

Lapi Castelliunculi *De curiae commodis* Dialogus

//65// AD CLEMENTISSIMUM PATREM FRANCISCUM CONDOLMARIUM SACROSANCTAE ROMANAE ECCLESIAE PRESBUTERUM CARDINALEM LAPI CASTELLIUNCULI DIALOGUS INCIPIT DE CURIAE COMMODIS.¹

[I. Praefatio]

[1] COMPLURES² esse scio, clementissime pater, partim veteres, partim recentes—et ii quidem gravissimi atque eruditissimi viri—qui Atheniensium civitatem, quondam florentissimam urbanis institutis et bellicis, maxime collaudandam putent; alios qui Spartiatarum principatum caeteris conentur praeferre, sanctissimis Lycurgi legibus constitutum; alios qui Carthaginensium rempublicam, terrestribus maritimisque rebus potentissimam, divinis laudibus ad coelum tollant; sed plurimos qui Romanorum imperium quasi augustius³ reliquis atque admirabilius non laude modo,⁴ sed etiam veneratione prosequantur. [2] Quas quidem ego civitates numquam negabo meritissimo laudatas esse et laudari ab omnibus debuisse; veruntamen ex iis⁵ nullam arbitror cum hac Christi monarchia, quae curia Romana dicitur, nec divinitate originis nec maies-

1. AD . . . COMMODIS] Dialogus super excellencia et dignitate curie Romane supra ceteras policias et curias antiquorum et modernorum contra eos qui Romanam curiam diffamant V; lapi de commodis curie romane P; Lapi a castelliunculo de curiae romanae commodis dialogus G; Ad clementissimum patrem dominum franciscum condolmarium sacrosancte romane ecclesie presbiterum cardinalem lapi castelliunculi dialogus incipit de curie commodis. lege feliciter N *atramento rubeo*; Lapi castelliunculi dialogus incipit de curie commodis B.

2. cum plures P.

3. angustius N.

4. laude modo] modo laude N.

5. his N.

Lapo da Castiglionchio's Dialogue *On the Benefits of the Curia*

HERE BEGINS LAPO DA CASTIGLIONCHIO'S DIALOGUE TO THE MOST CLEMENT FATHER FRANCESCO CONDULMER, CARDINAL PRIEST OF THE HOLY ROMAN CHURCH, ON THE BENEFITS OF THE CURIA.

[I. Preface]

[1] Most clement father, I know that there are many, some ancient, some recent—and certainly they are the most serious and learned of men—who think that Athens, a city once most flourishing with civilized as well as warlike practices, is praiseworthy in the highest degree. There are some who attempt to place the principate of the Spartans before the others, a principate founded on the most holy laws of Lycurgus. There are some who extol to high heaven with praises divine the republic of the Carthaginians, which was most powerful on land and sea. But I know that most honor the empire of the Romans with praise and even veneration, as if it were more majestic and more admirable than the rest. [2] Certainly, I shall never deny that these cities have been praised most deservedly or that they ought to be praised by all. Nevertheless, I do not think that any of them can be compared with this monarchy of Christ, the Roman curia. Think of its divinity of origin, the grandeur, so to

tate, ut ita dicam, regis, nec reliquorum principum multitudine, praesantia, dignitate, nec rerum divinarum observantia, cultu,⁶ religione, nec firmitate sui et stabilitate, nec diuturnitate temporis posse conferri.⁷ [3] Et enim cum illarum nulla unquam diu eodem statu permanserit, haec sola, numquam mutatis prioribus institutis, non variata administrandi ratione ac forma, sed servatis semper incorruptis Christi maiorum patrumque⁸ vestigiis, non integra modo ac⁹ inviolata, verum etiam aucta opibus atque amplificata millesimum iam et¹⁰ quadringentesimum annum transcendit. [4] Nec vero,¹¹ ut illae, quarum aliae crescentes, extinctae deletaeque¹² sunt, aliae evectae ad summum aut civilibus discordiis aut armis hostilibus conciderunt, ita haec¹³ oppressa saepius a sceleratis nefariisque¹⁴ hominibus haud¹⁵ interiit, sed se continuo¹⁶ erexit¹⁷ et florens pollensque quotidie magis eo ma//65v//gnitudinis, auctoritatis, venerationisque excrevit ut eam omnes Christiani principes, gentes, nationes reginam suam et dominam fateantur esse¹⁸ eique, cui divinitus in ea rerum summa permissa est, non ut regi alicui¹⁹ et tyranno pareant,²⁰ sed ut Deo in terris religiose²¹ obtemperent.

[5] Ex quo perspicue intelligi potest eos omnes quos antea memoravi principatus, ut humana cetera, fragiles, instabiles,²² caducosque fuisse et humano consilio comparatos; hunc autem verum, certum, stabilemque esse, divino numine institutum et idcirco sempiternum fore. [6] Itaque quorundam improborum detestabilem procacitatem, ne dicam an amenitiam et temeritatem, execrari vehementer²³ soleo, qui in curiam Romanam veluti in turpissimum aliquem et foedissimum locum petu-

6. observantia] observantia et V.

7. confiteri P.

8. patrumque] que patrum B.

9. atque B.

10. iam et] atque B.

11. non V.

12. delecteque V.

13. haec om. V.

14. corr. ex nephariis sceleratisque F^l.

15. aut V.

16. sed] sed de V; sed se N.

17. exexit G.

18. esse om. B.

19. alicuius B.

20. pateant B.

21. religiose] religiose ut N.

22. instabilesque G.

23. corr. ex vehementer execrari F^l.

speak, of its king, the multitude, excellence, and dignity of the rest of the [curial] princes, the observance of divine matters, the worship, the religion, the steadfastness and stability, the durability through time. [3] And indeed, since none of those cities ever has endured in the same state, this city alone, with its earlier institutions unchanged, the contours of its administration unaltered, and the vestiges of Christ and the great church fathers preserved always uncorrupted, has now passed its fourteen hundredth year not only whole and inviolate but even augmented and greater in wealth. [4] And it is not like those cities some of which were extinguished and destroyed as they grew, others of which—even after they had raised themselves to the highest point—fell either to civil unrest or to hostile arms. The church did not perish, even though so oppressed so often by wicked, nefarious men, but rather it stood strong without interruption. It flourished and daily grew more powerful in its greatness, authority, and reverence, and it did so to such an extent that all Christian princes, peoples, and nations confess it their queen and liege lady, to whom the control of all things has been divinely entrusted. Thus they do not yield as to some king or tyrant but rather obey it religiously, as God on earth.

[5] From this one can easily understand that all those principates that I named before were fragile, unstable, and fleeting and, like other human things, established by human judgment.¹ But one can also understand that this principate is true, certain, and stable and, since it was founded by divine command, that it will be eternal. [6] This is why I usually execrate the detestable impudence of certain shameless men, or even—might I say it?—the insanity and heedlessness of those who attack the Roman curia petulantly and rashly, as if they were attacking some scandalous, disgraceful place.² They think that all curialists are to be counted as

1. For Lapo's "ut humana cetera, fragiles, instabiles, caducosque fuisse et humano consilio comparatos," cf. Cic. *Amic.* 102: "quoniam res humanae fragiles caducae sunt."

2. For Lapo's pairing of *procacitatem* with *petulanter*, cf. Tac. *Hist.* III.11: "tunc procacitatis et petulantiae certamen erat."

lanter et temere invehantur²⁴ curialesque omnes latronum numero habendos censeant, et quod in ea nonnullos—quod²⁵ negari non potest—nequam homines esse audierint, universos eadem turpitudine et infamia²⁶ notent, quasi vero non aliis in locis longe plures nequioresque inveniantur.²⁷

[7] Quam obrem cum ego biennium iam²⁸ in curia et eo amplius²⁹ ita sim versatus ut reliquum aetatis meae in ea statuerim mihi esse vivendum, meae³⁰ partis esse putavi illorum comprimere audaciam ac maledicta refellere susceptoque partis patrocinio me ipsum ac reliquos,³¹ qui in curia caste atque³² integre vivunt, pro mea facultate defendere apud te, qui in curia ipsa cum dignitate, auctoritate, potentia, tum³³ prudentia, abstinentia, integritate, iustitia merito princeps haberis,³⁴ ut optime causam cognoscere et aequissime iudicare possis.

[8] Igitur hoc mihi diu facere³⁵ cupienti commodissimum nuper maximeque idoneum, ut³⁶ antea nunquam fortuna, tempus attulit.³⁷ Nam //66//³⁸ cum post obitum³⁹ summi principis Iordani Ursini, cardinalis integerrimi et⁴⁰ religiosissimi viri, ex balneis Senensibus decedens, quo eram cum illo una profectus, Ferariam me Kl. Iulii in⁴¹ curiam recepissem,⁴² in Angeli Racanatensis, hospitis et amici mei, domum divertii, vehementer animo recenti illa calamitate commotus, ab eoque⁴³ pro iure veteris hospitii et amicitiae liberaliter benigneque exceptus sum.

24. invehantur *sic F*; invehantur *VGNB*.

25. quidem *V*.

26. infamie *N*.

27. nequioresque] nequiores et *V*.

28. iam *om. N*.

29. et eo amplius] et eo amplius et eo amplius *sic P*.

30. in ea statuerim mihi esse vivendum, meae] *om. G*.

31. non caste vivere in curia *in mar. d. atramento alio N (N²?)*.

32. ac *B*.

33. cum *P*.

34. habere *V*.

35. diu facere] facere diu *G*.

36. ut] ut in *G*.

37. attulerit *P*.

38. *in mar. sup. titulus, atramento nigro: LAPI CASTELLIUNCULI DIALOGUS DE COMMODIS CURIAE ROMANAE HABITUS FERARIAE. COLLOC. LAPUS ET ANGELUS. Titulum cancellavit F¹.*

39. habitum *V*.

40. ac *B*.

41. III^o Kl. Iulii *sic Sch*.

42. recedissem *sic legit Sch*.

43. eoque] eo *PB*.

thieves, and they hear that in the curia—and this cannot be denied—there are some vile men. They mark all with the same wretchedness and bad reputation, as if far more and far worse men are not found in other places.

[7] So, since I have been at the curia now for two years and because of this am somewhat more widely experienced—so much so that I have judged that I should live the rest of my life there—I have decided for my part to check their presumption and refute their maledictions. I have also thought that it is my task—having undertaken this defense—to defend in your eyes myself and the rest who live chastely and honestly in the curia, since you are justifiably considered there to be a prince of dignity, authority, and power, of prudence, abstinence, integrity, and justice. [I do this] so that you can know the case in the best manner and judge it most fairly.

[8] A while ago, then, time—in a way that fortune never had—made this task which I have been desiring to do for some time now suitable.³ For after the death of the highest prince Giordano Orsini (purest of cardinals, most religious of men), I was on my way back down from the baths of Siena where I had traveled together with him. After I had arrived at the curia in Ferrara on the calends of July, I went to stay at the house of Angelo da Recanate, my host and friend, and since I was very moved in spirit by that recent calamity, he took me in generously and kindly,

3. For Lapo's "maximeque idoneum, ut antea nunquam fortuna, tempus attulit," cf. Cic. *Fam.* I.2.3: "tempus hoc magis idoneum quam unquam antea."

[9] Quo die apud illum sum pransus, nam casu prandentem⁴⁴ offendi, et ipse invitatus accubui, atque inter prandendum, sive ratus—id quod erat—me nonnihil perturbatum esse, sive hoc ex tristitia⁴⁵ vultus et taciturnitate mea perspexisset,⁴⁶ antea⁴⁷ plura questus de inopinato cardinalis casu deque meo incommodo, qui et talem virum et talem amicum amissem, quo vivo non dubitaret mihi mearum fortunarum patronum et honestandae⁴⁸ dignitatis propugnatorem acerrimum numquam defuturum fuisse, me suavissimis et amicissimis verbis consolatus hortatusque est, ut tantum⁴⁹ deponerem moerorem iacturamque [rem] illam, etsi magnam, tamen necessariam atque irreparabilem⁵⁰ aequanimiter ferrem.

[10] Deinde cum et ego reffectus⁵¹ parumper animo exceperissem, deploravimus simul ambo⁵² casum⁵³ et orbitatem Romanae ecclesiae, quae gravissimis incommodis ac⁵⁴ difficultatibus circumventa suis spoliaretur principibus quo tempore illam afflictam et perditam ad suam obtinendam dignitatem eorum consiliis, ope ac praesidio sublevari maxime oporteret.

[11] Quo confecto sermone, pariter pransi surreximus a mensa et in hortum,⁵⁵ qui prope erat, deambulatum descendimus, ubi pluribus⁵⁶ inter arbores et vites silentio peractis spatiis fessi quiescendi gratia in herba⁵⁷ consedimus, atque ita inter sedentes⁵⁸ alius ortus est sermo ex superiore quodammodo ductus, quem ego post mecum repetens disputationis sententias in dialogum rettuli, omniaque ut erant tunc habita exprimere atque imitari conatus tuo nomini dedicavi, addiunctis eodem pluribus quae ad rem pertinebant, quo eorum lectio⁵⁹ suavior⁶⁰ tibi et gratior redderetur. [12] Quae tu ita legas velim ut, si qua tibi in iis⁶¹

44. *corr. ex* prandendem *N*².

45. tristitia] tristitia mei *N*.

46. prospexisset *V*.

47. antea] ante ea *B*.

48. honestam de *sic Sch*.

49. tam tum *V*.

50. irreprobabilem *V*.

51. reffertus *sic Sch*.; reffectus *V*.

52. simul ambo] ambo simul *P*.

53. causam *NB (et G?)*.

54. ad *V*.

55. *corr. ex* ortum *F*¹; ortum *VPNB*.

56. plurimus *N*.

57. herbam *N*.

58. sedente *N*.

59. letio *V*.

60. suavio *V*; suaviter *N*.

61. his *VN*.

with the hospitality of old friendship. [9] I had lunch with him that day, for by chance I came on him while he was eating, and since I was invited, I sat down. While we were eating, maybe he was aware that I was somewhat perturbed—which was the case—or perhaps he had noticed this from the sadness of my countenance and my taciturnity. Earlier he had complained much about the cardinal's unsuspected death and about my trouble. I had lost such a man, such a friend, who, when alive, left me with no doubt that I would never be lacking a patron of my fortunes and an ardent champion to defend my worth.⁴ With the sweetest and friendliest of words, Angelo consoled me, urging me to put an end to such grief and bear the cardinal's death with equanimity as something that was to be given up and that, although great, was nevertheless necessary and irreparable.

[10] Then after I, too, was somewhat restored in spirit and had taken his advice, together we both bitterly lamented the fall, the want, of the Roman church,⁵ which is surrounded by the most serious of troubles and difficulties and is being despoiled by its own princes, at a time when the church—which seems lost and abandoned beyond all hope of maintaining its worth—is greatly in need of being supported by their counsel, wealth, and aid.⁶

[11] After we had finished that talk and had both eaten, we got up from the table and went to walk down to the garden, which was nearby. There, after having walked quite a bit in silence amid trees and vines and having tired ourselves out, we sat down in the grass, to enjoy the quiet. And it was in this way, as we were sitting, that a second discussion arose, which in a certain way proceeded from the preceding one. I have gone over the arguments of our discussion and have re-created it in dialogue form, attempting to express and imitate everything as we had it then. I have dedicated it to your name. Certain things that pertained to the argument have been added to the dialogue, so that in your eyes it would read more elegantly and agreeably. [12] I would like you to read it in such a

4. For Lapo's "mearum fortunarum patronum et honestandae dignitatis propugnatorem acerrimum," cf. Cic. *Red. Sen.* 38: "propugnator mearum fortunarum et defensor adsiduus"; *Ad Brut.* I.11.1: "acerrimum propugnatorem communis libertatis."

5. For Lapo's "deploravimus simul ambo casum et orbitatem Romanae ecclesiae, quae gravissimis incommodis ac difficultatibus circumventa suis spoliaretur principibus quo tempore illam afflictam et perditam ad suam obtinendam dignitatem eorum consiliis, ope ac praesidio sublevari maxime oporteret," cf. Petrarch *Sine nomine* VII: "immo casum ac ruinam reipublicae deplorare"; Cic. *De orat.* III.3: "deploravit . . . orbitatem senatus, cuius ordinis a consule, qui quasi parens bonus . . . esse deberet, tamquam ab aliquo nefario praedone diriperetur patrimonium dignitatis."

6. For Lapo's "illam adffictam et perditam," cf. Cic. *Phil.* 3, 25: "homo adfflictus et perditus."

parum gravia videbuntur, ea suscepti muneris necessitati⁶² attribuas, si qua autem licentius dicta et falsius,⁶³ benigne accipias nec temere a me⁶⁴ maledicendi studio posita esse existimes, sed ex hominum huiusmodi⁶⁵ vita ac moribus expressa. Tale igitur ab eo fuit disputationis initium.

[II. Initium et de methodo disputandi]

//66v// A: [1] Cum⁶⁶ te contemplor, Lape, et cum vitam ac mores tuos⁶⁷ tum eruditionem liberalem considero, vehementer tua causa excrucior animi, et fortunae in te⁶⁸ magnopere iniquitati succenseo doleoque; te, quem unice⁶⁹ diligam, in haec curiae tempora miserrima ac perditissima incidisse, in quibus scelera, flagitia, fraudes, fallaciae virtutis optinent nomen in precioque habentur, virtuti vero, probitati, rectis studiis⁷⁰ honestisque artibus non modo praemium nullum neque honos⁷¹ propositus, sed ne usquam quidem⁷² relictus est locus. [2] Imperiti, audaces, largitiosi, sordidi, flagitiosi ubique regnant ac dominantur ceteris; boni autem viri,⁷³ docti, integri, abstinentes, modesti, temperati, depressi, abiecti repudiatique iacent, nec modo ut perniciosi et capitales homines repelluntur a rerum maiorum gubernaculis, verum etiam⁷⁴ ut taeterrimae et truculentissimae beluae undique ab omnibus expelluntur. [3] Quare non video quid aut tu aut⁷⁵ quisquam vir probus et artibus ingeniis⁷⁶ eruditus hoc tempore consequi in curia aut⁷⁷ etiam sperare⁷⁸ possit. Itaque

62. necessitate N.

63. salius [*i.e.*, sal<s>ius?] G.

64. me] me nec B.

65. ex hominum huiusmodi] ex hoc uni eius mori V; ut homines eiusmodi N; ex hominum eiusmodi G; ex hominis eiusmodi *coni. Sch.*; hominum eiusmodi B.

66. *inter* initium et cum *add. rubricam* Angelus et Lopus G.

67. *in mar. d. add.* initium disceptationis N.

68. in te] vite V.

69. unice *sic* FB.

70. consiliis N.

71. *in mar. d.* non infelicitate curie N.

72. quidam V.

73. *in mar. d.* boni viri N.

74. et V.

75. aut *om.* P.

76. ingenuis G; ingenii N.

77. at G.

78. sperari P.

way that if certain things in it seem to you rather grave, you attribute them to the necessity of the task that was assumed. Moreover, if certain things seem to be said rather presumptuously or falsely, please take them in a good-natured way and think not that I said them rashly, with a zealous desire to say wicked things, but rather that they were said because of the life and character of men of this sort.

And so Angelo began the discussion in this way.

[II: The Beginning and Concerning the Method of Argument]

Angelo: [1] When I think about you, Lapo, and consider your life and character as well as your learning in the liberal arts, I am really tortured in spirit by your predicament. I am earnestly angered at the iniquity of fortune, which has gone against you, and I feel sorry for you. [It troubles me] that you, whom I care for uniquely, have happened on these absolutely wretched and morally bankrupt times of the curia, in which crime, moral outrage, fraud, and deceit take the name of virtue and are held in high esteem. Not only is there no reward or public honor for virtue, uprightness, correct studies, and respectable crafts; there is not even any place left for these things. [2] The unlearned, the rash, the corrupt, the sordid, and the profligate rule everywhere and have power over the others. Moreover, the good men—the learned, pure, abstinent, modest, and temperate men—are neglected, oppressed, abject, repudiated. And not only are they repulsed from the governance of greater things as pernicious and dangerous; they are even driven out everywhere by all as if they were the most foul and savage of beasts. [3] This is why I don't see how you or anyone who is learnedly endowed with craft and skill can follow the curia or even place any hope in it. And so even though to me it is

quamquam⁷⁹ me abs te disiungi atque⁸⁰ separari non re tantum, sed etiam cogitatione mihi acerbissimum sit, tamen qui meus in te est⁸¹ amor, reticere nequeo quae commodis, honori et dignitati tuae conducere arbitror.

[4] Equidem⁸² te, mi Lape, et hortor⁸³ et pro nostra necessitudine etiam moneo ut haec primum non aliter ac dicuntur⁸⁴ a me dici existimes, sed in meliorem partem ex abundantia quadam amoris dicta accipias, deinde ea ipsa colligas tecumque diligenter animo meditare, neu te distrahi sinas aliorum consiliis nec promissorum magnitudine capi, quibus hoc loci maxime abundamus omnes, nec spe dubia et incerta parta tibi, ac certa⁸⁵ abiicias bona, nec praesentia tantum spectes, sed ut⁸⁶ vir prudens futura quoque quam longe prospicias et quid //67// haec ad⁸⁷ te studia postulent, quid patria, quid maiores tui, quid ante⁸⁸ acta vita, quid denique opinio de te et expectatio⁸⁹ civium tuorum efflagitent, cogites, et quod optimum atque ex tua inprimis dignitate esse censueris, id tibi rebus omnibus praeferendum putes. [5] Id cum feceris, rectius, ut arbitror, rationibus tuis consules et te, relicta⁹⁰ hac turbulentissima et tumultuosissima vitae ratione, in portum aliquem conferes quietum, et pristina tua⁹¹ studia temporibus intermissa revocabis contendesque aliquid scribere atque edere quod et caeteros iuuet et tibi ipsi ad posteros immortalem gloriam propaget. Hoc opinor tibi fore et ad quietem animi, cuius te rei cupidissimum⁹² esse numquam negabis, aptius accommodatiusque et cum ad⁹³ extimationem⁹⁴ hominum, tum ad memoriam nominis uberius.

L:⁹⁵ [6] Laudo te merito, Angele, et unum prae ceteris diligo ac meae

79. quamquam *om. N.*

80. ac *GNB.*

81. est] est et *G.*

82. Equidam *sic V.*

83. ortor *G.*

84. ac dicuntur] *om. G.*

85. parta tibi, ac certa] *om. N.*

86. ut *om. G.*

87. a *PNB.*

88. quid ante] quidam *V.*

89. expectio *N.*

90. *in mar. sin.* consulit quod reli<n>quatur curia *N.*

91. tua] tua tua *sic N.*

92. *in mar. sin.* m() quies animi et *N.*

93. ad *om. G.*

94. existimationem *PGB.*

95. L *om. P.*

the bitterest of things to be opposed to you and be separated from you (not only in actual fact but also in thought), nevertheless, my feelings are on your side and so I just cannot be silent about things that I think might lead to your advantage, honor, and worth.

[4] Really, my dear Lapo, I urge you and because of our friendship I even warn you: first, do not think that these things that I have said are said otherwise than the way in which they are intended; then, take them as the better part of an abundance of my aforementioned affection toward you. Finally, I want you to gather these very things up and meditate on them diligently. Do not be distracted by the advice of others or be taken in by the vastness of their promises with which all of us here are all too familiar. You shouldn't, with doubtful hope and uncertain possessions, cast aside goods that are certain. Rather, as a prudent man, you should look as far as possible to the future and consider as most important whatever your studies ask of you. Think about what your homeland, your elders, your previously transacted life, and, finally, your fellow citizens' opinion and expectation of you spur you on to do. You should judge whatever is best using your worth as a measure, and you should think that this is what must be put before all things. [5] Once you have done this—rightly, I think—then be mindful of your own arguments and, having left behind this restless and confused type of life, direct yourself to any restful harbor. Then you will summon up once again your earlier studies, interrupted by the times, and seek to write and publish something that will help others. This will earn you immortal glory in the eyes of posterity. I also think that it will be conducive to the repose of your soul. And you will never deny that this is what you desire most, as something more suitable and fitting, both for the judgment of men and, more widely, for the memory of your name.

Lapo: [6] I praise you as you deserve, Angelo, and care for you above

laudis meaeque dignitatis cupidissimum quotidie magis esse perspicio. Nec me fugit, ut est amicissimi viri officium, eumdem te meis incommodis aequae ac tuis graviter angere.⁹⁶ Quae autem abste dicta sunt, tam mihi iucunda fuere, quam quod gratissimum et iucundissimum, nec dubito illa ex optimo animo et ardentissimo quodam amore omnia esse deprompta, nec vero fas esset aut a te aliter fieri aut me de coniunctissimo homine aliter iudicare. [7] Sed nolim mihi hoc tantum tribuas ut mea causa, si quid indignum tibi pati⁹⁷ videor, iniquitati temporum et fortunae potissimum succensendum putes, tametsi opinor in eo quoque te amice agere, nec mihi assentatum⁹⁸—quod vicium longe a tuis moribus abhorret⁹⁹—sed benivolentia mei esse deceptum. [8] Etenim si nequam homines et indigni, ut tu¹⁰⁰ dicis, honores et praemia assequuntur, dignissimi vero et honestissimi viri despiciuntur ab omnibus nec ullam dignitatis suae partem obtinere possunt, in caeteris //67v// est id¹⁰¹ indignius ferendum quibus fortasse, quod ad maiores spes animo¹⁰² spectarent¹⁰³ maioremque de se expectationem suis meritis excitassent,¹⁰⁴ plura atque ampliora debentur, mea vero causa non magnopere fortunae iniquitas incusanda est. [9] Ego enim imbecillitatis meae satis conscius et, illius mobilitatem ac rerum humanarum mutabilitatem saepius expertus, per facile ista contemno, meamque sortem, qualiscunque est, modo honestam, satis egregiam mihi contigisse duco, eamque sedato animo ac molliter fero. Levia enim quaedam et¹⁰⁵ ea perpauca, non ad splendorem vitae et ostentationem, sed ad¹⁰⁶ explendam naturae necessitatem appeto. [10] Ex his si quid mihi detrahitur aut minus pro voluntate conceditur, non subirascor fortunae, sed indignitati meae totum¹⁰⁷ attribuo et me ipsum hac ratione consolor.

[11] Postremo, quod iubes ut relicta curia in ocium me et studium referam, facerem et quidem¹⁰⁸ haud invite, si facultas esset. Sed est id pri-

96. arrigi V.

97. pati *om.* N.

98. absentatum P.

99. abhorreret V.

100. tu *om.* N.

101. id *om.* N.

102. animos G.

103. expectarent V.

104. excitasset P.

105. ut V.

106. ad *om.* B.

107. tantum V.

108. quidam V.

other men, and I see that more and more every day you truly desire that I be praised and valued. And it does not escape me that you are troubled by my difficulties just as if they were your own, as is the duty of a great friend. And what you said was as pleasant for me as could be, and I have no doubt that everything you said was prompted by the best of intentions and by a most impassioned love—and it wouldn't be right that it happen in any other way or that I judge otherwise about my closest friend. [7] But I would not want you to give me so much credit that for my sake—if I seem in your view to be treated unworthily—you feel compelled to become especially angry at the iniquity of fortune and the times. Even so, I do think in this case that you are doing it for friendship's sake and that you are not flattering me—a vice that would be far from your character.⁷ Rather, it seems to me that you were deceived because of your goodwill toward me. [8] Granted, as you say, detestable and unworthy men attain honors and prizes while the most worthy and respectable are despised by all and cannot obtain any share of the distinction they deserve. Now in the case of some, perhaps, this unfairness is rather difficult to tolerate. After all, since these men in their heart looked toward greater goals and had, based on their own merits, stirred up greater hope for themselves, they were owed more and wider things. But in my case, really, one shouldn't blame fortune's unfairness. [9] For I am well aware of my own weakness and have often experienced its fickleness as well as the changeableness of human affairs. Given this, I have no trouble esteeming lightly those unimportant things.⁸ In fact I think that my lot, of whatever sort it is, has been honest and praiseworthy enough for me, and I bear it calmly, with a sedate spirit. In fact all I want are trifles—and few at that—not for the splendor and showiness of life, but for nature's necessity, which, after all, must be fulfilled. [10] If one of these things is taken away from me or given somewhat less than willingly, I do not become angry at fortune. Rather, I attribute everything to my unworthiness and console myself in that fashion.

[11] Finally, as to what you strongly advise—that I leave behind the curia and return to leisure and study—I would do this willingly if there

7. For Lapo's "quod vicium longe a tuis moribus abhorret," cf. Cic. *Catil.* I.20: "id quod abhorret a meis moribus"; perhaps Cic. *Cael.* 10: "longe ab ista suspicione abhorrere debet."

8. For Lapo's "perfacile ista contemno," cf. Livy VI.41.8: "Parva sunt haec; sed parva ista non contemnendo."

num factu difficile, deficientibus¹⁰⁹ domesticis¹¹⁰ copiis ad ocium persequendum in hac praesertim tanta confusione et perturbatione rerum omnium, in qua nusquam bono viro animo quieto, nusquam ocioso¹¹¹ esse liceat. [12] Deinde non video quid sit causae, cur mihi discessum e curia suadere coneris. Qua quidem in re nequeo satis te admirari; ac nisi existimarem aut amore mei impulsus aut inscitia et ignoratione¹¹² prolapsus, non possem hoc tuum consilium, ut levissime¹¹³ dicam, non summopere improbare qui tam cupide loquaris, nec videris quid curia sit, in qua tam diu verseris, satis nosse nec quid coneris attendere. [13] Quid est, obsecro, quod me a curia abducere debeat? Quid quod non me¹¹⁴ retinere aut, si alibi terrarum vitam agerem, ad eam allicere atque adhortari¹¹⁵ queat? Numquid //68// a¹¹⁶ sanae mentis homine vel ad bene beatique, tum ad splendide magnificeque vivendum vel ad opes et copias comparandas vel etiam, si ita vis, ad perfrundas voluptates desiderari atque expeti¹¹⁷ potest, cuius non in curia quam largissime copia suppetat?

A:¹¹⁸ [14] Longe mihi contrarium videtur esse,¹¹⁹ nec vero nunc arbitrator te ita sentire, ut loqueris, sed sive aucupandae tibi gratiae studio sive ingenii exercendi causa¹²⁰ hanc disceptationem inducere, quae quidem mihi haud iniucunda erit, maxime cum simus ociosi. Quam obrem perge, quaeso, ut instituisti, ac mihi proba haec quae dicis.

L: [15] Minime omnium istuc¹²¹ a me requiras velim! Non enim consilio nec de industria, ut tu putas, in huiusmodi disputationem veni, sed casu et ex tempore incidi, nec vero ea mihi est¹²² vis ingenii nec tanta facultas dicendi atque copia, ut id me facturum ausim polliceri aut¹²³ praestare ullo modo possim. Quare malim tibi hisce de rebus assentiri, quam hoc tantum onus suscipere. Sed haec iam missa faciamus quae,

109. deficientibus] deficientibus quidem N.

110. domesticis *om.* G.

111. ociose B.

112. ignorancia B.

113. benignissime B.

114. non me] non mea G; in ea non B.

115. abhortari N; exortari B.

116. o *sic* P.

117. expecti V.

118. A *om.* P.

119. videtur esse] esse videtur G.

120. gratia N.

121. istud V.

122. mihi est] est mihi N.

123. an G.

were a way. But first of all it is difficult to do, since I lack domestic wealth for pursuing studious leisure.⁹ And this is especially so in such confusion and disorder of all things, where a good man cannot be tranquil in spirit and at leisure. [12] So I just do not see the reason why you try to persuade me to leave the curia; certainly, in this matter I cannot wonder at you enough. And if I did not think that you either were motivated by friendly love for me or had fallen into awkwardness and ignorance, then I could not (if I may speak most frivolously) *not* reprove you in the highest degree, you who speak so foolishly and do not see what the curia is—a place where you have been for so long and where you have not even tried to wait it out enough to know. [13] I ask you, what is there that should take me away from the curia? What is there that could not keep me around or that if I were to lead my life elsewhere in the world could bind me to that other life and encourage me to favor it? Is there anything that can be desired or sought after by a man of sound mind either as far as living well and soundly goes—not to mention with splendor and magnificence—or as far as becoming wealthy goes, or even, if you so wish, as far as thoroughly enjoying worldly pleasures goes, that is not available in the curia in the greatest dimensions possible?

A: [14] The contrary seems to me to be the case, by far. But I also don't think that, at this point, you really believe what you have said. Instead I think you have come up with this discussion either out of zeal for increasing your esteem or as an exercise for your mental ingenuity; and it certainly won't be unpleasant for me, especially since we are at leisure. Because of this, then, I ask of you: go on as you have begun and prove what you say to me.

L: [15] The one thing I wish you didn't ask of me! Indeed, I did not come to this sort of disputation knowingly or intentionally, as you think. Rather, I happened on it extemporaneously and by chance. Really, I do not have that power of mental ingenuity, or even such a great wealth of speaking ability, that I would dare to promise or even in any way be able to excel in doing the task. So for this reason I would rather give in to you on these matters than take up such a great burden. But now let us forget

9. With "domesticis copiis" Lapo alludes to his lack of success in finding patronage in Florence, his native city.

utcumque¹²⁴ se habeant, nec¹²⁵ disputatione nostra corrigi nec aliter immutari possent, et sermonem hunc nostrum alio tra<n>sferamus.¹²⁶

A: [16] Nequaquam istuc hodie tibi¹²⁷ per me licebit facere, nec ego te hinc abire aut a me passum digredi¹²⁸ patiar, quandoquidem¹²⁹ coepisti et meam¹³⁰ spem, meum animum erexisti, quoad cumulatae¹³¹ satis huic expectationi meae feceris.

