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

This book is called the *Treasure*, for just as the lord who wishes to amass things of great value, not only for his own pleasure but to increase his power and elevate his social status in war and in peace puts into his treasure the most precious jewels he can gather together according to his intention, in a similar manner the body of this book is compiled out of wisdom, like the one which is extracted from all branches of philosophy in a brief summary. The first part of this treasure is like cash money, to spend readily on necessary things; that is, it describes the beginning of the world, and the ancient times of the old histories, and the establishment of the world, and the nature of all things, 2. and this belongs to the first branch of philosophy, that is, to the theoretical, as the book will explain later. Just as without money there would be nothing to facilitate transactions between people, likewise no one can possess fully the other things if he does not know this first part of the book. 3. The second part, which treats the vices and virtues, is like precious stones, which give a man delight and virtue, that is to say, the things one should do and not do, and it shows the reason why; and this belongs to the second and third branches of philosophy, that is, to its practical application and to logic. 4. The third part of the treasure is like fine gold, that is to say that it teaches how one should speak according to proper rhetoric, and how a lord should govern the people who are under his jurisdiction, according to the customs of the Italians; and all this belongs to the second branch of philosophy, that is, the practical. For just as gold surpasses all metals, so also is the science of speaking well and governing a people more noble than any other in the world. Because the treasure herein contained ought to be given only to one deserving of such great riches, I will give it to you, handsome gentle friend, for you are indeed worthy of it in my judgment. 5. I do not say that the book is based on my own wisdom, which is indeed meager, but rather it is like a honeycomb collected from different flowers, for this book is compiled exclusively from the marvellous sayings of the authors who before our time have dealt with philosophy, each one in accordance with his own particular knowledge, for no earthly man can know everything. Philosophy is the root from which grows all of the knowledge man can
have, just like a fountain from which spill forth many rivulets flowing either upon you, and some people drink from one of these rivulets, and others from others, but they drink also in different fashion, for some drink more and others less, without the fountain going dry. 6. For this reason Boethius says in the book of the Consolation that he saw philosophy in the form of a woman, in such attire and in such power that the more he thought of her, the more she increased in size, and her head rose above the stars and the heavens, looking up and down in justice and in truth. It is with this that my narrative begins, for after a good beginning comes a good end, and our emperor says in the Book of Law that the beginning is the most important part of an undertaking. 7. If anyone should ask why this book is written in Romance according to the usage of the French, even though we are Italian, I would say that there are two reasons: one, that we are in France; the other, that French is more pleasant and has more in common with all other languages.

2. Concerning Philosophy

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

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

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

4. Why one should do some things and not others according to the practical branch of philosophy

The second branch of philosophy is the practical one, and it teaches us what to do and what not to do. To tell the truth, this can be done in three ways, for one way is to do some things and avoid others in order to govern oneself, and another way is to govern one’s subordinates and household and possessions and inheritance, and another way is to govern peoples or kingdoms or a city, in war or in peace. 2. But after the ancient sages learned these three different types, it was necessary to find in the practical branch three kinds of subjects, to deal with the three ways of governing oneself and others, that is, ethics, economics and politics. 3. The first of these three subjects is ethics, which teaches us to govern ourselves first, to lead a moral life and to do virtuous works and shun vice; for no one could live well or morally or profitably in this world, for himself or for others, if he did not govern his own life and give himself direction according to the virtues. 4. The second is economics, which teaches us to govern our people and our sons as well, and thus does it teach us to protect and increase our possessions and our inheritance, and to have movable goods and chattel to use or retain as the times change. 5. The third is politics, and without a doubt this is the highest wisdom and most noble profession there is among men, for it teaches us to govern others, in a kingdom or a city or a group of people or a commune, in peace and in war, according to reason and justice. 6. Thus it teaches us all of the arts and trades necessary to the life of men, and this occurs in two ways, for the one is in deed and the other in word. The one way, that is, in deed, consists of the daily trades involving hand and foot, that is, metalsmiths, weavers and shoemakers and the other trades necessary for the life of men, and which are called mechanical; those which are in word are those which involve mouth and tongue, and these consist of three disciplines: grammar, dialectic and rhetoric. 7. Of these the first is grammar, which is the foundation and door and entryway of the other disciplines; it teaches us to speak and write and read correctly, with no defect of barbarism or solemnity. 8. The second is dialectic, which teaches us to prove our statements and our words by reason and by arguments which lend credence to the words we have said, so that they appear true and provable. 9. The third discipline is rhetoric, that noble science which teaches us to compose and organize and say good and beautiful words, full of meaning, in keeping with the nature of the utterance. It is the manner of speaking, it is the manner of writing, it is the way which first guides the world to do good works and even further guides it by the preaching of holy men, by Holy Scripture and by the law which governs the people lawfully and justly. It is the science of which Cicero speaks in his book, saying that he who surpasses other men in the same way other men surpass the animals has mastered a very lofty thing, that is, speech. 10. Therefore everyone should strive to know it, even though naturally and without instruction no man can master it. Without doubt we need it every day, and many things we can achieve merely by saying well the proper words, things we could not do through force of arms or any other means.

