

Brunetto Latini
The Book of the Treasure
(*Li Livres dou Tresor*)

translated by
PAUL BARRETTE
and
SPURGEON BALDWIN

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Rutgers University

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Contents

Introduction	vii
Select Bibliography	xviii
List of Chapter Titles in <i>The Book of the Treasure</i>	xxii
<i>The Book of the Treasure:</i> Book I	1
Book II	145
Book III	279
Index of Proper Names	383

Introduction

It is fair to say that the name of Brunetto Latini will be familiar to most modern readers only because he was Dante's teacher; in the well-known passage in Canto 15 of the *Inferno* Dante remembers him with affection, but nevertheless condemns him to suffer among the Sodomites. The actual nature of his transgression has long been a matter of controversy, but we will not attempt to deal with the history of scholarly speculation here, and there is very little material in *The Book of the Treasure* which could conceivably shed any light on the subject. There is nothing, in fact, aside from a couple of very brief observations as to the ugly nature of the Sin (such as Book II.33.1, where a somewhat opaque passage tells us that "lying with a male" is to be condemned as worse than adultery). In the anecdote about Pericles and Sophocles as governors (Book II.75.2), Sophocles' admiration for a handsome young man was said to be inappropriate, not in itself, but coming from the mouth of a governor; Brunetto goes on to observe that such a remark would be appropriate if made during after-dinner conversation, but it would be indeed stretching matters to argue that this constitutes any kind of expression of approval on Brunetto's part.

On the other hand, we have ample evidence of Brunetto's long career as a respected public figure in his native Florence. We know that he was born into an influential family around the year 1220, that he was married and was the father of a daughter and two sons, and that he held the important position of "rhetorician," that is, notary; we see his name on official documents as early as the year 1254. Evidence of his importance in Florentine affairs is the diplomatic mission on which he was sent in 1260, as a representative of the communal government of Florence to the court of Alfonso X. It was the intent of the Guelph party to seek help from the Wise King against the aggression of Frederick II's son Manfred and the Sienese Ghibellines. We know almost nothing of exactly how Brunetto was involved in the politics, and of the voyage itself we know only what the few details given in his book called *Tesoretto* tell us. It was on the return trip that Brunetto learned of the disastrous defeat of the Guelphs by Manfred's army at the battle of Montaperti, on September 4,

1260, and of his own exile from Florence (his name appears on a list of exiled persons dated in that same month of September), whereupon he crossed the Pyrenees into France, where he was to spend the next seven years; during these years his name is recorded in several documents locating him in Arras and Bar-sur-Aube, where he evidently was one of a group of exiles in French territory, and where he composed *The Book of the Treasure* for an unknown benefactor. Following the defeat of the Ghibellines and the death of Manfred at Benevento in February of 1266, he returned to Italy, possibly in Charles of Anjou's retinue, which reached Florence in the spring of 1267 (Davidsohn, among others, holds the opinion that Brunetto returned in Charles' company). From 1272 to 1274 he was Chancellor, and thereafter he continued to be active politically almost until his death in 1294. In 1284, for example, he was President of the League of Florence, Genoa and Lucca against Pisa, and in 1287 he held the position of Prior. (For further biographical details, see Sundby or the introductions to the Chabaille and Carmody editions of the original French *Livres dou Tresor*).

Brunetto's works

As a literary figure, Brunetto was the author of the *Rettorica*, a translation into Italian of Cicero's *De Inventione*, with commentary, later reworked for the rhetorical section of *The Book of the Treasure*; the *Tesoretto* (*Little Treasure*), an allegorical, didactic dream vision in verse, in the spirit of Guillaume de Lorris' *Romance of the Rose*, in which the figures of Natura and Philosophy dispense instruction on various topics useful to the citizens of the country; and a letter to a friend, the *Favolello*, a poetic epistle discussing letter-writing and friendship. Finally, Brunetto translated several of Cicero's orations.

The Book of the Treasure is a compendium of primarily classical material, following in a long tradition of such collections, with origins in late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, a genre which was finally to die in the Renaissance, when especially the scientific knowledge contained in these pale and corrupt reflections of classical wisdom could no longer compete with the superior scientific material from the Muslim world which began to make its way into Christian Europe as early as the 11th century. The most important of these traditional compilations were those of Cassiodorus, Boethius, and especially Martianus Capella; the crucial roles played by Martianus and Cassiodorus have perhaps not been

exaggerated by modern scholars: "If Martianus Capella had been forgotten . . . there would have been no chance of a revival of learning" (W.P. Ker, *The Dark Ages*, Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1904, p. 26); "but for Cassiodorus it is quite possible that no Latin Classic except the works of Virgil would have come down to us in complete form" (Montague Rhodes James, "Learning and Literature till the Death of Bede," in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. J.B. Bury et al., III, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922, pp. 485-513, at p. 486). Modern evaluation is, however, drastically divided: while there is a general acknowledgement of their role in the preservation of certain elements of classical culture, especially in the case of Isidore of Seville, witness in contrast the following characterization of Martianus in a well-known history of Latin literature of the Middle Ages: "the dullest and poorest stuff imaginable" (H.J. Rose, *A Handbook of Latin Literature*, London, 1936, rpt. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1960, p. 458).

But in the 13th century they are in fact virtually dead. How, then, can the popularity of the *Treasure* of Brunetto be explained in the very twilight of the life of such compendia, which after nearly a millennium of popularity in Latin were about to be abandoned completely? The most obvious answer is that for the first time we see such a work written in a vernacular language; another key to the special popularity seems to be associated with Brunetto's skillfully organized plan (in this we can draw a parallel with the *Etymologies* of Isidore and the *Wedding of Philology and Mercury* of Martianus Capella), but the most compelling reason would have to be the venerable and unassailable authority of Brunetto's sources.