L: [17] Deprehensum me plane¹³² esse sentio et praeter opinionem¹³³ meam in maximam difficultatem compulsus, ut aut mihi amicissimi viri voluntas offendenda sit aut imprudentiae et ineptiarum reprehensio subeunda. Verum quoniam te ita velle intelligo, cui nihil a me honeste denegari potest, ad rem ipsam aggrediar et desiderio tuo potius quam existimationi meae serviam, ac si alterutrum evenire necesse est, malim in suscipiendo et satis faciendo parum prudens quam in recusando ingratus atque inhumanus videri. [18] Igitur sic //68v// agamus: ego te interrogabo, tu, ad ea quae percontatus fuero quod videbitur respondebis ac nisi fallor, ex hac sententia te depellam, ut curiam non modo prudentibus viris non fugiendam esse, sed enixius exquirendam censeas.¹³⁴

A: [19] Socratico¹³⁵ more, ut videris, mecum agere vis et me meis responsionibus irretitum convincere. Sed faciam quod iubes, et tibi in omnibus morem geram, modo ex te quod cupio audiam, tantum vero abest ut verear me abste convinci,¹³⁶ ut id vehementer exoptem, quod intelligo convicto mihi vitam posthac¹³⁷ in curia multo iucundioram futuram.

[III. De Deo exultando curiae]

L: [1] Quare, ut a potioribus ordiamur, responde, si placet, putesne ullum¹³⁸ bonum maius aut praestabilius aut expetibilius esse quam id

124. utrumque P.

125. ne PG.

126. transferamus VPNB.

127. istuc hodie tibi] tibi hodie istuc N.

128. digredi P.

129. quandoquidem *canc. ad quando, tum in mar. d. add. quidem B².*

130. meam] in eam GN.

131. quoad cumulate] que adcomulate V.

132. me plane] plane me VP; sane me GN.

133. vero de perplexitate *in mar. d. B¹.*

134. censas V; annuas *sic legit Sch.*

135. Socratis P.

136. tantum vero abest ut verear me abste convinci] tantum vero abs te convinci V.

137. hac B.

138. illum VG; illum B *corr. ad ullum B¹.*

about these things, since our discussion could not correct or change them in any way, however they may be. Let us change the direction of our argument.

A: [16] By no means will I let you do this today. I will not allow you to leave here or permit you to part until you have completely satisfied this expectation of mine, since, having begun, you raised my hope and my spirits.

L: [17] I feel trapped, in over my head, forced into the greatest of difficulties. As a result, either the will of my dearest friend will be displeased, or I shall have to suffer the charge of imprudence and foolishness. Of course I understand that you—to whom I can in good faith refuse nothing—wish it thus: that I attack the argument itself and that I cater to your desire rather than to my good name. But if one of the two things has to happen, I would rather seem somewhat less than prudent in taking up this argument and satisfying you than seem an inhuman ingrate in my refusal. [18] Therefore let us proceed this way: I shall ask you questions, and you will respond what seems best to the things that I shall ask. And if I am not mistaken, I shall wean you away from this opinion. The end result will be that you think not only that the curia is not to be fled by prudent men but that it is rather to be sought after more than earnestly.

A: [19] You wish to handle me in the manner of Socrates, it seems, and refute me after I have become entangled in my own responses. But I shall do what you ask and humor you in all things. May I only hear from you what I desire. In fact, far from shrinking from being convinced by you, I fervently long for it, understanding that after I am convinced, my life in the curia will be much more agreeable.

[III. On Worshiping God at the Curia]

L: [1] Well then, let's begin with what is most important. If you would, answer this: do you think that there is any good that is greater, more pre-eminent, or more desirable than that which is highest, self-sufficient, and

quod est summum per se sufficiens, nullius externae¹³⁹ opis indigum, sed ex omni¹⁴⁰ parte perfectum et cumulatum atque extremum bonorum omnium, a quo omnia sint et quo omnia referantur, quo parto omnis nostra cupiditas terminatur?¹⁴¹

A: [2] Nullum arbitror.

L: Hoc autem non negabis beatitudinem esse.

A: Minime.

L: Beatitudinem dico non humanam, de qua tanta¹⁴² inter philosophos contentio est, cum eam alii in virtute, alii in honoribus, alii in divitiis, alii in bona valetudine, alii in voluptate,¹⁴³ alii item alia¹⁴⁴ in re ponendam¹⁴⁵ censuerint;¹⁴⁶ sed divinam illam quae¹⁴⁷ castis, sanctis, religiosisque¹⁴⁸ viris post mortem ab immortali Deo tribuitur.

A: [3] Ne in hoc quidem abs te dissentio.

L: Huiusmodi beatitudo quid erit aliud¹⁴⁹ quam ipse immortalis Deus?

A: Nihil.

L: Quam quidem tum assecuti videmur cum ex hac mortalium vita ad meliorem vitam migramus adeptique immortalitatem ac divinitatem quandam Deo perpetuo fruimur¹⁵⁰ et cum eo coniunctissime vivimus.

A: [4] Verissimum.

L: At¹⁵¹ secundum et huic proximum bonum illud mea quidem sententia vere habendum est, quo id nobis comparatur et quo sine ad illud pervenire non possumus.¹⁵²

A: Nihil verius.

L: [5] Hoc enim //69// nisi esset, frustra insita atque ingenita nobis foret tanta summi boni cupiditas, qua inflammamur¹⁵³ omnes atque

139. *exterre G.*

140. *ex omni] omni ex G.*

141. *terminetur G.*

142. *tanto sic P.*

143. *alii in divitiis, alii in bona valetudine, alii in voluptate] alii in voluptate, alii in divitiis, alii in bona valetudine P; voluptate] voluntate B.*

144. *alii B.*

145. *ponebant V; ponere legit Sch.*

146. *consuerint V.*

147. *quae om. G.*

148. *religiosisque] religiosus P.*

149. *quid erit aliud] quid erit quid erit aliud sic N; quid aliud erit B.*

150. *fruimus sic G.*

151. *Ad V.*

152. *in mar. s. frustra F; possumus] possumus G.*

153. *inflammantur G.*

needs no outside help, is perfected and complete in every part, and is the highest extreme of all good things, from which all things exist and to which all things return, toward the acquisition of which our every whim is directed?

A: [2] I think there is no greater good.

L: And you will not deny that this good is happiness.

A: Not in the least.

L: And I'm not talking about a merely human happiness, about which there is so much disagreement among philosophers. Some think the locus of human happiness should be placed in virtue, others in [worldly] honors, others in wealth, others in good health, others in pleasure, while others still think it should be placed somewhere else.¹⁰ But it is that divine happiness that immortal God gives to chaste, holy, and religious men after death.

A: [3] I certainly don't disagree with you about that.

L: Will happiness of this sort be anything other than immortal God himself?

A: Nothing at all.

L: Certainly, we seem to have reached this happiness when we depart this life of mortals in favor of a better one. Then, fit out, in a way, for immortality and divinity, we enjoy the presence of God in perpetuity and live with him in a most closely joined fashion.

A: [4] That's very true.

L: But there is also a second good and one that is proximate to this one [i.e., God]. In my opinion one certainly must obtain this second good, since it makes the primary good available to us. Without it we cannot attain to the primary good.

A: Nothing is truer.

L: [5] Now this wouldn't be the case if this great, innate, inborn desire for the highest good that is in us were in vain. It is a desire with which all of us are aflame and by which we are all inspired. If the way and method

10. Cf. Cic. *Fin.* V.5.14.

ince<n>dimur.¹⁵⁴ Incognita enim via ac ratione nunquam eo quo intendimus potiremur.¹⁵⁵ Frustra autem dicere absurdum omnino et contra naturam esse¹⁵⁶ videtur, quippe cum ab ipsa, ut ita dixerim, parente omnium natura non ad ludum et ad iocum, sed ad beatitudinem generati simus.¹⁵⁷ [6] Necesse est igitur esse aliquod¹⁵⁸ medium quo ad illud ultimum perducamur, atque id ipsum, si quod¹⁵⁹ est, preciosissimum¹⁶⁰ esse et maximum atque cognitione dignissimum, cognitumque plurimi¹⁶¹ ab hominibus faciendum et omni diligentia retinendum.

A: [7] Vehementer tibi assentior; sed quod¹⁶² id tandem sit medium quo ad beatitudinem pervehimur, cupio ex te cognoscere.

L: Rem quaeris tu quidem haud¹⁶³ vulgarem neque¹⁶⁴ contemnendam et, quanquam a multis non ignoratam, a paucis tamen excultam, nonnullis etiam¹⁶⁵ invisam.

A: Concedo ita esse. Quid tum? Profer in medium quam rem hanc tam divinam atque admirabilem putes¹⁶⁶ esse.

L: [8] Religionem equidem.

A: Iam pridem istuc ipsum, me hercule, tacitus cogito, ac si me quispiam rogasset, aliud nihil quam religio<nem> respondiissem.

L: Recte tu quidem respondiissem, sed quam obrem?

A: Quoniam memini me et legisse saepius et a peritis quoque hominibus audisse nonnumquam: religionem esse verum immortalis Dei¹⁶⁷ cultum, quod nos Deo religet et admirabili quadam caritate devin-
ciat.

L: [9] Ex Apollinis haec oraculo edita mihi esse videntur!

A: Irrides.¹⁶⁸

154. incendimur VGNB.

155. poterimus sic legit Sch.

156. esse] esse esse sic N.

157. sumus V.

158. aliquid V.

159. quid V.

160. spetiosissimum G.

161. plurimum legit Sch.

162. quid coni. Sch.

163. aut V.

164. neque] neque tam a paucis N.

165. et V.

166. putas B.

167. immortalis Dei] Dei immortalis G.

168. Irridens B.

were unknown, we would never be able to go where we aimed to go. In fact to say it is in vain seems wholly absurd and contrary to nature, especially since it is from nature—who is, if I may speak in such a way, the parent of all things—that we are all born. And we are born not to trifles or jokes but rather to happiness. [6] And so it is necessary that there be some mean by which we are led to that end. It is also necessary that this mean itself, if it is anything at all, be something very valuable, optimally great, and most worthy of investigation. It should be made known to many men and be preserved with all watchfulness.

A: [7] I strongly agree with you.¹¹ But I desire to know from you what that mean is, finally, by which we are drawn toward happiness.

L: Certainly, what you seek is no common thing, nor should one look down on it. Although many know about it, nonetheless it is practiced by very few and even begrudged by some.

A: I agree that that is the case, but what then? Come out with this thing you consider so divine and admirable.

L: [8] Religion, of course.

A: For a long time now, by Hercules, this is what I have thought without saying it, and if someone had asked me, my answer would have been nothing other than religion.

L: And of course you would have answered correctly. But why?

A: Because I remember that I have read rather often and have also heard sometimes from learned men that religion is this: the true worship of immortal God that binds us to him and obliges us to a remarkable kind of charity.¹²

L: [9] Those words seem to me to have come from the oracle of Apollo!

A: You laugh.

11. For Lapo's "Vehementer tibi assentior," cf. Cic. *Div.* I.105: "cui quidem auguri vehementer assentior"; *De orat.* I.262.

12. Perhaps cf. August. *De civ. D.* X.1.

L: Minime¹⁶⁹ vero, sed doctrinam istam tuam admiror, ac iam nunc primum perspicio olim te dissimulasse et astute nimis et callide ad¹⁷⁰ huiusmodi concertationem me impulisse, ut¹⁷¹ siquid adversus curiam dixissem incautus,¹⁷² efferes in vulgus magnamque ex eo mihi conflares invidiam; //69v// sed fortunae a me gratia est habenda, quod in hanc partem oratione delatus sim!

A: [10] Omitte,¹⁷³ inquam, iocos¹⁷⁴ atque illuc revertere unde digressus es, nec velis me diutius suspensum expectatione tenere. Non enim dum video quo pertineat haec tua tam longa et tam alte repetita oratio.

L: Videbis propediem, si te mihi parumper ad audiendum dedideris. Quoniam igitur haec mihi abs te omnia¹⁷⁵ concessa sunt, religionem rem optimam esse ac maxime preciosam, quae homines immortalis Deo conciliet carosque exhibeat, illud quoque concedas oportet, quanto maior religio est, tanto preciosiorem esse, et quanto quis magis religioni studeat, tanto Deo cariorem fieri.

A: [11] Quis hoc non videat, quod maius sit bonum, id esse praestantius, et qui quod est maius assecutus fuerit, eum¹⁷⁶ esse meliorem?

L: Ita prorsus. In genere enim bonorum quanto maius, tanto praestabilius et melius. Ex hoc illud quoque¹⁷⁷ perspicuum fit—cum religio Dei sit cultus—gratius Deo esse frequentius coli quam rarius, et a plurimis quam a paucis.

A: [12] Perspicuum nempe, ut dicis!

L: Addam etiam: a sacris hominibus quam a prophanis, a¹⁷⁸ maioribus et in maxima aliqua dignitate positus quam a privatis sacerdotibus.

A: Fateor.

L: Et magnificentius etiam quam parcius.

A: Probe.

L: Et a multis simul nationibus quam ab una.¹⁷⁹

A: Certe.

L: [13] Consequens ergo est, ut locum in quo frequentius et a pluribus

169. Minime] Minime me *sic Sch.*

170. ab *B.*

171. et *V.*

172. incautius *PG.*

173. Dimitte *sic Sch.*

174. locos *V.*

175. abs te omnia] omnia abste *B.*

176. esse *sic N.*

177. illud quoque] quoque illud *G.*

178. et *B.*

179. A:Probe. . . . una *om. G.*

L: Why, not at all. On the contrary I admire this erudition of yours, and I see now for the first time that you were dissimulating before and that in an exceedingly astute and cunning fashion you were leading me into this kind of controversy. Thus, had I said anything heedless against the curia, you would let everybody know about it and stir up ill will against me. I should thank fortune that I've been led to this point by our argument.

A: [10] Please, will you spare the humor and return to where you were when you digressed—if, that is, you don't want to hold me in suspense too long. Because I still do not see where this terribly long and repetitive oration of yours is going.¹³

L: You'll see very soon if you just give me a little time to be heard. Now then, because you have conceded all these things to me—that religion is the greatest and most valuable thing, which reconciles men to immortal God and shows that they are beloved to him—you also have to concede this: that the greater religion is, the more valuable it is, and that the more someone adheres to religion, the more beloved he becomes in the eyes of God.

A: [11] Who wouldn't see that the greater a good is, the more outstanding it is, and that whoever has pursued what is greater is better?

L: Just so. For in the genus of goods, the more of something there is, the more preferable and better it is. In addition, since religion is the worship of God, this makes it clear that to God it is more agreeable to be worshiped more frequently than less and by many rather than by few.

A: [12] Extremely clear, as you say!

L: I might also add: by sacred men rather than by the profane, by those who are greater and placed in positions of the highest authority rather than by private priests.

A: I'll admit that.

L: And in a more magnificent fashion rather than in a poorer one.

A: Right.

L: And by many peoples at the same time rather than by one.

A: Of course.

L: [13] Consequently, then, a place in which God is worshiped more

13. For Lapo's "tam longa et tam alte repetita oratio," cf. Cic. *Sest.* 31: "oratio tam longa aut tam alte repetita."

et a dignioribus et magnificentius Deus colitur et a pluribus una nationibus eum caeteris praestantiorum et Deo gratiorum nobisque ad beate degendam vitam aptiorum esse dicamus.

A: Sentio quo me his argutiis tuis concluderis,¹⁸⁰ ut mihi necesse sit huiusmodi esse curiam confiteri; quod si antea percepissem, profecto nunquam effecisses,¹⁸¹ nec nunc quidem, ut id tibi concedam, a me ulla ratione extorxeris. Quid¹⁸² enim a curia alienius quam religio esse potest?

L: [14] Ut lubet. Non enim vim¹⁸³ afferam nec te pigneribus cogam, quanquam ex rebus hoc a te concessis¹⁸⁴ //70// efficitur et in¹⁸⁵ eo fidem tuam requirere possim,¹⁸⁶ quod ab initio pollicitus sis, morem te mihi esse gesturum. Verum¹⁸⁷ hoc quoque perlibenter et facile remitto¹⁸⁸ tibi. Negatis enim a te iis¹⁸⁹ disputationis principiis,¹⁹⁰ disputatio tota tolletur et ipse magno onere levabor.

A: [15] Iam muto sententiam, et quod ex receptis¹⁹¹ a me conficitur, etsi minus probem, disputationis gratia concedam atque admittam fateborque curiam, ut videris velle, locum esse non praestantem solum, sed etiam praestantissimum Deoque gratissimum et ad beate vivendum inprimis accomodatum. Modo non, ut mathematici¹⁹² solent, qui ex superioribus tantum dictis et concessis quod propositum sit demonstrant,¹⁹³ sed pro tua consuetudine, locis pluribus et rationibus, id planius mihi facias, ut, cum ad concedendum vi¹⁹⁴ argumentationis impellar,¹⁹⁵ orationis etiam copia et suavitate adducar.¹⁹⁶

L: [16] Faciam id¹⁹⁷ ut potero. Ad nostrum igitur munus pensumque

180. conduxeris *sic Sch.*

181. affecisses *P.*

182. Quod *V.*

183. vim *om. G.*

184. confessis *N.*

185. in *om. N.*

186. possum *VP.*

187. Verum] Verum ego *B.*

188. peremitto *sic V;* permitto *sic Sch.*

189. hiis *P.*

190. principis *V.*

191. ex receptis] exceptis *V;* expetis *coni. Sch.*

192. methamatici *sic N.*

193. demonstrant] de monseant *sic G.*

194. in *sic legit Sch.;* in *G.*

195. inpellor *VG.*

196. suavitate adducar] suavitate adducat *V;* suaviter adducam *GN.*

197. id *om. G.*

frequently, by more and worthier people, in a more magnificent fashion, and by many peoples at the same time—we may say that this place is more outstanding and more pleasing in God's eyes and is for us more suited to carrying on our life in a holy fashion.

A: I am beginning to understand that your arguments are leading me to a point where I'll have to admit that the curia is just such a place. But if I had understood this earlier, then you never would have carried it through, and certainly now you won't make me admit it with any argument. For what can be more alien to the curia than religion?

L: [14] As you wish. Now I won't use force, nor will I compel you with pledges¹⁴—even though I could make you comply with what you have already conceded and I could ask for your good faith. After all, at the outset you did promise you would comply with me. But I shall happily and easily give up. After all, if you have rejected the principles of argument, the entire disputation will be done away with and I shall be relieved of a great burden.

A: [15] All right, now I'll change my opinion and concede what follows logically from what I have pledged—even if I don't really approve. For the sake of argument I shall admit and even confess that the curia, as you seem to want it, is a place that is not only outstanding but even most outstanding and pleasing to God, in addition to being well-suited to living well. Now make all this clearer to me, but not like the mathematicians usually do, who argue from “what has been said above” and “conceded thus far” and then demonstrate what has been propounded. Instead do it in your customary manner, with many arguments and theories—so that necessity compels me to concede your arguments and I am persuaded both by the abundance of the oration as well as by its rhetorical sweetness.¹⁵

L: [16] I'll do what I can. Let's return, then, to our allotted task.¹⁶ If

14. For Lapo's “pigneribus cogam,” cf. Cic. *Phil.* I.12: “coguntur enim non pignoribus, sed gratia.”

15. This request pays attention to the genre of rhetorical argumentation called the *sorites*—or “heap”—argument, where persuasion is achieved by a gradual mounting up of different arguments, so that the listener is persuaded not only by the quality but also by the quantity of points made.

16. For Lapo's “Ad nostrum igitur munus pensumque redeamus,” cf. Cic. *De orat.* III.119: “me . . . ad meum munus pensumque revocabo.”

redeamus. Si divini cultus religio nos delectat, quis est usquam locus in terris cum curia romana in hoc genere comparandus?

A: Perge ad reliqua.

L: Ubi enim tantum sacerdotum reperias numerum?

A: [17] Haud mirum. Ceterae enim regiones,¹⁹⁸ conventus, civitates suos habent tantummodo sacerdotes, quibus ad rem divinam utuntur. In curiam autem sacerdotes¹⁹⁹ partim religione et visendi pontificis studio, partim dignitatis consequendae cupiditate, partim aliis de causis ex omnibus paene orbis terrarum partibus confluunt. Sed quid ad rem? Quasi vero Deus non meritis²⁰⁰ hominum vitae sanctimonia, integritate, religione, iustis precibus, sed vulgo, ut pecudum et multitudine delectetur?

L: [18] Nunquam id ego dixerim, ac si quis dicat supplicio dignum puto. Hoc unum affirmare non dubitem, primum, in parvo numero paucos esse bonos,²⁰¹ etiam si omnes boni forent; ex magna vero multitudine probatissimos viros plurimos existere posse. [19] Quinetiam, quantum humano ingenio assequi possum, sic statuo ac iudico multitudinem non pessimam //70v// sacerdotum quam non optimam paucitatem Deo cariorum esse, cum acceperimus²⁰² ex veteribus sacrarum historiarum monumentis illum a multitudine semper²⁰³ coli voluisse, siquidem cultus et honos (de nobis²⁰⁴ enim hominibus²⁰⁵ coniecturam facio)²⁰⁶ etiam a quovis habitus delectare solet, [20] et nostris quoque divinis legibus sapientissime comparatum est,²⁰⁷ omne sacrificium, vel a sceleratissimo sacerdote, modo rite factum, verum, integrum, absolutum, intactum atque intemeratum sacrificium Deoque acceptum esse habendum, quod maximo argumento est Deum ipsum, non dico non magis bonorum religione moveri, sed nullius cultum recusare, sed debitum sibi honorem ab omnibus²⁰⁸ exhiberi velle exhibitumque accipere atque exhibitori placari.²⁰⁹ [21] Quare dubitare non possumus colentium multitudinem,

198. religiones B.

199. quibus ad rem divinam utuntur. In curiam autem sacerdotes *om.* G.

200. mentis G.

201. bonos *om.* G.

202. accepimus *coni. Sch.*

203. semper *om.* PGN.

204. de nobis *om.* B.

205. nominibus *sic* G.

206. facis V.

207. est] est et V.

208. omnibus] omnibus sibi P.

209. placare P.

we love the sacredness of divine worship, what place anywhere on earth could you compare in this sort of thing with the Roman curia?

A: Go on.

L: For where else might you find such a great number of priests?

A: [17] No wonder, since other regions, alliances, and cities have merely their own priests whom they use for religious matters. But priests flow into the curia from nearly all corners of the world, partly because of religion and a zealous desire to see the pope, partly to pursue high office, and partly for other reasons. Still, so what? As if God were delighted not by the merits of men, not by holiness of life, integrity, religion, or just prayers, but instead by the crowd, as if by a multitude of sheep.

L: [18] I would never say anything of the sort, and if someone does say it, I think him worthy of punishment. This at least I would not hesitate to affirm: first, in a small number [of men], there are few good men, even if they were all good; but in a great multitude there can exist very many most upright men. [19] In fact—as far as I can follow it with human ability—I am convinced and I judge that a multitude of priests who are not the worst is more pleasing to God than a paucity of priests who are not the best. [This is so] since we learn from the old traditions of sacred scripture that God always wanted to be worshiped by the multitude. Certainly, if I make a conjecture about us human beings, worship and veneration are usually pleasing, whoever carries them out. [20] This is also most wisely established by our divine laws: that every sacrifice, even if it is made by the most corrupt of priests, provided that the ritual is done correctly, is a sacrifice that is true, integral, absolute, intact, and inviolate and is to be deemed as accepted in the eyes of God.¹⁷ This is the greatest argument that God himself—and I am not saying he is not more moved by the religion of *good* men—refuses the worship of no one. Rather, he wants the honor owed to him to be displayed by all. He accepts this displayed honor and is reconciled to the one who displays it. [21] For this reason we cannot doubt that a multitude of worshipers—in which it is

17. The locus classicus of this anti-Donatist position stressing the efficacy of the sacraments (whatever the vessel of their transmission) is found in Augustine's anti-Donatist works; see Augustine, *Traité anti-Donatistes*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1963–65), especially vol. 2 (1964), *De baptismo libri VIII*, ed. G. Bavard, at VI.4–5 (pp. 412–14).

in qua plures esse bonos necesse est et sacrificia, cultus, cerimonias, frequentissime celebrari atque innovari, ipsi immortalis Deo, in cuius haec honorem fiunt, esse gratissimam.²¹⁰

A: Probo magnopere quae abs te modo in hanc²¹¹ sententiam disputata²¹² sunt, et erectior multo sum atque attentior ad ea quae sequuntur redditus.²¹³

L: [22] Iam vero sacerdotum in curia dignitas tanta est quanta maxima hominibus tribui potest. Est enim hic primum²¹⁴ pontifex maximus, qui Dei obtinet locum et quo post illum maius nihil habemus, qui non humano consilio, sed divinitus atque adeo²¹⁵ Dei voce et auctoritate constitutus est.²¹⁶ Est patrum cardinalium pulcherrimum amplissimumque collegium, qui apostolorum explent ordinem et pontifici non praesidio modo maximis in rebus gerendis atque administrandis, sed etiam decori et ornamento esse videntur. [23] Sunt archiepiscopi, episcopi, patriarchae, protonotarii aliique paene²¹⁷ infiniti ordines, omnes maxima dignitate et auctoritate ad Dei cultum instituti et inventi, qui cum in unum vel ad sacrificium vel ad quamvis rem divinam obeundam //71// conierunt et, sedente pontifice maximo in augusta illa pontificum sede collocato, cuncti ex ordine assederunt ac divini illi hymni ac psalmi disparibus variisque vocibus decantantur, quis est tam inhumanus, tam barbarus, tam agrestis, quis²¹⁸ rursus tam immanis, tam Deo hostis, tam expers religionis, qui haec aspiciens audiensque non moveatur,²¹⁹ cuius non mentem atque animum aliqua religio²²⁰ occupet et stupore perstringat²²¹ et dulcedine quadam deliniat?²²² [24] Cuius non oculi mirifice aspectu ipso pascantur oblectenturque? Cuius non aures incredibili cantus suavitate et harmonia mulceantur? Quo quidem²²³ spectaculo quod²²⁴ in terris pul-

210. gratissima G.

211. ver() com() su() al() in *mar. d. B*¹.

212. deputata G.

213. redditus *om. N.*

214. primo B.

215. a Deo *coni. Sch.*; a deo P.

216. est *om. G.*

217. paene *om. G.*

218. qui P.

219. moveatur *om. V.*

220. religione V.

221. perstringat *om. V.*

222. deliniat] deliniatur *PN*; delineat B.

223. quidam V.

224. quid *coni. Sch.*

necessary both that there are many good men and that sacrifices, worship, and ceremonies are celebrated and renewed amid the greatest con-course—is most beloved in the eyes of immortal God himself, in whose honor these things happen.

A: I greatly approve of the opinions you have just discussed, and I have been rendered much more resolute and attentive to the things that follow.

L: [22] Now then, in the curia, the worth of the priests is already the highest men can have. First of all, there is the pope, who takes the place of God: after him we have no greater. He has been given power not by human counsel but divinely and has been placed at such a high point that he has the voice and authority of God. There is the noble and esteemed college of cardinals, who fulfill the role of the apostles and seem to be for the pope not only an aid in both accomplishing and administering the grandest affairs but a graceful, becoming ornamentation as well. [23] There are archbishops, bishops, patriarchs, protonotaries, and an almost infinite number of other categories, and all of them have been created and devised with the greatest worthiness and authority for the sake of worshipping God. When they have come together either for the sacrifice of the Mass or for carrying out any other religious matter, and when the pope is sitting—after he has been stationed in that majestic papal seat—and when all those in their proper place have been seated, and when those divine hymns and psalms are being sung by different, varying voices—well, who is so inhuman, so barbarous, so boorish, or who, on the other hand, is so horrible, inimical to God, and unknowing of religion, that on seeing and hearing these things he is unmoved? [Is there anyone] whose mind and spirit a certain feeling of religion does not grasp, stupefy, and captivate with delight? [24] Is there anyone whose eyes are not marvelously nourished and delighted by the very aspect of the thing, whose ears are not soothed by the unbelievable elegance and harmony of the song? What, then, on earth is known to be more beautiful than this spec-

chrius, quod²²⁵ maius, quod²²⁶ divinius, quod²²⁷ admiratione,²²⁸ quod²²⁹ memoria²³⁰ ac literis dignius reperitur, ut non homines modo, qui intersunt et quibus hoc natura datum est, sed ipsius²³¹ etiam parietes templi et²³² exultare quodam modo²³³ et gestire²³⁴ laetitia videatur?

A:²³⁵ [25] Vera narras, et, medius fidius, ipse praesens interdum ita afficior ut cogitatione abstrahar et non humana illa neque ab hominibus²³⁶ acta videre, sed sublimis raptus ad superos, ut de Ganymede veteres poetae fabulis prodidere, deorum mensis videar interesse.

L:²³⁷ [26] Haud iniuria. Harum²³⁸ enim rerum tanta admiratio ac religio et fuit semper, hodieque, hoc Eugenio pontifice maximo, non in Italia solum, sed ad remotissimas etiam oras et²³⁹ regiones²⁴⁰ fama pervasit, ut, cum divisa iam diu Christi religio foret eiusque homines inter se non sententiis tantum atque opinionibus, sed capitali quoque odio dissiderent,²⁴¹ nunc primum tot post secula Byzanthinum imperatorem una et Thraces, Indos, Ethiopes, taceo alios orientis reges,²⁴² principes, nationes, ad pacem, concordiam, unionem cum orientalibus ineundam attraxerit; [27] quae cum //71v// propediem, nisi infestum aliquod numen inpediat, futura videantur,²⁴³ si nulla²⁴⁴ mihi esset alia causa frequentandae curiae, satis haec una magna cuique ac probabilis existimari deberet, ut hunc tantum, tam varium, tam celebrem hominum atque adeo genitum²⁴⁵ concursum, tantum tam admirabilem consensum, antea nunquam auditum

225. quid *coni. Sch.*

226. quid *coni. Sch.*

227. quid *coni. Sch.*

228. admiratione] admiratione quod admiratione *sic P.*

229. quid *coni. Sch.*

230. memoria *om. Sch.*

231. ipsi *G.*

232. et *om. GB.*

233. quodam modo] quod admodum *N.*

234. gestari *V;* egestire *B.*

235. *A om. V.*

236. omnibus *V.*

237. *L om. V.*

238. *Nam N.*

239. *ac V.*

240. religiones *PN.*

241. *dissederent V.*

242. *regis V.*

243. *vedeantur sic V; reddantur sic legit Sch.; videant G.*

244. *ulla B.*

245. *gentium PNB.*

tacle, greater, or more divine? What is there that is worthier of wonder, remembrance, or being recorded in writing, so that not only men (who take part in these matters and to whom nature has given them) but also the walls of the church building itself seem to revel in a certain way and be transported with happiness?

A: [25] What you say is true, by God, and when I am there, at times I am so affected that I am lost in thought and seem to see things neither human nor by humans transacted. Uplifted and seized into the heavens, I seem to be present at the tables of the gods, as the ancient poets in their fables spoke of Ganymede.¹⁸

L: [26] Justifiably so. After all, there has always been so much admiration and worship of these things [at the curia]. And today, now that Eugenius is pope, the [church's] reputation has spread not only in Italy but even to the remotest shores and regions. Of course, it is true that the religion of Christ has been divided now for a long time and that the people who comprise the church disagree among themselves—and it is not just that they disagree about feelings and opinions; they do so with a life-endangering hatred! Even with all this, now, for the first time after all these centuries, the report of these things has brought [here] the Byzantine emperor as well as the Thracians, Indians, Ethiopians (and I pass over the kings, princes, and peoples of the East), for the sake of entering on peace, concord, and union with the Easterners. [27] Since it seems to be about to happen any day now—unless impeded by some hostile spirit—if there were no other reason for me to be frequenting the curia, then this one great reason would have to be thought believable enough: that I, being present, might see what would seem unbelievable to those who are not here. I might see, that is, this coming together of men that is so great, so variegated, so famous, so engendered by God, and such a great and admirable unanimity that the likes of it has never been heard of

18. Ganymede, because of his great beauty, was taken up by Zeus to live with the gods in Olympia. The locus classicus is in Homer's *Iliad* (XX.231), but different aspects of the Ganymede legend were known from a host of Latin sources as well.

aut lectum, qui absentibus incredibilis videatur, praesens aspicerem et communi omnium plausu et gaudio²⁴⁶ fruerer.

A: [28] Vehementer sum tua oratione delectatus et uberrimum ex hac disputatione fructum me percepisse sentio, quod de veteri mea²⁴⁷ sententia paulatim dimoveri incipio maximamque partem diuturni erroris mei per te hodie posuisse videor.²⁴⁸ Fit enim nescio quo modo ut quae unicuique rei insint vicia, statim appareant, lateant bona diutius obscurenturque ab illis ut prodire atque in lucem emergere nequeant. Sic mihi olim curiae vitia ante oculos quotidie versabantur,²⁴⁹ tot vero ac tanta bona quasi caligine ac tenebris circumfusa haud videbam, quae nunc omnia illata a te luce orationis aspicio et plura multo maioraque²⁵⁰ superesse intelligo.

