his all-time bestseller *Institutio oratoria* (*Institutes of Oratory*): *In Greek it (oekonomia, οἰκονομία DN) means the care for the domestic affairs, but in Latin we do not have an adequate term for this<sup>i</sup>.*

The Roman philosophers who wrote in Latin have not addressed the theme of the government of the house indeed. Organisation and mother tongue have prevented them from developing the science of original economics any further than the Greek speaking philosophers, some of whom lived in Southern Italy. This practical science might even not have reached the medieval West, if not some Roman authors who have contributed much to our inheritance of the knowledge of Antiquity in general, had mentioned specifically the *Oikonomikos* of Xenophon. These authors are Cicero (106 - 43 BC), the famous philosopher and politician and Columella (4 -c. 70 AD), the much admired agronomist.

Cicero has rendered the *Oikonomikos* of Xenophon in Latin. This translation by Cicero is not extant anymore, so we do not know how many Greek loan words Cicero has used in his translation. Maybe he has translated a summary! Neither do we know if this translation was ever copied and if this was the case, how many Romans have become familiar with those copies and in which libraries they became conserved and for how long a time. In any case, the medieval scholars have never found this translation.

That Cicero made a translation in Latin of the *Oikonomikos* of Xenophon we know in the first place, because he personally tells us this in his *De Officiis* (*On duties*) for he writes in II, 87<sup>ii</sup>:

*As to family goods, they should be acquired by honorable means<sup>iii</sup>, be protected by diligence and thrift and by the same means they should be increased. These matters Xenophon, a pupil of Socrates, has set neatly forward in his book called 'Oeconomicus', which I translated from Greek into Latin, when I was about your age. (Cicero is addressing his son here. DN) But all these things, about acquisition, about the investment of money, (I would want about the use of it too), one easier discusses with bankers than with whatever philosopher of whatever school.*

Only one more small line connects the Greek economists with medieval Western Europe. This connection is made by the first century agronomist Columella. This author wrote a huge agronomy handbook: *De re rustica* (*About agriculture*), which later became copied and read in the medieval West. In this work he cites from uses and one time even copies a small fragment from the *Oeconomicus* of Xenophon. This he seems to have used in the Latin translation by Cicero, which he mentions three times<sup>iv</sup>.

Columella was educated by an innovative farmer in Southern Spain and after having become an experienced farm owner in Italy himself, he wrote when he was about sixty years of age a set of 12 books that discuss systematically and clearly agriculture, horticulture, apiculture and animal breeding. Columella already had covered the complete agronomy in his first 10 books of *De re rustica* so the work he had in mind he could have considered as finished but he wished also to order the activities that he had described month by the month. So he wrote two more books. In book 11 he brought the male activities together and in book 12 the female ones. He starts book 11, in which he divides all male activities over the months, with a chapter (XI, I) about the duties of the overseer of the farm (Lat.: *villicus*). In book 12, in which he exposes month-wise the female jobs on the villa Columella spends the first four chapters on a kind of introduction. The first one is actually called *Preface* and

here the author explains the purpose of marriage and in the next three (XII, I-III) he exposes the duties of the housekeeper of the villa (Lat.: *villica*). In these 5 chapters and only in these ones the agronomist is intensively using Xenophon, as I am going to show now.

I will only summarize the chapters in *De Re Rustica* which Columella took from Xenophon. I have added the texts of the *Oikonomikos* of Xenophon exactly after where Columella uses them. They are printed in a smaller letter. This way the reader will be able to see that the agronomist only took a bit from Xenophon and observe what changes he made in his citations. Moreover he can find out for himself if Columella used and Cicero translated a summary or the complete texts of this *Oikonomikos*.

## **2. Summary of Columella's reproduction of the *Oikonomikos* of Xenophon in his *De re rustica***

### **On the duties of the overseer (*De re rustica*, book XI, i, 1-32)**

Columella suggests an age for the overseer between 35 and 65. *One should set somebody over farm and family who is neither in the first nor in the last stage of his life. For slaves despise a novice as much as they despise an old man, since the former has not yet learned the operations of agriculture and the latter cannot any longer carry them out, and his youth makes the novice careless, while his age makes the old man slow.* (XI, I, 3)

The overseer must be both very knowledgeable and robust, for he should be able as well to teach the workers as to show them how the hard work which he orders them to do, should be done by demonstrating it to them first.

The overseer of the villa should not be trained by the pater familias. *In the Oeconomicus of Xenophon, which Marcus Cicero translated into Latin, that excellent man Ischomachus the Athenian, when asked by Socrates, if his family good required it, he would buy a overseer as he would a craftsman, or if he would train him himself, answered, "I train him myself; for he who stands in my place when I am absent and acts as a deputy in my carefulness, ought to know what I know."* (--) (XI, I, 5)

*'When you need a foreman', I said, 'do you find out if there is a skilled supervisor anywhere around and try to buy him, just as when you need a carpenter, you find out, I'm sure, where you can see a man with building skills and try to get him? Or do you train your foreman yourself?'*

*'By Zeus, Socrates', he answered, 'I try to train him myself. If someone is going to be capable of taking charge in my place when I'm away, what else does he need to know other than what I do? If I am capable of supervising the various types of work, surely I can teach someone else what I myself know.'*<sup>vi</sup> (*Oec.*, XII, 3-4)

(--) *But this state of affairs dates from too long ago and indeed belongs to a time when the same Ischomachus denied that anyone did know how to farm. But let us [Roman citizens DN], conscious of our ignorance, place young men who are mentally active and physically strong in charge of our most experienced husbandmen.* (XI, I, 5-6) Nowadays on a villa potential overseers should be trained by the most experienced workers on the farm.

The candidate-overseer should be first tested in many trials to see not only whether he has thoroughly learned the different principles of agronomy but also whether he shows fidelity and attachment to his master, for without these qualities even the most perfect knowledge by a overseer is of no use.

*'First of all,' I said, 'he should be loyal towards you and yours if he is to be capable of representing you in your absence. For what is the use of a foreman having any kind of knowledge at all, if he has no loyalty.' None, by Zeus', replied Ischomachus. (Oec., XII, 5)*

*The most important thing in this superintendence is to know and estimate what duty and what work should be imposed on whom. (XI, I, 7) Some tasks only require strength, like carrying heavy loads, other ones only brains like healing cattle and some require both in different proportions. The nature therefore of each operation must be taken into consideration. (XI, I, 8) Again the overseer has to have become skilled in them all, so that he can correct what has been done amiss in anyone of them. For it is not enough to have reproofed one who errs, if one fails to show the way to do the task aright. (XI, I, 9).*

[In XI, I, 10 -12: Columella shows himself surprised that agriculture is a discipline without teachers and pupils, like they are easily to be found in the other arts. *I am too aware that it is very difficult to follow all the precepts (praecepta) of agriculture from, as it were, a single authority (XI, I, 13) There are too many different artisans (e.g. forester, vine-dresser, shepherd), but no one of whom would refuse to impart the one desirous of learning them the principles of his art. (rationem scientiae suae). (XI, I, 12),*

*For other artisans tend to conceal the most vital pieces of information about their occupation but among farmers, the one who is best at planting would be particularly pleased if someone were watching him; so too would the one who is the best at sowing. If you were to ask him about any of the things he does he would not conceal from you the way in which he does them. (Oec., XV, 11)*

Now, when the future overseer gets trained in the different agricultural arts, let him initially stay away from the intimacy of the family and even much more from strangers. He should avoid wine, not be a long sleeper and not indulge in sex.

*'Well for a start, Socrates,' he replied, 'you can't make those who drink too much wine into men, who will show proper concern about things; for drunkenness makes them forget everything that they should do.*

*'Are drunkards the only people who are incapable of showing proper concern, or there also some other types?'*

*'There are, by Zeus,' answered Ischomachus, 'those who sleep too much. When asleep, such a man could not do his own work, nor make others do theirs. (--) and I think, those who are passionate sex lovers cannot be taught to concern themselves about anything other than their love. (Oec., XII, 11-13)*

*Therefore he should be the first of all to wake up and, according to the season of the year, always walk out smartly to their work the slaves who are slow and walk himself briskly at their head for it is of the greatest importance that farm workers should begin at early dawn and should not proceed slowly with it through laziness. (XI, I, 14). Columella cites Ischomachus as a proof for this: 'I prefer the prompt and assiduous work of one man to the negligent and slothful work of ten'.<sup>vii</sup> (XI, I, 15)*

*He continued, 'It makes a great difference to the profitability or the unprofitability of agriculture, when laborers are available and plenty of them too, that one man is concerned about whether the laborers are working during the working hours, whereas another is not concerned about this. For one man in a group of ten can easily make a difference by working at the proper time, where another makes a difference by leaving before the proper time. And to allow the workmen to work slowly all day long may easily make a difference of half the total amount of work. (--)' (Oec., XX, 16-17)*

Columella shows no doubt that it occasions a great deal of harm if a workman be given the opportunity to trifle away his time. (XI, I, 16) But he has doubts about the truth and value of the productivity ciphers that Ischomachus mentioned. (--) *In the farming business it is difficult to say how far superior an active workman is to one who is lazy and a loiterer. (XI, I, 16) Anyway, it is a responsibility of the overseer that slaves go out immediately at early dawn and march like soldiers to their work.*

During their work the overseer should motivate the laborers. *He should encourage them as they labor at their actual work with various exhortations and from time to time, as if to aid one who is failing, he should take his iron tool from him for a while and do his work for him and tell that it ought to be carried out in the vigorous manner in which he himself has done it.* (XI, I, 17)

*And when twilight has come, he should leave no one behind but should walk in rear of them, like a good shepherd.* (XI, I, 18) Once under the roof he should not immediately leave for his residence but make sure that the wounded and the ill are properly attended to<sup>viii</sup> and the healthy receive the food and wine they have earned without being defrauded by the cellar personnel.

The overseer should eat between his men and set an example of solidity . He should bestow benefits on the strongest and most productive of the slaves and confer other honors on them.

Then, also during the festival days, he should inspect the farming implements and pay extra attention to the iron tools. He should provide a duplicate for the iron tools. If any of them is damaged during the day, it should not be necessary to borrow from a neighbor *for it costs more than the price of these things if you have to call off the slaves from their work.* (XI, I, 20)

He should inspect the clothes of the slaves, because they have always to be clothed serviceably, against rain and cold for instance by coats of skins with sleeves and thick hoods. *If this be done, almost every winter's day can be endured while they work.*, (XI, I, 21) The inspection of the iron tools and the clothing should be done twice a month; for regular inspection allows no hope of impunity and no opportunity for wrong-doing.

The overseer is responsible for security as well. That is:

1. He should call over the names of the prisoners every day and regularly inspect the solidity of the prison walls and chains. He should not release anybody without the consent of the pater familias.
2. *He must not think of offering sacrifices except on an instruction from his lord and he must not on his own initiative have any acquaintance with a soothsayer or a fortune-teller, (--)* (XI,I, 22)
3. He should not leave the estate unless this is absolutely necessary to prevent the slaves from stopping work or committing misdemeanours.
4. He should prevent the making of paths and new boundaries on the estate.
5. He should not receive strangers, unless as friend of the master.

He should not make slaves work for him in private or give them special favours, like leaving the estate.

*He should not invest his master's money in cattle or anything else which is at sale. For doing this diverts him from his work as overseer and makes him a trader rather than a farmer and makes it impossible to balance accounts with his master.* (XI, I, 24) This should be avoided, just like hunting and fowling, which are two enjoyable activities but distracting at the same time.

*He should not deal either too cruelly or too leniently with those set under him; he should always cherish the good and diligent and spare those who are not as good as they ought to be; and use such moderation that they rather may respect his strictness than hate his cruelty.*(XI,1, 25)

Prevention is better than punishment later on. The best prevention is daily exacting one's task. *The saying of Marcus Cato<sup>ix</sup> is true that the workers should be kept busy, because 'By doing nothing men learn to do evil'. This is the way for the overseer to make sure that the just amount of work will be delivered, which will happen when the overseer always is present in person.* (XI, I, 26)

The overseer should know what he does not know and should always desire to learn it.

[XI,1 28-32 Columella explains that it is important for the overseer to know the sowing and planting-calendar well, because not one day but a whole year is lost, if pressing work is not carried out on its proper day. Because it is the duty of the overseer to follow this calendar punctually the author presents one in the rest of book XI, that is in XI, II, 1-101 and XI, III, 1-65.]

### **Columella on marriage (*De re rustica*, Preface to book XII)**

[Columella starts book XII with a preface about marriage Here Columella first rephrases *Oeconomicus* VII, 19-28 of Xenophon.]

*The marital connection was instituted by nature so that man might enter not only the most pleasant but the most useful partnership in life as well. For in the first place, as Cicero also says, man and woman were associated to prevent the human race from perishing in the passage of time; and secondly in order that, as a result of the same association, mortals might be provided with help and not less with defence in their old age. (XII, Preface, 1)*

*‘Wife, the gods seem to have shown much discernment in yoking together female and male, as we call them, so that the couple might constitute a partnership that is most beneficial to each of them. First of all, so that the various species of living creatures may not become extinct, this pair sleeps together for the purpose of recreation. Then this pairing provides offspring to support the parents in their old age, at least in the case of human beings’ (Oec., VII, 18-19)*

So they need food as well as shelter, which made it necessary that one of the two should lead an outdoor life for acquisition and one would stay indoors for the protection of the goods acquired. *For corn and the other forms of food provided by the earth needed a roof over them, and the young of sheep and of the other kinds of cattle, and fruits, had to be guarded in a place that could be locked and also the utensils that are useful for the sustenance and tending of mankind had to be safely kept in security (XII, Preface, 3)*

*‘(-- ) And finally human beings do not live outdoors like cattle, but obviously have need of shelter. Those who intend to obtain produce to bring into the shelter need someone to work at the outdoor jobs. For ploughing, sowing, planting and herding is all work performed outdoors, and it is from these that our essential provisions are obtained. As soon as these are brought into the shelter, than someone else is needed to look after them and to perform the work that requires shelters. The nursing of new-born children requires shelters, and so does the preparation of bread from grain, and likewise the making of clothing out of wool.’<sup>x</sup> (Oec., VII, 20-21)*

Both, indoor and outdoor duties require work and care *and since the acquisition of those things which have to be protected within the house calls for no small amount of attention outside, it is only right that nature has equipped the woman for the care inside the house, and the man for the out-of-door and open-air activities. (XII, Preface, 4)*

So the man endures cold and heat and is involved in agriculture and war and the woman is timid and occupied with protection

*‘Because both the indoor and the outdoor tasks require work and concern, I think the god, from the very beginning, designed the nature of woman for the indoor work and care and the nature of man for the outdoor work. For he prepared man’s body and mind to be more capable of enduring cold and heat and travelling and military campaigns, and so he assigned the outdoor work to him. Because the woman was physically less capable of endurance, I think the God has evidently assigned the indoor work to her.’ (Oec., VII, 22-23)*

*And since he had assigned to the female sex the duties of guardianship and care, he made woman on this account more timid than man, since fear conduces very greatly to careful guardianship. On the other hand, since it was necessary for those who sought to repel attacks, God made man bolder than woman. (XII, Preface, 5-6)*

*‘And because the god since he had also assigned to the woman the duty of guarding what had been brought into the house, realizing that a tendency to be afraid is not at all disadvantageous for guarding things, he measured out a greater portion of fear to the woman than the man. And knowing that the person responsible for the outdoor work would have to serve as defender against any wrongdoer, he measured out to him a greater share of courage.’ (Oec., VII, 25)*

*But seeing that, after they had acquired substance, memory and attention were equally necessary to both sexes, God granted no smaller a share of these qualities to women than to men. Then, too, because nature in her simplicity did not wish either sex to enjoy the possession of every advantage, she desired that each should have need of the other, since what one lacks is usually present in the other.* (XII, Preface, 6)

*'Because it is necessary for both of them to give and take, he gave both of them equal powers of memory and concern. So you would not be able to distinguish whether the female or male sex has the larger share of this. And he gave them both equally the ability to practise self-control too, when it is needed. An the god granted the privilege to whichever one is superior in this to gain a larger share of the benefit accruing from it, whether man or woman. So, because they are equally well endowed with all the same natural aptitudes, they are consequently more in need of each other, and the bond is more beneficial to the couple, since one is capable where the other is deficient.'* (Oec., VII, 26-28)

*These were the views not unprofitably expressed by Xenophon in the Oeconomicus and by Cicero who translated his work into the Latin language.* (XII, Preface, 7)

[Book XII, Preface, 7-10 explains that the times have changed. The owner and his wife no longer run their villa personally but they employ a overseer and a housekeeper to do this for them.] *But that I may not appear to have unreasonably taken up myself the task of censor in reproving the manners of our own times, I will now describe the duties of the housekeeper.* (XII, Preface, 10)

### **Columella on the housekeeper (*De re rustica*, Book XII, Chapters I-III, 4)**

[In XII, I, 1-6 Columella discusses the character of the housekeeper. He tries to discuss the required traits in the same order as he has set out the duties of the manager in chapter XI, 1. So one reads first that the housekeeper should not be too young a person for the same reason as the selected overseer should not be immature and inexperienced. She ought also to be healthy. But then Columella writes a new text. He does not mention the knowledge she needs as he did with the overseer.]

*She should not have an ugly appearance nor on the other hand be very beautiful; for unweakened strength will suffice for night watches and other toils and ugliness will make her slave-spouse turn away, beauty too desirous.* (XII, I, 1) The overseer from his part should not be a wanderer who avoids sexual contacts with his wife and on the other hand should not hang around indoors desiring her embraces.

*One firstly has to consider if she stays away from wine, greediness<sup>xi</sup>, superstition, sleepiness and men. And then, whether she really grasps what she ought to remember and what she ought to provide for the future, in order that she may usually maintain the same manner of life as we have laid down for the overseer, because most actions ought to be the same in man and woman and both should as much avoid the bad as hope for a reward for the works well done* (XII, I, 3)

*'Now, when we appointed our housekeeper, we looked for the one who seemed to have the greatest self-control in eating, drinking wine, sleeping and intercourse with men, and who, furthermore, seemed to have memory and the foresight both to avoid being punished by us for negligence and to consider how, by pleasing us in any way, she might be rewarded by us in return.'* (Oec., IX, 13)

*Then she ought so to get the work through in such a way that the overseer has a minimum to do in the dwelling.* (XII, I, 3)

*For (one has to know that) the jobs which are undertaken at home, are not totally a female duty but are so delegated to her that they are regularly watched over by the overseer's eyes. For the housekeeper will be more diligent, if she remembers that somebody is present to whom a frequent account must be rendered* (XII, I, 4)

*She must absolutely be convinced that she should stay in the house always or certainly most of the time. She should send the slaves outside who have work outdoors, to keep inside those who have to work indoors and see to it that the daily tasks are not upheld by inaction.*



*'You will have to stay indoors and send forth the group of slaves whose work is outdoors, and personally supervise those whose work is indoors.'* (Oec., VII, 35)

*She must carefully inspect everything that is brought into the house to see that it is not damaged, and receive it after it has been examined and found intact; then she must set apart what has to be consumed and guard what can be placed in reserve, so that the provision for a year may not be spent in a month.* (XII, I, 5)

*'Moreover you must receive what is brought inside and dispense as much as should be spent. And you must plan ahead and take care that the provisions stored up for a year are not spent in a month. And when wool is brought in to you, you must see that clothes are produced for those who need them. And you must also be concerned that the dry grain is in good condition for eating.'* (Oec., VII, 36)

*Again, if any member of the slaves is beginning to be affected by bad health, she will have to see to it that he is given the most suitable treatment. For attention of this kind is a source of benevolence and not less of obedience. Moreover, those who have recovered their health, after careful attention has been given them when they were ill, are eager to serve more faithfully than before.* (XII, I, 6)

*'One of your proper concerns, perhaps may seem to you rather thankless: you will certainly have the care for the slaves that those who become ill become healthy again.'* (Oec., VII, 37)

[In the next chapter, XII, II, 1-6 Columella moves to a different aspect of housekeeping and starts to describe the function of stowing away. He explains that the housekeeper has to remember what is brought into the house and what the suitable and healthy places are where this should be stored and will remain undamaged.]

*For nothing must be taken care of more, than providing a place where everything may be laid by, so that it may be produced when required.* (XII, II, 1)

*'I know she was quite upset and that she blushed when she could not give me one of the things that had been brought into the house when I asked for it. However, I could see that she was annoyed with herself, so I said: "Don't be so miserable, wife, just because you aren't able to give me what I happen to ask for. It's obviously poverty when you haven't got something for use when you need it; but this shortcoming, that is, looking for something without being able to find it, is less painful than not looking at all because you know it's not there" (--)'* (Oec., VIII, 1-2)-

*The highest room in the house claims the most precious vessels and clothing; a granary which is dry and free from moisture is considered suitable for cereals; a cold place is best adapted for keeping wine; a well-lighted room calls for the use of delicate tools and the performance of tasks which require plenty of light.* (XII, II, 2)

*'Our house is not elaborately decorated', Socrates said, 'but the rooms are constructed in such a way they will serve as the most convenient places to contain the things that will be kept in them. So the rooms themselves invited what was suitable for each of them. Thus the bedroom, because it was the safest possible place, invited the most valuable bedding and furniture. The dry storerooms called for grain, the cool ones for wine, and the bright ones for those products and utensils which need light.'* (Oec., IX, 2-3)

*Then everything should be arranged in its place according to kind and some individually. This way something can be readily found whenever it is necessary. In family business carelessness causes more work than care. For who can doubt that there is nothing more beautiful in the whole conduct of life than arrangement and order? We can often remark this at public performances. For when a choir of singers does not agree in certain measures nor keep time with the master who directs them, they seem to their audience singing something discordant and confused; but when the singers agree with definite numbers and beats, as though they had conspired together to do so, and sing together, from such a concord of voices not only a sound is produced which is pleasant and delightful to the singers themselves, but the spectators and audiences are also charmed by a feeling of delightful pleasure.* (XII, II, 4)

*For nothing, wife, is as useful or good for people as order. For instance a chorus is composed of people. But whenever every member does whatever he likes, there is simply chaos, and it is not a*

*pleasant spectacle. But when they act and sing in an orderly manner, these same persons seem to be both worth watching and worth hearing.*' (Oec., VIII, 3)

Columella explains briefly that order is not only important in choirs, to reach harmony, but also in an army and on ships.

[Ischomachus had broadly explained to his wife the same in Chapter VIII of the *Oikonomikos*.]

*Now if such conditions are so effective in theatres, armies and also in ships, there can be no doubt that the care of the housekeeper requires the order and arrangement of the things which she puts back. For when each individual object is assigned to its own place, it attracts the attention more easily, and, if anything happens to be absent, the empty space itself warns us to look for what is lacking. Indeed if a thing requires attention and repair, it is more easily perceived when it is surveyed in its order.* (XII, II, 6)

*'And so, you to, wife, if you (--) wish to know exactly how to manage our property and to put your hands easily on whatever we need to use and to please me by giving me whatever I request, let us decide on the appropriate place for each item, and when we put it there, let us teach the maid to take it from that place and to put it back again there. This way we will know what of our property is present, and what is not. For the place itself will indicate what is missing, and a glance will detect anything that needs attention. And if we know where each thing is, we can put our hands on it quickly so that we never be unable to make use of it.'* (Oec., VIII, 10)

Here, at the end of Chapter XII, II Columella mentions Xenophon again. *All these are points on which Marcus Cicero, following the authority of Xenophon in his Oeconomicus, introduces Ischomachus as holding forth in replay to the questions of Socrates.* (XII, II, 6)

[In (XII, III, 1-11 Columella still discusses the function of storing but he now uses to the narrative form and reproduces *Oeconomicus* IX, 6- 10 more or less to the letter.]

*'Having prepared suitable storerooms we proceeded to distribute the utensils and furniture, first we selected the objects which we are in the habits of using for the worship of the gods, the women's apparel, which is provided for festal days, and the men's apparel for war and also their dress for solemn occasions, and likewise foot-ware for both sexes. Next arms and weapons were stored apart, and in another place implements used for manufacturing wool.* (XII, III, 1)

*After this a place was found for the vessels which are generally used for keeping food, and then those connected with washing and the toilet and with ordinary meals and with banquets were set out.*

*'After we had gone through these rooms', he said, 'we sorted the contents by type. We first began by putting together the things that we use for sacrifices. After that we separated the fancy clothing that women wear at festivals, the men's clothing for festivals and war, bedding for the woman's quarters, bedding for the man's quarters, women's shoes, and men's shoes. Another type consisted of weapons, another of spinning implements, another of bread-making implements, another of implements used for other food, another of bathing implements, another of kneading implements, another of dining implements. And we divided all this equipment into two sets, those that are used daily, and those used only for feasts.'* (Oec., IX, 6-7)

*Then of the things which we use daily we set apart what would suffice for a month, and what would suffice for a year we divided in two portions; for then there is less likely to be a mistake as to what the outcome might be. After we had separated all these things, we arranged them each in its proper place.* (XII, III, 2,3).

*'We set aside the things that are consumed within a month, and stored separately what we calculated would last a year. That way we shall less likely forget how it will turn out at the end. When we divided all the contents by types, we carried each thing to its proper place.'* (Oec. IX, 3)

*Next we handed over to the actual people who are in the habit of using them the things which are used daily by the slaves, namely, those connected with the making of wool and the cooking and the preparation of food, and pointed out where they should put them and charged them to keep them safe.* (XII, III, 3)



*'After this we showed the slaves where they should keep the utensils they use every day – for example, those needed for baking, cooking, spinning, and so forth, and we handed these over to them and told them to keep them safe.'* (Oec., IX, 9)

*As for the things which we use on days of festivals and on the arrival of guests and on certain rare occasions, these we handed over to the master of the cellar and pointed out the places where they all were and numbered them all and we ourselves wrote out a list of what we had numbered and warned him that he must know whence to produce whatever was needed and that he must remember, and note down what he has given out and when and to whom, in order that he might put back each article in its proper place.* (XII, III, 4)

*'Whatever we use for festivals or entertaining guests or at rare intervals we handed over to the housekeeper; and when we had shown her where they belong, and had counted and made an inventory of each thing, we told her to give to everyone what he needed of them, but to remember what she had given to each of them and when she got it back, to return it to the place from which she takes each.'* (Oec. IX, 10)

*These precepts of industry and care, therefore, the ancients have handed down to us through the role of Ischomachus and we now use them to instruct the housekeeper.* (XII, III, 5)

Columella on his own account adds some more duties for the housekeeper. He mentions: regularly inspecting the stocks, working ahead on rainy days by preparing wool, knowing if slaves that do not work, be it indoor or outdoor, are ill or just lazy and if ill, take them to the infirmary. Actually she is very busy all over the villa, not only inside the building, but she must for instance *also be there when the sheep are sheared, and keep a watchful eyes on the wool and count the fleeces, comparing them with the amount of sheep.* (XII, III, 9) These arrangements will not work well, if not the overseer rather frequently and the master and mistress once in a while carry out an inspection to see if the order which once was instituted stays maintained. One may compare this with the Greek cities, where so-called 'guardians of the law' functioned next to the citizens-lawgivers, who punished the law-breakers and praised the citizen who kept to the law..

[From here on Columella enumerates and elaborates the duties of the housekeeper according to the month, which happens without any reference to Xenophon. In this calendar for the housekeeper the function of preservation of the food is preeminent and the interested reader might find here in Columella's *De re rustica* for the first time to what the management function of preservation pertains to.]

As the reader will see the late Stoic Hiërocles argues in the second century AD, that a house should be governed by husband and wife together, even to such an extent that they might interchange their work.

He adds that one should not expect that many husbands will take over domestic activities from their wives, because most men perceive practicing them as a threat to their masculinity. But a man, who has complete confidence in his own masculinity and practical wisdom, will do it.

*First of all, indeed, [one has to speak] about the tasks, by which a house is sustained. These, then, should be divided according to what is most [pertinent to each spouse]: thus, to the husband are referred tasks on the field and those concerning the markets and city and defense business, whereas to the wife are referred those related to the spinning of wool, bread making and in general, the indoor ones of the tasks.* (21, 1-5) But this is not a matter of exclusivity. *For the duty related to the field of overseeing the laborers, and thereby filling the position of the master of the house, may also sometimes fall to the wife* 21, 5-7) and the husband sometimes should prepare the food inside. *For thus what belongs to the community can be all the more bound together, if they share one another's concerns about the necessities.* (21, 9-11) In this regard personal labor has to be mentioned as well. It is the duty of the husband to care for agriculture so that it is not difficult to accept that he should share in the work of sowing

and planting. More difficult to accept is the argument that the husband should personally perform domestic jobs. He might be accused of effeminate behavior. *Thus I myself would not advise men who did not exhibit complete confidence in their own masculinity and practical wisdom to touch such a thing.* (21, 10-13) But if this is the case, what will possibly prevent him from engaging in domestic work<sup>xii</sup>? Actually some domestic tasks are more suited for men than women, like splitting wood. And the other way around is acceptable as well. If she, working personally, would share also in the harvesting of the vines and the gathering of the olives and other tasks that are usually done by men, her husband would find her much more morally beautiful. *So if one this way deals with the tasks, I believe that a house which is presided over by husband and wife is best governed<sup>xiii</sup> from start to finish at least in these respects.*

## 2. Summary of Avicenna's *Letter on government*<sup>xiv</sup>

### [Introduction<sup>xv</sup>]

#### [Praise of Allah]

Allah created his servants for which he should be praised. *He made clear to them a way to thank him, by showing them His praise. He prescribed them religious laws, by which He passed to them still more possibilities to thank him. He equipped them with intellect, which He gave them to protect their belief and as a help and support in the world. He gave them speech, by which He created a distinction between man and wild and domestic animals.* (p. 51)

*Allah should be praised manifold for what falls under his good government and under the friendliness of his disposition, by which every individual species of his Creation possesses a part of His goodness. Every species has received in full its part of what is as well good for him as in his interests.* (p. 51) He bestowed upon them the perfections of his blessing and the completeness of his talents

Then he equipped the humans with specific characteristics of his blessings, so that he positioned them on top of much of his creation. *Their character is the most perfect, their make-up the most balanced; their way of life the most inspired.* (p. 51)

*Their striving during life is directed at the desirable intellect which He gave them; at the superior understanding with which power He supported them; at the good values in which beauty He wrapped them and the noble character traits with which high rank He embellished them. Moreover they can use the power of discrimination, by which He shows them the difference between the good and the bad, the opposition between sinful and honest behaviour and the superiority of maker over product, possessor over possession and ruler over subject* (p. 52). *The consequence of this is that man gets knowledge about the difference between the Creator and the created and finds a way to proof the existence of the eternal Creator without stubborn denial or visible arrogance* (p. 52),

Allah blessed them with a second gift. *He made them different as to reason and opinions, like he distinguished them as to possessions, residences and ranks.* (p. 52) These differences are necessary, because they make people go through nasty experiences, which makes them aware of their depravity before they die.

[In which way people are different]

*Those who have reason know that if all people would be king, they would fight each other till the last person and if all people would be subject, all would die as under-dependents. When they were of equal wealth, in the same way it would become clear that the one would not assist the other and good friends would not support each other and if they were equal in poverty they would die in misery and perish suffering. But if mutual jealousy is [one of the characteristics] of their individuality and fighting each other [one of the characteristics] of their nature and is situated in the origin of their essence, then the difference in their destinies and the differences in their situations are a cause of their survival and a reason for satisfaction.* (p. 53)

*The one who becomes subjected to doubt is the person that has wealth but is not equipped with reason, devoid of good morals and acquires his part of the world in the most easy way, once he starts to consider his missing reason and the inability to act according to his considerations. But he will be certain that the wealth he possesses is something else than the reason that he does not possess.* (p. 53).

*The one who has good morals is poor, if he desires the situation of unknowing wealth and does not doubt that he is estimated higher by this and that one will prefer him without these good morals. Who has a skill, which produces that by which he can stay alive, is not jealous on the possessor of large sovereignty or on the possessor of far reaching power.* (p. 53)

*All this are signs of wisdom, indications of merciful government and references to charity and mercy.* (p. 54)

[About government]

Allah gave kings the authority to govern their subjects. *They have to consider how the world has to be governed by wisdom, good order, perfect politics and solid government.* (p. 54) They are positioned at the top of the organisation of each kingdom to protect the creation. *After him the one model of governors follows the other: they who have obtained the guidance over states; who got the job of the control of cities and villages; after them those who He distinguished as owners of the herds and as leaders of the family and the slaves, and after them the ones who He distinguished as possessors of dwellings and as educators of the wife and the sons. Each of them is a guard of them who he brought under his protection, brought together in his residence and to whom his commands and prohibitions are directed and who as a subject fall under his authority.* (p. 54)

[In which way people are alike]

*Those who with regard to property, house, family, wealth and possessions belong to the lowest positions need everything what the most powerful king needs, like good government and control, much*

*attention and appreciation, culture and education, justice and approval, and as less as possible disregard, neglect, disapproval and condemnation (p. 54). The person who says: <'To achieve this, much is required.> is right. For the individual that has no support and help, needs more good care and is more entitled to a high degree of circumspection, like the protection by sufficient money and the support of assistants and helpers. This is because the poor without any possession needs more means to acquire his means of existence and to organize his situation properly than the wealthy rich. (p. 55).*

One may not like this comparison between the poor man and the king but for everyone who has thought about the matter it is a proof that we only mean to discuss how between people just *exist similarities in character and physical constitution. And that we talked about the requirements of the soul and about what is necessary for bodies and houses, without discussing other problems, dangers and destinies. (p. 55)*

[These similarities become manifest in the need for food, the protection of a residence, the marriage with a wife, the education of children and the dealing with assistants and experts.]

*Everybody should know that both the king as his subject does need food in order to live and make their personality survive. They need food stocks as well, upon which they may drawl when necessary, because the way people acquire food is different from the way which is well known of animals. (p. 55)* They only look for food whenever they are hungry and *do not reserve anything of what has put them into motion because they are not aware of the recurrence of their need of it. (p. 55)*

*Man, however, needs a place where he can store and preserve whatever he acquires, till the time that he needs it. That is why it is necessary to put into use dwellings and residences. Whenever he has taken into possession a dwelling and whatever he has acquired keeps there, he will have the need to protect it against the one who wants it (too) and to keep it away from the one who wishes it (too) (p. 56)* Of course the governor of the house cannot protect the food in person, because then he would not be able to go and work outside to provide for the new food.

*(That is why) it is also necessary to designate a deputy to protect his possessions. For deputy only somebody is suited, whom his soul trusts. His soul only trusts the partner that Allah (His name is praised) gave as confidant to the husband. This is the cause of the taking of the wife<sup>xvi</sup>. (p. 56)*

Once they are married children will be born. With the amount of children the need for food rises and then helpers, supporters, experts and servants are necessary. *This way the man becomes a protector and gets subjects under his authority. (p. 57)* These are matters that both king and subjects need.

*For in (his life on) this world every human needs<sup>xvii</sup>: food, which keeps his mind steady and his body erect, residences [plural DN], where he preserves his possessions and in which he looks for protection whenever he quits working, a partner, who protects his dwelling for him and preserves for him his acquisitions, children, who work for him when he will not be able to do that himself anymore, realize his lineage and keep his memory vivid, assistants and experts, who help him and carry his burdens. If these (people) have come together for him, he is their protector and caretaker and they are for him like subjects or as a flock. (p. 57)*

[How a flock is protected]

*For a flock it is necessary that her protector during the day, by grass and water, and at night by fences and circumclosures pursues the welfare of its free grazing cattle. And that he sends his surveyors into the meadows and disperses his dogs over his estates to protect them against lions and calamities, like theft, attack and plunder. And that he chooses warm winter locations and fresh summer locations for her, looks for green grass and clear water, is attentive during gestation and is prepared for the moment of giving birth. It is necessary too that he herds the flock in view of her wellbeing and trains it on the basis of unanimity, by way of shouting, whistling, rebuking and threatening. This is sufficient*

*when the flock obeys well and is sincerely affectionate, so that he does not need to hit them with his stick.*

*In the same way the wife, the children and the slaves and subjects need the owner, because of which he is obliged to guard and protect them, to carry their burdens, to provide for their necessities, to govern them well, to form them by making merry and arousing fear, by promise and threat, by approaching and taking his distance, by contribution and withdrawal, till their behaviour towards him is good. (p. 57/58)*

*These are summarized the words [which still need clarification] about the necessity of and the need for government. We will now continue with commented examples in chapters which elaborate it more in detail. (p. 58) Inshallah, it will be preceded by a chapter about the government by the male of his soul, because that is the most beautiful in the order and brings the most gain. (p. 58)*

### **About the way the male governs<sup>xviii</sup> his soul**

[Self-government]

*Of the existing kinds of government the government of the soul is the first with which man should begin, because the soul stands closest to him. It is the most valuable for him and the most important to pay attention to. (p. 59) It can be governed without awareness of the government of others.*

*One of the most important things that somebody needs in order to be able to govern his soul is to know that this is equipped with an intellect that has the directing function and that the soul, which spurs to evil and has a large amount of shortcomings and possesses many ill sides in its nature and in the root of its character, must be directed. (p. 59) And he has to know that who wants improvement of his immorality, needs to know every wickedness of it with a knowledge that perpetrates deeply in it. After this he may start with its improvement, because otherwise is what he improves, not protected or solid (p. 59)*

*One has to completely know all one's defects completely. When he neglects some of these defects, in the same time knowing that he has to enclose them if he wants to improve them, then he is like somebody who cures the outside of a wound, while the inside of it contains an illness. (p. 59) An illness of the body cannot be neglected either. One needs a clear picture of the vices one may possess.*

*As long as the knowledge of a man of his sole is unreliable and he is not sufficiently aware of his shortcomings and he tolerates his weaknesses to a large extent, he has to compensate this by a person who will correct him: a friend. This is not just a friend but a loving, understanding friend, who is involved in him with a certain degree of distance and who shows him the goodness of his situations as good and the badness of them as bad. (p. 60).*

[Kings and subjects and their exposure to opposition]

*The people who have the greatest right to this and need this the most are leaders and kings. (p. 60) If they stop with carefully deliberating and encouraging proper behaviour to dominate, they do not pay attention anymore to their mistakes and errors succeed each other, with only some exceptions of whom the reason shines, the intellect dominates and the insight in self-control is excellent.<sup>xix</sup> (p. 60)*

*If kings and leaders hide their shortcomings for each other, then, when they are threatened by confronting statements about their defects, the degree of disaster increases. They are afraid of messages with slander and venom, hate and seductions, gossip and secret accusations. (p. 60/1) If knowledge of their imperfections is blocked they think that they do not possess them.*

*In this respect the situation of the people under them (in rank) is incomparable with it (p. 61), because they cannot hide their vices from each other, living as closely together as they do. Once confronted with them they will necessarily improve the ugliest of their vices,*

*Living together causes on account of opposed arguments, (that people) raise objections against each other and defend their own points of view. (p. 61) They accuse each other of vices and make each other reproaches. Both parties even come with false accusations. But they decline the use of arguments of supporters and do not use spies to get informed [as kings do DN].*

*The one, however, who wants to maintain peace under his subjects does not attack them but treats them obligingly and not in an unjust way. He will not experience any difficulties in finding amongst his friends, family, companions and table- and dinner fellows somebody, who shows him his mistakes and advises him about his soul. (p. 61)*

[Bad friends and kings]

The perverse situation of kings en leaders increases because of what persons who are connected to the bad share with them; what nefarious table fellows make available to them and what those who do not honestly tell them their own mistakes and therefore should be ashamed to give advice about that kind of situations, suggest them.

Maybe one of them, who goes on to defend his behaviour, will nevertheless say that he will not give any advices anymore about such a situation, *because for a good advice goes that it burns like fire and is sharp as a spearhead. (p. 62)* It is, however, more probable that this person is going attack me<sup>xx</sup>, because I assail him by pointing out his mistakes. Only a considerate partner, who thinks matters over, will be on my side.

*But an ignorant, who is irresponsible, will say <We do not feel ourselves safe against the collapse of our residence and the split with our partners, because of the violence of his power and his angry attack.>. (p. 62/3)* This person one has to tell that only friendship based on virtue and belief matters. If he is guided by these two he will not get lost on the road of friendship,

*Maybe you have decided for yourself that your companion is a brave person, who carefully considers all aspects or that is an irresponsible ignorant. (p. 63)*

*The carefully considering (companion), when leading, produces an excellence, that is even more complete, when he is afraid and concerned, guards his friendship and bows himself about the first matter which you mention. If he does consider, reflect and decide carefully, than he knows the good, to which you aspire en the right that you show, so that you get the best response.*

*As far as the ignorant irresponsible (companion) is concerned, you must not have any trust in his knowledge, and you have to be flexible towards him and you have to differ from him in meaning. Do not think that you have to be a friend of somebody with these characteristics or that you need his guiding. You have to know that he is not at your side. (p. 63)*

*The road which the prudent (companion) advises you to follow is not the easiest one, if you are confused and do not have a goal but your circumstances require to take that advised road. (p. 64) He will advise you with the softest and friendliest words. Talking in indirect and ambiguous words about the most remote places and most hidden situations is more effective than in direct and clear ones and giving examples is better than providing precise specifications. (p. 64)*

When your companion-friend is listening, take the time to explain what your worries are in a way that he may acknowledge what you want to say.

When you see that he does not listen, stop talking and wait for a more suitable moment..

[Studying one's virtues and vices implies studying one's fellow creatures]

*A person who is engaged in investigating his virtues and vices should study the characters, the temperaments and the natural dispositions of the people and consider their virtues and imperfections and compare them with those that he possesses himself. And he has to know that he shows similarity*

*with them and that they show similarity with him, because people resemble each other. They are similar as the teeth of a comb. This way he knows, that if he sees a good virtue it is present in him too, be it visible or hidden. If the virtue is visible than he should he make it prosper and devote himself to it so that the virtue does not disappear nor decreases. (p. 64/65)*

*If the virtue is hidden then he should bring it to the surface and reveal it. Moreover he must pay attention to the requirements of the virtue and then it will react in the most simple and fastest way. (p. 65)*

If he sees an imperfection, bad habit of low character in another person he knows that such an inclination is present in him as well, open or hidden. If it is open he should get it under his control. If the inclination is hidden than he should put it under his surveillance in such a way that it does not become visible.

[Conclusion]

*Man must govern his soul by preparing it for reward and punishment. If the soul obeys well and follows what is imposed on it, like accepting virtues which produce a worthy character and a noble nature and renouncing vices, it will receive abounding amounts of praise, happiness will be brought to it and it will be made ready for certain blessings. If the soul obeys badly, wanders around without purpose and does not follow its rein, prefers vice above virtues, by which a mean or shameless character is produced, than the soul will be punished by an affluence of reprobation and shame, it is brought to vehement remorse and blessings are restrained from it, till it becomes more flexible. (p. 65)*

### **About the way man manages his revenues and expenditures**

[Acquiring revenues]

*The human need for food urges every human to be active in the acquisition of his food - with the help of divine inspiration at his pursuit - and in the care for his sustenance - with the help of natural resources and possibilities that are available to make a surplus<sup>xxi</sup>. (p. 66)*

When it comes to the means of existence, two kinds of people exist

*One kind that has enough and can enjoy livelihood, which is occasioned by heritage especially of herds DN] or the possession of real estate*

*A kind of people who need earnings, what inspires them to enter into commerce or to practice a craft for (the acquisition of) food. (p. 66)*

*A craft is more reliable and more permanent than commerce, because commerce takes place by means of money, and money is doomed to get lost, is an imminent evil and brings a lot of disasters. <sup>xxii</sup> (p. 66)*

*There are three kinds of occupations for solid men. First the kind that lies within the scope of reason, like sound meanings, correct advices and capable government. This concerns professions like those of minister, governor, politician or king; one within the sphere of good custom, like the art of writing, rhetoric, astrology and medicine. These are the occupations of literate and cultivated men. A kind in the sphere of courage and strength concerns professions like horse-men and javelin-throwers. (p. 66)*

Who wants to have one of these professions should get control over it and make progress in it, so that he becomes perfect in it. *He should know that nothing exists that adorns man more and is considered more valuable than availing of enough ways to provide for one's own existence. (p. 67)*

*Next he must try to find a lifestyle of a craftsmanship in the most virtuous, friendly and discrete manner; stay away from greediness and desire and have nothing to do with immodest avarice and excessive consumption. (p. 67)* He must be aware that all abundance and every profit acquired in a dishonest way means little, even for powerful people; is unimportant, even if his material property is



huge; is disastrous, even if his welfare is plain and is disastrous, even if to outsiders it looks like progress.

*For if the pureness is not contaminated; effacing himself does not cause any trouble; his rank is unimportant and his weight is light, than the flavour is better, the possibilities are more lenient, the blessings are the most extensive and the profit is the largest. (p. 67)*

[On spending]

*Once man has acquired enough property<sup>xxiii</sup>, it is most just, when a part of it is spent on taxes (Ar.: sādāquat), charity (Ar.: zakawāt) and acts of kindness and that a part is stored as a provision against the changeability of fortune and unforeseen circumstances. (p. 67/8)*

Taxes and charity should be given in a sincere way and as a preparation for the day that one will be poor oneself. The largest part should go to the poor, who hide their poverty. That is the way God meant donating to be done. Taxes and charity should be given sincerely and not be donated with the intention to profit from the return gift.

*Acts of kindness are subject to certain conditions. The first one is speed because speed makes matters more agreeable. The second is discretion because discretion makes things more clear. The third is disdain, because by disdain things become larger, the fourth is intensity and continuity because interruptions make that something becomes forgotten the first and erase the tracks of it. The fifth is the right choice of the object because if one does not choose the person who becomes better by it; is capable of expressing his thanks for it; can see the good intention of it and can accept it with love and friendship, than it is like seed that falls in a salty swamp. (p 68/9)*

*The right way to make expenditures and to accomplish an improvement in it lies between overdoing and stinginess and the continuous alternation of neglect and overrating. (p. 69)* A problem stays that even if somebody most carefully evaluates his expenditures and knows to distinguish all requirements of moderation, he still will be confronted with the accusations of the slanderer, the hate connected to every virtue and the jealousy, which comes with all sublime zeal and high rank.

That is why the prudent man has to develop some of his businesses in conformity with the intellect of the common people and often tolerate situations which might be seen as impropriety or spoilage. *For there are more people who praise the improprieties of the common people than those who praise and value moderation (p. 70)* That is why somebody who praises purity is more special and more complete as to reason and possesses a better judgement.

If possible the prudent man should not neglect to store (money), in order to avoid as much as possible that changing circumstances exhaust his possibilities and that he will have to look for help over and over again and this way will stay poor.

*Allah is master of sufficient food and good protection. (p. 70)*

### **About the way a man governs his wife**

*A good wife is a partner of the husband in his property. She is his agent as to his capital and his deputy when he is on a journey<sup>xxiv</sup>. That wife is best, who is sensible, pious, discrete, smart and dedicated, gives birth to many children, curbs her tongue, goes along with the reins, is sincere of heart, guards what has to be hidden, is serious in her presentation, respectable in her appearance, forces respect within the family, renders her husband services easily and without reserve, is a competent manager, makes the insignificance of her husband look great by her esteem, drives away his sadness by the beauty of her character and let him forget his sorrows by her friendly attitude. (p. 71)*

*The man's government of the wife prescribes three central matters, from which no deviation is permitted: respect, esteem and occupation of her thoughts with vital subjects. (p. 71)*

As to respect, if she does not respect her husband, he is despised by her with the consequence that she does not listen to his commands and does not care about his prohibitions. *She might even want to subjugate him, so that he obeys her. This way she changes in the commanding and he in the commanded, she becomes the one who prescribes and he the prescribed, she changes into a leading person and he in someone who is leaded and that is a distortion and a reversal. Woe the male on that day. (p. 71/2)*

*What dishonour and shame, decay and destruction accrue to him by her fights and tyranny and what harm is caused to him by her short-sightedness and bad government, and what is brought to him by her sin and subjugation to pleasure. For (forcing) respect is the essence and basis of the government of the husband of the wife and it is the thing by which every shortage is complemented; every loss is compensated; all what is missing is replaced and all what is perishable is pickled<sup>xxv</sup>. Respect cannot be replaced by anything and without respect nothing will become perfect between a man and his wife. The respect of a wife for her husband consists of nothing else than that the male makes himself honourable and that he guards his belief, virtuousness and reliability as to his promises and threats (p. 72)*

*The importance of esteem of the male for his wife lies in the fact that a noble, free woman will be stimulated to many beautiful acts, when she thinks well of the esteem of her husband, (p. 72), because she wants to maintain this esteem. Without esteem the man cannot bring her to this inclination. She will not to perform beautiful acts, whatever he attempts. Actually, the higher the rank and position of the woman is, the more this a proof of excellence and generosity of the husband.*

*The esteem of the male for his wife consists of three things: permitting her to embellish her appearance, taking care that she is completely veiled and declining the opportunities to arouse her jealousy.<sup>xxvi</sup> (p. 72/3)*

*That she occupies her thoughts with vital subjects means that educating the children, leading her slaves and controlling whatever is part of the domestic tasks belong to the occupations of the wife. For if the wife has no daily activities she is carefree and she only will be lead by the desire to show her beautiful appearance and her exterior forms to men. (p. 73)* The result of this is that she considers the esteem of her husband to be insufficient, the time of his visits too short and that she is dissatisfied with all the good he does for her.

### **About the way a man governs his son**

A son is entitled to a proper name and to a wet nurse who has no mental and physical defects, *for as one says: 'milk carries illnesses'.* (p. 74)

[Character formation]

*As soon as the son is taken away from his wet-nurse<sup>xxvii</sup> one has to make a start with his education and with the training of his character. (p. 74)* This should be begun before bad character-traits and shameless habits can get a grasp upon him. If they jump on him when still very young then he is not yet capable of repelling them because he is not yet able to make distinctions and has not yet a goal

*Nasty character features should be turned to the better and wrong habits should be diverted by interchangeably having fun with him and arising his fear, being close with him and segregating him, ignoring him and paying him attention, praising him and rebuking him. If that is not enough and it necessary to beat him, do not refrain from it. The first blow, which works intimidating and incites defence with the boy, should be short and painful. (p. 74)*

[About instruction on basic level]

A boy is ready for instruction as soon as he remembers what he hears. One should begin the boy's education with teaching him the Koran, the letters of the alphabet and the particulars of the religion. After that he can move on to poetry. *The boy should start with the poetry in which is expressed the excellence of the custom, the benedictions of science, the rejection of ignorance and the disapproval of weakness of mind and are stressed the piety of the ancestors, the approved courses of action, hospitality and the other honourable qualities.* (p. 75).

*The instructor of the boy should be sensible and pious, have insight in character-building, be adroit in the education of boys, austere and serious, and stay away from frivolity and folly. He should not neglect his reputation and be friendly in the presence of the boys.* (p. 76) He should be flexible, virtuous and orderly as well as straight. *He must serve the leaders of humankind and be aware that it is peculiar to the character of kings to fight each other and that the badly behaved jeer at each other.* (p. 76) He must know manners and behave himself properly in conversation.