The Plan of *The Book of the Treasure*

The first section of the book, dedicated to what Brunetto calls "wisdom," is based on the ultimate authority, the Holy Scriptures themselves; after this comes historical material from Solinus and others, a version of the ubiquitous *Mappamundi*, and finally a version of the ancient *Physiologus*, called *Bestiary* in the late Middle Ages, which occupies one-third of the chapters in Book I. The bulk of the second book rests on no less an authority than Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, and this is followed by aphorisms from Solomon, Seneca, Jesus Sidrach and a host of others. The first part of the third book he devotes to rhetoric, based on the *De Inventione* of Cicero. The final section, on the

governance of cities according to Italian practice, is therefore material of a different kind, being basically a description of contemporary practice. (The best available treatment of Brunetto's sources is to be found in the introduction to Carmody's edition of the French text.)

The organizational plan of the book is basically this: he dedicates the first book of his *Treasure* to wisdom; the second (and longest) to ethics, first giving an extensive summary of the *Nicomachean Ethics* of Aristotle, and then a kind of florilegium representing a variety of sources, both classical and Biblical; the third to rhetoric, in fact a quite faithful version of the first section of the *De Inventione* of Cicero, to end finally with a detailed description of the government of cities according to the practice of the Italians. One supposes that the book as a whole served the purposes of the "handsome gentle friend" to whom it was dedicated.

Brunetto's own words tell us with precision what the organizational plan is to be. In words which recall the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville as well as the *De Inventione*, Brunetto tells us that in the beginning men lived like animals. While through Cicero we learn that this wild humanity is made moderate and tame through the power of eloquence, Brunetto's next step is to tell us that the people wanted to learn the following: 1) "the nature of all things celestial and terrestrial"; 2) "the things a man should do and those he should not do"; and 3) "a rationale and proof of why a man should do some things and not do others." He goes on to explain to us that, as a result of much discussion, philosophers established three divisions of philosophy, corresponding to the above three divisions; these divisions are Theory, Practice and Logic, each of which has the following subdivisions:

I. Theory——>	Theology	Arithmetic
	Physics	Music
	Mathematics——>	Geometry
		Astronomy

II. Practice (which means how to govern)
 oneself = Ethics
 one's house = Economics
 a lordship = Politics

With the observation that Politics is "without fail . . . the highest science and the noblest profession of any there is among men," Brunetto tells us that this discipline teaches us "all arts and all professions needed for the life of man," and that this is in two ways: one through works ("the everyday trades man exercises with his hands and feet, such as smiths and weavers and shoemakers") and the other through words, in three ways:

Grammar:	how to speak and write and read correctly
Dialectic:	how to prove our words . . . so that they seem to be proven and true
Rhetoric:	how to find, organize and say words which are good and full of wisdom

This rhetorical discipline is the one which "guides the world in doing good works," which is achieved "through the preaching of good men, and through holy scripture and the laws which govern the people according to justice." Observing with Cicero that man is distinguished from the animals only through his speech, Brunetto goes on to consider the third question, which can only be answered with words. Not without some confusion, however, he goes on to the third division:

III. Logic——>	-Dialectic, which teaches us to argue
	-Physic, (Fr: fidiq? or fisique?) which teaches us to prove the truth of our words
	-Sophistic, which teaches us "to prove a man's words to be true . . . by deceit and false reasons and sophisms and verisimilar arguments which have the outward appearance of truth, but in them there is no truth at all."

While the above taxonomy is comprehensive, it is only partially carried out. This is especially true of Part I (Theory), where instead of "theology" we get the story of the Bible and, of the four disciplines of the quadrivium, arithmetic and music are not treated at all, and geometry is replaced by geography, which was a substitution also made in the monuments of late Antiquity mentioned above. Only in the astronomical section does Brunetto embrace (and with an admirable level of clarity) a "scientific" subject. Section II (Practice) is represented by the part of Book II dedicated to ethics, and Section III (Logic) takes the form of a

discourse on rhetoric, which is the first part of Book III (the final part of Book III, then, is the practical conclusion of the art of Politics).

With the single exception of the section on astronomy, the *Treasure's* purpose is clearly not intellectual, not intended as scholarly information for a scholarly public. One might be led to a certain conclusion from the very choice of the image of the treasure, and the couching of everything in a remarkably plain and straightforward style, declaring that the achievement and improvement of one's status in the world is the most sublime of human aspirations; this statement reveals a point of view not philosophical but bourgeois, with a final goal which is economical, but in the final analysis political.

Editions

The popularity of the work in the Middle Ages is difficult to exaggerate, and the profusion of manuscripts in the original French as well as translations into other European vernaculars likewise make it difficult to describe briefly the history of the text. There are two modern editions of the French: the one done by Chabaille in 1863, and the one by Carmody in 1948. There had been two major authorial redactions, one written in France during Brunetto's exile in the years 1260-67, in which the historical account goes down to about the year 1255, and the other written on Brunetto's return to Florence after 1267, in which the history is brought forward to include the death of Conradino and the return of the Guelphs to power in Florence. Although the medieval textual history of the French text continues to flourish, and many copies are made down through the 15th century, no attempt was made to add further accounts of history; this was not the case with the Italian versions, which were at first translations of the French, but later versions added more historical material, with the result that the Italian textual history is hopelessly complicated by a wide variety of manifestations of late medieval Florentine history.

Chabaille's admirable edition provides variants from 26 medieval manuscripts, using as a base, for reasons of its philological superiority, at least as Chabaille saw it, a manuscript of the first redaction; this choice of a first-redaction manuscript, that is, with a historical section ending about the year 1255, has given more than one modern scholar a reason to criticize, considering the fact that Brunetto himself seems to have prepared the first version of what is called the second redaction,

which reflects a major addition in the form of an account of historical events between 1255 and 1267, as well as a number of minor emendations. A second and more valid reason for criticism is that the edition is characterized by a number of bad philological decisions, many of which reflect the fact that Chabaille had very little knowledge of the myriad of sources brought to bear by Brunetto, a criticism which definitely cannot be made about the second of the two extant scholarly editions, that of Francis J. Carmody.