L: [29] Nihili est ergo deinceps explanatione mea opus. A me enim aditu²⁵¹ ianuaque patefacta, reliqua quae superesse dicis tu ipse pro tua diligentia, si paulum modo invigilare volueris, facile cognoscere poteris.

A: [30] Immo²⁵² nunc magis est opus multo quam antea, et negotii etiam plus incumbit. Ut enim viator penitus ignorans viam, raro aberrat, quod nunquam fere sine duce iter ingreditur, edoctus autem qua sibi eundem sit, si careat duce, in avia²⁵³ saepe et difficilia loca inducitur, sic ego antea totius rationis ignarus et²⁵⁴ hebes in eo uno tantum versabar errore, nunc autem initiis cognitionis perceptis, si praeceptione²⁵⁵ tua destitutus essem, in varios et inextricabiles errores inciderem. Quare perge, obsecro,²⁵⁶ quousque ad exitum incolumem me perduxeris.

[IV. De prudentia et aliis virtutibus acquirendis curiae]

L: [1] Non recuso equidem, //72// sed vellem aliquid proferres²⁵⁷ in medium²⁵⁸ ex iis²⁵⁹ quae te reliqua percepisse dixisti.

246. gladio V.

247. me B.

248. hodie posuisse videor] posuisse videar hodie V; posuisse videor hodie PGN.

249. quotidie versabantur] versabantur quotidie G.

250. multo maioraque] multoque maiora G; multo maiora N.

251. auditu V.

252. Admodum N.

253. in avia] inania VB.

254. ut V.

255. perceptione V.

256. queso *canc. ad obsecro in mar. s. B¹.*

257. proferre G.

258. me P.

259. hiis P.

or read about before. Thus I might rejoice in the common applause and joy of all.

A: [28] I am truly delighted by your speech and feel that I have taken away from this discussion the ripest of fruits, since little by little I am beginning to be nudged away from my prior opinion and seem, thanks to you, to have done away with most of this long-standing error of mine. For it happens—and I don't know how—that whatever vices are present in a certain thing appear on the spot, while the good things lie hidden for quite some time, obscured by the vices. The result is that the good things cannot find a way out into the light of day. So to me, previously, the vices of the curia were occurring before my very eyes every day, and I just really didn't see the great multitude of good things, which were overwhelmed as if by a dark haze. Of course now I see all of these good things—which you have brought forth by the light of your oration—and I understand that they stand out over and the bad, since they are so many more and so much greater.

L: [29] Well then, further explanation on my part would be pointless. After all, since I have opened the door for you, you yourself, with your own diligence, could easily figure out the rest of the things that you say remain, if only you choose to stay awake for a little while.

A: [30] Not at all; in fact now there is much more need than before and it is even more pertinent. Before, when I was completely ignorant of the whole discourse, I was like a traveler who doesn't know the way at all and thus rarely makes a mistake. For the traveler does not undertake a journey without a guide, since, if he is informed as to how to go but has no leader, he is often led into trackless, dangerous places. I was a dull-witted creature who was thoroughly engaged in that one error, but now that I have just begun to understand, if I were deprived of your instruction, I would fall into many different, inextricable errors. So please, go on, until you have led me to a safe way out.

[IV. On Prudence and the Other Virtues to Be Acquired at the Curia]

L: [1] Of course I won't refuse. But I do wish you would come out openly with one of those [good] things that you said you thought remained.

A: [2] Illud est inprimis, quod ex dictis tuis potissimum colligo, videri mihi nos faciliorem quodam modo et expeditiorem ad superos aditum habituros esse. Siquidem ibi praesente pontifice praecipuo Dei beneficio et munere et meritorum praemia immortalia et delictorum remissio et venia tribuatur, itaque non dicam mortem usquam²⁶⁰ expetendam²⁶¹ esse, sed, sicubi moriendum est, ut certe est, in curia mori quam alibi malim, ubi moriendi ratio tutior et sanctor.

L: [3] Et bene etiam²⁶² prudenter moderateque vivendi²⁶³ oportunitas maior.

A: Quonam pacto?

L: Dicam. Num²⁶⁴ prudentiam ducem bene vivendi et magistram appellare solemus?

A: [4] Rectissime, quippe qua honesta, turpia, iusta, iniusta, aequa, iniqua, commoda, incommoda, utilia inutiliaque dignoscimus eaque²⁶⁵ seiungere abinvicem²⁶⁶ ac separare, tum quae²⁶⁷ probemus eligere, contraria fugere aspernarique valemus; ad haec praeterita meminisse, quae instant²⁶⁸ sapienter gerere, quae impediunt, ut ventura sunt,²⁶⁹ multo antea providere, et si qua secum ferant incommoda, declinare.

L: [5] Quid? Quod eadem virtute maxime a ceteris animantibus²⁷⁰ distare videmur,²⁷¹ hac eadem supra homines attolli et proxime ad Deum accedere? Nam²⁷²—quod nullum aliud animal potest—quod in rebus decorum, quis ordo, quae convenientia sit perspicimus et hominibus dubiis suarum rerum²⁷³ et incertis et in aliqua difficultate constitutis salutaria consilia damus veritatisque cognitionem attingimus. Haec autem virtus duabus rebus praecipue comparatur.

A: [6] Quibus?

L: Longitudine aetatis et usu atque experientia rerum.

260. usque V.

261. expectendam V.

262. etiam] et iam V.

263. moderateque vivendi *om. G.*

264. Non B.

265. Qeaque V; omniaque *coni. Sch.*

266. adinvicem *VPGB.*

267. tum que] cum equa V.

268. instantur V.

269. sunt *om. G.*

270. animalibus *coni. Sch.*

271. videmus P.

272. Non B.

273. suarum rerum] rerum suarum B.

A: [2] Well, first of all, the most important thing I infer from what you said is that it seems to me that we shall have in some way a simpler and more unhindered passage to the upper world. Certainly with the pope present and by the special privilege and gift of God, we receive immortal reward for our merits and remission and forgiveness for our sins. So I am not saying that death is to be sought out. But since there is no doubt that we have to die, I would rather die in the curia than anywhere else, since in the curia there is a safer and holier way of dying.

L: [3] As well as a greater opportunity to live prudently and moderately.

A: How so?

L: I'll tell you. Don't we usually call prudence the guide and teacher of living well?

A: [4] That's very true, since by prudence we discern things that are decent and indecent, just and unjust, fair and unfair, advantageous and disadvantageous, and useful and useless. We learn how to separate these things from one another and divide them up. After this we can choose what we approve of and avoid and reject the contrary. We can also remember the past, deal wisely with the present, and foresee well in advance the things to come and any future impediments. And if any of those things might bring difficulties along with them, we can turn them down.

L: [5] What do you mean? That the same virtue that seems to separate us in the highest degree from other animals raises us above men and makes us come closer to God? For—as no other animal can—we see the beauty, the order, and the harmony that exists in things. We give helpful advice to those who are doubtful and uncertain of their affairs as well as to those who have wound up in some kind of difficulty. And we attain to an understanding of the truth. Moreover, we acquire this power by two things.

A: [6] Which ones?

L: Length of age and everyday practice and experience with things.

A: Sic arbitror et verissimum illud puto esse, quod //72v// apud Aristotelem legisse me²⁷⁴ memini: iuvenem mathematicum et phisicum²⁷⁵ esse posse, prudentem vero nisi senem ac natu grandiozem non posse, quod duo illa sint in senibus, quae iuvenes aduc per aetatem assequi nequiverunt.

L: [7] Philosophari mihi videris!

A: Tua id praeceptio effecit.

L: Utinam id praestare mea²⁷⁶ praeceptio posset; sed vereor ne, si hoc verum est, quoniam iam adeo profecisti,²⁷⁷ perbreui magistrum exsuperes.

A: Ita ne iocaris mecum?

L: [8] Existimo igitur Aristotelem Homeri poesim legisse atque illum imitatum esse, qui, cum in Ulyxis persona prudentem virum fingere vellet, sic scripsit: “Varias iactatus in oras²⁷⁸ et mores hominum multorum novit et urbes;” eadem videlicet erroris longitudine et varietate locorum atque hominum notavit. Huius preciosissimae rei consequendae gratia numquam ego cuiquam Calypsen, Circem,²⁷⁹ Pheaces, Lystrigones, Syrenas, Ciclopes, inferos ut²⁸⁰ Ulyxi petendos censuerim. Nam quae ille diuturno errore, summo vitae discrimine consequutus est,²⁸¹ haec omnia abunde tibi Romana curia suppeditabit. [9] In ea enim una rerum multitudinem, varietatem hominum, magnitudinem causarum reperias.²⁸² Nihil enim fere²⁸³ maximum inter Christianos agitur, de quo non consulatur²⁸⁴ pontifex maximus, in quo non eius interponatur auctoritas. Sive enim de bello sive de pace sive de foederibus ineundis sive de matrimoniis inter summos orbis reges et principes deliberatur²⁸⁵ sive aliqua inter eos vertitur²⁸⁶ controversia, cuncta ad illum deferuntur et in curia

274. legisse me] me legisse P.

275. phisicum] phisicum et phisicum sic P.

276. praestare mea om. G.

277. profecisti N.

278. in oras] in horas V; moras G.

279. Artem sic B.

280. et G.

281. est om. V.

282. reperies coni. Sch.

283. fore G.

284. consulatur VNB.

285. deliberantur G.

286. aliqua inter eos vertitur] aliqua vertitur inter eos P.

A: I think so too, and I believe that what I remember reading in Aristotle is very true: that a young man can be both a natural philosopher and a mathematician, but that a man cannot be prudent unless he is an old man, someone greater in age. This is because present in old men are those two things [you mentioned] that as youths they couldn't yet acquire, given their age.¹⁹

L: [7] You seem to me to philosophize!

A: Well, your teaching brought it about.

L: I wish my teaching could have been responsible for it. But if this is true I am afraid that you are fast superseding your master, since you have already come this far.

A: Really, are you jesting at my expense?

L: [8] Well then, I think that Aristotle read the poem of Homer and that he imitated him. When Homer wanted to portray the prudent man in the person of Ulysses, he wrote as follows: "Having been cast onto various shores, he came to know the cities and customs of many peoples";²⁰ that is, Homer denoted the same things [mentioned earlier] by the length of wandering and variety of places and men. I never thought that for the sake of pursuing this most precious thing [i.e., this virtue], anyone—like Ulysses—had to seek out Calyps, Circes, the Phaeacians, the Laestrygones, the Sirens, the Cyclops, and Hades. After all, what he gained by long wandering and with extreme danger to his life—well, the Roman curia will offer you all of it in abundance. [9] There, together, you would find a multitude of things, a variety of men, and a great number of inducements. For among Christians almost nothing of great importance is done on which the pope is not consulted or in which his authority is not in some way involved. Whether it is a deliberation concerning war, peace, or striking treaties, or marriages among the greatest kings and princes of the world, or even if it concerns some controversy that occurs among these great leaders, all things are deferred to the pope, and they

19. Angelo is confused. In the *Nicomachean Ethics* (VI.8), Aristotle does not say that a boy can be both a mathematician and a natural philosopher but not a wise man. Rather, he says that a boy can be a mathematician but not a natural philosopher or a wise man, since the latter two require *empeiria*, or experience. The general point, however, for the goals of the discussion, is clear: the curia provides useful experience of the world, since many different peoples and customs can be observed there.

20. See Hom. *Od.* I.3–4.

ut²⁸⁷ in²⁸⁸ publico²⁸⁹ aliquo foro²⁹⁰ agitantur. [10] Itaque necesse est eum qui in hac tanta frequentia versetur rerum atque hominum multa videre, multa audire, //73// multa discere, multa etiam²⁹¹ ipsum agere, plurimorum item nec vulgarium nec imperitorum hominum colloquio, sermone, et consuetudine uti, plurimorum mores et vitae instituta agnoscere, cum nonnullis etiam familiaritates amicitiasque coniungere. Ex quibus omnibus sibi quod libeat probandi, improbandi, legendi, reiiciendi, dimittendi, sumendi, corrigendi, emendandive²⁹² potestas permittitur, ut, tametsi natura hebetior sit, modo non negligens, paulo²⁹³ tamen diutius tritus in curia et sub actus²⁹⁴ summo²⁹⁵ saepe viros ingenio superet.

A: [11] Hoc mihi ita esse facillime persuadeo. Complures enim proferre possum adulescentes profectos nuper in curiam²⁹⁶ qui cum egregia indole essent, ita peritos magistros diligentesque invenerunt²⁹⁷ ut paucis mensibus in viros evaderent, nec vero Tiresiae nec Cenei tam celerem formae mutationem arbitror fuisse nec tantam. Quod minime mirum. [12] Sunt enim in curia Romana homines quidam non usu modo rerum maximarum imbuti, sed etiam inusitata quadam admirabili atque inaudita disciplina praediti et ad instituendos adolescentes accommodata, cuius²⁹⁸ ego nomen ne proferam veluti Eleusina illa mysteria religione impediatur. Sed quid reliquae²⁹⁹ virtutes? Nullusne³⁰⁰ in curia illarum est usus, nulla exercitatio,³⁰¹ nullum munus?

L: [13] Permulta. Difficile est enim quempiam esse prudentem, quin idem et iustus et fortis et temperans sit. Quis enim iniustum aut ignavum et timidum aut intemperantem, prudentem audeat appellare? Quae omnia summae dementiae³⁰² et insaniae vitia videntur esse.³⁰³

287. et N.

288. ut in *om.* V.

289. preco *sic* V; presto *sic coni.* Sch.

290. aliquo foro] foro aliquo B.

291. et V.

292. emendandi N.

293. paula V.

294. *lege* subactus; sublatus V.

295. summos G.

296. curia N.

297. inven()e V; invenire *legit* Sch.

298. quorum *coni.* Sch.

299. reliquie V.

300. Nulliusne G.

301. exercitatio] exercitatio et P.

302. clemencie VP.

303. videntur esse] esse videntur B.

are all discussed in the curia as if it were a kind of public forum. [10] This is why it is inevitable that whoever is involved in such frequent contact with men and affairs sees many things, hears many things, learns many things, and also himself does many things. He takes advantage of the talk, conversation, and social interaction of many men—and these are men who are not common or unlearned—and he knows the customs and manners of living of many and forms acquaintanceships and friendships besides. From all of these things, he is granted the power of approving and disapproving what he wishes, of choosing and rejecting, of letting go and taking back, as well as the power of correcting and emending. The result is that even if he is by nature somewhat dim-witted—and as long as he is not negligent—after being worn down and broken in for a while in the curia, he often conquers men of the highest cleverness.

A: [11] I'm actually quite easily convinced by this. For I can name quite a few very young men who have advanced recently into the curia and, while they had great natural ability, have come upon teachers who were so skilled and diligent that in a few months they emerged as men, so that I think that not even Tiresias or Caeneus changed their form so swiftly or in such a great degree.²¹ And really it's no wonder. [12] For there are some in the Roman curia who are not only imbued with practice in the greatest affairs but also endowed with a certain unaccustomed, marvelous, and unheard-of teaching system, one well suited for training very young men. I am impeded by scruple from revealing its name, as if it were the famous Eleusinian mysteries. But what about the rest of the virtues? In the curia isn't there any practice of them, any training in them, any function for them?

L: [13] Of course. After all, it is difficult for someone to be prudent without at the same time being just, brave, and temperate. Really, who would dare to call the prudent man unjust, or ignorant and cowardly, or intemperate? All of these vices seem to be characteristic of the highest folly and insanity.

21. Tiresias and Caeneus were two ancient mythological figures who were said, in some versions of the legends surrounding them, to have changed sexes completely. Lapo would have known about Caeneus from Virg. *Aen* VI.448–49: “There goes Caeneus as a companion, once a young man, now a woman, straightaway she has been changed into her old form” [It comes et iuvenis quondam, nunc femina, Caeneus / Rursus et in veterem fato revoluta figuram]. Cf. also Servius ad loc. For Tiresias, Lapo would have known the story from Ovid *Met.* III.316–40. There he would have read the story that Tiresias, on seeing two snakes copulating, hit them with a stick and thereafter was changed into a woman. When the same thing happened later on, Tiresias was changed back into his original, masculine form.

[14] Virtutes autem omnes, cum ab uno fonte et capite manent, uno societatis vinculo continentur inter se, officiis tamen ab invicem distinguuntur. Sic qui //73v// agit ea quae sunt prudentiae, prudens,³⁰⁴ quae iustitiae, iustus, quae fortitudinis, fortis, quae temperantiae, temperans dicitur, quae omnia si in uno³⁰⁵ complecti volumus, virum illum bonum appellamus.³⁰⁶ Itaque necesse est qui prudentiam sive quanvis aliam³⁰⁷ virtutem habeat, eum virtutes omnes habere; cui una desit, deesse omnes.

[15] Ex quo non³⁰⁸ temere videntur Stoici illum viciis omnibus inquinatum putasse cui aliquid ad summam virtutem deficeret,³⁰⁹ nec quicquam interesse aut differre Socratem,³¹⁰ summum philosophum et sanctissimum virum, a Phalari, scelestissimo crudelissimoque tyranno, quoniam neminem bonum habendum ducerent nisi sapientem, nec sapientem quenquam,³¹¹ nisi in quo perfecta et absoluta virtus foret; quam cum minus assecutus Socrates videretur, aequae ipsum ac Phalarim vitio obnoxium et perinde ut illum improbum esse.

[16] Sed Aristoteles et alii³¹² de virtute accuratius disputant. Duo ponunt virtutum genera, quorum alterum in pervestigatione³¹³ et cognitione veritatis, alterum in actione versetur, illud intellectivum, hoc morale vocitant; quos secutus Cicero in primo *De officiis* libro: Duo, inquit, sunt officiorum genera, quorum unum quod pertinet ad finem bonorum, quod Graeci *κατόρθωμα*,³¹⁴ nos perfectum officium possumus appellare, alterum ad³¹⁵ institutionem vitae communis, quod medium officium nuncuparunt. [17] Quae duo genera veteres quidam philosophi solo sapientiae nomine contineri statuunt, et eas omnes virtutes in unum collectas et inter se coherentes sapientiam dicunt. Qui vero ex iis³¹⁶ vir-

304. prudens *om.* P.

305. uno] unum V; *post uno add. animo inter lineas* B.

306. appellans V.

307. quanvis aliam] quavis aliam N; aliam quanvis B.

308. nunc B.

309. difficeret V.

310. societatem N.

311. nisi sapientem nec sapientem quenquam] nisi sapientem quempiam V; nisi sapientem nec sapientem quempiam PN.

312. alii] alii qui B.

313. in pervestigatione] impervestigatione G.

314. καθορθωμα F; κατόρθωμα *om.* VPGN *cum spatio vacuo; om. B sed sine spatio; κατόρθωμα add. Sch., recte.*

315. ad *om.* V.

316. hiis PB.

[14] Besides, all of the virtues, even though they flow from one source and one point of origin and are contained among themselves, singularly bonded in relationship, nonetheless are distinguished one from another in their duties. Thus whoever does those things that are characteristic of prudence is said to be prudent; whoever does those things that are characteristic of bravery is said to be brave; whoever does those things that are characteristic of temperance is said to be temperate. If all of these things are gathered together in one man, then we call that man good. And so it is necessary that someone who possesses prudence or any other virtue possess all the virtues. Whoever is lacking one lacks them all.

[15] Because of this it seems that the Stoics were not being rash to have thought that the man who is lacking anything toward the attainment of the highest virtue is polluted by all vices. Nor were they rash in thinking that nothing distinguished or differentiated Socrates—who was the greatest philosopher and the most holy of men—from Phalaris, who was the wickedest and cruelest of tyrants. For they thought that no one was to be considered good unless he was wise and that no one was wise unless there was complete, absolute virtue in him, and since it seems that Socrates had not attained this, they thought that Socrates himself was practically subject to vice, just like Phalaris, and that Socrates was as wicked as Phalaris.²²

[16] But Aristotle and others argue more precisely about virtue. They set forth that there are two genera of virtue. One of these turns on the investigation and cognition of truth, the other on action. They call the first genus “intellectual virtues” and the second “moral virtues.” Cicero followed them in the first book of the *De officiis*. He says that there are two genera of duties. One of these pertains to the end of goods, and the Greeks called it *κατόρθωμα* [katorthōma]; we can call it “complete duty.” The other comprises the principles of common life, and they called it “middle duty.”²³ [17] Certain ancient philosophers judge that these two genera are contained under the single name of wisdom, and they say that all these virtues are collected together and, hanging together among themselves, constitute wisdom. They mean that whoever is completely com-

22. Perhaps an allusion to the fact that Socrates yielded lustfully to Alcibiades (?); perhaps cf. Plut. *De fortuna . . . Alexandri* 12.

23. Cf. Cic. *Off.* I.7–8, and see chap. 2 supra.

tutibus totus conglutinatus³¹⁷ est, sapientem et esse et³¹⁸ appellari volunt. Sapientiam autem ipsam divinarum humanarumque rerum scientiam esse diffiniunt. Ex quibus colligi potest existimasse³¹⁹ //74// illos unam tantum esse virtutem³²⁰ quam qui nactus³²¹ esset, sapientem eundemque bonum virum esse, cui pars aliqua deesset, eum nec sapientem nec bonum.

[18] Ut igitur ad propositum reducatur oratio, si quis vel natura duce vel³²² doctrina vel usu et pertractatione rerum vel alia quapiam ratione prudens evaserit, illi continuo virtutes reliquae comitentur³²³ oportet, aliter non erit prudens, quanquam etiam³²⁴ separatim non minores nec pauciores contineat³²⁵ curia oportunitates reliquarum virtutum parandarum, quam comparandae, retinendae augendaeque prudentiae. [19] Ex eadem enim diversitate rerum et copia, quibus gerendis prudentes efficimur, discimus neminem laedere nisi provocati, insontes ab iniuria prohibere, aequae omnibus ius dicere, fidem datam non fallere, quod suum est unicuique tribuere, quae iustitiae officia sunt; praeterea non confidere nimium nec temere desperare, res magnas ac³²⁶ arduas spectare³²⁷ atque appetere, despiciere humiles, pericula laboresque cum ratione utilitatis suscipere eademque³²⁸ constantissime tolerare, nec secundis rebus offerri³²⁹ nec perturbari adversis et tumultuantem de gradu deiici,³³⁰ quae a fortitudine profiscuntur. [20] Nec minus assuefimus³³¹ rationem ducem sequi eidemque appetitus subiicere atque oboedientes praestare, contemnere voluptates, cupiditates³³² nostras facile continere, in omnibus³³³ vitae partibus decorum gravitatemque servare et, ut Pythius Apollo praecipit, nihil nimis. Quae omnia a temperato modestoque viro inprimis desiderare solemus. Haec igitur, ut vides,

317. conglutinans V.

318. et *om. B.*

319. extistimasse] existimans se V; existimas se N.

320. esse virtutem] virtutem esse B.

321. natus G.

322. et B.

323. committentur V.

324. quanquam etiam] etiam quanquam N.

325. continet G.

326. et N.

327. espectare V.

328. eademque] ea denique N.

329. offerri N.

330. clerici V.

331. assuescimus G.

332. cupiditates *om. P.*

333. hominibus G.

posed of these virtues is wise and is called wise. Indeed, they define wisdom as the very knowledge of divine and human things, from which we can gather that they thought that virtue was very much one thing and that whoever has obtained it is wise and good, whereas whoever is lacking even a part of virtue is neither wise nor good.

[18] So (to return to the point of the conversation), if someone emerges as a wise man—whether because he is led by nature or custom and everyday dealings with things or because of any other reason—then he must be accompanied by the remaining virtues. Otherwise he will not be prudent, although the curia too has neither lesser nor fewer opportunities for coming by the remaining virtues than for acquiring, maintaining, and increasing prudence. [19] For from the same diversity and abundance of things that make us prudent when we do them, we learn never to injure anyone unless provoked, to protect the innocent from injury, to judge all equally, not to break a promise, and to render to each his own—all of which are the duties of justice—and, moreover, not to trust excessively or to despair rashly, to aim toward and desire great and arduous things, to look down on humble ones, to take on dangers and difficult tasks for utility's sake and to tolerate these same things with the greatest constancy, and not to be carried away by things that are favorable, or be disturbed by adverse circumstances, or be dislodged from one's place of battle in times of confusion—these things come from bravery. [20] Nor are we less accustomed [in the curia] to follow reason as our leader and to subordinate our appetites to reason, showing that we are obedient to reason; to despise pleasures; to contain our desires with ease, and in all parts of our life to preserve decorum and seriousness and, as Pythian Apollo ordered, “nothing in excess.”²⁴ We usually think that all of these things are needed above all by the man who is temperate

24. Apollo is sometimes known as Pythian Apollo because his temple was known as the “palace of Python.” The traditional classical proverb “Nothing in excess” (Latin “nihil nimis,” Greek μηδὲν ἄγαν) was found in various forms in a host of sources. Included among these are Pindar fr. 216; Ter. *Hau.* 519; Cic. *Fin.* III.73.

parari in curia possunt, si quis illis vigilanter studeat. Quae quidem³³⁴ si magna atque adeo maxima et preciosissima sunt bona dubitare non potes,³³⁵ plurima nos ex eis³³⁶ commoda, emolumenta, utilitatesque³³⁷ percipere.

A: [21] Est quidem,³³⁸ ni fallor, ut dicis. Non tamen arbitror ad ea bona licere omnibus aspirare.

L: Certe omnibus //74v// volentibus, dico, ac perquirentibus nec adiumentis et praesidiis naturae destitutis. Sunt enim quidam ita remisso animo ac³³⁹ abiecto, ingenio vero ita hebeti ac tardo, plerique ita negligentes, desidiosi, stupidi aut ita delicati et molles, nonnulli calidi in consiliis, rapidi et perturbationibus animi adeo obnoxii, adeo praeposteri alii natura ac perversi, complures sic corruptis et inquinatis moribus ut, etiam si omnes a curia sibi facultat^{es}³⁴⁰ suppeditate³⁴¹ fuerint, in illorum tamen quos dixi numerum venire non possint.

A: [22] Hos³⁴² equidem homines, si splendorem curiae, si decus pristinum, si honestatem³⁴³ recuperare et retinere cupimus, veluti pestes quasdam ac labes hominum procul a curia abigendos et in ultimas terras exportandos censeo, qui inutiles sibi, reliquis pernitiosi, curiae universae dedecorosi sunt. Suis³⁴⁴ enim³⁴⁵ probris ac flagitiis magnam illi nobisque omnibus notam atque infamiam inxerunt.³⁴⁶ Ex quo iam apud omnes homines in sermone ac proverbio usurpatur sine exceptione aliqu: “Curialis bonus, homo improbissimus; curialis bonus,³⁴⁷ homo scelestissimus et omnibus viciis cohoptus.” Itaque me pudet iam, puto item bonos omnis³⁴⁸ et esse et dici curiales.

L: [23] Scio, me hercule, vera istaec esse quae dicis, et quidem³⁴⁹ ita esse vehementer indoleo. Atque utinam id quod dixisti modo in mentem

334. equidem V.

335. potest VG.

336. ea *sic codd.*

337. utilitatisque V.

338. equidem V.

339. et PGN.

340. facultates VPGNB.

341. suppeditate] suppeditate abunde VPGNB.

342. Nos P.

343. honestate V.

344. suis] sinis *aut* suus V.

345. etiam N.

346. ininxerunt *coni. Sch.*; iniunxerunt P; *corr. in mar. d. ad* induxerunt G.

347. improbissimus; curialis bonus, homo *om. Sch.*

348. hominis *coni. Sch.*; omnes N.

349. quia G.

and modest. These things, then, as you see, can be acquired in the curia, if one seeks them out watchfully. Certainly, if these goods are great things, or even the greatest and most valued things, you cannot doubt that we receive many benefits, profits, and advantages from them.

A: [21] Of course, if I am not mistaken, it is as you say. Still, I don't think everyone is permitted to aspire to these goods.

L: I say that it is permitted to all who are willing and who search eagerly for these things and who are not lacking in nature's assistance and aid. There are some, after all, who are so remiss and abject in spirit, so dull and laggardly in intelligence, more who are so negligent, idle, and stupid, so soft and effeminate, some who are hot-tempered in their judgment as well as quick to anger and are so subject to perturbations of the soul, others who are so wrongheaded and perverse in nature, many who are so corrupt and polluted in character, that even if they had for themselves all of the curia's possibilities in abundance, they still could not come into the number of those whom I have mentioned.

A: [22] Well I certainly think that these men should be driven far away from the curia as plagues and disgraces to humankind and expelled to the ends of the earth, if we want to recover and then retain the curia's splendor, original beauty, and honor. These men are useless to themselves, destructive toward others, and disgraceful to the whole curia. Indeed, because of their shameful and outrageous acts, they have branded the curia as well as all of us with a great and widely known mark of shame. Because of this, now everyone, without any exception, in everyday speech and proverbially, uses this phrase: "Good curialist, wickedest of men; good curialist, most corrupt of men, overwhelmed by all vices." And so, by now I am ashamed—and I think that all good men are ashamed—to be curialists and to be called such.

L: [23] By Hercules, I know what you say is true, and it bothers me immensely! If only what you said would find its way into the mind of the

veniret ei qui summae rei praeest, ut hos³⁵⁰ impurissimos et perditissimos³⁵¹ homines, quibus ob impunitatem facinorum referta sunt omnia, suppliciiis, ignominiis, exilio, morte multaret! [24] Melius profecto sibi, melius dignitati suae, melius existimationi curiae, melius curialium qui honeste vivere cupiunt commodis salutique consuleret. Cederent improbi, cederent, inquam,³⁵² curia, cederent magistratibus,³⁵³ cederent dignitatibus, cederent hoc amplissimorum et illustrissimorum virorum cetu et frequentia, quem paene iam totum suis sceleribus nequissimis inquinarent!³⁵⁴ Respirarent tandem aliquando boni seque attollerent meritis! Potirentur honoribus et digna suis operibus praemia //75// reportarent! Esset enim virtuti, esset honestati honos.

[25] Haec consuetudo, si serpere ac³⁵⁵ prodire inciperet, animos omnium hac spe proposita ad laudem, ad³⁵⁶ gloriam, ad digni<ta>tem maxime excitaret³⁵⁷ et ab improbitate deterreret, cum nonnisi bonis artibus ad honores³⁵⁸ et amplitudinem aditum patere intuerentur; pro facinorosis honestos, pro intemperantibus temperatos, pro luxuriosis modestos, pro corruptis integros, pro sceleratis viros sanctissimos haberemus. Itaque iure³⁵⁹ tum floreret³⁶⁰ curiae Romanae nomen et eius imperii dignitas pontificisque maiestas gravis haberetur.

[26] Quae quidem³⁶¹ contra nunc fiunt³⁶² omnia. Nam quae miseria tanta est ut cum hac curialium comparari conferrique possit? Tot honestissimi et praestantissimi³⁶³ viri, quot in curia Romana sunt, paucorum vicio ac turpitudine contemnuntur despiciunturque ab omnibus, gravi diuturnaque invidia flagrant.³⁶⁴ In pontificis iam maximi caput audaces ac temerarii homines insultant eidemque et reliquis cladem aliquam atque exitium quotidie moliuntur; bona fortunasque ecclesiae sceleratis-

350. hos *om.* G.

351. periclitissimos V.

352. inquit P.

353. magratibus N.

354. inquinarent] inquinarent et N.

355. et N.

356. et P.

357. extitaret N.

358. honeres *sic* F; honorem G.

359. iure *om.* G.

360. flereret V.

361. quidam V.

362. nunc fiunt] fiunt nunc P.

363. et praestantissimi *om.* Sch.

364. flagitant *corr. ad* flagrant *in mar. d.* B¹.

one at the head of the whole institution. Then he might punish with torture, dishonor, exile, and death these most impure, desperate men with whom the whole [institution] is packed because of their unpunished crimes! [24] Certainly it would be better for him [the pope] to think about his own interests, his own worth, the reputation of the curia, as well as the safety and success of the curialists who desire to live honorably. These disgraces should retreat—retreat, I say—from the curia, retreat from the magistracies, retreat from their dignified status, retreat from the company and concourse of such widely accomplished and illustrious men, which [company] they have almost completely defiled with their most wicked crimes. The good might at last catch their breath and raise themselves up by their own merits. They would take possession of honors and bring home rewards worthy of their own works. Then virtue and honorable dealing would have their honor.

[25] If this habit began gradually to wend its way in and then grow, it would particularly stir up the spirits of all—once this hope had been conceived—to praise, glory, and dignity. It would also deter them from wickedness, since they would clearly see an opportunity for honors and high rank only by means of liberal culture. Instead of criminals we would have honest men, instead of the intemperate we would have temperate men, instead of the excessive we would have modest men, instead of the perverse we would have pure men, and instead of the corrupt we would have the most holy of men. Then the name of the Roman curia would rightfully flourish, and its dignity of empire as well as the grave majesty of the pope would be obtained.

[26] Of course, everything that happens now at the curia works against this goal. Really, what wretchedness is there that is so great that it could be likened or compared to that of the curialists? Despite the existence at the curia of quite a number of honorable, outstanding men, still, just as many are hated and despised by all because of the vice and filthiness of a few; they are subjected to a fire of envy that has long oppressed them. The audacious and the rash call down insults on the head of the pope. Every day they hurl one disaster or another on him and the rest. We see that the goods and fortunes of the church have been exposed to the most corrupt of thieves for the purpose of pillage and devastation,

simis³⁶⁵ latronibus praedae ac populationi expositas³⁶⁶ esse videmus eorumque armis vexari ac diripi omne patrimonium dignitatis; ac nisi his illorum³⁶⁷ audaciae occurratur, subito extremum propediem curiae excidium imminere videtur.