*At school the boy should be accompanied by boys from higher circles, who possess good customs and agreeable habits. When the one boy is inspired by the other one, learns from him and likes to be in his company, separating them would be the best way to irritate him.* (p. 76)

He should pay attention to each of his pupils alternately and stimulate this way that the one disciple learns from the other by arousing competition and jealousy and showing approval and disapproval in a systematic way. *At another moment he should denounce their inability to reach their goal.* (p. 76)

After this both boys discuss events because *these discussions will open their reason and break through the restrictions of their understanding, for each of them mostly talks about the most pleasurable he has seen and the most strange he has heard.* (p.76) This way the imagination of both will be stimulated and they will start to discuss the truth of the matter. *They agree or fight each other; they avoid the truth or try to recover it. This is caused by rivalry, pride, mutual competition and imitation, by which their character is trained, their ambition stimulated and their habits are formed.* (p. 77)

[Education after basic instruction: the Koran, reading and writing]

*Once the boy is ready with learning the Koran and knows the roots of the language by heart, with the help of them one has to direct his attention to the profession that he would like to exercise and on the road to it.* (p. 77) If he for example wants to become a scribe he should take lessons in language, writing, reciting, discussion and argumentation techniques, etc.

If he likes to *become something else, the instructor has to teach the boy not to take an arbitrary profession but only the profession that confirms his nature and fits him.* (p. 77) This is necessary in order to prevent that everybody would choose the most noble habits and the most sublime skills. My point is proven by the fact that some people easily and others difficultly acquire certain habits. That is why we see that some choose for literature and others for poetry, etc.

This goes for every category, for instance science. Within that area some choose for algebra, others for geometry and still others for medicine.

It is actually a great mystery how and why all people make choices and what are the reasons that they develop their skills in different directions. *Only Allah (His name be praised) knows them.* (p.78)

Sometimes human characters run counter to all customs and skills. A proof of this is that some parents have spent much energy and money on the education of a son but have not succeeded in reaching what they hoped for.

This shows that before he determines a profession for the boy, *the instructor first should weigh the character of the boy, try his abilities and test his intelligence* (p. 78). The instructor then knows his motivation and the degree to which his desire matches the requirements of the job and his shortcomings. *He then has to take a decision, which is the most definite in government and the most*

*far-going of all what has to be executed during boyhood, because nothing should be offered to him which might lead to failure. (p. 78)*

[Setting him up]

*When the boy is a bit skilful in his profession, it belongs to good government that one sees to it that he has an income from it and can live on it. (p. 78/9) Because if he can exist from it, he has two advantages; one of it is that once he has tasted the sweetness of earning by his profession and knows that the wealth and advantages that may come with it are enormous, he will not know any rest before he will have reached the perfection and the end of it. The second is that he gets accustomed to looking for sustenance, before he reaches a situation in which he possesses sufficient stock<sup>xxviii</sup>. Because we think, that when the stock lessens, that the sons of well-off people with certainty may count on the money of their father and on that part of his stock, which is attributed to them. But if he is dependent on that, he is cut off from the opportunity to look for sustenance by a profession as well as from the protection by good customs. (p. 78/9)*

*Once the son is able to acquire by his profession, then it belongs to government to make him marry and let him continue his journey on his own. (p. 79)*

### **About the way man governs his slaves**

[Thank Allah for slaves]

Slaves<sup>xxix</sup> should be governed in the same way as one's hands and feet.

Just like one might say that the face of a man is his door-man, so you might call the assistants of a man his hands, because they are capable of doing what his hands can do. Who can save you walking can be your substitute in this regard, just the like the one who can observe what your eye can see can save you that activity.

*Slaves offer you many possibilities and their contribution gives many benefits. If they would not exist, the access to leisure would be firmly closed and the way to mercy would not be paved but blocked. You would be forced to a continuous getting up and sitting and to repeated intervening and retreating again and again, which would lead to weariness of the body. These are all indications of frivolity, carelessness, en despicable and low manners. The consequence of it is loss of dignity; decrease of decorum and calmness; withdrawal of honour and disappearance of the right way to strive for religious and worldly matters and for earnestness. The degree of stability of these features make that one can distinguish between master and servant or leader and subject. (p. 80/1)*

*You have to thank Allah (to Him belong glory and majesty) for the benefits that are brought to your service by the slaves and what you remain spared of because of them. You have to involve them and should not dismiss them, go and see them and not neglect them, treat them friendly and not repress them, because they may, just like other people be affected by laziness and tiredness, by boredom and slackness. Just like other people are driven by what the wishes and needs that lie in their nature, slaves by their needs and bodily wishes. (p.81)*

[The acquisition of slaves]

*If somebody wants to acquire a slave, he only should buy him, if he has met him and carefully has investigated, examined and tested him. If this is not possible than you have to use estimations, intuitions, guesses and suppositions. (p. 81) Do avoid people with irregular forms and a disrupted figure, because character follows physical constitution.<sup>xxx</sup> In the proverbs of the Persians is said: <The most beautiful what an ugly man possesses, is his face.> (p. 81/2) Also evade invalids and those who carry a disease. He should not be too intelligent, because a slave that is too smart will deceive you.*

*Once this has happened one should consider for which work the slave, whom is acquired, is fit, which skill he might practice, and in what he shows superiority, so that he can support and satisfy his owner. (p. 82/3)*

[Specialization]

*A slave should not be moved, nor from one job to another and neither from one craft to another, because that strengthens the causes of hardship and is one more reason for decay. Who does this may be compared with the person who makes his horses plough and his oxen race. (p. 83)*

*For every human possesses certain competences and skills, to which his personality has enabled him and which are of use to him because of his talent. They are for him like an innate nature which should not be abandoned and like a natural disposition which should not be given up. (p. 83)*

*When a slave is good at a certain job; masters this work; and is experienced in it; knows its situation; is familiar with it and used to doing this work then he should not be transferred to work with the owner chooses and selects for him but which is opposed to his nature and violates his essence. (p. 83)* This humiliates the slave because it brings him down to the status of a beginner. The slave is only useful for the owner there, if the owner forgets how useful he was in his earlier position, and the owner, once returned, will establish that the original situation has become worse.

*If one wants to decline a slave, this never should be done by moving him, because this shows small mindedness, impatience and want of civilization. (p. 84)* For he will have to replace him and his substitute will be more or less identical with the slave whom is moved. If he goes on with these replacements, at a certain moment he will remain without slaves. *On the contrary, he must inculcate his slaves that nobody of them will find a way to depart from his dwelling or to leave his house and residence. (p. 84)* For not only is this a perfect opportunity for the master to practice virtue and the best proof of fidelity and generosity. But it is also the case that the slave will not follow orders; be sincere; have pity; be attentive and act with care or take supportive or defensive actions, before he is convinced and has ascertained, that he is a partner of the owner as to welfare and a companion as to his possessions and land, so that he feels himself protected against the removal and needs not any longer to be on his guard that he will be sent away. (p. 84)

*If a slave however thinks that his owner's fundament of respect is low and that his owner does not feel himself solidly committed to protecting him and that his position is not that sure because of mistakes he makes or his work ability decreases, than his attitude towards his owner is as somebody who is on journey without settling down somewhere. (p. 84).* He will not occupy himself with his orders and not worry about what happens. *His endeavour will only be directed at obtaining the provisions which he thinks necessary for the day that he will leave the owner and the support on which he can fall back when the owner treats him badly. (p. 84/5)*

*The owner should therefore avail of manners to improve and reform his slaves without sending them away or removing them and without rejecting or ignoring them. The person who because of disciplinary measures puts his wrong behaviour on the right track and who is sincere by reliability earns his support. This is the way to enhance his authority and when mistakes are made he must be able to offer forgiveness. (p. 85)* When sins are repeated after punishment the slave may be beaten a little. One should not give up before his obstinacy is proven..

*But for the one, who stubbornly perseveres in his disobedience without changing it or for the one, who commits a terrible crime, compassion does not exist and is forgiveness within the boundaries of government impossible. The only proper decision for the owner is that he sends him away as soon as possible, before he will have demoralized the rest of the slaves. (p. 85)*

[Avicenna adds a small epilogue]

We have finished with the duty of the male concerning his acting with respect to the government over himself and over the house. We only have *discussed few out of much and the essence without commenting on it.* (p. 86) The book would have become much larger, if we would added the proper examples from the stories that people tell and from poetry but we wanted to give the reader an easy time. *With few often much more is won than with much and something small may be more perfect than something big.* (p. 86)

*Allah is the helper to result and success. The treatise about government is completed. Much praised be Allah, who is always adequate in his benedictions.* (p. 86)

## 2. Summary of *De arte oeconomica* (chapters 1-15) by Vincent of Beauvais (*Speculum Maius*, book VI).

(It is Vincent, who underlines the sentences that are underlined in the summary)

### Chapter I: About the science of economics

Isodore (of Spain) in the second book of the Etymologies: The economical or regulating one is the art or science, by which in a wise way an order is regulated in the goods of the house like the political or civic (science or art) is the one, by which the interest of the whole state is managed.<sup>xxxvi</sup>

Richard (of St Victor) in the Book of the Excerptions: The economical is the science that classifies the care for duties concerning the family, composing them in a tolerable division.<sup>xxxvii</sup>

Author: I was not able to find so far any special volume by any author about this science, despite one can read that there should be beautiful translation of St Jerome of the book about economics by the Socratic Xenophon. Therefore I decided to bring together some chapters from other authors.

Thus, because the economical (science) not only governs and composes wisely the family but also manages the goods of the family or the house in a prudent way, and puts them in order to them or divided them, this science or art seems to be bipartite: and the part that looks into the own family or the persons belonging to the family exists out of four parts: Of which the first one deals with the mutual community(societate) and love of the spouses; the second with the education of children; the third with the government of the servants and the fourth with the cultivation of friends. The part that looks at the division of the goods of the house again has four parts for the first considers the diligent and bona fide acquisition of goods, the second deals with the cautious preservation of them, the third with the prudent distribution of them and the fourth with the not contracting of debts.

### Chapter II: That to the house of an illustrious man should get splendor and worth by himself.

Before all one has to know that a good pater familias gives worth and splendor more to his whole house, and his whole family by his good manners and acts than by a variety of expensive goods and acts for the sake of appearance. This is not only what I find but clear from the statements of the philosophers as well. Cicero (Tullius in De Officiis, book I writes that a house should derive its honour from the honour of the master and not the other way around. In the house of a prominent man many guests have to be received and much people admitted there of all kinds and should be paid attention to liberality<sup>xxxviii</sup> It would be a shame to have a large house for oneself alone, especially when a former owner has had many visitors. For it arouses aversion if one says to those who pass by: Oh old house! Woe that you are reigned by a different master.

Idem in book 2: It is very appropriate when houses of illustrious people are open to illustrious guests. Idem in Against Sallust: It is impossible that somebody who lives like you talks differently from you and that somebody of your house is more bad than you. Valerius Maximus<sup>xxxix</sup> in book 2: What is the

use of exerting oneself outside the house, if one lives badly in the house Idem in idem: The honours acquired far away crumble away at home, if somebody is not worthy of them. Lactantius in his book: About the true religion<sup>xxxv</sup>: The just and wise should open his house not for the illustrious but for the poor and rejected, because a just man should not do anything, unless it is generosity. In other words if it is returned, it is nullified and is ended.

Seneca in the book: About the four virtues<sup>xxxvi</sup>: Live healthily, and wish that the master is not known by his house but the house by his master. Idem in Letter 5 to Lucilius: Who enters the house will rather admire us than our furniture. Great is he, who uses his earthenware in the same way as his silver; but not less is he, who uses his silver as his earthenware. Tibullus<sup>xxxvii</sup> in book 2

What profits me a golden pound

Or that a thousand yoke may plough

What if proud Phrygian columns fill my hall

Or a golden roof, or floor with marbles dressed<sup>xxxviii</sup>.

Chapter III: That one should greet a good wife with open arms and one should watch out for a bad one.

Fulgentius<sup>xxxix</sup> in the book Mythologies: Like there is nothing better than a benevolent wife, so there is nothing crueller than a hostile woman. (--) The wife is to the degree that she is more connected to the law like honey because of the sweetness of her manners or like poison because of her malicious bile. She, indeed, is a permanent refuge or an eternal torment.

St Jerom in Against Iovinianus book I,<sup>xl</sup> tells a story of a good wife and states that her example shows that unchastity is not only a vice but a monster. Ilia, the wife of a former admiral Duellus, who when her husband has been told on the market that his mouth smells and he asks her why she has never told him this, answers: I would have told you, if I had not thought that the mouth of all men stinks this way. She has to be praised because this answer shows that she is a noble as well as a chaste woman. Socrates had two wives<sup>xli</sup>, Xantippe and Myroneptes, who together chase him out of his own house, because the philosopher always laughs about both of them when they are fighting about him, an ugly man. Metalla, this wife of Lucius Sulla Felix (Felix is the happy one, if he had not had a wife) was plainly unchaste but because we use to know our infortune as the last and Sulla did not know anything, while all Athens sang about it, her husband only found out the secrets of his house by the slanders of his guests.

Martialis the cook<sup>xlii</sup>, poetizes that no one can deny that one is the owner of his house and his money, and his heart and his soul, actually of anything, but that one has one's wife with the people.

Tibullus in book I<sup>xliii</sup>:

O chaste and true! In thy still house shall sit

The careful crone who guards thy virtuous bed

She tells thee tales, and when the lamps are lit,

Reels from her distaff the unending thread.

The Author: Look for this subject in the former book into the chapters: On chastity and On the manners of women too.

Chapter IV: If a wise man should marry?

Valerius Maximus in book 7: Once a young man consulted Socrates if he should marry a woman or should abstain totally from marriage He [Socrates DN] answered that he would regret whatever choice he would make. For here waits loneliness, childlessness, perishing of your family and a stranger as inheritor and there continuous worries, a context of quarrels, reproaches about the dowry, the stern gazes of the wife's family, the meddlesome tongue of a mother in law, the chaser of the marriage with him, and uncertainty about the success of the children.

Idem in the same book: Somebody with only one daughter consulted Themistocles, if he should give her in marriage to a poor but distinguished or to a rich, less excellent man. He answered: I prefer a man who is in need of money to money which is in need of a man.



St Jerome in Against Iovinianus: Marcia, the youngest daughter of Cato, when asked, after her husband had died, why she did not want to remarry, answered, that she could not imagine a man that would want her more than her goods.<sup>xliv</sup> Which words expressed elegantly that many men who marry value riches higher than chastity and that many in marrying do not use their eyes but their fingers<sup>xlv</sup>. A very good thing that must be, which is won by avarice! Anica<sup>xlvi</sup>, when asked if she would remarry answered. Why would I do that? If I find a good man as I had before, why would I live in fear of losing him and when bad, why would it be necessary to sustain a very bad one after a good one?

Epicurus<sup>xlvii</sup> the advocate of pleasure, although his disciple Metrodorus had Leontia as wife, says that a wise man can seldom marry, because a marriage has many drawbacks. And as riches, honours, bodily health, and other things which we call indifferent, are neither good nor bad, but stand as it were midway, and the use and result determine if they are good or bad, so wives stand on the borderline of good and bad. It would, however, be a problem for the wise man to get into a situation of doubt if he is going to marry a good or a bad woman.

There is brought forward The golden book of Marriage by Theophrastus<sup>xlviii</sup>, in which he asks if a wise man should marry. And although he has determined that if she is beautiful, has good manners and her parents are virtuous and he is healthy and rich, then a wise man sometimes without any objection may enter into a marriage<sup>xlix</sup>, he immediately adds that all these conditions together are seldom satisfied in marriage. Therefore a wise man should not marry.

#### Chapter V: About the inconveniences of marriage

[Vincent continues with: The golden book of marriage.]

In the first place his devotion to philosophy will be hindered, and nobody can serve both his books and his wife. She needs many goods and therefore marrying means an extra effort on acquisition during the day and during the nights she is complaining, so that the philosopher does not get enough time to sleep. (--) One cannot have a friend nor an associate. (--) To support a poor wife is hard, to put up with a rich one a torture.

Notice, too, that in the case of a wife there does not exist choice; you must keep her as you find her and we learn her faults only after marriage. Horses, even slaves of the smallest worth, wooden seats, etc. are first tried and then bought. Only a wife is not shown for fear to displease before marriage. You always have to pay attention to her, (--) admire her beauty (--) celebrate her birthday (--) and attention must be paid to the nurse & the nurse maid, to her father's slave & to the foster-child, and to the handsome hanger-on, as well as to that manager of her affairs with curly hair (--).

If you commit her with the government of the whole house, you must yourself be her servant. If you reserve some decision to yourself, she will think that you will not trust her and will turn to hatred and strife, and if you will not quickly take measures, she will prepare poisons. All people who come along the doors are a threat to her chastity but if entrance is refused to them, you are distrustful. But what is the good of even a careful guardian, when an unchaste wife cannot be watched, and a chaste one ought not to be. (--) But it brings less misery to have an ugly wife than to serve a beautiful one. Nothing is safe, at whom the wishes of a whole people are directed. One entices with his figure, another with his brains, another with his jokes and another with his liberality: somehow, will be conquered that is attacked on all sides.

#### Chapter VI: More about the same

[Still from the with the golden book of marriage.]

Regarding the point that men marry, so as to govern the house, to solace illness, to escape solitude, a faithful slave, who obeys the authority of the master and follows his decisions, governs better than a wife, who thinks herself mistress if she acts in opposition to her husband, that is if she does what pleases her, not what is commanded. And young slaves who are educated in the house, are better able to sit at our bedside in illness, when we have obliged them with gifts, than a wife, who makes us responsible for her tears (--) boasts of her anxiety but drives her husband to despair. But if she herself is ill, we must fall sick with her and never leave her bedside. Or if she be a good and agreeable wife (how a rare a bird is she!) we moan when she is in childbirth, we are tortured when she is in distress. A wise man, finally, can never be alone. He has with him the good men from the present and the past, and turns his free mind wherever he chooses. What he cannot enclose with his body, he can enclose

with his mind. And, if men are scarce, he converses with God. He will be never less alone than when he is alone.

Then to marry because of children, so that our name will not perish, or that we may have support in old age and leave our property without dispute, is most stupid. For of what importance is it to us when we are leaving the world if another bears our name, when even a son does not all at once take his father's title and when there are countless others who bear the same name. Or what support in old age is a son, who dies before you or turns out a reprobate. Friends and relatives are better and safer heirs. Indeed, you had better, when you want to be certain of your will, spend the capital during your lifetime on good uses than bequeath what you have acquired with your labour for uncertain uses. Theophrastus exposes these and similar things, may they make the faces blush of the Christians, whose conversation is in heaven.

[The end of the citation from the golden book of marriage.]

Cicero, too, after his divorce from Terentia asked by Hirtius why he does not remarry his sister answers: It is impossible for me to dedicate myself to a wife and to philosophy at the same time. The rhetor Gorgias, who had written a beautiful book on concord, when the Greeks were fighting between each other, is criticized by his enemy: 'This writes somebody, who was not able to bring himself, his wife and his female slave, three in one house to concord'. Indeed, his wife competed with the slave in beauty and bothered the very chaste man with daily reproaches.<sup>l</sup>

[Finally poets Terence<sup>li</sup> and Ovid<sup>lii</sup> (3x) are cited with one two lines, all underlined, which picture how husband and wife may not converge.]

#### Chapter VII: About immoderate love for the wife

St Jerome as above<sup>liii</sup>: With Plato one finds a total denial of love and Lysias explains all its inconveniences; that is not governed by judgment but by passion and maximally so in the fanatic watcher of the beauty of wives. Moreover Seneca relates to have known a man who outside the house always wore the stockings of his wife on his breast and inside the house drank the wine in turn with his wife from one vessel. The origin of this love was honourable but its magnitude is dishonouring. It does not matter how honourable is the cause by which somebody misbehaves himself. That is why Sextus<sup>liv</sup> said in his Sententiae: <Who loves his wife too ardent is an adulterer> because for the wife of somebody else all love and for one's own wife too large a love is bad. A wise man should love his wife with his reason not with his emotions; he controls his fits of lust and does not have intercourse all of a sudden. Nothing is more detestable than to love one's wife as a concubine. One should imitate the cattle: once the wives have become pregnant, men should not show themselves lovers towards their wife but consorts, so that they will not lose their children. Satisfaction rapidly puts an end to marriages that are combined with adultery or where the adulterers are the ones that prescribe chastity. About marriage I have said enough.

#### Chapter VIII: About the mutual obligation of parents and children

From the Summa of Azo<sup>lv</sup>: Furthermore according to the laws children are under the obligation to feed their parents and the parents their children and to bear all the burdens of each other. But you should have an open eye for the subtleties as to who actually is the father and the responsibilities in the cases that the husband is not the father. Certainly the children of a daughter are not the financial responsibility of the father of the woman but of the father of the children. There are more subtleties because of time and circumstances. The general exception for all parents is, that they have no obligation to feed their children if they can bring in the right objections, for example that children indicted them or because they can feed themselves be it from their goods or from their labour. And this goes the other way around.

[Vincent adds two more legal paragraphs of similar length from this Summa, in which Azo discusses specific situations where children should take care of their parents and exceptions on these rules.]

#### Chapter IX: About the education of children

Quintilian<sup>lvi</sup> I, 1: Let us not destroy the manners of our children ourselves! Immediately in the early youth we make them weak by pampering them, a soft education, which we call indulgence, breaks all power of mind and body. The life of man should be formed maximally, when he is yet an ignorant in simulating, easily obeys his teachers, because you more easily break than correct, what has been hardened in badness. Idem in book 2: Nevertheless the talent of boys succumbs to corrections that are too harsh; because they despair, are sad and eventually hate and what is most harmful, they do not try anymore, because they are afraid of everything. Valerius, II, 2: The Persians do not see their children before the seventh year, to be able to bear more equanimously the loss of the very small children. About this subject more is to be found in the previous book 1 in the chapter About the manners of children and the chapter About the education of children. Suetonius, book 2 of about the twelve Emperors: Emperor Augustus educated his daughters and granddaughters in such a way that they got used to sit at the spinning wheel and he forbade them to do or say anything except in the open, so that it could be noted down in the daily register.

#### Chapter X: About the favours to and the correction of family and friends.

St Augustine, About the Christian Doctrine: But because you cannot be useful for everybody, you should take care especially of them, who by place, time or other circumstances happen as it were by fate to be connected to you..

St. Augustine in his sermon: About the son of the centurion, from the Decree of Gratian<sup>lvii</sup>, cause 23, question 1: The just and pious man should be prepared to suffer badness from those whom he wishes to become good people. And often unwilling children have to be punished with a benevolent strictness.

From the Summa of Azo: Because it is generally accepted that people that are close are punished, even with a certain amount of violence, the law has given the authority to the elders to correct the offences of the young, be it in correspondence with the weight of the offence and in accordance with -so to say- paternal law, so that this permission is not stretched into infinity. The authority of the governor of the house does not go as far as to permit him to punish his child if it has committed a capital crime.

#### Chapter XI: About the mutual obligation of masters and slaves

St. Augustine, The City of God, book 19<sup>lviii</sup>: (14) But in the house of the just man who ‘lives on the basis of faith’ and who is still on pilgrimage, far from the heavenly city, even those who give orders are the servants of those whom they appear to command. For they do not give orders because of a lust for domination but from a dutiful concern for the interests of others, not with pride in taking precedence over others, but with compassion in taking care of others. (15). When it comes to the subject of mastership, God did create man as lord over the animals not over man. That is why the first holy men rather were made shepherds than kings. God showed this way what both the order of the creation desired, and what the merit of sin exacted.

The condition of slavery, however, is justly imposed on the sinner. That is why we do not hear of a slave anywhere in the Scripture until Noah, the just man, punished his son’s sin with this word; and so that his son deserved this name because of his misdeed, not because of his nature. Even when a just war is fought by the good ones and the victory falls to wicked so that the good ones become enslaved, this is punishment for their sins. We have a witness to this in Daniel, a man of God, who in captivity confesses to God his own sins and the sins of his people, and in devout grief testifies that they are the cause of that captivity.

This bondage, caused by sin, happens by the direction of God, with whom there is no injustice and who knows how to distribute punishments. Just like the Lord says, ‘Everyone, who commits sin is a slave of sin.’ (cf. John, 8:34) That is why many pious people are slaves to wicked masters, not to freemen for what a man is addicted unto, he is slave unto. It is actually a happier destiny to be a slave to a human being than to lust. Domination exercised by lust for domination is the most pitiless one. In that order of peace in which men are subordinate to other men, humility is as salutary for the servants as pride is harmful to the masters.

Yet in the state God created man, no man is the slave either of man or sin. But it remains true that slavery as a punishment is also ordained by that law which enjoys the preservation of the order of nature, and forbids its disturbance; in fact, if nothing had been done to contravene that law, there would have been nothing to require the discipline of slavery as a punishment. That explains also the Apostle's admonition to slaves, that they should be subject to their masters, and serve them loyally and willingly. (cf. Eph. 6:5) so that, if they cannot get freed by their masters, they themselves make their slavery in some sort free, by serving not in fear or pain, but in pleasurable loyalty, until all righteousness passes away, and all principality and human power is brought to nothing and God is in all. (cf. Cor. 15:24) (16) This being so, even though our righteous fathers had slaves, they so managed the peace of their house as to make a distinction between the situation of the children and the situation of the slaves in respect of the temporal goods of this life; and yet in the matter of the worship of God (-) they provided with equal affection for all the members of their house.

## Chapter XII: About the government of slaves

Cassiodorus<sup>lix</sup>, Letter 33: It is proper for a prince to give more away, than what he seems to receive by his slaves. Plautus<sup>lx</sup> in Aulularia: Lamented should be those who have to stay up late at night from their masters; because they take away as much from the lives of the slaves as they take from their nights. Idem in the same: They are lords, whatever they say; it has to be endured as long as they want. From Proverbs<sup>lxi</sup>: Less than a slave is the master who is afraid for his slaves.

Seneca Letter 47 to Lucilius: First (47, 2-4) he laughs at how often the master and his guests use to lie down to stuff themselves the whole night, while the slaves are supposed to stand erect and keep silent. Then (47, 11) he suggests Lucilius to live with an inferior, as he would like a superior to live with him. Didymus, King of the Brahmins to Alexander the Great<sup>lxii</sup>: the Brahmins do not make any slaves.

Only their bodies are the slaves of their minds. It is cruel to force into obedience those who he made our brothers with the same nature and to whom by God the Father is promised the inheritance of common goods. Valerius in the fourth book: When Plato became outrageous because of an offence of a slave, he, being afraid of a too heavy penalty, asked his friend Speusippus for a judgment about the proper punishment.

From the Summa of Azo: In former days a master could kill his slaves unpunished. But nowadays one distinguishes if he kills because of a just cause or without reason. In the last case he is treated as if he has killed a freeman. In the case of bodily punishment, if the master punishes too heavy the slave can go to the authorities to ask them to force the master to sell him, so that he does not need to return in the power of his master. (Azo) in a note about the titles 'pandecta or digesta': Adrian<sup>lxiii</sup> sentenced an Umbrian matron to five years of prison, because of the exceptional cruel treatment of her slaves. Cato as cited before this book<sup>lxiv</sup>:

The useful advice of a slave should not be despised:

Do not ever neglect a meaning of any one, if it is advantageous.

Don't fight a just man in the wrong way:

For God always avenges injustice with his wrath.

Walther [of Châtillon DN<sup>lxv</sup>] in his Alexandreis, book one: Ask for the chapter about the election of power. Also see about this subject in the former book the chapter About the manners of slaves and later in the book the chapter About freedom and servitude.

## Chapter XIII: About serving the peace of the people of the house

St Augustine The City of God, Book 19<sup>lxvi</sup>, The peace of the house is the ordered harmony of giving and taking commands among those who live together. All (creatures) strive to serve this by natural right or instinct. Even rogues, to ensure greater vehemence and security in their assaults on the peace of mankind, desire to preserve peace with their associates and even the strongest bandit maintains a kind of peace with those he cannot kill. At the same time he is certainly anxious to be at peace in his own house with his wife and children,<sup>lxvii</sup> he is delighted, indeed, to have them obedient. For if this does not happen he is indignant, he scolds and, if need be, he employs savage measures to impose on his house a peace which, he feels, cannot exist unless the other elements in the same domestic society

are subject to one head (, which in the house is he). If he would be a king he would probably do the same. All want to be at peace with all, under the will of whom they want to live.

We observe, furthermore, that even the most savage beasts safeguard their own species by a kind of peace, by coition, by begetting, by bearing, cherishing and feeding. One has only to look at the tiger and the kite. How much more strongly is a human being drawn by the laws of his nature, so to speak, to enter upon a fellowship and peace with all men, as far as lies within him, and maximally so with those of the house?

#### Chapter XIV: About the choice or acquisition of friends

From Proverbs <sup>lxviii</sup>: Apply such diligence in the acquisition of friends, that you do not start to love him, who you might hate later; first show yourself as being good and if the other is then alike you, choose him. Love cannot be extorted, but it can escape.

Seneca On Benefits, book 6: The times have nobody so highly posited, that he does not miss a friend to the degree that he is absent. Idem in the book About the remedies against fortune<sup>lxix</sup> : Why a friend among the right and honest duties, look among the heavy work, such a thing is not found at the table.

Idem in the 3<sup>rd</sup> letter to Lucilius: But if you consider any man a friend whom you do not trust as yourself, you are terribly mistaken.<sup>lxx</sup> (--) Indeed I would have you discuss all with friends, but first discuss the man himself. When friendship is settled you must trust, before friendship is formed, you must assess. Those persons, indeed, put last first and confound their duties, who, violating the rules of Theophrastus, judge a man after making him their friend, instead of making him their friend after they have judged him

Tullius in the book About friendship<sup>lxxi</sup>: Friendships that are the oldest should also be the most agreeable one, (like old wine). Actually the power of old age and habit are the largest. Let us be careful to make friends to fast or make those friends that are not worth it. Those are worth of friendship who are loved for themselves, but they belong to a rare species. It is not easy to find something which is perfect. Most friendship is sought because of what is given back. These people look for exchange, desiring some generosity. In fact a true friend is a kind of alter-ego. It is therefore of primary interest that a man is good and that he loves himself because of himself. Only after that he can look for somebody like himself, whose soul in such a way unites with his, that almost out of two one is achieved. Scipio used to complain that humans in all other matters are diligent: they can say how many sheep and goats everybody has, but not say how many friends.(XVII)

Idem in Rhetorica 2: You should love the one whom you want to love you. Sallust<sup>lxxii</sup> in The Jugurthine war: Do not try to force true friends with weapons, or to win them with gold but by mutual obligation and trust. Macrobius<sup>lxxiii</sup> in the book Saturnalia: Keep a friend in such a way that you take into account that he might become an enemy. Valerius Maximus: Bias of Priene<sup>lxxiv</sup> used to help men by teaching them the use of friendship in such a way that they remembered that it could change into the heaviest enmities. Socrates: With friends one should keep the settlements short and the friendships long. The principle of friendship is talking positively, the beginning of hostilities speaking ill. A friend is seldom acquired, but fast lost.

Theophrastus: One should love friends, after one has tested them, and the not befriended one should test. Suetonius in About the 12 emperors, book 7: Emperor Augustus did not easily enter into friendships, and kept them most steadfast.

Plautus in Aulularia: You should not take a blockhead into friendship and trust. For it is easier to stand the hate of fools and scoundrels than the relationship with them. You don't want to be deceived? Then don't trust anybody. You want honour to be paid to you? Live between the pitiable: to no favour demanding you will make yourself to large a comrade.

Cato as above:

Do love others in such a way that they you are a dear friend of yourself.

Be so good for good people that you yourself don't experience any consequences of it.

What you do not know yourself, you should not dish up to others.

Look for a friend for yourself, who has things in common or is loyal.

Don't try to reach for the fortune of a person but for his life

Ovid in the book Sorrows, 4:

It is more shameful for a guest to be thrown out than to be shown in.

Chapter XV: About the management of the goods of the house.

The second part of Oeconomica, which covers the decisions about the family good, has four parts. It consists firstly of the competently and strenuously performing of the work for the goods of the house and the just and bona fide acquisition and increase of them, secondly of the preservation of them, thirdly of the distribution of them and fourthly of the avoidance of debts

About the just acquisition of goods says Tullius in the book De Officiis: It should be considered more against nature, that one man takes something from another for his own comfort that submit to all possible discomforts. And again: So a good and just man never takes away what he transfers to himself. [Vincent concludes.] From these words of Tullius it is clear that the philosophers too, detesting fraud and greed, were of the opinion that the goods of a house have to be increased without damage to somebody else. What is very difficult to let this happen too, or even impossible. From early times onwards the proverb has been famous: every rich man is or unjust or the inheritor of someone unjust.

See more about this subject in the earlier chapters About desire and About avarice, as well as those About robbery and About fraud and About usury. About the caution with guarding says Cassiodorus in letter 33: Caution had better be applied with guarding than with acquiring. And also Claudianus<sup>lxxv</sup> in his larger work: It is more to save the acquired than to acquire a new good. The prudent distribution of goods has been discussed in an earlier book Treatise on freedom. About this subject St Augustine says the following in his book On Christian teaching: But because you are not able to be of advantage to everyone, you especially have to take care for them, who for the opportunities of place or time or otherwise are united with us, so to say by some fate are connected to us<sup>lxxvi</sup>. St Ambrose describes completely in the book On duties to whom should be given in different cases.

About the avoidance of obligations to debtors St Ambrose writes in the book About Tobia: Poverty is no crime. But owing is shameful and not repaying more shameful. If you are rich or poor, do not contract a loan for consumption against interest if you are rich there does not exist any necessity to ask one; if you are poor, think how difficult it is to repay. This also is said in Proverbs: It is fraud to accept, what you cannot give back.

Seneca too writes in his book About Duties: People who like to receive, should first learn to like to give. And then they should, with their minds set on returning. those people to whom they have obligations, with the mind set on returning, they should not only equal those people to whom they have obligations but even surpass. That is why if the benefits which are obtained gratis have to be given back, the more so the loans for consumption against interest. Finally, because many people already seem in a way ungrateful when asking but become enemies when giving back

The philosopher Demas<sup>lxxvii</sup> says: If a friend asks me for money, even a short term loan for consumption, I am losing him and my money. I am now going to deal with the first part of this subject and start with the buildings.

[Ch XVI-CXXXXIII: Palladius Book about agriculture.]

## 2. Translation of the *Epistola de cura rei familiaris* (Letter about the care for the family good) by Ps. Bernard of Clairvaux

*Letter of St Bernard to the gentleman Raymond, about the care for the family good and the way to govern it in a useful way*

*Gracious and fortunate gentleman, Raymond, lord of the fortress of St Ambrose, Bernardus, in his old age, greets you!*

*You have asked me to teach you about the care for the family good and the way to govern it in a useful way; how patres familias should behave. To which we answer, that despite the fact that the status of all worldly matters and the result in business enterprises depends on fortune, one nevertheless should not omit the rule for living. Listen therefore and look out that if in your house the expenditures and the income are equal, a not well thought out decision will easily be able to destroy its situation. The situation of a house of a negligent man is ruinous. What is negligence of the governor of the house? A powerful fire in the house which is set into fire!*

*About ministerials<sup>lxxviii</sup>*

*Break the ambition and jalousie of them who manage for you. For him, staggering and not yet falling, who has the powers it is less shameful to abstain than to fall. It is great foresight to look regularly at what are your things and how they are.*

*About animals*

*Ascertain therefore with regard to the food and drink of your animals that they are not finished with the food and disappear hungrily and thirsty, because they do not ask.*

*About expenditures*

*Expensive weddings without honor bring danger. To do an expense on warfare is honorable. Any expense for helping friends is given with reason. Any expense to help spendthrifts is lost.*

*About gluttony*

*You are feeding the family with heavy and non-delicate food. Who is gluttonous will hardly else change his habits than by death. Gluttony of the vile and negligent man is putrefication. Gluttony of the concerned and diligent man is solace. Feed your family abundantly with the Easter days be it not with delicate food. Make the throat fight with the purse and watch out whose advocate you are or which verdict you issue in the cases between throat and purse. Often but not always give a verdict in favor of the purse for the throat brings up evidence of biased witnesses who have not taken an oath, the purse however evidently brings evidence when the money-box and cellars have become empty or will be empty shortly. You issue then a bad verdict against the throat, when avarice is coupled with the purse. Avarice will never issue a proper verdict in the case between throat and purse. What is the miser? The murderer of what is his! What is avarice? Fear of poverty and of always having to live in poverty. The avaricious lives rightly if he does not spend the riches on himself but by reserving them for others, for it is better to set apart for others than to spend on oneself. (p. 126)*

*About an excess of corn*

*If you have an excess of cereals, don't wish for high prices, because who appreciates the highest value desires to be a killer of the poor. Sell the corn when it still has enough value, not when it cannot be bought by a poor man. Sell it to your neighbors for a cheaper price and also to your enemies, because an enemy is not always defeated by a sword but always by a service. Arrogance towards an enemy is a poison, and waits upon thunder and lightning.*

*About enemies*

*Do you have an important enemy? You are incarcerated! Do you have an enemy? Keep your eye open! If you have an enemy, do not engage in a conversation with people that you do not know. Keep in mind that the enemy is smart and is always devising hostile approaches. The weakness of an enemy is not in a place of peace but in an armistice of a certain period<sup>1</sup>. If you feel secure and imagine that he is not the enemy, you expose yourself to danger.*

---

<sup>1</sup> If you yourself feel the weakest party, do not go for a peace treaty but for an armistice.



#### *About women*

*Look for ignorance not for knowledge about your women, who you suspect to carry something in their shield, because after you will have known the crime of a bad wife, you will not be healed by any doctor. You will soften the pain of a bad wife only when you hear the things done by the wives of others. A noble and high heart does not inquire into the activities of women. You punish a bad wife less with a laugh than with a stick. A young and adulterous wife, if she wants that, will destroy all riches; an old and adulterous wife, if the law would permit this, should be buried alive.*

#### *About clothing*

*About clothing you really should keep in mind that an expensive garment is a proof of little sense. Clothing, which too much stands out, soon causes hate amongst the neighbors. Try to please with goodness, not by clothing. That a wife, who has clothes, still asks for clothes is not a sign of mental strength.*

#### *About friends*

*About friends you keep in mind that the friend who gives his things is larger than the one who offers himself, because the amount of friends in words is large. Do not esteem the friend who praises you in your face. If you advise a friend, do not try to please him but please reason. And say to your friend when you advise him: 'So seems to me' and not specifically: 'It should be done so', because from a bad outcome of the advice follows easier a refutation than praise about a good outcome.*

#### *About jesters*

*I have heard that jesters visit you. Listen what things come from this. The man who is focused on jesters will soon have a wife, whose name is 'Poverty', and next will be born their son, whose name will be 'Derision'. Do the words of the jester please you? Feign not to hear them and to think at something else, because already laughing about and enjoying the words of a jester give him self-confidence. Jestors who reproach bad things are worth to be hanged. What is a jester who reproaches bad things? He is somebody who brings along the spirit of murder! The instruments of jesters will not please God.*

#### *About slaves*

*Hear about slaves. Reject a haughtily slave as a future enemy. Do not keep a slave who says to like your habits. Contradict a slave and a neighbor who praise you, because otherwise they will think that they can deceive you. Love as a son the slave who easily stays modest.*

#### *About a building*

*If you want to build a house, let necessity and not your will direct you. The desire to build does not get extinguished by the actual building.<sup>2</sup> A too large and unorganized desire for building loses itself and awaits the sale of the buildings. The wise man makes sure that the money box is only empty when the tower is finished.*

#### *About selling*

*If you want to sell something, take care that you do not sell a part of your heritage to someone who is more powerful than you, but for a bit lesser price to a less powerful person than you; the whole, however, you sell to him who gives most for it. It is better to suffer a severe hunger than the sale of the patrimony; but it is better to sell a part than to subject oneself to loans against interest. What is a loan against interest (mutuum)? The poison of the patrimony, with which the legal bandit announces in advance what he intends!*

#### *About buying*

*Do not buy anything as a member of a consortium with somebody who is more powerful. Sustain a small partner patiently to prevent that a more powerful person associates with you.*

#### *About the use of wine*

*You have asked after the use of wine. Who with a diversity of wines and an affluence of dishes stays sober, he is an earthly god. Drunkenness does nothing sensible, unless when it causes you to vomit. You smell wine? Flee from the company! You smell wine? Look for sleep instead of conversation! Who with words excuses himself to be drunk, better had to accuse his drunkenness openly.*

#### *About the doctor*

---

<sup>2</sup> Once you start to build a house your desire for extensions and embellishments will augment.

*Flee from a doctor, who is full of theory, but has not proved himself in practice. Flee from the drunken doctor. Watch out for the doctor who wants to experiment on you, look how he will cure others from the same disease.*

*About dogs*

*Send very small little dogs to the priests or queens. Dogs are useful as guards. Dogs to hunt cost more than they bring in.*

*About managers*

*Do you have son? Do not make him the manager of your goods! MISSING?*

*But you say: 'If fortune turns around, what is the benefit of the doctrine of living. Listen what I have to say about these matters. I have seen stupid people, who refuse to follow the rule of living but at the end excuse themselves with fortune. Sometimes it happens indeed, that fortune turns things to the bad. For the person that follows the doctrine seldom will accuse fortune. Seldom, indeed, you will bring together diligence with bad luck, but even more seldom you will separate having bad luck from inertia. The indolent person expects that he will be helped by God, Who prescribes to pay attention.*

*About lying awake at night*

*So lay awake at night and compensate your lightness in spending with the weight of profit making. Does old age approach? I advise that you rather surrender yourself to God than to your son.*

*About wills*

*You want to make legacies? I advise you to command that the obligations to the servants and the creditors are met before those to the priests.*

*About entrustment of the soul*

*Do not entrust your soul to those who love the world or your person, but entrust your soul to those who love your soul.*

*About disposal of the goods before death*

*Dispose about your goods before your death. For everything what is done in infirmity is done as a slave and a slave cannot leave a will. So make a will before you become a slave.<sup>3</sup> Now is sufficiently said about you.*

*About division amongst the sons*

*Hear about the sons. When a father has died they look for a division amongst them. If they are nobles, better is always their dispersion over the world than the division of the legacy, because a division of this legacy is always a hard to bear dissolution. If they are workers, they do as they want. If they are merchants, a division amongst them is more secure than that a cooperation forces to charge the bad luck of one of them to the others.*

*About their mother*

*Maybe the mother wants to remarry and acts stupidly; but so that she deplores her sins, she, herself old, accepts a young man who has not wanted her but her goods. Once he has them, she drinks with him the cup of sorrows which she has always desired. Let the merits of her disgraceful old age bring her to this.*

## **2 Summary of *On the government of the house*, part II, of the *About the Government of Princes* by Giles of Rome**

[Chapters 1.1-1.6 are an introduction to original economics. The citations are mainly from *Politics*, I, I]

1.1 (p. 214-218)<sup>lxxix</sup> *In this second book then is determined the government of the house. With a family, however, the house is a kind of community, and a natural community at that: if we want to determine characteristics of the house, we have to look in what way man is communicative and social. One should know that man above other animals needs four things, from which we can investigate in a*

---

<sup>3</sup> That is: before you become too weak to take the right decisions, because you are dying

*fourfold way that he is communicative and social.* (p. 214) He needs other people in the first place, because in opposition to the other animals he prepares his food, *and never, when a man lives alone, would he have for himself the sufficiency of suitable foodstuffs, which are required for living.* (p. 216) Then he needs others to provide for his clothing. Thirdly he needs other people to defend himself and to make weapons for his hands, which other animals do not use for this purpose. *According to the Philosopher in De Anima, III the hands are the tools of tools.* (p. 217) Finally man has speech, which he uses for instruction. This he needs because in opposition to the other animals his instincts do not work properly. The possession of speech is one of the reasons why Aristotle calls man a political animal in *Politics*, I. He even wrote there: ‘a man who chooses a solitary life, is not a part of society, but either a beast or God.’ One should not take this too literally but indeed, such persons are too bad or they want to spend their lives in contemplation and leisure, *and then are in a way divine.* (p. 218) In both cases the solitary man is unable to contribute to society.

1.2 (p. 219-221, 5) Someone might strongly doubt if the community by which we get enough food and clothing, and the other goods that are necessary for a living is the domestic one, because in *Politics*, book I Aristotle writes that the community of the house is not sufficient for the whole life, because for that purpose is invented the city-state, (p. 219) This implies that the necessities for a living, which a house or a quarter cannot supply, are provided elsewhere in the city-state. There is a connection between house and city indeed. The kingdom, the city and the quarter presuppose the house and the house is the origin of them as Aristotle writes in *Politics*, I. [p. 220, r 20-225: Giles explains *Politics*, I, 1253 a 19-1253 a 29 in which Aristotle says that the house comes before quarter, city and kingdom in some respects but not in other ones. This explanation is necessary because Aristotle not only calls the house but also the city-state ‘the primary community’.] *If all other communities presuppose the house and a special community is necessary for providing enough for a living as such, then it follows that the house is necessary.* (p. 221)

1.3 (p. 221, 5-225) ‘House’ has two meanings. *The house on which one mainly is directed in the moral profession is not the building itself but the communication of the persons of the house.* (--) *Economics has to determine the degree to which one has order with respect to the house, which is a community of persons* (p. 222)<sup>xxx</sup> Now kings and princes have to govern the state as well as to navigate the house-affairs, with an eye on their political and social responsibility, just like citizen do, but they have also to take care very well of their goods and family, because kingdom etc. presuppose the house. *From their part the commoners and everybody who lives within a kingdom should know how to govern their house, not only in as far as this government is private good but also to the degree that such government is organized towards the common good, that is the good of the whole kingdom and the city.* (p. 225)

1.4 (p. 226-228). *Now we want to tell something about the community of the house.* (p. 226) Some activities are daily ones, as those that we need for every day, like eating, drinking. Others occur once in a while, like *buying and selling* (p. 226) Aristotle means with ‘formed for all day’ that the house is formed for activities during the day, the activities that occur every day. Because in one house are not found all the necessities for living, the house-community has to communicate with other houses in the quarter. The next community is the city. Eventually the principality or kingdom was invented to fight the enemies, which is more successful with a confederation of several castles and the existing cities under one prince or one king. *This then is the order: the house is the community according to nature, formed for all day* (p.227); the quarter provides for the non-daily activities; the city is formed for total self-sufficiency and the kingdom for common defense. Of course the community of the house exists of several persons, otherwise it would not be a community at all and neither would communities within the house be possible.

1.5 (p. 228-232) The Philosopher says in *Politics*, book I, that the house in the first place exists out of two communities, namely the community of the husband and wife and the one of master and slave. This can be proven by taking into consideration, what is most natural: creation and the conservation of what is created. *Creation cannot be seen without conservation, because something what is generated is brought about in vain, if it in some way cannot be conserved in its being.* (p. 229) Now the

*community of husband and wife is meant for creation and the community of master and slave for conservation.*(p. 230) So the house exists out of a community for generation and one for conservation. [Because the second part of this statement is not self-evident Giles explains it on p. 230-231.] With this two communities come three sorts of persons; men, women and slaves or something which replaces a slave. *That is why The Philosopher in Politics, I appreciatively cites Hesiod as saying that a house exists of a man, a woman and a plowing ox.* (p. 232)

1.6 (p. 233-237, 5) The third community of the house is the one of father and children. [p. 233-236, 5: Giles proofs that this third community within the house is necessary for it to be perfect.] So within a perfect house three communities exist. *Now where in the community between man and wife the man has to be the first in rank and the wife following; in the one between father and son the first has to be giving orders and the second obeying without protest and in the third one, the master is commanding and the slave implementing and serving, in a perfect house (as the Philosopher says in Politics, I) exist three kinds of government as well.* (p. 236) One may easily see also that the three are four types of persons and six roles. Because there are three kinds of government in the house, *it is not difficult to see that this book should have three parts.* (p. 237)

[Chapters 7-19 deal with marriage, the selection of the wife and the government of the wife by kings, princes and citizens. Chapters 7-11 discuss marriage. Citations about marriage come mainly from a small fragment of Aristotle's *Ethics*,<sup>lxxxi</sup> VIII and furthermore from *Ethics*, IX and *Politics*, II]

1.7 (p. 237, 5-240) *Of the three kinds of government first the conjugal government has to be discussed, because according to the Philosopher in Politics, I in the community of the house, first should unite male and female.* (p. 237). In order to deal with this subject in an orderly way, I am going to cover firstly the institution of marriage and the selection of the wife by the citizen and especially princes and kings *Then we are going to show how husbands should govern their wives and to which virtues and to which activities they should organize* (Lat.: ordinare) *them.* (p. 238) *The Philosopher says in his Ethics, VIII that the relationship between man and woman is a kind of friendship and a natural one at that.* Then he adds a threefold reason why man is a conjugal animal by nature: Firstly man is more a domestic than a political animal [p. 238, 5- 239, 5: Giles explains the content and validity of this short argument by The Philosopher.] Secondly all animals have the natural urge to produce one's similar and men should do this in marriage. Thirdly *husband and wife at the outset divide their labor; the jobs of the man seems to consist in treating* (Lat.: agere), *what is made outside the house and the wife in conserving the household goods or working up* (Lat.: operare) *some goods inside the house.* (p. 239) By combining their efforts they provide enough for both of them for a living, as *Ethics VIII* says<sup>lxxxii</sup>. [p. 240: Giles argues on his own account, that adultery should be avoided.)

1.8 (p. 241- 243, 5) *The philosophers prove furthermore, that marriages should be indivisible.* (p. 241) They provide two reasons. If a natural friendship exists between husband and wife as The Philosopher in *Ethics*, VIII writes, it would not be true friendship if fidelity between them would not exist. In this way the example from early Roman times has to be understood in the *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* of Valerius Maximus<sup>lxxxiii</sup> of a barren wife from whom her husband wanted to divorce but was not permitted to do so, *because the desire for children is not more important than conjugal fidelity.* (p. 241/2) The second reason for the indivisibility of marriage are the existence of children. The word 'community' implies that what is common binds. Parents have children in common so offspring is a binding force in marriage. The philosopher touches on this argument in *Ethics*, VIII, where he says, it is true, *that sterile marriages easier dissolve but not that they should dissolve.* (p. 242) The love of parents for their children is very strong and the stronger it becomes, the stronger becomes the wish to stay together too. Both reasons are relevant for commoners and for princes and kings even more, because if they do not take special care for their children, this may damage the kingdom.

{ p. 243, 5- 249): Giles spends two chapters (1.9 and 1.10) on arguments against polygyny (one husband has several wives) and polyandry (one wife has several husbands). Something princes and princess did at the time?}

1.11 (p. 250-252) That a too narrow consanguinity between a couple is against the prescripts of reason *may be found out along three ways, namely by looking into the respect that one has to show to one's parents and relatives; into the good that comes from a marriage and into the bad that is avoided by it.* (p. 250) As to respect, all people forbid sons to marry their mother, because the subject, the mothers, then becomes the subjected, the wife. So children should not marry their parents out of respect. Furthermore between married couples does not exist the same degree of respect as between close relatives of the blood. So, again, close relatives should not marry because it brings a loss of respect, *unless in special cases they have gotten dispensation.* (p. 251) As to the good that comes from marriage. From marriage comes peace and concord, but this is already present in relatives, so for them this good would not come from marriage, so why would they then marry? The final argument is the bad that is avoided: by marriage one restricts oneself to one person so the vice of lust is controlled. For kings and princes a marriage in the third and fourth degree is possible, if dispensation is given.