Carmody showed remarkable tenacity in seeking out in European libraries and archives as many as 50 manuscripts, and in making judicious corrections based on his wide knowledge of the Latin (and sometimes vernacular) sources. However, his method for establishing the text was to use as a base the manuscript he had identified through his construction of a Lachmanian stemma, and although he had seen a large number of manuscripts, it appears that his text was established on the basis of relatively few of the textual variants actually exhibited there (the citation of variant readings in the footnotes is, in contrast with the ample apparatus which accompanies the Chabaille edition, quite limited, and seems to have been provided mostly with the intent to show that his own base manuscript was superior to the one chosen by Chabaille). His most alarming defect was, however, his hearty disdain for Chabaille's philological method; the result of this swing of the methodological pendulum is that a balanced and unbiased reading of Brunetto's *chef d'oeuvre* can only be achieved through a consideration of the Carmody version in the light of Chabaille's extensive textual variants.

The remarkable popularity of Brunetto's work in medieval Spain (at last count, at least 13 medieval manuscripts in Castilian, four more in Catalan, and one in Aragonese) is surely to be associated at least in part with Brunetto's mission to the court of Alfonso X (curiously, the 13 medieval Castilian manuscripts all reflect a first-redaction version). The medieval Castilian, Catalan and Aragonese versions have been published (see the Bibliography).

In spite of the large number of medieval manuscripts in French (some 73 have been positively identified), there have been two annoying obstacles to the establishment of a critical text: first, the majority of the extant manuscripts are from the 15th century, leaving relatively few earlier ones from which to choose one to serve as the base text for any edition; second, according to Carmody all manuscripts of the second redaction reflect two major lacunae, a situation which led Carmody to

conclude that the corresponding folios had been lost by Brunetto himself.

Among the very few French manuscripts which are actually from the 13th century is a fine one in the Escorial Library, in Spain (near Madrid), a manuscript which Carmody had wanted to see but could not, given the fact that he was doing his archival work in Europe at the time of the explosion of the Spanish Civil War, which would have made it very risky indeed to visit the Escorial library. It turns out that not only is the Escorial manuscript practically unique in being of the 13th century, it also contains the "lost" material represented by the lacunae in all other manuscripts of the second redaction. This, along with the fact that the Escorial manuscript displays what is basically standard medieval French, altered orthographically in that there is a scribal propensity for Italianate spelling, leads us to conclude that this is a complete and very early second-redaction manuscript, prepared soon after Brunetto's return to Italy, and sent right away to the Learned King Alfonso, in accord with what we presume to be a strong political and intellectual affinity between the Florentine official and the Spanish monarch.

Editorial Policy for This Translation

It is the Escorial manuscript, then, edited in the light of the Chabaille and Carmody editions, and taking into account any light to be cast by the Spanish and Catalan versions, which is the basis for the present translation to English (the final polishing of the Old French text has been significantly enhanced on the one hand by the close reading of the French original during the preparation of the edition of the Spanish version, and on the other by the process of translating to English, so that we can now move with confidence to the final elaboration of the French text, for publication in the near future).

While the division into books and chapters is seen in the original manuscripts, the numbering system for versicles within individual chapters was established by Carmody in his edition of the French: this system is obviously useful for citation of the text, and has been employed in the translation. Carmody's system places a versicle number at the beginning of a sentence, and this is of course based on his interpretation of the French; in developing the translation it has seemed clear to us that an accurate understanding of the French will sometimes require a different punctuation, and this is the reason why some of Carmody's versicle numbers appear in the middle of sentences.

An effort has been made to render accurately the message of the French original, and though we have tried to remain faithful to the semantic integrity of each individual locution, we have taken some liberties when the literal rendition seems either stilted or unclear. Some passages resist translation because the total sense seems confused; in these cases we have tried to strike a balance between a literal rendition and sometimes extensive rewording in order to produce passages which make sense. We have resisted the temptation to insert explanatory notes relative to the textual problems, believing that the reader is best served by a logically consistent running text without interruptions. There is, however, a high level of confusion in the French original with respect to proper names, animal names, geographical designations and the like; for some of these we have provided notes which refer the reader to the original French, or to what one might expect the normal English form of the name to be, but in the final analysis it would be an endless task first of all to sort out the wide divergence in the forms seen in the French manuscripts, and then to identify proper English equivalents for the multitude of proper names; the result is that, unless such equivalents were immediately apparent, these designations have been left as they appear in the Escorial manuscript.

There is a similar problem in connection with the representation of numbers, of which there are literally thousands. The French original uses Roman numerals for nearly everything; we have substituted Arabic for Roman numerals in the vast majority of cases, but we have sometimes felt that the page would look better if we used the corresponding word ("four" for "4", as an example).

Perhaps the most frustrating problem has to do with referring to birds, snakes and animals as "he (him)" and "she (her)," or on the other hand as "it," given that the original French has a masculine or feminine form, or nothing, and there is no clear and practicable rule in English; in general we have used "it," but in many instances it seemed more appropriate to use "he/him" when speaking of incidents involving specific beasts (such as, for example, Alexander the Great's horse Bucephalus), or when the text makes specific reference to the male and female of the species. The problem is made doubly perplexing by the inconsistent flip-flopping between singular and plural in the original French; in any event, we have attempted (with only partial success) to avoid mixing masculine and feminine designations with "it" in the same passage.