[27] Quare arbitror tempus iam instare omnibus³⁶⁸ excitari atque assurgere tantisque et prementibus³⁶⁹ et futuris incommodis prospicere ac providere. Commune est enim hoc malum, communis metus, commune periculum, communi praesidio haec tanta calamitas tanquam aliquod commune incendium repellenda est. Serpit enim in dies magis atque ingravescit morbus et altius radices agit. Curandus est igitur atque opprimendus anteaquam se ad interiora insinuet, cum nullum salutis remedium reperiri³⁷⁰ poterit.

A:³⁷¹ [28] Sed iam querelis sit modus,³⁷² praesertim nihil profuturis. Nam et ad institutum nostrum non pertinent et etiam periculosae sunt propter improborum multitudinem, ne quis ista in se dici existimet. //75v//

L: Obsequar voluntati tuae meque³⁷³ ad propositum sermonem referam, ac si hae³⁷⁴ querelae meae tibi iniucundae fuerunt, memento³⁷⁵ te earum incoandarum³⁷⁶ auctorem et principem fuisse. Sed ego fortasse a te provocatus dolore et indignatione longius sum provectus, in quo mihi debes ignoscere.

A:³⁷⁷ Haec hactenus.

[V. De clarissimis otiosis curiae]

L:³⁷⁸ [1] Illuc propero, quo iubes. Ne igitur putes negociosis³⁷⁹ tantum

365. scelarissimis *F*; sceleratissimis *VPGNB*.

366. exquisitas *V*; expositas *om. G*.

367. illorumque *coni. Sch*.

368. omnis *sic B*.

369. preeminentibus *V*; p()ntibus *P*.

370. inveniri *B*.

371. *A om. V*.

372. morbus *G*.

373. neque *P*.

374. ve *G*.

375. memento] me merito *GN*.

376. incoandarum *suprascriptum est F¹ (aut F³?)*.

377. *A om. V*.

378. *L om. V*.

379. negociis *B*.

and we see that the entire patrimony has been ruined and stripped of its worth by force of their weapons. And unless we hasten to meet them and their audacity, it seems that soon, any day now, the ultimate annihilation of the curia is at hand.

[27] This is why I think the time is now at hand for all of us to be aroused, to rise up and look toward and provide for future troubles, which are so great and so pressing. For this is a shared evil, a shared grief, and a shared danger; this great calamity should be repelled by a shared defense, as if it were a common fire. For the disease creeps onward day by day. It grows more serious and plants its roots more deeply. It must be cured and extinguished, before it finds its way into the curia's inner reaches. Because if that happens, no remedy will be found to guarantee the curia's health.

A: [28] But now let that be the extent of the complaints, especially since they will be of no use. They do not pertain to the point of our discussion, and they are also dangerous precisely because of the multitude of wicked men. One of them might think they are directed specifically against him.

L: Let me bend to your will and bring myself back to the point of our talk. If these complaints of mine were harsh in your eyes, remember that you were their originator and author. But perhaps, provoked by you, I have been carried a bit too far by a suffering and indignation for which you ought to pardon me.

A: Enough of that.

[V. On the Famous Men of Intellectual Leisure at the Curia]

L: [1] I hasten to your command. Now I wouldn't want you to think that

hominibus³⁸⁰ in curia locum esse, ociosis aut³⁸¹ nullum, si quis esset qui animo ab hac turba curiae negociisque abhorreret et se cuperet in ocium studiumque transferre, qua in re maxime peritorum copia desiderari et quaeri solet, a quibus instrui atque erudiri et quibuscum iis de rebus, quae in studio sibi praecepta sunt, comunicare ac loqui possit, illi ego nullum commodiorem curia locum neque aptiorem requirendum censeo.

[2] Ad quancumque enim te artem liberalem mente et cogitatione converteris, in ea tot perfectissimos ac summos viros una Romana curia habet quot arbitror in cunctis aliis civitatibus ac rebus publicis reperire difficillimum foret. Non proferam hoc loco sacrae theologiae professores, quorum³⁸² studia cum his³⁸³ nostris nulla socie<ta>te iunguntur. [3] Non commemorabo physicos, mathematicos, astronomos, musicos, civiles vero³⁸⁴ ac pontificii³⁸⁵ iuris interpretes silentio praeteribo, qui quamquam et ipsi magno curiae ornamento praesidioque sint eorumque industriae curiae pars maxima committatur,³⁸⁶ non afferunt tamen huic facultati meae aliquid, ex quo fructum quempiam aut delectationem capere possim. Illos tantum modo enumerasse contentus ero quos mihi et studia haec humanitatis³⁸⁷ et consuetudo vitae devinxerit.³⁸⁸

A: [4] Quid? Graecosne etiam tacitus pertransibis?

L: Certe ita, quoniam tibi, ut reor, incogniti sunt, nec perpetuo versantur apud nos. Quorum tamen sunt quidam eorum regem sequuti ita eruditi homines, ita suis disciplinis omnibus ornati ut³⁸⁹ cum maioribus suis mea³⁹⁰ quidem sententia //76// conferendi sint. Horum ego sermonibus cum intersum, quod saepissime contingit, in Academia illa veteri ac Lycio versari videor.

A: Transi istos atque ad nostros veni; quos quidem, etsi ego omnes et agnosco et diligo, attamen de illorum laudibus et quo quenque genere excellere putes, aliqua abs te in medium proferri velim.

380. hominibus *om.* VG.

381. autem *coni. Sch.*; autem *PB.*

382. quorum] quorum sacra *P sed sacra canc. (P¹?)*.

383. iis *V.*

384. vero *om. B.*

385. pontificis *sic N.*

386. commutatur *N.*

387. virtutis *B.*

388. deiunxerit *V*; coniunxerit *coni. Sch.*; devinxerint *P.*

389. et *V.*

390. mea] in ea *P.*

the curia is a place only for outwardly active men and not for men of intellectual leisure. Let us imagine a man whose spirit shrank from the curia's confusion as well as from its worldly duties. Let us say that he wanted to change his position to one of study and intellectual leisure. For that purpose one usually needs and seeks out a great number of learned men; from them one can be instructed and educated, and with them one can communicate and speak about those things that one has learned through study. For that man, I think you couldn't ask for a more advantageous or well-suited place than the curia.

[2] In fact, to whichever of the liberal arts you turn your mind and imagination, the Roman curia has in one place quite a number of the most complete, best men. The number in fact is so great that I think it would be extremely difficult to find it in any other city or republic. I shall not refer, here, to the professors of holy theology, whose studies have no real kinship to those of ours. [3] I won't mention the natural philosophers, mathematicians, astronomers, and musicians, and I shall pass over in silence the interpreters of civil and canon law. Although they are like a great beautification and fortification to the curia, and though the largest share of the curia is entrusted to their industriousness, still, they do not contribute anything to this special area of mine—any fruit, that is, the likes of which I can taste. I shall be content to have enumerated only those whom these studies, the humanities—as well as everyday social intercourse—have bound closely to me.

A: [4] What then? Will you really pass right over the Greeks in silence?

L: Certainly so, since I think they are unknown to you and since they are not always with us. Nonetheless, certain of them who have followed their king here²⁵ are men of such learning and are so beautifully well versed in their respective academic disciplines that—certainly in my judgment anyway—they must be compared with their ancient forebears. When I am present at one of their talks, which happens quite often, I seem to dwell in that ancient Academy or in the Lyceum.²⁶

A: Pass them by and come to our own. Even though I know and love all of them, nevertheless, I would like you to offer something in praise of them and something about which branch of the humanities you think each of them excels in.

25. Lapo refers here to the number of learned Greeks who came west for the ecumenical Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–39), among whom were the famous Cardinal Bessarion (c. 1403–72) and Gemistos Plethon (c. 1360–c. 1452).

26. I.e., Plato's Academy and Aristotle's Lyceum.

L:³⁹¹ [5] Veniam ac primum omnium ad³⁹² Ambrosium³⁹³ monachorum huius aetatis³⁹⁴ principem, virum³⁹⁵ ea vitae sanctimonia, ea integritate, ea religione, tanta doctrina, tanta humanitate, tam eximia dicendi copia ac suavitate praeditum ut phoenix quaedam hac aetate nostra, non nata inter homines, sed e coelo delapsa merito atque optimo³⁹⁶ iure existimari³⁹⁷ possit; Christophorum Garathonium, Coroniensem episcopum, virum et Graecis et Latinis litteris apprime eruditum; Poggium³⁹⁸ Florentinum, pontificis³⁹⁹ maximi a secretis, in quo summa inest cum⁴⁰⁰ eruditio,⁴⁰¹ eloquentia, tum singularis gravitas salibus⁴⁰² multis et⁴⁰³ urbanitate condita; [6] Cincium Romanum, sic omnibus praesidiis virtutis, doctrinae, eloquentiae cumulatum ut eo civitas sua, etiam si prisca illa maiorum gloria maneat, non iniuria gloriari possit; Flavium⁴⁰⁴ Foroliviensem, virum non prudentem modo et gravem, verum etiam, ut⁴⁰⁵ duo superiores sui ordinis, doctum et in scribenda historia exercitatum, cui non nihil nostri homines debere videntur, quod maiorum consuetudinem referre ac renovare aggressus est et horum temporum res gestas historiae monumentis prosequi ac posteritati commendare.

391. in laude ali(orum) *in mar. s. B¹.*

392. et *B.*

393. *in mar. s. Ambrosius monachus G¹.*

394. huius aetatis *om. VGNB.*

395. virum *om. GN.*

396. *in mar. s. Cristophorus garathonius G¹.*

397. estimari *P.*

398. *in mar. s. Poggius florentinus G¹.*

399. *In mar. sin. no(ta) hic de pogio P¹.*

400. tum *P.*

401. erudicione *coni. Sch.;* erudictione *G.*

402. salibi *V.*

403. *in mar. sin. Cincius cives romanus G¹.*

404. *in mar. sin. Blondus seu flavius G¹.*

405. etiam ut] quoque et *V.*

L: [5] Let me come then first of all to Ambrogio, the prince of the monks of our day.²⁷ He is a man who is endowed with a sanctity of life, a purity, such scruples, such learning, such humanity, such an excellent abundance and eloquence of speaking ability, that he can deservedly and most rightfully be judged a kind of phoenix in this age of ours, a phoenix not born among men but fallen from heaven. There is also Christoforo Garatone, the bishop of Corona, who is excellently learned in both Greek and Latin literature.²⁸ As the pope's domestic secretary there is Poggio of Florence, in whom there is not only the highest erudition and eloquence but also a unique gravity, seasoned with plenty of great wit and urbanity.²⁹ [6] There is Cencio the Roman, who is so packed with all the armaments of virtue, learning, and eloquence that that city of his can justifiably take pride in him, even if it still retains the ancient glory of its ancestors.³⁰ There is Flavio of Forlì, a man who is not only prudent and serious but also—just like the two of his rank previously mentioned [i.e., papal secretaries]—learned and well versed in the writing of history. We are indeed in his debt, since he has undertaken to relate and recover the ancients' way of life and describe at length the deeds of our own times in works of history, leaving them behind for posterity.³¹

27. Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439), general of the Camaldulense order. Among many other things, he was a famous humanist translator; and among his many accomplishments can be listed translations of various church fathers and a famous translation, probably done in the late 1420s, of Diogenes Laertius's *Lives of the Philosophers*. This latter translation gave thinkers in the fifteenth century a greater and fuller picture of the history of ancient philosophy than was previously possible.

28. A bishop from Treviso, Garathonius—also known as Garatone da Treviso—paid, in Constantinople, for the copying of a manuscript of Diodorus Siculus (by the humanist Chrysococcus). He was thus the first to introduce the Greek text of Diodorus to Italy and the world of the papacy of Eugenius IV. He held the offices of *scriptor* and *secretarius*. See Hoffman, 2:111.

29. Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) is most famous as a book hunter; this pupil of the famous humanist chancellor Coluccio Salutati made his most important discoveries during the Council of Constance (1414–18), among them the *De architectura* of Vitruvius and the *De rerum natura* of Lucretius. During the course of his life, he held a number of curial offices, including *abbreviator*, *scriptor*, and *secretarius*. See Hoffman, 2:110.

30. Cencio de' Rustici (c. 1390–c. 1445) was a humanist translator, whose translations into Latin include, among other works, the pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus*, which he dedicated to Cardinal Giordano Orsini. See J. Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Leiden, New York, 1990), 82, 509. Cencio was an apostolic secretary from 1417 until his death, and he held the office of *scriptor* from 1411 until 1443, when he gave the office up to his son Marcellus. See Hoffman, 2:110.

31. Flavio Biondo (1392–1463) was perhaps the most famous fifteenth-century historian of ancient and medieval Italy. He became an apostolic secretary in 1433. See Hoffman, 2:111.

[7] Assunt duo reliqui, Iohannes Aurispa et Andreas⁴⁰⁶ civis meus ex eodem ordine, praestantes viri, et ita bonis artibus instructi ut nulla⁴⁰⁷ iis recedere⁴⁰⁸ videantur. In quibus non praetermittam⁴⁰⁹ Rinuccium Castiglionum, cui ego ob eius maximas virtutes, libe//76v//ralem eruditionem, suavissimos⁴¹⁰ mores et singularem in me amorem cum summe afficior, tum ex iis⁴¹¹ qui a me⁴¹² commemorati sunt neminem praefendum putem; [8] et aequalem meum Baptistam⁴¹³ Albertum, cuius ingenium ita laudo ut hac laude cum eo neminem comparem, ita admiror ut magnum mihi nescio quid portendere in posterum videatur. Est enim eiusmodi ut ad quancumque se animo conferat facultatem, in ea facile ac brevi ceteris antecellat. Sunt alii mihi⁴¹⁴ his similes complures et vitae socii et studiorum comites et quasi aemuli, quos⁴¹⁵ commemorarem libenter si satis ii noti forent aut se in horum numero habendos ducerent. [9] His igitur ego tot tantis, tam⁴¹⁶ eruditis, tam excellentibus viris amicissime utor, his delector, his perfruor, ab horum lateribus, quoad honeste possum, numquam discedo. Quae vitae consuetudo, si perpetuo mihi concessa sit, maiorem nullam ab immortali Deo felicitatem optarem.

406. *in mar. sin.* Aurispa, Andreas *G*¹.

407. ulla *B*.

408. recedere] re cedere *P*.

409. *in mar. sin.* Ranuccium *G*¹.

410. suavissimus *V*.

411. ii *V*; hiis *P*.

412. me *om.* *N*.

413. *in mar. sin.* Baptist(a) albertus *G*¹.

414. multi *VPB*.

415. quo *G*.

416. tam *om.* *B*.

[7] There are two others of the same rank: Giovanni Aurispa³² and Andrea [of Florence],³³ my fellow citizen. Both of them are outstanding, and they are both so well instructed in the liberal arts that nothing seems to pass them by. And don't let me pass over Rinuccio da Castiglione.³⁴ On the one hand, he is a man to whom I am most highly bound, on account of his great virtues, his wide learning in the liberal arts, his most elegant manners—and his unique affection for me. On the other hand, he is a man before whom I think no one from those I have already named should be placed. [8] There is also Battista Alberti,³⁵ who is the same age as I. I so praise his genius that I would compare no one with him. I wonder at his genius to such an extent that it seems to bespeak I know not what for the future. For his genius is of this sort: to whichever area of study he puts his mind, he easily and quickly excels the others. There are many others known to me who are similar to these men, who are their associates in life and companions in studies and almost their rivals [i.e., in excellence]. I would be quite willing to mention them, if they were well known enough or thought that they, too, should be counted in the number of the men I have already named. [9] I am, then, on very close terms with these men who are so many, so learned, and so outstanding. I am delighted by them, I enjoy them fully, and I never stray from their sides, insofar as this is honorably possible. If this way of life were given to me in perpetuity, I would ask no greater happiness of immortal God.

32. The Sicilian-born humanist Giovanni Aurispa (1376–1459) is a fascinating character of the early Quattrocento. He is most well known, justifiably, for his manifold interaction with the Byzantine world, which included his tireless activities as a book collector, as well as his efforts as a translator. He became an apostolic secretary in 1437. See Hoffman, 2:111.

33. Andrea da Firenze was a papal secretary from at least the beginning of the pontificate of Eugenius IV, i.e., 1431 (see Hoffman, 2:111). He did an Italian prose translation of the *Aeneid*, essentially a prose translation of the *Romance of Aeneas*.

34. Rinuccio da Castiglione was a curialist who in his lifetime would hold three curial positions: *scriptor*, *custos cancellariae apostolicae*, and *secretarius*. He was named to the first two offices under the pontificate of Eugenius IV, although both after Lapo's death. He was named to the post of secretary under the pontificate of Calixtus III (1455–58). See Hoffman, 2:79, 114.

35. Leon Battista Alberti (1404–72), humanist and polymath, is well known for his numerous works in a number of fields, among which are his treatises *De pictura* (On painting) and *De architectura* (On architecture) and his treatise on family life, *I Libri della famiglia*. At the time of Lapo's writing, Alberti was associated with the papal chancery.

[10] In hac⁴¹⁷ eruditissimorum virorum copia duo tantum desiderarunt⁴¹⁸ a me ac summo studio requiruntur, illi videlicet litterarum fontes, illa lumina⁴¹⁹ aetatis nostrae,⁴²⁰ illa ornamenta doctrinae et eloquentiae: Franciscus Philelfus, praeceptor meus, et Leonardus Arretinus,⁴²¹ qui haec studia nostra suis laboribus et vigiliis maxime⁴²² et⁴²³ ampliarunt et illustrarunt. Hi si ad superiores aliqua forte⁴²⁴ accesserint,⁴²⁵ nihil mihi et ad rationem studiorum et ad vitae suavitatem deesse arbitrarer.

[11] Nec solum ad studia doctrinae ac litterarum, sed etiam ad reliqua tenuiora non desint in curia socii. Sive enim quis ad ludendum sive ad acquitandum sive ad venandum conferre se cupiat, plurimos ubique eiusdem⁴²⁶ rei studiosos inueniat.

A: [12] Peroptanda quidem sunt haec, et expetendus⁴²⁷ maxime is⁴²⁸ locus, qui huiusmodi ubertatem⁴²⁹ et copiam afferat. Nihil est enim in vita //77// iocundum quod solus agas. Solitudo enim ipsa gravissima est et omnem adimit vivendi iucunditatem.

L: [13] Iam vero cupidis splendoris ac nominis propagandi, quam scimus cupiditatem in maximis animis praestantissimisque ingeniis plerunque innasci solere, praecipueque cum se vel doctrinae liberalis studiis vel rei militari vel aliae cuius⁴³⁰ praeclarissimae facultati dederint,⁴³¹ tantum affert Romana curia campum quantum nec Athenarum civitas Alexandro Macedoni, a qua ut laudaretur, confessus

417. *in mar. d.* no(ta) leonard [sic] aretino *P*¹.

418. desiderantur *G*.

419. *in mar. d.* Franciscus philelfus *G*¹.

420. vestre *N*.

421. *in mar. d.* Leonardus aretinus *G*¹.

422. maximis *V*.

423. et *om. P*.

424. sorte *sic B*.

425. accesserent *sic F*; accesserint *VPGN*.

426. ubique eiusdem] eiusdem ubique *V*.

427. expectendus *V*.

428. his *V*; hic *coni. Sch*.

429. libertatem *VPNB*.

430. cuius *B*.

431. dederint *VN*.

[10] In this great crowd of most learned men I feel the absence of only two and I long for their presence with the utmost urgency: namely, those founts of letters, those ornaments of learning and eloquence, Francesco Filelfo,³⁶ my teacher, and Leonardo of Arezzo.³⁷ They have greatly expanded and adorned these studies of ours with their vigilant labors. If these men were by some chance to be added to the aforementioned above, I would think that I were missing nothing as far as the knowledge of studies and the agreeableness of life goes.

[11] And it is not only that there are companions in the curia for the pursuit of learning and literature. One would also find companions for the remaining, lighter things. For if someone desires to devote himself to gaming, horsemanship, or hunting, he would find many there—everywhere—who are desirous of the same thing.

A: [12] Certainly, these things are exceedingly desirable. A place that offers a richness and abundance of this sort of thing should be sought out in the highest degree. Really, nothing that you do alone in life is enjoyable. For solitude is itself the gravest of things and takes all the fun out of life.

L: [13] Well then, the Roman curia already offers a field of play to those who want splendor and the propagation of their name, and we know that this desire is usually born in the greatest of spirits and most outstanding of intelligences, particularly when they have given themselves to studies of liberal erudition or the military arts or to any of the other most outstanding areas of study. The Roman curia offers this to an extent that even the city of Athens could not offer to Alexander of Macedon, who admitted that he had declared war on the whole world, on

36. Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481) was an immensely learned humanist scholar who in the 1420s went to Constantinople for six years to study Greek, in the same fashion as Guarino Veronese and other early humanist pioneers. Filelfo was in Florence from 1429 to 1434 as a teacher at the Florentine *studium*, where he ran afoul of Niccolò Niccoli and Carlo Marsuppini and subsequently—or perhaps, consequently—of the Medici. Although Lapo missed Filelfo at the curia at the time of his writing, Filelfo would become a papal secretary later, during the pontificate of Nicholas V (1447–55).

37. Leonardo Bruni Aretino (1369–1444) was one of the most influential humanists—if not the most influential humanist—in the Florence of the early Quattrocento and was that city's chancellor from 1427 to 1444. His translations (among the most famous are Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Politics*), his histories, and his prose rhetorical works gave strength and direction to the already rooted humanist movement. Bruni was missing from the curia at the time of Lapo's writing but had during his career held important curial offices, including *secretarius*, abbreviator, and *scriptor*. See Hoffman, 2:107.

est se toti orbi terrarum bellum diis, hominibus⁴³² indixisse,⁴³³ nec Olympia Themistocli, ubi ab universa simul Graecia laudatum se esse gloriatus est, affere potuerunt. Illorum enim laus unius civitatis atque unius nationis testimonio contenta fuit.

[14] Hoc autem est theatrum maximum et amplissimum, in quod spectatum nationes plurimae convenerunt, in quo praeclarum nihil geri potest quod non iis⁴³⁴ omnibus innotescat, omnium laudibus illustretur. Ad hunc communem plausum et approbationem accedit etiam eorum laus, quos supra dixi, eruditorum, quae maximi facienda est. [15] Nam quae a vulgo ac multitudine proficiscitur, delectat illa quidem et stimulos ad res gerendas affert,⁴³⁵ sed quoniam opinione quadam inani et⁴³⁶ temeritate excitatur, non iudicio et consilio,⁴³⁷ labitur brevi et concidit; [16] itaque a prudentibus iure contemnitur, quippe qui a laudatis tantum viris laudari volunt. Quae quidem laus altissime defixis⁴³⁸ radicibus tenetur et solida stabilisque est et infinita saecula duratura nec vetustate⁴³⁹ corrumpi potest nec ex memoria hominum oblivione deleri.

A: [17] Eleganter et copiose prosecutus es quae ad beate vivendum spectare dixisti. Sed quoniam te non fugit quod placet peripateticis divitias etiam et copias ad beatitudinem //77v// pertinere, iam ab hac honesti cogitatione recedamus, quae quaestuosis fortasse hominibus contemnenda esse videatur, et de praemiis ac quaestibus Romanae curiae aliquid agamus.

[VI. De divitiis acquirendis curiae]

L:⁴⁴⁰ [1] Hoc in loco ne me magnopere commovet id, quod a multis saepe improbari audivi, in curia Romana ad honores et dignitates consequendas

432. hominibusque *coni. Sch.*; hominibusque *PGNB.*

433. induxisse *V.*

434. his *V.*

435. afferret *N.*

436. ac *V.*

437. iudicio et consilio] consilio et iudicio *P.*

438. de fixis *P.*

439. vetustate *hoc verbum illegibile in F, hoc modo: [...][s][.]te; vetustate codd.*

440. L *om. P.*

gods, and on men, in order to be praised by this city. Nor could the Olympic games offer this to Themistocles even though there he took pride in the fact that he was praised by all Greece at once.³⁸ After all, their praise was content with the testimony of one city and of one nation.

[14] But this is the greatest and most esteemed of theaters, and many peoples have come here to watch. Nothing admirable can be done here that does not draw everyone's notice and is not illuminated by everyone's praises. To this common applause and approbation is added the praise of those learned men I mentioned before, which must be valued as the greatest thing. [15] For the praise that springs from the crowd and the multitude is certainly delightful and does offer stimuli toward accomplishing things. However, because it is spurred on by a kind of banal opinion and rashness and not by sound judgment and wise counsel, it soon totters and falls. [16] This is why the prudent rightly despise the praise of the crowd, since they want to be praised only by men who themselves have been praised. Certainly this kind of praise is held very deeply by fixed roots. It is solid and stable and will last for infinite centuries, and it can be neither corrupted by age nor blotted out from the memory of men by forgetfulness.³⁹

A: [17] You have described elegantly and abundantly the things that you said pertain to living well. But since you have not failed to notice that the peripatetics are in favor of abundant wealth toward the end of happiness, now let us turn from this idea of the "honorable," which seems perhaps destined to be disdained by men greedy of gain, and say something about the rewards and financial opportunities of the curia.

[VI. Concerning the Wealth to Be Acquired at the Curia]

L: [1] Well, under this heading, I am deeply concerned indeed by an attack that I have often heard made by many: that in the Roman curia

38. The dramatic episode of the entire crowd at the Olympic Games turning to stare at Themistocles is related in Plut. *Them.* XVII.

39. Cf. Cicero's letter to Cato *Fam.* XV.6.1: "I am happy," says Hector, in Naevius, I believe, 'that I am praised by you, father, a man who has been praised.' For agreeable indeed is the praise that one receives from those who themselves have lived in praise" ["Laetus sum laudari me," inquit Hector, opinor, apud Naevium, "abs te, pater, a laudato viro." Ea est enim profecto iucunda laus, quae ab iis proficiscitur, qui ipsi in laude vixerunt].

gratiae, largitioni, corruptelae faciliorem aditum esse quam doctrinae, probitati, integritati. Non enim quid agatur, sed quid statutum sit, spectare oportet. [2] Maiores enim nostri haec haud fomenta viciorum, sed virtutum ornamenta esse voluerunt; quae si quando ad indignos aut minus dignos deferuntur⁴⁴¹ fortunae, id totum tempori, hominibus, non curiae vicio adscribendum est. Illud tamen, ut arbitror, negabit nemo: ea ipsa, utcunque illis⁴⁴² utantur homines, esse amplissima maximamque in curia facultatem esse, qua se quisque, modo⁴⁴³ ne iners⁴⁴⁴ ignarusque sit, vel ad altissimum dignitatis gradum attollere possit.

[3] Quo in genere magna mihi⁴⁴⁵ exemplorum copia est, si velim eos modo omnis percensere, qui memoria⁴⁴⁶ nostra ex obscuro loco et humili ad summum fastigium⁴⁴⁷ evaserunt, quos brevitatis causa praetermittam et simul, ne cui invisae oratio mea esse videatur. Deinde esse etiam nonnullos honestissimos ordines, ut⁴⁴⁸ ab secretis pontificis maximi, causarum auditores, advocatos, procuratores, ad quos nisi periti illarum rerum et industrii accedere atque aspi<ra>re⁴⁴⁹ non possint.

A: [4] Quid? Quod⁴⁵⁰ eos⁴⁵¹ ipsos, qui ad honores et dignitates non probatis nituntur artibus, haud hebetes et rudes⁴⁵² necesse est? Callidi est enim, solertis, astuti, versuti malitiosique ingenii cognoscere eorum naturas quibus se potissimum conciliare studeant et animos⁴⁵³ penitus, mentes, //78// consilia omnia, cogitationes, libidines, cupiditatesque perspicere, qua disciplina, quo victu, qua consuetudine domestica sint, quos domi rerum suarum curatores, quos ministros,⁴⁵⁴ quos cubicularios habeant, quibus secreta, quibus pecunias committant, quibus amicis intimis familiaribus utantur, et quantum unicuique credant, et ad quod ministerium et quaestum eorum operam et industriam exigat;⁴⁵⁵ [5] et his

441. differuntur V.

442. illis *om.* N.

443. *mo sic* N.

444. in eis N.

445. mihi *om.* G.

446. *moria* V.

447. *fastidium* P.

448. *et* P.

449. *aspirare* VPN.

450. Quid? Quod] Quidquid B.

451. quod eos *quasi illegibilia in F*; quod eos *codd.*

452. rudes] rudes esse PB.

453. *amicos* V.

454. quos ministros *om.* P.

455. *exigant coni. Sch.*

influence, bribery, and corruption provide easier access in attaining office and rank than do learning, uprightness, and purity. Really, you have to look not at what is done there but rather at what was intended. [2] After all, our honored elders wanted these things [office and rank] to be not incitement to vice but rather ornaments of virtue. If sometimes fortunes are handed over to the unworthy or to those who are not so worthy as they might be, the whole business has to be ascribed to the age and the men, not to the vice of the curia. Nevertheless, I do not think anyone will deny this: that the things themselves are there and most abundant, and that however men use them, there is in the curia the greatest possibility for anyone, provided he is not lazy and ignorant, to be able to raise himself to the very highest level of personal honor.

[3] As far as this type of thing goes, I have a great number of examples—if only I wanted to go through them all—of men who from obscure and humble origins arrived at the highest rank. For brevity's sake I shall pass over these altogether, so that my speech does not seem malicious to anyone. Then, also, there are certain highly honorable groups: the important men in the papal household, auditors of legal cases, lawyers, and prosecutors. Unless those of humble origins are highly learned and diligent in their fields, they cannot join or even aspire to those groups.

A: [4] Why, must those who strive after honors and offices by unapproved skills be dull and uncultured? It is, after all, characteristic of men of cunning, skillful, crafty, and tricky—as well as knavish—intelligence to know the natures of those whom they desire especially to win over. They perceive the deepest recesses of their spirits and minds; all of their intentions; their plans, longings, and desires. They know their routine, the food they eat, their domestic habits, whom they have in their homes as managers of property, as servants, as valets; they know to whom they entrust their secrets, their money, whom they associate with as friends, close associates, and companions; they know how much they trust each one and to what employment and business each one of these devotes his time and energy. [5] And having thought about these things, they apply

cogitis⁴⁵⁶ ad illos expugnandos⁴⁵⁷ quasi machinas admovere,⁴⁵⁸ hos⁴⁵⁹ frequentare, illis blandiri, alios simulatione amicitiae, alios forma, alios lenociniis,⁴⁶⁰ alios muneribus capere. Haec omnia qui efficere possunt, non probi illi quidem, sed tamen sagaces maximeque ingeniosii et diligentes habendi sunt neque hac gloriolae⁴⁶¹ parte defraudandi, quod se per laborem et industriam contentur attollere ac superioribus adaequare.

L: [6] Sed reliquos quaestus perscrutemur qui omnibus iis qui curiae negocia obeunt quot, quanti, quam multiplices expositi sint enumerare difficile esset. Quot enim ordines in curia sunt, tot ad lucrum et ad quaestum patent viae, quibus non mediocres, sed prope maxime opes divitiarum parantur. Nam ut omittam patres cardinales—de pontifice enim quis dubitat?—ac sedis apostolicae protonotarios, quos nullus ignorat lucrari plurimum? Quis nescit praefectus Romanae curiae, qui camerarius vulgo dicitur, sub cuius iure et imperio tota est curia, omnes civitates, provinciae, homines qui inditione ecclesiae continentur, quos proventus et quantos habeat? [7] Quis ab libellis pontificis maximi, quem vicecancellarium,⁴⁶² quis ii qui supplicationes pontifici deferunt, quos referendarios⁴⁶³ vocant, quis ab⁴⁶⁴ secretis, quis cubiculari, quis apos-

456. cognitis VPGN.

457. reprobandos *corr. in mar. d. ad expugnandos B*¹.

458. admovet V; admo//65v//admovere N.

459. has V.

460. lenociniis *om. cum spatio vacuo N*.

461. glorie VP; glorioso *sic B*.

462. vicecancellarium VPGNB.

463. deferendarios V.

464. a V.

what amount to stratagems in order to capture them by storm, to be in their company, to flatter them; they try to take some of them in by feigned friendship, others by personal appearance, others by pandering, and still others with presents. Now the ones who can do all these things—they are certainly not upright men. Nevertheless, they must be considered savvy, very clever, and very diligent, and they are not to be cheated out of their share of a little glory, since they do try to raise themselves up through work and industriousness and to become equal to those who are higher.

L: [6] But let us take a good look at the rest of the financial opportunities. It would be difficult to count the number, importance, and diversity of opportunities set before those who take part in the curia's business. Really, as many groups as are in the curia, just so many ways lie open that lead to financial gain and advantages, and to not just middling wealth but the greatest riches and financial reward. I shall omit the father cardinals—and who can have doubts regarding the pope?—and the protonotaries of the apostolic see;⁴⁰ is there anyone who doesn't know how much they can earn? Who does not know of the earning potential—and amount of it—that is possessed by the prefect of the Roman curia? He is commonly called the "chamberlain," and he has complete control and charge of the whole curia—all of the cities, provinces, and men who are contained within the taxing power of the church.⁴¹ [7] Who does not know about the pope's bookkeeper, whom they call the "vice-chancellor"?⁴² Or about the ones who are in charge of the papal petitions, who are called the "referendarii"?⁴³ Who does not know of the ones in the

40. Part of the general administrative branch of the curia (the papal chancery [*cancellaria*]), protonotaries (*protonotarii*) served directly under the vice-chancellor (or *vicecancellarius*); there were both functionary and honorary protonotaries, and they could have charge of the preparation of certain papal letters. See D'Amico, 25; Re, *La curia*, 281–82.