5. Why one should do some things and not others according to logic

Logic is the third discipline of philosophy, the very one which teaches how to prove and demonstrate why one should do some things and not others. This one can prove only through words; therefore logic is a discipline through which one can prove and show why and how what we say is as true as we propose, and this occurs in three ways: dialectic, physics (original: fisique? fidique?) and sophistic. 2. The first is dialectic, which teaches people how to debate and contest and dispute with each other, and to pose questions and mount defenses. 3. The second is physics, and it teaches us to prove that the words we have said are true and that the thing is as we say, with good reasons and true arguments. 4. The third discipline of logic is sophistic, which teaches as to prove that the words we have said are true, but this we prove through bad tricks and false reasons and by sophisms, that is, by arguments which have the appearance and outward cover of truth but contain only falsehood. 5. Up to here this narrative has described briefly and openly what philosophy is, and all of the disciplines one can know, of which philosophy is the mother and source. Now the narrative will return to its subject, that is the theoretical branch, which is the first part of philosophy, to show something of the nature of things celestial and terrestrial; but this will be done as briefly as the Master can do it.
message is such that the messengers will mention one person and another several times in his narrative, then there are in this letter and in this message only three sections remaining. 3. But when the matter is so honest that it is pleasing through its dignity to the listeners without any gilding of a prologue, then one can well do without the prologue and state his case, as you have heard above in the chapter on prologues. Similarly, one can easily leave out the partition and the confirmation and the refutation and the conclusion, and simply state the principal matter or the petition. By this you can understand that sometimes it is enough to say the principal matter alone in this matter: you should know that we are in France, and sometimes it is enough to state the principal matter and no more, in this manner: I beg you to be a brave man in this war; sometimes it is enough to say both things in this manner: you can see clearly that we have come to the battle (this is the principal matter), so I beg you to be brave and bold against our enemies (this is the petition). 4. Just as a narrative can be of two sections or of one alone, so too can it be that one of the two or both of them are accompanied by one or two or more of the other sections mentioned above, according to what the wise speaker sees as appropriate to his subject matter.

72. The sections which have a predetermined location

Just as there is in the narrative a section without which it could not exist, and another which it can get along without, similarly some have such a fixed place and so solid a location, that they could not belong anywhere else, and the others are so movable that the speaker can move them from place to place as he wishes, for the greeting cannot be put in any place but the beginning, and the conclusion at the end, but all the other parts can be put out of place by the speaker depending on his intention. But here the master will stop, and will turn to other things.