A consequence of our aim to have the successive passages read naturally and logically has been that individual French words are rendered in a variety of ways; here are a few examples:

- volontés = will; inclination; intention; heart
- beatitude = bliss, blessedness, beatitude
- chastité = chastity, but often better rendered as temperance
- delit, deliter, delitable = delight, to delight, pleasure, to take pleasure; in general pleasure seems more natural than delight, but in those passages where sensual pleasure is clearly indicated, pleasure alone seems inadequate
- habit = habit, character, character trait (the medieval Spanish gives this definition: that which is rooted in one's heart)
- droit: in different contexts = right, law, rectitude
- fortesse, force, fortitude = strength (of character), courage; English "force" and "fortitude" are often unsatisfactory
- courage = not "courage" but "heart"
- proveance = foresight, but often "preparation" seems better
- office = duty, function, precept, requirement, etc.
- matiere = material, subject matter, matter
- fait: the word in Cicero's *De inventione* is "narratio," but "narration" does not fit; the simple translation of "fait" as "fact" is often not satisfactory; we have most often rendered it "principle subject matter"
- doit: = should or must, depending on context

There is a ubiquitous and insoluble problem with reference to the words "the Master": in the first place, it is used repeatedly to bring a chapter to an end, and clearly refers to Brunetto, but especially in Books II and III, "the Master" is said to be the author of all manner of things, which might lead us to suspect that the reference is not to Brunetto but to Aristotle, which would be perfectly understandable in the Middle Ages. There is therefore a temptation, especially in the first part of Book II, which is closely based on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, to equate "the Master" with Aristotle; however, the references are always simply to "the Master", and there is never any reference to the *Ethics* (in one citation of Boethius, on the other hand, he is connected directly with the *Consolation*), so that we cannot know for sure whether the words belong to Brunetto or to Aristotle, or whether (as seems most likely) they are

Brunetto's more or less accurate paraphrase of Aristotle. Faced with this dilemma, we have opted to leave references to "the Master" as they appear in the text.

A final note with respect to editorial procedure: the French is characterized by a strong tendency toward polysyndeton, in the form of the use of the sign "&" at the beginning of sentences; this has been suppressed for the most part; another manifestation of this stylistic tendency to maintain the flow of the text is the use of the word "après" to begin a sentence, when the specific meaning (then, afterwards) is not called for; this has generally not been translated.

Although the *Tresor* was extremely popular during the Middle Ages, as the many manuscripts and translations to other languages indicate, this is the first time it has been translated in its entirety into English. Indeed, the only previous partial translation, that of the rhetorical section of Book III, was done as a Ph.D. dissertation by James East in 1960, and it remains unpublished. The Chabaille and Carmody editions have been extremely useful to us in suggesting paths for understanding not always readily evident in the Escorial manuscript, as have also the Castilian, Catalan and Aragonese texts, and Luigi Gaiter's *Il 'Tesoro' di Brunetto Latini volgarizzato da Bono Giamboni*. We have also consulted Sir David Ross' translation to English of *The Nicomachean Ethics* (Oxford University Press 1925, 1954) for guidance in the Book II section on ethics, as well as the Hubbell (Loeb Classics) translation of Cicero's *De Inventione*. We are grateful to Dawn Prince for sharing the fruits of her research with us. Finally, we have consulted Susan Martin of the University of Tennessee about the sections dealing with classical civilization, and Mary Anne Moore of Davidson College, who read the sections on astronomy, and we would like to express our gratitude here for their assistance.

Here begins *The Book of the Treasure*, which Master Brunetto Latini translated from Latin to Romance, and it speaks of the origin of all things.

This book is called the *Treasure*, for just as the lord who wishes to amass things of great value, not only for his own pleasure but to increase his power and elevate his social status in war and in peace puts into his treasure the most precious jewels he can gather together according to his intention, in a similar manner the body of this book is compiled out of wisdom, like the one which is extracted from all branches of philosophy in a brief summary. The first part of this treasure is like cash money, to spend readily on necessary things; that is, it describes the beginning of the world, and the ancient times of the old histories, and the establishment of the world, and the nature of all things, 2. and this belongs to the first branch of philosophy, that is, to the theoretical, as the book will explain later. Just as without money there would be nothing to facilitate transactions between people, likewise no one can possess fully the other things if he does not know this first part of the book. 3. The second part, which treats the vices and virtues, is like precious stones, which give a man delight and virtue, that is to say, the things one should do and not do, and it shows the reason why; and this belongs to the second and third branches of philosophy, that is, to its practical application and to logic. 4. The third part of the treasure is like fine gold, that is to say that it teaches how one should speak according to proper rhetoric, and how a lord should govern the people who are under his jurisdiction, according to the customs of the Italians; and all this belongs to the second branch of philosophy, that is, the practical. For just as gold surpasses all metals, so also is the science of speaking well and governing a people more noble than any other in the world. Because the treasure herein contained ought to be given only to one deserving of such great riches, I will give it to you, handsome gentle friend, for you are indeed worthy of it in my judgment. 5. I do not say that the book is based on my own wisdom, which is indeed meager, but rather it is like a honeycomb collected from different flowers, for this book is compiled exclusively from the marvellous sayings of the authors who before our time have dealt with philosophy, each one in accordance with his own particular knowledge, for no earthly man can know everything. Philosophy is the root from which grows all of the knowledge man can

have, just like a fountain from which spill forth many rivulets flowing hither and yon; and some people drink from one of these rivulets, and others from others, but they drink also in different fashion, for some drink more and others less, without the fountain going dry. 6. For this reason Boethius says in the book of the *Consolation* that he saw philosophy in the form of a woman, in such attire and in such power that the more he thought of her, the more she increased in size, and her head rose above the stars and the heavens, looking up and down in justice and in truth. It is with this that my narrative begins, for after a good beginning comes a good end, and our emperor says in the *Book of Law* that the beginning is the most important part of an undertaking. 7. If anyone should ask why this book is written in Romance according to the usage of the French, even though we are Italian, I would say that there are two reasons: one, that we are in France; the other, that French is more pleasant and has more in common with all other languages.

2. Concerning Philosophy

Philosophy is the true inquiry into things natural, divine and human, insofar as man is capable of understanding; and some of those who have dedicated themselves to these three things contained in philosophy, that is, things divine, things of nature and things human, were true sons of philosophy, and for this reason they were called philosophers. 2. It was true that at the beginning of the world, when people who lived according to the law of beasts first were aware of the gift of reason and the knowledge that God had given them, and they sought to know the truth of the things which are in philosophy, they studied three topics: the first was to know the nature of all things celestial and terrestrial, while the second and the third dealt with human things; and the second has to do with knowing what things one should do and not do, while the third has to do with knowing and demonstrating why one should do some things and not others. 3. After these three questions were discussed and debated at length among wise clerks and philosophers, they discovered in philosophy, their mother, three main divisions, that is to say, three kinds of knowledge to demonstrate and prove the truth of the questions presented above.