41. The "chamberlain," or *camerarius*, was the head of the curia's financial branch, the "apostolic chamber," or *camera apostolica*. See D'Amico, 24.

42. The "vice-chancellor," or *vicecancellarius*, was the head of the papal chancery, as the office of chancellor had dissolved. See Hoffman, 1:20; Re, *La curia*, 279–80; D'Amico, 25.

43. The *referendarii* served in the judicial branch of the curia (see D'Amico, 23). They could function as mediators between the pope and those presenting supplications, i.e., requests for grace. In the early fifteenth century they gained quite a bit of power; during the papacy of Eugenius IV they even acquired the power to sign the supplications themselves, although this had to be done in the presence of the pope. See Re, *La curia*, 227–28; Hoffman, 1:69–79 and *ad indicem*.

tolici aerarii quaestores, quos appellant clericos, quis praetor aerarii, id est auditor camerae,⁴⁶⁵ quis qui in foro //78v// causas iudicant, quanto in lucro compendioque versentur? [8] Quem fugit advocatis, procuratoribus, causidicis, scribis,⁴⁶⁶ signatoribus, et litterarum apostolicarum scriptoribus quantae pecuniae cumulentur? Taceo reliquos, qui sunt paene⁴⁶⁷ innumerabiles, lucrandi opifices, e quibus nemo est, ne⁴⁶⁸ nunc quidem, cum imminuta lucra et exhausti omnes pecunia sunt, qui non suis sumptibus in curia ample et magnifice⁴⁶⁹ vivere possit.

A: [9] Sunt huius generis plura quae a te non sine causa praetermissa arbitror esse. Sed unum illud cuiquam non immerito admirandum videri potest, unde ad tantos quaestus suggerantur pecuniae?

L: [10] Nequaquam admirandum est, si quis diligenter consideret. In curia enim Romana omnes omnium christianorum episcopatus, archiepiscopatus, reliquaeque⁴⁷⁰ sacrae dignitates, multi etiam profani magistratus non sine magna mercede conferuntur et causae ac controversiae iudicantur. Quare nemo horum petendorum, nemo iudicii ac litis contestandae gratia in curiam venit qui nesciat plurima sibi impendenda esse, qui non plurima impendere possit, ex quo fit ut infinitae⁴⁷¹ undique in curiam pecuniae, ut⁴⁷² in commune aliquod⁴⁷³ aerarium congerantur; nec tamen ex ea quicquam⁴⁷⁴ praeterquam tabellas, ceram, sigilla, plumbum, ac lora asportari videmus. Itaque omnes hae pecuniae iis⁴⁷⁵ quos dixi superius dividuntur et in eorum quaestum vertuntur.

465. quaestores, quos appellant clericos, quis praetor aerarii, id est auditor camerae] id est autor camere, quaestores, quos appellant clericos, quis praetor aerarii, id est autor camere *sic N.*

466. scribis *om. V.*

467. paene *om. G.*

468. nec *B.*

469. et magnifice *om. N.*

470. reliquae *V.*

471. infante *P.*

472. et *V.*

473. quoddam *VPN.*

474. quisquam *B.*

475. hiis *P.*

pope's household or of the "cubicularii"⁴⁴ or the quaestors of the apostolic treasury, whom they call "clerics"?⁴⁵ Who does not know about the praetor of the treasury—that is, the auditor of the papal chamber?⁴⁶ Who does not know about the ones who judge public cases? Who does not know how much they are involved in matters of money and compensation? [8] Is there anyone who is not aware of how much money the lawyers, procurators, advocates, clerks, signatories, and apostolic letter writers heap up? I shall pass over the rest of the profit takers, who are almost innumerable. Of their number there is certainly no one who cannot live nobly and splendidly at the curia at his own expense, even now when funds are short and everyone is out of money.

A: [9] There are more things of this sort, which I think you passed over not without cause. But isn't there that one thing about which everyone must wonder, and with reason, namely, where the money for all these jobs comes from?

L: [10] One mustn't wonder about it at all, if one were to think about it carefully. After all, in the Roman curia, all the episcopates, archiepiscopates, and the rest of the sacred dignities, as well as many secular magistracies, are conferred with great financial profit. Cases and controversies are judged [in the same way]. This is why no one who comes to petition at the curia, no one who comes for the sake of a judgment or to bring a lawsuit, does not know that he must pay dearly, and why no one does come who is unable to do so. Because of this, it happens that an infinite amount of money from all over is gathered into the curia, into a kind of common treasury. And still, we see nothing that is brought away from this, save for documents, wax, a seal, lead, and leather bindings. And so, this money is divided up by those men we were talking about before and is turned to their advantage.

44. There were various kinds of *cubicularii*, and they had many functions, which generally centered around personal service to the pope; see Hoffman, 1:160–61, especially n. 4. Interesting here is Lapo's Latin phraseology "quis ab secretis, quis cubiculari." Hoffman distinguishes three different types of *cubicularii*. The third type took care of personal service to the pope in the papal chamber (1:160–61 n. 4). According to Hoffman, it was only during the reign of Pope Sixtus IV (1471–84) that this branch of the office was divided into two types: there were then the *cubicularii extra cameram* and the *cubicularii secreti*, the latter of whom took special care of the pope's personal needs (even the pope's barber, e.g., was among this number). But this did not mean that those who held these offices had unimportant positions; they were close to the pope and often had considerable influence (*ibid.*).

45. The "clerics of the chamber," or *clerici camerae*, worked in various aspects of curial financial management. Their number grew during the Western Schism (1378–1417); there were a total of twenty-five during the papacy of Martin V and sixteen during the papacy of Eugenius IV. See Hoffman, 1:110–14; D'Amico, 24.

46. The "auditor of the chamber," or, to use the full Latin title, *auditor causarum curiae camerae apostolicae*, dealt with judicial and disciplinary matters inside the the chamber and often, more widely, in the curia itself. See Hoffman, 1:24.

A: [11] Hinc licet intelligamus quibus de causis tot homines tam amplas, tam repente divitias sibi et copias paraverunt; at erunt, credo, nonnulli qui his⁴⁷⁶ parum moveantur rebus. Et tum⁴⁷⁷ quod lauti opulentique sint, tum quod industria careant—quod in iis⁴⁷⁸ hominibus⁴⁷⁹ saepe contingit—non divitias maiores, sed divitiarum comites et asseclas,⁴⁸⁰ voluptatem ac delectationem, requirant.⁴⁸¹ //79//

[VII. De voluptatibus curiae]

L:⁴⁸² [1] Haud frustra requirent. Aut enim Romana in curia aut alio nullo in loco talia reperire poterunt. Etenim si visui⁴⁸³ auditu<i>ve,⁴⁸⁴ qui sunt acerrimi reliquorum⁴⁸⁵ sensuum et maxime proprii humanitatis, delectantur,⁴⁸⁶ his⁴⁸⁷ ipsis obiciuntur in curia infinita atque innumerabilia genera voluptatum.

A:⁴⁸⁸ Quibus rebus hos sensus maxime delectari existimas?

L: [2] Nemo fere est qui modo⁴⁸⁹ aliquid sentiat qui ignoret magnitudinem rerum, speciem, novitatem, ac varietatem auditui visuique iucundissima esse solere,⁴⁹⁰ quae hoc loco cuncta exuberant. Primum quid videre in⁴⁹¹ terris maius, quid divinius, quid speciosius quam Christi vicarium, quam apostolorum successores, quam illum conspectum⁴⁹² et consessum, de quo paulo ante locutus sum, possumus?

A:⁴⁹³ [3] At⁴⁹⁴ illud multo admirabilius ac monstri similis est aspicere paludatos et galeratos proceres, eodem ipsos pallio et beluato⁴⁹⁵ adoper-

476. iis N.

477. cum V.

478. hiis PB; his G.

479. omnibus VP.

480. assedas V; asseclas con. Sch. recte.

481. requirant om. Sch.

482. L om. V.

483. visui] in sui sic P.

484. auditu<i>ve] auditui ve VG; auditui ne P; aditui ve sic N; auditui que B.

485. aliquorum G.

486. delectentur N.

487. iis N.

488. A om. V.

489. in mar. d. De voluptate auditus F.

490. esse solere] solere esse V.

491. videre in] viderem sic legit Sch. et videri sic con. Sch.

492. consessum] conspectum tum N; concessum B.

493. A om. Sch.

494. At] []d sic V; at con. Sch. recte.

495. belvam sic F et PGNB; bellua V.

A: [11] From this we can understand why so many have furnished themselves so swiftly with such magnificent and abundant fortunes. But there will be some, I suppose, who aren't much excited by these things! Because they are [already] distinguished and wealthy, and because they lacked industriousness—something that happens often with these men—they seek not greater wealth but rather the allies and followers of wealth: pleasure and delight.

[VII. Concerning the Pleasures of the Curia]

L: [1] And they won't seek after these things in vain. For if they cannot find things like that in the Roman curia, they will not be able to find them anywhere else. Really, even if it is only the visual and auditory senses that are delighted—which are the most penetrating of the senses and the most proper to humanity—in the curia infinite and innumerable types of pleasures are thrown in their way.

A: Which things do you think delight these senses the most?

L: [2] There is almost no one with any sense who does not know that a magnitude of things and their beauty, novelty, and variety are usually the most pleasurable for the ear and eye. In this place all of them abound. First of all, what on earth is visible that is greater, more divine, or more beautiful than the vicar of Christ, than the successors of the apostles, than that spectacle and assembly that I discussed a little earlier?

A: [3] But it is much more wonderful and marvelous to see noblemen clothed in military uniforms, helmeted, and covered with cloaks that are

tos,⁴⁹⁶ apparitorum catervis per curiam stipatos incedere et sacerdotum ac comitum turbam longo ordine subsequentem.

L:⁴⁹⁷ [4] Ad haec quid magnificentius, quid illustrius intueri quam alios⁴⁹⁸ principes qui frequentant curiam comitatu maximo et ornatu? Postremo, quid pulchrius, quid dignius, quid magis decorum, magis regium quam maximorum regum legatos et oratores summis de rebus ad pontificem missos, quorum cum alii maneant, alii absoluto legationis munere decedant, alii accedant? Eorum quottidie magnus est numerus; atqui, cum huiusmodi hominum maxima semper in curia Romana multitudo⁴⁹⁹ versetur, hoc inprimis tempore ob hanc concilii unionisque celebritatem maior ac multo maxima est. [5] Quis est enim christianus princeps qui honorificam legationem non miserit? Nec de //79v// illis modo loquor qui nostrae sectae⁵⁰⁰ ac religionis sunt, sed de ipsis etiam orientalibus, qui nobis antea maxime infensi erant, qui partim legatos miserunt, partim etiam ipsi venerunt, partim venturi putantur, ut tantae tam novae, tam spectatae rei, quanta futura est, interesse possint. [6] Venit enim Bysanthinus imperator, nunquam ante hoc tempus non dico⁵⁰¹ in curia, sed in Italia visus. Hunc omnium orientalium gentium ac nationum, apud quas Christi colitur nomen, sacerdotes, antistites, legati, interpretes plurimi consecuti sunt, quorum varietas linguae, morum, cultus, habitus, incessus, corporum denique ipsorum non delectationi modo, sed etiam risui,⁵⁰² admirationi sunt.

A: [7] Est ita profecto. Nam ego huiusmodi homines⁵⁰³ numquam sine risu aspicio. Etenim video alios proluxa ad pectus barba, densa coma, capillo crispo, horrido et inculto, cuiusmodi Spartiatas Lycurgi legibus fuisse accepimus, quo terribiliores essent, si quando manus cum hoste consererent; alios detonsa parumper barba, semiraso capite; picto alios supercilio,⁵⁰⁴ horum partim pileis⁵⁰⁵ et iis⁵⁰⁶ quidem⁵⁰⁷ dissimilibus,

496. odopertos P.

497. L om. Sch.

498. illos B.

499. multitud P (*forsitan Gallicismus*).

500. secreta N.

501. non dico] dico non P.

502. usui sic N.

503. homines om. B sed add. in mar. d. B¹.

504. supercilio sic F; supercilio codd.

505. pileis con. Sch.

506. hiis P.

507. qui corr. ad quidem B¹.

ornamented with figures. They advance through the curia accompanied by throngs of servants, along with a crowd of priests and counts who follow in a long line.

L: [4] As for these things, what is more magnificent or brilliant to see than the other princes who frequent the curia with a huge and distinguished attendance? Finally, what is more beautiful, becoming, elegant, or royal to see than the legates and orators of the greatest kings, who have been sent to the pope about the most important matters? Although some of them remain, others leave after completing the task of their legation, and others still are added. There is a great number of them every day; but although the crowd of men of this sort who dwell in the Roman curia is always enormous, still, now most of all, because of the council of union's fame, there is an even greater crowd—indeed, the number is at an all-time high. [5] After all, is there any Christian prince who has not sent an honorable legation? And I am not only talking about those who are part of our religious confession but also about the Eastern princes who earlier were quite ready to attack us. Some of them have sent legates, some have come themselves, and some are thought to be on the way, so that they can take part in whatever new and eagerly awaited things the future brings. [6] Indeed, the Byzantine emperor has come—I say, before now he has not been seen in Italy, let alone in the curia. He has been followed by priests, high priests, legates, and many translators from all the Eastern peoples and nations among whom the name of Christ is worshiped. The variety of their language, their character, their adornment, their dress, their bearing, and, finally, their bodies themselves leads not only to delight but also to laughter and wonderment.

A: [7] It *is* so. I mean, I never look at men of that sort without laughing. I see some of them with a beard that goes down to their chest, a thick hairdo, and curly, wild, and disordered hair. It is the same kind of thing that we have learned was characteristic of the Spartans (by the laws of Lycurgus), so that they would be all the more terrifying were they ever to come in contact with the enemy.⁴⁷ Others have their beard just about shorn off and a half-shaved head, and still others have painted eyebrows. Of these, some wear felt caps—which are certainly different from one

47. Plutarch (*Lys.* I.2–3) relates that the reason the Spartans let their hair grow and the reason that they wore it in the style they did was to seem more fearful to the enemy.

partim mithris⁵⁰⁸ erectis in summo avium⁵⁰⁹ pinnis⁵¹⁰ aut aureo aliquo redimiculo, manicatisque tunicis utuntur, ut de Phrygibus poeta inquit: “Et tunicae manicas et habent redimicula mithrae.”

[8] Rex eorum eodem modo quo illi amictus et ornatus est, praeterquam quod purpura indutus⁵¹¹ est, et pro pileo⁵¹² thyram gerit more Persarum regum, quam, ut⁵¹³ apud Persas, ferre nisi regibus nulli permissum est, in cuius summitate est gemma permagna et lucens, in auro illigata.⁵¹⁴ Taceo reliquos omnes, inter se habitu, cultu, forma ipsa⁵¹⁵ corporis et figura rebusque omnibus dissimillimos, plerosque aspectu ita ridiculos ut nemo sit adeo severus //80// et tristis qui risum aspiciens contineret.⁵¹⁶

L: [9] Quid dicemus de nostris, id est, de iis⁵¹⁷ qui in curia Romana iam antea versantur, Gallis, Germanis, Pannoniis, Scotis, Britanis, Illyriis, qui iam et communione Latinae linguae et diurno commertio nobis familiares sunt facti. Inter quos quanta morum vitaeque dissimilitudo sit quivis facile perspicere potest; non dico quam diversae artes atque artifices, quam varias merces, gazas, nummos, signa, tabulas ornamentaque alia eae⁵¹⁸ nationes secum in curiam invehant.

[10] Quibus quid visu pulchrius, quid iucundius, quid delectabilius aut cuiquam ad pascendos oculos optabilius dici fingive⁵¹⁹ potest? Qui⁵²⁰ denique spectandi⁵²¹ cupidus locus eo ipso, in quo haec sunt, potius incolendus?⁵²² Etenim si Solonem Atheniensem, clarissimum philosophum⁵²³ et sapientissimum legum latorem atque ex septem sapientum numero unum, decennium peregrinatum esse accepimus; si Democritum physicum constat inter doctos⁵²⁴ omne aetatis suae tempus peregrinando

508. mithus *sic N.*

509. anium *sic N.*

510. punis *V.*

511. inductus *G.*

512. pileo *coni. Sch.*

513. et *B.*

514. alligata *G.*

515. ipsa *om. G.*

516. continetur *V;* contineat *coni. Sch.*

517. hiis *P;* his *GN.*

518. hee *P.*

519. fingive] fingi *ne N.*

520. quis *PGN.*

521. spectandis *P.*

522. colendus *VPG.*

523. *in mar. d. Solon F.*

524. *in mar. d. Democritus F.*

another—and some wear headbands with feathers of birds on top. Or they might wear some kind of golden band and long-sleeved tunics, just as Virgil said about the Phrygians: “Their tunics have sleeves and their headbands gold.”⁴⁸

[8] Their king is decked out and beautified in the same way that they are, except that he is clothed in purple, and for a hat he wears a tiara in the manner of the Persian kings,⁴⁹ just like the one that no one among the Persians but the king can wear. At the top of this tiara there is a truly giant and luciferous gem, bound around with gold. I shall not mention all the rest, who really do differ among themselves in dress, in adornment, in their actual physical shape and figure, and in all things. Most of them look so ridiculous that there is no one so serious and sad that he would contain his laughter on seeing them.

L: [9] What might we say about our own, that is, about those who have already been living in the curia? There are French, Germans,⁵⁰ Hungarians, Scots, English, and Illyrians, who are already familiar to us both because of the common use of the Latin language and because of long-standing commercial intercourse. Among them there is a difference in manners and lifestyles that is so great anyone could easily see it. I shall not even mention how many different crafts and artisans, how many varied kinds of merchandise, treasures, coins, statues, paintings, and other accoutrements, these peoples bring with them into the curia.

[10] What is more beautiful, agreeable, or delightful to see than these things? What can be more delightfully described or even imagined for feasting the eyes? Finally, for those who are desirous of seeing all this, what better place is there to live than that place itself where all of these things exist? And indeed, let us recall that Solon of Athens—the most famous of philosophers, wisest of lawgivers, and first of the Seven Wise Men—traveled around for a decade; that Democritus the natural philosopher spent all of his time traveling around among learned men;

48. Virg. *Aen.* IX.616.

49. Cf. Plut. *Them.* XXIX.5.

50. The total number of Germans listed in the Vatican registers as belonging to the curia during the entire pontificate of Eugenius IV (1431–47) was 1,170. See C. Schuchard, *Die Deutschen an der päpstlichen Kurie im späten Mittelalter (1378–1447)*, Bibliothek des deutschen historischen Instituts in Rom 65 (Tübingen, 1987), at 35 and *passim* on the whole question.

consumpsisse; [11] si Pythagoram⁵²⁵ Samium et Platonem, illum philosophorum principem,⁵²⁶ Egyptios, Caldeos, Magos, Gymnosophistas adisse memoriae proditum⁵²⁷ est, omnes vivendi atque spectandi⁵²⁸ cupiditate pellectos, cui haec omnia uno in loco et uno quasi sub aspectu intueri liceat, quae illis tanto tempore, labore, impensa, periculo conquisita⁵²⁹ sunt, illi non praecipuam⁵³⁰ quandam et singularem felicitatem contigisse dicemus? Itaque necesse est, qui visu maxime moveatur, ex his tot, tantis, tam variis, tam diversis rebus mirificam voluptatem percipere. Et tu me, homo prudens, consulendo⁵³¹ et hortando ab eiusmodi loco conaris abducere?

[12] Nec⁵³² tamen cum⁵³³ tot ac tanta videantur pauciora, sed longe plura audiuntur in curia. Quotidie enim fere recentes aliquae⁵³⁴ assunt legationes, quotidie nova quaedam literis, nunciis, rumoribus perferuntur, //80v// nullus toto anno dies atque adeo hora labitur qua non suggeratur aliquid, nihil in universo terrarum orbe geritur quod non continuo sciatur in curia. Nec enim fieri aliter potest, ubi ea hominum frequentia ac multitudo sit, qui domesticorum litteris et nunciis de rebus patriae certiores fiant.

[13] Ubicunque⁵³⁵ igitur sis in curia, novi aliquid⁵³⁶ audias. Quocumque te veritas, in circulos,⁵³⁷ colloquia, sermones, et confabulationes hominum incidat, qui advenienti tibi ultro occurrant, qui abs te nunquid audieris percententur, qui vel invito⁵³⁸ quae ipsi noverint nuncient, nonnulla etiam ex tempore quae probabilia videantur confingant,⁵³⁹ quae, tametsi⁵⁴⁰ vera non sint, tantisper tamen, dum nesciantur,⁵⁴¹ specie veritatis oblectant.

[14] Quod si quando instituto sermone de rebus levioribus devenitur ad⁵⁴² iocum et dicacitatem,⁵⁴³ (magna est enim⁵⁴⁴ omnibus in curia

525. *in mar. d.* Pythagoras *F.*

526. *in mar. d.* Plato *F.*

527. traditum *PN.*

528. expectandi *VBG.*

529. consita *B.*

530. precipiam *V.*

531. consuetudo *sic N.*

532. *in mar. d.* De voluptate auditus *F.*

533. tamen cum] cum tamen *V.*

534. aliquae *om. G.*

535. Ubique *P.*

536. novi aliquid] aliquid novi *P.*

537. circulo *sic Sch.*

538. invito] in vitio *N.*

539. confingat *G.*

540. tametsi] tam si *B.*

541. *aut* resciantur *F;* resciantur *PB.*

542. ac *V.*

543. dicatitatem *sic F;* dicacitatem *codd.*

544. enim *om. VPGN.*

[11] that Pythagoras of Samos and Plato the prince of philosophers went to the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, the magi, and the gymnosophists; and that all of them were enticed by a desire to live and to observe.⁵¹ To the one who can observe in one place and almost with one glance all of these things—which those men obtained with so much time, labor, expense, and danger—shall we not say that an outstanding and unique happiness has befallen him? Well then, anyone who is especially moved by the visual must feel a marvelous pleasure, owing to these things, which are so many, so great, so varied, and so diverse. And you, a prudent man, are trying with your advice and exhortations to draw me away from a place of this sort?

[12] And still, even though one sees much of importance in the curia, one hears not less but more by far. Really, almost every day some sort of newly arrived legations are present. Every day some news is conveyed by letters, messengers, and rumors, and no day or even hour in the whole year goes by in which something is not suggested. Nothing that is done in the whole world is not known directly in the curia. Nor can it happen otherwise where there is this throng, this multitude of men who are informed about matters in their homeland by the letters and messengers of their servants.

[13] Wherever you are in the curia, then, you hear some bit of news. Wherever you turn, you happen on the conversational circles, talks, speeches, and tall tales of men who of their own accord run to meet you as you arrive. They ask you whether you have heard anything. They talk about what they themselves know, even to an unwilling listener, and also extemporaneously make up some things that seem probable. Even if these things are untrue, they nevertheless give pleasure for a little while, under the guise of truth, as long as they are not known [to be falsehoods].⁵²

[14] But whenever a conversation about lighter matters comes up, if it turns toward jests and raillery (for a great liberty and license is allowed

51. Pythagoras, Democritus, and Plato are mentioned together in Cic. *Fin.* V.49–50; Cic. *Tusc.* IV.44; Val. Max. VIII.7 ext. 2–4.

52. Cf. this description of someone who invents news with Theophrastus's *Char.* VIII (ed. Jebb no. XX), λογοποιίας (Newsmaker), a work that Lapo himself translated from the Greek; see the edition of the translation in K. Müllner, "Zur humanistischen Übersetzungsliteratur: Fortsetzung," *Wiener Studien* 24 (1902): 216–30.

Romana obloquendi ac maledicendi libertas licentiaque permissa) nemini parcitur, non modo absenti, sed ne praesenti⁵⁴⁵ quidem. Invehitur pariter in cunctos magno risu et cachinno omnium. Cenae, popinae, lenocinia, largitiones, furta, adulteria, stupra,⁵⁴⁶ flagitia in medium proferuntur.

[15] Qua ex re non voluptas tantummodo, sed etiam illa vel maxima capitur utilitas, quod, cum ita vita ac mores omnium⁵⁴⁷ ponantur tibi ante oculos, nullus⁵⁴⁸ (tota curia cuiusmodi sit) latere te possit. Quocirca si quando tibi ab illis gratia ineunda est, ut peritus medicus, habeas quasi medicamenta quaedam prompta ac parata, quae ad cuiusque morbum adhibere queas, ut nunquam tibi, si illis recte uti volueris, repulsa sit ab ullo perferenda quo nescio an quicquam melius ei qui inter homines versari commode cupiat //81// aut optabilius possit esse. [16] Quemadmodum enim neque fabrum bonum neque architectum⁵⁴⁹ esse quis dixerit cui sint incognita instrumenta quibus indigeat ad suum artificium; ita qui hominum, quibus utitur ad omnia, mores non teneat, is non dico in vita rudis et ignarus, sed vix homo, mea quidem sententia, est habendus. Itaque, cum hoc incommodum ne subeatur curia praeest,⁵⁵⁰ non tantum in ea plura audiendi, sed sapientius etiam vivendi et cautius facultas erit.

A: [17] Confert vero, ut a⁵⁵¹ te dicitur, plurimum hominum quibuscum verseris mores cognoscere. Nam cum reliquis in rebus rudem videri turpe est, tum in vita decipi, errare, labi foedissimum simul et pernitiosissimum est, quam quidem peritiam si curia afferre potest, merito laudatur.

L: [18] Potest certe, si quis alius⁵⁵² potest locus. Sed⁵⁵³ reliquas prosequamur voluptates, ne veluti Tantalus ille, de quo habetur in fabulis,⁵⁵⁴ in maxima rerum affluentia collocati⁵⁵⁵ nihil attingere omnino aut degustare posse videamur, quae quanquam homine indignae sint, a multis tamen conquiruntur omni studio et ultimum bonorum esse existimantur.

545. absenti, sed ne praesenti] presenti, sed ne absenti G.

546. strupta V; stipia sic N.

547. hominum V.

548. nullatenus con. Sch.

549. bonum neque architectum om. P.

550. preest codd.; prodest con. Sch.

551. ad V.

552. alii B.

553. in mar. sin. Tantalus G¹.

554. ann. in mar. d. De voluptate gustus F¹.

555. collocari B.

in the Roman curia for reproaching and abusing) no one is spared, whether he is absent or present, and everyone is equally attacked, to the great guffawing and laughter of all. Dinner parties, tavern life, pandering, bribes, thefts, adultery, sexual degradation, and shameful acts are publicly revealed.

[15] From this one acquires not only pleasure but also the greatest utility, since the life and character of all is thus placed before your eyes. No one can escape you when the whole curia is like this. And so, if you ever need a favor from these people, the result is that, almost like a learned doctor, you have your medications ready and prepared. You can apply them as if to some kind of illness, so that, if you know how to use your medications correctly, you are never turned away by anyone. I do not know if there can be any place better or more desirable than the curia for one who wishes to live opportunely among men. [16] After all, who would call a workman or architect who does not know the tools of his trade a good workman or architect? Someone who does not know the character of those with whom he associates in all matters—this man, I say, is not only crude and ignorant in life but, as far as I am concerned, scarcely to be considered a man. Therefore, since the curia is an outstanding place to prevent one's suffering disadvantage, one will have in it the ability not only to hear many things but also to live more wisely and more securely.

A: [17] Well, as you say, it is a good thing to know the characters of the men among whom you live. To be sure, while it is shameful to seem crude in other matters, it is especially disgraceful and ruinous in life to be deceived, to go astray, and to stumble. Certainly, the curia is deservedly praised if it can offer the kind of skill [it takes to avoid this].

L: [18] If any place can, certainly it is the curia. But let us take a look at the other pleasures, lest we seem like that Tantalus whom we hear about in stories; it would be as if we were placed in a condition of great plenty but were completely unable to touch or taste anything. Although these things are unworthy of humankind, still, many seek them out eagerly and even consider them to be the highest of the goods.

[19] Ex iis vero haud mediocris est illa voluptas quae per gustum ex cibo potuque colligitur.⁵⁵⁶ Haec⁵⁵⁷ enim nascitur cum ipsis hominibus et una cum aetate adulescit et usque ad extremum⁵⁵⁸ vitae comitatur. Haec a nobis nunquam discedit,⁵⁵⁹ et, cum reliquae vel curis gravioribus cedant vel sedentur satietate⁵⁶⁰ vel dissuetudine oblitterentur,⁵⁶¹ haec una expleta statim renascitur acrior nec interpellatur negociis nec intermissa tollitur minuiturve, sed magis invalescit. [20] Haec fons et origo est vel, ut⁵⁶² verius dicam, parens et procreatrix reliquarum voluptatum. Ex hac plurimae voluptatum libidines maximaeque venereae //81v// excitantur, quae ea sublata refrigescunt, ut est apud Terentium: “Sine Cerere et Libero.”⁵⁶³ Huius denique voluptatis cupiditas⁵⁶⁴ adeo insita nobis atque ingenita est⁵⁶⁵ ut cum paulo vehementius nos incesserit, ceterae omnes facile contemnantur. [21] Ad hanc igitur titillationem⁵⁶⁶ acerrimae voluptatis explendam copia ciborum, potissimum varietas⁵⁶⁷ ac lautitia quaeritur, quarum rerum⁵⁶⁸ haud pauciores in curia Romana quam⁵⁶⁹ olim philosophorum Athenis scholae, gymnasia, praeceptores, discipuli, artifices numerari possent.

A: [22] Credo equidem ita esse. Quam⁵⁷⁰ plurimi in⁵⁷¹ curia Romana sunt homines lauti et qui delicate ac molliter vivant, qui et maximis abundant divitiis et, quod sine labore partas⁵⁷² possideant, eas profundunt nulla habita ratione utilitatis, nec⁵⁷³ quid eos deceat, sed quid⁵⁷⁴ libeat cogitant impensaeque modum libidinem suam et⁵⁷⁵ cupiditatem statuunt. [23] Hi, omissis reliquis omnibus⁵⁷⁶ curis, quasi feriati⁵⁷⁷ nihil aliud

556. colligitur *om.* V.

557. Nec V.

558. ad extremum] *om.* P.

559. decedit B.

560. societate B.

561. oblitterentur *sic* F.

562. ut] ut ut *sic* N.

563. Sine Cerere et Libero] Sine terre et libro *sic* V.

564. Huius denique voluptatis cupiditas] Denique huius voluptatis denique cupiditas *sic* B *sed recte corr.* B¹.

565. est *om.* Sch., N.

566. titillationem P.

567. varietas *om.* P.

568. verum *sic legit* Sch.

569. qua V.

570. Quoniam GB.

571. in *om.* P.

572. partis V.

573. ne V.

574. quid] quid eos B.

575. et *om.* N.

576. reliquis omnibus] omnibus reliquis PB.

577. ferrati N.

[19] Now of these things, a considerable pleasure is the one gained through the sense of taste, from food and drink. Really, this pleasure is born with men themselves, matures with age, and remains their companion right up to the end of life. It never leaves us, and even though the other pleasures yield to more serious cares, subside because of satiety, or are blotted out because of lack of use, this one pleasure is immediately reborn more sharply; it is not hindered by business matters, nor, if interrupted, is it ruined or diminished, but rather, it grows ever stronger. [20] This pleasure is really the cause and origin or, if I may speak more truly, the mother and maker of the rest. It stirs up most desires for [other] pleasures and especially those of Venus, which cool down when the [gustatory] pleasure has suffered, just as Terence says, "without Ceres and Liber."⁵³ Finally, desire for this pleasure is so natural and innate in us that when it comes on us a little more intensely, all of the others are easily despised. [21] Now, for the tickling of this most keen of pleasures one needs a great abundance, variety, and splendiferous assortment of foods. For these subjects there are no fewer schools, secondary schools, teachers, students, and craftsmen in the Roman curia than there were once schools of philosophers that could be counted in Athens.

A: [22] I certainly believe it to be so. In the Roman curia there are quite a few refined men, as well as those who live luxuriously and delicately. Since they abound in great wealth and possess that portion without having to work for it, they squander their fortunes pointlessly; they consider not what is becoming to themselves but rather what pleases them at the moment. They make their lewd desire the limit to their expenditures. [23] Since they have no other worries, these men, almost as

53. Ter. *Eum.* IV.5.

agunt, nihil curant, nihil student, nihil cogitant, nisi⁵⁷⁸ ut domi preciosissima vina optima delicatissimaque cibaria, paratissimos⁵⁷⁹ etiam coquos habeant, nec ex una tantummodo natione, sed ex pluribus, quaecumque in ea arte⁵⁸⁰ praestare existimantur. [24] Et ad ea conquirenda atque⁵⁸¹ aucupanda quocumque exquisitores et quasi emissarios⁵⁸² dimittunt, formosos etiam ministros ad ministrandas⁵⁸³ epulas, catamitos⁵⁸⁴ quoque et calamistratos studiose quaerunt eosque splendidis vestibus indutos, leves maximeque inberbes esse volunt, Alexandri, credo, Macedonis auctoritatem secuti, qui proelium inituris iussit barbas abradi militibus ne veluti ansas hostibus ad se capiendum praeberent. Sic in parandis probandisque⁵⁸⁵ cibus, invitandis compotoribus,⁵⁸⁶ et confabulonibus⁵⁸⁷ suis dies totos consumunt.