[Chapters 12 and 13 deal with the subject of the selection of a wife Citations are mainly from Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, I]

1.12 (253-255,5) *The good things are goods of the soul, like virtues and good behavior, and goods of the body, like beauty, friendliness, agility and the like.* (p. 253) The last ones are called exterior goods. *Here they are classified in three kinds, because honorableness of lineage, a large number of friends and a multitude of riches are reckoned among the exterior goods, as The Philosopher shows in Rhetoric, I.* (p. 253) Kings and Princes have to check if the person with whom they want to marry, has enough of each of them for they should marry into a honorable family, which implies a lot of honorable and powerful friends. Money is a kind of by-product. The spouse has to be from an honorable family because society requires that the prince realizes a dignified and equivalent marriage. A plurality of friends is important because it contributes to peace and peace keeping is an important task of the prince or king. *Now one uses to ask from the wife a dowry and wealth to cover the costs of the marriage and to have enough for living.* (p. 255) The wealth, and possessions, however, that kings and princes achieve for their sustenance often already is so abundant, that they can afford to look first at the nobleness of her family and the amount of friends. *These three things then are to be sought but according to the measure of proportionality, so that between the spouses a certain proportionality is maintained as well with respect to the soul as to the body.* (p. 255)

1.13 (p. 256-259, 5) Having shown all this, *still has to be said, how the wives of precisely honorable men should be equipped with exterior goods of the body as well of the soul. One has to know that The Philosopher writes in Rhetoric I, when he enumerates the goods of women, that their goods of the body are beauty and height, (Lat.: magnitudo) while those of the soul are self-control and love of being busy without slavishness.* (p. 256) That beauty and height have to be sought for is proven in this way. *More important than the possible organization of marriage towards its contribution to society, to peace and to the sustenance of life, are its organization towards the production of offspring and the avoidance of adultery* (p. 256). *Now we see that height of the body is expedient for good offspring.* (p. 257) With all animals large parents produce large offspring. The same goes for man. *Secondly has to be looked in the wife for nice forms and beauty, because these too bring good offspring.* (p. 257) Beautiful parents get beautiful children. A second reason to look for beauty in the wife is that the inclination of the husband to have sex with other women declines, if his wife is beautiful. *Now still has to be shown that that self-control and zest for work have to be sought in her. Well, that good has to be sought in the woman which is the opposite of what she is maximally inclined to.* (p. 257) Self-control is important, *because (as we have explained extensively in book I) with it she moderates those passions, to which women are maximally inclined.* (p. 258) They should also love to be active, because idleness will bring people more easily to what the ratio defends. *For the human mind cannot do nothing as the Philosopher says in Politics, VI* ((p. 258) So if it is not occupied with good and permitted activities, it will wander off to bad thoughts.

[Chapters 14- 19 deal with the government of the wife] Vincent uses *Politics*, I, VI and VII of Aristotle]

1.14 (p. 259, 5-262, 5) *We can in two ways investigate that wives is are governed differently from children:* (p. 259) the manner of governing and the government jobs. The argument from the manner of governing unfolds this way. Man is called 'the smaller world', because he is governed by one principle, his ratio, just like the cosmos is governed by one principle too: God, the pure and separated intellect. *Plato saved in some way part of the complete order of the heavens in the rational soul*<sup>lxxxiv</sup>. (p.259) If already this one principle is reproduced in man, the more so it will be reproduced in the city-state and in the house. *Therefore The Philosopher compares in Politics, I the ways in which the city-state is governed with those applied in the house. A city-state (at least nowadays) is governed in two ways: a republican (Lat.: politicus) or monarchical way.* (p. 260] He also in his there puts the republican government on par with the conjugal one in the house and the monarchical one with the paternal way, in which is dealt with children. *The husband has to take the lead towards the wife in a republican way, because this is prescribed by positive [civil DN] laws and the [canonical DN)]marriage law and by customs and agreements, according to which he has to reign.* (p. 260) Conventions and agreements do not play a role in the father-child relationship. There the father is free to do what he likes. Moreover the paternal way of governing is more natural, because children just happen to be born, while the conjugal government is rather a matter of human agreement. So the two kinds of governing in the house are different, *the paternal one being total and natural; the conjugal one restricted and out of free will.* (p. 261) The second argument derives from the difference in the government jobs. *The father has to lead the house in such a way that he organizes the sons towards other tasks than his wife.* (p. 261/2) The sons are educated so that, once adults, they will be able to perform military and civil functions. This is not the job of governing the wife.

1.15 (p. 262, 5-264) *Still has to be shown how the government of the wife differs from the one of the slave. In three ways can be shown that one should not use one's wife as a slave* (p. 262). The first argument is the order in nature. God has created nature in a perfect order. *Because something is maximally ordered when one person is ordered to perform one duty and because the wife by nature is ordered to produce children, therefore she is not ordered to be a slave. That is why the Philosopher in Politics, I says that wife and slave are by nature distinct for (as The Philosopher says there also) nature makes nothing as the cutlers make the Delphic knife.* (p. 263) Now The Philosopher says also in *Politics, I* that with some barbarian people the wife has the same rank as a slave but one has to understand that with barbarians he means people, who do not use their ratio and not simply neighboring people for in our time Germans and Englishmen do not use their wives as slaves. The second argument is that a house has to be perfect. *A house, however, where wife and slave have the same function seems not to be perfect and to have a lack of goods and not to be able to provide for its living.* (p. 264). This explains why The Philosopher says in *Politics* that the poor, who do not have a mass of slaves or an abundance of the goods that are necessary to have a perfect house, use their wives and children also as slaves. The third argument is that equality has to exist between husband and wife. *The husband should be leading, because of his better use of his ratio, but this does not mean that the imparity between the husband and the wife should be such as that she is used as a slave, but rather as a partner.* (p. 264)

{p. 256- 269, 5: Giles spends one chapter (1.16) to explain the fragment in *Politics*, VII, xiv, in which Aristotle argues that one should not marry too young. and a shorter one (1.17) on the fragment that enters into the subject of the proper time of conception}

1.18 (p. 269, 5-272) *It has to be told here, be it shortly and succinctly, which are the praiseworthy and the reprehensible things in specifically women.* (p. 270). In women is praiseworthy in the first place that they are diffident. This has two causes: their desire for praise and the timidity of their heart. Their desire for praise comes from their imperfection. Just like the clerics who are imperfect in science like to be praised about the knowledge they command more than those who really are learned, women, who are less perfect in virtue than men, like to be praised more about heir virtues, often the virtues of their body. This diffidence of women can also be explained by their timidity. *They are by nature so timid, that almost all frightens them.* (p. 271) Secondly is praiseworthy in women that they usually are pious and compassionate. Children and the aged are also compassionate but not for the same reason. Women possess this character trait because their heart is weak. *In the third place has to be taken into*

*consideration with women that they generally are overdoing things; when they are pious, they are too pious, etc.* (p. 272) This way what may be praiseworthy in good things, is reprehensible in bad ones. *We can on the other hand relate three reprehensible things of women.* (p. 272) First they are immoderate and followers of their emotions, because of a shortage of reason, unlike the man who uses his reason completely. By the same cause they are quarrelsome. The ratio does not maximally function as a bridle for women. So when they start fighting they do not know how to stop *for we see them continue quarreling longer than men.* (p. 272) Thirdly women are capricious and unstable which happens because of the weakness of their frame. *The soul follows the body and because they have bodies that are soft and unstable, as to their will and desire they are also volatile and capricious.* (p. 272)

1.19 (p. 273-275, 5) *One should know that there is one common rule for all governing: who wants to govern something well should take special precautionary measures against what in his view this thing mostly lacks* (p. 273) So some philosophers teach that people who are not eloquent, have to make special efforts to pronounce difficult texts. Applying this rule to the government of the wife and *having seen in the former chapter that they usually are immoderate, quarrelsome and unstable they have to be lead towards self-control, taciturnity and stableness. Now self-control consists (as is said in the first part) of four elements, namely chastity, honesty, abstinence and soberness.* (p. 273/4) Chastity is not only important because of the loyalty indebted to the husband but also because of the procreation of offspring. *It the wife does not serve chastity, it may easily happen that the own son of the man will not receive the inheritance of his father.* (p. 274) This is an important argument for kings and princes, where illegitimate offspring can be an important cause for fights. Honesty is important too, for flirting suggests that a women looks for an opportunity for unchastity. Abstinence of food and of soberness as to alcohol bring people easily to sex and therefore should be avoided too. Initially wine was even unknown to the Roman women, as Valerius Maximus relates in his the second book, which deals with early customs. Citizens have to instruct their wives and apply the precautionary measures themselves; the nobility has to employ a housekeeper for this. As to taciturnity, *The Philosopher says in Politics, I that taciturnity is the ornament of the wife.* (p. 275). *She should be taciturn, because taciturnity is becoming her and serves to enlarge the love of the husband for his wife.* (p. 275) She also should be stable, because the more constant and firm she is the more she will convince her husband, that she maintains the indebted loyalty. *The wives, therefore, have to be governed with such a regime that they are strong with regard to the six<sup>lxxxv</sup> mentioned goods.* (p. 275)

Chapters 20-24 deal with ‘how husband and wife should associate with each other’. Giles for this subject falls back on *Ethics*, II, IV and VII, *Rhetoric*, I and II *Politics*, I and *About Animals* of Aristotle.

1.20 (p. 275, 5-278, 5) *It is not sufficient for Kings and Princes, and in general all commoners to know how to govern their wives and to which virtues to lead them, if one does not also know how to behave oneself at her side.* (p. 275) Three things are relevant here. *In the first place they [husbands D]) should use them [wives DN] moderately and discretely* (p. 276). There are three arguments against immoderate sex. The frequent use of the genitals is bad for the bodies, included that of the husband, *because the generative power gets exhausted and (as The Philosopher says in Ethics, III) lust is insatiable* (p. 276). When this maximally is satisfied, one wants more than nature requires and the body cannot recover itself. *That is why superfluous sex damages brains, sight and other noble parts.* (p. 276) Then, not only the body becomes debilitated but the mind too, because the body is -so to say- a tool of the mind and if the body becomes weaker, to the same extent the mind can use the ratio less. Finally the more one abandons oneself to the sexual acts, the more lust one gets, because that is how passionate things work, as The Philosopher says in *Ethics*, VII. They have to know as well, that sex should be practiced at the proper time, in the convenient place and on the right way, *so that the friendship between the couple not only is pleasurable but also honorable.* (p. 277) Secondly the husband should enable his wife to maintain the proper magnificence. If he wants his wife to show the same status as he does, he should give her the necessary garments. A wife is so closely connected to her husband, that the honor he makes possible for his wife, strikes back at him. She is not his slave but his companion and this should show. The third element of adequate behavior at her side is proper



conversation. This means that he *shows the indebted signs of his friendship and instructs her by the indebted admonishments* (p. 277). What is due in this respect depends on the situation and the character of the wife. If for instance a wife is humble one should show more signs of friendship to her than when she is proud, because if one shows friendship to proud women *they will want to reign over their own husbands*. (p. 278) In the same way the instructions to a prudent wife will differ from the admonishments to a silly one.

1.21 (p. 278, 5- 281, 5) *Kings and princes, and in general all commoners have to know which line to take with their wives as to the embellishment of the body*. (p. 278) Otherwise they will not be able to lead their wives towards honest and permitted actions. *Because women maximally endeavor to look beautiful, they mainly make mistakes with the embellishment of the body*. (p. 278) With the example of Sparta The Philosopher shows in *Rhetoric, I* that women, who aim at what is not permitted, call out bad over the city-state. *One has to know that the embellishment of the wife consists of two elements, of which one may be mentioned artificial and the other one non- artificial*. (p. 279) All kinds of make-up are artificial, because they *make women more beautiful than they actually are*. (p. 279) The clothing and adornment, which corresponds to the status of the husband, are not artificial but when modest permitted. Therefore Valerius Maximus writes that the citizens of Rome provided their wives with beautiful cloths and other ornaments. *This then is how embellishment has to be judged. But if we want to instruct the wives themselves* (p. 279) how to deal with this subject a warning has to be given: usually with garments two sins are committed: overabundance and shortage. Andronicus Peripaticus<sup>lxxxvi</sup> in *On Virtue* suggests against overabundance three virtues: humility, temperance and simplicity. Humility means to dress oneself not for vainglory but to make oneself beautiful for the husband, so that he keeps away from other women. Temperance comes down to dressing oneself in correspondence with the status of the couple. In this respect *the wives of noblemen are more adorned than those of ordinary commoners* (p. 279) and those of kings and princes even more. Simplicity means the absence of too much zeal. A default in dressing may be caused by laziness and negligence as well as a desire to be applauded because of one's visible poverty in clothing. In *Ethics, IV* The Philosopher blames the wives of Sparta for this last vice.

1.22 (p 281, 5-282) *Many men seem to make the mistake that they are too jealous of their own wives* (p. 281). This is not something praiseworthy for three reasons. First the husband gets stressed, because he is in a permanent state of suspicion. Secondly the women get incited to evil, *while prohibition always augments the desire. For, as is said in Rhetoric, II desire exists for what is absent*. (p. 282) This kind of desire is a vice. Thirdly quarrels and disorder between them arise in the house, because the wife is accused without cause and the husband expresses his suspicions without foundation, incapable of suffering in silence. That he should not be too jealous does not mean that he should not watch her and not have any jealousy. It should be the proper amount of jealousy, which makes that *between them will exist a natural, honorable and pleasurable friendship*. (p. 282)

1.23 (p. 283-284, 5) *The judgment of women is weak, according to Politics, I, because, like children, the female has an imperfect deliberative faculty, because it has shortcomings in comparison with the perfection of the man*. (p. 283) On the other hand she reaches earlier perfection, because The Philosopher explains in *About Animals* that all lesser and weak beings reach their perfection earlier. *So generally speaking the judgment of men is better than that of women (--) but at times the female judgment can be better than the male one*. (p. 284)

1. 24 (p. 284, 5-286, 5) *We can investigate along three ways that women generally and mostly are not able to keep secrets*. (p. 284) The three arguments to prove this are that their reason has shortcomings, that their heart is soft and that they always pursue praise. The reason argument is that women cannot keep secrets because the prohibition as such causes in them the desire to disclose them more than men. The soft heart argument says that women think that somebody is their friend, once she is friendly to them. The pursuance of praise finally makes them reveal secrets in confidence. This may be often the case, but one may observe as well that *some women do keep the secrets that they should*. (p. 285) Therefore the truth is that *men should not disclose secrets to their wives, unless they have experienced day and again that their wives are modest, prudent, stable and no spreaders of secrets*. (p. 285) As to

the proper activities of women, *because we will pay attention to them later, we will now let this subject go.* (p. 286)

Part II book 2: *In which is discussed how parents - with regard to their own children - take care of them.*

[Chapters 1-4 proof, that parents have educational duties towards their children. He is using on *Ethics*, VIII, *Politics*, II and VI and *De Animalibus* by Aristotle to extract citations]

2.1 (p. 287-289, 5) *Because, as is said in Politics, I, the government of the house takes more interest in humans than in the emotion of the inanimate<sup>lxxxvii</sup>, and in freeman than in slaves therefore we decided to discuss the principles of the government of the children earlier than the government of the slaves* (p. 287), although the last one is larger task. With this subject we first want to show that *parents should be concerned about their children. For if the concern one should have about one's children is known to them, they will be more stimulated to govern their children well.* (p. 288) These are the three reasons. Firstly, parents are the origin of their children and nature makes sure of the survival of what it has created. Secondly parents stand above their children, so they have the responsibility to govern their children, like God takes care for the whole universe and the heavenly bodies govern what is on earth. Thirdly a natural friendship exists between parents and children. *So because a natural love exists between parent and child, as is proven in Ethics, VIII parents precisely because of the natural love they have for their children, take care of them.* (p. 289)

2.2 (p. 289, 5-291, 5) Certainly princes and kings should be concerned about their offspring. The first argument why they should be more concerned than the common man is the one of intelligence. The Philosopher writes in *De Animalibus*, that to the degree that animals are more intelligent, they have more concern for their offspring. In his *Ethics* he writes that it is natural that anybody loves his own work. So, princes and kings, to the degree that they are more intelligent and know children are theirs, are supposed to be more concerned about them than the rest. Secondly the children of kings and princes should have more strength as to moral goodness than others, because in *Politics*, II The Philosopher writes that people with the highest position and dignity should be the moral and intellectual best. Therefore those children of kings and princes, who are going to be governors, need the concern of their parents for an education that they become the moral and intellectual best also. The third argument is the one of the interest of the kingdom. *The quality of a kingdom depends on the goodness of them who are in the kingdom and maximally of the goodness of the prominent persons in it, like the health of the body is dependent on the health of all members and maximally from the health of the heart (--).* (p. 290) So the parents have to be concerned about their children that they as future rulers will behave prudently and morally good.

2.3 (p. 291, 5-293) *We can in two ways retrace that the paternal government takes its origin from love.* (p. 292) Natural order proves it. *The Philosopher says that nature has given the procreative power to things, in order that those who are not capable of continuing themselves, are able to reproduce themselves in others, who are like them.* (p. 292) This is the case with parents and children. *To love these similars is natural too* (p. 293). So the natural order teaches us that the paternal government takes its origin from love. The second argument comes from the perfection of the father. *According to the Philosopher something is perfect, when it is capable of producing its similar.* (p. 293) Children are the perfection of their parents. *Because everybody loves his perfection, of course the father loves his children, being the proof of his perfection.* (p. 293) Thus, *because he has a natural love for his son, a father takes care to govern and control him* (p. 293) If somebody uses his children as slaves, his house is imperfect. The probable reason for this is that the father is poor, as The Philosopher says in *Politics*, VI, so that he cannot afford a mass of slaves.

{ In 2.4 (p. 294-297) Giles explains the passage which shows the difference in the mutual amount of love between parents and children in *Ethics*, VIII. }

[Chapters 5-9 deal with the principles of education. Chapters 5-7 expose the subjects that should be learned to children; belief, behavior and knowledge; chapter 8 discusses secondary education and in chapter 9 Giles exposes the characteristics a tutor should have. All citations are brought forward from a variety of Aristotle's books: *Politics*, VIII, *Ethics*, II, III and X, *Rhetoric*, II, *Metaphysics* I and II, *About the soul*, I and *On memory*.]

2.5<sup>lxxxviii</sup> (p. 298-300) *Along three ways can be shown that commoners, and certainly kings and princes have to take care that their children are taught belief from early youth onwards.* (p. 298) Firstly this is the right age to accept the kind of knowledge which is a matter of authority. *Young children, when their father or mother propose them something to believe, are not yet looking for the meaning of the words, because they miss still the use of the reason, but they accept what is being told to them.* (p. 298) Secondly religious truths are simply to be accepted, because they are higher truths than those of reason. They get their authority from God, in whose divine prudence we can trust more than any rational argument. If religious truths simply have to be believed, we should teach them to children in the age that they are credulous. The third proof comes from the fact that the truths of religion have to be adhered to in a firm way. The more something is habitual, the more it becomes natural and the more we adhere to it. *We are more used to the things on which we sweat when young than the other ones* (p. 299), so that in order to adhere firmly to religious truths, they have to be proposed to us in early youth. The problem too is that one later is exposed to all kinds of fables and ridiculous prescripts, so children had better be taught the Christian faith as early as possible. It is enough to teach children the belief by way of a broadly outlined summary. [p. 300: Giles specifies the basic religious truths, which should be taught to young children.].

2.6 (p. 301-303, 5) *If all commoners and maximally kings and princes are concerned about inheritance and money so that they can support their children as to the bodily needs, much more they have to be concerned that they will get a perfect soul and accustomed to virtues and good habits,* (p. 301) for the soul is more important than the body. *We can in a fourfold way retrace that children have to be instructed in good habits from their childhood onwards:* (1) One has the argument from pleasure: The Philosopher says in *Ethics* that it is natural to keep enjoying what we have begun to enjoy in our early youth. *If then in early youth the desire for pleasure starts, this has to be resisted from early youth onwards too* (p. 301), (2) There is also the argument from the shortage of reason: the best state of the soul to be brought to good behavior is one where one is inclined to playfulness and subject to passion and this is the case in the age of youth, as The Philosopher shows in his *Rhetoric*. (3) The third argument is based on our strong inclination to do the bad. At the end of *Ethics* The Philosopher shows how much time it takes to straighten a twisting twig. This endeavor may be compared with the education of children. (4) The final argument is the one from the habit of the opposite. Because children are regularly brought to bad habits, while this is easy, because children are soft and following, especially the young ones *from early youth on need admonitions and the right corrections, to keep them from licentiousness.* (p. 303)

2.7 (p. 303,5-306,5) All people should be able to read, because reading *makes one more prudent and therewith more capable of preventing what is forbidden.* (p. 303) The poor are excused, because they need to work for their necessities and do not have the time for reading. *Nobles, however, and maximally kings and princes, who possess an abundance of riches and possession, should no doubt be reprehended if they are not concerned with the government of their children in such a way that from early youth onwards reading and writing<sup>lxxxix</sup> are given to them.* (p. 303) Along three ways one may approach that one should start reading in early youth. In the first place one needs to know Latin above the vernacular, because it is the only language which expresses the reality satisfactorily, which is the reason why all scholars use it. It is already important in order to speak the vernacular correctly, to start practicing it from youth on, so certainly we will not be able to speak Latin correctly, unless we start to learn it young. The second argument is that study is not possible without attention and effort &) The Philosopher in *Politics* writes that those activities give us more pleasure, to which we are used in our youth, & *what gives us the most pleasure we do with the most attention and effort* (p. 304), from which it follows that one should start reading when young. *The third way is taken from the perfection, which is required to master the sciences* (p. 305) People are not really equipped for science. *That is why The*

*Philosopher in On the soul, I states that the soul spends more time in ignorance than in knowledge. (p. 305) Our life is short and the way to science long, so who wants to reach perfection in science should start with reading in early youth. Children of nobles and kings should rather know how to read and write in order to be able to use prudence and intellect later. This has to prevent too that they will become tyrants, once they will placed in the position of rulers (p. 306)*

2.8 (p. 306, 5-310) [p. 306, 5-308, 5: Giles explains the nobleness of the content of the seven liberal sciences: Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Music, with which Aristotle deals in *Politics*, VIII, Algebra, Geometry and Astronomy.] Natural philosophy, which teaches the nature of things, is nobler. Metaphysics, which discusses God and substance in a scientific way, is much nobler and theology, about God and the angels, *is by far and incomparably more noble and worthier than all the other ones. Moreover the practical sciences, Ethics (--), Economics (--), and Politics (--), are very useful and necessary for the sons of freemen and nobles.* (p. 308/9) Then there are still Perspective, Medicine and Law, which are usually considered as auxiliary sciences, successively to geometry, natural philosophy and politics. *Now that the sciences are divided in this way, it is obvious over which science the sons of nobles and certainly those of kings and princes should sweat.* (p. 309/10) The sons of kings and princes that are going to be governors of the empire have to be instructed first in the belief and then in the sciences which tell them how to reign and govern: the practical sciences. *The rest of the sciences they should know in as far as these are auxiliary ones to the practical sciences* (p. 310). They should therefore know the grammar of the language in which the practical sciences are written [Latin DN]. This helps to read and write secret messages too. The sons of the nobles, who will become fighters, however, *should in the first place sweat over reading and writing in their own language.* (p. 310) Future governors should moreover acquire a basic knowledge of logic and rhetoric and know in how far music contributes the good habits, which is possible according to The Philosopher.

{2.9 (p. 311-314, 5): Giles argues that sons of nobles need a tutor and explains the ideal character traits and experience of this pedagogue.}

[Chapters 10-14 delve into the subject of teaching good behavior. Giles bases his ideas on *Politics*, VII and VIII, *Ethics*, III and IV and *Rhetoric* II by Aristotle]

2.10 (p. 314, 5-317, 5) *At the end of Politics, VII The Philosopher teaches that older boys should be bridled as to their talking, seeing and hearing.* (p. 314) Usually they have three problems with talking: they often talk dirty, they lie and they talk without thinking beforehand. The problem is that this easily will become a habit and once adults will do the same; moreover dirty language leads to dirty deeds later, as The Philosopher says, because the memory of the fun experienced with the foul talk sticks. Mendacity according to the Philosopher in *Ethics*, IV is something bad and has to be avoided per se, so older boys have to be brought to *sticking to the truth, which according to the Philosopher on the same Ethics, IV is good and praiseworthy.* (p.315) Finally, because young man are inexperienced and do not know much, they easily say things which they later regret. So one should older boys teach to think, before they start talking. As to the bridle to their seeing, the pedagogues and teachers have to watch not only what young man see but also their manner of looking. Care should be taken that they do not see bad acts in actual life, because, *as the Philosopher says in Politics, VII, all that comes first we love more.* (p. 315) But this is not enough! Because one remembers so well and also desires what one has seen in one's youth, *The Philosopher (ibidem) forbids older boys to see the indecent things on sculptures and paintings, e.g. if there are nude women depicted on them, they should not be shown to older boys.* (p. 316) Then, at that age, where almost everything seen is new, one is inclined to look around in order to see everything, which for kings and princes is very improper, because wandering eyes suggest frivolity, fussiness and scantiness. *So those who are going to reign and govern from early youth on have to be taught a mature glance.* (p. 316) As to their hearing, again two matters have to be watched: what they hear and whom they hear. That they hear shameful bad things has to be prevented, again because from this will come shameful acts later, as the Philosopher says. *In the same way should be taken care that young man listen to good and respectable men and are forbidden to listen to slanderers and indecent people.* (p. 317)

[2.11 (p. 317, 5- 319): Giles explains in 2.11 what older boys should be learned about the manner of eating]

2.12 (p. 320-322, 5) *We have earlier said that the age group of the older boys is maximally inclined to a lack of self-control. (--) Self-control has to be applied in three areas: food, drinks and sex (Lat.: venerea) (p. 320)* So older boys should not only abstain from gluttony they also should stay sober. By soberness they prevent three bad consequences. Firstly too much wine incites to sexual acts, because the body becomes too hot. Secondly it disturbs the brains, which makes that one become easily offended. *Thirdly it causes dispute and discord (p. 321)* Because older boys are lovers of insults as The Philosopher says in his *Rhetoric*, II drinking should be forbidden to them. *Now still remains to be looked into how older boys should behave as to sex and the marriage that has to be solemnized. (321).* They have to be instructed in such a way that they are not licentious. *All sexual acts except in marriage are against the precept of reason. (p. 321)* So they have to be brought to sticking to their wives also. As to the age of marriage The Philosopher says in his *Politics*, VII that girls should marry at 18 and men at 36. *The desiring power, however, is full grown at 21. If sons marry under that age they are provoked to licentiousness and their growth is hindered, as the Philosopher tells in the same fragment of Politics (p. 322), but after 21 men may marry at the age that suits them.*

2.13 (p. 322, 5-325) *Play<sup>xc</sup>, as The Philosopher proves in Politics, VIII is necessary in life, which for now can be shown in two ways. (p. 322)* Firstly, the mind cannot stay unoccupied and when it becomes empty of licit thoughts, it wanders towards bad ones. *That is why the Philosopher says in Politics, VIII that play is some way distraction (--). (p. 322)* Secondly, between periods of labor leisure should be inserted so that the work goals eventually will be reached more easily. This explains The Philosopher in *Politics*, VIII So boys should be instructed to have games, be them used on a moderate scale and they should be decent ones too, *because the bad ones should be forbidden (p. 323)* as the Philosopher wants in *Politics*, VII. A second subject is the proper gestures. *The gestures are said to be the movements of the body, from which are judged the movements of the soul. (p. 323)* One should not be able to deduce from the movements of the body the rapture of the soul, the foolishness of the mind or the intemperance of the desire. For instance when speaking, one should not use feet, hands, eyes, etc. at the same time. Discipline in this respect is mainly a matter of focusing on the member used, whenever it is employed. *So older boys should be taught to possess such gestures and to use the movements of their members to serve the activities they have in mind. (p. 324)* *Clothes can be ordered according to three (purposes): pleasure, utility or honor. (p. 324)* If we use clothes for pleasure they are delicate and soft; if for utility they are thick or thin and if for honor they are beautiful and elegant. It is indecent to care too much about delicacy and comfort of clothes and pleasure in general, because by this attitude one is brought lightly to sensuality and weakness of flesh. *Women seem to be so more than men because they are not constant and soft and easily jump into sensuality (p. 324/5)* Men become timid by soft clothing, where especially older boys should be eager to fight. The utility of clothes - their second purpose- differs for men and women, winter and summer, old and young. To determine if clothes are honorable, finally, *one has to take into consideration the customs of the fatherland and the status of the persons concerned. (p. 325)*

2.14 (p. 326-327) Older boys should be kept from bad company because they are easily influenced; as typical followers of their passions are inclined to do the bad; love company too much and finally are credulous. That they are easily influenced can be explained by the fact that the soul follows the composition of the body. If the last is still soft and pliable, as is the case with boys and older boys, the soul is this too. So the habits of their comrades are easier printed on their souls than on those of elder people. As to passions, the second soft spot, *one is easily brought to whatever one is inclined and older boys are inclined to the bad (p. 326), as I have written in the part about Ethics.* Thirdly, older boys love friends and prefer comrades more than the other age groups (as is to be found in *Rhetoric*, II), because for them it is a pleasure to form groups. Therefore too bad company should be forbidden to them. Fourthly older boys are too credulous and forbidden pleasures easily appear good to them. So they are easily convinced by their comrades to do the things that appear to be good but actually are bad.

[Chapters 15-17 specify education towards the three age groups that Aristotle distinguishes: 0-7, 7-14, 14-21 years). Mainly *Politics*, VII and VIII are used.]

{2.15 (p. 328-330): Giles explains and varies on *Politics*, VII, xv about the education of the children of the first age group (0-7 years).}

2.16 (p. 331-333) Because of the individual development of each child one should not apply the division of the youth in septennaries too strictly. In the second septennary, from the 7<sup>th</sup> till the 14<sup>th</sup> year three aspects of the government of sons have to be looked into: body, will and intellect. *The basic division of man is the one in body and soul but the most important powers of the soul are intellect and desire. One therefore has to watch in children three things; firstly the situation of the body, secondly the one of the will and thirdly the one of the intellect. To get their body well disposed, they have to be brought to practice the right exercises and motions. In order to get their will well ordered, they should be induced to the proper virtues and acts of virtue. But to get their intellect perfect, they are to be instructed in the proper sciences.* (p. 331) So science, virtue and exercises are important when it comes to the government of children. *Till they are fourteen the boys should get used to heavier work and more difficult exercises than in the first period* (p. 332), be them not yet of a military character or really heavy ones. The Philosophers suggest in *Politics* VIII that this way the growth of the body is not hindered. As to virtue, *one has to know that The Philosopher writes in Politics, V that it would be a pity not to instruct boys in virtue and not to teach them to observe the useful laws* (332) The reader should be aware of this for The Philosopher inquires in *Politics*, VIII, if the will or the intellect of boys should be formed first. The will does come first! He proves that in first instance one has to make sure that the desires of the boys are channeled into the right direction. This is especially important in the second septennary, because the consequence of an unorganized desire is an unorganized will and a well-organized will is going to be necessary in the following stage in order to be able to develop the intellect. The proper approach in this regard is to concentrate oneself on the enforcement of the opposite of the bad habits which older boys use to acquire.

This emphasis on virtue for the second septennary does not mean that in this stage one can forget the development of the intellect. *No, the boys should already in the second period be instructed in grammar, which is the language of science, in logic, which is more a way of knowing than a science and in music practice, which is a kind of modulence of voices.* p. 333)

2.17 (p. 334-338,5) [(p. 334-335,5): Giles summarizes chapters 2.15 and 2.16.] *But in the third septennary, that is to say from the fourteenth year onwards, one has to try to achieve three things: a well-disposed body, a well-ordered desire and a well illuminated intellect.* (p. 335) As to the further education of the body, *The Philosopher says also in his Politics that till their fourteenth year the boys have to get used to the lighter tasks, but after that have to take on heavier tasks.* (p. 335) So one should now start with wrestling and other military exercises, which are of course useful for the soldiers to be. *Where everybody who wants to lead a political life [in opposition to a clerical life DN] in some way should do heavy work for the defense of the state,* (p. 335) everybody should get accustomed to working with his muscles in order to be prepared. As to the well-ordered desire, the older youth seems to make two mistakes: presumption, in other words to think that they can and may dominate because at this age they start to use their ratio, and secondly too much interest in sex. Older boys should not be presumptuous but listen to their parents. *The Philosopher in Politics, VIII touches on three short reasons why children should remain submissive and listen to parents and older people* (p. 346): (1) it is for their own good; (2) they learn from the example which is good because they later have to teach the young in their turn and (3) who wants to become a master first has to learn to be a subject, *reason why the Philosopher says that nobody is a good prince, who has not earlier been a subject.* (p. 337). As to the second mistake, older boys between 14 and 21 have to be persuaded to abstain from sex *totally or to restrict themselves to the use of their own wife.* (p. 337). [(p. 337, 5-338, 5): Giles repeats chapter 2.7]

[Chapter 18 discusses the education of specifically future kings. Citations are from *Politics*, VIII, *De Anima*, II, and *Physics*, VIII.]

2.18 (p. 338, 5 -340, 5) Especially older boys who want a secular life should practice bodily exercises to avoid idleness. It is moreover a good preparation for their military activities. A distinction between them has to be made here, *because the sons of princes and kings have to do bodily exercise in lesser degree and the first born who are going to govern have to do less bodily labor than other older boys* (p. 339). The point here is that *The Philosopher writes in Politics, VIII that bodily work and intellectual contemplation seem to stand in each other's way.* (p. 339) The reason for this is found in *De Anima*, II, where one comes across the proverb 'A weak body has a capable mind'. So the bodily labor, which makes the body hard, hinders the acumen of the mind. He therefore quite rightly writes in *Physics*, VIII that the soul is prudent when one is quietly sitting. As future governors of the state they should become more prudent than bellicose because in a king practical wisdom is of more worth than war weapons. They should not neglect all bodily exercise but give priority to *diligently studying the moral sciences so that they get to understand the habits of people and how they use to acts* (p. 340) For them it is proper to contemplate the good habits in the kingdom and to listen frequently to the stories about the acts of the predecessors, who reigned over the kingdom well.

[Chapters 19-21 deal specifically with the education of daughters. Giles takes his citations from *Rhetoric*, I and II, *Ethics*, IX and X and *Politics*, VIII. ]

2.19 (p. 340, 5-342) After the coverage of the care for sons, the care for daughters has to be discussed too. A short treatise will be enough because almost sufficiently has been said in *About the government of the wife*[Part I above DN]. *Where wives have to be chaste and honest and abstinent and sober<sup>xc</sup> this goes for daughters too.* (p. 340) But a few specific rules have to be added. *The first of them is that it should be forbidden to them to wander around the house.*(p. 341) There are three reasons for this prohibition: it takes away from the daughters the opportunity for doing evil, prevents them from becoming impudent and precludes that they become lascivious and lewd. As to the first reason, with the pleasures of the senses *man is inclined to do the bad whenever he can according to the Philosopher in his Rhetoric, II*, (p. 341) If one wants to conserve purity and innocence one should be aware of the proverbial 'the opportunity to steal makes a thief' and eliminate the opportunities for evildoing. Certainly for women, because they are inclined to the bad more than man, *because they lack the use of reason more* (p. 341). This inclination to evildoing goes for the girls as well, be it more for the older girls than the young ones. As to the second reason, by going out girls meet men and hear their lies and observe their shamelessness and think that these are the norms and therefore start to practice them too. As to the danger of lascivious and lewd behavior, *by keeping girls at home one prevents them from becoming wild.* (p. 342). One can easily observe that very wild animals, once used to man, let themselves be touched and caressed. If girls are not permitted to become wild, they will more difficultly be inclined to lasciviousness and lewd behavior.

2.20 (p. 343-344) *In Rhetoric, I The Philosopher recommends to women love for a working attitude.*(p. 343) There are three reasons for all commoners, which even are more valid for the nobles and maximally for kings and princes. Firstly, *our life cannot be lead without any pleasures as the Philosopher writes in Ethics, X.* (p. 343). One has to take up work in which one finds pleasure. *Because all have fun with their own works and all love the results of them - like The Philosopher wants in Ethics. IX, that women may have fun with some allowed works of their liking - , women should be directed at some allowed and honest works that fits them better than men.* (p. 343/4) Secondly, because the males already take the governing responsibilities and the mind wants to be occupied, the women who desire to occupy their minds become easily enthusiast about the wrong things, certainly because their use of the ratio is less than those of men, as already often said. This wrong direction of their thoughts is avoided by daily work. Thirdly the result of their work is useful. *Women can never give themselves to practices that are allowed, if not at the same time some good comes from the more outside work or the outcome is some good disposition of their internal mind.* (p. 344) One should take care that the women are good and virtuous, what the Spartans had forgotten as Aristotle tells in *Rhetoric* I. If one asks to which works they should be motivated, the answer is that

this depends. Weaving, sewing and spinning are the usual occupations for women. If the traditions of a country or a high position, however, forbid this, than they should be stimulated to read.

{2.21 (p. 345-346): Giles elaborates the necessity to teach girls taciturnity, in line with chapters 1.19 en 1.24}

Book II, part 3 in which is discussed how kings and princes should govern their ministerials and the rest of the family

[Chapters 1-2 have an introductory character (the organs and the house. Giles employs *Politics*, I, 3.)

3.1 (p. 348-351, 5) *To this part, which deals with the government of the ministerials and the rest of the family<sup>xcii</sup> can be connected the material about those things that supply the bodily needs and those that bring about their conservation and their being sufficient for a living.* (p. 348) Examples of them are the decency of the buildings, the number of coins and the amount of other possessions. (348) *That the wise pater familias, or the learned helmsman (Lat.: gubernator) of the family<sup>xciii</sup> should look into all these subjects and that they are connected is sufficiently shown by The Philosopher in Politics, I.* (p. 349)

[p. 349-351: Giles proves that this connection indeed is shown by The Philosopher in *Politics*, I.]

3.2 (p. 351, 5-353, 5) The Philosopher says in *Politics*, I too, that all organs for the navigation of the house can be distinguished in two kinds: those with a soul, like slaves and ministerials and those without a soul, like houses, implements and money, like in the art of navigation one has the rowers and the oars. *Having distinguished both kinds of tools* [inanimate and animate DN], *now has to be shown how they relate to each other* (p. 352). Because the house is natural and in nature everything is put into an order, the possessions with a soul are higher than those without one, as the Philosopher explains in *Politics*, I. [p. 352-353. Giles shows how Aristotle explains that masters and overseers need ministerials and slaves, to get into motion the tools without a soul.]

[Chapters 3-12 discuss the tools without a soul. First come Chapters 3-4 which deal with the buildings. Giles uses here Aristotle, *Ethics*, III and IV, *Politics*, VI, and Palladius *Opus agriculturae* I, 3, I, 16, I, 17 and I, 18.]

3.3 (p. 353, 5- 356, 5) *First will be shown what houses (Lat.: domus) and what living quarters (Lat.: habitationes) kings and princes and in general all commoners should have* (p. 353). That precisely kings and princes should have admirable and nicely built living quarters is proven by The Philosopher by showing the necessity of royal magnificence and of admiration by their people. He shows in *Ethics*, IV in the chapter about magnificence that this virtue is expressed by huge spending on houses. The other citizen however should have more or less conspicuous houses, as corresponds to their fortune. To this comes that The Philosopher writes in *Politics*, VI that the people should admire their governors, because this prevents them from revolts and as he writes in *Ethics*, III from opposition. Large and beautiful houses make them admire their king or prince. A third reason why their houses should be large is that *where the riches are many, there are also many people who eat from them* (355), which requires housing many ministerials. [(p. 355, 5 -356, 5) Giles reproduces from the *Opus agriculturae* of the agronomist Palladius, paragraph I, 3 that the air of the region where the house of a king or prince is going to be built, should be healthy.]

{3.4 (p. 356, 5-358) Giles reproduces from the *Opus agriculturae* of Palladius paragraphs I,16, I,17 and I, 18, in which the late Roman agronomist explains that the water of the farm should be pure and the farm should be situated properly.}

[Chapters 3-12 discuss the tools without a soul. First chapters 5-8 deal with possessions. Giles uses mainly *Politics*, I, although *Politics*, II, *Physics*, I and *Ethics*, VIII are employed here too.]



3.5 (p. 359-361, 5) *Along three ways one can find out that property is something natural.* (p. 359). The first way, coming from the necessity of making a living, shows that if man is by nature a political being, then the things that make being political possible are natural too. Now according to The Philosopher in *Politics*, I the property of goods is necessary, if one would like to lead a political life. So the property of goods to satisfy the necessities of life is natural for man. The second way, coming from the dignity of the human being, shows that The Philosopher writes in *Politics*, I that man fights a just war against the beasts when they do not obey him, because man by nature dominates animals. Like man by nature dominates the animals he dominates by nature the other exterior things as well, which would not be the case if property were not in some way natural. The final way to find this out, coming from the workings of nature, shows that by nature the imperfect beings, animals, are being fed already directly after their procreation, so nature certainly feeds the perfect animal, man. *That is why The Philosopher says in Politics, I that the things that we accept as food are given us by nature.* (p. 360) To this has to be added that we are in a way the goal of everything, as The Philosopher says in his *Physica*, II. *To have mastership over the exterior goods is therefore in a way natural to us.* (p. 360) So those people who refuse mastership over the exterior goods, like priests, are celestial people, who choose a way of living above the people. *So it is natural for man, just in order to be to be a human being, like The Philosopher wants in Politics, I, to have the possession and mastership of certain exterior goods because of the sufficiency of living.* (p. 361). Without foodstuff our lives would not take long.

3.6 (p. 361, 5-363, 5) Socrates and Plato advocated common property, even (what is worse) to possess women and children in common, as Aristotle writes in *Politics*, II. Well, if most men were not inclined to the bad it would be proper that in a state the possessions were held in common. As things stand, *it is useful that in a state the citizens enjoy private property* (--) (p. 362). We can select from several places in *Politics* three arguments for private property. Firstly, man always loves himself so much that he always is more concerned about his own good than the good of others. We see that with common property the possessions are easily consumed and destroyed and moreover that the citizens are not easily prepared to cultivate the lands, reason why the city becomes poor and the citizen cannot provide for the necessities of life. So, private property prevents inertia. Secondly, common property causes much strife. Aristotle in *Ethics*, VIII shows that even between brothers, who are in principle natural friends, many quarrels arise about an inheritance. So, private property prevents quarrels. Finally private property prevents disorder and confusion. It is efficient to give the different tasks to one's own ministerials, where with common property the distribution of tasks might become a problem, according to The Philosopher in *Politics*, II, for some will avoid their assignments and not all tasks will probably be attributed. So, private property takes away disorder and confusion.

3.7 (p. 363, 5-365) People do not use the exterior goods in an identical way and their ways of living are different. In *Politics*, I The Philosopher distinguishes four basic ways of making a living: agriculture, pasturing, hunting and fishing, which sometimes are combined. Some ways of making a living are permitted and others are illicit. Nature gave us domestic animals and plants to live from them, so pasturing and agriculture are allowed. Fishing and hunting are licit ways of making a living too, because they are a matter of a just war against the wild animals. Making a living from thieving, however, is not permitted, because in principle the fighting of man against man is not a just war. One should not deduce from the fact that The Philosopher tells that war against the barbarians is always just, that the citizens can fight a just war against the people in the countryside and steal their property. It is therefore rather important, that commoners and much more kings and princes, *if they want to govern their house righteously, know which are the ways to make a living, and which of them are permitted and which forbidden: because nobody is able to live virtuously, when he uses possessions or exterior goods illicitly.* (p. 365)

3.8 (p. 366-368, 5) *Generally spoken people seem to miss something, when it comes to the appetite for possessions and the desire for riches.* (p. 366) In *Politics*, I The Philosopher offers a double-reason why the desire for riches is infinite. The one reason is that the will is not ordered: life is corporeal and lascivious, without self-control by the will. To satisfy one's lusts, which seems maximally made possible by money, one thinks never to have enough possessions and money. The second reason is that

the mind estimates the goal wrongly.. The Philosopher in *Politics*, I explains, that a goal is different from a means. A goal is aspired for without any limit, while a means has a limit and this limit is the goal concerned. *Those who see riches as a goal want money without any limit. But we can show in two ways that it is not a part of the navigation of the house to strive for infinite possessions.* (p. 367) In the first place nature provides animals with just as much food as they need and not more, as the amount of milk of the mothers for their babies shows. The governor of the house has to follow nature. So the governor of the house should not gather riches but provide his house with just as much food as it needs. In the second place possessions are a means for governing the house. The Philosopher says in *Politics*, I that no art has infinite instruments, and because possessions are instruments, no governor of the house should look for an infinite amount of them. *It is therefore right that all commoners, and certainly kings and princes are satisfied with as much possessions and riches as the needs which come with their status requires.* (p. 367). Certainly a king should make a proper estimation of his goal, because the people have to admire him and would not do that, if he aims at the wrong goals.

[Chapters 3-12 discuss the tools without a soul, chapter 9-12 deal with money.

{ In chapters 9-12 (p. 368-380) Gilles reproduces and comments on Aristotle's *Politics*, I, 1236b 40-1259a 37. In the meantime he transposes the money theory of Aristotle to the thirteenth century, without saying so. I have these chapters them out, while they nowadays are considered to belong to political economics. }

[Chapters 13- 19 discuss the government of personnel, especially ministerials. When Giles talks about servitude, he falls back on *Politics*, I; about ministerials, a medieval phenomenon, he uses *Politics*, I, IV and V; *Ethics*, IV and VIII, *Rhetoric*, II and *Metaphysics*, XII but is mostly on his own.]

3.13 (p. 380, 5-382) *That servitude is something natural and that it is by nature appropriate for some to be subjects to others, proves Aristotle in Politics, I in four ways from four comparisons.*(380) (a) Never more voices make harmony, of not one takes the lead. And the elements would not be productive if not earth dominated the four elements. So if already the things without a soul ha when they form a unity have a steering as well as a following principle, it is natural in the political society that some are leaders and others followers. (b) With animals the soul dominates the body and the body cannot direct itself to perform the necessary tasks. *As many people are related to other people as the body to the soul, therefore these many people are by nature slaves* (p. 381) They are missing prudence and intellect and they should be reigned by the wise. In politics also the wise should govern but *it sometimes happens that the unknowing reign more than the wise* (p. 381). This occurs because of a perversity of the political system, like the pest in a human. (c) Man dominates the animals by nature and one sees many house animals, like dogs and horses, perform tasks, which are conceived by man and that these animals are not able to do them on their own. *As the industrious relate to the enterprising persons as animals to people and as those who miss prudence cannot steer themselves, it is natural that the ignorant are subject to these prudent people and that it are the last ones who steer and save their industry* (p. 382) (d) *We see that the husband, to the degree that his ratio is better, by nature dominates the wife, about whom The Philosopher says in Politics, I that she has an invalid judgment* (p. 382). So one sees how men are subjects to those, who do use their ratio better.

[3.14 (p. 383-384): Giles argues, using *Politics*, I, 3 that slavery has to be regulated in positive law]

3.15 (385-386). *We can say that four kinds of ministerials exist:* (385) (1) ministerials by nature: the strangers who do not know how to behave themselves, and have a shortage of goods of the soul and therefore deserve to be commanded, (2) ministerials by law: those who proved worthless in war; and by law have to serve or attend to the master and his guests, (3) ministerials by conduct: mercenaries, who get a stipend for fighting but (4) *good and virtuous are the ministerials by love and virtue* (p. 385). As a matter of principle in a ministerial function have to work people who aim primarily at the good and not in the first place at money. Ministerials rather should be rewarded according to merit. *Those who are inclined to serve out of virtue and love for the good have not to be governed by way of a slavish government but in a paternalistic or regal way.* (p. 386) This kind of ministerials must receive more honor and money rewards than the other ones. The first reason is that the more valuable someone is,

the more gifts should be attributed to him. These ministerials by their love of the honorable and the good are more valuable than those by conduct who are motivated by money and those by nature, who were captured and certainly than foreigners. The second reason is that they are found closer to the highest authority, just like the immediate environment gets more water from a well. <sup>xciv</sup>

3.16 (387-389, 5) *Because the duties are divided over the ministerials in such a way that some are responsible for the table, others for the mass of horses, and others for other tasks, as the dimension of the house requires, here three things will be paid attention to: the organization of the duties (Lat.: ordo ministrandi), the ease with which the tasks are performed (Lat.: facilitas exequendi) and the nature of those who are acting as ministerials (Lat.: conditio ministrantium).* (p. 387) As to the first point, one duty should never be given to more servants, unless these very servants are put under one person, a kind of architect, whose function is to overarch the commissioned duty. (p. 387) The reason why is shown in *Politics*, II, which says that when there are too many servants, always some task will be forgotten. *Such a multitude has to be reduced to one* (p. 387). The multitude of entities in the cosmos functions well also because of the one God who puts them in an order. *This model is maximally applicable at the navigation of the houses of kings* (p. 387), for here many duties have to be distributed over many servants. As to the second point, the ease with which the tasks are performed seems to be a matter of not committing several tasks to one and the same person. In *Politics*, IV the Philosopher explains that small and large states exist and that in small states the duties are simpler and there one person can perform several of them. The same goes for small houses. *Here one person may be table ministerial as well as doorman* (p. 388). This rule of committing only one task to one person is valid in large houses with many ministerials and with duties which have to be paid maximal attention to, like those of princes and kings. Thirdly should be looked into the nature of those who are acting as ministerials. If they perform a given task badly this usually is caused because they are deceivers or lack intellect or prudence. *Servants should be loyal and prudent* (p. 390). Loyalty is a matter of the right will, a will which is not prepared to cheat. Prudence is a matter of an active intellect, which prevents from defrauding by ignorance. Loyalty we get to know from daily practice, because one cannot look into one's heart: if somebody has been loyal in several successive functions, he probably will stay loyal in the next one too. *Prudence, however, we can get to know, by checking what we have mentioned in the first book: if somebody remembers, foresees, is cautious and is circumspect and the rest we mentioned he must have a reputation of prudence* (p. 389).

3.17 (p. 389, 5-391, 5) The instruction of kings and princes deals to a large extent with honorable and prudent behavior and this kind of behavior is finding expression by the clothing of their ministerials too. *Five aspects have to be taken into consideration (because they are relevant here)* (p. 389). Their clothing should be appropriate, and less magnificent than the garments of the king, which should be magnificent as The Philosopher says in *Politics*, VII. Next, it should be uniform; this way showing that the wearers are servants of the king. Thirdly their dress should express the status of the persons concerned, for instance show if they are a priest or layman or have a high or a low function at the court. <sup>xcv</sup> Then the dress should follow the customs of the country, *unless these customs are too perverse* (p. 191). People like this, because they heartily follow habits acquired in their youth. *That is why Politics, VII at the end tells that we love the first things most.* Finally the seasons should be observed and the clothing of the ministerials should be varied according to them.