3. How the nature of all things is divided in three ways according to the theoretical branch

The very first knowledge is theoretical, and this is the very science which teaches us the first subject, that is, to know and be acquainted with the nature of all things celestial and terrestrial. But because these natures are varied and diverse, so that things which have no corporeal existence and are not related to corporeal things have one nature, and things which have corporeal existence and are related to corporeal things have another, and things which have no corporeal existence but are related to corporeal things have another, it was completely reasonable that this theoretical branch should give rise to three other subjects in order to show the three different natures I have described, and these subjects are called theology, physics and mathematics. 2. The first and highest of these three subjects which derive from the theoretical branch is theology, which goes beyond heaven and shows us the nature of those things which have no corporeal existence and are not related to corporeal things, in such a way that through it we know God the All Powerful. Through it we believe in the Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, in one single person. Through it we have the Catholic faith and the law of Holy Church; She teaches us everything pertaining to divinity. 3. The second is physics, through which we know the nature of those things which have corporeal existence and are related to corporeal things, that is, of men and beasts and birds, of fish, of plants, of stones and of the other corporeal things which are around us. 4. The third is mathematics, through which we know the nature of things which have no corporeal existence, but are related to corporeal things; these are of four types, and therefore there are four divisions in the subject of mathematics: these are properly called arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy. 5. The first of these four subjects is arithmetic, which teaches us to use numbers, to add one number to another, to subtract one from another, to multiply one by another, and to divide in several parts; the teaching of the abacus and of algorithms belongs here. 6. The second is music, which teaches us to make musical sounds, by singing, playing stringed instruments, and on organs and other harmonizing instruments, combining the sounds for the pleasure of the people, or in Church in the service of our Lord. 7. The third is geometry, through which we know the measurements and proportions of things: their length, width and height. It was through the subject of geometry that the ancient sages attempted to find the relative dimensions of heaven and earth, and the distance from the one to the

Saturnus, the King of Egypt, was exiled from his kingdom and went to Italy, and there he became lord and king of the land. After that his son Picus was king, and then Faunus, son of King Picus. 2. King Faunus begat King Latinus, who was king of Italy when Aeneas and his people arrived. Although at the beginning King Latinus was cordial and gracious and wanted to give Lavinia his only child to him as a wife, the queen did not consent to the marriage; instead she wanted to give her to a rich man in the land. Because of this there developed a great hatred between them which became a deadly war. 3. In the end Aeneas was victorious through force of arms, and he took Lavinia as his wife, and thus he became king of Italy, and ruled three years and six months. When he died he left the little child he had had by his wife; he was named Julius Silvius because his mother had him raised secretly in silvan surroundings for fear of his brother Ascanius. But there was no need for this secrecy, because Ascanius loved him dearly. This took place in the days of King David, at the beginning of the fourth age of the world.

35. The lineage of the kings of Rome and England

After the death of Ascanius, his brother Silvius became king, and he had two sons, Aeneas and Brutus. When King Silvius died, his elder son Aeneas ruled. After his death, Brutus his brother went to a land which was called Britain because of his name, but which is now called England, and he was the first of the kings of Great Britain. From his progeny came afterwards the good King Arthur, about whom the Romans speak so much, and who was crowned king 483 years after the incarnation of Jesus Christ; this was during the time that Zeno was emperor of Rome, and he reigned 51 years. 2. From King Aeneas, who was the son of King Silvius, came King Latinus. From King Latinus came Alban, who founded the city of Alba. From Alban came Egypte. From King Egypte came Carpenace. From King Carpenace came Tiberius. From Tiberius came Agrippa. From King Agrippa came Aventinus. From King Aventinus came Procas. From King Procas came Numitor and Amulius. This Numitor was king after the death of his father, and he had a daughter named Ilia, but Amulius took over his kingdom and exiled Numitor and his daughter, and he had himself proclaimed king in this time. 3. Ilia conceived two sons, Romulus and Remus, in such a way that no one knew who their father was, but most people say that Mars, the god of battle, engendered them. From that time on this woman was called Rhea, and afterward she founded a city in the middle of Italy

which is called Reata in her name. 4. Because many stories say that Romulus and Remus were nursed by a she-wolf (Fr: *lue*), it is right that I tell you whether it was really true. When Romulus and Remus were born, they were thrown into a river, so that people would not know that the mother had conceived. By this river there dwelt a woman who served all people in common; such women are called *lues* in Latin. This woman took the children and raised them very nicely, and for this reason it was said that they were the sons of a she-wolf, but this cannot be true.

36. Romulus and the Romans

Romulus was very proud and of great courage. When he was young he associated with frivolous and evildoing youths whose master and captain he was. When the circumstances of his birth were revealed to him, he continually gathered men around him of different conditions and fought Amulius, who had taken the kingdom from his grandfather, and he was so successful through his prowess that he wrested the kingdom from him and gave it to Numitor. 2. Not long after this, he had him killed, and he became king in his stead, and he founded Rome, which was so named because of Romulus. Then he had his brother Remus killed, and then his wife's father, who was in charge of the country's temple of sacrifices, and he alone was king over all, and ruled all of Rome. Thus was Rome founded 4,484 years after the beginning of the world, and this was 313 years after the destruction of Troy. 3. When Romulus left this life, his son Numa Pompilius ruled, and after that the kings were Ancus Marcius, Tarquinius the first, and then King Servius. After that Tarquinius Superbus ruled, who because of his pride brought shame and dishonor to a Roman noblewoman of very good family by lying with her carnally. This woman's name was Lucretia, and she was one of the best and most chaste women in the world. 4. Because of this crime, Tarquinius was expelled from the kingdom, and the Romans decreed that they would never again have a king, but that the city and its territory should be governed by senators, consuls, patricians, tribunes, dictators and other officials in matters appropriate to their position, both inside the city and outside. 5. This rule lasted 465 years until Catiline conspired against the rulers of Rome because of his desire to acquire high rank. But this conspiracy was uncovered during the consulship of the very wise Marcus Tullius Cicero, the finest orator in the world, and master of rhetoric, who because of his great wisdom triumphed over the