73. Here begins the government of cities

In the first books above are described the natures and the beginnings of the things of the world, and the instruction on vices and virtues, and the doctrine of good speaking. But in this last part, Master Brunetto Latini wishes to fulfill for his friend what he had promised him at the beginning of the first book, where he said that his book would conclude with politics, that is with the government of cities, which is the highest science and the most noble office there is on earth, as Aristotle proves in his book. 2. Although politics includes generally all the arts necessary to the community of men, nevertheless the master will not involve himself with what does not pertain to the person of the lord and his right office; for from the time that people first began to increase and multiply, and the sin of the first man sent roots into the earth, for his family and the world grew much worse, so that some coveted their neighbor's things, and others through their pride subjected the weaker ones to the yoke of servitude, it was absolutely necessary that those who wanted to live lawfully and escape the power of evildoers should turn together to one place and in one order. From that time on they began to build houses and strengthen cities and fortresses and enclose them with walls and ditches. 3. From that time on they began to establish customs, and laws, and rights, which were common to all the citydwellers. For this reason Cicero says that the city is an assembly of people for living in one place and under one law, and just as the people and dwellings are different and the customs and the rights are different throughout the world, so too do they have different types of rule; for as soon as Nimrod the giant took over the kingdom and the country, and greed sowed war and mortal hatred among people of the world, it was necessary for men to have lords of different types; some were rightfully elected and others took power by force. Thus it happened that some were lords and kings of the country and others were castellans and keepers of the castle, others were dukes and leaders of the army, and others were counts and companions of the kings, and others had other offices, and each one had his own land and his men to govern. 4. But all lords and all officials are either perpetual forever through themselves and their heirs, as are kings and counts and castellans and other similar men, or they are in office for all the days of their lives, as are the pope and the emperor in Rome and the others who are elected for life, or for years, as are mayors and magistrates and aldermen of cities and towns, or they function for special tasks, as do legates and delegates and lieutenants and officials whom the great lords charge with doing things, or to whom their legal affairs are entrusted. But the master will be silent about all of this in this book, for he will speak only about the lordship of those who govern the cities for terms of a year. 5. These are of two types, one which exists in France and in other countries, who are subject to the lordship of kings and of other perpetual princes who sell the office of magistrate and give it to those who seek it (they are little concerned with their goodness or the advantage to the citydwellers). 6. The other kind is in Italy, for the citizens and the citydwellers and the communities of cities elect as
magistrates and lords those they consider to be better and more profitable to the common good of the city and all its subjects, and the master will speak on this matter, for the other does not concern him or his friend; nevertheless all lords, whatever lordship they might have, will be able to learn many good things from it.

74. Lordship and its pillars

All lordships and all high positions are given to us by the Sovereign Father, who among the holy establishments of the world wanted the government of the cities to be founded on three pillars, that is, justice, reverence and love. 2. Justice must be so firmly established in the heart of the lord that he gives each person his right, and that he cannot be swayed to the right or to the left, for Solomon says that a just king and a just lord will never experience misfortune. 3. Reverence must exist in his citydwellers and in his subjects, for it is the only thing in the world which seeks out the merit of faith and overcomes all sacrifices; for this reason the Apostle says: honor, says he, your lords. 4. Love must exist in both lord and subject, for the lord must love his subjects with all his heart and with a clear faith, and he should be concerned day and night for the common profit of the city and of all men. In the same way, the people must love their lords with a just heart and with a true intention of giving counsel and aid for the maintaining of his office, for because he is one single person among them, he could not do anything without them.