{3.18 (p 391, 5-394): Giles explains that two types of nobility exist, one by birth and the other one by merit. And after that explanation he shows the typical noble behavior: courtliness (Lat.: curialitas).}

3.19 (p. 395-398,5) For kings and nobles and regents in general the proper way of dealing with the ministerials *seems to consist of more or less five elements: (1) properly committing the duties to them; (2) making them taking care for the duties attributed to them properly, (3) to know how to communicate with them, (4) (to know) in what way secrets (--) are shared with them and (5) to know in what way they should receive benefits and how favors should be granted to them* (p. 395). Ad 1: One has to find out the most important requirement for a specific task. If loyalty is the most important requirement for entrusting to somebody an office, the presence of this character trait has to be checked in practice with small assignments and then gradually more important ones. Aristotle said this in

*Ethics*, VIII by way of a proverb. In *Rhetoric*, II is suggested also that every step has to be evaluated. *Given that they in some small magistracy have behaved themselves prudently and loyally, they should not immediately assume too high offices but gradually and during a fixed period get experience, before they rise to something high.* (p. 396) This then is how duties are committed. Rests to look at how should be taken care that the attributed duties are performed. It should not be done by the king as in *Politics*, I is said.. For this function a manager ((Lat.: procurator) should be nominated. A king should be concerned about the common good and about governing his kingdom. Ad 3: Communication is more or less dealt with in *Ethics* IV, where The Philosopher tells that a King towards the humble should behave magnanimously as well as austere but austerity should be applied moderately as can be read in *Politics*, V, because otherwise he might lose the respect of his servants. *In everything (as is told in Ethics) one has to look for the middle and avoid the extremes* (p. 397) Ad 4: If he does share his policy with his personnel depends on the kind of relationship. With natural slaves no secrets or policy should be shared, because they are ignorant and lack reason, as the Philosopher says in *Politics*, I, 5. Then, *no policy should be shared with the slaves by law, who usually are driven more by curiosity than by love* (p. 397) nor with mercenaries, who are driven more by money than by love for the prince Only the servants from love might be trusted, but still depending on the circumstances. Ad 5: The distributing of gifts is a simple matter. Kings should be liberal and distribute gifts to all servants according to their merits.

[Chapter 3.20 states that at the tables of nobles books should be read out aloud. To make this possible no one present should talk too much, which attitude Giles defends partly with *Politics*, I and *De Anima*, III. For the rest he is on his own]

3.20 (p.398, 5- 400, 5) In two ways it can be shown that at the tables of kings and princes, and of the nobles in general, those who are eating as well as those who serve should not talk too much: It is against the natural order and it contradicts the goodness of morals. *In Politics, I is said that something is made according to nature, when one tool is deployed for one job.* (p. 398) One function should stop when the other one begins. That is why, when according to The Philosopher in *De Anima*, III the tongue has two functions: talking and tasting, it is against nature not to stop talking, when we begin to eat. Secondly the wine makes those who sit at the tables talkative. It is proper for kings and princes to be moderate and keep the natural order at their tables. If those who are present are talking loudly and through each other this order is disrupted. *Therefore at the tables of kings and princes useful books should be read out aloud (--).* (p. 399) There are two types of them. One has books that that relate the praiseworthy customs of the reign or the praiseworthy deeds of predecessors of the king, especially the holy and religious ones. *But let be read at the table the book About the government of princes, so that also the princes self are instructed, how they should reign and others is taught how they should obey the princes.* (p. 399/400) These works, then, or other useful ones in the vernacular should be read out aloud at the table of kings and princes.

*End of the second book of The government of princes, in which is discussed the government of the house*

## **2. Summary of *Le livre de Yconomique (The book of economics)* by Nicolas Oresme**

The two books of *Le livre d'Yconomique* are handled differently. I have summarized book I in the familiar way. Book 2, however, I have translated completely, because the book will be new to the reader. Her I onlby have summarized the comments by Oresme.

### **Book I**

(p. 807→) *Here begins the book called Yconomique, which Aristotle wrote and in which he defines house government. And it contains two short, separate books. In the first one, he examines broadly all parts of a house and all associations in a house. And it contains seven chapters.*

*1 The first chapter is the introduction, in which he states his intention and clarifies certain matters that are pertinent to his project.*

*Original: Economics and politics don't only differ as much as house and city<sup>xcvi</sup>, which things are the subjects or matters of these sciences (--) but also they differ because politics deals with several rulers and economics is a monarchy.*

*Comment: For as demonstrated in Politics, III there are three types of good government. In one, the kingdom, one man holds sovereign power and is the monarch. In both others, aristocracy and democracy there are several rulers. But in every good government of the house one only is lord. And for this reason it is called a monarchy, from monos in Greek, which is one, and archos, which is ruler or lord en this is the person we call in Latin pater familias. To understand this book better, one should know that the moral science seeks to regulate voluntary human activities and to direct them towards the good and virtue. This science has three parts: One is called ethics, which (--). (p. 808) The second part is called economics, from Geek ycon, meaning image or sign; and from nomos, meaning rule or law; and from ycos, meaning science. For by means of her the leader of the house knows to make signs and rules or orders for governing his family and himself with respect to his family. The third part is politics, which (--).*

*Moreover, in order of teaching, ethics is the first moral science, economics the second, and politics the third. Therefore, after ethics, Aristotle discusses economics in the first book of Politics and after this he deals in the others with political association. But in order to present more fully this science [of yconomique DN], also this book exists after Politics, as a supplement and a clarification and perfection of what was discussed in Politics, I, although economics is sufficiently dealt with therein so far as it concerns politics. That this Book of economics belongs after the Politics will become clear by what is stated in the fifth chapter<sup>xcvii</sup>. Thus we now have in the text two differences between economics and politics. He next points out a similarity between them.*

*Original: But it belongs to politics to form and make the city from its beginning and to use it properly, once it is made. And it appears also of economics, that it is an art by which one can acquire and establish a house and use it.*

*Comment: And thus Aristotle does not take here city or house as the buildings or the walls because politics and economics are no mechanical arts nor do they deal with such matters. He considers a city a civil community with the belongings as he stated in Politics III, I that a city is a multitude of citizens. And takes house to be a domestic community or (the community) of a dwelling with the belongings. And accordingly he investigates the order between economics and in politics.*

*{p. 808, end - 809, 5: Theophrastus (in his Oikonomica 43a10- 17) defines the city in terms of houses and determines which of the two, economics or politics, comes first. Oresmes explains what 'Aristotle' means.}*

*2. In the second chapter he brings forward the material elements of the house in general and particularly discusses the element called possession.*

*Original: Of a house make a part what has human understanding and also possession is part of a house (--) and because it is the case that the nature of everything is found by knowledge of its smallest parts, this also is the case with a house (--) And about this someone called Hesiod said that it is proper in a house that the lord comes first and the wife and a ploughing ox. And this thing, that is to say the ox is first for having food and the other one, the wife, for children.*

*Comment: To give birth to them and feed them. As is pointed out in Politics, I, with poor people the ploughing ox replaces the ministerial or the slave. And thus these three parts are necessary in whatever house, small or large, that is to say the lord, his wife and who serves them. For the wife should not be a slave as appears from Politics, I. If one of the three is lacking the house is incomplete. Moreover, several other matters and parts are necessary or handy in a house (p. 810) but these three are the primary and principal ones.*

*Original: And therefore it is proper to take the right decisions and regulate the matters that there are with regard to the treatment of the wife or to the activities of the wife, that is to say how she should be made by good instruction and by lessons.*

*Comment: This will be done in the second book.*

{p. 810: Reproduction of and comment, based partly on Roman poets and the Bible book *Eccl.*, on 43a 25- 44b 1, in which Theophrastus explains that fruits of the soil are natural and that agriculture therefore is the most important way of acquisition, while it is just and natural. }

Original: Moreover, *the care of the land contributes to and increases the worth of the virtue of bravery, because she is not like the mechanical cares or artes, like the blacksmith or such heavy trades which make the bodies unfit for bravery. But this care makes them strong for outdoor life* (p. 811→) *and for tilling the ground and stronger to resist dangers from the enemies and adversaries.*

Comment: *There are three kinds of feeding and exercises or labour. Some people are fed too delicately and have too much leisure and become effeminate and useless in military life. Others are fed too substantially and work too hard. They become uncouth or bent and therefore are unable to use weapons well. But those who are fed and trained in a middle way are capable of the good. You meet them indeed in the countries where the fields are not too difficult to work by ploughing or spading. Accordingly Pliny<sup>xviii</sup> in his eighteenth book says that very strong men and very valiant knights are born from cultivators of the land, who think very seldom about the bad.* This thought seems to be corroborated by Aristotle in his *Politics* VI, 2, where he says that such men are less scheming and more obedient than any other section of the population. *And that is why Vergil in the second book of his Georgica, describes, praises, and recommends much the life and station of the cultivators of the land (--). Thus this care or acquisition stands first: she is honourable, she is natural and she disposes toward the good. (--).*

3. In the third chapter he offers determinations concerning the association of marriage.

Original: *For men the first concern of everyone should be his woman or wife.*

Comment : (--) *He next points out that this concerns should be first, because of six conditions which are stronger present in the nuptial association of man and woman than in the other domestic associations: because it is (1) natural, (2) rational, (3) amicable, (4) yielding, (5) divine and (6) proper.*

Original: *For surely and in the first place the joint association of the female and the male is natural*

Comment: It is natural, because like all animals the male and female of the human species cannot get children on their own and possess a natural appetite for sex to engender offspring. (--), (p. 812)

Original: *Moreover, with the other animals this thing happens without ratio and without understanding and only thanks to the need to and for the purpose of creating offspring inasmuch as they are part of nature. But with man and with more prudent animals this thing is more ramified*

Comment: *And thus, in the first place, this association exists by nature and by reason. And this way nature, because man and animal share it, and reason, because this is a characteristic of man, make man inclined to this. But it often happens that two young people, man and women, love each other in a special way by choice and pleasure in their hearts and with a love that is accompanied by the use of reason, even though it may sometimes not be with the right reason. Accordingly, Ovid wrote a book on the art of such of love, which does not exist between dumb animals. Sometimes this love is chaste and prepares for marriage or exists in marriage. And if there is sin in it, it is a human vice. But to approach anyone at all with no other love than to satisfy one's desire is a bestial vice. Moreover, this association is still in another way delimited because, according to natural reason, one should only have one (partner), as appears from *Politics* VII, 18. And they should be of the same status or condition or almost, and not of close lineage, as appears from the fourth chapter of *Politics*. And these matters don't exist between animals. Then, the text mentions 'prudent animals' but this should not be understood as the virtue of prudence because even turtle doves don't possess the true prudence.*

Original: *Moreover, in the association of male and female often cooperation and mutual assistance appears. (--). These matters show more in human nature. For the man and the woman perform their activities and are assisting each other not only in order to live but in order to be well and live well.* (p. 813)

Comment: *That is, according to virtue in marital friendship, which includes all the causes and kinds of friendships as appear from *Ethics*, VIII, 17, since this friendship comprises the good of usefulness as well as the good of pleasure and the good of virtue in double enjoyment – that is the carnal and the virtuous or the sensual and the intellectual<sup>xcix</sup>. Moreover, this friendship is exclusive for it exists between one male only and one female only, as said and is clear from the reasons touched in *Ethics*, VIII, 17. And if some men have more wives, this is to provide an increase in progeny or by divine dispensation or against natural law. Moreover, this friendship is permanent and stable and is not to be broken, as appears in *Politics* VII, 14. It conforms what Scripture says: <What God has joined, man*

*should not separate.>. Moreover, it is very large, as the Bible indicates in Matt. 19: 6, I, I Sam.1: 26 and Eccl. 26: 24. Moreover, it is this love of which we are now speaking that Jacob served seven years for the love of Rachel and the time seemed short because of the greatness of his love (Gen. 29: 18) and of which the Bible says that a man will cleave to his wife (Gen. 2.28) and will love her as himself (Eph. 5:28). Moreover, this is also clear from the fact that nature granted carnal pleasures to the animals only because of and for procreation but accorded to human species this pleasure not only for the mentioned purpose but also to enhance and continue and maintain friendship between man and woman. This is indicated by Pliny with: <no female, after she has received and is pregnant, desires carnal union, except women.> Moreover, the larger the unity, the larger the love. That is why in Politics, II, 1 is said that two friends want to be one. (--) For this reason Scripture says that a married couple is two persons in one flesh. (--) Next he points out in what respect it is yielding. {p. 813,5- 814,5: Reproduction of and comment on 43b 20-26, in which Theophrastus states that the yield of a marriage are the children, because they will take care of their parents in their old day. He explains here also that this way the birth and death the individual disappears but the species continues its existence. (p. 814)}*

*Original: And in this manner the nature of the one and the other, that is to say of the male and the female was previously regulated or pre-regulated for association as a divine matter or by God.*

*Comment: And the same goes for human nature, for which God has a special concern and care. Thus, according to The Philosopher marriage is divinely ordained and is in accordance with what our Savior says, that God made this union: <What therefore God hath joined together, etc.> And also He was born from a marriage and was present at a marriage, where he made a beginning with his signs by a gracious and joyous miracle, changing water into wine. And by this he approved of marriage as a holy matter, which God blessed from the beginning of creation: <Male and female He created them and He blessed them.> Also marriage is a sacrament and is therefore a divine matter. Now he makes a comment that this is a proper matter.*

*Original: Moreover, it is proper that all goods taken or required for it have a virtue which brings output and is proper to it. But certain of these virtues or powers are opposites but nevertheless they are proper and are together leading to one thing. (--) For nature made the one more strong, that is the man; and the other more feeble, that is the woman; in order that the one by fear and timidity protects herself, that is the wife, and the other by his strength takes upon himself revenge or defence.*

*Comment: In this way the wife avoids doing evil and the husband protects himself and her from suffering evil. And this is one advantage. Next he states the other advantages (p. 815)*

*Original: And to look for and prepare the goods which are outside the dwelling there is the husband, and that the other protects and guards those goods which are inside the house. And it is convenient that the one, the husband, is powerful, strong and robust for cultivation, while the other is too frail for the activities outdoor. And the husband is less inclined to repose and more inclined to action or the heavier labour.*

*Comment: And therefore the man is more warm, strong and active and the woman is more cold, weak and passive. And this opposition and variety has made them inclined to different activities, which are advantageous and suitable for living together. And when this opposition and dissimilarity exists naturally and is well balanced in the habits of both, it is pleasant and agreeable. In this regard The Sage (King Solomon) said that God and man appreciate this. It looks like music, where different sounds create harmony because they are properly proportioned. By chance the male and female voices are proportioned well too. Moreover, one may read in Ovid's book *The Art of Love* the passage where he compares the relationship between husband and wife with the vine and tree, where the vine cannot support itself or bear fruit by itself. Thus this union is pleasurable and yielding and is very convenient. That is why Scripture says: <A friend and a companion are convenient in time, more than either are a wife with her husband.> Next he discusses the similarities between parents and children.*

*Original: The engendering of children is characteristic and the use is common.*

*Comment: This he says because the parents help their children when young and the children help their parents, once they have grown old.*

*Original: For it's up to the ones to nurture and up to the others to educate*

*Comment: One comment takes this as that children should nurture their parents and parents should educate their children. Another comment explains that the mothers should nurture the children and the fathers should teach them good habits, like Scripture says: <If you have sons, educate them.> We have then that the association of the male and female is a human example of the divine arrangement, not only because of procreation, as is the case with the other animals, but also because of mutual*



assistance. And this is in conformity with what God says at the beginning, that it was not good that man would be alone and that he would make something like him, that would help him: <It is not good than man should be alone let us make a helpmate for him, like him.>(p. 816)

4. In the fourth chapter he sets down instructions for the husband concerning his wife

Original: In the first place, the husband must establish and maintain laws and rules for his wife. (--) One rule is that he should not do her wrong. For this way he will achieve that there will not be done wrong to him by her. And this is in accordance with common law.

Comment: (--) One may say that it is a common law indeed, that a husband should not wrong his wife. And this law was established by Pythagoras. Aristotle speaks of two kinds of wrongs.

Original: For as is said by those who follow Pythagoras, it is not admissible to suppose that one should treat one's wife like a serving woman whom one has taken from a poor dwelling.

Comment: One who treats his wife as his slave or a as his slut does her wrong; for as stated in Politics, I wife and slave are different things by nature. And this is evil; for according to Holy Scripture and Aristotle also, the wife is a companion and not a slave.

Original: Moreover, carnal relations of the man that he begins outside, that is to say with a different woman, are wrongs.

Comment: And this is an evil, as Aristotle states expressly in the 36<sup>th</sup> chapter of Politics.

Original: Moreover, with respect to knowing his wife carnally, the husband should make that she has no lack of it; and he should not do it so often that that she cannot restrict herself, if it happens that the husband behaves as one of those who are absent...

Comment: If he for instance would be ill

Original: ...but he should use her so that it is sufficient for the wife.

Comment: Because, if he is too abstinent, the wife could give away herself to another. And if in the beginning he does this thing too frequently, when afterwards he will be absent or quasi-absent, the wife who has been accustomed to such a thing will not be able to restrain herself. Next he brings forward the third precept.

Original: Moreover, what Hesiod said is right; namely that it is a proper and fitting for a man that he marries or takes a virgin woman, that is to say young of age so that he can teach her good habits. Because to have different habits is a thing which in nothing is lovable.

Comment: For friendship cannot exist between persons that have contrary wills. And that is the case with them of whom the habits are badly matched and discordant. And when the wife is young, the husband can better indoctrinate her than when she is older. Next he sets down the fourth precept.(p. 817)

{p. 817, beginning: Oresme renders and explains with the help of two commentators 44a 18-22, the fourth instructions in which Theophrastus is supposed to warn both spouses against bodily adornment. }

In the fifth chapter he presents teachings with respect to slaves.

Original: Of the possessions the first thing and the most necessary is the one which is very good and very prominent: man. (C) And therefore first has to be arranged that the slaves are virtuous and good. (C) And anyway, of slaves there are two kinds; the overseer and the workman.(p. 817)

Comment: From Politics, I, 2 and I, 5 it appears that some are slaves by nature, who have no prudence with which to observe and judge what should be done but they are coarse and strong and those are the workmen. And they perform the servile tasks and need somebody who manages and directs them and who tells them what they have to do. And this person is called the overseer or deputy. Because as is shown in Politics VII, 5 to direct slavish works is not honourable. That is why it appears in Politics I, 7 that powerful lords occupy themselves with honourable activities and have an overseer who commands the slaves. (--) This applies to a large house only, (p. 818) because in a small house the lord takes the place of the overseer. After this he puts forward seven precepts with respect to the slaves.

Original: And since we see that the teachings prepare the young men and make them such or so; it is necessary that one feeds with them the slave, who is going direct the others and that one shows him the most liberal activities, which he should understand.

Comment: It is useful that the overseer or deputy of the house, whom some call econome, is fed at the dwelling of the lord and that he is introduced to more liberal and more honourable tasks than those which are performed by those who are slaves by nature; and that he is prudent in order to produce the



*honour and the output of the dwelling and the good pleasure of the lord. And thus the family-good will be in good prosperity, in conformity with what The Sage says: <The deeds of the wise man shall prosper the slave >.*

{p. 818, 5 -819, 5: Oresme renders and explains 44a 29- 44b 4, in which Theophrastus states how one should treat the slaves. They should be rewarded with food. One should not give them wine or just a little of it. (p. 819) Government of slaves is matter of work, punishment and food. }

Original: *Just as other people, when one does not do good to the good ones and rewards goodness and punishes badness, are made worse, this in the same way happens with slaves.*

Comment: *All the more so, because slaves do not possess so much virtue or reason that is restrains them when one gives them the opportunity for evil doing. And of the others, who are righteous by nature, there are very few, who will not become bad or less good, when they see that one is not rewarded for good actions or punished for evil deeds. What is worse is that the good are oppressed and the evildoers advanced: <See the sinners, who live in the world, increase their riches.> The Prophet David said that he almost departed from the right way. Someone (p. 820) said of Thomas of Canterbury<sup>c</sup> that he should be praised because he stayed good under a bad prince. Therefore the princes must sovereignly want that the bad are punished and the good are honoured, because herewith they can make the world good or bad. For it is shown in Ethics, III, 16, where is spoken of the virtue of fortitude in cities, that where frightened and cowardly people are without honor and are vituperated and where the strong and good fighters are honoured, there certainly will be found people of excellent fortitude. And so it is with respect to the other arts and virtues. Symmachus<sup>ci</sup> in one of his letters wrote that nobody who became famous in war or of a distinguished house was brought to his actions because of monetary rewards. And that is why The Sage says that two matters displease him: a good fighter that is poor and a man who is wise to whom nobody listens. And in this line, one commentator, Bartholomew of Bruges<sup>cii</sup>, says that the prelates of his time corrupted the Holy Church College, because they did not take care of the good students but promoted adulators, members of their family and others by wicked favours. After this he concludes his instruction.*

Original: *And thus it is proper to consider and apportion worthily and justly to slaves all these things, that is to say, food and clothing and leisure and punishment. And it is proper to do this by the spoken word and by deed.*

Comment: *For there are those who fear reprobation and are sufficiently punished with words. Another may be of a worse nature and cannot be taught by words alone. Of such The Sage says: <A slave cannot be taught by words and what he understands, he disdains to answer.> Therefore he must be corrected by deed, as The Sage says elsewhere: <For the bad-willing slave torture and shackles.> Thus both punishment and food and the things mentioned above must be apportioned to them according to their behavior and their condition.*

Original: *And that one follows the virtue or manner of physicians in the virtue of medicine; for pharmacy, that is to say laxative medicine, is not flesh for the community*

Comment: The commentators are not able to explain this text (p. 821 →)

Original: *Moreover, among the varieties or kinds of slaves, those who are neither fearful nor very strong are very good. For the one as well as the other do badly, since those who are very fearful cannot endure or hold out hard work or punitive labour, and those who are full of anger and tough do not obey well. (C-) Moreover, it is proper to set a goal all for all. (C-) For it is a just and moderate thing that freedom is made their reward or by leasing them land or by setting them completely free; for then they want to work hard when the complete freedom is determined and the time period is determined.*

Comment: *In this regard there are three kinds of slaves. The first kind is the work-slave and slave by nature. For who would explain this part, for such a slave freedom has to be understood as rest and recreation. For such a slave should not have freedom in the proper sense but is it an expedient and a just thing that he is slave, as said in Politics I, 5. And about this The Sage says: <Labour tasks make the slave obedient>. He must be assiduously kept to humility and slavish tasks. The second kind is free by nature but (has become) work-slave from violence or poverty or some other misfortune. And to such a slave should be given his freedom after a fixed period of time as was commanded of the children of Israel in the Old Testament: <If your brother shall sell himself to you out of poverty, etc.> Moreover, if, as previously stated, some slave is overseer or foreman and if he is good, one gives him complete freedom after a certain length of time and such a reward that he may afterwards live as master of his own house. And therefore The Sage says: < Love a wise slave as your soul and do not withhold him his freedom nor let him go unrecompensed.> One should grant him his freedom and not*

tolerate that he is poor. And Aristotle touches on these teachings when he at the end of *Politics*, VII, xii, promises to speak about them later<sup>ciii</sup> next to what he stated in the first chapter.<sup>civ</sup>

In the sixth chapter he presents the formal parts of the government of the house<sup>cv</sup> and determines two of them [acquisition and preservation DN].

Original: *The kinds which he who is governor of the house [Fr.: l'yconome DN] has to take into consideration are 4, which he should have towards the goods of the house. For (first) he has to be powerful as to or capable of getting or acquiring. Moreover, the goods have to be guarded, for if this would not be the case, the use of acquiring them would be zero. Moreover, that there is adornment or arrangement of them. Moreover: usage.*

Comment: *That is to say that one knows how to use the goods properly.*

Original: *For thanks to this and for this we have an occupation with them.*

Comment: *That is to know: in order to make proper use of them. Well then, we have thus four kinds of activities [Fr.: especes d'industrie DN], which are required for the government of the house: the acquisitive, the preserving, (p. 822) the arranging and using or distributive one. He now analyses each of these and first the acquisitive one.*

Original: *All possessions should be distinguished and taken into consideration. And the fruit bearing ones have to me more than those that do not bear fruits.*

Comment: *Certain goods bear fruits, like the earth itself and certain animals; others don't, such as golden and silver plates and dishes or jewellery. And thus one should give more attention to the acquisition of those goods that bear fruit or bring output than to the other ones. Those people who are experts in the acquisition of wealth know to do this well.*

Original: *And in this way or according to this the jobs have to be distributed.*

Comment: *Because the activities of the slaves should be more directed at acquiring goods that bear fruit or output than the others. And the ways of acquiring that are simple and composite are explained in *Politics* I, vii and viii. Next he discusses the preserving activity or guarding.*

{p. 822, 5-823, 5: Oresme translates the dicta about protection and the protecting habits of different people which Theophrastus exposes in 44b 30-45a5, on which he meagrely comments.} (p. 823)

Original: *And therefore it is proper that the goods are preserved.ed<sup>cvi</sup>. But the lord should preserved. other goods than the woman, in order that the jobs of the one and the other government, that is to say of the man and of the woman, are distinguished or divided.*

Comment: *For it appears from the third chapter that the husband should take more care of the outdoor matters and the woman of those inside. And it appears from *Ethics*, VIII, xiv that the husband should leave some matters to her, which are belonging to her.*

Original: *And this thing or division needs only a few times to be applied as far as small regulations are concerned (C-) but it should be applied to goods that are under care that is to say for which one should have care and concern. For if the tasks are not distinctly classified, the slaves cannot follow or fulfil the wishes of the husband and wife, neither as to the caring for or preserving the goods nor as to other tasks.*

Comment: *For everything is better done and better preserved when each one knows clearly what he has to do and preserve.*

Original: *Moreover, it is an impossible thing, that is to say, very difficult for the managers, that is to say the slaves who are called overseers and are placed over the others, to be interested and to have a good concern, if the lords are negligent.*

Comment: *And by this he gives to understand by this teaching that the lords should be diligent in good preserving the goods. And by lords I think that he means the husband and the wife.*

Original: *Moreover, because the things that follow from virtue are good and advantageous for a good government, (p. 824→) it is proper for the lords to rise first, before the slaves, and to be the last to go to sleep.*

Comment: *As said before, they must be constantly watchful and anxiety gives rise to short sleeping like The Sage says: < Anxiety banishes sleep.>*

Original: *Moreover, they must make sure that the house never is without a guard, just like the city. Moreover, that one never omits, postpones or forgets something, which is proper to be done, not at night and not at day.*

Comment: *For although the night is given for rest, sometimes it is proper to work at night. And this he now explains.*

Original: *Moreover it is commendable to rise before dawn, because this is a useful thing and beneficial to health, to a good government and to philosophy*

Comment: *Firstly, one has to understand that this is the case in climates and regions, where the nights are long. For in the winter, they are much longer in parts up north than in the south and in summer they are shorter in the parts up north. Moreover, getting up at night before digestion is completed*

does much damage and weakens the body; but sleeping after it is completed is also harmful. For the internal heat begins to consume the natural humour and dries up the body and leads to illness. Moreover, from the wastes of the stomach it carries up the fumes, which cause indisposition in the head and disturb or hinder the natural senses and consequently the understanding, which depends on the senses for its operation. So, per contra, it follows that to rise with digestion completed is advantageous to the health, the proper state of the senses and the proper functioning of the understanding, that is to say, to study and philosophy. And with this the night is more tranquil than the day and the senses are less distracted; so that the understanding is more disposed to speculation and contemplation about divine matters. Just as Scripture says: < For while peaceful silence enveloped all things and Night in her own swift course was midway, etc.> Moreover, this [early rising DN] contributes much to the government of the dwelling. That is why The Sage says of the virtuous women that she rises early: < Who finds a strong women etc.> and <At night the pater familias arose, urges his slaves to work.> Therefore Aesop<sup>cvi</sup> writes: <The great keep wake while the servants snore, etc.>.

In the seventh chapter he determines two more parts or pieces of economics. (usage and arranging [stowing away DN])

In small things the way of using the fruits<sup>cvi</sup>, which practice those of the Attical language, is advantageous. But in large things, the fruits are consumed and spent while one divides them in parts which are sufficient for a year or a month.

Comment: Those of Attic speech were the people of the region around Athens. But it does not become clear from the text which manner they apply for the part of the government of the house which is called using or distributing for it is short and obscure and the commentators disagree and seem to guess. Perhaps the people in small things, that is to say in small house governments or small households kept close watch over the quantity they could spend and thus dealt out a daily portion to their family. But in rich dwellings the distribution was made out for a month's time or for a year. Because if the distribution in a poor dwelling was made on a monthly basis (p. 825→) and consumed within a week, the remedy could not so well be applied as in a rich dwelling. Yet, in any case, one should take into consideration one's income or output and according to this moderate the expenditure in such a way that one does not become poor, for this would be prodigality. And one should spend liberally, without avarice and without making a large treasure. For many have hoarded to their bad luck, as The Sage says: <There is a sore evil which I have seen under the sun, namely, riches kept for the bad of their lord> Because riches are an instrument to help somebody to live well, as is shown in Ethics, X, xvi. And therefore, as one should use an instrument, and it is not good that it is too large, in the same way one should use his wealth and do too large riches hinder living good, as is made clear in Politics, VII,1. To moderate this instrument and use it as it should be used, requires great diligence and a special kind of prudence called using or distributive economics (Fr.: yconomique usual or dispensative), at which Aristotle stopped here only briefly, because of what he said in his Ethics, IV<sup>cix</sup>, in which chapter he discusses liberality and magnificence and their opposite vices. Next he discusses the part that is called arranging, which deals with the arrangement and adornment of the house.

Original: Moreover<sup>cx</sup>, as to the use and storage of implements (C-) both those in daily use as those that are not used often should be turned over to the overseers who have to watch over those goods and over the guard of them. And one should make it such that they have the guard over them for a certain period of time, so that at the set date becomes apparent what is save and what is missing

Comment: This means that that such overseer-slaves, who are under the lord and above the worker-slaves, should receive these instruments on inventory and should render an account of them after a fixed period so that the lord may see that everything is properly kept. Next he speaks of the arrangement of the buildings.

Original: The house should be made and constructed for the shelter of the goods and the health and safety of the people living in it. I say, goods, like food and clothing or robes; which place is adequate for the guarding of dry goods (C-) and of moist goods (C-). Moreover, which place is adequate for the goods that have life: slaves, and children, as well male as female, and for strangers and citizens.(C-) Moreover, for reasons of health, the place should be cool in summers and warm in winter.

Comment: That is why the doctors say that wise persons keep themselves warm in winter and cold in summer. In this line (p. 826) Holy Scripture mentions King Eglon, who in summer used to sit in his

granary. And in other books tells how the kings of Jerusalem had a house for winter and one more for summer.

Original: And it is good that this house is big or open to the north and is not square.

Comment: North winds are healthier than south winds and have less moisture and heavy fumes.

Therefore the rooms and chambers should be wider, that is to say more open and have more windows facing the north than the south, especially in regions that are not excessively cold.

Original: Moreover, at large governments of the house or in at large dwellings a doorman or porter, who is useless in other jobs, seems to help output. And who he is present for the welfare of those who enter into the dwelling and who leave it.

Comment: So that no one may enter for evil purposes, the porter should accost those leaving or entering and he should be expected to do no other work, because he should not leave his post at the gate. He ought to be an elderly man so that he may better recognize people and knows how to talk with them. And Holy Scripture mentions such a position several times and an order of the Holy Church is called this way: Hostiarius (Doorkeeper).

Original: Moreover, the way which one has in Attica is a proper one with regard to the good use of the vessels. For it fits that everyone is put in its own place and when it is done in this way, every vessel will be found fast and one will not have to look for it.

Comment: So we have the rules for the arrangement and adornment of the house as to implements, buildings, and places to store and also regarding the doorman or porter and the vessels.

*In the first chapter he discusses how the wife should conduct herself with regard to the matters other than her husband.*

*It is appropriate that the wife has mastership and lordship<sup>exi</sup> over all matters in the house and this according to the written laws.*

*Moreover, she should not allow anyone to enter the house, if the husband does not command this. (p. 827) for she should fear the words of the women outside, which want to show the corruption of her soul and also in order that she only knows the things that happen in the house. Moreover, if something sinister or wrong is done by those who enter into the house, the husband has a case against his wife.*

*Moreover, it is good that she is the lady of expenses for the festivities and banquets, which the husband pays for and wants to be made*

*It is also good, that she makes costs and wears dresses and ornaments which are less than the laws of the city stipulate or allow. And she should consider that interest in the wish to wear apparel of excellent beauty to surpass other women nor a multitude of gold contribute as much to the female virtue as modesty and temperance and the desire for a honest or composed that is well ordered life. For every such adornment is haughtiness and pride and if she is on guard against it she will be much more certain that just praise will be given back to her in her old age, as well to her as to her children. (p. 828)*

*Thus it is appropriate that the wife takes the courage to have mastership over such matters orderly for it is something indecent and not becoming for the husband to know the activities that are done within the house. And (that it is appropriate) that in all other matters she wants to obey her husband and that she not wants to hear the political matters.*

*Moreover, that she does not desire to achieve any of the things which belong to the marriage contract of her children but when times desires this, gives away and receives in the house her own children or the girls and thus obeys her husband and has deliberation together with him.*

*Moreover, if he commands, it is appropriate that she obeys and that her opinion is that it is not as ugly for the man to do or achieve some of the jobs inside the house as it is for the wife to do jobs outside.*

Summary of the comment by Oresme on On Marriage 1 :

*Aristotle puts forward six rules in this chapter.*

(On the responsibility of the wife inside) He gives us to understand that the wife is responsible for almost everything in the house except maybe the treasures of the husband. Neither is she free to sell and buy large goods. Such matters are usually laid down in the law. That is why the law is mentioned.

(On the defence of permitting someone to enter the house) *If strange men would enter the house and talk to her in side, her female neighbours would spread a scandal or maybe he means that they would corrupt her soul.* Moreover, strangers should not witness the most private affairs. .

(On her responsibility for the parties and banquets) As is often said *that she should guard and distribute the goods of the dwelling for the pleasure of her husband and his friends. Since a woman is*

*parsimonious by nature, she spends more moderately and the husband is excused if the expenses are not larger.*

*(On the modesty of apparel) Cities use to set such limitations, which a good wife does not want to exceed. Gold is mentioned because women's clothing is sometimes woven with gold as Scripture mentions. And thus by this moderation her husband will be less suspicious: < The heart of her husband does safely trust her.> But this does not mean that she should dress or behave cheaply but honourably and on average, in conformity with her status. If she were too alluring, it would seem that she was not chaste and that she was spending to the detriment of her children's inheritance.*

*(On the defence to interfere in the marriage arrangements) Aristotle does not forbid consulting her about this, but the final arrangements are the prerogative of the husband, especially the choice of persons and the dowry and the final assent. She should receive her son's wives and keep and feed them until the sons are emancipated and she should hand her daughters over to their husbands in unblemished state.*

*(On the marriage of her children) She should receive her son's wives and keep and feed them until the sons are emancipated and she should hand her daughters over to their husbands in unblemished state.*

*(On the acceptance of her husband's commands) Otherwise it would seem that she wanted to be the lord and the lady over the great things outside the dwelling. This would be a greater abuse than the intervention of the husband in his wife's affairs within the dwelling.*

*In the second chapter he shows how the wife should conduct herself with regard to her husband.*

*Certainly it is decent, captivating and becoming thing that a well composed, well ordered wife takes the customs of her husband and that she imposes them on her life as laws and rules and has an opinion that these customs and laws were imposed by God when her husband and she were joined together by marriage and fortune. (p. 829) And if she undergoes and bears (them) patiently and humbly, she will govern the house easily; if not she will have to make strong efforts*

*That is why it is becoming and appropriate that she has the same firmness as her husband and agrees with him and serves in conformity with his will, not only when he happens to become prosperous in goods and other glory but even in adversity. That is to say if he has a shortage of one of the external goods she should assist him, just like in case of illness of his body or of clear ignorance of the soul. And that she speaks kindly and renders him service and obedience with the captivating and becoming matters, but does not do anything ugly or villainous or which is unworthy and not becoming to her. And if he is sinning in whatever matter against her from passion or in a fit, she must not remember this or complain in any way that he acted thus; but she must take it and consider all these matters as if they are caused by his illness and ignorance and accidental sins. For the more someone will obey and serve another diligently in his adversity, so much the greater will one meet gratitude from the person who gets well again, when he will be recovered from his illness. (p. 830) Moreover, if the husband is not well disposed and the wife does not comply with what he commands her, then when he has cured from his illness, he will feel and know more what she did and that is why it is certainly appropriate that she fears such a thing. But in other things, that is to say in prosperity she should more diligently than if she had been bought and had come to the dwelling that way [as a slave or hired chambermaid DN]. For she was bought at a great price: a community for life and because of the procreation of children, which matters are such that nothing can be greater or more holy. Moreover, when a wife has spent her life with a blessed or fortunate and prosperous man, her reputation is not as much spread and as much made public [as when she has spent her life with an unfortunate and poor man DN], for although it is not a small thing if one does use prosperity well and possesses riches humbly, it is still far more honourable to endure and face adversity with courage and rightly so. For not committing something base when one suffers many pains and injustice, comes from strong courage and virtue. And therefore it is becoming and appropriate that the wife prays and implores that her husband may not come upon or fall into adversity (p. 831) and if something bad befalls him, she should consider that in this lies the very good and very great praise for the moderate wife. She should realize that a certain Alcestis, [the wife of Admetus<sup>cxi</sup> DN] and a certain Penelope, [the wife of Ulysses DN] would never have obtained so much and so large praise, if they had lived with blessed or fortunate husbands. But the adversities suffered by their husbands Admetus and Ulysses made them famous and prepared an immortal and perpetual remembrance. For because they were loyal and just to their men in times of adversity, they have been honoured by the gods. And rightly so! For in truth, it is easy to find partners in prosperity, but [with men DN] in adversity women do not want to associate, except those who are very good. And for all these reasons it is appropriate and becoming that a wife honours her husband much more in such a case and that she feels no shame if, in her saintly chastity, don't follow riches and other goods, as Hercules said. And therefore it is appropriate that the wife keeps herself to laws and customs, as here is broadly outlined.*

### Summary of the comment by Oresme on *On Marriage*, II

(On the acceptance of the habits of the husband) *This concerns only the good customs, like awakening and sleeping, drinking and eating soberly etc. For as to times and places and quantity and quality of goods and other circumstances she should conform herself to the will of the husband. In so doing she does what pleases God.* For at that time marriages were performed in the temples by the priests, who commanded this obedience from the wife in the name of God. *And as to what he says 'and by fortune', one has to know that nature inclines to marriage and it is solemnized by consent of the will; but who has whom is in part and commonly a matter of fortune.*

(On to the necessity to serve him in all circumstances) *She should help him in 3 adversities or infortunes: (shortages of) external goods, goods of the body and goods of the soul. By these [accidental DN] sins he means the pains, the angers and disturbances from the misfortunes and losses of material goods. However, the wife of Job and several others have not acted this way, and such virtuous wives are not often found. That is why The Sage says: <Who can find a virtuous woman? For her price is far above rubies.>*

(On the fame to be won by serving in adversity) *That nothing could more great and sacred goes for government of the house or domestic association. For the marriage community, which exists for procreation and mutual help, is a holy and divine matter as it appears in Politics, I, 3<sup>cxiii</sup>. And therefore the wife should obey better than the chambermaid in the becoming tasks but not in slavish labours. One needs virtue to withstand fortune as stated in Ethics, IV, 5 & Politics VII, 12 and Ethics I, 16 shows that one needs courage the midst of sorrow. For this reason Job and Tobit are recommended in Scripture.*

(On that only the best woman are willing to associate in adversity) *They are the women that are good and those who love their husbands with good love. For as Tullius says: <In adversity one discovers his true friend.> And according to Scripture one does not know one's friend in prosperity and who is an enemy becomes clear in adversity. After this he puts a conclusion.*

(On for all that reasons) *The text was badly translated or is corrupt at this place; because it differs in the books and does not make sense.--)*

*In the third chapter he shows that the husband must take care to achieve that his wife is very good. The husband must take care to find laws and rules which at his wife's home are in use and ask from her manners, which originate from similar customs. (p. 832)*

*For she came into the house as a companion for procreation of children or infants and to be a life partner in order to leave after her children or infants who will have the names of her husband and her, who have begotten them. And what more holy and divine thing could a man of healthy thinking do than to engender and beget children or infants of a very good and very precious wife, which children will be shepherds and also, being kind, chaste and loyal, protectors of the old age of the father and the mother and will be custodians or guardians of the whole house?*

*Moreover, for if the children are good and are rightly fed and introduced by the father and by the mother (so) that they use the children justly and piously or see to it that the children are used and behave themselves justly and piously (p. 833), then the result will be that they will also rightly or with cause be good. And if they do not accomplish this, they will experience the consequences of their failure. For if the parents do not give their children an example of good living, they [the children DN] might have, that is to say take up, a pure and excusable cause against their parents and the parents must fear that in the end their children will despise them and be the cause of their destruction or death because they did not live well. Therefore it is the responsibility of the husband not to omit or forget anything which regards the teaching of his wife, so that, to the extent of their possibility, they also can procreate and engender children as very good parents. (p. 834)*

*Moreover, the tiller of the soil does not forget or omit anything that suits him in studying how to use up his seed and throw it in very good earth and also how it is very well cultivated. For he is expecting or anticipating that this way and by this for him a very good fruit will be produced and brought in. And he wants for that land that it cannot be devastated & such a death, if it is appropriate that he in this way and for this dies in a fight with the enemies, reflects large honour. And therefore, while such large study and diligence is applied for bodily nourishment, is it then a miracle if all understanding has to be employed and all study has to be made by the husband about the mother and nurse of his children in whom the seed of his soul is expended.*

*Moreover, that only by this every mortal thing participates in the fact of immortality or perpetuity.*

*All supplications and prayers, as much as there are, stay [to be done to the gods DN] of the father's side. (p. 835) And thus those who despise such things or have them in contempt and do not take them into account, seem not to take care of the gods. Moreover, and for the sake of the gods in front of which the husband has offered and made offerings and married his wife and contractually promised her much more honor than anyone apart from his parents.....*

### Summary of the comment by Oresme on *On Marriage*, III

(On the introductory sentence) *This is to say that the customs of the woman should be correspond to and be in harmony with the customs of the man, in line with was said in the preceding chapter and also in the third chapter of book I, for as The Sage says: <It is something approved by God and mankind that husband and wife should be of one mind and in complete agreement.> Next he proves his principal conclusion by six arguments.*

(On the first argument that they begin a bond for the rest of their lives) *For they are not to be separated save by death. And Scripture says that she sins, if she leaves her husband and that the husband must not leave her. That nothing is more divine than engendering children has to be understood as concerning the association of a house; because a contemplative activity is more sacred and more divine. Thus the husband should do his utmost best that the wife is good so that the children will be better. That children are meant to be the future protectors of the whole house is in accordance with Scripture, which says: <When the father is dead, it is as if he were not dead, because he leaves behind one like himself who defends and guards the house against enemies and shows himself grateful to the friends of his father.>*

{p. 832, end - 835, end: The comment of Oresme on 2<sup>nd</sup> till the 5<sup>th</sup> argument is to a large extent a reproduction of the other commentators, who differ about what these sentences mean.}

(On the sixth incomplete argument) *For at that time marriage was solemnized in temples before idols and the husband gave offerings and sacrificed and killed an animal and swore and promised to keep and protect the honor of his wife. And in this country even today, the man says to the woman when he marries her: 'and I honor you with this ring, etc'. And it would seem that such things which have been considered good and in in this or similar forms have been held too in all laws and in all times are like natural laws too. Thus we assume that the husband should honor his wife and no one deserves honor if he is not good. Therefore the husband must do everything in his power so that his wife may be good.*

*In the fourth chapter he shows by what laws and how the husband should achieve that his wife is be good.*

*A moderate wife is greatly honoured if she sees that her husband preserves chastity for her and for no other woman takes more or as much care as for her, but has esteem and concern and treats her before all other women as own and befriended and loyal.*

*For if the woman knows and observes that her husband is friendly and active for her as well as that he behaves towards her loyally and justly, all the more she will try to be like that and be loyal and just towards him. And thus a prudent man should not ignore and know which honours are due to his parents, which ones to his wife and which are appropriate and becoming for his children, so that he is made just and holy., because he allotted to everyone what is his*

*Moreover, for everybody suffers and even is heavily grieved when one deprives him from his honor. And even if somebody gives many other things, yielding his own goods to the person to whom he gives, he [the grieved person DN] will not take them gladly. And nothing is greater to a woman and more her right with regard to her husband than a honourable and loyal bond or companionship.*

*Moreover, for it is neither a becoming or an appropriate matter for a man of healthy thoughts that he puts his seed wherever he can nor that he puts his seed indifferently in every woman that he approaches, to prevent that badly begotten and iniquitous bastards are made similar to free and legitimate children (p. 837) and that the wife is robbed of her honor and that because of this the legitimate children will get or meet reproaches.*

### Summary of the comment by Oresmes on *On Marriage*, IV

{p. 835, end- 836, 5: His comments on the central tenet, on the first argument one which says that the wife will act honourably if the husband acts honourably as well as on the second argument that a honourable bond is important for a woman, are minimal.}

(On the third argument that the man should not spread around his seed) *With everybody are meant the Sodomites. He now gives iii causes for iii inconveniences that would follow: the first one is the inconvenience that bastards are treated equally with legitimate children, for these children have to be called his children; the wife being robbed of her honour, would be the second inconvenience and the third inconvenience are the reproaches being made to the legitimate children. Oresmes explains this: It is a very great insult to a man when one can say of him that his mother was not chaste. And a man must be more virtuous than a woman. Perhaps, therefore, truly and understandably, it is still a greater reproach when people can say to a man that his father did not maintain belief in nor stayed loyal to his mother and that he was a profligate.*

*In the fifth chapter he gives more precepts to make the wife a good woman.*

- *It is decent, becoming and appropriate that the husband approaches his wife, when she is in good shape, with great decency and modesty or self-restraint and with timidity or shyness, speaking such words of carnal union as belong to a generative work, that is well mannered and permitted and honourable.*

- *Moreover, he should use towards her very great modesty or self-restraint and show much belief in her, while accepting and forgiving her the small and spontaneous sins.*

- *Moreover, if she makes a mistake through ignorance, he should admonish her in such a way that he does not make her have fear and the kind of awe which is without timidity and without sense of shame<sup>cxiv</sup> (p. 838)*

- *Moreover, he must neither be negligent or irresolute nor severe. For such fear or awe which is devoid of timidity or reverence is passion and a style which the foul woman has towards her customer. But what the free woman should feel towards her own husband is fondness<sup>cxv</sup> and awe equally with timidity and chastity. For two kinds of awe or fear exist. The one comes with timidity or shyness or reverence, such as well-behaved children feel towards their parents and such as upright citizens of temperate habits feel for their benevolent rulers or governors. (p. 839) But another kind of awe comes with hatred and hostility, such as slaves feel for their masters and citizens towards despotic and evil tyrants*

- *Moreover, of all those things he should choose the best and make his wife prepared to agree and loyal and only available to him, so that she will not work less well, when he is absent but will always act as if he is present. And so that he and she both are as overseers and guards of the common goods of the dwelling. And so that when the husband is absent, his wife feels and remarks, no other man is better to her or more temperate or more available than her husband. Let him show this concern from the beginning, looking always to the common good of the dwelling, no matter how much she is a novice and little knowing of such matters.*

- *If the husband indeed has mastership over himself, he will be a good leader or governor of the whole domestic life and teach the woman to apply such things. (p. 840)*

### Summary of the comment by Oresme on *On Marriage*, V:

(On the recommendation of modest sexual intercourse) *If not, he would make her too undaunted and make her inclined to a lack of self-control and desiring another man. And this is not the way of chaste persons but of men, who are cannot control themselves and are focused on foul women.*

(On the recommendation not to be negligent or irresolute or severe) *If he is too lenient, she would desire to have the upper hand over him, as The Sage says: <If a wife supports her husband, it means anger and impudence and great disgrace.> and if he holds her in too great a subjection, she will become angry, as The Sage says: <The wrath and disrespect of a wife is a sure confusion>, because <There is no anger greater than a woman's wrath.> Therefore it is proper to hold the middle. But this middle is not the same for everyone. Every woman requires a different approach, depending on her characteristics. One might compare governing the wife with the straightening of sticks: each kind of wood requires its own procedure and still some won't become straight. For some women – they are few- are so extremely good, that they not by harshness or blandishness can be brought to evil deeds. Others are so extremely wicked that they cannot be made good in any possible manner. And the rest occupies a middle ground. But the nature and situation of a woman are very difficult to know and sometimes she switches invisibly from one style to another: <Her footsteps are wandering and inscrutable>. We cannot know the thinking process of a woman. Therefore, to govern his wife well and make her, if possible, a good woman requires very great zeal and good diligence of the husband. (One the two kinds of fear and awe) The first is the one with which the angel and saints fear God, as Scripture says <The angels shall be afraid.> (--) In the second one the devils fear our Lord: <The*



*demons believe and tremble.> That is why the husband must do what he can to achieve that his wife reveres him with the first kind of fear and awe.*

*(As to the necessity to be a master over himself) Because when the lord of the dwelling, who is master, governor and an example for all, is himself a good man, everyone, wife, and children and servants, must become more worthy by it. But according to another comment, which does not seem so correct, because it says <If the husband first of all learns to control himself,>, he means that the husband should be a good master of his wife. So we have now six teachings to make the wife good.*

*In the sixth chapter he confirms certain of his earlier remarks by statements of other men of wisdom. For Homer the poet paid no honour either to friendship or to fear or awe which was not accompanied by timidity or shyness. Everywhere, whenever he speaks of these matters, he prescribes that one should love with modesty or restraint and with timidity.*

*Moreover, one should dread and fear after the manner which Helen<sup>cxvi</sup> expressed. She said to King Priam: <Beloved father of my husband, you are worthy of my awe!> and <It is fitting that I should fear and revere you.> And in so saying, he [Homer DN] meant only that she should be fond of him with fear and timidity. Moreover, Ulysses said these words to Nausicaa<sup>cxvii</sup>: <You, woman, I hold in very high admiration and I fear you greatly.> Homer is of the opinion and feels that the man and his wife should in this way have each other and believes that is well done for both, if they have or keep each other like that. For no one ever is fond of him who is worse or less good than himself and never holds him in admiration nor dreads or fears him with timidity and reverence. But these passions or situations occur between those, who each are better than the other (p. 841) and who are benign by nature and in any case are less malicious and consider others better than themselves. Ulysses had this line of conduct towards his wife Penelope and never sinned against her in any way during his absence. But Agamemnon sinned against his wife in the church, that is to say in the public assembly, for a woman named Chryseis. For he said that this woman Chryseis, who was taken captive in war and not good but a barbarian and a slave, was such that she did not miss anything of the virtues of Clytemnestra [his true wife DN]. And this was ill spoken, for Clytemnestra had legitimate children from him and he could not rightly cohabit or associate with Chryseis. For how could this be just, he who had taken again a woman with violence, before he knew what she was or how she would behave towards him. Moreover, the daughter of King Atlas<sup>cxviii</sup> begged Ulysses to live and play with her and she promised to make him forever immortal p. 842) but Ulysses never intended to betray or deceive the affection and fondness and belief he had for and in his wife in order to be made immortal. And he feared or thought that it would mean very large trouble for him if he would win immortality by acting badly. Moreover, he never wanted to play with a woman called Circe<sup>cxix</sup>, even for the welfare of his friends. But replied to her that nothing could appear more enjoyable than his country, however rough it might be. And Ulysses prayed and begged or wanted more to be mortal and to see his wife and son rather than to live [eternally DN]. (p. 843→) This is how Ulysses kept his belief in his wife and towards his wife, for which he received her loyalties in return.*

#### Summary of the Comment by Oresme on *On Marriage*, VI

*(On the introduction) (--) To understand it better, one should know that upright and virtuous friendship as well as fear and filial awe and chastity never exist without timidity and reverence. But friendship for pleasure or for output's sake does not have such characteristics. Therefore neither such loves nor such awes are praised by Homer, who was a most excellent Greek poet who put in verses the siege of Troy, and Vergil follows him in part.*