conspirators, took vengeance on them, and had many of the guilty killed through the counsel of good Cato, who condemned them to death, even though Julius Caesar did not recommend death, but rather that they be put in various prisons, 6. and for this reason many say that he was an accomplice in this conspiracy. The truth of the matter is that he had no love for the senators and the other officials in Rome, nor they for him, for he was descended from Aeneas' sons. After this he was of such great courage that he took over the rule of all, as his ancestors had done.

37. The Catilinarian conspiracy

When the conspiracy was uncovered and Catiline's power was weakened, he went to Tuscany to a city named Fiesole, and made it rebel against Rome. But the Romans sent a worthy army, and they found Catiline at the foot of the mountains, with all his army and his people, where Pistoia is today. There Catiline was conquered in a battle and he was killed along with his men, and many Romans were killed; and the city derived its name from the pestilence connected with this carnage. 2. After this the Romans besieged the city of Fiesole, and they conquered it and subjugated it. Then they built in the middle of the plain which is at the foot of the other hills where this city stood another city, which is now called Florence. You should know that the piece of land where Florence now is was formerly called Head of Mars, that is, the House of Battles, for Mars, which is one of the seven planets, is called God of Battles, and thus was he called and revered in olden times. 3. For this reason it is not surprising if the Florentines are always at war and in discord, for that planet rules over them. Master Brunetto Latini should certainly know the truth about this, for he was born in that city, and he was in exile when he compiled this book, because of the wars among the Florentines.

38. How Julius Caesar was the first emperor of Rome

During this time, Julius Caesar pursued his activities hither and yon, and after this he had many victories, and he subjugated many countries to Rome. Then he fought against Pompey and against the others who ruled the city at that time until he conquered and expelled all his enemies, and he alone ruled over Rome, and because the Romans could not have kings, according to the laws made at the time of Tarquinius, to whom the narrative referred above, he had himself named emperor. Thus

Julius Caesar was the first emperor of the Romans, and he held the rule for three years and six months, and then he was killed at the Capitol through treason by the Romans. 2. After the death of Julius Caesar, Octavian his nephew was emperor, and he ruled forty-three years and six months before the birth of Jesus Christ, and fourteen more years after that, and he was monarch of all the world. He was wise and courageous, but one characteristic flawed his great goodness, his great luxuriousness. But finally he killed all those who had killed Julius Caesar. And now the narrative ceases speaking of the emperors of Rome and returns to its subject matter.

39. The kings of France

After the city of Troy had been destroyed and people were fleeing here and there depending on where fortune led them, it happened that Priam the younger (who was the son of the sister of King Priam of Troy) and Antenor with him set out over the sea, with 13,000 men of arms, until they arrived at the site of the city of Venice, which they began and founded in the sea, because they did not want to occupy land which might belong to a lord. 2. Then Antenor and Priam left with a great company of men, and they went to the March of Treviso, and there they built another city which is called Padua, where the body of Antenor lies, and where his sepulcher is still today. A group then left this spot, and they went to the Sicamber and founded another city, and then finally, with the passing of time, they went to Germany, and for this reason they were called Germans. When they were in Germany they made Priam their lord and king, who was of the lineage of Priam the younger, and he afterwards was killed in the battle they waged against the Romans, and he left a son whose name was Marcomedes. 3. Marcomedes was the father of Pharamond, who afterwards was king of the Germans. After him Crinitus his son ruled. Then Rome began to decline and decrease, and France began to increase and move forward until they expelled the Romans, who were living at that time along the Rhine. After King Crinitus' death, Childeric became king, and he and Queen Basina were the parents of Clovis, who became king of France. After him, his son Merovech reigned, and then the other Merovech, his son, who was also called by that name, and after him Ildris (Childeric) his son. 4. After him, Clovis his son reigned, who was the first king of France who was ever a Christian, for St. Remi baptized him. He himself placed the Alemans under his rule and conquered the Gascons in the year of Our

This second book speaks of vices and virtues

Prologue

When the master had finished the first part of his book and had written down his thoughts concerning the exposition of the theoretical branch of philosophy, he then set about to carry out the promise made in his prologue, to speak of the two other branches in the body of philosophy, that is, the practical and the logical, which teach man what he must do and what he must not do, and why he must do some things and not others. 2. But he will present these two branches together, because they are so intertwined that they can hardly be separated. This is the second part, which will be of precious stones, which are the virtues, the words and teachings of wise men, each one of which is valuable for the life of men, for beauty, for delight and for virtue, for no stone has value if it is not for these three things. 3. This teaching will be about the four active virtues, the first of which is prudence, represented by the ruby, which lights up the night and shines brighter than all other precious stones. The second is temperance, represented by the sapphire, which is of a celestial color; and it is the most filled with grace of all the precious stones in the world. The third is courage, represented by the diamond, which is so strong that it breaks and pierces all stones and metals, for which reason there is nothing that it fears. The fourth virtue is justice, represented by the emerald, which is the greenest and most beautiful thing human eyes can behold. 4. These are the most precious stones of the treasure, which is also filled with other stones, each of which has some worth, as the attentive reader will see and learn through the words written by Master Brunetto Latini in this book. But first of all he wishes to use Aristotle's book as the foundation for his own; he will translate it from Latin into Romance, and he will place it at the beginning of the second part of his book, in this manner.

2. Here begin the ethics of Aristotle

All arts and all doctrines and all works and all choices have as their purpose the seeking of some good, and the philosophers rightly say that what all things seek is a good. For diverse arts, the ends are diverse,

himself, and through courage and justice he governs others, and it is better to govern oneself than others.

