

Romanesque economics I

Introduction

The knowledge that in Antiquity a second practical science called economics had existed challenges the medieval scholars of the later Middle Ages. Several attempts are made to reconstruct original economics. The first reconstruction of economics in the West has an encyclopaedic character. It is achieved by Vincent of Beauvais (c. 1190-1264). He tries to work out an economics from the Roman and late Roman material on the shelves of the libraries of the French monasteries.

About his life one does yet know much.ⁱ He became a friar in the Dominican order and as such probably compiled the books that Louis IX the Saint, king of France (reigned from 1226 till 1270), wanted to read. Vincent appears to have become the head of a group of scholars who, possibly by order of this king, have documented all known knowledge of their time and produced it as a huge encyclopaedia, the *Speculum Maius* (*Large Mirror*).

This work exists out of three parts, the *Speculum Naturale* (*Mirror of Nature*) about all science and natural history, the *Speculum Doctrinale* (*Mirror of Doctrines*), which covers amongst others the practical sciences, law, the mechanical arts and medicine and a *Speculum Historiale* (*Mirror of History*) which narrates the history of humanity, from the six days of the creation onwards, after having dealt with the mysteries of God and the angels first. It ends with the crusade of King Louis IX of 1250.

In the second part of the *Large Mirror*, the *Mirror of Doctrines*, Vincent explicitly attributes 4 of the 17 books to the three practical sciences: ethics (Ch. IV and V) economics (Ch. VI) and politics (Ch. VII). Here we are only interested in the sixth book, *De arte oeconomica* (*About the art of the government of the house*), in which he reconstructs the second practical science. Vincent writes that he will *compile some chapters from other books that are concerned with this science*. (VI, 1) and thus suggests that he will choose large fragments but the reader will see that he selects quite some single sentences as well, which even sometimes are in verse, when he cites Roman poets.

2. Translation 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.*ⁱⁱ

*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.*ⁱⁱⁱ

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^{iv} 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^v 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^{vi}: 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^{vii}: 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^{viii} 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^{ix}.

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

Fulgentius^x 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,^{xi} 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^{xii}, 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^{xiii}, 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^{xiv}:

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.^{xv} 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^{xvi}. A very good thing that must be, which is won by avarice! *Anica*^{xvii}, 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^{xviii} 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^{xix}, 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^{xx}, 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.DN]

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 the golden book of marriage.DN]

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 you 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.DN]

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.^{xxi}

[Finally poets Terence^{xxii} and Ovid^{xxiii} (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^{xxiv}: 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^{xxv} 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^{xxvi}: 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. These paragraphs I have not translated. DN]]

Chapter IX: About the education of children

Quintilian^{xxvii} 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^{xxviii} ,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^{xxxix}: (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^{xxx}, Letter 33: It is proper for a prince to give more away, than what he seems to receive by his slaves. Plautus^{xxxi} 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: 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^{xxxii}: 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 Azor: 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^{xxxiii} sentenced an Umbrian matron to five years of prison, because of the exceptional cruel treatment of her slaves. Cato as cited before this book^{xxxiv}:

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^{xxxv}] 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^{xxxvi}, 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,^{xxxvii} 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^{xxxviii}: 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^{xxxix}: 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 3rd letter to Lucilius: But if you consider any man a friend whom you do not trust as yourself, you are terribly mistaken.^{xl} (--) 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^{xli}: 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^{xlii} 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^{xliii} 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^{xliv} 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^{xlv} 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^{xlvi}. 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^{xlvii} 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.]

ⁱ See www.vincentiusbelvacensis.eu/works for details about life and works of Vincent of Beauvais.

ⁱⁱ *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.

ⁱⁱⁱ *Oeconomica est scientia, qua familiaris officii curam, mediocri dispositione componens, distribuit.*

^{iv} Vincent in Book IV of his *Speculum Doctrinale*, called *De scientia Morali*, spends the chapters XLVI-LV on the subject of liberality as well.

^v 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.

^{vi} 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.

^{vii} 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.

^{viii} Tibullus (c. 55 BC-19 BC) was a Latin poet, amongst which many elegies, mournful poems.

^{ix} These are lines 11, 12, 13 and 16 from Elegy 3.3 *Riches are useless*. I took them from www.gutenberg.org/files/9610.

^x 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.

^{xi} St Jerome, *Letter against Iovinianus*, I, 46.

^{xii} 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>.

^{xiii} Martialis (c. 40- 104 AD) was a poet famous for his epigrams, short and witty poems.

^{xiv} These are lines 83-86 from Elegy 1.3 *Sickness and Absence*. I took them from www.gutenberg.org/files/9610

^{xv} This Vincent takes from St Jerome, *against Iovinianus*, I, 46.

^{xvi} I.e. to use one's fingers for counting coins.

^{xvii} This probably is a woman from the gens Annia, but which one I have not been able to find out.

^{xviii} This Vincent took from St Jerome, *against Iovinianus*, I, 48.

^{xix} This work which is cited by St Jerome in his *against Iovinianus* is a forgery. The fragment is found in I, 47.

^{xx} 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`.

^{xxi} This again is from St Jerome, *against Iovinianus*, I, 48.

^{xxii} 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)*.

^{xxiii} Vincent cites successively a line from *Remedia amoris (The cure for love)*, *Metamorphoses (Transformations)* and *Epistulae ex Ponto (Letters from the Black Sea)*.

^{xxiv} This chapter is a reproduction of St Jerome *Against Iovinianus* I, 49

^{xxv} 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.

^{xxvi} 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).

^{xxvii} 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.

^{xxviii} Gratianus (Gratian) (?-1145/46) was 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.

^{xxix} 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.

^{xxx} 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.

^{xxxi} Plautus (c. 254 BC -184 BC) was a Latin playwright of comedies. All his works are still extant. He influenced Shakespeare. His *Aulularia* is usually translated in English as *The pot of gold*.

^{xxxii} 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.)

^{xxxiii} This must have been Pope Adrian IV (1154-1159), because Azo lived from 1150-1220, and Adrian V will reign later (1266-1267).

^{xxxiv} Publius Valerius Cato, the poet (fl. 1st century BC), not Cato the agronomist.

^{xxxv} Vincent refers to the beginning of the *Alexandreis*, where the poet relates how generously Alexander spent his wealth.

^{xxxvi} 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 alineaes of this chapter.

^{xxxvii} This citation is from *The City of God*, Book XIX Ch. 12. It misses 'and the other members of the house'.

^{xxxviii} To be found.

^{xxxix} 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.

^{xl} 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.

^{xli} 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.

^{xlii} 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.

^{xliii} Macrobius lived most probably in the 5th 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*).

^{xliv} Bias of Priene (fl. 6th century BC) was one of the seven Sages of Greek Antiquity.

^{xlv} Claudianus (Claudian) (c. 370- c 404) was one of the best poetry stylists of late Antiquity.

^{xlvi} 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.

^{xlvi} Demas was a cynic philosopher of the 2nd 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.