*(On Ulysses' refusal to sleep with other women in opposition with Agamemnon) Because her husband showed such a large love with reverence, Penelope stayed chaste and honest during his long absence when he was engaged in the siege of Troy or at sea. Her chastity is praised by the poets Mathieu de Vendome<sup>cxx</sup> and Ovid and Job says: <Touch all that he hath, and he will curse thee to thy face.>*

*(On his refusal to sleep with Circe, even if could save his comrades by doing this) The text commonly reads: <For he did not wish to lie with Circe, except to save his companions.> (--) One commentator states that the text is corrupt, like in many places and I follow him for two reasons. Why would Ulysses want to sleep with Circe for the mortal lives of his friends if he did not want to lie with her for his own immortal life? Moreover, according to Aristotle, one should never do evil in order that something good comes from it. So my own reading 'even if' is correct. To understand it better, one should now – as St Augustine writes in *The City of God* - that Circe was known for her magical powers. And St Augustine mentions there several*

*other transformations. But in very truth, the transformations were not such as related, but possibly some of his men may have been driven mad and became disturbed both mentally and bodily by black arts and enchantments to the point of imagining themselves to be wolves or swine or horses for a certain time and some perhaps were made thus by sickness, like those who are called werewolves. Against the bewitchment of his comrades Ulysses was immune, because he had taken an herb against it. And thus Circe promised him to restore his companions to their former state, if he would give himself to her.*

*In the seventh chapter he shows that husband and wife should be of one heart and one will. That we should honor most highly and especially a chaste community and companionship or association of man and woman in marriage, appears by what the poet tells in the prayer of Ulysses to or on behalf of Nausicaa. For he prayed and besought the gods to grant to Nausicaa a husband and a house and unanimity or the wish for harmony with her husband, and not just unanimity, but a good one. For she [Nausicaa DN] said herself that no greater good among people exists then when a husband and wife have a harmonious will when they are governing the house.*

*Moreover, later it becomes clear in Homer, that he is not praising an unanimity or concord, shared by the husband and the woman, which is directed at bad services or bad activities, but rather the one which is rightly connected with courage and prudence. And this means that the married ones have to govern the house by their will powers.*

*Moreover, Homer said that when this fondness is a fact, many sorrows are caused to the enemies (p. 844) and in this harmony many pleasures are done to the friends.*

*Moreover, the friends gladly hear this author, Homer, say the truth, namely that when the husband and the woman are in harmony about matters that are very good, the friends necessarily are in concord together.*

*Moreover, because this makes them strong they frighten their enemies and are useful to their friends. And if they [the couple DN] are in discord, the friends will differ and not be in concord. Moreover, with this comes that the married ones will be weak, that is too say feeble and little powerful. Moreover they will experience themselves the bad things that come from such a disagreement.*

*And the author, that is Homer, in these matters here prescribes clearly that the married ones have duties towards each other and defend each other and together avoid things that are bad and not chaste or base. And that they impartially and to the best of their power make possible and manage for each other deeds which are chaste and honourable and those that are just.*

#### Summary of the comment by Oresme on *On Marriage*, VII:

*(On the need to be of one will in the government of the house) (--) Because that is what Tully (Cicero) says: The first law of friendship is to ask of our friends only very honourable things. And this [the opinion of Nausicaa DN] accords with Scripture, which says that 3 things are approved by God and by mankind: (1) harmony among brothers, (2) love of one's neighbours, and (3) husband and wife of one mind and of one will.*

*(On the need to be specifically of one will as to the good) (--) For harmony in the bad is not true and lasting concord and contrary to good government and to true friendship. It is neither permanent nor lasting as appears from Ethics, IX, 6. Next he brings forward the goods and the advantages which proceed from this unanimity.*

*{ p. 844: Oresme provides some short comments which repeat in other words the advantages of concord and the disadvantages of discord that Ps. Aristotle brings forward. }*

*In the eighth chapter he stresses especially certain matters in which the married couple should be of a single will and to what end.*

*First of all the married couple must strive to take all care for their parents. And the husband must care for his wife's parents no less than for his own and also the wife for her husband's parents (p. 845).*

*Moreover, they must accomplish that they have also as common the care and the concern for their children and for their friends and for the whole house.*

*Moreover, (they must accomplish) that each of the two exerts oneself and takes care and trouble to surpass the other in being the cause that more goods are made by him or her for the common output of the house, and that each tries to be the better and the most just one.*

*Moreover, (they must accomplish) that each forgets pride and governs the house lawfully and has a humble and good-natured way of acting, so that when they will reach old age and will be released from well doing and from much of the cares and desires and the carnal lusts which often are practiced in youth, they have to answer each*

*other and their children or infants for who of the two has been the cause of several goods in the house, of which each of the two was made leader and governor. And that one may know how much and how the bad that has befallen them has been there by fortune and the good by virtue.*

*These things that he accomplished, he will report and he will win great merit from the gods, (p. 846) like Pindar<sup>cxvi</sup> said that such people have hearts kindly disposed to themselves (....). And the hope of mortal man dominates many aspects of his will. But the second good is that when they have come to their old age, they will be helped or fed benevolently by their children. (p. 847)*

*For these matters it is indeed appropriate that the man and his wife consider them individually and together righteously and with an eye on all, both gods and men. And it is the responsibility of the man, while he lives, to consider and think much about behaving himself righteously toward his wife, his sons and daughters and his parents.*

#### Summary of the comment by Oresme on *On Marriage*, VIII.

*(On the common care for the parents) For as is stated in Ethics, VIII, 15 and 19 and Ethics, IX, 3 one is kept to his parents above all, except God. (--)*

*(On the common care for children personnel, friends and house) For all great things are common to each, but more principally belong to the husband.*

*(On getting great merit from the gods) (--) And by this it appears that Aristotle believed that those who do good get a large remuneration from God; for although he says 'from the gods', that is the common parlance that existed then. For he held strongly that there is only one god, as is appears in Metaphysics VIII. Pindar was a great sage, philosopher and poet. By this he meant to say that the recollection of the good life they had led affords them a gentle pleasure in their hearts free from bitter remorse in their consciences. Thus the good works of their youth are like a treasure providing joy and peace in old age. This accords with the Prophet's statement: <Watch integrity and look upon right, for there is a posterity for the for the man of peace.> In this way a man who has lived righteously with his good wife ends his days pleasantly with peace in his heart. And this agrees with the Scriptural statement: <A noble wife gladdens her husband and he lives out his years in peace.> And such a man is happy in this world as Maximian<sup>cxvii</sup> says: Happy the man who has deserved to live his life in peace and to end his days happily. [(p. 846): Oresmes discusses two different translations of *And the hope of mortal man dominates many aspects of his will*. He takes this to be a saying of Pindar.] *It seems from the above that Aristotle and Pindar thought that those who live righteously according to their best ability expect to receive from this a double reward or double recompense from God, one in the present time, namely a joyful heart and a peaceful conscience, and the other in future time, for which they live in hope. This is proven by Aristotle in Ethics IX, 5 and the Bible. This double benefit or goal concerns the soul. But he next mentions another purpose, involving the bodies of the married couple. [i.e. being fed when old by their children DN]**

*Here ends the Book of Economics. And it is not part of the job to make a list of notes in such a small book but it suffices to have written them in the margin. And also all the unusual words in this book are explained in the glosses or they are explained in the table of difficult words of Politics.*

## **2a. Summary of chapter 2.7 and 2. 8 of *On having a wife*<sup>cxviii</sup> (Lat.: *De re uxoria*) by Francesco Barbaro**

### **2.7: *On the matter of the house* (Lat.: *De re domestica*)**

*Learned men have written much about the care for the house but here I will only discuss the topics of which my experience has taught me that they are vital and which can be discussed summarily and easily. It is generally accepted that the care for the house essentially revolves around the goods, the servants or also the aides, and the education of children. (p. M, i1) I will begin with the care for the goods and the diligence with regard to the personnel. For goods and servants are necessary. Without an affluence and work of them the family property*

cannot be maintained. With them the government of the house is mainly concerned. When this [government of the house DN] is not secured by the suggestions and prescripts of the wife, it has no foothold and uses to wander off in all directions. (p. M, i1-2) Just as nature has made men strong for the activities outside by which the house can be filled it has made women weak in order to preserve what is brought inside. *For fear can never be separated from care and care never from vigilance. What is the use of bringing home many goods, unless the wife, once they are brought inside, preserves, preserves and distributes them?* (p. M, i2) Is this not proven by the myth of the Danaids<sup>cxv</sup>? You, Lorenzo, will certainly gain great benefits from this wifely preserving. Emperor Augustus rightly said that Alexander the Great would have had a better future, if he would have guarded and preserved his acquired territories properly instead of continuing to conquer ever more regions to get more glory. *Therefore wives should not claim glory for themselves, if they have, as is their job, everything what is brought in the house, given its place.*

*Wives should therefore endeavor to stay aware that they are the head of the servants, like Pericles<sup>cxv</sup> leaded Athens every day. Moreover they should try hard to be convinced that one is continuously judging them in order to prevent that they do not fail in their care and concern and diligence for the house. To this will contribute tremendously, if they accustom themselves – as is proper for them- to staying at home and going to check everything. It remembers me of the prudent groom who, when asked what makes a horse fit, answered < the eyes of the master>.* (p. M, i2) The statue of Caia Caecilia, daughter of Tarquinius<sup>cxvi</sup> was equipped with domestic utensils to prove this requirement. *Which negligent owner of an estate can expect to have diligent farmers? Which sleepy general makes his soldiers guard the republic? If she wants that the maids will be at home, she will have not just to give orders by just commanding, but give directions, explain and demonstrate with the matter at hand what should be done.*

*With family property certainly nothing is more advantageous than that everything is given a destination and put in its place, for order, -nothing is more beautiful and more useful - always carries the most weight.* (p. M, ii1) Choirs and armies also have order as their point of reference.

*I would like wives to imitate the bee-queens, who whatever is brought into the beehives know, inspect and store, till the need for these goods reclaims them and who are always present at the honeycombs, in order that they diligently are composed and will end up completely full. Wives should send out assistants and maid-servants, when they know that this will be advantageous. If, however, their use will be at home, wives should follow close, put pressure, command.*

*Wives should also see as their responsibility, that the cellars for victuals, wine and oil do not bring discomfort to their husbands.*

*Like generals very often check the number of the soldiers, in the same way wives should very often and very diligently examine what is stored in the house so that they do not notice late and very much to their disadvantage that only is available for a month what is needed for a year<sup>cxvii</sup>. That regulation of Pericles, who acquired all fruits from the fields and sold them in one move and then bought every day on the market, whatever at that moment was needed in the house, maximally frustrates the unskillful and often jeopardizes the family property, for this way of daily provisioning with grain, wood and wine is more proper for a traveler or an unsettled soldier than for a citizen and a pater familias and this is not the way to take care of one's wealth in a liberal, splendid or easy way.* (p. M, i1-2) I consider this as an absolute truth, however wise Pericles may have been.

*To prevent that the most excellent women are getting involved in the most vulgar matter, I think that the Roman custom has to be followed too. For with the Sabine treaty<sup>cxviii</sup> noble*

*married women were at once made exempt from milling and cooking activities and servile tasks. (p. M, ii2)*

*She should, however, undertake these tasks in all cases, when the health of the husband or the opportunity to honor guests will intervene. For when something will contribute to the well-being of the man, she should not only grasp any opportunity to do it but we detest omissions. (p. M, ii2) Homer shows how the love and compassion of Andromache for Hector even went so far that she took care of the foraging of his horse. If therefore a wife sets her mind on her duty towards her husband and his praise, she will occupy herself with and make herself responsible for all what should be done. (p. M, ii2 – M, iii1) If he receives guests for dinner it is she, who should do the cooking. Patroclus even did the same for Achilles, on the occasion of the reconciliation of Ajax en Odysseus<sup>cxix</sup>. But enough of this, when the plan for us is to run through the subject summarily and not to teach the details, above all because in the discussion between learned men this domain is more diligently and more extensively dealt with than I can explain it here. (p. M, iii1)*

*It seems that we have to talk now, as promised, about servants how they, if they are not neglected, bring no little decoration, usefulness and pleasure. This will be achieved if wives will accurately instruct them and not get earlier angry on them than because of an act for which they [the servants DN] earlier have been caught and warned not to commit it again. As more or less with the other matters, I would like here wives to follow the bee- queens, who do not permit anyone of them (the bees) to be lazy or without work. (p. M, iii1) This prescript regarding the care of the house was so strictly followed by Marcus Cato the Elder that he even sold his slaves, who had grown old.*

*Let them convince themselves that from Antiquity onwards it has been their task to accomplish that inexperienced maid-servants become capable ones and let them make that girl guardian of the dormitory, who after having been made accustomed to responsibility in smaller matters has repeatedly proven to be loyal and diligent.*

*Let them also discretely incessantly interrogate the overseer if he is a modest one, approve of him, take him apart for friendly words, and reward him with gifts, so that by this female interest, the diligence of the servants every day becomes stimulated more energetically.*

*Wives should feed their servants in such a way that they do justice as well to the fact they are humans as that they are supposed to work uninterruptedly. They should give them convenient cloths, so that one sees that weather, location and time seem to be taken into account. (M, iii1-2) They should keep an eye on the servants who cannot enjoy the joint dinner because of children or necessary activities*

*Wives should also consider it as important, that with priority will be taken care of some medical attention, when someone of the servants becomes ill. This is definitely humanity, this is a kind of giving permission, by which she makes all [servants DN] dedicated and loyal to the family property. This we can see – if may come back to the same example - at the bees, who never leave their leader because of her care and providence for them and always follow her with a show of great benevolence, wherever she leaves too. This should surprise nobody, because with other animals there is no lack of examples of a kind of gratitude either. (p. F, i1) The dog of Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, would be the best example.<sup>cxix</sup>*

*It would be most useful, if, as happens in the army, where staff-officers (Lat.: tribuni), generals (Lat.: legati) and captains and in the state where praetors, treasurers and similar officials are put in charge of different matters in order to achieve that by occupying themselves with only a few duties these are performed in the very best way. In the same way wives, when they want to organize the tasks of the servants, separate the job of the overseer from that of the workers, in order that it is clear what should be done by whom and what is*

*expected of everyone.* (p. F, i2) In a ship everybody is given his place; in heaven all positions also are perfectly connected and in choir different voices accomplish a beautiful harmony.

*If wives in this way will have organized the locations and the functions of the goods and servants, they will see that they [locations and functions DN] in a large measure have brought splendor and utility. Wives will also with care, practical wisdom and gratitude, as I have said before, take in, conserve and expend what is brought into the house.* (p. F, i2) If they work hard for all this and are diligent *they will most cautiously achieve that the dignity of the house of him and her/common becomes consolidated and extended.* (p. F, ii1)

## **2.8: About the education of children (Lat.: *De educatione liberorum*)**

*Still rests the education of children, the part of the wifely task which is most fruit bearing and by far the heaviest one.* (p. F, ii1) It has no use to care diligently for the family property, if no efforts are made to educate the children, who are supposed to inherit it. Moreover education connects parents and children, who seem to be left alone if birth is not followed by feeding and educating, which in its turn makes the children grateful. If you carefully look, you will see that nature wants precisely mothers to educate the children, given the love for their children they have and maintain after birth. To make this clear I have to tell what happens before birth, be it in veiled terms, because nature has positioned those body parts also on a hidden place. I will tell what essentially happens.

*The blood, from which women normally clean themselves in monthly losses, in this period is kept inside on the command of nature, so that it feeds the fetus, keeping it so to say warm, till she has reached the established number [of months DN].* (p. F, ii2) Next nature has created all beings that give birth with the provision of milk and with breasts as sources. Women have two breasts so that if need be they can feed twin babies at the same time. *If these things are the case as a result of the highest providence, its actions would seem to have been for nothing, if it had not created mothers with some unbelievable love for and generosity towards those, who they brought on the world.* (p. F, ii2) Nature also has taken the particular precaution to put the breast of women at the front side, so that women at the same time can feed as well as lull the babies in their arms. *This then is how she [nature DN] defines the duty of birth and education for them, not only a matter of necessity but of unique love and benevolence.* (p. F, ii2)

One should look at the female boar, who after birth licks her young clean and this way 'brings her into model'. Look also at all these mother animals that leave their throat and stomach uncovered for their puppies. Or take that bird in Homer.<sup>cxxx</sup> *Therefore the mothers that neglect the care for their children and live without preoccupations are worth of serious reproaches. They should not refuse any work so that they ascertain in their old day the best partners, assistants and caretakers.* (p. F, iii1) Perfect mothers therefore should not only feed and reach their breast to their babies as wet-nurse but also educate them. The wife of Marcus Cato the Elder fed her babies with her own milk and the wives of Rome do so still today. She even took the sons of her slaves to her breast to make them devoted to her own children. We pray the best women to imitate them, because no food seems to be more adequate and healthy than the well-known and familiar milk of the mother. *Its power is as strong in achieving virtuousness in the properties of body and soul as the male semen*<sup>cxxxii</sup>. (p. F, iii2) One need only to look at the soft hide of he-goat fed with sheep-milk and the hard wool of the lambs fed by goats. The influence of moisture and earth on trees is larger than that of their semen, as one knows, and often a strong tree which is transplanted into a new lap, does not grow anymore because of bad juices in this soil. *Therefore noble women should do all they can to feed their babies themselves, so that they do not degenerate by the nourishment with less good and*



*strange milk.* (p. F, iii2) If, what may happen, she is not capable to feed them herself, she should take care for a freeborn, morally outstanding and civilized wet nurse, to prevent that with the milk enter badness, mistakes and illnesses into the baby, which would happen with a wet-nurse of a low status. *For just as the members of a young child are easily formed and corrected the mind is made adequate and regular at the beginning of youth.* (p. F, iii2 - F, iv1) That the being fed by the breasts of a stranger explains someone's behavior, show the poets Vergil and Theocritus<sup>cxixiii</sup>, when they write that the cold behavior of their heroes is caused by their being fed by a wild animal. So wives should feed their babies themselves *or they should trust this part of their duty to honest wet-nurses who treat them with care and who love them and do this without any false and commercial intention.* (p. F, iv1)

*When they [her children DN] have passed the years of infancy, mothers should use their ingenuity, care and activities to achieve that they are going to excel in the gifts of mind and body. In the first place they [mothers DN] should teach them respect for God, the immortal, fatherland and parents.* (p. F, iv1) This is the fundament of all virtues and they should get used to them from the first years onwards. Only who respect them have a good future, supposed they are going to behave properly and friendly towards their fellow men too. *Mothers also should educate them in eating and drinking in such a way that they - so to say - lay a basis for moderation in later periods'.*

*Mothers should warn them to flee from those pleasures for which one in any way has to be ashamed. In this regards, mothers should take pains to set their minds and thoughts on what may bring them honor, utility and delight when they will have grown older.* (p. F, iv1 - F, iv2) If the mother succeeds in this, it will help them later tremendously with their studies. *Who denies that even a blood- and passionless address of a child by of parent has authority?* (p. F, iv2) That is why Cato the Elder personally taught his children writing and earns Eurydice<sup>cxixiv</sup> much praise, a foreign woman! She, in later life, made herself acquainted with the monuments of ethics, so that *she would not only be the giver of life to her children, but would leave very many spices of humanity for them (as she did).* (p. F, iv2)

Mothers should also often correct abundant laughing, a sign of stupidity, and bad language – a sign of anger. *Mothers should also be careful that they [their children DN] not become familiar with bad acts by talking about them.* (p. F, iv2) Mothers should suppress therefore obscenities and reproaches and use the whip when they say something untidy. Sometimes mothers have to prevent that they are exposed to poverty, mockery by older people, or other such unfortunate events, from which they use to return with intensive hostile feelings and an attitude of arrogance.

Mothers should give toys, which force them to exert themselves, so that they later will possess perseverance.

*I would like mothers in the presence of children to talk with horror about anger, avarice and desires, by which virtue gets extinguished,* (p. F, v1) so that children start to hate them and flee from them. And especially I would like mothers to make sure that children *honor the holy names and become afraid to desecrate them.* (p. F, v1) What would not happen later? There are therefore many things which children should get used to before the early youth.

*They are to be warned to refrain from swearing,*<sup>cxixv</sup> (F, v1) for who easily swears, cannot easily be believed or is not seldom wrong.

*Mothers should get them used to saying the truth.* (F, v1) This was the most important rule for the Persians, who forbid markets, convinced as they were that these were the places of lies and perjuries.

Mothers should learn them to talk little, to prevent that they become irreverent and loquacious. *For it will be an obstacle for their learning, if they want to expose 'wisely' whatever has not yet been broadly explained to them.* (p. F, v1) The mentioned Cato, when

one reproached him his taciturnity as a young man, had a nice answer. < *This will not in the least annoy me till I will have learned the matters that do not deserve taciturnity.*>  
*When the children, as soon as their age permits, will have learned precisely from the mothers most of this, they will in a happier and easier way be brought to the earnestness of the parents and to schooling.* (p. F, v1)

There is more to say about the responsibility of the parents towards their children, especially because I see mistakes being made, but it was not our intention *to discuss what is done, but to show what should be done*<sup>cxxxvi</sup>. (p. F, v2)

{p. F, v2-F, vi2: Barbaro concludes the book with partly a summary of it, partly a congratulation of Lorenzo de Medici with his wife and partly a show of modesty, in which he praises the Greek philosophers and his two teachers of Greek.}

## 2b: Summary of *Della famiglia*, Book III by Leon Battista Alberti

### Prologue of book III: to Francesco d'Altobianco Alberti<sup>cxxxvii</sup>.

The Latin language is rich and beautiful but I have written these books in the vernacular to reach a large audience. The Tuscan language will have no less power as soon as scholars decide to use and refine it. I have already written two books, the first one about how fathers and mothers should behave towards their elders and the children towards their parents; the second one about the considerations regarding marrying and the proper occupations for young men. *Because they say that prudence in spending is most useful for the enjoyment of riches, in this third book you will find a description of a family father, which you will be able to read easily because of its bare and simple style, by which you may understand that I wanted to prove that I could imitate that charming and delightful Greek author Xenophon.* (p. 154) You always loved me and my works. So you will enjoy this gift, which is relevant for you as a pater familias, although it will not redeem completely my debt with you. *So read me, my dearest Francesco, and love me as much as you can.* (p. 154)

### Book III: *Economicus*

[The protagonists in this book are Giannozzo (G), an older Alberti with much practical experience who has just arrived and again the learned Alberti, Lionardo (L). The young Carlo and Battista are present as well, just listening. In this book L is asking the questions, while G is providing extensive answers. At the end Aduardo (A) will enter the room.]

G starts to tell, how he when he was young hated everything which kept him away from the joust. In forbidding participating in it, his parents acted from prudence in general, which he did not appreciate at the time at all. *I was angrier still, when they acted as they did from motives of prudence in spending for they were as you know excellent budget custodians, as I have learned to become. But in those days I was young, spent and gave away freely.* L: *And now?* G: *Now, my dear L: I am prudent. I know that it is crazy to throw away what is yours.* (p. 158) G and L agree that one, however, should not become avaricious, G: Neither should one, on the other hand, spend lavishly in order to avoid that the public thinks that one is avaricious. Once or twice a year one could for instance give a dinner to honor one's friends but all well considered this is not worth the trouble, not to say pure prodigality. Prodigals abound in every sort of entertainment, are encircled by people that want to profit from them and in the end they are left poor and alone. Of this I could give many examples, but from this



I will abstain. I rather state briefly that *in the same measure as prodigality is a bad thing, prudence in spending is good, useful and praiseworthy. Prudence in spending does nobody any harm and is helpful to the family.* (p. 160) One will never suffer need, it puts lascivious desires aside and one lives contentedly with what one possesses. A father of a family is *unworthy of praise if he prefers to live for his pleasure instead of for prudence in spending.* (p. 161)

L: If prudence of in spending is not identical with avarice, *this prudence in spending you are talking about, then, what sort of thing is it?* G explains that he likes the sort of people who *make use of their goods when necessity arises and spend enough but not more (than necessary) and save the rest. Those people I mention prudent in spending.* (p. 161) L: *But how do we know what is too much and what is too little?* G considers this a simple matter: *one must look beforehand at each expenditure if it is not greater or weighs more or it is larger in amount than necessity demands, yet no less than honor requires.* (p. 162) G tells that the average wealth he is enjoying he has achieved more by prudence in spending than by diligence in acquisition. G then asks L what his books tell about prudence in spending. L: *They stress that if no one would preserve it, it would be folly to bring what is acquired into the house and it would give a great laugh if someone would try to preserve what has not been stowed away.* (p. 163) G agrees: *What is the use of acquisition if one does not apply prudence in spending. A man exhausts himself in acquiring in order to have the goods available whenever needed. He procures when healthy for sickness, as the ant procures in summer for the winter. When the necessity arises one must use goods, when one does not need goods, they should be preserved. And there you have it: All prudence in spending does not consist as much of preserving goods as of using them when needed.* (p.163) Not to use the goods when the need is there, would be avaricious, reproachable and dangerous. It is like a leaking roof which one refuses to repair.

G then investigates, since prudence in spending consists in using and preserving goods, *what goods are to be preserved and used?* (p. 164) They should be mine and not the goods of somebody else, in the first place. But again what goods are mine? Not my wife, my children or my house, as L suggests, because fortune is their owner. *Yours are the things that nature gave you, when you were born with the liberty to use it for the good or the bad to the degree that it suits and pleases you* (p. 165) and that stay with you your whole life. So, mine, in the first place is the mind, *that movement of the soul with which we desire and become angry. Whatever fortune wants, it stays with us.* (p. 165) The body is mine also. L: *And what will be the third one?* G: *Time!* L: *It would not occur to me to call something my own if I could not transfer it to somebody else.* (p. 165) G responds that yours is rather what you take into use, like water from the river that you employ to wash the dirt from your body. In this case the dirt - so to say - is the low desires and impure understanding. One appropriates time by using it to wash this dirt away and spending it on thinking about and doing praiseworthy things. And who lets time hour after hour glide away in idleness, certainly loses it. *So, children, you have the operations of the mind, the body and the time and you know now how valuable and precious they are.* (p. 166) L advises the boys to store these thoughts in their memory, because they are not sayings of the philosophers and will nowhere be found in their books. G: *My next question becomes how mind, body and time may be preserved and then also how they may be used.* (p. 166) I will be brief. *First about the spirit! I apply it [prudence in spending DN] to goods that are necessary for myself and my family, and seek to conserve them in a way that pleases God.* L: *What are the goods that are necessary to you and your family?* G: *Virtue, humaneness, ease!* (p.166) The best activities of the mind are to win the goodwill of everybody and to be and appear good, just and tranquil, never irritating or doing

injustice to anybody. This is what I did and still do. Further activities of the mind are to love, to hate, to disdain, to hope, to desire. *Again one must know how to use and how to restrain those emotions: to love the good, to hate the wicked, to disdain the bad-willing, to hope for very many goods, to desire what is best and noblest.* L. *Holy!* (p. 167)

L now asks in what way G. preserves his soul for God. G answers that in the first place he never lets his mind be troubled by anger or greed or any other passion, because he believes that a pure and simple mind pleases God much. *The second way of pleasing God, it seems to me, consists in doing nothing of which I am doubtful whether it might be good or bad.* (p. 167). G explains that the reason for this is that things that are true and good are luminous and clear in themselves, while what is not good always lies in the shadow of some vile and dirty pleasure.

[p. 168/9: G relates how he got these ideas from a wise old priest who used to visit the houses of the Alberti's but was able to expound the matter of mind, body and time in a much more systematic way than he does now.]

L. asks: *G, having spoken of the mind, what prudence in spending you practice with regard to the body?* (p. 170) G answers: *I apply it on honorable, useful and noble activities, as much as I can, and try to preserve my body in a healthy, strong and beautiful condition for a long time.*

(p. 170) I keep my body neat, clean and well groomed. And I use my members in the service of the honor and fame of my country, my family and myself. *I always strive towards things that are morally good and useful.* (p. 170) L now wants to know what G does to preserve specifically his health. G answers him that in an old man health is generally a sign of continence in his youth. It is important to take care of one's health at every age, and it becomes more costly in the more advanced years. *And of costly things one ought to be guardians and good budget custodians.* (p. 170) L admits this for a budget custodian but still wants to know from G which things according to him are most useful to specifically health? G stresses exercise: *exercise has always been the master and doctor of health.* (p. 170). If unfortunately exercise is impossible then one should pay attention to the diet. *Children, take to heart this short, general and very perfect rule: take steps to find out which things usually are harmful for you and avoid them strictly; which are good for you, and find them.* L: *Clear! So cleanliness, exercise, a good diet and staying away from their opposites preserve health.* (p.171) G adds that they also preserve youth and beauty.

L: And what prudence in spending do you practice as to time? G: I have said *that prudence in spending consists as much in making good use of things as in preserving them, haven't I?* So I try to make good use of them and do my best never to waste any. (p. 172) It implies permanent engagement in activities and avoiding idleness, in the first place. *To be sure that one pursuit does not interfere with another and I might find out that I have started several things but completed none, or perhaps have the less important completed and left the best undone,* (p. 172) when I arise I imagine the tasks I have to do that day. *I then assign to each of them its time, this in the morning, that in the afternoon and that other in the evening.* (p.172) A busy person, who is planning his tasks, actually can afford to walk in the streets at a leisurely pace. He also takes the season into account, which prevents him from being forced to do things in a rush, because he for instance did not bring in the harvest at the right time. *Do as I do! In the morning I organize myself for the whole day; during the day I follow how much is still required and in the evening, before I go to sleep, I think over again how much I have done. Then, if I neglected something, which still can be repaired, I still do what had to be done during the day.* (p. 172) I do so, for I would rather lose sleep than lose time, especially during the high season. *If I have distributed what should be done by me over the day and have put them in an order so that none of them is going to be neglected, it rarely or almost never happens to me that I in that case have to let go or postpone some necessity of mine.* (p. 173) If

that incidentally happens, however, I accept it as a lesson not to lose time that way in the future again. *With regard to these three things then I do as much as you have heard.* (p. 173)

L: *Is prudence in spending involved in the goods of fortune as well?* G: *It would be negligence and error not to practice prudence in spending with what becomes ours by using it. For fortune's gifts are only ours if and to the degree that she permits this, and moreover insofar as we know how to use them.* (p. 173) Alas, fortune has been so cruel for the Alberti's, that prudence in spending has become almost irrelevant. If G had known beforehand the misery to come to the family, he might have done things differently. L. recalls Demifo in one of the plays by Terence<sup>cxviii</sup>, who teaches us how hard it is to imagine in prosperous times the dangers, injury and exile that may come. One should be prepared, because *the sword a man has seen ahead of time usually strikes less deep.* (p. 174) G laments one more time about the situation of the Alberti's. L: *What would you have done then? How would you have organized the prudence in spending [beforehand, when you would have known the misery to come DN]?* (p. 174) G answers that he would have looked for a quiet life without any serious worry, being contented with what fortune had given. *And I would have realized that from here I had the family, the possessions in my house and moreover honor and friendship outside.* L: *Do you perhaps use the word honor as our fellow-citizens take it: being in the government and the state?* G: *Certainly not.* (p. 174) {p 175/6: G elaborates in a negative vein the activities and character traits of the members of the governing class.} *For me it is sufficient to be and to appear good and just, which make that I never can be dishonored. This state of honor accompanies me in exile and it will remain so as long as I do not return.* (p. 177) Let others delight in their power and be sorrow when they don't have it. *We, who are content with what is our own and never desire what belongs to another, will never be displeased by not having what is public or losing what we never have valued.* (p. 177) Who could value them properly, anyhow? One had better try to *be a good and just budget custodian, to stay connected with the family and to enjoy the goods that fortune grants you, sharing a part of them with one's friends and this way find honor and at the same stay away from vice and dishonor.* (p. 177) L argues that G is overdoing it a bit. Only some governing citizens behave in the bad way G describes, and he agrees with G that these men should be condemned. *I would say that a good citizen loves tranquility, but not so much his own one as the tranquility of other good men; he rejoices in the time he spends on honorable activities at home but not less in that of his fellow citizens; he wants the unity, calm, peace and tranquility of his own house but much more those of his country and the republic.* (p. 178) Republics cannot be maintained if all the good men are content with their private honorable activities. *The wise say that the good citizens should take upon themselves (the government of) the republic, suffer the labors of their fatherland and leave behind them the trifles of men, in order to save time which can be spent honorably on activities for the common interest and to preserve the good of all the citizens. This way one also leaves no space for the (government by the) wicked, who would soon make everything morally bad, so that neither the public interests nor the interests at home will be maintained anymore.* (p. 178) One does not get fame by spending one's time on honorable activities at home but by public endeavors. *In public squares springs up glory; in the middle of the people is praise nourished by the voice and judgment of many persons of honor.* (p. 178) So I would not call it servitude to do my duty nor call it lust for power if somebody wants to perform difficult and generous activities as governor of the republic. I would not shun honor, fame and favor and reputation won this way. *This actually is what I want myself, G!* (p. 179) but this way does not lay open for us, Alberti's, at the moment. So let us continue our teachings. G. Very well. My recommendation, then, about the acquisition and preservation of honor is: *one must never in order to govern the public matters, cease to govern the matters at home.* (p. 179) Public honors will never feed the family. *Be careful and*

*diligent for the matters of the house to the extent that you are indebted to necessity and give to public matters not what ambition and arrogance suggest but what your virtue and the praise of the citizens leave you space for. (p. 180)*

L: Which of all those private and house matters of which you have said earlier they were four, two inside the house, family and riches, and two outside the house, honor and friendship, would be dearest to you? G: By nature love, devoted affection, makes the family dearer to me than anything else. And to govern the family one seeks possessions, and to preserve the family and the possessions, one wants friends, to take counsel and to avoid or endure the adversities of fortune. And to enjoy possessions, family and friendship with your friends it befits to obtain some state of honor and honored authority. (p. 180) L wants to know what G understands by 'family'. G answers: Children, wife and the other members of the house: relatives, servants. (p. 180) Applying prudence in spending to them is not different from applying it to ourselves: it is to put them to work at honorable, virtuous and valuable activities, try to keep them healthy and contented, and organize them in such a way that no one of them loses time. (p. 180) L suggests: By having everyone doing something? Not only that, G says, the point is to keep them busy with the jobs that are theirs, the wife with governing the children, preserving the goods and applying all prudence in household spending inside the house, the children with studying permanently and the others with doing well and diligently what the older people have commanded them. (p.180) They would lose time, if two are doing a job where one would be enough and also when someone is given a task, for which he misses the capability. Thus, in order that no one wastes time each should be ordered to do what he knows how to do and is capable of. So it is my responsibility to order just things to my people, teach them to work diligently and well and to give to each what is necessary and handy. (p. 181) About providing the personnel with the materials they need, G says one should always purchase a bit more materials than one expects to need. Whatever will not be needed always can be given away to friends or be used by the family for I do not want my family to miss the least thing. I always want to have in my house all goods that are handy or necessary to provide for the needs of my family. L: 'What are the needs of a family'? G: Good fortune and similar matters that men cannot control. L: 'But what are the needs that men can control?' G: 'To have a house, where your whole brigade can gather, to have food for her and to be able to clothe her'. (p. 181) L: 'And to make them virtuous and well behaved?' G answers that this is a matter of education, certainly important, but not a part of prudence in spending.

L now asks G to imagine that L would be happily married and then to answer his question: which order would you keep in these things [that can be controlled DN]? (p. 182) First G would look for a house, where he would remain as long as he wished, because of the discomfort of moving and the expenditures which come with installing oneself. L asks what G would do to find a place for such a long stay. G would look for the right soil. L: But what criteria would you apply to find the soil suitable for your purpose? (p. 183) G does not think this to be difficult. First<sup>cxix</sup> I would find out how well, how healthy life is there. (p. 183) Do the children look clean and healthy? Do many elder people live there? Can the neighborhood be easily protected against enemies? Is the place fertile? Are the neighbors friendly? Is there an easy way out in case of emergency? Above all, I would look closely and diligently at whether the citizens were rich and honorable, and gather information whether the region had a good and stable government, just laws and moderate leaders. (p. 183) If this is the case, it would prevent external disasters and the wrath of God and if the citizens are honest and rich they have no need and no desire to rob the others, rather they will help the industrious and honor the good (p. 183). L: But where would one find such an outstanding soil? G Difficult it

is! So I would settle down in the country with the most of these qualities or with the most important one. *Health seems to me primary (--) because a healthy man always can make his living in some way and a weak person can never get an image of being rich; and who is just and good, he will be respected by everybody.* (p. 184) L asks for the requirements for health. G answers that clean air is the most important one, followed by food and nourishment and especially good wine. G would stop with looking around once he had found a place, *where he could be at his ease and respected.* (p. 184)

L: *What would you do, buy you a house or get one there for rent?* G: *Certainly not rent, for in the course of time a man finds he has bought the house several times over and still does not have it.* (p. 184) It would be a house that was airy, spacious and suited to hold my family and to host a friend. *And for this I would try to spend as few money as possible.* (p. 184) L asks if G would go for bargain prices. G: *Don't say bargain; nothing is a good price which you spend on something that does not suit you. I would try to spend money on a house that would suit me, and not pay more than its value.* (p. 184) I would not be an eager buyer, because I first would make myself well informed about neighbors and former inhabitants.

L: *Now suppose you have this, which order would you bring in the rest of prudent spending?* G: *I would want all my people to be put up under the same roof, to warm at the same hearth and to seat themselves at the same table.* (p. 185) This is a matter of comfort and at the same time a sign of prudence in spending. Suppose that at night the boys were to study in their own rooms, would you not need more torches than when everybody was studying around the table in the sitting room? *With families it occurs too. Many things are sufficient for all if together, which would be not enough for a few in separated quarters.* (p. 185) To stay together brings public respect to the father of the family and a split family does the opposite. Moreover it is as a matter of fact more expensive to provide for two tables, after a family has split, than serving one. L: *When everyone is in the house, would they all be required to be present at the evening meal?* G: *Indeed, certainly, my Lionardo, I would give the order that they can take dinner and evening meal at the proper time and a very good one too.* (p. 186) G here means with the term 'good' 'good and abundant' indeed.

L: *Would you buy these things from day to day?* (p. 186) No, says G, this would not be prudence in spending, because the seller will try each time to sell the worst or at least will sell for more than he has paid himself. So the buyer might be duped and in any case he pays the surplus. L: *Would you perhaps wish to have in your house for the whole year as much as you need for housely expenditures?* G: *Yes, I would like to have in the house whatever can be there without risk and can be stored without great effort.* (p. 187) The rest G would sell. L: *Would you sell what you first buy?* G: *As soon as possible, if conserving it would do me damage, but I would prefer not to have to buy and sell now this and then that, because that is the business of day-traders (Lat.: mercenarii) and a low profession.* (p.187) Avoiding this by paying a little more and making more efforts bears witness to more prudence in spending and it would seem the top of prudence in spending to provide for everything on time. *And, I still add that I would not want that every year the coins counted in my treasury become less.* (p. 187) G states that this possessing goods with which the house can be filled for a lesser cost than the price on the market is especially relevant for grain, wine, wood and straw, and flock, pigeons, chicken and fish.

L: *I agree, but I doubt if it would be prudence in spending if you did all such undertakings on the lands of others.* (p. 188) The owner will always profit from your efforts to improve it. Neither would good budget custodians praise you, if you lose loyal and good workers because the land changes hands. G indeed prefers to buy these lands with his own money for the reason which L mentions and many others which G does not specify. L. wonders if an estate for goods that require such different soil and climate conditions as grain, wine and wood can

be found in one single place and for an acceptable price. G: *Very many indeed!* (p. 188) G proves this with the former estates of different Alberti's. If possible G would try to buy interconnected fields, with well situated roads on it, because they make supervision easy. L. thinks this to be a good idea, *because when you are occupied with them at one place, the workers elsewhere might be more negligent.* (p. 189) G adds that with one large stretch one does not get to deal with too many peasant families. All plowmen are evil. They try to sell you their chicken and even their pig and want money to pay their creditors, to build a dowry for their daughters or to repair and improve their house. *If the harvest is abundant they keep the better two third to himself.* (p. 189) If, however, the land one year happens to bear no fruits the peasant takes it all upon you! *So from the useful he always withholds for himself the largest or the best part, from the burdensome and useless he throws everything on his lessor.* L: *It still might be better, then, to buy some provisions for the house on the market than having to deal with such evil people?* (p. 189) G answers that this is not the case for two reasons: you learn how to deal with tricks which you also have to expect in politics and you are forced to teach the workers diligence. *Apart from this, if you do not have too great a number of workers to deal with, their malice will not be unsupportable, and if you are diligently taking your responsibilities, your farmer can only damage you a little.* (p. 190). Actually his ingenuities will make you smile.

{p 190,5- 193,5 :G continues his exposition on agronomy in Palladian style and starts to the praise a farm and farming and this eulogy ends as a duet, sung by L and G in perfect harmony.} L: *Do you praise to live in the farm-house more than the midst of the city?* (p. 193) G answers that, while he himself would like to live most of the time on the farm, with children one had better live in the town, because the children have to become acquainted with evil. Evil does exist and *a man cannot distinguish who is vicious if he knows nothing about viciousness.* (p. 193) L adds that in the city one learns to be a citizen, the arts and how important are honor, fame and glory. *Such very good things maybe are not found in the farmhouse between logs and clods.* (p. 194) G is not so sure about this and says that if he would have a farm he would stay there for most of the year.

L: *Would you share with us how, as you said was necessary, to dress the family?* (p. 194) G tells that the very first thing would be to make available to his people what is required for being well clothed in a honorable way, *because if I was negligent in this respect, the brigade would serve me with poor loyalty and my people would bring hatred to me* (p. 194) as a despicable person and those outside would disapprove of me, as a miser. *Not to dress them well would therefore not be good prudence in spending.* (p. 194) L: *How then would you have the family dressed?* (p. 194) G answers that the main thing is that clothing is clean, suitable and well made: *on solemn holidays the new garments, on other days the garments that have been worn.* (p. 194) Old clothes only should be worn inside the house. Your clothes should bring you honor. Take the belt: without it a dress is more dignified, so beautiful clothes should not be belted. This norm goes for the whole family in accordance with their station. L. *And would you almost as a reward give clothes to those who withdraw with you in the house [the next of kin DN]?* (p. 195) G. confirms this. It would not only be a reward for them but also an incentive to the others. *Nothing will be as effective and useful for making the whole family very moderate, well conducted and willing to serve, as honoring and extra rewarding the good ones.* (p. 195) This kindles a desire for the less good to become worthy by practicing such works and living virtuously.

L: *Where would you get the money to dress your family? Would you sell the fruits of the property?* (p. 195) G confirms this, at least if still something would be left for consumption by the family, because *for a pater familias it always has been better to be involved in selling than in buying.* (p.195). Selling the superfluous fruits, however, would probably be insufficient.



There are small expenditures the year through and incidental large expenditures, clothes in the first place and weddings, dowries and education and I think that the fruits of the farm will not suffice for paying all of them. *I would, therefore, make sure to have some occupation outside the house as well, which is useful for the family, suited for me and effective for my people, with which occupation I would earn as much as is necessary as a supplement.* (p. 195) What I will earn more than the necessary amount I then can use to give away.

L: *Would that (occupation) be trade?* G: *Yes, but to increase my tranquility, it would be the kind of trade which is certain, because you see it from day to day ameliorate between your hands. Perhaps I would have men working wool or silk or something similar, which occupations are less work and much less trouble.* (p. 196) Moreover the money goes to and is useful for a large number of poor people. L: *That would be a function of greatest piety, to help many.* (p. 196) G does not deny this, especially when it will be done in his way: *I would have my overseers and laborers, so that I don't need to do more work than to provide (the raw material) and to order that everybody does what he should do.* (p. 196) G would explain them to behave friendly and honestly and to make sure that nobody will leave their work-shop discontented. *For, my children, it seems to me rather loss than profit if one, while money grows, loses gratitude and benevolence!* (p. 196) This way G hopes that God will grant him prosperity, the amount of customers will increase strongly and his good name will be rolled out amongst the citizens. *These things should not be taken lightly, where the favor of God and the benevolence of men determine from day to day the earnings.* (p. 196/7) L suggests that many overseers are lazy and looking for their own interest. G: *For that reason I would pay much attention to choosing good and honest overseers.* (p. 197) Moreover G would check the smallest things, not only to actually control him but even more to prevent that the overseer makes mistakes. Cheating is always found out by such a master. A merchant should have ink-stained hands.

L: *I do not know if I understand what you mean.* (p. 197) G explains that it is *necessary for a merchant or artisan, who has to deal with several persons to write down everything, every contract, every item than enters or leaves the shop,* (p. 197) this way double checking everything with almost permanently the pen in his hand. If you delay things to tomorrow you might forget them and the overseer might become careless too. *The diligence of a master can improve the not very good overseer, but the negligence of the man who ought to be primarily concerned always uses to worsen the good one.* (p. 197) L takes this to mean that many overseers try to rob and cheat their master and the more so if the master is negligent. G, however, wants to say *that five out of six business disasters happen because of the shortcomings of the one who governs the business.* (p. 198) His point is rather that a hard-working master makes his personnel loyal and diligent. *He is a fool, who cannot report on his own facts except by the mouth of someone else; he certainly will be blind, who will see only with the eyes of another.* (p. 198) G states that you should work hard and control everything what is done during the day on that very same day. He would be diligent in general and for important tasks he would choose the proper overseer and then check on everything. *And to give my overseers a cause for improvement, I would give them honor, treat them generously well and do my best to make them love me and my goods.* (p. 198) G still adds that when you are looking for information on a candidate-overseer, you should inform yourself broadly about him, before you take him on.

L: *Which would you like more as overseers, outsiders or only your people of the house?* (p. 198) Some merchants say that it is easier to punish a stranger and to get your full value of him than of someone from your family, others that outsiders are more obedient than kinsmen, and there is the troublesome problem of the replacement of a loyal outsider by a family member. G. replies that he would call an overseer whom he cannot trust and should punish 'an enemy';

does not understand why outsiders should give him more reverence than his own people and considers somebody who does not appreciate that a kinsman gets a high position unworthy of fortune. G simply considers people stupid who think they may keep their dignity and wealth without the help of their family. One needs other people and if a man is in disgrace with his family, he would be a fool to think that outsiders are going to assist him. *But to define your question, L, do you assume that your relatives are good or bad people?* (p. 199) L supposes they are good people. G answers that if the members of the family are good people one can prefer them. In principle they are more affectionate and loyal and one rather does a favor to a member of the family than to a stranger. L: *But what if they are bad?* (p. 199) G wants to know how bad is bad. If it is a matter of not being able to acquire earnings, you are under the obligation to instruct them. L: *And if he cheats you?* (p.199) G admonishes L that a kinsman, if you treat him as such, will never cheat you. Cheating by an outsider is more probable because *an outsider only stays with you to make better value for himself.* (p. 200) G stresses also that *there is more praise and utility in doing good to your own people than to the outsiders.* (p. 200) If a stranger gets rich together with you he will think that this is his merit, while your family in the same situation will be thankful to you and at a certain moment in time will do something in return. Finally, it is more difficult to get to know the character of an outsider than from a member of the family, who one has seen growing up. So there is no dilemma here. When our relatives are good and effective we want to help them and if they are not yet ready for the job we make a serious effort to make them better. L Agrees that *the man, who does not love his people, does not know how to love.* (p. 201) G elaborates how having members of your family at work will make you happy and how a stranger as employee may make you unhappy. *I could show you an infinite number of reasons by which you can see that the outsider always stays with you as an enemy, while your people are always friends.* (p. 201) The outsider, for instance, soon wants to be a partner and makes difficulties when he does not succeed in this. Relatives on the other hand always seek your welfare and your good name. It is in every respect safer to demand help from your people and, on the other hand, one should help one's family more than outsiders.

L agrees and then asks to hear the rest of it. *You have already spoken of the house, of the property and of the occupations and the prudence in spending they require.* (p. 202) You have dealt with expenditures for food, clothing and for the reception of friends and honoring them with gifts and generosity. Teach us now about the expenditures for the honor and fame of the house, like those made for civic buildings. G makes a distinction between necessary and unnecessary expenditures. *Necessary are those without which you are not able to maintain your family in an honorable way, that is to say those, which damage one's own honor and the comfort of one's people, if one does not make them. The greater damage it does if one does not make them, the more they are necessary.* (p. 202) The unnecessary expenditures are the ones that do not damage the honor of the family. Some of them are reasonable, because they give pleasure like beautiful books, others are superfluous, because they are pompous, for instance an embellishment of the loggia or beautiful cloths. L: *Let these be called voluntary expenditures, then, because they oblige rather our will than (they oblige) necessity.* G: *All right.* (p. 203) Moreover insane expenditures like keeping serpents, or worse do exist. L: *Tigers maybe?* (p 203) G rather points out to the nurturing of human serpents, that is to say people that speak evil. One should keep away from such wicked persons and even from friends who consort with persons with an evil tongue. Both agree that in any case insane expenditures should be avoided. L: *And the other two, the necessary and voluntary ones, which rule do we have to try to follow?* (p. 203) The method of G is to purchase the necessary expenditures as soon as possible to get them off his mind. The purchase of voluntary ones, however, he delays as long as possible in order *to find out if this wish will leave me along the*



way. (p. 204) L thanks G for having taught him to avoid much expenditures, which he, like other young men, did not know how to avoid.

G. *That is why reverence towards elders is an obligation.* (p. 204) Many things in this world are better understood by experience than by reading books. *The shortest way to philosophy, conversation and communication with your elders is to ask them questions, listen to them and really hear them.* (p. 204)

L agrees but now doubts, given the many and difficult tasks of a father of the family, if one person can handle them: *being a budget custodian of your own goods, ruling and moderating the affections of the soul, slowing down and restraining the appetites of the body, adapting oneself to and 'using the fruits' of time, observing and governing the family, maintaining the property, preserving the house, cultivating the possessions and managing the shop.* (p. 204/5)

G does not see this as a problem. According to him these tasks *are all so closely connected and intertwined that, if a man tries to be a good father to his family and takes good care of one of his duties, the others follow of themselves. Who knows how not to lose time, knows to do almost everything and who knows how to use the time, will be the lord of anything that he wants.* (p. 205) To a diligent person these tasks would be pleasant and nothing gives as much satisfaction as doing what we like. Moreover we should look at performing them as a possibility for praise. If one feels, nevertheless, that the burden is too heavy, one should only do part of the work oneself, the part which suits best one's mind, age, experience and position. The rest should be delegated.