L: [25] Quae ego ex te //82// audio? Omitte istos, quaeso, cum sua luxuria, nec enim sunt digni de quibus sermo habeatur, siquidem sunt omnes ex eo genere hominum quos ante e curia expellendos diximus. Ad illos potius comme<mo>randos⁵⁸⁸ te conferas, qui in⁵⁸⁹ maximis divitiis et opibus ita vivunt ut⁵⁹⁰ nihil prorsus sordide acquirere velint, [26] ut dignitatem suam pontificisque maximi beneficia non tam copiis quam virtute tueantur, qui sibi parci, aliis modo dignis magnifici sunt, honestate cupiditates suas metiuntur,⁵⁹¹ qui molliter nihil flagitioseve agunt⁵⁹² aut cogitant, cibos splendidos et delicatos pro convivarum⁵⁹³ dignitate instruunt, convivia vero ipsa, sumptus, ministros, reliquum omnem cultum et apparatus non ad voluptatem, sed ad sui et curiae totius⁵⁹⁴ splendorem et magnificentiam referunt. [27] In horum domos non compotores et confabulones sui, sed hospites, legati, principes tam curiales quam peregrini, honestissimi et splendidissimi homines invitantur, qua re apud omnes exterarum gentes curiae illustratur nomen.

578. nisi *om. B.*

579. peritissimos *PG.*

580. parte *B.*

581. aut *V.*

582. quasi emissarios] aucuparios *sic G.*

583. ad ministrandas] ad administrandas *sic legit Sch.*

584. catamitos *om. N cum spatio vacuo.*

585. probandisque *om. B.*

586. compocionibus *sic leg. Sch.*

587. confabulationibus *VPB;* confabulatoribus *G;* cofabulationibus *sic N.*

588. commemorandos *VPGNB.*

589. in *om. VPGNB.*

590. et *P.*

591. mentiuntur *V.*

592. nihil flagitioseve agunt] flagiciose instruunt nichil ve agunt *B.*

593. conviviarum *B.*

594. curiae totius] totius curie *G.*

if they were on constant holiday, pay attention to nothing else, desire nothing else, and think of nothing else but that they should have in their houses the most precious and valuable wines and the most sumptuous food, as well as the most sophisticated chefs, not only from one country but from many—the ones, that is, whom they perceive to be extraordinarily talented in the field. [24] And to acquire and hunt for those things, they send buyers anywhere, almost as emissaries, and zealously seek out beautiful servant boys to serve the meals, as well as catamites and men whose hair is done a little too finely. They want them to be clothed in splendid finery, smooth and, especially, beardless, in which requirement they follow, I believe, the authority of Alexander of Macedon; he ordered his soldiers who were about to enter into battle to shave off their beards, so that they would not offer the enemy handles, as it were, to grab onto.⁵⁴ In this way they spend whole days, preparing and trying out foods, and inviting their fellow banqueters and conversationalists.

L: [25] What am I hearing from you? Pass over those men and their licentiousness, for they aren't even worthy to talk about. Indeed, they all are part of that group we said before should be thrown out of the curia. You had better bring yourself to discussing those who, in the midst of the greatest wealth and luxury, live in such a way that they would come by nothing at all in a dishonorable fashion. [26] As a result of their conduct, it is not so much with wealth as with virtue that they look after their own honor as well as the generosity of the pope. With themselves these men are sparing, and only with others who are worthy are they generous; and they measure their desires with probity: they do and think nothing weak or shameful. They prepare splendid and refined foods in relation to the rank of their guests; yet the banquets themselves—the costs, the servants, and the rest of the refinement and pomp—are calculated in relation not to pleasure but rather to their own honor and greatness and to that of the whole curia. [27] They invite into their homes not drinkers and their drinking buddies but rather foreign guests, legates, and princes, curialists as well as pilgrims—most honorable and magnificent men. In this way, among all foreign peoples the name of the curia is made famous.

54. In Plut. *Thes.* V.4, it is mentioned that Alexander had his men shave off their beards, so that the enemy could not get a good hold on them.

[28] Cuiusmodi autem ab ipsis curiae principibus exhibeantur⁵⁹⁵ convivia quo apparatu quanta varietate, quanta copia, dicere timore deterreor, ne aut in iis⁵⁹⁶ luxuriam improbare aut ipse hoc genere nimium delectari videar.⁵⁹⁷ Ex his evenit ut quicquid ubique nascitur boni, modo vecturam patiat, in curiam comportetur, quod ibi⁵⁹⁸ citius vendatur et carius. Itaque quo frequentior in curia Romana multitudo est hominum, eo maior rerum omnium copia et abundantia reperitur, quod fortasse incredibile ac falso a me dictum videatur, si quis huius rei causam ignoret.

A: [29] Sed nihil est quo haec apud me verearis dicere,⁵⁹⁹ qui, cum in curia multum iam temporis verser, testis tibi optimus esse possum. Illud vero ad hanc voluptatem maxime pertinere arbitror, adesse coquos, fartores, pulmentarios,⁶⁰⁰ qui homines (tantum abest ut desiderentur in curia)⁶⁰¹ ut //82v// plurimi etiam⁶⁰² reperiantur qui his curialibus victu⁶⁰³ tantum, alio nullo stipendio suam operam navent idcirco, quod ad sacerdotium omnes intendunt et illis adiutoribus sacerdotalem aliquem in patria ordinem se assequi posse confidunt.

L: [30] Nec eos fallit spes. Nam saepe quos unctos sordidos in media culina, in fumo et nidore volutari videris, eosdem repente⁶⁰⁴ videas non ad sacerdotium modo, sed ad maximos etiam dignitatis gradus evectos in⁶⁰⁵ patriam remigrare.⁶⁰⁶

A: [31] Hanc ob causam ex Gallia, Germania, Britannia, aliisque exteris⁶⁰⁷ nationibus: quod magni apud illas sacerdotibus honores et praemia habeantur, plurimi in curiam confluunt, qui foedissima quaeque⁶⁰⁸ ministeria subeant nec ullam serviendi conditionem recusent, sed in primis coquinariam libenter exercent⁶⁰⁹ eamque probe callent. Quare hoc hominum genus in curia totum fere barbaricum est, Italici nulli aut pauci⁶¹⁰ admodum invenirentur.

595. exhibeatur N.

596. hiis B.

597. videatur B.

598. ubi N.

599. didere sic B.

600. coquos, fartores, pulmentarios] quos factores pulmentaris V.

601. curia] curia et G.

602. etiam om. G.

603. nutu sic legit Sch.

604. repetente sic V.

605. in om. V.

606. migrare recte corr. B¹.

607. exteris] ex terris V.

608. quaeque om. G.

609. libenter exercent] exercent libenter V.

610. parici V.

[28] In addition, when the princes of the curia themselves throw banquets of this sort—well, fear deters me from saying with what pomp, variety, and abundance they are carried out, lest I seem to reprove the extravagance of these affairs or seem myself to take excessive pleasure in this kind of thing. Because of these men it has come to pass that if anything good appears anywhere, provided it is transportable, it is carried into the curia so that it can be sold there more quickly and at a higher price. Therefore the larger the crowd of men in the Roman curia, the greater the abundance and plenty of things one discovers. In fact, it might seem unbelievable and falsely asserted by me, if one did not know the reason why this occurred.

A: [29] There is no reason why you should fear telling me these things, since by now I have lived quite some time in the curia and can be the best of witnesses for you. Really, I think it is certainly a part of this pleasure that these cooks, sausage makers, and gourmet food makers are present.⁵⁵ One finds these men in great number (far from being lacking) in the curia, and their only task is to provide food for these courtiers, with no other obligation, since they all aim toward the priesthood. With the help of their curial bosses they are confident of being able to attain some kind of priestly rank in their homeland.

L: [30] And they are not wrong in their hopes. After all, you will have often seen those men covered with grease and grime in the middle of the kitchen, embroiled in the smoke and stench. Then, out of nowhere, you see them move back to their homeland, raised not only to the priesthood but even to the highest degrees of honor.

A: [31] This is why from France, Germany, England, and other foreign countries—since in those nations priests possess great distinctions and rewards—so many men pour into the curia. They take on the most horrible jobs and do not refuse any condition of service; rather, they work willingly and primarily at cooking and are quite experienced in it. This is why this sort of person in the curia is almost always foreign and why no Italians, or at least few, are to be found.

55. For Lapo's "coquos, fartores, pulmentarios," cf. Ter. *Eun.* 257, cited in Cic. *Off.* I.150: "cetarii, lanii, coqui, fartores, piscatores."

L: [32] Non invideo equidem. Quamquam enim nostra natio haud imperita huius disciplinae sit, concedat tamen licet hanc laudem barbaris,⁶¹¹ et ea se carere⁶¹² tam aequo animo patiaturs quam illi se olim a nobis bellica gloria spoliari passi sunt.

A: [33] Nec⁶¹³ vero privatim tantum et alienae domi hoc exequantur munus, sed qui paulo lautiores sunt, apothecas conductas habent et in publico epulas vendunt. Quocunque accedas, complurima ibi invenias gulae irritamenta parari nec uno tantum ritu, ut ceteris in⁶¹⁴ locis. Quot enim sunt in curia exterae nationes, tot instruendorum ciborum mores ac ritus servantur.

L: [34] Quapropter, si quis est qui hac voluptate vehementius capiatur, duo sibi, ut video, potissimum exoptanda sunt: unum ut sibi in curia vivere liceat, //83// alterum gulam sibi non iam ciconiae, quod olim quendam a diis immortalibus precatum ferunt,⁶¹⁵ sed tuba longiorem dari, ne subito⁶¹⁶ voluptas tanta glutiendi intereat. Hoc igitur in curia voluptatis genus huiusmodi est et ita accurate colitur et tot artifices, magistros,⁶¹⁷ atque studiosos habet.

A: At si quem delectat odorum⁶¹⁸ suavitas, qui hoc assequi in curia poterit, ex fumo, arbitror, ciborum aucupetur sibi eiusmodi⁶¹⁹ voluptatem.

L: [35] Minime. Nam hic quidem odor gulae tantum deditis⁶²⁰ convenire videtur, qui non odore, sed cibi cuius is est odor desiderio com-moventur; veluti leo cum cervae⁶²¹ odorem persensit aut lupus⁶²² balatum ovis exaudit, non vocis odorisve gratia, sed vorandae⁶²³ praedae cupiditate excitantur. [36] Verum sunt alii quoque plurimi⁶²⁴ suavissimi acerrimique odores ex India, Egypto, Syria Arabiave advecti, quibus in beatorum domibus triclinia, cubicula, aedes totae complentur. Nec enim

611. barbaris *sic F*; barbaris *codd.*

612. carare *N.*

613. Hec *P.*

614. inde *VG.*

615. fuerunt *V.*

616. subita *P.*

617. artifices, magistros] magistros, artifices *B.*

618. odoris *P.*

619. huiusmodi *B.*

620. deditus *VPB.*

621. carnis *sic legit Sch.*

622. lupum *sic FGN*; lupus *VPB.*

623. devorande *B.*

624. alii quoque plurimi] quoque plurimi alii *P.*

L: [32] I certainly don't envy them. Really, although our people are not unskilled in this art, still, it is fair to concede the barbarians this praise and bear our lack of it with the same equanimity with which they once bore being despoiled by us in the glories of war.

A: [33] But they don't only carry this task out privately or at someone else's place. Those who are a little more well heeled have rented store-rooms and sell their feasts to the public. Wherever you go, you will find that there are great numbers of temptations to gourmandizing being prepared—and not only in one style of cuisine, as in other places. There are just as many customs and rituals for preparing foods as there are foreign peoples in the curia.

L: [34] And so if there is someone who is powerfully taken with this pleasure, there are two things he really ought to wish for, as I see it: first, that he be permitted to live in the curia; second, that he be given not the throat of a stork—which they say someone once asked of the immortal gods—but a throat longer than a trumpet, so that the great pleasure of swallowing does not pass away in an instant. This, then, is the sort of gustatory pleasure that there is in the curia; it is cultivated with great precision and has quite a few practitioners, teachers, and students.

A: But if the charm of the aromas pleases someone who could come by it in the curia, then he might, I think, hunt for himself this sort of pleasure from the vapor of the foods.

L: [35] Not at all, since this aroma certainly seems to be adapted only to those gluttons who are moved not by smell but by desire for the food whose smell it is. Just like a lion who senses the smell of a deer, or a wolf who hears the bleating of a sheep, they are aroused not by the sound or smell but by the desire to devour their prey. [36] But there are also many other delectable and pungent aromas drawn from India, Egypt, Syria, and Arabia. All of the dining rooms, sleeping rooms, chambers, and even whole apartments in the houses of the holy are filled with them. Really,

putandum est, qui in ceteris vitae partibus ita lauti sint⁶²⁵ et splendidi, in hoc uno genere minus accuratos et diligentes esse.⁶²⁶

A: Sed de his satis hactenus dictum sit.⁶²⁷ Iam venerea, quae⁶²⁸ reliqua sunt, cupio a te explicari.

L: [37] Venereis autem voluptatibus non minor quam superioribus relinquitur in curia Romana campus, quippe quae latissime pateant, nec⁶²⁹ his curiales homines minus quam illis indulgeant, nec id immerito. Superior enim quanquam maxima est illa quidem, sine hac tamen imperfecta quodammodo⁶³⁰ et incohata esse videtur. Quid enim prodesset sitim provocasse, si eam sedare non possis? Quid incendisse libidinem, si desit quo nervos intendas et ubi excitatum incendium restinguatur?⁶³¹ Itaque huic quoque generi optime prospexerunt prudentes viri et diligentes, ne quid in curia ad cumulatam voluptatem deesset.

[38] Nec vero ego nunc privata stupra nec domestica scorta //83v// nec adulteras matronas nec etiam honestioris loci meretrices prosequar, quae sibi sua⁶³² quisque in arte pararit,⁶³³ etsi plurima non incognita <co>mmemorare⁶³⁴ proferreque possem. Non enim id mihi propositum est, ut tecta cuiusquam flagitia detegam, aut mihi⁶³⁵ invidiam⁶³⁶ comparem. Si qua latent, ea clausa silentio meo ac tecta esse patiar. Tantum vulgaria prostibula et meritoria oratione complectar,⁶³⁷ quibus in curia omnes viae, vici, angiporti, balnea, thermae cauponiaeque redundant.

625. sunt B.

626. esse om. N.

627. est VPGNB.

628. quae om. G.

629. ne G.

630. quod admo(dum) N.

631. extinguitur G.

632. suo VPNB.

633. pararet B.

634. memorare V; commemorare PGB.

635. propositum est, ut tecta cuiusquam flagitia detegam, aut mihi om. V.

636. iniuriam VPGNB.

637. complecta V (et B?).

you should not think that those who live luxuriously and magnificently in the other areas of their lives are less exacting and diligent in this one.

A: Well now, enough about these things. Now I want you to explain what remains—the matters related to Venus.

L: [37] Well, in the Roman curia there is no less a place for the pleasures of Venus than for the others. In fact the pleasures of Venus are certainly most apparent there, and the curialists indulge in them no less than in the others and not undeservedly. After all, although gustatory pleasure is certainly the greatest, without this one it seems somehow imperfect and unformed. Really, what good would it do to provoke thirst if you couldn't quench it? What good is it to have fired up your sexual appetite if there is nothing with which you can release your sexual desire, where you can put out the fire that has been ignited? And so, prudent and diligent men have energetically provided for this sort of thing, so that nothing toward the end of filling the cup of pleasure to the full would be lacking in the curia.

[38] Now I shall not go into any detail about private debaucheries, domestic prostitutes, adulterous matrons, or even the courtesans of more honorable status, all of whom have their own specialties—although I could remember and disclose quite a bit of well-known material. Really, it was not my task to blow the roof off anyone's shames or to bring ill will on myself. If there are any disgraces that remain hidden, with my silence I allow them to remain locked up. But let me include in my speech common prostitution and harlotry by saying that in the curia all of the streets, districts, narrow lanes, public baths, hot baths, and taverns are swimming with them.

A: [39] Vera narras,⁶³⁸ itaque mihi nunquam in iis⁶³⁹ locis esse aut⁶⁴⁰ per ea transire casto licet. Etenim accedenti⁶⁴¹ catervatim omnes apertis pectoribus, nudis mammis ebore ac nive candidioribus longe tibi obviam prodeunt; saltu, gestu ac risu applaudunt⁶⁴² cantilenisque salacioribus te salutant; deinde propiores⁶⁴³ factae mollibus vinciunt complexibus, iungunt basia, obscenas obtrectant partes omnibusque adhibitis blanditiis te in fornicem et in cellulam conantur pertrahere; lacteos etiam catellos habent, quibus uti illas aiunt ad lambendas feminum sordes, ut⁶⁴⁴ Nestori et Priamo ac etiam natu grandioribus pruriginem concitare possint. [40] Quibus artibus si Phaedra illa, quondam Thesei uxor, instructa fuisset, pudorem potius posuisset Hipollytus quam se marinis obiiceret monstris et quadrigis dilacerandum committeret. Haec omnia cum ad commodum et oblectamentum curialium sint inventa, una in re parum voluptati consultum est, quod vel minimo precio ea voluptas ematur, siquidem, ut est apud poetam nostrum: “Haec magis oblectant animos,⁶⁴⁵ quae pluris emuntur.”

L: [41] Perabunde quidem et copiose meum⁶⁴⁶ explevisti munus.⁶⁴⁷ Sed haec lenonum disputationibus relinquamus, quae eruditorum sermone indigna sunt. //84// Hactenus de curiae commodis non ita accurate fortasse, ut tanta res flagitabat, sed pro facultate⁶⁴⁸ mea disserui. [42] Si igitur in curia Romana virtutes plurimae et maximae, si doctissimorum et praestantissimorum⁶⁴⁹ virorum necessitudines et amicitiae, si nomen

638. narrans V.

639. hiis PG.

640. atque G.

641. accedentes G.

642. applaudant B.

643. propiores N.

644. et V.

645. canimos sic P.

646. meum] in eum B.

647. munus om. V cum spatio vacuo.

648. .. verbi ..us.. in mar. d. B.

649. prostantissimorum sic N.

A: [39] You're right about that. That is why, as a chaste man, I can never allow myself to be in those places or even walk through them. Indeed, as you approach, they all swarm on you with chests revealed, their naked breasts shining like ivory and snow. They strike you, dancing, gesturing, and laughing, and greet you with lewd songs. Then once they have come closer, they encircle you with soft embraces, adding kisses and fondling your privates. Once they have applied all of their flatteries they try to lure you into the brothel and then into their little room. They also have milk white little lapdogs, whom—people say—they use to lick up filth about your loins, so that they could provoke desire in Nestor and Priam and in those who are even older.⁵⁶ [40] If Phaedra, who was once the wife of Theseus, had been instructed in these arts, then Hippolytus would have laid chastity aside rather than expose himself to marine monsters and allow himself to be torn to pieces by the chariot.⁵⁷ But even though all of these things were invented for the convenience and pleasure of the curialists, since the pleasure is bought at quite a low price then in one respect insufficient thought was given to pleasure, if it is true, as our poet says, that “those things that are bought at a higher price please the spirit more.”⁵⁸

L: [41] Well, you have certainly done my job for me, in a more than abundant fashion. But let's leave these things behind as the arguments of panderers, unworthy to be discussed by the learned. Up to this point I have discussed the curia's advantages not, perhaps, as precisely as a great subject called for but in accordance with my own abilities. [42] If, then, there are in the Roman curia the most and the greatest of the virtues, relationships and friendships with the most learned and excellent men, a

56. For Lapo's “ut Nestori et Priamo ac etiam natu grandioribus pruriginem concitare possint,” cf. Juvenal VI.324–26: “. . . quibus incendi iam frigidus aevo / Laomedontiaes et Nestoris hirnea possit. / tunc prurigo morae inpatiens . . .”

57. Phaedra schemed to seduce her stepson Hippolytus, who refused her advances. After the episode, she told Theseus (Phaedra's husband, Hippolytus's father) that Hippolytus tried to seduce *her*. Theseus believed Phaedra and, angered, prayed to Poseidon for revenge. At Poseidon's command a bull came from the sea as Hippolytus was traveling by chariot into exile; and Hippolytus was killed in the ensuing chariot wreck. On this episode, see Ovid *Met.* XV.497–529; Ovid *Fast.* VI.733–62; Seneca *Phaed.*; Hyginus *Fab.* 47; there is also a mention in Apuleius *Apol.* 79. Lapo would have known these texts, with the exception of Hyginus. For Apuleius, see Sabbadini, *Le scoperte*, 2:202; Reynolds, *Texts*, 15–16. For Seneca and Ovid, see Sabbadini, *op. cit.*, 2:250, 238.

58. Cf. Juvenal XI.16: “. . . magis illa iuvant quae pluris ementur.” It is interesting that Lapo calls Juvenal, as opposed to Virgil, “our poet.” Bruni also called Juvenal *poeta noster*, “our poet”; see his commentary to the *Oeconomica* in Bruni, *Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften*, 130.

magnum et gloria, si divitiae atque opes amplissimae, si cumulatissimae in omni genere voluptates⁶⁵⁰ parantur,⁶⁵¹ idque a me locis⁶⁵² pluribus et rationibus demonstratum est et a te ultro concessum et comprobatum, quid est quod a quoquam⁶⁵³ ad honestatem vitae, splendorem, commodum, iucunditatem desiderari⁶⁵⁴ praeterea debeat et aut a te in disputatione requiri aut a me in medium afferri possit? [43] In quo si tibi satisfactum est, tuum est iam ab ea, qua dudum eras, sententia et opinione desistere mihi gratias agere, quod opera mea tanto tam veteri errore liberatus sis, nec posthac⁶⁵⁵ quempiam a curia deterrere, ne illius commodis invidere videaris. Si quis autem restat scrupulus, percontari quid dubites, et ipse tibi id pro mea consuetudine, ut potero, explanare aggrediar. Statui enim, quantum in me erit, te nulla in re dubium ambiguumve dimittere.

A: [44] Cumulate mihi abs te quod suscepas munus persolutum est, opi<ni>onem⁶⁵⁶ vero illam parum commodam⁶⁵⁷ de curia quam habebam, aequo libentique animo penitus remitto atque abiicio, tibi me ob id plurimum debere fateor. Sed quoniam hanc mihi potestatem //84v, 85//⁶⁵⁸ facis, haud verear⁶⁵⁹ quid sentiam dicere, idque non tam arbitrato⁶⁶⁰ meo quam aliorum sermonibus,⁶⁶¹ non videri mihi pontificibus reliquisque antistibus tantas divitias atque opes permittendas esse.

[VIII. Defensio divitiarum a religiosis acquirendarum]

L: [1] Non me fugit esse nonnullos suo quidem iudicio valde sapientes, ut mihi autem videntur stultissimi homines, qui huius saeculi, ut ipsi appellant, luxuriam et opulentiam pontificum improbent, priscorum patrum magnopere vitae tenuitatem desiderent. Quam quidem obiectionem tuam

650. voluptatis V.

651. parantur N.

652. locisis sic F.

653. quo()que V.

654. desiderare B.

655. posthac] post hanc V; posthanc B.

656. opinionem VGN.

657. commedam sic V; commendatam sic con. Sch.

658. Pagina vacua 84v (codice F) consulto est, sed sine textus interruptione.

659. Ann. in mar. sup. hic incipit rexien... apud nostrum in..... V.

660. arbitrato N.

661. in mar. sin. hic non V.

great name and glory, abundant wealth and riches, and the greatest gathering of pleasures of every sort—if all of these things are furnished (and I have proven this with many cases and arguments, and you have of your own accord conceded and agreed to this)—what could anyone think was missing, as far as probity, luxury, advantage, or happiness of life go? And what can you need, as far as the argument goes, or what can I add? [43] If you are satisfied with this, then it is up to you now to abandon your former thoughts and opinions and thank me, since you have been liberated—thanks to my work—from quite an old error. And do not let yourself be seen afterward deterring anyone from the curia, for fear you might seem envious of his advancement. But if any scruple remains, allow me to investigate your doubts and let me offer an explanation, as is my custom, insofar as I can. After all, I did decide, as far as it is in me, not to leave you in doubt or ambiguity in any way.

A: [44] In my view you have fulfilled in consummate fashion the obligation you took on. And I give up that unsuitable opinion I held about the curia—I abandon it with an even-tempered and willing spirit—and admit that I owe you quite a bit on this account. But seeing that you give me this power, I am not afraid to say what I feel—and this not so much because of my own judgment but thanks to what others say: it seems to me that popes and the other priests should not be allowed to have such riches and wealth.

[VIII. The Defense of Wealth Held by Religious]

L: [1] I am certainly aware that there are some exceedingly wise men who judge this to be the case. But the result of this is that they seem to me the most foolish of men—those who disapprove of the luxury and opulence of the popes of this age, as they term it, and who so earnestly long for the ancient fathers' purity of life. Now certainly, since I uphold the role of

ac ceterorum, quoniam defensoris⁶⁶² et patroni impositam mihi a te personam substineo, refellendam a me summopere atque infringendam puto teque in eam sententiam traducendum, ut pontificibus divitias non modo non adimendas esse, sed etiam, si illis⁶⁶³ carerent,⁶⁶⁴ tribuendas ducas.

A: [2] Permagnam ab illis, quantum intelligo, merebis⁶⁶⁵ gratiam si tot tam assidue in eos coniecta maledicta, probra,⁶⁶⁶ calumnias refutabis; me autem vereor ne, cum hoc effeceris, vitae huius, quam mihi delegi, sero nimium penitere incipiat.

L: [3] Conabor efficere. Quare nunc ab illis, si adessent, et⁶⁶⁷ abs te, qui ades, libenter audirem, nunquid⁶⁶⁸ existimes inopes tantum probos, castos religiososque esse viros, divites omnes improbos, sceleratos, flagitiosos, nefarios? Quod ni⁶⁶⁹ ita putas, quaero, cur⁶⁷⁰ pontificibus divitias adimi velis? Si <ita> putas, cur reliquos non⁶⁷¹ quoque homines pauperes censeas⁶⁷² esse oportere? An quia unus tantummodo ex omnibus vir bonus existere debeat, reliqui pro arbitrio⁶⁷³ vivere, cum una tantum via omnibus per virtutem ac bonos mores ad beatitudinem contendendum⁶⁷⁴ sit?

A: [4] Nunquam istuc⁶⁷⁵ ego dixerim inopiam bonos, copias malos efficere, sed magnas ad vicia ac flagitia in divitiis illecebras atque irritamenta esse.

L: Pontificibus an etiam caeteris?

A: Omnibus.

L: Quid,⁶⁷⁶ si caeteris maiora quam illis?

A: //85v// Quonam pacto?

L: [5] Quoniam ii liberiores omnium voluntates⁶⁷⁷ rerum habent et eorum vita minus⁶⁷⁸ multis oculis observatur. Obscuriori enim loco constituti sunt, pauci vident, pauci audiunt, pauciores quaerunt, paucissimi curant, itaque sua facinora perfacile occultare possunt. Nacti etiam

662. defensores V.

663. illis *om.* VPGb.

664. carerem V.

665. nubis VPB; merebis *coni. Sch., recte*; mihi G; imbis *sic N.*

666. proba B.

667. ut N.

668. nunquid] nunc quid B.

669. in *sic P.*

670. quaero cur] quero, curia Romana P; que ro(mana) cu(ria) G.

671. reliquos non] non reliquos PBNG.

672. senteas *sic P.*

673. arbitro N.

674. contempnendum V.

675. istud V.

676. Quod B.

677. voluptates *coni. Sch.*; volumptates *sic G.*

678. nimis *sic legit Sch.*

defender and protector that you have placed on me, I think I should expend the utmost effort to rebut this objection of yours and others and then shatter it. I think you should be persuaded to come over to this opinion: that wealth not only should not be withheld from high priests but also should be given them, should they lack it.

A: [2] Well as far as I can tell, you will certainly deserve a great deal of thanks from them, if you refute all the abuses, reproaches, and sophistries that have been so incessantly flung against them. But I *am* afraid that I shall begin to repent all too late of this life I have chosen for myself, should you fail to carry it off.

L: [3] I'll try to do it. Well then, I would gladly hear from them if they were here and from you since you are: do you really think that only the poor are respectable, chaste, and religious and that all of the wealthy are rogues, corrupt, disgraceful, and nefarious? Because if you don't think so, I ask, why do you want to take wealth away from the high priests? If you do think so, why wouldn't you suppose that everybody else should also be poor? Or is it because out of all men, only one good one should exist and the rest should live by his judgment, since there is only one way to pursue happiness for all: through virtue and good character.

A: [4] I would never tell you that poverty produces good men and wealth bad men, but I would say that in wealth there are great temptations and enticements to vice and disgracefulness.

L: For high priests or also for everybody else?

A: For everybody.

L: But what if there were greater temptations for others than for them?

A: In what way?

L: [5] In that they have wills that are freer of all things and that their life comes less under the observation of many eyes. Really, they are set up in a place that is barely visible, few see them, few hear them, fewer ask, and barely anybody cares. And so they can hide their shameful deeds very easily. They have also acquired greater resources for fulfilling their lewd desires, as well as an easier way. In public and in private, at home and

maiores sunt⁶⁷⁹ facultatem et prouidenciam ad suas explendas cupiditates. Nam et in publico et in privato et domi et foris et cum aliis et secum et die noctuque ut libet sine cuiusquam reprehensione versantur, quae quidem libertas vitae maiores etiam⁶⁸⁰ concitationes habet. Multa enim quotidie et vident et sentiunt, quibus eorum excitentur libidines, et quasi inviti ad facinus rapiantur. [6] Habent praeterea socios, amicos, familiares, conscios⁶⁸¹ complures⁶⁸² ad quorum vitam ac mores, nisi rustici atque inhumani existimari volunt, conformari eos oporteat, quibus multa concedere, quorum suasionibus multa facere, quae ipsi saepe improbent et sibi interdum permolesta sint. Qui quidem, si inquinati⁶⁸³ sunt homines et corrupti, difficillimum est in eorum⁶⁸⁴ consuetudine decorum honestatemque retinere. Nec illam parvam illecebram⁶⁸⁵ ad⁶⁸⁶ peccandum esse arbitror habere exploratum⁶⁸⁷ fore ut delictis suis, nisi detestabilis aliqua insit⁶⁸⁸ improbitas, omnes ignoscant et in oblivionem celeriter adducantur.⁶⁸⁹ [7] Nemo enim eorum facta ad vim summae religionis exquirenda esse arbitratur.⁶⁹⁰ Exuberantibus igitur copiis, stimulantem voluptate, urgente furore, suadente libidine nihil est praeterea, nisi eximia aliqua et divina vis animi virtusque obsistant, quo a scelere, improbitate, audacia revocari et contineri queant.

[8] Pontifices autem—pontifices cum dico, reliquos quoque antistites intelligi volo—pontifices, inquam, multa sunt quae etiam⁶⁹¹ natura procliviores //86// in vicium peccare non sinant, quae eos dies noctesque absterreant. Persona primum an⁶⁹² nomen ipsum quod sustinent,⁶⁹³ quibus, ne ex eorum vita aliqua nota et ignominia inuxta⁶⁹⁴ esse videatur, necesse est illos, si quis sensus humanitatis aut ratio inest, religionis quot-

679. maiorem sunt] sunt maiorem G.

680. et V.

681. consocios V.

682. complures] quam plures P.

683. inquinati] iniqui nati sic N.

684. rorum sic V; rerum sic legit Sch.

685. illecebram VP.

686. ad om. V.

687. habere exploratum] haberi et exploratum B.

688. visit sic G.

689. abducantur P.

690. arbitrantur P.

691. et V.

692. ac P.

693. Persona primum an nomen ipsum quod sustinent om. G.

694. immixta V; mixta P.

outside, with others and with themselves, and day and night as you please they are engaged in these things without being blamed at all. Certainly, this liberty of life also comes with greater excitements, since every day they see and hear things that stimulate their sexual appetites and they are almost unwillingly dragged into shame. [6] Besides, they have quite a few companions, friends, intimates, and associates. If they do not want to be considered rude and barbarous, they have to conform to the lives and characters of these men. They have to yield many things to them and do many things on account of their persuasion, things that they themselves often disapprove of and that—sometimes—are personally very troublesome. Of course if these men are polluted and corrupt, it is tremendously difficult in their company to hold on to decorum and integrity. I think it has also been determined that it is no small temptation to sin when no one knows about their crimes—unless there is some execrable shameful-ness—and when the crimes quickly pass into oblivion. [7] Really, no one thinks their deeds should be investigated with the force of the highest religious standard. Therefore, with wealth abounding, with pleasure as a stimulus, with frenzy urging them on and lust persuading them, there is nothing with which they can be checked or withheld from wickedness, disgracefulness, and insolence, unless some extraordinary and divine spiritual power and virtue prevent them.