72. Temperance

Temperance is the control we have over luxuriousness and the other evil inclinations. It is the noble virtue which restrains carnal pleasures and which makes us moderate and temperate when we are prosperous, so that we not increase in pride or follow our inclinations, for when inclinations triumph over sense, a man is on a bad path. Cicero says: this virtue is the principal adornment of one's whole life, and calms all disturbances. For this reason, each person must empty his heart of carnal pleasure, for otherwise virtue would not be able to dwell there, as Horace says: if the vessel is not pure, everything you put in it will turn black. 2. For this reason you must scorn pleasure, for pleasure which is obtained through sorrow is too painful; the miser is always needy, so put a definite end to your desire. The envious person always grows thin from things which make others fat. The person who does not temper his anger will have sorrow, and wish that he had never done what he thought about. Anger is a short madness during which you must control your will, for if you do not make it obey, it rules you. Hold it back, therefore, with bridles and chains. 3. The master says: under temperance are all the virtues which have lordship over bad habits and over the evil pleasures which harm man too perilously, for they are often the cause of his death and illness. Seneca says: because of desire most of the body perishes. On the other hand, the one who serves his desires is subject to the yoke of servitude; he is proud, he has abandoned God, he loses his sense and his virtue. Solomon says: wisdom will never be found in the land of those who lead a life of pleasure.

73. Pleasure

Pleasure and desire are created and set in motion by the five senses of the body, of which tasting and touching are the principal ones. But the other three are established by those two, for we recognize something from afar by seeing and hearing and smelling, but tasting and touching can recognize things only from up close. This is why all birds of prey have excellent sight, for they must recognize their food from afar; similarly, the first woman saw the fruit before she ate it, and David saw Bathsheba naked when she was bathing, before he committed

adultery. 2. We read in the book on the nature of animals that touching and tasting are more powerful in man than in any other animal; but seeing and hearing and smelling are weaker in man than in other animals, and for this reason I say that pleasures produced by touching and tasting are more dangerous than the others, and the virtues which oppose them are of greater value. 3. Because pleasure exists in our soul and is produced by the five senses of the body, each one in a different way according to its role, it is necessary that this virtue, which is temperance, should be divided in several sections in order to put a check on the power of concupiscence and irascibility, that is, the drive to covetousness and anger, and to govern the five senses. There are five of these sections: moderation, decency, temperance, sobriety and restraint.

74. Moderation

Moderation is a virtue which causes all our noble traits, our drives and all our affairs to be without deficiency and without excess. Horace says: in all things there is a definite moderation and definite signs, so that there can be neither more nor less if we do what is right. Cicero says: remove all traits which are unworthy of man. For this reason Seneca says that a bad exterior trait is a sign of bad thought. Cicero says: let your decency be such that it is not hated because of excessive ostentation, but let it be sufficient to remove savage negligence and rustic ugliness. 2. There are two movements, one of the body and the other of the heart. We should be careful that the body's movements not be too delicate and slow, for this gives the impression of haughty countenance; let it also not be too hasty so that it makes you breathe more heavily and change color, for these things mean that you are not stable. 3. The heart's movement is double: one is the thought of reason, the other is the desire of will. Thought consists in seeking for truth, and desire causes things to be done; for this reason we should see to it that reason is the mistress and that desire obeys, for if the will, which naturally is subject to reason, does not obey it, it often causes the body and the heart to be troubled. We can recognize the faces of those who are angry or troubled by fear, or who have a great desire for some pleasure, because they transform and change their faces, their color, their voices, and their whole state. For the heart inflamed with anger beats hard, the body trembles, the tongue will not move, the face grows red, the eyes shift as if they did not know their friends or acquaintances. The face shows what is inside; for this reason Juvenal says: look for the

torments and the joys of the heart in the face, which always shows clearly the heart's disposition. 4. Through the spoken words we can understand that the desires of the will must be checked and eliminated, for needs and affairs are diverse, depending on the diversity of customs, ages and things, and just as in the body there is great diversity, for some are fast in running, and others are strong for wrestling, similarly the heart has a great diversity of customs, for some are courtly, others jolly, some cruel. Others are wise and good at hiding their thought, and others are simple and open, and they do not want to do anything in secret or through ruse; instead they love the truth and preserve friendship and hate deceit. What can I say? There are differences in inclinations, just as there are differences in faces. 5. Persius says: there are a thousand types of men, and their customs are dissimilar, and each one has his own will, and people do not live with a single mind. Cicero says: each person should have as his goal the things for which he is suitable, and even though something else might be better for him and more honorable, nevertheless he must moderate his goal according to his limitations. Illustration: if he is weak in his body and he has a good mind and a quick memory, let him not turn to chivalry, but rather to the pursuit of letters and learning, for no one should go against nature or pursue something he cannot attain. But if necessity gets us involved in matters which do not suit our disposition, we should strive to do them as well as possible without ugliness and with little dishonor, and we should not so much seek to promote the good qualities we have been given: rather we should seek to flee from vice. 6. Horace has told us this about differences based on age: a baby, as soon as it can speak and walk, wants to play with other babies, and can be upset or delighted, or change often from one to the other. An adolescent who no longer needs watching over is interested in horses and dogs and the outdoors; he leans easily to vice and becomes annoyed when he is reprimanded; he belatedly becomes concerned with his profit and wastes his inheritance; he is proud and covetous and abandons everything he likes, for a young man is not steadfast. When he reaches the age and the disposition of manhood, he changes his ways and seeks wealth, friends and honor, and is careful not to do things which he has to change. Old people have many misfortunes; they acquire things, but when they have them they are afraid of losing them; they do things secretly and covertly; they put off things, and covet what is to come; they complain about the present and talk about the good old days, and they want to reprimand children and judge adolescents. 7. Maximianus says: the old praise the past and criticize the present,