You should stay always above all and let all *the others of your people only follow you in accordance with your will and judgment.* (p. 205) You should keep your overseers distributed over the various jobs, in accordance with their capabilities. *You, men of letters, when you discuss prudence and human life, use to bring forward the example of the ants and say that we should take from them the lesson how to provide today for the needs of tomorrow.(--) On the same principle you are in the habit to take an argument from the bees, who all obey to only one and all are striving for the common good with very determined souls and very fervent activities.(--) You rather should look at the spider.* (p. 206) He constructs his web in such a way that, after having spun it, he resides in the midst of ligaments, alert and diligent to reach immediately every catch. *That is what the father of the family should do.* (p. 206) He should position his goods as the spider his ligaments. *He stays in the midst of them, intent and quick to feel and see everything, and where a provision is needed to provide it immediately.* (p.206) L likes the comparison. He is now convinced that the father of the family can govern the house despite the many tasks he has to handle. L: *But still what has to be done in the city seems to stiffen the house governing tasks.* (p. 206) G does not agree because a quick solution is immediately available. He has solved this problem by creating two purses. The smaller one he leaves to his wife to be able to run the household. The larger one for an extra income and acquisitions from outside, which are often carried out outside the house among men, he keeps to himself. G thinks it is a difficult task to provide for the necessities inside the house. He is aware that men exist who always poke their nose in everything that happens inside the house. These people *say that it is no shame at all and does not harm anyone when they check the activities and when they lay down their laws and their customs in their house.* (p. 207) G, however, cannot imagine that men *who are occupied with the non-female activities would show themselves so much interested in the custody of the budget of the very small household amounts.* (p. 207)

L *I do agree with you because it is exactly what the ancients have said.* (p. 207) The man has a better mind and is stronger than the woman, who in her turn is timid and has a weaker body. *It is as if nature has provided this way for our living, wanting that the man brings home, the woman preserves. The wife should defend, inside the house, the goods and she does this by*

*honorable activities, fear and suspicion, the man should defend the wife, the house, his people and the father land not by sitting still but by using his mind, his hands with much virtue, even by spending sweat and blood.* (p. 207/8) Men who occupy their minds actively with such feminine trifles certainly lack a masculine heart. I think *you are right to leave the government of minor things to your wife and to keep for yourself, as I always have seen you doing, all masculine and very praiseworthy tasks.* (p. 208) G confirms that it is the duty of a father of the family to do what is proper to a man and moreover to abstain from female activities. *He (=L) should leave all the minor assignments of the house to the women, as I have done.* (p. 208) L. confirms that G has a most virtuous wife, but wonders if one can find easily such a woman. G: *Mine certainly became a very good mother of the family by her sharp mind and customs, but much more so by my admonishments.* (p. 208) L asks G after his admonishments. {(p. 208-229: The book from here on till the discussion about the prudent spending of money mirrors the part in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* where Ischomachus tells Socrates how he instructed his wife on marriage<sup>cxl</sup>.)}

[Aduardo (A) enters. A immediately feeds the discussion by supposing that one should always look for the benevolence of God first. A, L and G agree that the governor of the house every morning has to do his prayers.] G says that A has not missed much, because he is not an intellectual, like A and L, who both are familiar with the Ancients. His only basis for prudence on spending is his own experience. *In as much as you have more ingenuity than I and more sophisticated knowledge, to that extent you can earlier, quicker and better comprehend the essentials, the way to do it, the order and all the other matters that concern prudence in spending.* (p. 231) A and L both praise G extensively and argue that nobody else could have better explained the principles of prudence than G!

A: *What about money? Did you say how and what kind of prudence in spending should be applied?* (p. 232) G sees no difference with other goods. It should be used when and as much is needed and the rest should be put aside to help a friend, a parent or the country. A sees this differently. *It has been my belief that a budget custodian has nothing more to do than to apply good prudence in spending money.* (p. 232) Money is the root of, the hook for, the nourishment of everything. Artisans work like slaves for you when you have money. Without it, you are in want of almost all goods. *The house, the farm and the workshop need workmen, overseers, tools, cattle and the like which one cannot maintain or acquire without spending money.* (p. 232) So if money supplies all needs, why worry about prudence in spending regarding the other goods? To this comes that money can be carried with you in contrast with to real estate, as the Alberti's have experienced, when they were forced into exile.

G: *I do not want to deny to you, A, that by supplying the necessities and by satisfying our wants, money is very valuable but I am not going to agree with you, because even if I do have money, I still would be in want of very many goods, which are not obtainable at the moment you need them or are not very good ones or cost extremely much.* (p. 233) Even if these goods were very cheap G would prefer to watch over his affairs, plan all activities and produce whatever he needs himself instead of being forced to look for everything he needs far away. Your vision is obstructed by your exile, A! *With a farm to satisfy your necessity and wants and those of your family, I believe, you would not much look after money. I do really disagree with you, if you think money is more useful than land.* (p. 233) One should not think that money is easier acquired and preserved than land and neither should one believe that the fruits of money are more useful than those of real estate, *because what is more easy to lose, more difficult to preserve, more risky to transport, more troublesome to get back, more easy to disappear, to go down the drain and to vanish into thin air?* (p. 234) Money is exposed to greater perils than land and if you would hide it, it is not useful anymore for you or your people. G could continue easily about the great perils of money.

A now agrees with G more or less but for the sake of argument still counters with: *It seems to me that that the course and movement of fortune carry as well property as money away but maybe money at such a moment stays hidden and save*, (p. 234) while buildings are destroyed by war and enemies. G states that A enhances his argument with more astuteness than robustness. The point is that if fortune takes away the harvest this year, these lands stay yours and fortune will in another year return the harvest, if not to you, then to your children and grandchildren. *To how many children under guardianship, to how many citizens lands have been more useful than money?* (p. 235) Unimaginably large amounts of money of the Alberti's were taken away from them, which sums if spent on lands, still would now be theirs. *I would not know what else money was invented for than for being spent, for receiving goods in exchange for it. You, who has the goods, why do you need money?* (p. 235) And goods moreover meet your needs, which money does not do. *Let us not develop this argument, however, but act like practical budget custodians and leave the battle of words.* (p. 235) G admits in order to put an end to this discussion that it is better to possess as well land as money and moreover to diversify with both kinds of property geographically, in order to spread the risks. *One uses from them depending on the need, the rest one preserves for the future.* (p. 235)

L says that A should not look so surprised, because *everything that G has said (--) was necessary for the good government of the whole family outside and at home.* (p. 235) A gives in and admits that a good budget custodian divides his fortune over several goods and several places. He is, however, a bit worried because G has talked down money so much - money is only made to buying goods -, that prudence in spending is not applicable to it and who would believe that? With money you have all other goods. *It seems to me that you don't value that in a small purse you find bread, wine, all victuals, clothes, horses and everything that is useful to take inside the house, apart from the fact that money can be useful when lending it to friends, as you said, and can serve as a merchandise.* (p. 236)

G has been expecting that A would set some snares. G now provides the clue to the trading of money: *every purchase and every sale (of money) should be one of simplicity, truth, good faith and integrity, as much with a stranger as with a friend, and all (money transactions) should be transparent and straight.* (p. 236)

A: *Excellent! But about lending money, G, what to do if, as happens every day, some lord requires this?* G: *I would sooner give him 20 as a gift than 100 as a loan and in order to have to do neither of them, I would flee from him.* (p. 236) The problem with lords is that one cannot hope for recompense or gratitude from them. It is caused by the court of a lord. Most of the courtiers are flatterers and gossips, spend their time in idleness. The few of them, who put virtue at work, rarely are rewarded by the lord. If you, as a honest man, want to compete with these courtiers, you will never win. *That is why it always seems to me that one should flee from these lords. Believe me, one wants to ask and receive from them, but never one wants to give or lend to them* (p. 237). Too many people are presenting them gifts. Moreover, if you give them too small a present you will be hated; if it is a proper one, you will get nothing in return and if it is too large, it still will not satisfy their greed. Then they want that all their kin will get enough and not only they, themselves. The more you give, the more they expect, the more you lend, the larger is your loss. *With lords, your promises are obligations, your loans are gifts, and your gifts are thrown away.* (p. 238) You should even watch your words because lords, to whom you have given a loan, will try to start a quarrel in order not to have to pay it back. A: *Then I will be prudent in accordance with your recommendation. I will flee from all dealings with lords or if I have by accident some business (with them) , I will ask for immediate payment and if I am forced to give, I will give as less as I can.* L: *To friends (--), do you lend or give to them?* (p. 238) In principle one is generous to his friends, says G, but no

gift seems to be generosity, if not a need requires it. L: *When a friend asks for help, can I deny him anything?* (p. 238) G answers that you can deny him anything which is not honorable. L replies that when one is in need and asks something from a friend, this is honorable by definition. G: *If what my friend asks does not suit me, why should I value his interest higher than mine? But, yes, in order to prevent damage I want you to lend to a friend, be it in such a way that when you ask yours back, you will not enter into a quarrel and he will not become your enemy.* (p. 238/9)

L now states that to a friend he would as well give as lend! G *And what if he does not the same towards you?* L: *He would do the same, precisely because he is a friend.* (p. 239) We would share everything, including wealth. G is skeptical and states that the world is full of deceit. The person, who by way of some trick tries to take away something of what is yours, is not a friend. A now agrees with G that people who greet, praise and flatter you are no friends. You can trust very few of all the people you know. *How shall we behave towards them [whom we do not trust DN]?* (p. 239) G tells what a friend of his does. He returns smiles and words of praise immediately and to a larger degree and with stories about his own needs he does exactly the same: he immediately invents a larger need for himself. *When they start to actually ask for a loan or at least for standing surety for one, suddenly he becomes deaf, misunderstands, answers a different question or immediately starts a long quite different discussion.* (p. 239) If they persevere, eventually they will be asking a small sum, which he lends to them to get rid of the nuisance. G: *No more of this. I don't want you to call me a master of slyness. Towards friends one should want to use generosity.* (p. 240) He rather would like his audience to acquire honor by seeming generous than by appearing clever. *And I do not praise prudence in spending so much that I now condemn being generous. Neither do I think that one is so much indebted towards friends, that it would not be occasionally useful to apply generosity to strangers, so that one does not look like a miser or makes new friends.* (p. 240) A insists that G should tell more about this shrewd friend of his, so that they can defend themselves against those petitioners. G elaborates his earlier story a little bit. L: *But maybe it would be best to say no in a straight and manly way.* (p. 241) G answers that he first was of this opinion too. His friend has explained him, however, that by doing that G would show indifference to the petitioners and arouse hatred.

L: *But if someone of your people at home would ask you, as happens the whole day, how would you treat him?* (p. 241) G tells that when it would not be very inconvenient for him and would bring utility to his kinsman, he would lend him as much money and goods as his relative would need and he could miss. *It is my duty to help my people with the property, with sweat, with blood, with everything I can, even my life, for the honor of the house and my people. (--) Who only knows to spend his riches on food and clothes, who does not know how to use it for the interest of his people, in honor of the house, absolutely does not know how to employ them [riches DN].* (p. 241)

Another question occurs to A: Should children be given some silver coins as pocket money for small expenses? On a tight lease they might be more inclined to vice. G: *Do you think a little boy can handle money without danger?* (p. 242) He asks why a boy would need money in the first place, when his father pays for all his expenditures. Many fathers allow their sons too much. The question therefore is rather *what causes more vice in the young, being too much in need of money or being too well supplied.* (p. 242) L explains what G here wants to say: *Fathers first should try to structure the wishes of teenage boys as much as they can, after which, I am sure, he does not want them to deteriorate morally by lack of money.* (p. 242-3) G agrees to this account of his argument.

L praises the utility of G's teachings. *It seems to me that G in fact taught us how to be good budget custodians with regard to all things necessary for life, really all of them.* (p. 243) A

now asks: *Don't you think that friendship, fame and honor are useful in life?* (p. 243) G. *Most useful.* A. *And did you teach the application of a good budget custodianship as to them?* G. *That, no.* He answers evasively why he did not: *What do I know about friendship? Perhaps one might say that he who is rich has more friends than he wants.* (p. 243) A defends that wealth brings enemies, because all the poor wants to enrich himself with not only labor but also with deceit and robbery from the rich. G: *And still I am one of those who rather would be self-sufficient with my wealth, never to have to ask a friend.* (p. 243) A replies that in times in prosperity it is maybe possible to live without friends to sustain you but if you have to defend yourself against injustice this is impossible. G: *I don't deny that friends are most appropriate in human life: I am one of those people, however, who asks as rarely as he can.* (p. 244) A goes on and now argues that friends first have to be tested in easy and peaceful situations to find out what they will do in hard times. G agrees in principle but still prefers his own independent situation. *If you do not covet the goods of others, if you know how to be a budget custodian with regard to your goods, you will only rarely need to test your friends and just for small amounts at that.* (p. 244) G says he really has to leave now. Giannozzo leaves with the words: *Keep this in mind, children, let your expenditures be equal to or less than your income! Be in everything- words, thoughts and actions- just, truthful and a budget custodian. Then you will become wealthy, loved and honored.* (p. 245)

## 2 Summary of *Oeconomia Christiana* by Justus Menius.

That God has decreed a realm of two kinds, spiritual and corporeal.

I Who looks at human life, experiences that God has created a realm of two kinds. The one *is spiritual and eternal in our soul and conscience, so that our eternal life commences and in this realm only our Lord according to his majesty, power, discretion and will has to rule, govern and reign.* (p. 46) This is just what the gospel says when it tells that this is made possible by God, who sent his son to do penance for the human sins and has poured out the Holy Ghost in the hearts of the believers. Read about the glory of this realm the Apostle<sup>cxli</sup> (Paul) at several places and especially Col. I and about Christ John 17.

*The other one, however, is a corporeal and external realm, by which the body outwardly and during this temporary life in this world is reigned, which, although it is exterior and material, is no less God's empire, (--)* (p. 46) The difference is that He in the first realm only uses the bible and the Sacraments as means and in the second one also people and natural powers like their reason, strength, etc..

That God has created a corporeal government and one nevertheless has to keep oneself to God's order *is in the word, because he says < Honor your father and your mother >. The Apostles have taught this too.* (p. 46) Read about this exterior and corporeal reigning that God has installed, ordered and imposed 1 Petr.2.

The corporeal reign is of two kinds. *Oeconomia* and *Politia*.

II *And this exterior and corporeal realm is of two kinds too, as namely Oeconomia, that is householding (Germ.: Haushaltung) and Politia, that is country governing (Germ.: Landregirung). In the Oeconomia or householding is prescribed how every house should be governed in a Christian and really good way; how everybody - man, wife, children, and servants- in accordance with his station and the honor of it should behave towards each other, in such a way that things everywhere in conformity with the command and order of God in the house in a pleasurable way come to pass just and good.* (p. 47-48).

*For there is no doubt that from the Oeconomia or householding the Politia or country governing should arise like from a well. (p. 48). About that someone should govern his house as a requirement for becoming a bishop read I Tim. 3. And read Luke 16. 10 about the loyalty in small things as a necessary condition for loyalty in large things.*

Both these governments, Oeconomia and Politia, are implied in the command <You should honor your father and mother><sup>cxlii</sup>. They are inserted into the creation of nature in such a way that nature no less can do without them than without day and night.

That is why all pagans and nations must have and keep themselves to this work and order of God of the Oeconomia and Politia. In this world this work of God and this order will not come to a stop no more than summer and winter will do.

The difference between the pagan and Christian teaching of Oeconomia and Politia.

III The philosophers have written much about both kinds of government but *they have all failed, because they did not acknowledge or teach that such government also was the empire, work and order of God, with which God has to do, but only thought that both house and country are governed and maintained by human cleverness and reason (p. 49)*

We, Christians, *should before all things know and never doubt that God of the Oeconomia and Politia, that is householding und country government, is the unique creator, master and governor. To read how King David confirms this in Psalm.127.*

*That is why who wants to understand this art, be it householding or country governing, first and almost only should learn to acknowledge, that God is the one, who always will assist him in his station and function, (--) and that he is only a servant (--) (p. 50).*

For who wrongly thinks that he can govern his house on his own without God, will run into trouble, indifferently if things are going well or badly. If he is doing well, without awareness that it is God who gives him what he has, he abuses the goods and his belief and eventually will destroy his whole house, because he does not fear God. If things are going badly without awareness of God, he will not be able to bear his misfortune, because he is on his own and nobody will help him.

*To make that one knows how one should household in a Christian way and at the same time acknowledges what an outrageous, harmful and wicked doctrine it is which teaches that it is forbidden for a Christian to take care of his householding and alimention and that one should possess nothing in private but possess and use all goods in common, like the gang of Anabaptists teach together with other mistakes, to this end we want here to show from Scripture and the word of God what is a Christian oeconomia and how one household in honor to God and with a good conscience. (p. 50/1).*

One should discuss the marriage station beforehand, *because it is the marriage station alone that permits particularly the householding. There is no Oeconomia or whatever householding without marriage, like the heathen philosophers and especially Xenophon have begun to teach (p. 51). So we will start with the subject of marriage and describe what matrimonial life is, from where it comes, how it gives pleasure to God and how one should behave in a Christian and right way. (p. 51)*

What matrimonial life is.

IV *In all stations it is a great comfort in adversity, (--) that one knows that what one does or suffers, one does or suffer on God's command (p. 51) and that one should not doubt that it pleases God the most, when one does not question this, although all worldly reason immediately opposes this attitude. One therefore should not enter into a station, unless on God's command and unless one knows for true that God has a gracious delight in that work or station. Who blindly plumps into a station, will later regret this.*

Therefore all people who enter into the marriage station should be aware that this station is created by God himself and pleases God how difficult the situation on earth may become and that they may expect by way of comfort that God will assist them in all needs with timely council and merciful help. About the creation of man read Gen. 1 and 2 in which verses God says that the male should not be alone.

About the creation of women read Gen 2, 21-24<sup>cxliii</sup>

This text is a strong comfort for the marriage station, because it tells that He not only created this station *but also shows and promises that He will stay with the spouses and will trouble Himself about them.* (p. 53)

He created them after his image and he blessed them to be fertile and he saw that it was good, says Scripture.

Because of His delight in this creation, nobody should doubt anymore that God will maintain his creation and govern it, just like the sun will be here forever.

The spouses should know that they cannot please God more than by being prepared to do good to Him and call upon Him in distress to help them. For because God commands the marriage station with much doom and gloom, one can lightly accept that this station is His work and He always will trouble himself about it.

Like the Lord was present with the Israelites in the exodus from Egypt and He has helped them Himself with all their needs, as is shown in Deut. 8.

The pagan philosophers have also written much about the marriage station and praised it, because they have seen that nature taught it and compels man to marry. The same goes for the lawgivers, who gave marriage an important position in the law. They failed however greatly, because *they have not seen – not been able to see – that matrimonial life is a work of God and He wants to have to do that much with the spouses, and this only the Holy Ghost has taught in Scripture, as we do see and hear.* (p. 55)

Having said that marriage is God's own work and order and that what one does in marriage is a matter of service to God, we now will show why God has created, decreed and commanded this station, so that couples may serve and thank God.

Why God instituted the marriage station.

V In the first place God created, instituted and commanded the marriage station *to produce children, as God has dictated.* (p. 55)

About his dictate read Gen. 1, 28:< Be fruitful and multiply.>.

No creature can oppose these powerful words of God that creatures have to grow, impregnate themselves and bear fruit: His words have to express themselves in His creation without human hinder. *A different conclusion is not possible.* (p. 56) From these works God will select some, and he will also make the outcome for everybody different.

Because people are created to multiply themselves and nobody can oppose His work everybody should let himself be used by Him, whatever trouble is asked from him when he does this, and everybody should take into consideration what He likes to be done. In its turn, *everything what man tackles in the name of God will only be a pleasure and a joy in his heart for him and will require almost no effort. For as the Lord has said <for the believer everything is possible.>* (p. 57)

Some people, however, want to be smarter than God and want to become, alone or with others, better than God has created them. They are sinning terribly. *What more terrible thing might be planned by the devil?* (p. 57)

Nevertheless God is so friendly to apply this law < be fruitful and multiply > also to those who misbehave and adds even < It is not good that the male is alone, he should have an assistant> as a warning to the world to be satisfied with God's will and to abstain from such outrage [celibacy DN]. And what schemes does the devil launch! Take for example the doctrine that priests should not marry. This must be a doctrine of the devil himself, *as St Paul in 1Timot. 4<sup>exliv</sup> has proclaimed.* (p. 58)

Scripture is quite clear. The facts shows also that to stay single as a priest is one of his tricks: because of their being bachelors, priests and nuns believe to end up high in heaven, on top of the angels, but they will be thrown in the muck of the hell.

*The same happens with those wise guys for whom the marriage station is not blocked by law* (p. 59) but who do not want to marry because of the disadvantages of the married station or because of a fear to become poor on account of the costs of children. Upon them the devils plays his tricks too.

*What happens to them? I will tell you!* (p. 59) If they do not want to become married in the name of God they have to become whore-hoppers in the name of the devil. The devil however does not pay out for they will suffer from a bad conscience **for** God and disgrace **for** the people.

*Therefore the second cause why one should become married is precisely to avoid whoring and other terrible vices and God's punishments that follow from them. (p. 60) About marriage instead of whoring see I Cor. 7.*

Usually such people defend themselves with the remark that man is weak but they should know that this no excuse, because He created them weak in order to offer them the possibility – marriage - to conquer their weakness.

They should acknowledge that they need the help of God. Instead they deny His assistance and therefore disgrace themselves for man and God into eternity. To read Rom. I about this disgrace.

*Not only those who flee from the marriage station and do not marry because they fear poverty or another discomfort, do sin (p. 61) but also those who do marry but for other reasons than the mentioned ones, for instance to become rich, pay dearly for it. For running into the snare of the devil by those people who marry to become rich read I Tim, 6.*

At which the householding should be directed.

*VI One usually mainly asks about all arts to what purpose they serve and at what goal every art finally is directed. So that it is appropriate here that we will show for which purpose the oeconomia or householding serves, at which it finally should be directed and why God such a government has decreed and installed. (p. 62)*

*The pagan philosophers who wrote about Oeconomia have commonly taught that the householding serves to and should be directed at the goal of acquiring food and becoming rich (p. 62). Nowadays many householders share this opinion but we are not following it.*

*A pious and devout house father should in his house holding not look after or direct his house government at getting much food and becoming very rich. His house holding most certainly should be directed at the rearing of pious, God-fearing, obedient and virtuous children. (p. 63).*

*Now the Philosophers and particularly the Stoics also have learned to care for one's fellow man, so that in order to maintain in a common government a common peace and a good order of all, the one helps the other and rightly so. But one should know moreover that for this it is necessary that in order to serve countries and people children have to be reared or else this is worth nothing. (p. 63)*

*For if children are mainly drawn towards the fear of God, and are taught the knowledge of God then it will happen automatically, that they will also serve other people and a total common interest. The city will enjoy for God and the world prosperity from the land and people of an unique pious, competent man. (p. 63) To read for this Prov. 11 and 15. Sodom and Gomorra would not have been destroyed, if somebody in these cities had asked for God.*

That is why, if one wants a good Politia, one should start in the Oeconomia with the youth. To educate them properly one should imprint in them the fear of God. Particularly on this subject we will say more later.

*Because we have earlier taught that the householding is particularly commanded to the marriage station,(p. 64) we will now successively teach what husband and wife is permitted, alone and together, towards each other as well as towards the children, servants and everyone.*

What is granted particularly to the man in the government of the house. (Ge.: Hausregiering)

*VII In the first place a husband or house father should possess a really wise and faithful heart towards God. He should know that in this station he does and suffers everything in accordance with the will of God. Moreover he should trust in God and believe that in all his acting and suffering He will govern and help him, assist him with governing and feeding himself, his wife, child and the whole house and especially graciously ward off and keep away all evil. (p. 65). This is still today shown<sup>cxlv</sup>.*

*Secondly, he should be no adulterer (p. 65), but maintain his wife as his only assistant and not decorate himself with others. About that the love of one's wife to read Prov. 4.*

To read about how God punishes the adulterer 2Kings 12.

*The third doctrine is that a husband has to love his wife, as the Apostles have taught on many places (p. 66). About love one notes a large difference between the godless and the godly. A godless husband*



loves his wife in such a way that he only looks for what he needs from her and as soon as he does not get that anymore, his love will disappear.

A godly pious husband, on the other hand, *looks at his wife as nothing more than the command and will of God, and only because his wife is given to him by God, his creator and master, as assistant and spouse, does he love her as a gift of God because of God, his master, and does he accept her as being good, although there might be something about her, which annoys him, like plainness or poorness.* (p. 66) He is glad that God with such a means protects him from evildoing and he hopes that God will have patience with his weakness, especially when the couple encounters poverty and infirmities. This is what the Apostles ( I. Kor. II), and King Solomon in Prov. 18 tells. With such a faith they will possess their wives, as if they did not possess them, like St Paul recommends, *because they possess them, love them, sleep with them and use them not in opposition to but in agreement with God's command and will.* (p. 67)

And from what is said follows the fourth doctrine: *the devout husband knows how to keep his wife just, and at the proper moments, reasonable, how to associate with her honestly and pleasantly and how to adapt himself to her ways (--).* (p. 67) Read 1 Petr. 3, who admonishes that he should honor his wife, being the weaker sex, because they are also heirs to the grace of life.

St. Peters means with the weaker sex not only that their body is weaker than that of the male, so that both cannot do the same jobs, but also that women are different and bottle up, what is inflicted to them. So, to prevent discord between both spouses, their husbands should be so wise as to act forgivingly.

Many husbands, however think that they may permit themselves everything in their behavior towards their wife. *Scripture forbids such awkwardness in Eccl. 4.* (p. 69)

A sensible man rather takes Abraham as an example. {p. 69,5- 70,5: Menius reproduces Gen. 16-21, which tells the story of Abraham, his wife Sara and his concubine, the slave Hagar.} *How could the good, pious man have dealt with his wife more beautifully than he did?* (p. 70) Without any doubt Scripture gives in accordance with God's will such instances in order to learn from them.

Count Ludwig<sup>cxlvi</sup>, the husband of S. Elisabeth of Thüringen, is another example. The devil visited him often to prompt his suspicions but the count stayed loyal to her.

*The fifth doctrine is that he should provide his lovely wife and children by his work with housing and food and defend, protect and shelter them as their head and guardian.* (p. 70/1) To read Gen. 3: and Eph. I. *So the man as head should lead his wife, children and ranks with alimentation and all the rest.* (p. 71)

*The pagan philosophers have taught as well, that to the husband is granted to acquire food and send it into the house, what is proper and necessary.* (p. 71). They failed, however, here too, because they have forgotten to add what lies behind this, which is that one knows where to take it. *That one knows to spot and find exactly this, that is the art if it and therefore we will teach it.* (p. 71)

The philosophers learn that reason and skill of man himself make him find the food and become rich but they have to admit that the human reason and skill are of no avail if God does not want somebody to be successful for many wise, prudent people did not succeed and many bad, simple people fared well.

*What now does Scripture teach about this?* (p. 72) Actually Scripture makes it very clear, that man should work very hard, like God has said *<By the sweat of your face you will eat your bread>.*

*Moreover, < The parents have to gather treasures for their children> (2 Corinth. 12) and < House and goods are inherited by parents> (Prov. 19).* (p. 72) God alone gives food but only by way of our labor.

That is why all who are in the marriage station should acknowledge that *God wants from them that with their labor they should look for food for their wife and children, everybody in conformity with the occupation God has called him to.*

*Nobody should, however, be so foolish as to think and expect that his skill, diligence and labor feed him and make him rich.* (p. 72) That is a pagan, godless mistake. God not only wants that one works and looks for food by labor but moreover he forbids considering the food one acquires as the result of one's own accomplishment. Food is the result of God's benediction, like Christ our Lord teaches in Mt. 6.

*This is even especially nicely shown in Gen. 3, where God says to Adam: < Cursed is the field because of you> (p. 73). God only will bless our fields again, after we have removed the thistles and the thorns by our hard labor.*

To read Deut. 11 and Deut. 28. The drift of these two articles is that we *know that where God through his benediction does not provide safety and grants his donations, there all our counsel, plans, skill, prudence, care, trouble, and labor are lost and done for nothing.* (p. 73) To read Mt..6 It want to say that one should learn to trust first that God will make your labor fertile and feed you.

Thus the right art of acquiring food and becoming rich is not that one only works as if it only depends on labor and on nothing more, but to learn to receive food and wealth from God. *We should only work because God has commanded and ordered this en put our belief in Him that He will certainly feed us with our wife and children, be it by our work or by other ways and means, just as is pleasing to Him.* (p. 74).

And he who thinks that he only has to labour hard, works for nothing because God will not bless the work of the fool who without belief tortures himself with labour.

But even he who sometimes succeeds in accomplishing something, cannot become glad because of his fear that whatever he has acquired will be destroyed by some of the possible disasters he vividly imagines. *For because it is a unbelieving and godless heart, it cannot ever have peace or be at rest.* (p. 75) To read this in Isaiah 57.

On the other hand, he whose heart has knowledge of God and is believing, knows that he is safe with God and trusts that not only his soul will be taken care of but that his temporary body too will be fed by Him in the way he deserves. He is content with what He gives them, is it by the bushel or by the spoon.

*Therefore a house father will not get dissatisfied with his work and his alimentation comes very easy to him.* (p. 76) To read Prov. 10. It is not only acquired by those who believe without effort but it is kept without trouble as well, for his treasury is the word of God. To read Mt. 6.

About them S. Paul says in 2 Corinth 6 < Who do not have anything but at the same time possess anything>. For they know if they have much that their wealth is temporary and if they do not have much, that God will not leave them alone, because *He has given them His word, by which He assured and promised to give abundantly not only the daily bread but everything which both of them need for the temporary and the eternal life.* (p. 76)

What is granted particularly to the wife in the government of the house.

VII A pious, God-fearing and Christian house mother firstly needs to believe precisely that the station in which she is and lives, is, just like the one of her landlord, a divine station, to which God self has called and sent her, and that in that position she has to serve Him following His word and intention with respect to her landlord and children (--). (p. 77) She should not doubt that God will gracefully assist her in this station as he has promised in His holy, almighty and eternal word.

*The second what especially is granted to a woman is that she should give birth to and rear children for this is the work that God has particularly commanded and assigned to her.* (p. 77) This is so difficult and heavy a task that she should also learn how to look for comfort and help.

The comfort for her is to know that it is not God`s intention to show his wrath towards this poor creature but that she by such labor and pain knows that she has a gracious and merciful God and father. By this labor God is not merciless or hostile but friendly. He intends *to comfort her, to preserve her with all honor and make her blessed. We want now to hear what Scripture says about this.* (p. 78) {p 78-83: Menius let the reader hear what Scripture says about this. He uses Gen. 3, Gen. 2, 1Tim. 2, John 14, Romans 3 and Gal. 3 to explain that God intends to comfort her with her duty of childbirth.}

*Dear God, who is able to express satisfactorily with words this great and powerful comfort?* ( p. 83)

Here one learns what Salomon had in mind when he wrote: < He who finds a wife, finds what is good and receives favor from the Lord> and at the many other locations where he praises the marriage station. How wrong is the stupid mass of priests, monks and nuns who praise the bachelor station, although Scripture nowhere commands it. Read what St Paul says in Tit. 1.

*That's is why the impudent people (--) who hold the marriage station in contempt should stop with their poisonous mouths and pens or sharpen them on something else. (p. 84)*

I hope they will not be punished by God too heavily. Let them slander and lie. We are satisfied with the pleasure that Scripture praises our station.

*The third what is granted to a wife is that she knows how she should behave and show herself towards her husband. (p. 85)* As to this point Scripture teaches three things. *In the first place a pious blessed wife should be obedient and subject to her husband, as God himself has commanded in Gen. 3. (p. 85).* The Apostles have taught this later too. To read 1Petr. 3.

In the second place *a wife should be modest towards her husband and others and, as St. Peter teaches, be of a soft and quiet mind. (p.85).* To read Prov. 12 and 11. *Of this we will see now a few examples. (p. 86)*

Abigail in 1Kings 25, is an example of a wife, who saves the house. About her Salomon writes in Prov. 14: *<The wise woman builds her house>. (p. 86)*

An example of a wife who destroys the house is Jezebel because she strangles her husband, in 3Kings 21 and 4Kings 9 and 10. To read about this Prov. 14 too *< a foolish woman tears the house down)* and Prov. 11.

In the third place *a wife should also love (Ge.: liebhaben) her husband and show herself friendly and benevolently towards him, like we read that Ruth did towards her Boas<sup>cxlvii</sup>. Here one also should not forget that a Christian wife in this love and loyalty (--) because she should have the word and intention of God before her eyes, and that she puts up with her husband, because he is granted and given her by God (p. 87), as told above about the man. If she would not be aware of this, there would not be much difference between Christians and heathens. For the love would be perceived much too carnal and when reluctance or unwillingness would arise this would also become a source of eternal lamentation against which no advice or assistance exists. That is why St Paul teaches: < A spouse should have the other as if she is not his.> (p. 87)*

{p 87-92 Menius relates first the story of S. Elizabeth of Thüringen (1207—1231) as a medieval example of a wife who behaved friendly towards her husband. Then he gives a long account of the life of his contemporary Isabella of Austria (1501-1526)<sup>cxlviii</sup>, again a noble woman, even a queen, to be admired because she went to great lengths to make the life for her husband acceptable.}

These are wonderful acts, which happen nowadays too and which Christians should observe and perceive as acts of God.

In the fourth place *she should be housely (Ge.: heusslich), this is to say that she should perform no jobs outside the house unless commanded but take care of her house and that she preserves and distributes und uses properly what the Lord by way of her husband's labour and otherwise grants to the house. (p. 93)* To preserve what is acquired is as important as to acquire new goods. *That's why the honest house mother, who keeps the acquired goods together earns no less honor than the landlord, who acquires them. (p. 93)*

Salomon says in Prov. 14 : *<By wise women the house is built, a foolish woman tears the house down >.* Everybody observes this. This is why St Paul in Tit. 2 writes that the wife should be housely and with diligence should take care of the duties that are hers.<sup>cxlix</sup>. If they spend their time outside the house they neglect their task inside the house and *brew at least a bucket of misfortune with their useless bragging (--). (p. 93)*

*The pagans have been of this opinion also and therefore they commanded that a very virtuous and orderly discipline had to be maintained with their women in all matters. (p. 93)* They have not only taught this virtue in written form but also expressed it in paintings, by putting Venus on a tortoise, which suggests that a mother should never leave her house, like a tortoise never leaves it. *Now we will teach what both husband and wife is granted in the Oeconomia (p. 94)*

How one should educate children

IX In the 6<sup>th</sup> chapter is partly told at which the householding should be directed, and almost enough about how children should be educated but the order requires to tell here more about education.

As said weal and woe of every house and even every country depends on the education of children. Without any doubt one has to rear children, just like one young calves are bred cows and oxen, into *sensible and brave people, who might be of use and advantage to countries and humans. (p. 95)*

Who will educate his children in this vein starts with teaching them knowledge of the righteous God. They should learn to have God before their eyes, direct their lives towards him and fear God in the first place. To read this in Prov. I

*After this should one should teach the children that they also trust God; acknowledge that they owe all the good to Him and ask Him everything that is necessary for them. Moreover, that they not only pray for their own but for all Christian and general needs. And in the same way thank Him for all benefits we received from God* (p. 95) To read that God wants to be the protector of children and is he pleased when they pray to him in Psalm 8.

Deut. 6 tells that it is the command of God that the parents teach the words of God to their children. Eph. 5 and Prov. 22 and several proverbs make it clear that one should start with teaching them in their young age. A tree which one plants at old age will never give fruits.

*Then it may be necessary in the education that one keeps the children at school and make them study. Because God does not grant his knowledge in any other way than by means of the Holy Scripture, people are needed who are able to study and explain it and serve in other ways.* (p. 96)

Of making them priest, monk or nun, often is said that this is bringing a sacrifice to God but all well considered it is bringing a sacrifice to the stomach, *because whoever has made his child priest, monk or nun for any other reason that he will be well cared for and fed?* (p. 97). One used to send them to the richest, most delightful monasteries and not to the poorest parishes, where priests were needed most. This is the simple truth!

One sees nowadays that the meadow of the popish priests is becoming barren and small, so that nobody wants to send their children to school anymore to make them a priest and soon many villages will have no parish priests any longer. A pious Christian rather would strangle his child than to let him live such a life.

What therefore actually should be mentioned a sacrifice to God, is to send his children to school and have them study Scripture and become a vicar, because of the risk he runs to be persecuted. But who believes in Christ will not doubt that God will reward him and punish the godless.

*Strange, however, that the world does not broadly inquire the hidden, secret and Godly affairs, if the doctrine of the Christian belief is a secret and high doctrine.* (p. 97) Although she inquires after her worldly affairs neither if things should be done differently and is no more inclined to study the arts (than theology). *Now it is after all certain that for the world to continue as world, one will need people [who have studied DN].* (p. 98) That is why a father that wants the good for his child and is smart, sets his mind on having him study, be it Scripture, or law or medicine or another honest good art despite its costs and the mockeries one may expect.

*In the third place parents should not be too weak towards their children nor give them too free a rein, to prevent that they become unruly and learn to despise their parents* (p. 98). The danger of this is that they will be a burden to their parents and schoolteachers in their youth and despise the authorities when grown up, like Absalom and other bad children. This is what Salomon has taught often, like in Prov. 13. Heli, whose children were disobedient to him, is another example. Moreover read 1 Kings 2.. *On the other hand the discipline should have its proper measure and not be just hard and tyrannical but fatherly.* (p. 99) Read Prov. 19 as well as Eph. 5 and Coloss. 3.

{p. 99- 100: Menius vividly narrates the story of the Roman Senator Lucius Manlius<sup>cl</sup>, who had his son killed for disobedience, this used by him as an example of a disproportionate punishment. }

*So we read too that Saul was nearly hard on his son Jonathan because of unjust causes. From which examples we should learn to keep the discipline within bounds and not abuse fatherly and motherly power.* (p. 100)

*In the fourth place should the parents be active in inciting their children to work and break themselves away from the habit of idleness in their youth.* (p. 100). For God says that everybody should work, so he certainly will not like that children do not do anything. To read 2. Thess.3 about the obligation to work and avoid idleness. The point about the working of children is not only that they do contribute something to acquisition and don't eat their bread without any effort to acquire it but much more that they will this way avoid doing bad things. *As the wise Cato has said: If people have nothing to do they learn to brew disaster and to do evil.* (p. 101)

That is why parents have permanently to be attentive and prevent that they become rogues and come to a dishonest fall. Read Gen. 34 about the fall of the daughter of Jacob, Dinah.

*They should, however, especially pay attention that children do not learn to lie.* (p. 101) Somebody who lies usually steals as well, as the proverb says. Both have to be prevented. To read Eph.4, 25-28, Prov. 21, 6 and 21, 28 about the combination of lying and stealing.

*In the fifth place the parents should be active in helping the children, when their need requires it, to marry in time and become conjugal.* (p. 102) It is only fair to do this, given that God commanded them to get children and placed them under their authority. They should look for a candidate not because of his or her wealth but because God's work is visible in this person.

One often sees parents uphold a possible marriage, because of status differences. This is not only a shame but also a cause for secret engagements and sex before marriage. *See what our smartness pulls off, when we want to do it differently from and better than God!* (p 102)

What is particularly granted to the children.

X The only service of children towards God is that they obey and follow their parents. If they do this, God is prepared to be their God, protect them in all ways, give them happiness and salvation, protect them from all evil, help them in all needs and give them a long life on earth.

*In the first place and for all other ones pious children should honestly learn to acknowledge and honor God as their almighty creator and father.* (p. 103) That is to bear his commands in mind, to follow them and to fear his punishments when they don't do that.

Thereto they should look at the examples in Scripture of the wrath of God, who not only punished common individuals like Cain but also powerful kings as Saul, whole nations and even his own people of Israel.

*The children should also learn to pay attention to how God still nowadays does not leave any sin without punishment* (p. 104), as one sees with murderers etc., who only seldom die in peace.

To fear God for children is not sufficient but they should acknowledge as well that He wants to be merciful and shows Himself a father, who is full of love for his children. So they should pray and thank him for all the good: a good health of body and mind, food, a long life for the parents and government and peace and unity.

*Thus both the fear and the belief should at the same time be planted in the young, take root, grow nicely and increase from day to day by God's grace.* (p. 105) Fear without belief brings endless doubts and eventually contempt of God and his mercy.

And moreover, where a fearless belief exists, it cannot fail. Only when this develops into a wild Godless certainty and insolent audacity His contempt and judgment will follow.

That is why young children should do their utmost best *to acknowledge God righteously in the shown way that is to learn to fear Him and at the same time to trust and believe Him. From what the fear of God is learned we have said already often, We have said enough about out of what fear of God is learned, therefore we will now teach a little the same about belief* [and trust in Him DN]. (p.105)

Christ has the almighty goodness and truth of God abundantly offered and promised to them. *For the Lord says in the Gospel: <Let the little children come to me, and don't keep the off, because the kingdom of heaven belongs to them>. Moreover < Your [of the children DN] angels always see the face of my Father in heaven. >.* (p. 105/6)

What more comforting words could be said by God? The children will reach heaven and their position there is already known: it is next to the angels. This is truly a perfect basis for a life of belief.

I will stop here teaching about belief, *because I have no intention to write a complete catechism* (p.106), useful as it might be. Who has to educate children will see for himself what additionally should be taught to them.

*The second what is granted to children is that they should honor their parents, like God has solemnly commanded.* (p. 107) This is the specific command of God for children.

To honor means that a child, in the act of honoring them, looks at the will and order of God and imagines that His order is the best there is and that the child therefore does not want to deviate from it, even if it will be despised for it.

*The third is that pious children should acknowledge that idleness is the only cause of all vice. (p. 107)* They should have themselves kindly led by their parents to a study of honest arts or else to forthright labor. That God dislikes idleness is told above. I will add still that bad company has to be avoided, which God dislikes too. To read for a ban on both idleness and bad company Prov. 1. *Like also the proverb witnesses: < Because of close companions many a person ends on the scaffold>. (p. 108)*

*The fourth article is that children till they get married should lead a chaste, pure and disciplined life ( p.108) and spend the time till then in a way that is pleasing God. O what a valuable and noble thing it is when the young (both boys and girls) in discipline and chastity and in obedience to their parents serve God! (p. 108)* [Menius jumps to the subject of maidenhood] No doubt the station of maidenhood offers the best opportunity for living well in the eye of God.

*As well in good as in bad times this station has large advantages over the other ones and especially over the married station, as St Paul says in 1Cor. 7. (p. 108).* For them it is easier to recover themselves from difficult situations and to deal with war, famine and death than for people who have the responsibility for their family.

*When everything goes well and happily, then the maidenhood station also has the advantage that it can use these good days better and can care for all its occupations, be it studying, reading, praying, working, or whatever it may be, with better industry and less impediments than the marriage station, (p. 109) because it can restrict itself to one thing to its liking, while the marriage station has to take care of many things at the same time.*

On the other hand the devil is always busy with attempts to stain the souls and bodies of the maidenhood station. Their souls may be contaminated by the thought that the unmarried women will reach heaven more easily than the married one, *by which the belief in Christ is hurt, denied and destroyed. (p.110)* This thought is the idolatrous whoring of priests, monks and nuns.

Their bodies may be contaminated by the dung of all kinds of impurity, just like one sees the young folks partake in all sorts of villainy. Without the words of God in their hearts they will not be able to resist the devil.

{p. 110, 5-112, 5: Menius shows with the help of 1Cor. 6 that the body should be a temple and that God punishes unchastity.}

*If this help to resist his [the devil's DN] temptation in the maidenhood station and to maintain one's body chaste and pure is not sufficient, ( p. 112) then this person should choose for the toil and trouble of the marriage station.*

*And in order that a pious child in the name of God starts such work well, the fifth article is that a child should(--)not secretly get engaged, as one unfortunately often sees the young folks do. (p. 112/3)* This makes God so angry that they will have to pay for it during their whole life. Once they have the lust and love for courting, they should ask the advice of their parents instead.

That God has forbidden to become engaged behind the back of the parents does not only follow from the fourth commandment and is shown in many examples in Scripture, like the one of Samson and that of Rebecca, but this rule it is also maintained in good governments. In Rome a marriage could not be contracted without the council and participation of the parents.

It is moreover seen with the Greeks, in the verses of the poet Euripides<sup>cli</sup>, which St Ambrose remembers, when he discusses the marriage of Rebecca.<sup>clii</sup>

That is why pious children should not get secretly engaged against the wishes of their parents. It goes against worldly honor and against God's command and it usually does not bring happiness and salvation, as one sees every day.

*The sixth and last is that the children, when they grow up (--) remember the benefits received (p. 114) and once their parents and teachers are old, take care of them by nursing and providing food and all necessities. This is implied in God's commandment < Honor your father and your mother>.*

*Moreover, in earlier times it was with many wise and honorable pagans a public and general law that the young had to feed their old and weak parents on penalty of heavy punishments. (p. 114)*

Moreover, God created nature in such a way that some smart animals do this too, like the storks show. That is why in early days an image of the stork was put on the royal scepter, to show that such loyalty has to be estimated highly.

In order to finish with a holy example, of which Scripture has of course many, I think that Tobias<sup>cliii</sup> is the most important and useful one. *There is much to learn about the desired attitude of the parents*

*towards their children and in the household in general as well as of the children towards their parents.* (p 115/6) Everyone should read it!

About everybody's acquisition, craft and alimentation. How should be taken care of them.

XI I have to add some additional remarks to what is said in chapter 7 about the house father and the labor, by which he should look for his alimentation. Just working as such- today this, tomorrow that - is not enough. *It is also necessary that everybody knows which is the occupation commanded and ordered to him,* (p. 116) in order that he is of use to others and may trust with certainty that God will give him nourishment.

One sees many people fail with themselves and their trade, because they look at others instead of doing what they should do themselves at the right time. They blame their occupation for their failure, leave their trade or craft and take up a new one.

Others take care of their trade rightly and industriously during a certain period, but once they see that others in a different occupation feed themselves better, drop their own one and start a new occupation. And there are these smartasses, who are actually the biggest fools, who next to the occupation that they have learned and gotten used to and with which they can feed themselves in honor, like monkeys want to practice and imitate from others all occupations and this way often become very poor. *To them happens what is said of donkeys: < If the donkey is doing too well, he will go walking on the ice and from boredom break a leg!>* (p. 117)

This really is craziness. The more occupations one takes upon oneself, the poorer one becomes, as experience shows: *< Seven crafts, fourteen accidents!>, as one is used to say. Moreover: <To want to become very rich is not to become rich.>!* (p.117)

*That is why the wise Philosopher Plato, where he teaches how everything should go in good government, has particularly forbidden to practice more than one craft at the same time as and together with another one,* (p, 117/8) as is nowadays the rule in the well governed guilds too. Already the Greek knew that a rider should not sing and a singer should not ride a horse.

*What do you think why it is and what is the cause that these people perish? I will tell you!* (p. 118)

These people neglect the word and command of God and start things which are not commanded them. Scripture says: *<Everything that does not come from faith is sin.>*. So these occupations on one's own initiative are sins. Now, who sins is an enemy of God and an enemy of God does not receive His blessing. Therefore he goes down and eventually to the bottom.

That everyone has gotten his particular command of God and only who beliefs in it should expect salvation is said sufficiently in chapters 7 and 8. *I want therefore to end with (the remark) that if somebody wants to feed himself gently and well, he has to beware of three things: The first is that he knows what his occupation and employment is, which God has commanded him to take care of it and practice it in belief.* (p. 119)

*The second is that he industriously and continually takes care of such an employment and business, which is commanded to him; is not lazy and negligent in it; does not look up to others and does not accept unfamiliar trades (--).* (p. 119)<sup>cliv</sup>

*The third is that he not only takes care of what is his and does what is commanded to him but also that he only takes care of what is his,* because he knows that God will not reward him more for several trades than for one. To read about this Prov. 20-28.

*Finally a house father who thinks about feeding himself should prevent and avoid as much as possible all useless and unnecessary expenses;* (p. 120) not purchase and build more than necessary and not employ more people than needed. To read about taking care that others do not eat your capital Prov. 5, 7—11. *Like a Greek poet has said too: < Who wants to feed the stomach of a stranger and build houses, good and honest as this may be, he will return to poverty, even if happens to him what he wants. That is his tightened goal.>*<sup>clv</sup> (p. 120)

How one should keep the servants

XII *One should behave towards the servants in such a way that they are mainly drawn to piety.* (p. 120). They also should know what is the proper religion. *They too are heir to the heavenly goods, so they have a right on religious education as well. So the lords of the house and the women should take*



*care and ascertain that by them or because of them their servants, man-servants and maids, don't neglect such necessary things but rather are invited and compelled to them.*

*How the servants should be used teaches Scripture satisfactorily* (p. 121). To read Eccl. 33 and Prov. 29

*This is its synthesis.*(p. 121) Firstly, one should give the servants a proper amount of food. Like Christus says himself in the Gospel: *< The worker is worth his keep.>. To which rule pious house people have to keep themselves.* (p 121) Those who have their mind set on becoming rich by saving on the bread of the servants and labourers will fail *because they often perish in another way, as one sees and those people become aware, who have to household and associate every day with servants.* (p. 121)

On the other hand giving the servants more than their modest part is unhealthy. It makes them insolent (Prov. 29) , as one sees everywhere. With food *one should look for the middle as much as possible* (-- ). (p. 122)

The second point that Scripture teaches concerns discipline. *The servants should not be left too free* (-- ) *but should be kept in such a way that they know that they are subservient man-servants, not autonomous commanding knights.* (p. 122) Sometimes it may be necessary to beat them. Such chastisement should be applied moderately and with reason. Disciplining should not become tyranny. For the house lords have a Lord in heaven, who will reward each according to his merits. To read Col. 3.

*The third which one is obliged to the servants is that one should make work for them and not allow them too much idleness. This teaches Scripture too.* ( p. 122) To read Eccl. 33 about the dangers of idleness.

*Therefore, in order that the servants do their work all the more diligent and constant, a house lord should his man-servant and a house mother her maid permanently control personally and personally see to it that things go well. Servants are servants, as the saying goes, and do as their nature is, that is why one should not always believe their words.* (p. 123)

[  
Xenophon writes in his *Oeconomia*<sup>clvi</sup> that the best feeding of the horse is the eye of the master, meaning that he should not trust any servant but should look on him too.

A comparable thing writes Aristotle also: *no dung manures a field better than the one that the housefather carries at his shoes* (p. 123)<sup>clvii</sup>, meaning that he should control in person the fencing and stabling.

How the servants should behave

*XIII In Scripture servants and maidservants have their station and life by Divine command and testimony. For the Lord in the Gospel speaks this way : <Blessed is the servant whose master finds him loyal and just in his service.>.* (p. 124) Although this might hurt the flesh and although they are the lowest station in this world, they have the consolation to know that God will accept them in the same way as people from a higher station.

*It, moreover, always gives more certainty to be subject of and to obey someone else than to oversee or govern others,* (p. 124) especially when one knows for certain that such government, within which one serves, is the order of God and gives Him pleasure.

St Paul teaches on several places that the servants, the male as well as the female ones, should obey their master. To read Eph. 5 and Col. 3

Moreover to read 1Timoth. 6 and 1 Peter 2

What more consoling testimony could a station wish than this one. *First Scripture says that it is God's will and order that they serve. Secondly they do not serve people but the Lord Christ. Thirdly He will reward them with eternal goods for their loyal service and in the fourth place Christus has changed Himself into such a station and became the servant of all of us.* (p. 125) Enough reasons to accept one's station and serve our Lord God voluntarily and industriously in it. (p. 125)

On the other hand, a reckless, wild and audacious servant will be frightened, when he hears *that with his presumption, disobedience and disloyalty not only makes his corporeal master on earth angry but*

also God the almighty in heaven, who had already threatened him that he would punish such disobedience and disloyalty, (p. 126) because not only his master on earth is damaged but God's doctrine is defamed as well. And nobody can escape the wrath of God.

About friendships.