[8] However, the high priests—and when I say, “high priests,” I mean [not only the pope but] also the rest of the bishops—as to the high priests, I say, there are also many things that prevent them from falling into sin and vice, even if they are naturally rather inclined to do so. Indeed, many things deter them day and night. First of all there is the person, or the name itself, that they maintain. Because of this, if they have any human sense or reason at all, they must be careful every day when it comes to religion, lest it seem that any mark of disgrace be imprinted on them

tidie solictos esse. [9] Deinde ordo ipse, qui ita⁶⁹⁵ expositus est atque⁶⁹⁶ editus in altum ut ab omnibus undique circumspici et observari possit, itaque, si quid temere administrarint, si qua in re a virtute atque ab officio declinarint, effertur statim et in oculos⁶⁹⁷ omnium ac voces maledicorum incurrit; ex quo manifesto perspicere possint id sibi non ad⁶⁹⁸ exigui temporis calumniam futurum, sed ad <de>decus⁶⁹⁹ atque infamiam⁷⁰⁰ sempiternum,⁷⁰¹ nec sibi soli, sed reliquis etiam⁷⁰² omnibus qui post se in eum locum successuri sunt. [10] Quid? Quod occlusi⁷⁰³ quotidie continentur domi, nec eis prodire unquam⁷⁰⁴ sine multitudine licet⁷⁰⁵ nec ad ea videnda, quibus reliqui et oblectantur et incenduntur,⁷⁰⁶ accedere, nihil sine arbitris agere licet, ut, etiam si⁷⁰⁷ caetera omnia caeci cupiditate contempserint nec famae suae nec hominum futuris de se sermonibus consulendum⁷⁰⁸ putent, pudore tamen praesentium et verecundia, nisi haec ipsa quoque abiecerint, prohibentur, postremo nullis sermonibus, nisi de rebus gravibus seriisque interesse itaque, cum pauciora videant paucioraque audiant, pauciora etiam appetant necesse est?⁷⁰⁹ [11] Accedit etiam, ut secessus ipse, ocium, cessatio⁷¹⁰ a labore, austeritas vitae et perpetuus, ut sic dixerim, carcer non modo debilitet infringatque corporis vires, sed langorem⁷¹¹ quoque animis afferat, ex quo remissiores et sedatiores fiunt animi motus. Quare cum nec cupiant nec servata existimatione cupiditates exequi possint, haud sane video quantum in iis⁷¹² valeant divitiarum illecebre.

A: [12] Caetera tibi facile concedo, sed in illo extremo a te vehementer dissentio, quod dixisti ocio ac vacatione cupiditates imminui, cum ex iis consensu omnium plurimae et nequissimae gignantur cupiditates.

L: [13] Est hoc aliqua ex parte verissimum, sed de ocio distinguendum videtur. //86v// Est enim animi et corporis ocium, quorum alterum, id est

695. ita *om.* V.

696. atque] atque ita G.

697. *emendavi ego ex* inoculos; in ortulos V.

698. ad *om.* G.

699. dedecus PNB.

700. infamiam] infamiam magnam B.

701. sempiternam GN; sempiternamque B.

702. reliquis etiam] etiam reliquis B.

703. inclusi *coni. Sch.*

704. usquam G; nunquam B.

705. licet *om.* VB.

706. inceduntur V; incenduntur PNB.

707. etiam si] etsi V.

708. de se sermonibus consulendum] etiam sermonibus de se consulendum G.

709. est *om.* N.

710. cessans *sic legit Sch.*

711. languorem PB.

712. hiis P.

thanks to their lifestyle. [9] Next there is the rank itself, which has been set apart and put on a pedestal to such an extent that everyone everywhere can inspect and observe it. So if they handle anything rashly or fall short of virtue and duty in any way, it is found out immediately, comes into everyone's view, and enters into the talk of slanderers. Thanks to this they can see clearly that this will lead not just to short-term defamation but rather to shame and eternal infamy—and not just for themselves alone but for all those who remain to succeed them in their position. [10] What of the fact that they are secluded every day at home and never allowed to go out in public without a big crowd or to go see those things that delight and arouse everybody else? That they are allowed to do nothing without chaperones? Even if they were blind with desire, scorned everything else, and came to think they should not care for their own reputation or about what men would say about them in the future, still, out of shame and respect for those who are present—unless they cast these very things aside too—they are hemmed in; and finally, they are prohibited from taking part in any conversations that are not about grave and serious things. Since they see and hear less, must they not also desire less? [11] And you can add that solitude itself, leisure, respite from work, severity of life, and perpetual imprisonment, so to speak, not only debilitate and weaken their bodily powers but even inject their souls with sloth, so that the soul's movements become slacker and calmer. Since, then, they do not desire and—if they want to preserve their reputation—are unable to pursue pleasures, I really do not see how much power the temptations of wealth can have over them.

A: [12] The other things I shall readily concede you, but I disagree strongly with that last argument you made, that is, that desires are diminished by intellectual leisure and exemption from work. Everybody agrees that these things beget the greatest number and the wickedest of desires.

L: [13] Very true, on the one hand. But it seems that when it comes to leisure one has to make distinctions. There is leisure of the spirit and

corporis, cum nimis⁷¹³ assiduum est, corpus ipsum enervat⁷¹⁴ et conficit. Animi autem vacatio pravas cogitationes inducit quibus corrumpitur animus et ad scelus flagitiumque impellitur. [14] Sed cum ad ocium animi ac vacationem commoda corporis valitudo accedit, tum maxime efficitur illud quod dicis; cum autem⁷¹⁵ feriato omnino corpore assiduis laboribus destinetur⁷¹⁶ animus, quod in pontificibus evenit, naturalis deficit vigor et ad internitionem⁷¹⁷ statim perducitur. Itaque videmus huiusmodi homines vel brevi vitam finire vel in lepram, podagram, hydrosim aliosque incurabiles morbos incidere.

A: [15] Fieri aliter non potest. Cum enim distrahitur animus curis maioribus et a sensibus⁷¹⁸ cogitatione abducitur et quasi separatur nec corpus fovet, ut debet, corpus desidiosum per se languidum et animi ope destitutum aut interire propediem aut aegrotare necesse est.

L: Non sunt igitur, ut ostendimus, perniciosae illis divitiae.

A: Minime, verum aliis.

L:⁷¹⁹ [16] Quid? Si ne⁷²⁰ aliis quidem, nisi improbis, intemperatis, flagitiosis perniciosae, quin potius salutares et ad bene vivendum maxime necessariae? Sunt enim non privatis modo hominibus,⁷²¹ sed etiam civitatibus universis et in bello et in pace et domi et foris adiumenta et ornamenta maxima, sine quibus nec domestica res bene constitui nec publica⁷²² administrari nec magnum aliquid et praeclarum fieri potest. [17] His enim geruntur bella, his propulsantur hostes, his fines patriae, his salus, his libertas defenditur; his pax et ocium comparatur civibus, his iniuriae potentium et factiosorum occurritur, his oppressi, inopes, afflicti, perdit⁷²³ in civitate retinentur; his freti ducibus ad omnia quae cupimus aditum habemus; his nihil est tam difficile atque arduum quod non facillime superetur,⁷²⁴ //87// quibus qui et⁷²⁵ honeste affluunt et recte sapien-

713. minus *sic legit Sch.*

714. enarvat *P.*

715. aut *B.*

716. destinetur *VP.*

717. interemcionem *sic legit Sch.*

718. assensibus *G.*

719. *L om. VPGN (et F?), ubi est in parte textus quae abradatur; L coni. Sch. et ego id accepi.*

720. Si ne] Sine *FVGN; Si ve B.*

721. modo hominibus] hominibus modo *B.*

722. publicari *N.*

723. prediti *P.*

724. superentur *B.*

725. qui et] et qui *G.*

leisure of the body. The latter, leisure of the body, weakens and diminishes that very body if there is too much of it. But exemption from spiritual work brings distorted thoughts that pervert the soul and incite it to crime and shameful deeds. [14] Yet when an advantageous health of body is added to leisure of spirit and exemption from work, then what you suggest comes about and greatly so. Moreover, since one's spirit is drawn apart when the body has been given leave from all continuous labor—which happens with the high priests—then one lacks natural energy and is quickly destroyed. And so we see that men of this sort either end their life in a short time or come down with leprosy, gout, dropsy, and other incurable diseases.

A: [15] It can't happen otherwise, since when the soul is distracted by greater cares and removed and almost separated from the senses because of thought and does not take care of the body as it should, then the body—idle and sluggish in itself and deprived of the soul's assistance—must either die very soon or become ill.

L: Wealth, then, as we have shown, is not dangerous for them.

A: Not at all, but for others.

L: [16] What, then? If wealth certainly isn't dangerous for others, unless they are dishonest, intemperate, and shameful, why don't we just come out and say that it is advantageous and integrally essential to live well? Wealth is a great aid and ornament not only to men of the private sector but also to all cities, both in war and at peace, at home and away. Without it the household cannot be well established, public affairs cannot be managed, and nothing great or outstanding can happen. [17] After all, with wealth wars are waged, enemies are beaten back, and the country's borders, security, and liberty are defended. With wealth, the citizens acquire peace and leisure, you can meet head-on the injustice of the powerful and seditious, and the oppressed, the poor, the put-upon, and the hopeless are taken care of in the city. With the confidence of wealth as our leader we have access to everything we desire; with wealth, there is nothing so difficult or arduous that it can't be easily overcome. Those who abound in wealth and use it justly and wisely—well, we are rightly

terque utuntur, beneficos, praeclaros, splendidos magnificosque viros merito appellare solemus. [18] Sunt enim virtutes quaedam quae divitias quasi materiem quam tractent et in qua versentur requirant, ut benignitas, liberalitas, munificentiaque⁷²⁶ absque⁷²⁷ divitiis nullae omnino esse possunt. Itaque non temere, tametsi fortasse non vere, philosophi quidam illis beatitudinem contineri, alii⁷²⁸ verius augeri atque illustrari dixerunt.

A: [19] Retexis,⁷²⁹ ut videris, orationem⁷³⁰ et pugnancia inter se se⁷³¹ contrariaque loqueris, et quae ante incitamenta libidinum esse concesseris,⁷³² eadem nunc hominibus ac civitatibus utilia et salutaria esse dicis et ad beatitudinem etiam pertinere!

L: [20] Vehementer erras! Non enim quicquam muto quod superius a me positum est, divitias quibusdam esse viciorum materiem. Nam malis mala sunt omnia. Sed nego idcirco perniciosas aut fugiendas esse.⁷³³ Nam sic paupertas multo perniciosior magisque fugienda foret. Ad maiora enim ac detestabiliora scelera homines impelluntur inopia quam divitiis adducuntur. Difficilius est enim⁷³⁴ res asperas et incommodas firmo constantique animo ferre nec ab honestatis ratione discedere, quam in secundis et optatis se continere sibi moderari, quinetiam⁷³⁵ divitiis affluentes, si victi cupiditate a virtute deflexerint, in minora tamen erumpunt vicia. [21] Molliores enim qui sunt, gulae, somno, desidiae luxuriaeque se dedunt, qui paulo erectiore sunt animo, ad pompam, ad luxum, atque ad dominatum spectant et ad largiendum et corrumpendum pecuniis abutuntur. Quae peccata etsi reprehendenda sunt, non tamen penitus ab humanitate remota. Ex inopia vero furta, praedae rapinaeque oriuntur, ex eadem insidiae, proditiones, caedes, exitia hominibus importantur. [22] Necessitas enim et⁷³⁶ bonorum quibus indigemus carentia violentissima omnino res est, quae sanctos interdum atque integros viros peccare etiam invitos⁷³⁷ ac renitentes cogit et animalia saepe natura man//87v//sueta ferocia immaniaque efficit et in alio-

726. magnificentiaque P.

727. atque V.

728. aliis V.

729. Retexisti G.

730. orationem] orationem tuam VG.

731. se om. PB.

732. censeris V; censuisti con. Sch.

733. Sed nego idcirco perniciosas aut fugiendas esse om. G; esse om. N.

734. enim] hoc vocabulum illegibile in F.

735. quinetiam] quini et V; quin immo et sic legit Sch.

736. et om. G.

737. invictos V.

accustomed to call them liberal, outstanding, distinguished, and noble. [18] For there are certain virtues, like liberality, generosity, and munificence, that require wealth as the means that they use and in which they flourish. Without it none of those virtues would even be possible. And so, even if it is untrue, it is not rashly that certain philosophers have said that happiness is located in wealth. Others, more truly, have said that happiness is increased and adorned by wealth.

A: [19] As you'll see, you are unweaving your speech and are saying contrary things that work against one another. The things that you admitted earlier were incentives to sexual desire—now you claim that they are useful and beneficial for men and cities and even lead to happiness!

L: [20] You are so very wrong! Really, I am not changing what I argued before, that wealth is for certain people the stuff of vice. After all, for bad men all things are bad. But I deny that wealth is dangerous because of this or that one should flee it. Poverty, for instance, would be so much more dangerous and something one would have to flee from even more. Really, men are pushed to greater and more detestable crimes by poverty than they are led to by wealth. For it is harder to bear harsh and disagreeable things with a firm and constant spirit and not fall away from a system of honor than it is to contain and limit oneself when favorable and desirable things are at hand. Also, as a matter of fact, if men who overflow with wealth turn away from virtue, then at least the vices they break out into are only lesser ones. [21] After all, there are those who are more delicate, who devote themselves to gourmandizing, sleep, idleness, and extravagance. There are also those who are a little more lively in spirit, who look toward ostentation, debauchery, and power and use up money both for payoffs and bribes. And even if these sins are to be disapproved of, still, they are not so far from the human condition. But thefts, plundering, and robbery are born of poverty; poverty brings men treachery, betrayals, slaughter, and destruction. [22] Really, the necessity and privation of the goods we lack is altogether a very violent thing and compels those who are normally sacred and pure to sin even when they are unwilling and resistant. This necessity also often makes naturally gentle animals turn ferocious and savage, inciting them to mur-

rum necem incitat. Deinde ad ea omnia quae facillime conficiuntur divitiis,⁷³⁸ quae maxima et preclarissima sunt aditus intercluditur pluri-
maque subeuntur inopibus⁷³⁹ incommoda, quae a divitibus leviter declinari possunt.

[23] Quis igitur non videt hac ratione paupertatem, si eam non ex natura ipsius, sed ex hominum viciis spectare velimus, rem unam omnium capitalissimam esse summaque ope ab omnibus repellendam, quam tamen plerisque scimus salutarem fuisse, multos etiam⁷⁴⁰ ex illa sibi nomen maximum et gloriam comparasse?

[24] Non sunt igitur perniciosae cuiquam per se nec⁷⁴¹ fugiendae divitiae—etsi ab illis quidam deteriores fiant—nisi iam robur formae, dignitatem, ad haec ingenium, mentem, orationem, tum genus, cognationem, necessitudines, amicitias, clientelas, affinitates perniciosas ac fugiendas putamus, quae cum per se optima sint⁷⁴² nobisque ad salutem et conservationem nostri vel a natura vel a fortuna ipsa concessa, tamen improbi eorum pervertunt usum et ad cladem saepe hominum et perniciem referunt. [25] Quodsi demonstratum est⁷⁴³ divitias minime fugiendas esse (tametsi habenti interdum noceant), sed contra magnopere expetendas, cum sint utiles et salutare maximamque ad res praeclaras bene gerendas afferant facultatem, quid est causae cur eas pontificibus quispiam adimendas aut cur non ultro nec petentibus⁷⁴⁴ nec cupientibus deferendas censeat?⁷⁴⁵ Etenim si qui improbi sunt, illorum nequitiam bonis viris fraudi esse non decet, sed aut ii⁷⁴⁶ non constituendi pontifices aut deprehensi et cogniti pontificio abdicandi. [26] Si probi, nonne satius est⁷⁴⁷ illos copiis abundare, quibus multis benefacere possint et⁷⁴⁸ dignitatem suam apostolicaeque sedis amplitudinem et maiestatem tueri? Equidem numquam negabo virtutem, integritatem, sanctitatem, religionem in pontificibus primum esse oportere, et haec qui praestare de se //88// nequit, non modo non pontificem, sed ne hominem quidem habendum

738. quae facillime conficiuntur divitiis] *om. N.*

739. inopibus] in opibus *codd.*

740. et *V.*

741. per se nec] pernicioso *G.*

742. fine *B.*

743. est *om. Sch.*

744. potentibus *V.*

745. censeatur *N.*

746. hii *P.*

747. abdicandi; si probi, nonne satius est] abdicandi si [*tum vocabulum desiderat*]
nonne satius est *V.*; abdicandi sunt; nonne sanctius est *sic Sch.*

748. sed *P.*

der others. In addition, [lacking wealth,] one is denied access to all of the great and most outstanding things that wealth so easily brings about; those without it suffer many disadvantages that can easily be avoided with wealth.

[23] So in light of this argument, who does not see that poverty is the one most pernicious thing of all that everyone must by all means avoid—if, that is, we want to look at it not from the perspective of its own nature but from the perspective of men's vices? [This is so] even if we are aware that poverty has been beneficial to many and that many, too, have acquired glory and a great name owing to it.

[24] So wealth in itself is not dangerous to anyone nor should anyone flee it—even though some do slide a little because of it—unless we now think that strength of body and worth, as well as genius, intelligence, and eloquent speech, then noble birth, kindred, relations, friendships, clientage, and marriage relationships are also dangerous and things one should flee. Now in themselves these things are optimal and have been given us for our well-being and preservation, whether they have come by nature or even by fortune. Still, the dishonest employ them perversely and often use them for the damage and destruction of men. [25] Now it is true that it has been demonstrated that one should not in any way flee wealth (although it does at times hurt the one who possesses it) and rather that one ought greatly to pursue it, since wealth is useful and beneficial and greatly assists one's ability to do outstanding things. Still, why would anyone think wealth should be taken away from the high priests or, beyond that, that wealth should not be freely granted to those who seek or desire it? Of course, if there are those who are dishonest, it is wrong that their wickedness makes good men seem fraudulent. But either they shouldn't be appointed as high priests or, once they have been found out and recognized, they should be made to give up their pontifical office. [26] If they are honest, is it not preferable that they abound with riches with which they can benefit many and look after their own worth as well as the greatness and majesty of the apostolic see? Of course I shall never deny that virtue, integrity, holiness, and religion are necessary first of all in high priests and that whoever cannot exhibit these qualities in and of

esse, [27] ea vero cum assint, si ornentur copiis, magis⁷⁴⁹ elucescere et plus apud omnes gentes auctoritatis et admirationis habere, praesertim cum summa illis potestate permissa, ea⁷⁵⁰ proposita sint quae saepe sine maximis sumptibus recte administrari non possint, ut sublevare inopes et calamitosos dotesque illis ad filias locandas impendere, quae sancti religiosique viri officia sunt, edificare templa, collapsa instaurare et rebus omnibus exornare, cultus, sacra,⁷⁵¹ ceremonias instituere, quae magnificentissimo semper apparatu ac pompa⁷⁵² immortalem Deum fieri voluisse sacrae testantur historiae; [28] deinde legationes ad varias regiones⁷⁵³ transmittere, pecunias erogare, reges ac principes ad pacem, ad unionem, ad religionem⁷⁵⁴ traducere,⁷⁵⁵ et quoniam eo⁷⁵⁶ iam audaciae ac sceleris prolapsa res est, ut a praedonum manibus absque praesidio tuti esse non possint, equites peditesque ad sui corporis tutelam conducere,⁷⁵⁷ quorum singula per se vim magnam pecuniarum deposcunt.

[29] Quae⁷⁵⁸ igitur hae tantae amentiae sunt, ut pontifices inopes habere quam locupletes malint, cum omnium gentium,⁷⁵⁹ omnium sectarum, omnium religionum pontifices summos semper viros eosdemque ditissimos fuisse et legere et audire potuerint? Quare⁷⁶⁰ Romanorum religiones, evolve diligenter⁷⁶¹ eorum monumenta. Invenies⁷⁶² apud⁷⁶³ illos non humilibus et inopibus,⁷⁶⁴ sed opulentissimis hominibus, principibus civitatis summum sacerdotium mandari solitum esse. [30] Siquidem legimus Iulios, Scipiones, Marcellos, Emylios, Catones, qui Romae temporibus illis gloria rerum gestarum, opibus, auctoritate, potentia plurimum praestare putabant<ur>,⁷⁶⁵ summos saepe sacerdotes fuisse. Quam dignitatem Numam Pompilium a rege ad alios detulisse accipi-

749. magisque V.

750. et V.

751. sacra *corr. ad* sacras G.

752. pompa] pompa ac B.

753. varias regiones] sacras religiones V.

754. ad unionem, ad religionem] ad religionem, ad unionem G.

755. traducetur V.

756. eo *om. VPGN.*

757. traducere G.

758. Quare G.

759. gentium] gentium omnium nationum B.

760. Quare] Qua re N; Quare B.

761. diligenter *om. V.*

762. Iuvenes G.

763. apud *om. G.*

764. et inopibus *om. V.*

765. putabantur B.

himself should not even be considered a man, let alone a high priest. [27] But when these qualities are present, if they are fitted out with riches, [the high priest] shines forth and has more authority and admiration among all peoples, especially since he has been entrusted with the highest power, and since there are things that often cannot be correctly managed without great expense. [Examples of these things are] helping the poor and afflicted and giving them dowries so that their daughters can be properly placed, which are the duties of a holy and religious man; building churches, restoring ruins, and beautifying all things; instituting worship, rites, and ceremonies—sacred scripture testifies that immortal God wanted this always to happen with the greatest pomp and circumstance; [28] then, sending legations to various regions, formally requesting money, winning over kings and princes to peace, union, and religion; and—since things have slipped to such a point of temerity and crime that the high priests cannot be guarded from the hands of predators without protection—hiring horsemen and foot soldiers for their own bodily protection. Each of these things in itself demands a great deal of money.

[29] And so what kind of mindlessness is it that would rather have the high priests be poor instead of rich? One can read and hear that out of all peoples, all sects, and all religions the high priests have always been the greatest of men as well as the most wealthy. Take a look at the religious practices of the Romans; think diligently about their example. You will find among them that they customarily entrusted high pontifical office not to the humble and the poor but rather to the wealthiest men, princes of the city. [30] [This is so,] inasmuch as we have read that the Iulii, the Scipios, the Marcelli, the Aemilii, and the Catos were often the highest priestly officials (in the Rome of those days they were considered outstanding because of the glory of their deeds, their wealth, their authority, and most of all their power). We have also learned that Numa Pompilius

mus, tantum ne quando rege bellicis rebus occupato divinus cultus intermitteretur. Quaere Persarum sacerdotes qui erant et dicebantur magi; quaere Egyptiorum, Assiriorum, aliarum nationum quantis divitiis opibusque extiterint. [31] Quodsi haec te aut illos parum movent, quia externa et peregrina sunt maximeque a nostris legibus abhorrent, repetantur⁷⁶⁶ summi Hebreorum //88v// sacerdotes, quorum vetustissimi Aaron, Eleazer, Finees, Heli, Abiathar sic omni copiarum genere abundarunt ut dictu incredibile videatur.

A: [32] Non negarent hi Hebreorum sacerdotes fuisse ditissimos, sed eas ipsas divitias sibi ex decumis, primitiis donisque quotannis provenisse, proprium nihil fuisse convincerent.

L: Velim ita fuisse ab initio constitutum. Quid tum?⁷⁶⁷ Num quae semel eis data erant auferebantur deinde?

A: Nequaquam, sed cumulabantur in dies.

L: Propria igitur fiebant?

A: Sic arbitror.

L: [33] Quid refert igitur pontifices uno tempore acervatim an variis ac paulatim ditari⁷⁶⁸ ex decumis,⁷⁶⁹ primitiis, donis quotidianis accipere divitias an perpetuas et proprias possidere? Hoc fortasse nostrorum pontificum divitiae iustiores sunt quam illorum, quod hae cultui divino omnes sacris legibus dicatae sunt, ex iis⁷⁷⁰ vero coniuges, concubinae, liberi, servi alebantur.

A: [34] Quid haec ad rem? Illis enim haec omnia suis legibus licebat fieri, nostris autem pontificibus Christi legibus non licet. Eo enim nato, priores leges vel abrogatae penitus vel immutatae sunt ac pro illis novae constitutae. Non igitur Hebreorum, sed Christi institutis et moribus uti debent, quem pauperrime natum per omnem vitam pauperrimum fuisse comperimus.

766. reputantur B.

767. quid tum] *om.* V; quid tum nonne B.

768. diatari *sic* F; ditari VG.

769. decimis G.

770. his G.

transferred this duty from the king to others, so that divine worship would not be interrupted in case the king were busy with the affairs of war. Take a look at the priests of the Persians, who were magicians and were called such, or the priests of the Egyptians, the Assyrians, and the other peoples: they were noteworthy because they possessed such wealth and riches. [31] But it might be that you or others are not moved by these things, since they are extraneous, foreign, and greatly inconsistent with our laws. In that case, then, the highest priests of the Hebrews may once again be called to mind, of whom the oldest were Aaron, Eleazar, Phineas, Eli, and Abyathar; they had so much of every kind of wealth that it seems unbelievable to tell.

A: [32] These priests of the Hebrews would not deny that they were the wealthiest of men, but they would argue that that very wealth had come to them from tithes, first fruits, and quite a few gifts every year and that thus nothing was really their own.

L: I wish this had been set up like this from the beginning. What do you mean then? Surely not that the things once given them were thereafter taken away?

A: Not at all, but rather that these things accumulated as the days went by.

L: Then did they become their own?

A: I think so.

L: [33] So what does it matter, then, whether the high priests become rich all at once and in heaps or little by little from various tithes, first fruits, and daily gifts? What does it matter whether they accept wealth or possess their own lasting wealth? Maybe in this respect the wealth of our high priests is more just than theirs [i.e., the Hebrew priests'], since it is all by sacred law devoted to divine worship, whereas wives, concubines, children, and slaves grew along with their wealth.

A: [34] What does that have to do with anything? Really, in their case all of these things were allowed to happen because of their laws, whereas for our high priests they are not, thanks to the laws of Christ. For when Christ was born, all prior laws were either completely repealed or changed and new ones were founded in their place. So they ought to base their behavior not on the Hebrews' laws and behavior but on those of Christ, who we have learned was born in the poorest of fashions and remained so throughout his whole life.

L: [35] Cur, si ita est, non iubes eosdem miracula edere, liberare aegrotos, vita defunctos a mortuis excitare, cur non etiam columnae alligari, cedi flagellis, spinis coronari, in crucem suspendi, descendere ad inferos atque inde cum priscis patribus ad superos evolare iubes?⁷⁷¹

A: [36] Durissima quidem pontificibus vitae conditio proposita est, si omnia sibi Christi mysteria obeunda sunt, quod homines cum sint, ille Deus, nulla ratione effici potest.

L: [37] Quid? Si cum impossibile sit hoc⁷⁷² fieri, tum ne⁷⁷³ necessarium quidem est? Cum enim plurima remittantur pontificibus quae a Christo gesta sunt, //89// quid est cur paupertas ab his⁷⁷⁴ tantopere flagitetur, caetera ne quaerantur quidem? Quia videlicet Christus, cuius personam gerunt, pauper fuit? Fuerit sane! Nullamne temporum, hominum, locorum,⁷⁷⁵ rationem habendam censent,⁷⁷⁶ cum eveniat persaepe, ut quod honestissimum sit, variatis⁷⁷⁷ illis, commutetur fiatque contrarium? [38] Quemadmodum fodere agrum honestum est, festis autem diebus id fieri religio vetat; et apud Cyprios olim puellas in questu ad parandas dotes prostituere licebat, apud nos⁷⁷⁸ probro obicitur;⁷⁷⁹ procreandis liberis operam dare natura nos et leges et humanitas invitat; idem, si sacro in loco aut publico fiat, iure reprehenditur. Haec enim tantam habent vim ut omnis vitae actio in his tota consistere videatur. Noli igitur haec tempora ad illorum temporum rationem exquirere. Alios enim illa mores, alios haec desiderant.

[39] Tunc⁷⁸⁰ enim Christo ibi fundamenta novae religionis iacienda erant, ubi tot exuberabant divitiae, ut nemo esset qui earum copiam admiraretur, nemo quin⁷⁸¹ satietate defessus foret. Proinde contraria illi longequae diversa vitae ratio ineunda fuit. Praeterea, cum alii vates ac Deo pleni praeter admodum paucos res humanas contempsissent et inopem vitam et sordidam adamassent, ipse quoque, vatium reliquorum max-

771. iubes] iubes iubes *sic* G.

772. illud B.

773. ne *om.* G.

774. iis PNB.

775. hominum, locorum] locorum hominum B.

776. censetur G.

777. varietatis *recte corr.* B¹.

778. nos *om.* N.

779. abiicitur N.

780. Tum G.

781. quin] qui in V.

L: [35] Well if that is the case, why don't you order them to perform miracles, heal the sick, and raise the dead? Why don't you also bid them to be bound to a post, beaten with whips, crowned with thorns, and hung on a cross and to descend into hell and fly out thence with the ancient fathers into heaven?

A: [36] Certainly the harshest condition of life has been set up for the high priests if they are to undergo all the mysteries of Christ. Since they are men and Christ was God, in no way can this be brought about.

L: [37] What? If, on the one hand, it is impossible that this happen, then, on the other, isn't it necessary? Really, since most of the things Christ did are waived for the high priests, why is poverty so urgently demanded of them while the other things are not? Is it because Christ, whom they represent, was poor? Would that it were! And do they think no account should be taken of the times, men, or places? After all, doesn't it often happen that when these factors are switched around, what is most honorable is changed and becomes the contrary? [38] For instance, it is honorable to dig up a field, but religion forbids it from happening on feast days; and in olden days the Cyprians used to allow young girls to be prostituted in the search for dowries, but we object to this as shameful. Nature invites us to give our attention to procreation, as do the laws and our common humanity, but, again, if it happens in a holy or public place, it is censured and justly so. For these things have such force that every action of life seems to consist in them. Do not, therefore, examine present times on the basis of former ones. Those times required one set of morals, these another.

[39] Really, back then Christ had to lay the foundations of a new religion—there, where wealth abounded. He had to do it in such a way that there would be no one who admired the abundance of wealth or would be weary in [the midst of] the overflow of wealth. Accordingly, he had to embark on a way of life that was contrary to the old one and very different. And especially since the other prophets who were also full of God—with the exception of a few, of course—had shunned humanity and come to admire a poor and squalid style of life, Christ himself, the greatest of

imus, reliquorum institutum retinere debuit. Aliter non⁷⁸² movisset homines ad religionem,⁷⁸³ ut sibi proposuerat, verum etiam deterrisset.⁷⁸⁴ [40] Deinde erat sibi cum hominibus peritissimis, calidissimis, pertinacissimis, atque alteri religioni addictis et consecratis ineundum certamen, qui cum ab ea nec vi abstrahi nec metu⁷⁸⁵ imperioque absterreri nec rationibus abduci <potuerint[?]>, novitate rei, properatione,⁷⁸⁶ admiratione, sanctitatis miraculis permovendi erant atque ita affiendi ut nullus in eorum mentibus error aut suspitio resideret.⁷⁸⁷ [41] Quare, si divitiis aggressus esset, //89v// haud tanta⁷⁸⁸ fuisset opinio et admiratio doctrinae, sanctitatis, religionis, sed in varias perditorum hominum calumnias incidisset, quas tamen neque ita effugit, dixissentque alii illum gratia, alii spe, alii promissis, alii largitione capere homines pellicere,⁷⁸⁹ delinire,⁷⁹⁰ corrumpere, novam superstitionem⁷⁹¹ potentiae suae ampliandae causa introducere. [42] Cum vero pauper humili loco, paupercula ex virgine natus, nullis⁷⁹² fretus opibus, tam repente praeter expectationem omnium tantam sapientiam mox puer adeptus foret ut in disputationibus sapientissimos Hebreorum convinceret et prae admiratione mutos atque obstupescentes relinqueret,⁷⁹³ pauloque post ad divulgandam novam legem, instruendos homines, et sacro baptismatis lavacro lustrandos expiandosque conversus, suscitaret mortuos, morbos incurabiles pelleret, taetris⁷⁹⁴ spiritibus vexatos liberaret sola voce, [43] quid aliud suspicari poterant nisi id quod re vera erat,⁷⁹⁵ divinum esse hominem vel potius Deum, Deo natum, divinoque⁷⁹⁶ spiritu inflatum et e coelo ad salutem ac liberationem generis humani demissum, qui, ut parentibus suis vates cecinerant, homines veteris peccati labe absolveret ad veramque traduceret religionem sublatisque superioribus legibus meliores sanctioresque ferret.⁷⁹⁷ Ita que ei nemo non credidit nisi qui invidia, naturae perversi-

782. non] non modo non *PGBN*.

783. regionem *N*.

784. decrevisset *B*.

785. metu *om. N*.

786. properatore *N*.

787. resideret *om. V*.

788. tamen *G*.

789. pollicere *VN*; polliceri *coni. Sch*.

790. delimere *VB*.

791. novam superstitionem] superstitionem novam *P*.

792. ullus *B*.

793. relinquere *G*.

794. certis *V*.

795. erant *B*.

796. divinoque] divino quasi *V*.