because life is in constant decline. The time of our fathers is worse than that of our grandfathers, and we are worse than our fathers, and our children will be even more inclined to vice. Juvenal says: the earth is now bringing up evil and small men. 8. On this subject Seneca (Carmody: Cicero) says that young men should have some respect for their elders, and they should select from among them the most tested, and follow their advice, for the ignorance and folly of the young must be controlled by the advice of the old. Terence says: as long as one's heart is in doubt, it turns this way and that. Cicero says: in youth there is great weakness of counsel, for each person thinks then that he ought to live according to what pleases him the most; and thus he is committed to a way of living before he is able to choose the best way. 9. For this reason a young person should look at the life of others as he looks in a mirror, and take from this a model for his own life. Seneca says: it is a good thing to study in another the evil one should flee. Juvenal says: blessed is he who can guide himself by the dangers undergone by others; when your neighbor's house catches fire, you must stock up your house with water. In this age, one must above all be vigilant with respect to luxuriousness and other lecherous behavior, and behave as Juvenal says: when you do something bad, let it be short, and trim back your crimes as you do the first growth of your beard. Cicero says: young people must strive in heart and body so that their instruction will be of value to their city, that is, they must spend their early years in doing good, so that it stays with them for all the days of their lives; for a pot keeps for a long time the smell it acquires when it is new. Horace says: let children learn to suffer poverty and to practice chivalry and the best of activities. 10. Cicero says: when they want to ease up and turn to pleasure, let them beware of intemperance and remember shame; and this will be easier if they allow older people to be involved. Playing is a good way to relax, just as sleeping is, but nature did not make us for play but for sense. Horace says: it is a profitable thing for children to play in childhood, but afterwards let them dedicate themselves to acquiring sense, and put aside what is worthless, and see to it that play does not bring about their fall, for games give rise to strife and anger, and anger gives rise to hatred and mortal battles. Cicero says: there are two types of playing, one vile and bad and ugly, and the other beautiful and courtly and intelligent. 11. The duties of men who have passed beyond adolescence are those which Horace named above, in which nothing need be changed; for this reason little more will be said here. One should reduce the amount of physical work for the old and increase the intellectual work, either by teaching or

guiding or serving God. 12. Terence says: no one has ever been so of good sense that the matter or the age or the way of doing it does require a new look, or that he should cease wishing to learn something he does not know, or that he should not now reject a thing which was pleasant when it was first tried out, for many things seem to be good before they are tried out, but when they are tried out they are found to be bad. Cicero says: old people should turn their interest to advising the young friends. An old man should most be careful not to give himself to laziness; otherwise, he will be told what Horace said: you appear envious and abandon virtue. Cicero says: luxuriousness is ugly at every age but especially ugly in old age, and if intemperance is connected to it is a double evil, because old age gets the shame, and the intemperance of the old makes the young less wise. On this subject Juvenal says: an example of our friends corrupts faster, for it is then easy for us to pursue ugliness and evil. 13. Horace says: the duties of the needy are diverse for the lord must maintain the honor of the city and keep the law, and remember that the law is entrusted to him; but another citizen must live according to the law which the others follow. He should not behave with excess of pride or humility, but rather pursue the common good in peace and decency so that he does not fall into the sin of Catiline, about whom Sallust says: the poor in a city are always envious of the rich, and hate bad people and hate old things and love the new, and through their malevolence want the conditions in the city to be constantly unstable. Cicero says: strangers should not get involved with anything except what they specifically need, and they should not get involved in other people's matters. It is a vile enterprise to purchase things from merchants in order to resell them right away, because nothing can be earned in this without lies. Nothing is uglier than vanity, and for this reason we should acquire what we need without ugliness and without greed. Cicero says: there is no greater gain than to preserve what we have. Medicine and carpentry are honorable for those suited to these activities, but commerce, if it is small, is considered to be ugly; if it is big and prosperous and gives many without vanity, it should not be criticized. 15. There is no better livelihood than to work the earth, and none more productive or more worthy of a free man. About this person Horace says: blessed is he who abandons all trades, as did the ancients, and cultivates his fields and works with his oxen, and who neither borrows nor lends.

75. Decency

Decency is being honorable in one's behavior and one's words, that is, one is careful not to do and say things which bring shame afterwards. For nature itself, when she created man, wanted to keep him honest; she made his face clearly visible, which has a decent appearance, and concealed the parts which are given to man for his needs, because they were ugly to behold. Decent men follow nature diligently, for they conceal what nature hid, and it is an honest thing not to show one's members. Similarly, one should have a sense of shame with respect to words, for we should not call those hidden members by their names. 2. It is a vice to say words of frivolity in solemn circumstances; for when Pericles and Sophocles were companions in government and were discussing their duties, a good-looking youth passed before them, and Sophocles said: there's a handsome youth. Pericles replied: a governor must have a sense of restraint, not only in what his hands are doing, but also his eyes (but if Sophocles had said that at meal time, then there would have been no reason to reprimand him). For this reason, Horace says that sad words are appropriate for a sad man, threats for an angry man, playful words for a person playing, and wise ones for a wise man. But if the word is not in keeping with the rank of the person saying it, everybody ridicules him. 3. Horace instructs us on the fourth duty when he says: do not seek to discover another's secret. About the fifth he also says: if anyone tells you his secret, hide it and do not reveal it in anger or drunkenness. Be careful concerning what you say and about whom, and also be careful about the person who is questioning you, who might be a gossip, for he will not be able to keep what he hears to himself or retain what comes in through his ears; once the words have gone out the mouth, they fly off in such a way that they can never be taken back. 4. The Master says: do not reveal your secret, for if you cannot keep it to yourself, you cannot expect another person to keep it. Terence says: be more willingly disposed to hear than to speak. Solomon says: where there is much talking sin is never absent. Above all, flee from discord, for it is a silly thing to have a disagreement with one's equal; it is foolishness to argue with someone who is more important, and ugly to argue with someone less important, but it is a very unworthy thing to do it with a man who is crazy or drunk.