*XIII There exists between us, Germans, a common proverb which says <With the help of neighbors one builds house and barns>. We have said also that the householding should be directed at producing and raising capable and pious children, who will become useful for the common benefit of countries and people. From this one can contrive that like common government cannot be maintained without the advice, assistance and attachment of many people, it is also impossible that a house father with his government can do without assistance and advice of other people. (p. 126)*

Therefore the old wise have said that one needs good friends for aid and assistance as much as fire and water. They even take it that the other creatures cannot be missed either. *And they say that without human assistance and service no creatures can be useful to mankind, from which it follows that of all creatures next to God a human can be the most helpful and useful to the others. (p. 127)*

*Because Scripture also teaches almost the same, as we soon will hear, therefore it is necessary that every house father has several special friends, to whom he has a sure and certain admission for advice and assistance in times of oppressing shortages (p. 127)* That such good friends are seldom found shows Prov. 20 Such special friendships are not against faith or against Christian love, for we do not teach that one only should put his trust in friends. *We know quite well that this is injustice and against God, like the Prophet says: < Damned be him, who puts his trust in people.> (p. 127).* Neither do we teach that one should practice charity only toward those who are friendly towards us and who show themselves helpful and obliging.

What we do teach is this: Firstly that one can put his trust to help us with all needs in no friend but only in God. God should be asked for help even before one asks one's father and mother. To read Mt 10, 37. Secondly we teach that one should not only help his friends but the enemies also, like the Lord teaches in the Gospel. To read Luke 6, 27.

*One should therefore use good friends like other gifts of God and corporeal means which God has given to us for the sustainment and necessity of this temporary life, like food, drinks, clothing, house, field, cattle, man-servants, maid-servants etc. For friendship is nothing else than an exterior and corporeal association by which one person is prepared to serve another one who has shortages by enduring helping hands, as much as he can do. (p. 128)*

Scripture tells that the Apostles used such association and helping hand often and Christ himself helped Maria, Martha and Lazarus. *About such friendships we want to talk and teach how one should behave honestly with regard to them. (p. 129)*

*The first must be that one acknowledges and imagines that God wants us to accept the assistance and council of several people as means, which we should use. Like Salomon says: <A friend loves always and a brother is found in distress>. (p. 129)* So the person who thinks to be able to live without friends is mistaken. *For to trust only in friends is against faith but to despise the advice and help of friends is to provoke God. (p. 129)*

*The second is that friends have to act sincerely and open without hypocrisy and falseness towards each other. (p. 129)* No people are worse than those who always say what the others want to hear. So a friend says to the other what he has on his mind, regardless how. It is like Salomon says:< Public punishment is better than secret love>. (p. 129)

*In the third place between friends, who want to be Christians, a certain goal and limit should be set, in order that they do not fall into a situation of worldly and carnal love, so often present amongst the pagans and unbelievers. (p. 129)* Such love makes blind and is the cause that a friend does not dare to punish the beloved for his mistakes and defects. It is even a cause of many vices. That is why *love should have its limit and why a good friend is more directed towards the honor and utility of the other than towards what he loves so much in him. (p. 130)*

*Fourthly not only the love but also the punishment should have its limit. (p. 130)* Wise people have learned that *one should know the defects of a friend but not hate them. But this is said too much. (p. 130)* The proper limit is to know the defects but keep the truth for oneself as long as love requires this. About this read 1Pet.4, and Prov.25.

To read Mt.18 and Prov.25, about punishing a friend in case of large shortcomings. Friendship must be maintained or eventually get extinguished in a natural way. For it is better that one make it end gradually and automatically than all of sudden with a great agitation.

*Fifthly it often happens that large, beautiful gifts of God amongst friends cause as large and larger damage than whatever other kinds of failure and defects.* (p. 131) The devil is often present in such situations, who is not satisfied before the man who became rich will value his own thoughts so highly that he forgets and disavows friends and comrades: < Men of honor change their manners, but never for the better><sup>clviii</sup> .>, as one uses to say.

Therefore one should keep in mind that amongst good friends the one is worth the other. One should not despise any of them. To read Prov. 27, 10. The rich who despise the poor will be punished in due time.

{p. 131-132: Menius presents the fable *The fox and the eagle* of Aesop. He expresses herein l that disloyalty amongst friend never stays without revenge.}

*Finally and in the sixth place one should also be on one's guard against becoming friends with too many people.* (p 132) That more than two or three friends get along well is already exceptional, let go more than three. The danger of jealousy between many friends is imminent. *From this must necessarily grow separation and rancor.* (p 132).

About giving alms and the right usage of the goods.

XV Now we have taught almost enough about how one should household, acquire goods and food. From which everybody may learn, how he with God and honor may feed his wife and child in the world and may possess and own his goods (p. 133). Here I will still say a little about how such goods should be used towards others.

*In the first place: that one may have goods and property is sufficiently proven above (by the fact) that God commands to acquire such goods and to cultivate them in order that wife and children are fed from it.* (p. 133)

*The second: that one may enter into commerce, buying and selling with such goods and that God has commanded nobody to spread his goods over the community for free is also clear from what Scripture says.* (p. 133) To read Prov. 16, 11; Prov. 11, 26; Gen. 47; Joh.4, 8 and Kor. 7, 29 to see that commerce is acceptable, provided one does business honestly and in accordance with God's order .

*Third: about giving alms Scripture teaches that one should share with and give to the poor and needy* (p. 134), so that those who are not able to work, are fed. To read about this precept Luke 6 and Rom. 12.

To read about that who gives alms will be rewarded in heaven Prov. 11, 24; Prov. 11, 25; Prov. 19, 17; Mt. 10,42 and Mt. 25,40.

*Fourth: Scripture heralds also in how far one should give* (p.135). God does not want us to give away all we have at once. To read about this Prov. 5 and 2 Kor. 8. *This is not necessary either, because in any case God donates so much that the poor everywhere can be saved without that anyone of them starves. Everybody certainly will, in conformity with how God admonishes him and the case at stake requires, always find the right measure.* (p. 135).

*I want nothing more than that the whole world not only takes St Elizabeth as an example for giving alms but also in all works of mercy,* (p. 135) for this holy, pious queen kept the right middle way. Some people think giving alms is sufficient because God ordered this and promised to reward it with eternal salvation, and meanwhile neglect the belief in Christ.

*But if one criticizes this mistake and tells them not to trust on alms (--) but to become pious and blessed by the belief in Christ as God,* (p. 136) they stop with giving alms, which is a mistake too. It is rather a matter of two separate actions at the same time: belief and work (of mercy), successively towards God and towards the fellow-man.

These means St Elizabeth had applied. She helped the poor, not against God but rather because of God, *as one to the core can see in her biographies.* (p. 136)

{p. 136-138. XVI: About the Holy Cross/ how to comfort oneself in all sorts of distress. Because through the whole book suffering is suggested. Menius finishes it this work with words of consolation.}

## 2 Summary of the first book of *Oeconomiae* or *About house holding*.

Ch. 1: About the people also that have written before about the oeconomia:

Many people will declare me a fool *that I am going to take upon myself to write about such bad and low things*. (p. 1) If they were wiser, however, they would acknowledge that oeconomia is a difficult art and be glad instead that we write these books and they rather should study them day and night. The love for the good requires that one assist one's neighbor in word and deed, which is the reason for me to write this book..

In early times excellent thinkers, who occupied themselves with high, powerful matters *also even dealt with such matters long before me and have written many beautiful things about house holding, cattle-breeding, agriculture, gardens, wine-mountains, bees and other domestic matters*. (p. 2) One sees it in Xenophon, Aristotle, **Hesiod**, Theocritus<sup>clix</sup>, Vergil, Cato, Varro, Columella, Cicero, **Pliny**, Pietro de' Crescenzi, Constantine IV<sup>clx</sup> and many other good masters of a house and physicists.

*That is why we have to say: < Let the present time judge badly, the judgment of posterity will be better.>* (p. 2)

Ch. 2: What Oeconomia or house holding is. (105 r.)

*Οικονομος, dispensator, a householder, from οίκος and νεμειν, what distributes, disposes and decides about the things that belong to the family good<sup>clxi</sup>; οικονομική, ars Oeconomica, or house holding, is nothing else than a special skill with regard to everything which a master of the house within and outside the house has inherited and acquired to make it productive in such a way, that not only he, his wife, children, servants and cattle stay alive in difficult circumstances, but he also the whole year through can avail of something more, so that he can do good to and serve churches and school in his country, wife and children, good friends or other members of the house or else to poor people.* (p. 2) For the right householder should not only acquire but also create a surplus and preserve all and put this surplus away against disaster and corrosion and for honor and service. Otherwise he would be like the proverbial bucket with holes in it and never become rich. A German proverb expresses the same. *That is why a master of the house has to be wise, prudent, careful, thrifty and moreover industrious* (--) (p. 2)

Given this, a master of a house has to divide his house holding in three or four parts. The first part is for seeds for agriculture. The second part is for the maintenance of himself, his wife, his children, his personnel and his cattle. The third part is for the blacksmith and farmstead constructor, the church and the government. What is left is, is put away. *In short: Oeconomia is an art or skill to manage the manor. The subject or materia in qua, with which she deals, of this art is to drive the house holding, that is to stimulate the house holding and act in such a way that the food does not diminish but builds up and from to day to day becomes more and larger, grows and increases, so that one can have his temporary existence from it.* (p. 2)

*A master of the house should pay attention to three things: (1) avoiding all bad and not to let arise vice in the house; (2) being prudent and industrious and to knowing his art and diligently practicing it in order to it acquire the necessities of life and (3) maintaining discipline and honorability in the house and on the farmyard and knowing how to behave towards his wife and his children.* (p. 2)

He should especially beware of the bad, especially laziness, rudeness, negligence and games, desire to eat delicacies, to drink and to wear beautiful clothes. Unchastity, drunkenness and ambition should be avoided too.

If somebody asks here what kind of art a father of the house needs to know, Cicero says that amongst the acquisitive activities, nothing is better than agriculture. In my eyes, however, the artisanal professions usually make it possible to make a living and often earn a good income as well.

That a good master of the house takes care well of garden, meadows, dikes and wood personally cannot be reproached to pious and industrious people. Cattle breeding is important too. *With all these things the master brings the whole year through much goods into the house and ensures that he, his wife, his children and his personnel will not be in want.* (p. 2)

### Ch. 3: How many oeconomiae exist.

*There are generally speaking two kinds of oeconomia in the world, a spiritual and material one.* (p. 2)

The spiritual one is a matter of bishops, vicars and preachers, about which we are not going to say anything. The second one is a matter of citizens, farmers, nobles and princes. So we can talk about the princely household, the baronial household, the household of cities and the civilian or private household<sup>clxii</sup>. The princely household, *which deals with coins, toll, commerce, war and other business* (p. 3), we will mention in passing. *About the baronial house holding, which everybody has on its grounds and soil we will not particularly much here<sup>clxiii</sup> but only about the civilian and farming (house holding), that is the private alimentation<sup>clxiv</sup>.* (p. 3) In our chapters to come, however, we will try to make available material that is also useful for princes and nobles and all others who deal with alimentation.

### Ch. 4: About the persons that belong to a household.

*The oeconomia is a monarchy, that is a government in which only one rules and governs, namely the landlord in the house, who alone must be the master lord in the house* (p. 3) to whom the whole house has to direct itself, that is a wife, a bunch of children and a bunch of farmhands and maidservants, who have to follow the master. *For when the farmhand wants to be more than the lord, the maidservants more than the wife in the house, than the house government<sup>clxv</sup> will not last long, like Homer writes<sup>clxvi</sup>: Many cannot govern at the same time. Only one ought to be in a monarchy.* (p. 3)

### Ch. 5: About the master of the house

*A master of the house should be a devout, wise, prudent, experienced and well-behaving man, who has God before his eyes, diligently prays and works, and does not do injustice to anybody, nor to his neighbors, nor to his personnel, because this way one receives love and friendship and goodwill from of all people.* (p. 3). He should know the local situation well, govern his wife, children and personnel with great modesty and tell each of them every day their tasks in the alimentation. He should also know the nature and properties of the locations in his power and know the usage of the different fields, fishing rights, etc., as well as what on every location grows and what does not grow there, because every field has its own characteristics. *See Pliny, book 17, ch. 5 and book 18, ch. 22. Columella confirms this on two places.* (p. 3)<sup>clxvii</sup>

He should watch carefully what his neighbors with a long experience grow and should follow them. *As Socrates used to say: he should be the last to go to bed and the first to rise again* (p. 3) and visit all locations in and outside the town or village often and industriously check if one is dealing well with his estates. As one uses to say <The best manure, which feeds the field the best, falls from the shoe of the master> and <The eye of the master compels the horse.> and <The eye of the master makes the horse fat.>

The master of the house should not be ashamed to visit the farmsteads in the morning and even to rise at night to check if no thieves are around and no personnel is still active, as Aristotle says in *Oeconomia* and Xenophon too. He should possess the heart of a man and not allow that the wife, the farmhands or the maidservants dominate him. If their advice is wise, however, he should follow them

as Cato says, because <more eyes see more than one>. Sirach 4 says too: <Don't behave yourself like a lion in the house >. Only in case of emergency go against wife and personnel and break their disobedience. He should also make himself surrounded with industrious, capable personnel, that prays to God and is disciplined and honorable: forbid cursing and all rash. *He should spend much energy and all industry on the children, so that they are educated in the right true fear of God, in good arts and habits, and that they are kept very honest.*

*Because they are the anima domus, the soul of the house, for the benefit of whom God blesses the whole house and grants success with all alimentation* (p. 4). If they behave well, they can accomplish much with God. *So it is rightly said that the children do not eat with us but that rather we eat with the children* (p. 4)

The master of the house should protect his wife and stick to her and not treat her badly for if personnel sees or hears this it does not respect the mistress of the house anymore and will not obey her any longer, which might do substantial damage to the alimentation of the master of the house. *In short: the way the master behaves in the house, is the way the personnel behaves towards him* (p. 4). He should not mix with the personnel too much to talk and play with them, because by doing this he might lose his authority. He should prevent distress of his personnel from a lack of drinks and food or because of cold, as Cato says in book 5. According to this author he should also prevent that they have nothing to do. *Aristotle in Oeconomia, I < Up to farmhands are three things: work, punishment and food and drinks. This wants Sirach 33 too. Aristotle, by the way, does not want to give wine to the laborers.* (p. 4)

*Here occurs to me one necessary rule, which I have to give to every master of the house but with which I will entrust him in secret, so that his wife will know nothing about it.* (p. 4) After the first fall the devil has equipped the poor female sex with the desire to be held in esteem and to ask their husbands regularly for beautiful clothing, conspicuity, jewelry and a large, high house. The devil suggested Eva: <You should become like the Gods> (Gen. 3:4). *That is why a master of the house often has to call his wife < fundi sui calamitatem>, that is the disaster of his alimentation<sup>clxviii</sup>.* (p. 4) He should therefore convince his wife that one cannot spend more than one has. It is crazy to spend money on cloths that are worn in one year or on a large heap of stones. A small house with something inside is much better than a large house with empty barns and large debts.

A good master of the house will have always enough money in his cabinet to be able to buy everything for his alimentation that he does not produce himself during the year on the right moment, like wood, for supply is not constant.

Nevertheless, he should not be an *emax* [buyer, purchaser DN] but rather a *vendax* [seller DN], not buy but rather sell much. He should, for instance, stimulate his wife, children and personnel to make cloths from the hides of the horses, oxen and goats and only sell those if they are not needed for own consumption. Grease and fat should be on stock for the maintenance of the utensils and carts. Old parts should not be burned but stored. It is quite annoying to borrow something from the neighbor for this will not be a problem the first time but the second time he will say. <buy one yourself!> , in your face or behind your back. *In short: Money and goods are acquired by industry and trouble, and by a honorable and honest thrift, as Cicero says: Thrift is like a continuous toll, which unexpectedly comes to fly into the house<sup>clxix</sup>.* (p. 4)

He should also watch that the buildings are repaired so that the rain nowhere enters. The fires should be extinguished and at night and the oven should be closed. The personnel should be warned to be careful with the lights at night.

#### Ch. 6: About the mistress of the house

*The house wife should also be pious and devout, love her husband and like to go to bed, should like discipline and virtue and just like the master of the house she should give the proper examples to children and personnel.* (p. 5) The most effort should be spend on the education of the children. She should not trust the personnel and close well away what is hers and *wear the keys always on her belt, certainly when she is not at home.* (p. 5) One rather should not give any of the keys to the personnel and the lord and the mistress of the house should not hesitate, if they need something from cellar, coffin or cabinet, to go and get it themselves. Neither should they trust the keys to their children, who often are seduced by the personnel.

*That is why the honest master and the honest mistress of the house have to be good detectives* (p. 5). They should look especially in the beds and the bedstraw of the farmhands and maidservants as well as the other locations which they themselves do not regularly visit, because those are the places where they are hiding things. One should once in a while, when they are away, open their chest for which one needs a master-key. *Of course one should keep this key away from the personnel, to prevent to be paid back in one's own coin as the saying goes : < malum consilium consultori pessimum [a bad advice turns out the worst for the advisor DN]>.* (p. 5)

The thieves often have receivers in other houses. The government should punish them more severely than other ordinary thieves, because receivers *are thieves in duplicate and triplicate.* (p. 5) Smoked meat, sausages, dried fish, etc., which one use to hang up in the house has to be counted every day and stored well, (one had rather use a special room for this), *because it uses to get feathers and wings and flies away, so that nobody knows unto where it has disappeared.* (p. 5)

One should especially watch the personnel at the gates. Often there are secretly slaughtered sheep etc., and the flesh is brought to the woods and hidden there in caves. If one permits this to happen, how easy it is to hide eggs, fruits, etc. there. I have experienced this.

As soon in the morning as the mistress of the house arises, she should walk through the whole house to see if something should be done and especially if the cattle has been fed well. This round should be repeated several times during the day.

*Because a drawing ox requires its food and feed, also the personnel should be given food and drinks according to need and at the proper time which should be prepared in such a way that it can enjoy it for its health and strength it brings.* (p. 5) At the end of their contract they should receive their loan honestly and preferably be rewarded better than one had agreed.

A master of the house *should not praise his personnel in their presence (--) to prevent that it becomes proud and after this will do no good anymore.* (p. 5) In many cases they will start to reign and govern<sup>clxx</sup> and will stop with obeying master, wife and children.

A mistress of the house should not be excessively interested in clothing, and ornaments. This makes the house holding difficult for the lord. Not beautiful cloths but *virtue, discipline, honorableness, truth, piety, mildness, taciturnity, softness, humility, thrift and a fair and reasonable mind decorate the image of a wife.*

*A female should also stay inside the house and take into the house what the husband has acquired and brought to the house and put it on the right place and conserve it well, and distribute faultlessly whatever one can and wants to consume.* (p. 5) She should not spend in a month what should be kept for a year. *What she has to keep, she cautiously should put away, so that dogs, hares, rats and large and small mice do not drag them away.* (p. 5) She should not object to getting imposed heavier burdens from the husband than the personnel of the house. *For the house-personnel is only charged with the conservation and care of the goods but the lady also has the enjoyment of them as mistress and possessor of the whole house.* (p. 5) *(said about the wife here, in Geek the male)*

She should not leave the house and much less even leave the window half open to lean outside and talk with people. Going out to dance and theatre plays is not a proper thing for a honest wife to do because she can be accused of frivolity and it does not contribute to alimentation. *That is why the Old have compared the wife with a snail, which always takes her house with her.* (p. 6) She should obey her husband in all reasonable matters and when he makes mistakes, accept them. She should follow him not only in times of fortune but also in times of hardness and then pray to God to relieve the problems. *We could write here much more about the function of the spouses but in our opinion this is not really necessary. Now we are going to discuss the household and we discuss only with regard to these persons how they should behave themselves in their house holding or alimentation.* (p. 6)

#### Ch. 7: About the children

*Children should be obedient to their parents and their tutors, help them by observing what is happening in all corners and if they see something which is not right, not keeping this from their parents.*(p. 6). They should not collude with the personnel and certainly not scold at them, for when discord reigns amongst the servants the alimentation of the master is damaged, because they will forget some of their tasks. *That is why Cato writes in book 5: < Litibus familia supersedeat: Let the personnel not quarrel >.* (p. 6) They should not let down their parents by secretly giving something to the personnel. They should not become to close with the personnel in other ways either, in order to



avoid that they will be become stained with bad morals, which will not be cleansed from them during the rest of their lives.

Children should be less stimulated to spend their free time with eating, drinking or playing games and dice than with soberness, thrift, sincerity and honesty, in order that the personnel during the absence of the parents will not make them do something shameful, what they do not dare to tell to their parents. Parents and children should not discuss in the presence of personnel what they want to keep secret, because it will soon be known amongst the neighbors. It is not bad that children because of their corporeal development learn to fight, shoot, hunt, fish and catch birds, etc., because this all serves the alimentation, *just like (they learn) cooking, procuring, writing, counting, speaking languages, negotiating about prices, in short all what is useful and advantageous for the household.* (p. 6)

#### Ch. 8: About the farmhands

Without farmhands and maidservants a master of the house cannot feed himself. *That is why Plutarch and Aristotle call the farmhand a living member of the master*<sup>clxxi</sup>. (p. 6) What kind of farmhands and maidservants and how many he needs, however, the actual house holding will teach him. *For a large house one should take a house holder, curator, villicus, oekonomus, or even a bailiff, who sees to everything of the other farmhands and governs*<sup>clxxii</sup> *them, like Abraham's Eliezer had all Abraham's house holding under his authority and power.* (p. 6) In the large households one also needs a cattle-mother, who looks after the maidservants and the cattle. These two persons should be invested with authority and he should admonish the personnel to obey them and not easily believe the other servants when they make complaints about them.

The farmhands should be pious, sober, alert, loyal and industrious. They should faithfully care for the horses, oxen and sheep; day and night.<sup>clxxiii</sup> They should also industriously look after the fields and be prepared to perform the choruses at the times that they have to be done in agriculture.

A farmhand who does not love the horses and likes to give them food but instead for instance beats them or steals their oat to sell it, should be punished by the master of the house immediately after, because he may causes huge damage to him. Horse meat is expensive and the lord sees fast whether a horse is badly cared for. That is why the saying <The eye of the master makes the horse fat> is right. *There is an old proverb: <As many farmhands someone has in the house, as much thieves one has too>* (p. 6) . So a house father should keep the cupboards and cellars with victuals closed, whatever loyal the servants are. He should also once in a while secretly nose around: often he will find beer, cheese, smoked flesh and so on. When the horses are being fettered with straw and oats, he should join the farmhands, to make sure that they do not separate anything for themselves to sell it. They should not be allowed to visit other houses frequently and to come home at night lately. Farmhands from other houses should not visit them frequently in the barns either because it keeps the farmhands from working. Farmhands should not joke around with maidservants and nor should couples separate themselves in corners, to avoid suspicion. It often happens that one has to ask those who are badly needed to stop with it or to make their marriage but if one observes their intention to form a family, one had better dismiss them as soon as possible. Because troubles usually are made in the harvest time, when the servants are most wanted, it is right to give everyone his wage at the end of the contract, in order to keep some power over them during the year *One should know that personnel that so lightly and often demands its wage, seldom serves till the end of its term.* (p. 7)

Often farmhands as well as maidservants, soon after they have become employed, make the keys lost, so that they are not able to do anything. The master of the house has to react understandingly so that they can grow in their work. But later he should address them strictly, so that they get respect for him. *When the farmhands want to manage the gentlemen and the maidservants the ladies, something goes quite wrong with the alimentation.* (p. 7)

Often personnel does not accept the distribution of the work and do not take up some of the activities, which should be performed and come up with alternative suggestions for organizing the activities. These lose thoughts one should accept. One, of course, knows what is usual, like that menservants normally do not spin but if a farmhand or a maidservant wants to be of service by doing something unusual, why not? It might be useful in case of emergency, when everybody has to give a helping hand to everybody and nobody can stick to his own job. Generally spoken, however, everybody wants to eat, drink and sleep in a soft bed to the same degree.

## Ch. 9: About the maidservants

Although almost everything what we have said about the farmhands is valid for the maidservants as well, *necessity and order require that we say specifically something about the maidservants.* (p. 7) They have to be disciplined and quiet, meek, industrious and laborious. They too have to keep themselves to the word of God and the holy Sacrament, being conscious that they serve God, Who will reward them for their services later greatly, rather than man.

*These people should especially guard against thieving, hanging about, fight and discord, cursing, swearing, witchcraft and all disorderly being and living. Cato: Book V: <Litibus familia supersedeat.>. The servants should not quarrel amongst themselves* (p. 7), although sometimes quarrels between them help to discover what otherwise stays hidden. Neither should they make agreements with the farmhands and secretly steal some food or drinks and then at night, when husband wife and children have gone to bed, go drinking and gossiping together. This way the female cook and female cellar custodian often are close. All secret get-togethers are dangerous. That is why the wife has to watch that the maidservants stick to their jobs and do what is commanded them. Moreover, they use to let in the female bear trainer or poor women-thieves or female friends in the very early morning, before the lord and his wife have come down or when they are gone, to give them the leftovers of the day before. They pour them sometimes a large finger of milk and tell them that nothing more can be given, because the cattle still needs to eat. To these practices one has to put to an end.

*They should with special industry and faithfully take care of the cattle, like to feed them and to lay the food before them, observe the right feeding time* (p. 8) If they get awake at night they should listen to the cattle if something is wrong with it. When a cattle does not eat or shows other symptoms of illness they should warn the master and mistress who then can take the proper measures.

*A shameful matter is personnel that is slow, lazy and sleepy,* (p. 8) because they sleep the night through and rise difficultly in the morning. There are people whom one has to carry away with their beds, before they wake up! At night the maidservants should have a good sleep, but they should be attentive to the cattle too. Lazy maidservants are not really helpful to the wife when it comes to spinning in the evening either, because they fall asleep over the spinning wheel.

The personnel should in the evening, before the meal begins, check if the doors and gate are closed, so that nobody enters during the meal.

*The maidservants should also pay attention to the torches well, so that these are always prepared and ready, when one needs light or fire, be it during the day or at night.* (p. 8) At night a birth may happen of a child or a young calve or the master and mistress may become ill. When one has to make light and does not get it, disaster may follow.

Moreover, one should watch at all times fire, stoves and lights. Maidservants and farmhands should close gate and doors summer and winter, day and night, just like the doors of the rooms and the house. The cattle should be watched. At night one should have active dogs that run around the house and start barking if a stranger comes near the house. A dagger and a loaded gun at the bed are not bad either.

*The point is that at night nobody is a friend; let nobody come near the house, that you do not know well.* (p. 8) In winter time the fire from the hearth has to be thrown in the stove and the stove closed well, to prevent that the dogs or hares run away with piece of coal and create a fire. It has happened that children in the summer crept under the bed with candles lit and started a fire that made a total village disappear or that this happened because parents and personnel were busy with harvesting, while the children made a fire. *That is why a master and mistress or personnel always have to pay attention to the fire, because a small spark easily burns down a village or city.* (p. 8).

*Likewise lords and wives should look well after their keys and locks and maintain them securely guarded: it is to be expected that the servants, once lords and wives have turned their back on them, get hold of the keys and rapidly steal something.* (p. 8) Moreover one should have a pass-key and copy-keys. Although these are the tools of thieves but in this case the possession of them is honorable because necessity does not know laws. They are useful when a key is lost or broken. *I have also heard say, that they sometimes visit the cabinets of the maidservants and farmhands, and often found therein, what was stolen from them.* (p. 8) Although one should not praise the master and mistress for this but one should take also into account that they do not do this to steal but to proof that servants are to be trusted. On the other hand who steals will move the stolen goods not to his cabinet but rather to other houses.

*The maidservants should watch their words and gestures so that they do not give offence to the children and lose their good name* (p. 8/9) They should not be obstinate and not revolt against the wife. *If this happens the heart of the wife should snap shut and she should address the girl, so that the farmhands and the maidservants as well as the lord himself dislike her.* (p. 9) A servant that obeys his master and mistress and once in a while can listen and is industrious in what he has to do, leads to honor. His master and mistress will promote him later and make it possible to improve his own alimentation. What is disloyal, thievish etc., will certainly receive his judgment later, for our Lord God does not leave anything without retaliation. *<Loyal hands come through all lands.> <Loyalty brings bread, disloyalty suffers scarcity.>* (p. 9)

Still one thing, more or less by way of a conclusion of the doctrine about the servants, has to be mentioned here. *The masters of the house always have the largest complaints about the bad, disloyal and perjurious behavior of the servants.* (p. 9) If they talk to them about it, however, the servants do not want to listen and run away, especially in times when it is very busy, like in the harvest time. Therefore the government should keep a special eye at such personnel and seriously, by toughness in prisons and heavy punishment force them to serve their lords and ladies to the end and to obey them. It would be a good thing if one would not put up or employ such unemployed personnel, unless it can show a letter of good conduct, which tells why it was dismissed, as Emperor Maximilian of Austria decreed in Vienna on October 26<sup>th</sup> in 1568 for maidservants. His majesty will be able to punish her when she deviates from what this passport says. Not being able to write or read will not be an excuse. *Lord and maidservants should find the landowner, overseer, judges or other authorities of the places where they live and ask them to write such a message against payment (--).* (p. 9) The Emperor has commanded all authorities to enforce this decree.

A bad custom in this region is to hire personnel and especially maidservants only for a quarter of a year and not for a year. The servants and the master and mistress only have three months to get used to each other and then they leave one another. The mistress of the house has to instruct every three months new persons. *This costs the master of the house and the mistress of the house much trouble and then I do not even talk about the disadvantage that the personnel this way is reinforced strongly in its bad will.* (p. 9) It might, however, turn out into an advantage for the master and mistress, for if they some hired a bad eye for a short period they get rid of him or her in the very near future. Such unemployed servants are also in the habit to demand to be paid out little by little. Lords and ladies should be careful here and pay in principle the full sum at the end of the contract, unless some calamity has to be covered. The reason is that the servants should be kept anxious that they will not receive the full sum at the end of the contract, for otherwise they will leave at will.

[Colerus discusses from now on the baronial household and the extra functions there]

Ch. 10: About the bailiff (Germ.: Amptman) or overseer (Germ.: Hauptmann)

*If in a house holding are large domains, to which belong many farmsteads and villages, then one has to have a bailiff or householder, who is the head of the total household.* (p. 9), who usually gets a secretary, a corn secretary and some more such assistants. Firstly a bailiff has to be pious and in order to give an example to the personnel he has to follow diligently God's word and the Holy Sacrament. He has to forbid profanity, swearing and cursing as well as cheating, lying and behaving unchastely. He should go the church on the weekdays that God's word is preached and not excuse himself because of a honest business that should be carried on. *Moreover (he should effectuate), that they always before and after the meals together step forward to pray to God to thank him faithfully for his blessing and rich benefits* (p. 9)

*Secondly every bailiff should stay sober and avoid the shameful boozing up, also avoid fornication and neglect of duty, sleep with his wife and not allow the personnel whoring, adultery or other sins, in the farmsteads or elsewhere.* (p. 9/10). He should not permit sins to his colleague either and try to exterminate them as far as this lies in his power.

*Thirdly every bailiff should loyally and industriously keep up to date his official letters, books and registers and note down and enter the revenues and expenditures in the registers every day* (p. 10) He should nobody give anything without a command of his lord and do this only for an explicit professional reason.

*Fourthly he should arise as the first and go to bed as the latest, as Socrates used to say, and then wake the servants and put them to work and occupation and keep them to it. (p. 10) At night take care well of the fire and the lights, so that there is safe light in the rooms where this is needed. He should not rely on the personnel, especially when there are guests, who drink too much and then use the candles carelessly when visiting the room and farmsteads .*

*Fifthly the bailiff should make an effort to employ pious and loyal servants, with whom he first communicates mildly with the good, but whom he also, if this does not help, addresses with sharp words and commands. (p. 10) If this does not help and they stay obstinate and infect the other servants, he should jail them or at least take them apart from the other personnel. And that one avoids other measures and terrible name calling and cursing. Because by this the personnel becomes only more annoyed and negative, so that God does not give his blessing or prosperity to the house holding in such places. (p. 10)*

*Sixthly he should personally take the responsibility that the fields are cultivated with the proper operations at the right time, as well as that the wine-, vegetables-, hop- and kitchen garden are hacked and the other yearly choruses are performed and not omitted because of negligence. (p. 10) This same goes for the hay, important where is much cattle.*

*Seventhly he has to see to it, that the dikes stay well controlled and are industriously cared for and often ride or walk to them himself, visit also the dams and outlets, (p. 10) to check for obstructions or something else what has gone wrong and repair them immediately. And make sure that the necessary materials lie ready at handy locations.*

*Eighthly he should not forget the brushwood and make sure that the hiding places for the game are not gone, because the cattle has eaten it away.*

*Ninthly he should diligently think about and aim at the complete feeding of all animals (p. 10), so that all the necessary kinds of fodder are present and they are fed through the whole winter. Daily and especially every day in the winter he should go to the farmstead, pigsty and fold to check personally if the animals are fed well, especially make sure that the food is put rightly before the pigs and calves and admonish the personnel to perform properly.*

*Tenthly he should especially in the winter every day go from barn to barn to check their floors and see if they are properly mucked out.*

*In the eleventh place requires the function that he ensures that the kitchen and the cellar are so filled, that the personnel is fed well and that what is not directly needed is put away properly and moreover that the corn, hop etc. is safely stored and that the crops are turned around regularly and that in the winter the windows stay closed and in general are guarded in such a way that no damage can be done, like water or small animals that enter.*

*In the twelfth place is it proper for a bailiff to watch the buildings well, (p. 10) to reconstruct the dwelling, farmsteads and barns that have defects on the places with new walls, posts and such-like to prevent them from collapsing. Moreover, he should instruct his guards-servants to diligently close the gate every day once the farmhands have eaten and gotten their sleeping drink, to prevent them from much fighting and secret drinking and to report to him the keys.*

*In the thirteenth and last place he diligently has to go to and look into all corners and control to the end that the best (goods) of his lord will be produced and acquired and all damage will be averted and prevented. (p. 10)*

*Summary of his function: he should fear God and keep Him before his eyes; lead a chaste, disciplined, sober and moderate life; serve his lord with the greatest diligence and loyalty, punish the bad, on account of his function protect and maintain the pious, then God will give him in his function happiness, salvation and bless. See Peter de Cresc., book I, chapters 12 and 13 too (p. 10/11).*

Ch. 11: How a bailiff should be framed and regulated (Germ.: eingefesst and angeordnet)

*If a bailiff gets appointed the first thing to do is to make an inventory of the house or farmstead ( p. 11) All the animals have to be counted kind by kind starting with the horses and ending with the peacocks.*

*Secondly all stocks, all corns, like oats and hop and garden seeds. Then the kitchen supplies. Moreover, what kinds of beer in stock in the cellars. (p. 11) The same goes for all the utensils in kitchen, cellars and oven-house, and the furniture, big and small, in the house*

*In the third and last place for the sake of more information should one also register all servants who are working in the house and the farmstead and bring them in the inventarium (list of inventories). (p. 11) The kitchen clerk should copy this and then keep this list up to date so that the lord may know how many servants and other persons are fed during the year.*

The bailiff should record also what money, corn, etc. he accepts for stocking at what data and year as well the cows, sheep and pigs he adds to grow. *He should organize this register in such a way that he can once a year - or whenever asked for- account well for the revenues and expenditures.*(p. 11) The amounts in the kitchen register and the corn register have to be totalized every year as well. He should demand and study them and copy the relevant data in his own register. Because from them one actually gets to know what are the actual revenues in money and goods of the different domains. And also what are the privileges, like the rights on fishing and hunting of every domain, In the same way he should register how many inhabitants, farmers and gardeners, every domain has, *how much land everybody has, how much rent one pays and what services one renders.* (p. 11) Then how much acres in the domains or farmstead are cultured and for what purpose and what is wilderness. The bailiff should have most diligently pace out and measure all fields, dikes, gardens and woods and write down and add the size of all. *And then after this process make a succession register* (p. 11) in which everything, nothing excepted, should be allocated to future heirs. Later we will return to the proper way to make these measurements.

#### Ch. 12: About the cattle mom (Germ.: Viehmumme)

The cattle mom or cattle mother is the substitute wife or and female commander that specifically watches the maidservants, the pasturing activities of them and sees to it, that the cattle in the fields and in the farmstead gets enough food. She should also have the responsibility for the milk, make cheese and butter, and regularly look at the feathered animals and bring the women to collecting and safely guarding the eggs. *If necessity requires this, she should admonish the maidservants severely or, if she cannot achieve anything with them, report them to the mistress.* (p. 11).

Such females should be clean people, *because they should handle butter, cheese and whey, etc. in such a way that master and mistress, children and personnel don't detest such food. Honorable, reasonable, experienced and modest females have to be used for this job, who moreover are good masters and enjoy and love all kinds of cattle and get respect from maidservants and the other personnel who like to follow her.* (p. 11) She should daily enter into all corners and all stables, especially when the cattle stays inside, in order to check if the cattle do not get too much food, so that it is trampled upon, or too little food, so that the animals become too thin. *The whole year through she should watch the young cattle, so that she grows enough of them to replace the old ones that die, are slaughtered or sold during the year.* (p. 11). Because she is important, she should be treated a bit better than the rest of the personnel, so that she is more diligent with her overseeing and handwork. She also should count the cattle in the morning and at night, but the feathered animals also, to make sure that no one is lost and if one is lost she should go and find it.

#### Ch. 13: About the overseer (Germ.: Voigt)

*A overseer should watch the farmhands, who have to obey him too.* (p. 12) Moreover he should see to it that the cattle, sheep, bees, etc. get the right food at the proper time. He also has to watch if the fields, and gardens are cultivated and sown properly and at the right time. The same goes for the harvesting and checking, if the corn arrives properly at the threshing floor and is treated properly there, especially where one has no corn clerk.. He should see to it that the fruit trees are cared for properly and its fruits are plucked at the right time. If there are no dog-riders, he should walk out the dogs and also book hunters, if they are not around. *He should make that the timber is felled and brought in at the right time.* (p. 12) He should also see to it that nothing is carried in, damaged or stolen. It is only him who places the orders. Because he represents the master and mistress outside the house, this functionary should get a higher wage than the other, common man-servants. *It will also be proper for him to behave in such a way that all maidservants and farmhands and all subjects in the domain do not fear him and that in their trade all are obliging and obedient.* (p. 12).

#### Ch. 14: About several other persons

*We still have to write extensively about many more other persons, who are sometimes used in the large households, like kitchen clerks, who have to see to it that kitchen and cellars are well taken care of and that every similar functionary of lower or higher status is given the proper foodstuff at the usual times, which they have to write down all in their registers, the intake as well as the expense and to calculate in due course. (p. 12)*

Moreover, about the bookkeeper, who together with the bailiff looks at people and possessions and receives and takes account of the moneys, rents and other income in the seignery and does the same for the expenditures.

Moreover, about the corn clerk, who takes account of the quality and quantity of the threshed corn on the farm and sees to it that harvested corn on the land does not become damaged.

Moreover, about the very many possible other functions<sup>clxxiv</sup>. *But we have not intended here to describe the princely household but the usual baronial or civilian household, as mentioned before in chapter 3. (p. 12)*

*We also would have liked to talk here about tenants and people on the farmstead. Moreover, about the cowherds, shepherds, butchers and gardeners (p. 12) but this will be moved up to later chapters.*

*Because the servants often are extremely bad, disobedient, wicked, reckless, stubborn, malicious, thievish and disloyal and sometimes harm their master and mistress seriously and on purpose, I want to demand and admonish the pious Christian house father and house mother not to be idiot and mistaken (--) and muster their courage and address such personnel and stop their recklessness. (p. 12)*

In some cases they should ask the government for help and the government should enforce obedience and in case of damage on purpose, make the servants repair or reimburse it. For that is the function of the government and when that would not happen also, who would want to household and improve an alimentation? With so many thieves and thugs one rather dies than that one runs a farm. *There has to be fear, discipline and modesty in the house. How else can a house holding or house alimentation be run and improved? (p. 12)*

For if a master and a mistress are afraid of their servants and not the other way around, then all house holding is done for nothing. I will abstain from an example of such a house holding.

These things start with God. *Before all one should accustom the personnel to the fear of God (--) (p. 13).* To become pious implies diligently praying before and after the meal and joining the master and the mistress to the church and after it discussing the sermon with them at the table at home, so that they understand it well. A house father and house mother better punish their few impious servants, because otherwise God refuses to bless the whole house.

This I tell from my large experience because in all the house I have visited I have seen that in the God fearing ones, God's blessing was present *and that where the fear of God was absent with lords and wives, children and servants, there only was poverty, however hard they worked. (p. 13)*

If a man and woman amongst the servants want to marry and to get children, one should not keep them from this but rather help them or *organize a small wedding oneself, so that these poor kids also can make their way in the world and start their own alimentation. (p. 13)* I said something in Ch. 9 of the first book about this, so I will stop here.

#### Ch. 15: A conclusion

*This should be enough for now about the persons that come with the house holding ( p. 13).* The master of the wines, gardeners, cook, etc., we will discuss in due time at the proper places.

## Justification

(still to be completed and improved)

I have translated all literal citations myself except those explicitly indicated below. This was necessary because in the existing translations the basis terms *οικονομία* and *oeconomia* were not rendered as *government of the house*. But I have found many words which have been misinterpreted. One example may supply. *Φυλάττειν* in the context of economics does not mean

*standing guard*, its first meaning, as it has been often translated, but rather *guarding against*. A proof for this is that Theophrastus in his economics does not deal with watchmen in his paragraph on Φυλαττειν but in the one on κοσμειν (keeping order). In the Middle Ages Φυλαττειν will be aptly rendered into Latin as *conservatio* (first meaning: *preservation*). Throughout the text (check) I have preferred *preserving* for Φυλαττειν and *conservatio*. I have translated σωφρωνσυνη as *sound-mindedness* while in the west this economic virtue seems to be split in *prudentia* (translated as *prudence or is it practical wisdom*))and *moderatio* (rendered as *self-control*) .

## Chapter 1: Xenophontic economics

The edition summarized	
Edition	The version in Greek as presented on the left pages in Sarah B. Pomeroy, <i>Xenophon Oeconomicus. A Social and Historical Commentary</i> . Oxford (Clarendon Press), reprint 2002.
Proportion original: summary	About 6:1
Way of summarizing	
Structure	The text follows the structure in Pomeroy's book. It consists of 22 chapters and every chapter is divided in about twenty particles. So the summary follows for instance first Chapter I, particle 1 (I-1) , then (I-2), being chapter I, particle 2 and so on, till the last particle (XXI-12).
Reductions	It does not happen often that I have translated particles completely. Usually some particles are summarized in one long sentence.
Omitted {text} Not [text] Because [explanations]	The story about the King of Persia
Translation by me	
Capitals	Zeus is written with a capital; 'the gods' are written with a small letter.
Dictionary	<p>Αυξησις= growth, never: profit; αυξανω= making prosper; in a mental and/or material sense.</p> <p>Εις τον βιον=for the sustenance</p> <p>κτηματα, χρηματα, κτησις:</p> <p>In this discussion Critoboulos moves already on the second page, without explicitly mentioning the difference in meaning between the two, from 'possessions' in the sense of acquisitions (κτηματα, to 'possessions' in the sense of objects of daily need. I translate κτηματα with 'posessions', κτησις with 'property', and χρηματα with 'resources', 'supplies. The judicial distinction between property, belonging(s) that is (are) owned and possession, belonging that is used, does not come into play in this dialogue.</p> <p>Ωφελιμος=advantageous; χρησιμος=useful</p> <p>Επιμελεια= care; Επιμελεομαι= taking care; to be concerned to the point of intervening.</p> <p>Λυσιτελουντας= to have left so much that whatever is left can be given away: in this sense 'redeeming'. (XIV-3)( Λυσις= the untie-ing)</p> <p>Ταμειυτατα= government (ταμειυμα: householding, government)</p>
Help from	Sarah B. Pomeroy's very elegant translation in: <i>Xenophon Oeconomicus. A Social and Historical Commentary</i> . Oxford (Clarendon Press). Reprint 2002



## Chapter 2: Theophrastus' *Oikonomika*

<u>The edition summarized</u>	
Edition	The Greek version in Ulrich Victor, [Aristoteles] <i>OIKONOMIKOS</i> Das erste Buch der Ökonomik – Handschriften, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar- und seine Beziehungen zur Ökonomik Literatur, (Ps. Aristotle, <i>OIKONOMIKOS</i> The first book of Economics – manuscripts, text and commentary- and its relations with the literature on economics). Königstein/TS (Verlag Anton Hain) 1983.
Proportion original: summary	About 1,5:1
<u>Way of summarizing</u>	
Structure	The text follows the structure in the book as given by Victor. It consists of 6 Chapters.
Reductions.	<b>No sentences are taken together.</b> Instead I made some extensions to make reading more easy. They are put between [--] <b>has to become {--}</b>
Omitted	No fragments are omitted
<u>Translation by me</u>	
Dictionary	Φυλάττειν in the context of economics does not mean <i>standing guard</i> , its first meaning, but rather <i>guarding against</i> . A proof for this is that the author does not deal with watchmen in the paragraph on Φυλάττειν but in the one on κοσμεῖν (keeping order). In the Middle Ages Φυλάττειν will be rendered into Latin as 'conservation'. (Lat: conservatio) I have preferred the word 'protecting', this way injecting into this term a more pro-active connotation than the term 'conservation' has.
Help from	Ulrich Victor, [Aristoteles] etc. Königstein/TS (Verlag Anton Hain) 1983

## Chapter 3: Epicurean management theory

<u>The edition summarized</u>	
Edition	Christian Jensen reconstructed this work on economics by Philodemus in 1906. He gave it the name Περὶ οἰκονομίας ( <i>About economics</i> ). We do not know what title Philodemus would have preferred. I used the unpublished translation from 1995 of this work in Dutch by Gerard Bon and rendered the citations I have used from Dutch into English.
Proportion original: summary	About 2:1
<u>Way of summarizing</u>	
Structure	The text follows in principle the structure in the book as given by Jensen. This is a running text. It consists of 28 collations which all are separated from one another by one blank line. A: The order in the collations I-VI was changed in the Dutch translation, which we follow, and put there in their numerical

	<p>order. The collations I, fr. I. fr.II and IIa are actually unreadable. The collations A and B, at the start of Jensen's reconstruction, clearly refer to Theophrastus. From these 6 first chapters we have not indicated the lines of the translated sentences as given in Jensen.</p> <p>B: Some citations in my comment come directly from Bon's translation of the <i>Peri Oikonomia</i> (PO II) and not from my summary.</p>
Reductions	<p>The sentences of XIV, 8-44 are taken together. (Correction needed. There are three reductions)</p> <p>Additionally I made some extensions to make reading more easy. They are put between [--]</p>
Omitted	No fragments are omitted. The beginning (Coll. I-IV) of the unearthed text, however, is very unclear, because it has still many lacunas.
<u>Translation by me</u>	
Capitals	.
Dictionary	<p>Dependent on the context, the substantive <i>οικονομία</i> is translated as <i>management of goods</i> and <i>government of the house</i>, just like the verb <i>οικονομew</i> at times is translated as <i>managing the goods</i> and at other moments as <i>governing the house</i>.</p> <p>Διοικew = <i>to manage</i> ; διοικησις= <i>management</i>  Κτησις = <i>acquisition</i>; φυλακη=preservation  Χρηματιστης = <i>businessman</i></p>
Help from	<p>Renato Laurenti, <i>Filodemo e il pensiero economico degli Epicurei</i>. Milano (Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino- La Goliardica) 1973. This work has 192 pages.</p> <p>Philodemus <i>On Property Management. Translated with an introduction and notes by Voula Tsouna</i>, Atlanta (Society of Biblical Literature) 2012. This book shows the original Greek on the left side and its translation in English on the right one. (My translation diverges often from this one. Some general differences are <i>house</i> instead of <i>household</i> for <i>οικος</i>; <i>preservation</i> instead of <i>maintenance</i> for <i>φυλακη</i>; <i>care</i> instead of <i>diligence</i> for <i>επιμελεια</i>.)</p>

#### Chapter 4: Pythagorean economics.

<u>The edition summarized</u>	
Editions	<p>1. The <i>Oikonomikos</i> of 'Bryson' was translated from Arabic into German by Martin Plessner in 1928. XX. I have translated the German text into English!</p> <p>The two fragments of the <i>Oikonomikos</i> of 'Bryson', however, that are present in Ch. XXVIII <i>Oikonomikos</i> of the <i>Anthology</i> (that is part III and IV of the complete work) of Stobaeus I have translated from the Greek and given a grey underground. Curtius Wachsmuth and Otto Hense (ed.), <i>Joannis Stobaei Anthologii Libri Duo Posteriores</i>, Vol. III Berlin (Weidmann) 1912, p. 677-680.</p> <p>The Arabic to a certain extent differs from the Greek in Stobaeus.</p> <p>2. For the fragments of 'Callicratides' (Stobaeus, o.c. p. 681-688) and 'Phyntis' (Stobaeus o.c. p. 688-695) I just have copied the</p>

	translations in English in Robert Navon (ed.), <i>The Pythagorean writings. Hellenistic texts from the 1<sup>st</sup> Cent. BC -3d century AD. On Life, Morality, Knowledge, and the World.</i> City ( Selene books) 1986, which were translated by Kenneth Guthrie and Thomas Taylor.
Proportion original: summary	About 2:1
<u>Way of summarizing</u>	
Structure	The text follows the structure of the book as given by Plessner.
Reductions	I wrote some intermissions to make reading more easy. They are put between [--]
Omitted	The part in Chapter I about money: p.217,2.15-219, r. 23
<u>Translation by me</u>	
Capitals	.
Dictionary	Dayá = farm; Manzil=house (oikos); Ahl=family (Plessner:) Die Leitung des Hauswesens = government of the house
Help from	The <i>Oikonomikos</i> of 'Bryson' is recently translated by Simon Swain, who gives the Arab text on the opposite pages: Swain, Simon, <i>Economy, Family and Society from Rome to Islam. A critical edition, English translation and Study of Bryson's 'Management of the Estate'</i> . Cambridge etc. (Cambridge University Press) 2013, p. 425-498.

## Chapter 5: Original economics does not take root in Rome.

<u>The edition summarized</u>	
Editions	<p>1.I have used for the fragments of Columella the translation of E.S Forster and Edward H. Heffner in Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella, <i>On agriculture and Trees</i>, III, Cambridge, Mass. (Harvard University Press together with London, William Heinemann Ltd: Loeb Classical Library) )3<sup>rd</sup> print, 1979, in which citations I made incidentally small changes, which I have not indicated .</p> <p>2.This fragment from the <i>Oeconomicus</i> by Xenophon and the ones still to come in this chapter are taken from the translation of Sarah Pomeroy in idem, <i>Xenophon Oeconomicus. A Social and Historical Commentary</i>, Oxford (Clarendon Press) 2<sup>nd</sup> print, 2002. I have used her translation in the same way as I have done in chapter 2 (check).</p> <p>3. For the Appendix with the fragment about the <i>Oikonomikos</i> of Hiërocles I have copied the translation of David Konstan of Ilaria Ramelli's work but I have changed systematically a few some words. See the Dictionary</p>
Proportion original: summary	2:1
<u>Way of summarizing</u>	
Structure	.
Reductions	I wrote some intermissions to make reading more easy. They are put between [--]
Omitted	No fragments are omitted.