797. ferent *B*.

the prophets, had to maintain what the rest of them had established. Otherwise, instead of inspiring men to religion as he had intended to do, he would have frightened them off. [40] Thereafter, he had to enter into conflict with the most learned, shrewdest, and most tenacious of men, who were dedicated and even consecrated to another religion! They could not be pulled away from their religion by force or fear or scared off with power or drawn away with reasoned arguments. Because of this, they had to be thoroughly inspired by the newness of the thing, by its speed, by wonderment, and by miracles that smacked of holiness. They had to be so affected that no uncertainty or mistrust remained in their minds. [41] And so if Christ had attempted this with wealth, then his teaching, holiness, and religion would not have had such a great reputation and been the cause of so much admiration. Indeed, he would have incurred the various insults of the godforsaken—which in any case he did not manage to avoid. Some would have said that he took men in with charm, others would have said with hope, others would have said with promises; and others still would have said he took men in with bribes, to seduce, weaken, and corrupt them, and to introduce a new superstition just to widen his power. [42] But he was born a pauper in a humble place, of a poor virgin, supported with no money. As a boy he was endowed so swiftly and far beyond everyone's expectations with such wisdom that in disputations he refuted the wisest of the Hebrews, leaving them mute and stunned in their astonishment. Shortly thereafter, he gave his attention to spreading the new law, to educating men, to purifying them with the holy bath of baptism, and to forgiving the converted. He raised the dead and expelled incurable illnesses. With his voice alone he freed men disturbed by abominable spirits. [Because of all these things,] [43] what else could they suspect, unless it was this (which was really true): that he was a divine man, or rather God, born of God, filled with the divine spirit and sent down from heaven for the benefit and liberation of the human race; that he was one who, as the prophets had sung to his forebears, would absolve men from the stain of ancient sin and lead them to true religion; that he was one who after standing strong under the older laws, would bring better, holier ones. And so, unless someone was held back by envy or by the perversity and ill will of his nature, there was no one who did

tate, ac malignitate retentus est; nemo illum oppugnavit nisi ii⁷⁹⁸ qui privatae utilitatis causa timebant, qui ea institui atque renovari moleste ferebant; [44] nemo Deum verum dubitavit esse⁷⁹⁹ qui de Deo recte sentiret; nemo in illius mortem conspiravit atque consensit qui non se morte dignum iudicaret; postremo nullus contra illum mali quippiam molitus est quin is iudicio omnium meritas ac debitas suo sceleri poenas persolverit.

[45] Nunc autem //90// iactis his fundamentis religionis nostrae patefactaque veritate omnis iam sublatus est error et ambiguitas. De Christo enim⁸⁰⁰ omnes idem volunt, idem loquuntur verissimumque illum et unicum⁸⁰¹ Dei filium ac solum Deum uno ore, voce, mente consentiunt, nec superstitione ulla ab hac rectissima et⁸⁰² certissima sententia concessuri sunt. [46] Quae quidem Christi religio, cum ita animis hominum insita atque innata sit ut convelli aut⁸⁰³ concuti nulla ratione possit, ita eius miraculis et sectatorum illius fortissimorum virorum et sanctissimorum⁸⁰⁴ testimoniis corroborata, eruditissimorum et sapientissimorum litteris monumentisque confirmata atque illustrata ut nullius praeterea roboris et firmamenti indigere videatur, exornanda est opibus,⁸⁰⁵ excolenda divitiis ut non solum vi sua ad se animos⁸⁰⁶ pertrahat, verum etiam oculos splendore sui et fulgore perstringat; reicidendum⁸⁰⁷ parumper a pristina illa Christi austeritate et acrimonia ac novum aliquid addendum. [47] Patitur hoc natura, fert ratio, religionis flagitat consuetudo ut non eadem semper maneant quae semel instituta sunt, sed mutentur vetustate, temporibus innoventur. Et⁸⁰⁸ praeterea eiusmodi⁸⁰⁹ hominum ingenium ut nova atque inusitata⁸¹⁰ appetant probentque, vetera atque usitata, etsi praeclara sint et preciosa, fastidiant.⁸¹¹ Est ea

798. hii *P.*

799. esse] esse nisi *VPBGN.*

800. autem *B.*

801. et unicum] nuntium *G.*

802. ac *N.*

803. convelli aut] convelleant *P.*

804. sanctissimis *P.*

805. quibus *B.*

806. amicos *V.*

807. recedendum *VPNB.*

808. Est *B.*

809. huiusmodi *B.*

810. innusita *sic F;* inusitata *VPGNB.*

811. fastidiant] ut fastidia *P.*

not believe in him. None opposed him, except for those who were afraid for their own private affairs, who resented what he founded and renewed. [44] No one who believed rightly about God doubted that he was the true God, and no one who conspired and agreed to his death would not later judge himself worthy of death. Finally, no one has exerted himself in any evil way at all against Christ without paying the punishments that he (in the judgment of all) deserves and owes for his crime.

[45] But now that the foundations of our religion have been laid and the truth has been made clear, every error and ambiguity has already been successfully removed.⁵⁹ For about Christ everybody means the same; they say the same thing: that he is the truest and only son of God and the only God. With one mouth, one voice, and one mind they agree, and no superstition will lead them to depart from this most correct and certain of sentiments. [46] Certainly, this religion of Christ is so natural and inborn in the spirits of men that it can in no way be overthrown or weakened. It is so well corroborated by his miracles and by the witness of his followers, who were the bravest and holiest men, and—thanks to the writings and proofs of its most learned and wisest men—it is so established and clear that it seems to lack no further strength or mainstay. Because of this it should be adorned with riches and honored with wealth, so that it brings souls to itself not only by its power but also by deeply affecting the eyes with its magnificence and brilliance. One should draw back a bit from that ancient severity and energy of Christ and add something new. [47] Nature permits this, reason supports it, and the custom of religion demands it: that the things that were once established not remain always the same but rather be changed with great age and fashioned anew with the passing of time.⁶⁰ And besides, the genius of

59. For Lapo's "Nunc autem iactis his fundamentis religionis nostrae patefactaque veritate omnis iam sublatus est error et ambiguitas," cf. Bruni's 1405 preface to his translation of Plato's *Phaedo*: "Qua in re licet Christiana doctrina nullo indigeat adimento, cum omnia usque adeo plana ac firma sint, ut in neminem penitus nisi omnino insipientem ulla dubitatio iam cadere possit" (Bruni, *Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften*, 4, as cited in Hankins, *Plato*, 1:50 n. 45).

60. Cf. Lucretius V.1275–78: "Now copper lies low, and gold has taken the highest honor. So do the circling years bring about reversals of fortune. What was once prized, then becomes of no account; yes, something else takes its place and emerges from ignominy" [Nunc iacet aes, aurum in summum successit honorem. / Sic volvenda aetas commutat tempora rerum. / Quod fuit in pretio, fit nullo denique honore; / porro aliud succedit et contemptibus exit].

rerum omnium conditio, ut maxima quaeque ab humilibus orsa principiis in dies assumant aliquid crescendoque ad summum perveniant; ea huius aetatis disciplina, ut⁸¹² inopiam cuiusque et tenuitatem despiciamus, copias et opulentiam admiremur.

[48] Quis enim⁸¹³ his temporibus est tam religiosus, tam sanctus, tam a vulgi opinione abhorrens, qui pontificem humili veste, paucis comitibus et iis quidem sordidis et⁸¹⁴ nudis pedibus incedentem⁸¹⁵ vel asello insidentem⁸¹⁶ //90v// more priscorum patrum, non dico venerari atque adorare⁸¹⁷ velit, sed adire aut alloqui? [49] Quis qui pontificis nomine et honore dignum putet, qui non risu praetereuntem cavillisque prosequatur? Itaque optime mihi a veteribus institutum⁸¹⁸ videtur, ut deorum⁸¹⁹ simulacra ex auro aut inaurata fferent. Videbant enim sapientissimi viri auri⁸²⁰ ipsius speciem mentes hominum ad cultum divinum ac religionem magis impulsuram esse.

[50] Nimis iam multa in hanc sententiam pro defensione pontificum dixisse videor. Quibus de rebus omnes non invidos aut⁸²¹ pertinaces arbitrator mihi facile assensuros. Desinant⁸²² igitur maledici⁸²³ et obtrectatores luxuriam et opulentiam pontificibus obiicere! Desinant Christi vicarios, quos colere debent, petulantissimis verbis insectari! [51] Concedant aliquando divitias illis non modo utiles et necessarias esse, sed etiam divinitus traditas et concessas, cum videant tot, tantas, tam varias, tam multiplices undique illis insidias ab impiis hominibus comparari, tot sceleratos nefariosque latrones eorum bonis fortunisque assidue⁸²⁴ inhiantes, eosdem tamen quottidie opibus, potentia, auctoritate, imperio augeri nec illis quemquam aliquid unquam detrahare aut violare ausum esse quin is statim vel morbo vel morte durissimas poenas et supplicium luerit. Ex quo satis apparet hoc ab hominibus sapientissimis et religiosissimis institutum divino numine⁸²⁵ comprobatum esse.

812. ut *om.* N.

813. enim *om.* G.

814. vel B.

815. incedentem N.

816. vel asello insidentem] *om.* P.

817. odorare *sic* F; adorare V; adorari B.

818. *corr. ex* institum F¹ (*aut* F³?)

819. eorum P.

820. auri *om.* V.

821. atque N.

822. Designant P.

823. maledicti V.

824. assidue *om.* VPGN.

825. munere V.

mankind is such that man desires and tries new and uncustomary things and tires of the old, customary ones, even if they are admirable and valuable. This is the state of all things: that the greatest things, born from humble beginnings, augment themselves and in growing reach their apex. This is the custom of this era: that we look down on someone's poverty and indigence and admire riches and opulence.

[48] After all, who is there in this day and age who is so religious, so holy, so contrary to public opinion that he would come up and speak to—let alone respectfully and courteously entreat—a high priest who, attired in a pauper's clothes, walked along with only a few companions (and these certainly of the lowest sort), with nothing on his feet, or riding on a donkey? [49] Who is there who would think him worthy of the name and honor of high priest, who would not pursue him as he passed by with laughter and jeering? This is why it seems to me well founded by the ancients that they made their images of gods out of gold or gilded material. Since they were very wise, they saw that the beauty of gold itself would impel the minds of men even more toward divine worship and religion.

[50] Well, I already seem to have spoken quite a bit along these lines in defense of the high priests, and I think that anyone who is not envious or stubborn will readily agree with me. And so away with those cursed naysayers who object to the extravagance and opulence of the high priests! Away with those who heedlessly reproach the vicars of Christ whom they are supposed to worship! [51] Let them concede that wealth is not only useful and necessary for the high priests but also divinely entrusted and allowed, especially since they see how wicked men from all over plot against the priests in such varied ways. They see that there are so very many corrupt and nefarious thieves who look longingly and untiringly at the high priests' property and fortunes but that the priests nonetheless grow daily in riches, power, authority, and empire. And no one has dared in any respect to stand in their way or to disturb them without paying right away the harshest of penalties and punishments: either illness or death. From this it is clear enough that this institution was founded by the wisest and most religious of men and sanctioned by divine command.

A: [52] Verissime istuc⁸²⁶ dictum puto. Nec enim existimandum est tantum imperium, tam florentes Romanae ecclesiae opes conservari tam diu incolumes ac retineri invitis numinibus potuisse. Verum tamen Christi exemplo pauperes pontifices iubentur esse. Qui⁸²⁷ ergo impositam sibi⁸²⁸ ab eo legem sine scelere et piaculo negligere potuerunt?

L: [53] Haud negligenda //91// lex est, sed videndum, ne decipiamur in verbis. In legibus enim interpretandis maiores nostri semper sententiam, non verba spectari voluerunt. Neque ego Christum arbitror, cum iussit, ita plane et aperte⁸²⁹ locutum, praesertim cum nulla esset⁸³⁰ causa cur verba ut sonant intelligi oporteret,⁸³¹ sed altiolem verbis ipsis⁸³² sensum subiecisse nec divitiis privare pontifices, sed a cumulandis⁸³³ divitiis abstertere⁸³⁴ voluisse. [54] Nam qui ita animo se conformarit⁸³⁵ ut in se uno sua ponat omnia, externum nihil admiretur, nihil concupiscat, nihil ad se pertinere existimet,⁸³⁶ hic neque pauperior⁸³⁷ neque ditior⁸³⁸ fortuna effici potest. Hac ratione nunquam Aristidem illum⁸³⁹ Atheniensem, qui Iustus cognominatus est, nunquam M.⁸⁴⁰ Fabritium, Curium, Cincinnatum, Cn. Scipionem appellabo divites, tametsi Croesum aut Darium quas contemperant divitiis superassent; nec rursus M. Crassum, C. Verrem, homines summa cupiditate atque avaritia perditos, etiam si rerum omnium premantur inopia, idcirco pauperes habendos putabo.⁸⁴¹ [55] Si tamen aut ii⁸⁴² divites sunt dicendi qui nihil habent divitiis praestabilius, aut pauperes qui⁸⁴³ preciosissimas, optimas, praeclarissimasque divitias possident, quae nec fortuna auferri nec⁸⁴⁴ vi⁸⁴⁵ aliqua

826. istud VP.

827. Quomodo V.

828. impositam sibi] sibi impositam B.

829. apte sic N.

830. esse VPG.

831. oportet V.

832. ipsis om. B.

833. a cumulandis] accumulandis V; accumulandos G.

834. absterteri N.

835. conformant VPGN; conformat coni. Sch.

836. existiment G.

837. pauperiores G.

838. ditiores G.

839. illum om. G.

840. Marcus N.

841. puto N.

842. iis B.

843. qui om. N.

844. ne V.

845. in P.

A: [52] What you've said is very true, I think. Really, it is hard to imagine how so much imperial power as well as the flourishing wealth of the Roman church could have been safely preserved and maintained up to now if the divine powers had been unwilling. But still, the high priests are enjoined by the example of Christ to be poor. Who therefore could neglect—without crime or guilt—the law that was imposed on him by Christ?

L: [53] It is not that the law should be neglected, but it should be carefully scrutinized, so that words do not deceive us. After all, in interpreting the laws, our ancestors always thought we should look after the spirit, not the letter, of the law. Nor do I think that Christ, when he commanded, spoke all that clearly and openly, especially since there was no reason why the words had to be understood as they sounded. The deeper meaning in his words was that he wished, not to deprive the high priests of wealth, but to deter them from accumulating it immoderately. [54] Really, anyone who spiritually educates himself so that he places all his possessions inside himself, admires nothing external, desires nothing, and thinks nothing belongs to him⁶¹—he can be made neither richer nor poorer by fortune. This is why I shall never call that Athenian Aristides, who had the cognomen *Iustus*, a wealthy man, nor shall I ever call Marcus Fabricius, Curius, Cincinnatus, or Cnaeus Scipio wealthy men; for even though they were wealthier than Croesus or Darius, they looked down on their wealth. And, on the other hand, I shall never think that Marcus Crassus and Gaius Verres, men wretched with the highest cupidity and avarice, are to be considered poor, even if they were humbled by total poverty. [55] Still, if those who have nothing more outstanding than wealth must be called wealthy, there are also the poor who possess the most valuable, highest, and most admirable wealth, which cannot be taken away by fortune or changed or harmed by any external force.

61. A few years later, Valla, too, would emphasize the cultivation of the interior man; cf. Valla, *De professione religiosorum*, X.19: "Non exterior homo sed interior placet deo."

extrinsecus immutari labefactarive queant, divitiae igitur et paupertas animo hominis, non numero metiendae sunt. [56] Quapropter, cum praecipit Christus pauperes esse pontifices, quid aliud praecipit nisi animo libero esse nec ulli minus honestae cupiditati obnoxio, divitias si non habeant, suis ac propriis bonis contentos despiciere humana, si habeant, non amare, sed ea sibi conditione datas arbitrari, ut non ad suas exsaturandas libidines, sed ad beneficentiam liberalitatemque⁸⁴⁶ convertant. Atque ita qui fecerit,⁸⁴⁷ peroptime praecipienti Christo //91v// obtemperasse, et qui sic interpretetur, haud⁸⁴⁸ inepte eius praeceptum⁸⁴⁹ interpretari videatur.

[IX. Conclusio]

A: [1] Recte tu quidem arbitrato meo interpretatus es. Quare iam cedo tibi meque victum fateor, nec invitus, sed ultro ac lubens⁸⁵⁰ in sententiam tuam venio. Sed tamen dicam enim quod sentio. Tantos spiritus, tantum fastidium, tantam insolentiam atque intolerantiam, quantam in plerisque curiae principibus video, probare aut etiam animo aequo ferre nullo modo possum. [2] Sunt enim primum incessu ac reliquo omni gestu motuque corporis elati et tumidi,⁸⁵¹ in cultu morosi, fastidiosi in congressu hominum, arrogantes in sermonibus ac contentiosi in sententia, pertinaces in percontando, breves et obscuri in respondendo, contumeliosi in audiendo, impatientes in ira, vehementes et amari, iidem tamen in poscendo molesti, in accipiendo prompti, in bene promerendo tardi, in remunerando negligentes. Quibus⁸⁵² si accedentibus asurrexeris aut via cesseris aut⁸⁵³ aliud quidvis⁸⁵⁴ honoris gratia⁸⁵⁵ feceris, dissimulant se videre⁸⁵⁶ conniventibusque oculis⁸⁵⁷ praetereuntes non magis honore⁸⁵⁸

846. libertatemque B.

847. fecerint sic F et codd.

848. aut V.

849. eius praeceptum] preceptum eius B.

850. libens B.

851. elati et tumidi] dati et tumidi sic N.

852. Qui VGN.

853. aut om. VPGN.

854. quodvis B.

855. gratia om. Sch.

856. se videre om. N.

857. oculis] oculis et P.

858. honorar sic N.

Wealth and poverty, then, must be measured not in numerical terms but rather in the spirit of man. [56] And so when Christ ordered the high priests to be poor, what else did he order than that they have a spirit that was free and permeated only by honest desire? [He ordered them,] if they do not have wealth, to look down on merely human things, happy with their own goods; if they have wealth, not to love it, but rather that it be given them on this condition: that they apply it not to satisfying their lewd desires but rather to beneficence and liberality. And whoever has done this seems to have obeyed very well the Christ who commands. And whoever interprets Christ's command in such a way seems to have interpreted the command wisely.

[IX. Conclusion]

A: [1] Well you have certainly interpreted correctly in my opinion, and so now I yield to you and confess I have been beaten—and not unwillingly. In fact, on the contrary, I come over to your opinion with pleasure. Still, let me say what I feel. In no way can I approve of or even in good faith put up with the amount of haughtiness, superciliousness, insolence, and intolerance that I see in most of the curial princes. [2] Really, first of all, thanks to their walk, and actually to every remaining gesture and bodily motion, you can tell they are haughty and puffed up with pride. They are peevish when it comes to care of their appearance and supercilious in their dealings with people; they are arrogant in their speech and contentious in their opinions; they are stubborn in their questioning, short and obscure in responding; they are abusive in listening, easy to anger; they are vehement and bitter. And nonetheless, the same men are pests when it comes to asking for things, quick to take, late in doing anyone any good, and negligent when it comes to repaying. If you get up when they approach or if you yield the road to them or do them any courtesy for honor's sake, they pretend not to see you and with appropriate expressions of the eyes

illo⁸⁵⁹ habito quam marmoreae aut aerae statuae moventur nec salutati⁸⁶⁰ resalutant. [3] Si ad eos domum adeas, antequam intromittaris, rogandus ianitor, tum cubicularius obsecrandus, intimis eorum domesticis, familiaribus, famulis,⁸⁶¹ catulis denique blandiendum, dies totus in foribus conterendus,⁸⁶² quoad dominus non voce, ne quid spiritus amittat⁸⁶³ frustra, sed tintinnabuli sonitu introire te iubeat; ingressus statim iuberis paucis⁸⁶⁴ proferre, quid velis, et in media plerunque oratione indicto silentio praeceps⁸⁶⁵ eiiceris.

L:⁸⁶⁶ [4] Nec probandi, me hercule, nec ferendi, si⁸⁶⁷ qui sunt principes⁸⁶⁸ qui ista faciant! Verum non nisi eos facere arbitror, qui cum per se obscuri sint et ignoti⁸⁶⁹ //92// vel aliis praesidiis destituti, ut inter principes eminere nequeant, ad⁸⁷⁰ huiusmodi se adiumenta ac perfugia conferunt, quibus sibi gravitatis, severitatis,⁸⁷¹ sapientiae opinionem paratum iri existimant, sed tota errant via. Tantum enim abest ut id quod cupiunt assequantur, ut prudentibus stulti, inepti, rustici, vitae communis ignari, caeteris autem hominibus superbi, contumaces, stomachosi, et propterea communi⁸⁷² odio digni esse videantur.⁸⁷³ [5] Sapientis est enim magnique principis quo clarior sit et maior, eo se omnibus affabiliorem praestare.⁸⁷⁴ Humanitas enim et affabilitas, cum⁸⁷⁵ in privatis hominibus laudanda, tum in principibus maxime admirabilis⁸⁷⁶ est; [6] neminem ne infimum quidem hominem ad se aditu prohibere, quiete interrogare, patienter audire, sedate ac placide respondere nec efferri iracundia, sed clementem, mitem⁸⁷⁷ et placabilem esse, in conferendis beneficiis quam in

859. ille V.

860. salutis G.

861. famulis *om.* V.

862. quonterendus N.

863. admittat V.

864. paucis *om.* GB.

865. silentio praeceps] scilicet preces G.

866. L *om.* N.

867. se N.

868. princeps N.

869. obscuri sint et ignoti] ignoti sint et obscuri N.

870. ab G.

871. gravitatis, severitatis] gravitas, severitas N.

872. communi *om.* G.

873. videntur N.

874. praestatur N.

875. tum B.

876. laudabilis VPGN.

877. autem N.

pass on by. Having received that honor, they are no more moved than statues of marble or bronze. And if someone greets them, they do not return the greetings.⁶² [3] If you go to them at home, before you are admitted you have to plead with the doorkeeper, beg the valet, and finally fawn over their domestics, servants, and even dogs. You have to waste a whole day outside, until the lord orders you to come in—and not with his voice, lest he should waste a little breath on you in vain, but with the ringing of a bell. As soon as you have entered, you are ordered to tell in a few words what it is that you want, and in the middle of the most important part of your speech, you are told to hush and are thrown out, headfirst!

L: [4] By Hercules, if there are princes who do these horrible things they should not be approved of or even tolerated! But I think the ones who behave that way are doing it as a kind of aid or shelter for themselves, since in themselves they are obscure and unknown or lacking other defenses; the result is that among princes they are unable to stand out. With these tactics they think they will gain themselves a reputation for seriousness, severity, and wisdom. But they have lost the way completely. Really, they are so far from reaching their goal that in the eyes of the prudent they seem foolish, unwise, boorish, and ignorant of everyday life. In the eyes of the rest, moreover, they seem proud, obstinate, irritable, and, because of this, worthy of everyone's hatred. [5] After all, it is characteristic of the wise and great prince that the more admirable and great he is, the more he comes across as approachable to everyone. Truly, although kindness and approachability are praiseworthy in men of the private sector, in princes they are greatly admirable. [6] To prohibit no one from seeing him, even if it were the lowest of men; to ask questions in a reserved manner; to listen patiently; to respond in a sedate and placid fashion, and not to break out into anger but rather to be kind, gentle, and

62. This description is similar to Theophrastus's *Char.* XXIV (ed. Jebb no. IV), ὑπερηφάνιας (Arrogance).

accipiendis et in referenda quam⁸⁷⁸ in exigenda gratia prouiore, provocantem officio non despiciere, blande appellare homines, obvios salutare, salutanti cumulatam salutationem reddere, demum in factis⁸⁷⁹ dictisque omnibus cum dignitatis suae, tum decori<s>, gravitatis, modestiae, facilitatis rationem habere. [7] Hae sunt artes principibus congruentes, hae principibus dignae,⁸⁸⁰ hae a principibus excolendae ac retinendae sunt, his capiuntur omnes, his oblectantur et eos, quibus illas inesse cernunt,⁸⁸¹ non ut homines modo et observant et diligunt, sed ut divinos quosdam viros vel⁸⁸² potius deos stupidi admirantur, et eis servire quam aliis dominari malunt,⁸⁸³ iis si serviant, beatos se esse existimant. Talis in curia Romana principes nonnullos agnosco, et eos in primis qui in ea plurimum dignitate, potentia, opibus, auctoritate pollent, quibuscum etiam mihi magnus usus et plurimis suis maximisque⁸⁸⁴ officiis constituta⁸⁸⁵ necessitudo est et in quibus summam spem habeo futurae dignitatis et amplitudinis collocatam.

A:⁸⁸⁶ [8] Non mediocrem tibi //92v// felicitatem obtigisse arbitror si principibus eiusmodi, quales perpauca admodum reperiuntur, adeo familiariter uteris; in quo minime tibi invideo, sed ut haec spes illorum beneficiis firma rataque sit, vehementer exopto.

L:⁸⁸⁷ Spero ita fore. Sed estne aliud quod desideres?

A:⁸⁸⁸ [9] Copiosissime omnia quae pro curia dici poterant a te modo explicata probataque sunt. Nec, quantum intelligo, aliquid praeterea restat, nisi ut et⁸⁸⁹ nobis invicem gratulemur, quibus his tantis bonis Romanae curiae praesentibus frui conceditur, hortemurque⁸⁹⁰ caeteros, quorum honori,⁸⁹¹ dignitati, et commodis studemus, ut si per industriam et solertiam celeriter se humo attollere⁸⁹² atque illustrari cupiunt, in hunc

878. referenda] referenda magis V.

879. factis] factis suis B.

880. dignae om. V.

881. cernuntur V.

882. vel om. G.

883. volunt VN.

884. suis maximisque] maximisque suis B.

885. consuetudo B.

886. A om. N.

887. L om. N.

888. A om. N.

889. et om. G.

890. hominemque N.

891. honorari N.

892. humo attollere] hunc tollere N.

easily appeased; to be more likely to give favors than accept them, and to be more likely to show gratitude than demand it; not to look down on someone who appeals to his sense of duty; to deal with men in a flattering fashion; to greet those whom he meets, and to greet in turn someone who has greeted him; and finally in everything he does or says to look not only toward his own sense of worth but also toward seemliness, gravity, modesty, and courteousness—[7] these are the arts appropriate for princes, these are the arts that are worthy of princes, these are the arts that must be cultivated and preserved by princes, and with these arts everyone is captivated and delighted. Everyone respects and loves those in whom they see these arts present, and not only as men. Rather, they are astounded and wonder at them as if they were divine, or rather gods; and they prefer to serve them rather than dominate others. If they serve them, they think themselves blessed. I know some such princes in the Roman curia and those first of all who are powerful thanks to dignity, power, riches, and authority. I am also greatly familiar with them and linked to them by their very many great kindnesses, and I have placed in them the highest hope of worth and distinction in the future.

A: [8] I think you have hit on not just a middling happiness, if you have become friendly with princes of this sort, of whom there are very few. I cannot say that I envy you, but I do wish with all my heart that this hope of yours be strengthened and confirmed by their favors.

L: I hope it will be so. But is there anything else you desire?

A: [9] You have explained and demonstrated absolutely everything that could be said for the curia. And as far as I can tell not much remains, really, save that we congratulate each other, since we have been allowed to enjoy all the goods that are ready to hand at the Roman curia. As to the others for whose honor, dignity, and advantage we are zealous proponents, let us urge them that if, through industry and skillfulness, they wish to raise themselves up swiftly and to become famous, they turn to

celeberrimum totius orbis terrarum locum, in hoc amplissimum gentium et nationum omnium domicilium, in hunc frequentissimum clarissimorum virorum et illustrissimorum cetum et conventum, in hanc curiae Romanae lucem se transferant. [10] Nec iis artibus et disciplinis freti, quibus utuntur plerique, se id quod cupiunt assequi posse confidunt, sed illis praeclarissimis et optimis, quibus hominum vita excolitur, instructi et ornati sperent se in ea honestatem, laudem, nomen, existimationem, opes praeterea, divitias, ornamenta plurima, commoda amplissima cum voluptate maxima habituros.

L:⁸⁹³ [11] Sapienter illos admones, si modo viri esse aut te audire volent. Verum illud quoque peroptandum est et ab immortali Deo votis ac precibus deprecandum, ut seditiosissimos et turbulentissimos⁸⁹⁴ homines ulciscatur,⁸⁹⁵ qui pacem et ocium ecclesiae suae tot iam per annos turbare eamque funditus delere gestiunt, aut—quod est fortasse et precari iustius et impetrare⁸⁹⁶ facilius—illis in animum ponat, ut depositis simultatibus, abiectis inimicitiiis, sopitis contentionibus, reconciliatis animis aliquando errores suos recognoscant, [12] se⁸⁹⁷ peccasse fateantur veniamque supplices orent et cum pontifice maximo ac patribus in gratiam redeant eorumque se⁸⁹⁸ //93// potestati⁸⁹⁹ et auctoritati submittere malint quam intemperanter et temere abutentes⁹⁰⁰ licentia ac viribus⁹⁰¹ se ipsos una cum illis summo cum dedecore et probro in certissimum⁹⁰² periculum discrimenque immittere.

[13] Quod quidem etsi difficile putatur esse ob multa quae⁹⁰³ adversa impendere videntur, tamen divina ope non despero fore ut haec nostra impleantur vota. Sic autem compositis rebus Romanaque curia in amplitudinem et dignitatem pristinam restituta, faciliorem video et honestiorem iis quas dixisti⁹⁰⁴ artibus vitae⁹⁰⁵ conditionem futuram.

893. L *om.* VG.

894. et turbulentissimos *om.* Sch.

895. ulciscantur N.

896. impetrari N.

897. sese N.

898. se *om.* N.

899. portati N.

900. abeuntes VN.

901. iuribus V.

902. *hoc modo* incertissimum scribunt FPGB; incestissimum V.

903. quae *om.* N.

904. dixi B.

905. vitae] vite et N.

this, the most famous place in the whole world, the grandest home of all peoples and nationalities, this most populous assembly and congress of most excellent and famous men—to this, the light of the Roman curia. [10] And let them be assured that they can attain what they desire relying not on those skills and branches of learning that most others employ. Rather, instructed and distinguished in those skills and branches of learning that are the most outstanding and the highest and that ennoble the life of man,⁶³ let them hope that in the curia they will have honor, praise, and esteem, as well as riches, wealth, great distinction, and the most splendid of benefits as well as the greatest pleasure.

L: [11] You advise them wisely, if only they wish to be men and listen to you. But with vows and prayers we must hope and beseech from immortal God that he strike down the most factious and seditious men, who gleefully try to throw the peace and leisure of their own church into disorder and who now for so many years have tried to destroy the church completely. Or—and this is perhaps something more just to pray for and easier to accomplish by prayer—[we must hope and pray] that God at some time puts it into their spirit to recognize their own errors, after their jealousies have been put away, their enmities set down, their arguments put to rest, and their spirits reconciled; [12] that they admit they have sinned; and that, humbly, they beg forgiveness, come back into grace with the pope and the fathers, and choose to submit themselves to their power and authority, rather than insolently and rashly abusing uncontrolled power (as well as the law) and placing themselves as well as the others—with the greatest shame and disgrace—in most certain danger and conflict.

[13] To be sure, one thinks this is difficult thanks to the many things that seem to weigh against it, but still, I am not without hope that with divine aid these prayers of ours might be fulfilled. Further, once things have been set in order in this way and the Roman curia has been restored to its old distinction and dignity, it looks to me like there will be a more prosperous and more honorable way of life for those skills you were talking about.

63. I.e., the humanities.

[14] Sed de his ad praesens satis multa⁹⁰⁶ disseruimus et⁹⁰⁷ alias, cum voles, plura etiam disseremus.⁹⁰⁸ Nunc, quoniam sol medio orbe confecto ad⁹⁰⁹ occasum declinare videtur, iam tempus est ut cardinalem meum⁹¹⁰ salutatum abeam.⁹¹¹ Nam illum post meum reditum non dum vidi et videre vehementer cupio. Quare sermoni huic nostro fine⁹¹² imposito consurgamus et⁹¹³ quae instant potius curemus.

[15] Sic ille domi remansit, ego, egressus ad cardinalem ipsum, me in pontificale palatium contuli.⁹¹⁴

θεῶν χάριτιν. Absolvi Lapi in Ferariensi concilio, in palatio maiori, vii Kl. septembris, die lunae, post iii horam noctis, anno domini Mccccxxxviii.⁹¹⁵

906. multa *om. N.*

907. et *om. N.*

908. dixerimus *N.*

909. ad *om. V.*

910. modum *B.*

911. habeam *VGN.*

912. finem *V.*

913. ut *P.*

914. contuli] contuli. [*abbreviatio illegibilis P*]; contuli. Explicit de commodis curie romane per Lapum Castelliunculum *P*¹; contuli. FINIS. Amen *G*; contuli. Finis est. Amen *N*; contuli. Finis. huius translationis non tam perfecte scripte quam correcto [*sic*] per *B.*

915. θεῶν χάριτιν. Absolvi . . . anno domini Mccccxxxviii *om. VPGNB.*

[14] But we have discussed these things quite thoroughly for now and, when you wish, shall discuss others even more. But now that the sun has turned and seems to be setting, it is already time that I go, to greet my cardinal, for I haven't yet seen him since my return and would really like to do so. With this, since we have ended this discussion of ours, let us get up and take care of more pressing matters.

[15] And so Angelo stayed home and I went out and made my way to the pontifical palace, to that very cardinal.

Thanks be to God. I, Lapo, finished this at the Council of Ferrara in the Palazzo Maggiore on Monday, the seventh day before the calends of September [26 August], after the third hour of the night, in the year of our Lord 1438.