75. Which man should be elected to be lord and governor of the city

Because the lord is like the head of the citizens, and all men desire to have a healthy head, because when the head is sick, all the limbs are sick, men must above all things try to have a governor who will lead them to a good end according to law and justice. They must not elect him by drawing lots or by leaving it up to chance, but rather they should do it with great deliberation and wise counsel, with respect to which they must consider twelve things. 2. The first is that Aristotle says that through a long period of being tested by many things a man becomes wise, and long testing cannot take place in anyone without a long life. Therefore, it seems clear that a young man cannot be wise, although he can have a good capacity for knowledge, and for this reason Solomon says that evil befalls a land with a young king. Nevertheless, one can have many years, but little sense, for being young in sense is the same as being young in age. For this reason, the city dwellers must elect a lord who is not young in either domain; it is preferable that he be old in each one. It was not for no reason that the law forbade individuals to have important positions under the age of twenty-five, even though the decrees of Holy Church give them to those who are over twenty. 3. The second is that they should not consider his power or his family, but rather the nobility of his heart and the honorableness of his customs and his life and his virtuous works, things which he was used to doing in his house and in his other terms as ruler; for honor should come to a house because of a good lord, not to a lord because of a good house; but if he is noble, both of heart and of family, certainly he is all the more valuable in all things because of this. 4. The third is that he should love justice, for Cicero says that sense without justice is not sense, but malice, and nothing can have value without justice. 5. The fourth is that he should have a good mind and subtle understanding for knowing the truth about things and for understanding and knowing easily what is necessary, and for pursuing the reason of things; for it is an ugly thing to be mistaken because of a lack of knowledge. 6. The fifth is that he must be strong and steady and of great courage, not given over to vice and vainglory, and he must not believe flatters easily. Cicero says: there once was a city in which no one could be lord if he was not the best person, and as long as that custom lasted, no harm befell the city and no poverty, because a man can do everything he wants if he does not overestimate himself. No one is considered to be an outstanding man because of his high position, but rather because of his deeds, for a wise man prefers being a lord to seeming to be one. 7. The sixth is that he should not be desirous of money or of pursuing his other inclinations, for these are two things which will quickly cast him from his seat, and it is a very dishonorable thing if the person who would not let himself be bowed by fear should be destroyed by money, and that the person who is not conquered by torment should be conquered by his inclinations. But a person should be very careful not to be too desirous of obtaining high position, for it is often better to decline them than to accept them. 8. The seventh is that he should be a good speaker, for it is appropriate for a lord to be a better speaker than the others, because everyone considers the person who expresses himself wisely to be wiser, especially if he is a young man. But above all things, he must be careful not to speak too much, for excessive speaking cannot be without error, and just as one single string can cause a whole musical instrument to be out of tune,
similarly by one bad word one’s honor and one’s speech can suffer. 9.
The eighth is that he should not be excessive in spending or wasting his
belongings, for all men who do this will necessarily succumb to pillage
and theft. Nevertheless, he must not avoid this vice in such a way that
he becomes stingy and miserly, for this is the thing which brings the
vilest shame to a lord. 10. The ninth is that he should not be too prone
to anger, and that his ire and evil disposition not last too long, for ire
which dwells too long in a government is like lightning, which does not
let the truth be known or a just judgment be rendered. 11. The tenth is
that he should be rich and powerful, for if he also has other virtues, this
gives the appearance that he will not be corrupted by money.
Nevertheless, I prefer a good poor man to a bad rich one. 12. The
eleventh is that he should not have other territory to administer, for it is
not believable that any man would be capable of dealing with two things
of such great importance as the government of people. 13. The twelfth
is the sum of all things, that is, that he should have the right faith in God
and in all men, for without faith and without loyalty righteousness cannot
be maintained. 14. These virtues and others must be considered by good
citizens before they elect a lord, so that there are as many good qualities
in him as possible, but most people do not consider habits or virtues as
much as they do strength or family or inclinations or love for the city in
which he is born; 15. but they are mistaken, for because war and hatred
have so increased among Italians nowadays, and throughout the world in
many lands, there is division in all the cities and enmity between the two
factions of the citizens; indeed the person who acquires the love of one
group acquires automatically the malevolence of the other. Furthermore,
if the magistrate is not very wise he falls into the scam and the bad
graces of the very ones who elected him, so that to the extent that each
person expected to see good things in him, he now sees his harm.

76. In what way the lord should be elected

When the wise men of the city who are charged with the election
are in agreement about a good man, they must immediately consider the
practice and the laws and the customs of the city, and according to these
things they must elect their magistrate in the name of the one who gives
all honor and all good things. They must immediately draw up letters,
well and wisely, and inform the good man of how they have elected him
and determined that he will be lord and magistrate of their land the
following year, and inform him briefly of the extent of his duties, and
clarify all the details at the outset so that no misunderstanding might
arise. For this they must specifically inform him of the day when he must
be physically present in their city and take his oath to the constitution,
and that he should bring with him judges, and notaries, and other
officials to do these and other things, and how many days he must stay
after the end to give an account of whatever people might wish to ask
him about, and what salary he must have, how it should be paid, and the
number of horses he must bring with him; and that all dangers to himself
and to his property will be his responsibility. He must be informed of
these covenants and others connected to this undertaking in writing,
according to the practice and law of the city. 2. But one thing must not
be forgotten, indeed it should be clearly written down, and that is that he
should accept the lordship or refuse it within three days, more or less,
according to the custom of the city, and if he does not do this, the
election will have no validity whatsoever. 3. It often happens that the
counsellers decide to ask the pope or the emperor to send them a good
governor for that year, when this is the case, covenants should still be
transmitted in such clear fashion that there can be no possibility of
misunderstanding, and when these letters are drawn up and sealed, they
must be sent to the good man by good messengers who are very
knowledgeable in these affairs, and who will bring back his letters of
reply. 4. At first they should not send to him men who are too great or
important, for it would be a very dishonorable thing for them and for the
city if he should happen to refuse the position of magistrate.
Nevertheless, if he accepts it, they can certainly send him honorable
messengers to accompany him when he comes, even though this might
be a suspicious thing, for during the journey they will become more
familiar with the lord and his household than is sometimes necessary. It
is not fitting for a governor to be too familiar with the citizens of the city
for two reasons, one because his dignity is lowered, and the other
because of the suspicion people might have of him and his intimates.