<u>Translation by me</u>	
Capitals	.
Dictionary	<u>De officiis by Cicero</u> Investment Usage <u>De re rustica by Columella</u> Villicus: Manager; Villica: Housekeeper Diligentia : Carefulness (instead of activities) <u>Oikonomikos by Hiërocles</u> Oikia= dwelling, instead of household Oikos= house, instead of Katoikia=xx, instead of domestic
Help from	

## Chapter 6: Arabic economics.

<u>The edition summarized</u>	
Editions	I have used the translation in Dutch (!) by Tineke Hoff of this letter, who rendered it from the original Arabic. <i>Avicenna. Over het beheer van huis en haard. Ingeleid, vertaald en van commentaar voorzien door Tineke Hoff. ( Avicenna. About the government of house and hearth. Introduced, translated and commented upon by Tineke Hoff.)</i> Kapelle, Kampen (Kok, Agora)1993.
Proportion original: summary	2:1
<u>Way of summarizing</u>	
Structure	Follows Hoff
Reductions	I put some headings above the different fragments within the chapters to make reading more easy, which I have put between [- -].
Omitted	No fragments are omitted.
<u>Translation by me</u>	
	.
Dictionary	Huishouding (household) = house
Help from	Martin Plessner, <i>Der OIKONOMIKOS des Neupythagoreers 'Bryson' and sein Einfluss auf die islamischen Wissenschaft.</i> ( <i>The Oikonomikos of the neo-pythagorean 'Bryson' and his influence on the Islamic science</i> ) Heidelberg (Carl Winter's Buchhandlung) 1928. <b>pages</b>

## Chapter 7: Romanesque economics

<u>The editions summarized</u>	<i>De arte oeconomica</i> in Vincent of Beauvais, <i>Speculum Doctrinale</i> . Reprint. Graz (Akademische Druck- und VerlagAnstalt) 1965, TomusSecundus, Liber sextus. (Part II, book VI) <i>Letter about the care for the family good</i> by Ps Bernard <b>to be indicated</b>
Original: summary	<i>De arte oeconomica</i> : c. 1- 1,5

	<i>Letter about the care for the family good</i> : translated completely.
<u>Way of summarizing</u>	
Structure	
Reduction	<i>De arte oeconomica</i> No reductions applied. Actually I have tried to show all citations, which makes reading maybe a bit tidy. But I wanted to show the enormous array of sources which the encyclopedist uses.
Omissions	<i>De arte oeconomica</i> A: Two paragraphs, with details about the judicial obligations of children towards their parents and vice versa in Chapter VIII are left out, as [--] show. B: The Chapters 16-146, which deal with and mostly copy the <i>Opus Agriculturae</i> of Palladius are completely omitted.
<u>Translation by me</u>	
Topography	<i>De arte oeconomica</i> In the summary I have underlined all words that Vincent has written in italics, because in this book I only use italics for the literal citations in the summaries. In this chapter I did something else. I have put all the names of books and their parts, if the last are mentioned in print, where Vincent sometimes puts them in print and sometimes in italics, partly or both title and part.
Dictionary	Domus = house. Mutuum = loan against interest for consumption Administrare = to manage; ordinare = to put in an order; disponere = to regulate, divide Dispositio = regulation, division Dispensatio = distribution (usage)
Help from	St Jerome: <i>Against Iovinianum</i> : <a href="http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/30091">www.newadvent.org/fathers/30091</a> St Augustine, <i>The City of God</i> , London (Penguin books), reprint 1984. Translated by Henry Bettenson.

## Chapter 8: Economics for Princes

<u>The edition summarized</u>	Aegidii Columnae Romani etc., <i>De Regimine Principum</i> , Lib. III. Roma (Bartholomeo Zanetti) 1607, p 214-400: <i>Liber secundus. In quo tractatur de regimine domus. (Book II, in which is discussed the government of the house).</i>
Proportion original: summary	c. 7:1. This work is large but is relatively easy to summarize, because Giles sums up his arguments at the end of each chapter himself and recalls this summary of the former chapter at the beginning of the next one
<u>Way of summarizing</u>	
Structure	I have strictly followed the structure of the book. Before each chapter I have put the pages between (brackets) so that the reader may know the relative length of each chapter. Each full page contains some 280 Latin words.
The citations	Giles often cites Aristotle without any reference but in most cases he writes in which book a citation can be found. This references I have copied, and the title of the book, given by Giles

	in Latin, translated in English.
Reduction	Paragraphs 1.9-10 (to marry only one partner); 1,16 (too young to marry); 1.17 (proper time of conception); 2,4 (love of parents to children and the other way around); 2,9 (tutor needed); 2,15 (education of the very young); 2,21(teach girls taciturnity) ; 3,4 situation of the farm) ; 3,9-3,12 (about money;) 3,15 (slavery should be regulated) ; and 3,18 (courtliness I have left out a few chapters in each part of book II. <b>Criteria</b>
Omissions	1.The long headings of the chapters. Most digressions and examples, that elucidate Giles' arguments, I have omitted, without any warning, so that the reader usually only sees the bare argument. 2. The 'formula' with which Vincent often ends a chapter, to the extent that what writes for princes is also valid for commoners (cives).
<u>Translation by me</u>	
Capitals	.
Dictionary	<b>Communitas</b> =community. <b>Societas</b> =society (see Politics, I) <b>Communicativus</b> = communicative. <b>Socialis</b> =social <b>Politicus</b> = political <b>Domesticus</b> = of the house (sometimes = domestical) <b>Civitas</b> = city-state ( <b>13th century?</b> ), <b>civis</b> = commoner <b>luvenes</b> =older boys. (I have successively: children (1-7), boys (7-14) and older boys (14-21)) <i>Lays</i> = laws, here rules <i>Home</i> man, <i>femme</i> , woman, <i>mari</i> husband <i>marie</i> wife <i>Maison</i> =a house, <i>la maison</i> = the house; <i>hostel</i> =dwellingn <i>Seigneur</i> =lord; <i>principal</i> = leader; <i>Etre de</i> = <i>zijn van</i> = deals with <i>de</i> <i>de</i> there are <i>Slave</i> =slave (slaves?) <i>Operations</i> =labor tasks <i>Sollicitude</i> =concern ; <i>cure</i> = care <i>Guaing</i> =winst ; <i>profit</i> =(1) <i>advantage</i> , use, <i>profijt</i> ;(2) profit <i>Yconomique usual ou dispensative</i> = <i>espece de industrie usual ou dispensative</i> .s <i>Ordenance</i> =, arrangement ; <i>Disposition</i> = disposal <i>Despendu</i> distributed; <i>dispensative</i> = distributive: <i>Enseignement</i> = teaching
Help from	None

## Chapter 9: Ps. Aristotelian economics

<u>The edition summarized</u>	Maître Nicole Oresme. <i>Le Livre d'Yconomique</i> , with an English translation. Edited and translated by A. Menut. Transactions of the American Philosophical Association, New series, Vol. 5, part 5, 1957, p. 807-847.
Proportion original to summary	About 2:1 The translation into French by Oresme is characterized by 'double translations' of words, to make the text better comprehensible for the layman, like the rendering of <i>videndum</i> (should be seen) by <i>voir et considerer</i> (to be seen and considered). I have translated these 'double translations'. Oresme sometimes gives explanatory interpolations, for instance

	like when the Latin text has <i>georgica (agriculture)</i> , Oresme adds <i>c' est a dire de cultiver la terre (that is to say to cultivate the soil)</i> .
<u>Way of summarizing.</u>	Book I and book II are not in the same way summarized.
Structure	<Bible citations>, without references, which can be found in Menut.
The citations	In the original text and the longer comments one often adds one explanation after another to proof a point. Every additional explanation begins with the word 'item', which I systematically have translated with 'moreover'.
Reduction	The small comments I have not summarized. Here Oresme explains who the mentioned persons are; tells that also other translations of a word exist; explains the order of the argument or repeats in other words, what the author has written. <b>I have not summarized the</b>
Omissions	(--) indicates that a small part of the text is left away. (C-) indicates that a commentary is left away. I did not add the locations, where the citations are to be found. The interested reader will find them in the translation in English by A. Menut ( <b>www</b> )
<u>Translation by me</u>	Menut also provides the translation of the Greek by Willem van Moerbeke . This shows a considerable amount of small deviations from the text of the <i>Oikonomikos</i> of Theophrastus. The text of van Moerbeke in its turn is translated in French, This makes part I of <i>Le livre d' Yconomique</i> differ here and there from text the reader may remember from Chapter 2. I have chosen not to delve into these differences in this book. This work is interesting for philologists: They can see how a text within two translations (here from Greek to Latin to French) changes. Originally I had many notes to show the differences between the three texts but I decided to drop them.
Capitals	.
Dictionary	Yconomie = government of the house Disposition = disposition ( <b>or government of the house?</b> ) Curateur or dispensateur = overseer or foreman ; curateur or procureur = overseer or deputy ( <i>superastutateur=manager</i> ) Meson= house, (meson=a house, <u>la</u> meson= the house) hostel=dwelling; mesnage = household Communication=association <i>Guaing=bringing output ; profit=output</i> <i>Il convient= it is appropriate (should from gerundium)</i> <i>Verconde= timidity (not modesty) Modestie =modesty. Honte=shyness</i> <i>Creinte= awe Peur= fear</i> <i>Amisté= friendship; dilection=fondness; aimer= to love.</i> <i>Disposition= government;</i>
Help from	The translation in English by A. Menut of Oresmes' French. But many words are replaced, like <i>household</i> by <i>house</i> or <i>management</i> by <i>government</i> .



<u>The editions summarized</u>	<p><u>Barbaro:</u>  <i>De re uxoria libri duo</i>. Original from <a href="https://books.google.es/books/about/dDe_re_uxoria_libri_duo">https://books.google.es/books/about/dDe_re_uxoria_libri_duo</a>, etc. Antwerpen (Mart de Keyser), 1535. Copy from the Gent University. (In this copy the paging on the 5 first pages of Chapter VII is missing. I have paged them as M, i1; M, i2; M, ii1; M, ii2 and M, iii1) Paging stops again at Fiv2, so I have numbered on with F, v1, F, v2, F, vi1 and F. vi2)</p> <p><u>Alberti: <i>Della famiglia</i></u>  Leon Batista Alberti, <i>Della famiglia</i>.  <a href="https://www.filosofico.net/albertifamiglia4libri.htm">https://www.filosofico.net/albertifamiglia4libri.htm</a>  (the titles of the four chapters are given in Latin) This version shows no pages! (The pages given in the text refer to the translation by Renée Neu Watkins. See: help from for this book )</p>
Proportion original	<p><u>Barbaro</u>  About 2:1</p> <p><u>Alberti</u>  About 3:1</p>
<u>Way of summarizing</u>	
Structure	<p><u>Barbaro</u>  In each chapter Barbaro's text is a running one. I divided the text in alineas to make reading more easy.</p> <p><u>Alberti</u>  <u>Alberti's text has (huge) alineas, which I follow</u></p>
Reduction	No reductions are made.
Omissions	<p><u>Barbaro: <i>De re uxoria</i></u>  Book I completely and Book, II chapters 1-6 are completely omitted. Only chapters 7 and 8 of Book II are summarized. Moreover p. F, v2-F,vi is omitted</p> <p><u>Alberti: <i>Della famiglia</i></u>  Book, I, II and IV are completely omitted. Only Book III is summarized.  From Book III is omitted:  p. 175, 5 -176, 5: the negative character traits of the governing class  p. 190, 5 – 193, 5: praise of agriculture  p 208-229: Giannozzo instructs his wife, like Ischomachus instructed his wife in the <i>Oikonomikos</i> of Xenophon.</p>
<u>Translation by me</u>	
Capitals	.
Dictionary	<p><u>Barbaro</u>  De re uxoria= About having a wife  Domesticus= of the house</p> <p><u>Alberti</u>  Masserizia= prudence in spending</p>
Help from	<p><u>Barbaro: <i>De re uxoria</i></u>  Francesco Barbaro <i>Das Buch der Ehe De re uxoria</i>. Translation in German by Percy Gothein. Berlin (Verlag der Runde), 1933.</p> <p><u>Alberti: <i>Della famiglia</i></u>  Renée Nee Watkins, <i>The family in Renaissance Florence</i>. A</p>

	translation by Renee Neu Watkins of <i>I Libri della famiglia</i> by Leon Batista Alberti. Columbia ( University of South Carolina Press), 1969.
--	--

## Chapter 11: Protestant economics

<u>The edition summarized</u>	Ute Gause and Stephanie Scholz (eds.): <i>Ehe und Familie im Geist des Luthertums (Marriage and family in the spirit of the Lutheranism)</i> Leipzig (Evangelische Verlagsanstalt) 2013, p 35-144
Proportion	c. 3:1
<u>Way of summarizing</u>	
Structure	This book I have summarized alinea by alinea. Sometimes the book gives two lines of white. This system I have followed.
Reduction	Most references to the Bible, which are very many, I have reduced by using a smaller letter and summarizing them in a very succinct way. My starting point when writing this chapter was that the interested readers would look up the bible texts in this Holy Book themselves.
{Omissions}	Fragments p. 78-83, which elaborate by way of Bible citations God's intention to comfort the wife with her duty of childbirth] p. 69, 5- 70, 5: The story of Abraham, Sarah and Hagar p. 87-92 The stories of Elizabeth of Thüringen and of Isabella of Austria p. 99-100 about how Lucius Manlius treated his son] p. 110-112 about maidenhood and chastity p. 132-132 The fable xxx of Aesopus [Chapter XIV: <i>About the Holy Cross</i> ]/ How to comfort oneself in all sorts of distress]
<u>Translation by me</u>	
Capitals	I have word, when the word of God or the Bible is meant translated with a capital, where Menius uses small type
Dictionary	Stand= station Haushaltung= householding; das Haushalten=the household; Haus =house; Hauswirtt=landlord Hausregirung= Hauses regiment=government of the house Hirschen= to rule; regiren=to govern; walten= to reign ; Regiment= government; Reich=realm; Befehl=command, (order); verordnen = to decree Haushaltung=oeconomia=householding; Haus=house Ordenung=order; Hauslich=domestic housefather (Germ. Hausvater); hausmutter = housemother; Ehemann= husband; Hausherr = houselord. Eheweib=wife; Hausleute= people in the house; Handel= trade; Handwerck= craft; Handthierung= occupation; Gescheff=employment; Sachen= business. Warten= taking care of Mas= limit

Help from	I have copied the Bible texts as they are given in the bible gateway: <a href="http://www.biblegateway.com">http://www.biblegateway.com</a> . Luther's <i>Haustafel</i> in English, however, I have retrieved from <a href="https://www.bookofconcord.org/smalcatechism.php">https://www.bookofconcord.org/smalcatechism.php</a> on 22-05-2018
-----------	---

## Chapter 12: Agronomic economics

The edition summarized	1645 Mainz version
Proportion original: summary	c. 3:1
Way of summarizing	
Structure	This book I have summarized chapter by chapter. When Coler expresses a thought or citation in Greek and/or Latin and or German, which happens in this part some ten times we have neglected the nuances and just summarized the main thought.
Reduction	Most references to the Bible, which are very many, I have reduced by using a smaller letter and summarizing them in a very succinct way. My starting point when writing this chapter was that the interested readers would look up the bible texts in this Holy Book themselves.
Omissions	
Translation by me	
Capitals	
Dictionary	Das häusslich Gut= the manor Verwalten= to manage Herrschen = to rule; regieren = to govern Wirt = Landlord; Herr = master Stand= station Wirtschaften= householding To be completed
Help from	-

<sup>i</sup> Quintilian uses the term *oeconomia* here in a figurative sense to indicate that a speech is well composed and effective: '(--) Hermagoras iudicium partionem ordinem quaque sunt elocutionis, subiicit *oeconomiae*, quae Graece appellata *excusa rerum domesticarum* et hic per abusionem posita nomine Latine caret.' Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, London (Loeb) 3e dr. 1953 III-III-9. He connects the *res domesticae* (domestic matters) with *cura* (taking care) in his attempt to translate -οικος and -νομια.

<sup>ii</sup> Cicero, *De Officiis*, II, 87: *Res autem familiaris quaeri debet iis rebus, a quibus abest turpitudine, conservari autem diligentia et parsimonia, eiusdem etiam rebus augeri. Haec res commodissime Xenophon Socraticus persecutus in eo libro, qui Oeconomicus inscribitur, quem nos, ista fere aetate cum essemus, qua es tu nunc, a Graeco in Latinum convertimus. Sed toto hoc de genere, de quaerenda, de collocanda pecunia, (vellem etiam de utenda) commodius optimis viris ad Ianum medium sedentibus quam ab ullis philosophis ulla in schola disputatur.*

<sup>iii</sup> The reader knows from Chapter I that Cicero's statement in this fragment that *family capital should be acquired by honorable means, should be protected by diligence and thrift and be increased by the same means* actually is a summary of the meanings of Ischomachus and that Xenophon in his *Oeconomicus* exposes three different opinions, not only the one of this gentleman.

---

<sup>iv</sup> Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella, *On agriculture (De re rustica)*, I, Cambridge, Mass. (Harvard University Press together with London, William Heinemann Ltd: Loeb Classical Library) 4th print, 1977, book XI, 5; XII, 1 and XII, 6.

<sup>v</sup>The words *villicus* and *villica* refer of course to *villa*, the separate entity of farm and farm house, which many a Roman citizen possessed next to his city dwelling and of whom the very rich even owned several ones.

<sup>vi</sup> This fragment from the *Oeconomicus* by Xenophon and his sentences still to come in this chapter are taken from the translation of Sarah Pomeroy in idem, *Xenophon Oeconomicus. A Social and Historical Commentary*, Oxford (Clarendon Press) 2<sup>nd</sup> print, 2002. I have used here translation in the same way as I have done in chapter 2 (check).

<sup>vii</sup> This sentence does not occur in Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*, but is rather succinct summary by Columella of an argument by Ischomachus in Ch. XX, 16- 19, which fragment has a ring of present day business administration.

<sup>viii</sup> This is one more example that the overseer is supposed to check the housekeeper, who is responsible for attending to the sick and ill.

<sup>ix</sup> Marcus Porcius Cato (234-149 BC). This is Cato the Elder, agronomist but also the austere politician and cruel general, who is still famous because he ended every speech in the Senate with the words: *Delenda est Carthago* (Cartago has to be destroyed), relevant or not. In paragraph V 1-5 of his *De agricultura* Cato deals with the duties of the overseer. Here Cato writes: *Let him keep them busy with their work – he will more easily keep them from wrongdoing and stealing.* (V, 2)

<sup>x</sup> What Ischomachus tells about the duty of feeding children in the *Oeconomicus*, Columella leaves out in *De re rustica*, supposedly because feeding and educating the children of the *mater familias* is not a duty of the housekeeper, where in the Greek situation the governess of the house nurtures her own children and is responsible for the work indoors.

<sup>xi</sup> Greediness is not mentioned as a potential problem for the overseer. It might be mentioned here as a potential vice of the housekeeper, because the housekeeper is in charge of the granaries and wine-cellar and might be tempted to steal from them and sell some of its stocks.

<sup>xii</sup> In Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* Ischomachus holds the opposite view: *If someone behaves in a way contrary to the nature God has given him, perhaps his obedience will not escape the notice of the Gods, and he will pay a penalty for neglecting his proper business or for performing his wife's work.* (*Oec.*, VII, 31)

<sup>xiii</sup> Here I have deviated slightly from Ramelli. *Διεξάγειν* translated here by me with *govern from start to finished* and by Ramelli with *administered*. *A house presided over by husband and wife* is my rendering of *οικος προστατούμενος*. Finally I translated *ενεκα των εργαων* with *because of the tasks* instead of *through their tasks*.

<sup>xiv</sup> Translated from Avicenna. *Over het beheer van huis en haard. Ingeleid, vertaald en van commentaar voorzien door Tineke Hoff.* (Avicenna. *About the government of house and heart.*,. Introduced, translated and

---

*commentated upon by Tineke Hoff.*) Kapelle, Kampen (Kok, Agora.)1993. This translation is simply cited in the notes of this chapter as Hoff.

<sup>xv</sup> Avicenna wrote many works in the form of letters, because he corresponded with other scholars and had to answer questions of several high functionaries. Some of these letters, like this epistle about economics served a general purpose, because they became copied, were dispersed and have exerted influence. Hoff, o.c. p. 8.

<sup>xvi</sup> This text is a nice example how the Falasifah mix Muslim and Greek knowledge. From the Xenophon-Ps. Aristotle-Bryson tradition is the argument that the man works outside and the woman inside the house and that the wife is busy with the conservation the food. In Greek economics this is followed by an explanation why the cooperation of husband and wife is natural. Here Avicenna however (according to Hoff, o.c. p. p 56) falls back on Sura 16:72: *Allah has given you from your midst wives (---)*.

<sup>xvii</sup> The bullet points are added by me.

<sup>xviii</sup> Hoff has rendered instead *beheren van de ziel* (Eng.: *managing the soul*)

<sup>xix</sup> Avicenna probably wants to suggest here that the person to whom he has sent this letter (and whom we do not know!) is an exemplary governor or king.

<sup>xx</sup> This is not Avicenna. The text is not clear as to who might be meant here. Hoff, o.c. p 62, n. 6.

<sup>xxi</sup> Hoff has rendered *profit*, where I have put *surplus*.

<sup>xxii</sup> Note that Avicenna does not define trade as an art. He adopts, maybe under the influence of Plato and Aristotle, who both had declined trade, a very critical position here. He suggests that commerce is a more dangerous profession than practising crafts, because merchants work with money, which is very risky for one's soul.

<sup>xxiii</sup> Until now the economists have not made a distinction between 'property' and 'income from property'. Here must be read 'income from property', because otherwise this sentence offers the risky advice to give away a part of one's source of income.

<sup>xxiv</sup> 'Bryson' had written in Ch. 2 Par 3 of his *Oikonomikos* that the governor of the house needs someone who protects and governs what is in the house during his absence.

---

<sup>xxv</sup> Hoff renders: *all what is transient is made superfluous*. My translation here is a conjecture.

<sup>xxvi</sup> Avicenna leaves the matter of esteem for the wife here.

<sup>xxvii</sup> This paragraph is a specification of 'Bryson', who only writes about early age in general terms. 'Bryson' had set young age against puberty. Ibn Sina moreover summarizes Bryson's extensive alinea in Chapter 2.4 of his *Oikonomikos* about character in early youth in a few lines.

<sup>xxviii</sup> I assume that Avicenna again has herds in mind, when he is talking about *stock* here. They are capital and a source of income at the same time..

<sup>xxix</sup> Avicenna uses the same kind of analogies as 'Bryson' when he compares the activities of slaves with the activities of the limbs, although in a different wording. 'Bryson' discusses the government of slaves after the government of income and expenditures.

<sup>xxx</sup> In the Arab world physiognomy was a science with a long tradition: the *Qiyafa*. It existed of many sub-sciences, like the study of hand forms and hand lines, of footprints and for instance beauty spots. 'Bryson' does not mention these bodily requirements.

<sup>xxxi</sup> *Oeconomica, sive dispensativa, est ars vel scientia, qua domesticarum rerum sapienter ordo disponitur*. Underlined is the definition by Isidore of Spain in his *Etymologies*, Book 2, XXIV, 16. The terms *Oeconomica*, *ars* and *scientia* are added by Vincent.

<sup>xxxii</sup> *Oeconomica est scientia, qua familiaris officii curam, mediocri dispositione componens, distribuit*.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> Vincent in Book IV of his *Speculum Doctrinale*, called *De scientia Morali*, spends the chapters XLVI-LV on the subject of liberality as well.

<sup>xxxiv</sup> Valerius Maximus was a Latin author from the first half of the first century AD. He wrote a work *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* (*Factorum et dictorum memorabilium*) in nine books, which he intended - according to his own introduction - as a book of historical anecdotes for use in the schools of rhetoric. His main sources are Cicero, Livy and Sallust. The book was popular in the Middle Ages.

<sup>xxxv</sup> Lactantius (c. 250-c. 320) was one of the earliest Latin Church fathers. He wrote amongst others *Divinae Institutiones* (*Divine Precepts*), a defense of the Christian religion. The cited *De vero culto* (*About the true religion*) is the sixth book of this work.

---

<sup>xxxvi</sup> This is actually the *Formula vitae honestae* (*Rules for a honest life*) by Martin of Braga, Portugal (c. 520-580), which in its turn is supposed to be an adaptation of an essay of Seneca, which got lost.

<sup>xxxvii</sup> Tibullus (c. 55 BC-19 BC) was a Latin poet, amongst which many elegies, mournful poems.

<sup>xxxviii</sup> These are lines 11, 12, 13 and 16 from Elegy 3.3 *Riches are useless*. I took them from [www.gutenberg.org/files/9610](http://www.gutenberg.org/files/9610).

<sup>xxxix</sup> Fulgentius was a late Roman author from the sixth century. His chief work was the *Mythologiarum libri III* (*Mythologies in three books*). In each of the 50 chapters a classical myth is told and given an allegorical meaning.

<sup>xl</sup> St Jerome, *Letter against Iovinianus*, I, 46.

<sup>xli</sup> Did Socrates have two wives at the same time? It is more probable that he had two successive wives. See <http://sententiaeantiquae.com/2016/05/17>.

<sup>xlii</sup> Martialis (c. 40- 104 AD) was a poet famous for his epigrams, short and witty poems.

<sup>xliii</sup> These are lines 83-86 from Elegy 1.3 *Sickness and Absence*. I took them from [www.gutenberg.org/files/9610](http://www.gutenberg.org/files/9610)

<sup>xliv</sup> This Vincent takes from St Jerome, *against Iovinianus*, I, 46.

<sup>xlv</sup> I.e. to use one's fingers for counting coins.

<sup>xlvi</sup> This probably is a woman from the gens Annia, but which one I have not been able to find out.

<sup>xlvii</sup> This Vincent took from St Jerome, *against Iovinianus*, I, 48.

<sup>xlviii</sup> This work which is cited by St Jerome in his *against Iovinianus* is a forgery. The fragment is found in I, 47.



---

<sup>xlix</sup> These words are often miscopied in the Middle Ages. Then the saying goes that `somebody who uses his reason only marries a wife that is beautiful, well mannered, from virtuous parents, and she (!) is healthy and rich`.

<sup>i</sup> This again is from St Jerome, *against Iovinianus*, I, 48.

<sup>li</sup> Terentius (Terence) (195/190 BC- 159 BC) was a slave who came to Rome and became a famous playwright of comedies. Here is cited from his *Hecyra* (*The mother in law*).

<sup>lii</sup> Vincent cites successively a line from *Remedia amoris* (*The cure for love*), *Metamorphoses* (*Transformations*) and *Epistulae ex Ponto* (*Letters from the Black Sea*).

<sup>liii</sup> This chapter is a reproduction of St Jerome *Against Iovinianus* I, 49

<sup>liv</sup> Sextus (dates unknown) nowadays is supposed to have been a neo-Pythagorean, whose *Sententiae* (*Opinions*) have been used by some of the church-fathers, like St Jerome does here.

<sup>lv</sup> Azo of Bologna (c. 1150-1220) was a glossator of Roman law. His most influential work is the *Summa Codicis*, a commentary on the civil law in Justinian's code. The *Codex* (*The Code*) is one part of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, the codification of Roman law ordered by the Byzantine emperor Justinian I (born 482, emperor in 527, died in 565).

<sup>lvi</sup> Quintilianus (Quintilian) (35-100 AD), the Roman authority on rhetoric, is cited here two times. In the first citation are combined *Institutes of Oratory* (*Institutio oratoria*) I, ii, 6 and I, iii,12 and the second citation is *Institutes of Oratory*, II, iv, 10.

<sup>lvii</sup> Gratianus (Gratian) (?-1145/46) was the the famous Church jurist at the university of Bologna, who composed the *Decretum Gratiani*. This collection of canon law became authoritative.. It is supposed now that he wrote this influential work in the early 1140's in Bologna.

<sup>lviii</sup> Vincent copies here from St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* (*The City of God*), XIX the very end of chapter 14, chapter 15 completely and the beginning of chapter 16, in this order.

<sup>lix</sup> Cassiodorus (c.485- c 580) was a late Roman, who served on central positions in the administration of Theodoric the Great, king of the Ostrogoths. The letters he wrote for Theodoric were compiled in a book *Variae* (*Spurious letter*), and this book became popular in the Middle Ages. In his retirement he founded a monastery and his writings turned to religion. Then he wrote amongst other books the *Institutiones* (*Instructions*), an extensive study guide for his monks, which became popular in the Middle Ages also.

---

<sup>lx</sup> Plautus (c. 254 BC -184 BC) was a Latin playwright of comedies. All his works are still extant. He influenced Shakespeare. His *Aululalia* is usually translated in English as *The pot of gold*.

<sup>lxi</sup> In Proverbs not found (to look again at Protestant ec.)

<sup>lxii</sup> Walter of Châtillon (c. 1134-1200?) was a French scholar and poet who contributed to the *Carmina Burana*. He became famous by writing a history of Alexander the Great: *Gesta Alexandri Magni* (*The accomplishments of Alexander the Great*), in short: *Alexandreis*. This became one of the most popular medieval romances and was translated in many languages. The ‘correspondence between Alexander the Great and Didymus, the king of the Brahmins’, as such was already present in the court library of Charlemagne and was copied once in a while. (Didymus is sometimes called Dindimus and also Dandamus.)

<sup>lxiii</sup> This must have been Pope Adrian IV (1154-1159), because Azo lived from 1150-1220, and Adrian V will reign later (1266-1267).

<sup>lxiv</sup> Publius Valerius Cato, the poet (fl. 1<sup>st</sup> century BC), not Cato the agronomist.

<sup>lxv</sup> Vincent refers to the beginning of the *Alexandreis*, where the poet relates how generously Alexander spent his wealth.

<sup>lxvi</sup> This sentence is to be found in *The City of God*, Book XIX Ch. 14. Vincent connects this sentence to a fragment from *The City of God*, Book XIX Ch. 12. He has selected here two separate small parts in two different alineas of this chapter.

<sup>lxvii</sup> This citation is from *The City of God*, Book XIX Ch. 12. It misses ‘and the other members of the house’.

<sup>lxviii</sup> To be found

<sup>lxix</sup> In the Middle Ages one believed *De remediis fortuitorum* (*About the remedies against fortune*) to be a work of Seneca but nowadays one thinks it to be apocryphal.

<sup>lxx</sup> Only two sentences of part 2 of this small letter to Lucilius are reproduced. In between them, where I have put the brackets in the text, Vincent has put some phrases from an unknown author, maybe from a copyist.

---

<sup>lxxi</sup> Tullius is Cicero (106 BC-43BC), whose complete name is Marcus Tullius Cicero. Vincent seems to copy a summary of the paragraphs 50-67 of *De amicitia* from some anthology.

<sup>lxxii</sup> Sallustius (Sallust) (86-c. 35 BC) was a Roman historian and politician. In this book he narrates the story of the war the Romans fought with the Numidians from 111-105 BC.

<sup>lxxiii</sup> Macrobius lived most probably in the 5<sup>th</sup> century and is supposed to have been a high functionary in the Roman empire. His *Commentary on the dream of Scipio* (*Commentarii in somnum Scipionis*) was more known in the Middle Ages than his here cited *The seven books of Saturnalia* (*Saturnaliorum, Libri septem*). Cicero narrates this < Dream of Scipio > at the end of his *Republic* (*De republica*).

<sup>lxxiv</sup> Bias of Priene (fl. 6<sup>th</sup> century BC) was one of the seven Sages of Greek Antiquity.

<sup>lxxv</sup> Claudianus (Claudian) (c. 370- c 404) was one of the best poetry stylists of late Antiquity.

<sup>lxxvi</sup> The same thought is found in St Ambrose: *About the duties of priests* (*De officiis ministrorum*), I,1, 5, when he speaks about liberality springing from good will, in line with Cicero's *About duties* (*De Officiis*) I, 16,17. It is also presented in *The City of God*, XIX.

<sup>lxxvii</sup> Demas was a cynic philosopher of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, of whom we almost know nothing, except for what we know from the early Church fathers, who could not appreciate that he considered the Christians atheists. Vincent explicitly writes 'the philosopher Demas' to make it clear that he is not referring to the companion of St. Paul with the same name.

<sup>lxxviii</sup> Ministerials at the time are slave-servants, who gradually might get more important functions in the house. Some of them in the 14<sup>th</sup> century will have become as powerful as their former masters. In the next chapter they will show up again.

<sup>lxxix</sup> Part I has no title, what part II and part III do have.

<sup>lxxx</sup> *Domus ergo de qua principaliter intenditur in morali negotio non est ipsum aedificium. sed est communicatio demesticarum personarum, (--). Spectat ad oeconomicam (-- ) determinare, prout habet ordinem ad domum, quae est communitas personarum.*

<sup>lxxxi</sup> When *Ethics* is mentioned the *Nicomachean Ethics* is meant.

---

<sup>lxxxii</sup> Aristotle writes (1162a 23) instead: 'thus they supply each other's wants' (Gr.: επαρκουσιν ουν αλληλοις).

<sup>lxxxiii</sup> Valerius Maximus (fl. 30 AD) wrote a work with historical anecdotes: *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium IX libri* ( *Nine books of memorable deeds and sayings.*). It was popular in the Middle Ages.

<sup>lxxxiv</sup> Here Giles refers one time to Plato, inserting 12<sup>th</sup> century cosmology, which was still strongly influenced by neo-Platonism.

<sup>lxxxv</sup> The intended six female virtues are: taciturnity, stability, chastity, honesty, abstinence and soberness. The last four together add up to moderation.

<sup>lxxxvi</sup> Giles refers to Andronicus of Rhodes (fl. 60 BC). After Athens was sacked by the Roman general Lucius Cornelius Sulla in 86 BC, all the schools of philosophy in Athens, amongst which the one of Aristotle were badly disrupted. In 84BC Sulla brought the writings of Aristotle from the library of Appellicon to Rome. Here they became collected by Andronicus of Rhodes. This author, being the 11<sup>th</sup> governor of the peripatetic school published a new edition of the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus.

<sup>lxxxvii</sup> This must be a writing error. Aristotle has την κτησιν των απσυχων (the possession of the inanimate property: *p<sub>o</sub>ssessionem inanimatorum* ) and Giles writes: *p<sub>a</sub>ssionem inanimatorum*

<sup>lxxxviii</sup> In this chapter Aristotle is 4 times cited from different works. Here I have not shown these citations, because they are more or less dragged into the text and do not enforce the arguments that Giles brings forward.

<sup>lxxxix</sup> Giles here writes *in liberalibus disciplinis* (in the liberal subjects) but at the end of this chapter *in literalibus disciplinis* (in the subjects of the letters: reading and writing). I cannot imagine that Giles wants to say here that young children should become educated into the complete trivium; grammar, rhetoric and logic, let go into the quadrivium: arthmetica, geometria, musica and astronomia. *In liberalibus disciplinis* therefore seems to me to be a printing error here. Actually Giles discusses the liberal subjects in his next chapter about higher learning..

<sup>xc</sup> Giles merges here play (ludus, παιδια) and leisure (otium, σχολη), which Aristotle distinguishes in VIII, II, 4-6.

<sup>xci</sup> This pertains successively to only having sex with their husband, refraining from flirting, controlling themselves with food and refusing to drink alcohol.

---

<sup>xcii</sup> Mind that Giles here writes *ministerials and the rest of the family*. It is quite possible that one has to read *rest of the family* literally, because he wants to refer here to the members of the family who are working in different regions in name of the king.

<sup>xciii</sup> Note that Giles uses the terms *to navigate* and *helmsman* frequently, now in part III he writes about managing the goods and governing the ministerials. Already in chapter I, 3one has met the expression *to navigate the goods of the house* (*gubernare res domesticas*).

<sup>xciv</sup> Giles falls back here on *On Divine names* (*De divinibus nominibus*), 4 of Ps. Dionysios the Areopagite (fl. 500). This book was a part of his corpus, which was completely accepted in the Eastern churches and has influenced many mystics in the Western ones. This is the only place in his economics for princes where Giles uses a catholic authority.

<sup>xcv</sup> Giles argues more broadly here and cites Aristotle, *Metaphysics* XII.

<sup>xcvi</sup> Oresme resolutely changes the meaning of polis into city and drops the connotation of city-state.

<sup>xcvii</sup> Oresme does not deliver any proof in Chapter V that the practical science of economics follows on politics. May be he deduces this from the fact that at the end of *Politics*, I Aristotle discusses the virtues of wife, children and slaves.

<sup>xcviii</sup> Pliny the Elder (AD 23-79) was a Roman naval and army commander, who spend most of his spare time, studying natural and geographic phenomena in the field. He wrote an encyclopedic work, *Naturalis Historia* (Natural History), that will become much read and cited in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

<sup>xcix</sup> This double enjoyment – a preoccupation of the schoolmen, the scholastic philosophers and theologians - Oresmes adds here.

<sup>c</sup> Thomas Becket (1119/1120-1170) became archbishop of Canterbury in 1162 and fought with King Henri II of England about Church rights. In 1170 he was murdered by followers of the king and in 1173 canonized. He has become known as St Thomas of Canterbury.

<sup>ci</sup> Symmachus (ca. 345-402), was a rich Roman states man and intellectual who sought to preserve the ancient religion of Rome at a time when Christianity was advancing. He wrote many letters, which his son collected in book form. Oresme is referring to letter I, 37 according to A.D. Menut, o.c. p. 820.

<sup>cii</sup> Bartholomew of Bruges (1282-1356) gets his master at the artes-faculty of the University of Paris in 1304 and keeps working there till 1309. Then, before 1315, he gets a master in Medicine at this university. In 1329 he is

---

dean of the faculty of medicine of the university of Montpellier. From 1330-1342 he is physician of the count of Blois (Source: Alcuin. Infothek der Scholastik (University of Regensburg),

<sup>ciii</sup> This promise Aristotle does not fulfill.

<sup>civ</sup> Oresme here leaves three precepts of Theophrastus away: (1) *'Take them hostage' by permitting them to raise children; (2) Do not acquire many slaves from the same people (--)* and (3) *Arrange the ceremonies and the pleasures more because of the slaves than of the free persons (44b 17-21)*. Van Moerbeke had offered a translation of this fragment in Latin, which did not really elucidate the meaning of these recommendations.

<sup>cv</sup> The heading of this chapter gives: *he presents the formal parts of economy (Fr.: Il met les parties formées d' yconomie)*, which is rather enigmatic. It should have been *economics (Fr.: Yconomique)* as in the heading of chapter 7.

<sup>cvi</sup> This sentence is not given by Theophrastus of van Moerbeke but inserted by some other commentator or by Oresme himself. Or maybe it should be part of the commentary. The whole fragment that follows on guarding of goods deviates rather strongly from the original text of Theophrastus, partly because van Moerbeke had rendered it faultily in Latin.

<sup>cvi</sup> Aesop (c. 620-564 BC) was a Greek storyteller, who is credited with a number of fables and as such has been famous from times on.

<sup>cvi</sup> Theophrastus has 'In the small possessions' and 'bringing the harvest to the market (διαθεσις)'; van Moerbeke 'in the small things' and, 'the ordering (ordinatio) of the victuals'. Oresme comes with 'in the small things' and the 'the way of using the fruits'.

<sup>cix</sup> NE IV, 1-3 and 13-17

<sup>cx</sup> Oresme divides the sentence about the harvest and the utensils in two: one about the harvest and one about the utensils. The first part in his eyes deals with the usage of goods, the second with the arrangement of them.

<sup>cxi</sup> Oresme continues in Part II with rendering single terms of Theophrastus and van Moerbeke in double terms. Van Moerbeke here has 'being master' ('dominari'), and Oresme writes: 'has mastership and lordship' ('ait domination et seigneurie').

<sup>cxi</sup> In Greek Mythology Admetus was king of Pherae in Thessaly. He asked his wife Alcestis to substitute her death for his, which she accepted. She became saved by Heracles, who wrestled with Thanatos, the God of death, till he released her.

---

<sup>cxiii</sup> This reference cannot be found back in *Politics*, I. Aristotle sees marriage as something natural, not as something divine and holy.

<sup>cxiv</sup> Oresmes translates *pudor* (*sense of shame*) in van Moerbeke with *respect and love*! (Fr.: *reverence oveques amour*)

<sup>cxv</sup> Oresme translates *diligere* in van Moerbeke not with *to be fond of* but with *to love* (Fr. : *aimer*), this way making *diligere* and *amare* identical.

<sup>cxvi</sup> Helen of Troy was married to king Menelaus of Sparta and went away with/was abducted by prince Paris of Troy, resulting in the Trojan War. King Priam was the father of Paris.

<sup>cxvii</sup> Nausicaa was a decent princess on the island where Ulysses got shipwrecked. She introduced him to her father and mother and as a table guest Ulysses relates them his story. Eventually her father equips a ship for him, with which Ulysses comes home.

<sup>cxviii</sup> This is Calypso, who kept Ulysses seven year in her power.

<sup>cxix</sup> In Greek Mythology Circe was the goddess of magic. She tried to get Ulysses and his men in her power, which they could prevent by the help of the god Hermes.

<sup>cxx</sup> Mathieu de Vendôme. (1100- c-1185) was a French poet, who amongst other texts wrote a poem ´Ajax and Ulysses´. This poem describes a fight between them after the death of their colleague Achilles about who will get his arms.

<sup>cxxi</sup> Pindar (ca 522-443 BC) was an Ancient Greek lyric poet from Thebes. Quintilian in his *Institutio oratoria* calls him the greatest of the nine lyric poets.

<sup>cxxii</sup> Maximian or Maximianus (6<sup>th</sup> century) was a poet about whom is not much known. His elegies were used in the twelfth and thirteenth century to teach children Latin.

<sup>cxxiii</sup> This title has been translated in many ways, even as *The wealth of wives*, because Barbaro argues in *De re uxoria* that the wealth of wives does not consist of their dowry but their moral strength. Often it is rendered as *On marriage*.



---

<sup>cxxiv</sup> Barbaro refers to the myth of the Danaids in Greek mythology. They were the 50 daughters of Daneus, who were to marry the 50 sons of Aegyptus, his half-brother. They killed their husbands in the marriage night and were condemned to carry water in a sieve for eternity.

<sup>cxxv</sup> Pericles (c 495 BC-429 BC), was a most influential statesman, orator and general of Athens in the heydays of this city-state. He promoted democracy.

<sup>cxxvi</sup> Gaia Cecilia was the wife (!) of the Etruscan prince Tarquinius, whom she - according to the myth - convinced to move to Rome. There he eventually became the fifth king of Rome. (He reigned from 616-579 BC).

<sup>cxxvii</sup> Here Barbaro combines two different sentences of Theophrastus/Ps. Aristotle: (a) The description how the Athenians deal with the harvest, which her is ascribed to Pericles. (the habit to sell the whole harvest at once and later buy every day on the market whatever is needed) (b) The recommendation to keep apart what is needed during the year from what will be necessary on short term. (Fill in locations ) The last recommendation is also found in Xenophon's *Oikonomikos* VII, 32-36, when Critoboulos instructs his young wife.

<sup>cxxviii</sup> In the early history of Rome the wars with their northern neighbors, the Sabines, dominate the scene. The first one started with the 'The rape of the Sabine women' by the Romans, which often has often been painted. This rather was a kidnap, because the Romans did not have enough women. After an invasion of Rome by the Sabines, a peace treaty was signed between the Romans and the Sabines, in which amongst others the rights of the abducted women became regulated.

<sup>cxxix</sup> At the end of the Trojan War Ajax and Odysseus fight together against the Trojans to retrieve the body of the dead Achilles. Achilles and Patroclos loved each other.

<sup>cxxx</sup> The story is told by Plutarch. The dog swam, when the Athenians were forced to evacuate, after the Athenian fleet over the Street of Salamis and once arrived at the other end, died on the beach. Xanthippus gave the dog a tomb.

<sup>cxxxi</sup> Homer in his *Odyssey*, XX 14-15 writes how the bird brings to her nestling's 'whatever morsels she can catch, although she fares ill herself.' and this is reproduced by Plutarch in his *On affection for offspring*, 494D.

<sup>cxxxii</sup> I follow here Gothein's translation in German of *De re uxoria* for the Ghent Latin text misses the words 'as male semen' but has 'quam proxime', which seem not to make sense here.

<sup>cxxxiii</sup> Theocritus (fl. 3d century BC) was a Greek poet from Sicily, who is famous for his *Bucolics* (poetic paintings of the rural life).

---

<sup>cxxxiv</sup> In Greek mythology Eurydice was the wife of Orpheus, who tried to bring her back from the death with his music.

<sup>cxxxv</sup> I render in this small fragment Gothein again.

<sup>cxxxvi</sup> (Lat.: ) *Ne nobis positum fuit quid agit discutere sed quod agi debet ostendere.*

<sup>cxxxvii</sup> Francesco de Altobianco Alberti (1401-1479), banker and poet, was the son of Altobianco Alberti, who in 1401 took part in the conspiracy, which was the cause of the exile from Florence of the Alberti family, which is mentioned so often in *Della famiglia*.

<sup>cxxxviii</sup> Terence, Publius Terentius Afer, (195/190-159 BC) wrote 6 comedies with psychological depth in a very accessible Latin. His plays became used during The Middle Ages and in the Renaissance to learn Latin, when they were often enacted on the schools. Maybe Lionardo makes a mistake here, because Demifo is a protagonist in the play *Mercator (The merchant)* by the earlier Roman playwright Plautus (254-184 BC)

<sup>cxxxix</sup> Alberti is inspired by *Opus Agricultura* , Book I, 3 and I, 4 of Palladius.

<sup>exl</sup> Critoboulos, here Giannozzo, tells how he and his wife discussed the duties of the wife in the house a few days after they were married and his wife had become a bit used to the new situation. Socrates, here Lionardo, almost merely listens. The most important distinctions between the texts of Xenophon and Alberti are: G keeps the administration away from his wife, argues broadly his ban on make-up, teaches how to deal with personnel and tells that he will be always friendly to her.

<sup>exli</sup> With 'The Apostle' is referred to St Paul. He became called *the Apostle of the Gentiles* by the Church, because he never belonged to the 12 Apostles around Jesus.

<sup>exlii</sup> This reasoning can only be followed if one knows Ex. 20. 12: < Honor your father and your mother, so that you may live long in the land the Lord your God is giving you..>

<sup>exliii</sup> Menius paraphrases here sentences from the book Genesis without referring to the locations.

<sup>exliv</sup> 1Tim. 4 tells amongst other things that some will drop out at the End of times, because they turn down marriage.

---

<sup>cxlv</sup> Menius does not proof this.

<sup>cxlvi</sup> Count Ludwig IV (?-1227) of Thuringia married Elizabeth of Hungary (1207-1231), who became famous for her charity and was made a saint by the Roman Catholic Church:  
[http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elizabeth\\_of\\_Hungary](http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elizabeth_of_Hungary). Menius on p. 87-89 tells the story of her life as an example to be followed by housemothers.

<sup>cxlvii</sup> For the story of Ruth and Boas read the Bible book *Ruth*.

<sup>cxlviii</sup> [http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isabella\\_of\\_Austria](http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isabella_of_Austria). Despite her Habsburg descent, she had strong sympathies for the Protestants and their case.

<sup>cxlix</sup> St Paul Tit.2 does not literally say that the wife should be housewifely, as Menius suggests here. Titus 2, 3-9 can be read as a most succinct summary of Coloss. 3.18-4.1 and Ephes. 5.22-6.9.

<sup>cl</sup> Lucius Manlius (dictator of Rome in 343 BC) let his son Titus kill, because he, although not allowed to leave his post, left to fight with the enemies, which fight he won. This story is told by Livius in his *Histories*.

<sup>cli</sup> Euripides (c. 480- c. 406 BC) was a Greek playwright, still famous nowadays because of his theatre plays *Medea*, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, *The Bacchae*, *Electra* and others, which still are often performed .

<sup>clii</sup> St Ambrose (see Chapter 7 for his personal data) in his *De Abraham (About Abraham)* cites and elaborates on a statement of Hermione in Euripides' tragedy *Andromache*. Andromache was the wife of the Trojan hero Hector. After the death of Hector Andromache was kidnapped by Neoptolemus and got a child of him. The barren Hermione, the wife of Neoptolemus, wanted to kill Andromache and the baby of Hermione's husband.

<sup>cliii</sup> Menius refers to the *Book of Tobit* (earlier *Book of Tobias*) in the Old Testament, which tells the story of Tobit and also that of his son Tobias. Tobit does many good works, when the Jews are abducted to Assyria, but becomes blind. With the help of the archangel Raphael Tobias succeeds in an assignment to pick up the family money in Israel, to marry and to heal his father from his blindness.

<sup>cliv</sup> Supposedly the editors did not find the three Bible citations that Menius mentions here, because they do not give them in in the notes as they often do. I did not find them in the book 2Kings.

<sup>clv</sup> The editors of the *Oeconomia Christiana* have taken pains to find the citation but not been able to trace the poet who wrote this. It does not ring a bell with me either.

---

<sup>clvi</sup> Menius refers the *Oeconomicus* XII, 20 of Xenophon .

<sup>clvii</sup> Ps. Aristotle, *Oeconomicus* I, 6.

<sup>clviii</sup> Menius here writes Latin: *Honores mutant mores sed numquam in meliores*, which saying he does not translate.

<sup>clix</sup> Theocritus (fl. 3d century BC), the poet from Sicily, who created bucolic poetry. Some poems describe with pasturing and fishing activities.

<sup>clx</sup> Colerus supposes that Constantine IV wrote the *Geoponica*, the summary of Greek agricultural knowledge which was translated in 1545 by Michael Herr in German. See note iv.

<sup>clxi</sup> Colerus uses Latin here: Νεμεiv, *quod distribuat, disponat ac dispenset, quae ad rem familiarem pertinent*, as if he copies somebody else.

<sup>clxii</sup> This mirrors the structure of the Holy Roman empire in the German speaking countries. The emperor holds together princedoms/duchies , cities, lords and farmers. The princes may be seen as the descendants from the former dukes, who in the time of Charlemagne had been responsible for the defense of complete districts; the lords as descendant from the former knights , who he had given a stretch of land large enough to provide them and the farmers on it enough for a decent living. Here they administer justice and have all sorts of right. The emperor had granted the cities a certain independence. These three are represented in the Estates (his advising committee). Finally one meets the farmers , of which some own their farm but many are tenants. Here and there the farmers are forming their own councils. These four parties are all held together by a large and intricate fabric of judicial obligations. To read for instance: Peter H. Wilson, *The holy Roman empire. A thousand years of Europe's history*. Milton Keynes (Penguin books) 2017

<sup>clxiii</sup> Actually specifically the second half of this Book I is dedicated to the baronial household

<sup>clxiv</sup> Colerus refers here to the house holding of the inhabitants of cities, not to the householding of the cities themselves. In this chapter he first identifies private house holding with house holding by citizens but later suggest that the house holding by farmers is also a form of private house holding..

<sup>clxv</sup> This is the only location, where Colerus uses *house government* (*Haus regiment*)

---

clxvi Colerus writes down a line in Greek, than a one-line translation in Latin and adds finally a German rendering in two lines, which is translated here, without the rhyme involved. Rather this will be a citation from Ps Aristitotle, one of the last chapters.

clxvii Colerus cites and translates freely lines to this extent by Columella's *De re rustica*, in I, 17 and II, I, 2.

clxviii Literally.: *the misfortune of his manor*.

clxix Colerus cites Cicero first : *Magnum vectigal est parsimonia* ( Thrift is a large toll) Ook ivm masserizia gebruikt.

clxx Colerus uses *regieren* (*to govern*) here.

clxxi Colerus specifies: *Plutarch in M. Cause and in Nicea*, *Aristotle in NE, 8 and in Politics, I*. These authors talk about slaves of course, not about farmhands.

clxxii Colerus uses *regieren* (*to govern*) here.

clxxiii Here Colerus inserts an etymological explanation of the word 'villa'.

clxxiv Colerus mentions some twenty of them.