77. The form of the letter

To make the instruction clearer and more straightforward, the
master would like in this part to write a little sample letter to the person
chosen to be governor and lord, in this way: To the man of great valor
and great renown, My lord Charles, Count of Anjou (Carmody adds: and
of Provence), governor of Rome, and the whole council, we send
greetings and the wish for an increase in all honor. Even though all
human beings in general desire the freedom which nature first gave them, and they would gladly avoid the yoke of servitude, nevertheless because the pursuit of evil desires and the opportunity for evil deeds which went unpunished was becoming dangerous for the people and destructive to human association, justice took hold of these people and a governor was chosen for the people with several duties, to promote the reputation of the good people and to confound the malice of the bad. Thus it was appropriate, indeed it was almost a necessity, that nature be subject to justice and that freedom be obedient to judgment, and from this it ensues that because of people's desires, which now are more corrupt, and because of the perversions which are increasing these days, nothing can be more profitable to each group of people and to all commons than to have a just lord and a wise governor. 2. As we deliberated together about a man who would lead us next year, who would come and watch over the common good, and who would maintain both outsiders and insiders, and who would respect the property and the persons of all people in such a way that justice would not decrease in our city, it occurred to us, as if through a divine instruction, that of all men who are now considered to be wise and valorous enough for such an important thing as the governing of a people, you were to be selected and considered to be the best. For this reason, Sire, by the common consent of the city, we have determined that you should be senator and governor of Rome, beginning with the next feast of All Saints and for the period of one year. 3. We have no doubt, and everyone is in accord about this, that you have the knowledge and the desire to impose judgment in peace, justice and moderation, and to strike with the sword of righteousness to take vengeance against evildoers. For this reason, Sire, that all of us, great and small, consider ourselves to be in accord, we beg you and request in all faith and desire that you take and receive the lordship which we offer, to you more willingly than to anyone else, for a salary of 10,000 pounds of provisions, and with the promises which you will find in the notary charter included in the letter, and in the chapters of the constitutions of Rome. 4. You should know that you should bring with you ten judges and twelve good and praiseworthy notaries, and come, stay, and depart with your whole company at your expense and at the risk of yourself and your property, and come into Rome on the day of Our Lady, in September. Then, as soon as you enter the city, before going to your lodging, you will take your oath of office on the books of the constitutions, closed and sealed, before they are opened, and you will have your officials take them, each one according to his office, within the Capitol of Rome. But you should know one thing, that before the third day after we have given you the letters, you must accept or refuse the lordship, and if you do not do this, let this all be considered null and void, and this election invalid.

78. The things the lord must do when he receives the letters

In this way or in some other which the wise writer chooses, these letters will be sent to the lord, with the complete charter of the agreements, and the messenger carrying them will give them to him courteously and in private, without hue and cry. The lord must take them in the manner of a wise man and go quietly to a private place, and break the seal and look at the letters and learn what is in them, and null over with great care what he must do, and seek out the counsel of his good friends, and ascertain if he has the qualifications for such an undertaking. 2. Cicero says: do not desire to be judge over people unless you are such that your virtue can make iniquities decrease. Nevertheless he should not despair, and especially not for fear of covetousness; rather he should weigh everything in the scales of his heart and with the counsel of his friends, honor and shame, good and evil, because it is better to seek counsel beforehand than to repent afterward. 3. If it is something he refuses, certainly he must honor the messenger according to his customs, and send back his reply with eloquent and courteous words. 4. At the very outset, the writer will write a greeting with elegant words, followed by the letter in this manner: "Because the high rank and office of magistrate surpasses all honors in this world, a city and a people can show no greater reverence to a man or exalt him more than to elect him from among others and subject themselves to his lordship; this is the sign of the very great love and certain trust, that is, the glory which elevates his name and his nation's forever. Such grace and honor we acknowledge that you have done to us, and it is all the more elevated and all the more generous because to govern you and your city is the most honorable thing in the world. Although we are not worthy to return the honor with appropriate thanks, nevertheless we thank you with all our heart and with all our desire, as a person who will always be indebted to you and to your commune. But because we are now prevented by many things which require our presence, we beg and request that you forgive us, in the name of grace, Good Sirs, for not accepting the post of governor; the duties which detain us are so great that we must remain here."
79. The things the lord must do when he receives the lordship

But if his counsellors advise him to take the lordship which is offered to him, let him carefully consider how to undertake such a very important thing and put on his shoulders such a heavy burden. Therefore he must provide himself with the elegant trappings which are the proper reward of lordship, and recognize that he must have the care of the city and maintain its honor and its dignity, and uphold the law and do justice, and that all these things are entrusted to his faith. 2. Right away he must honor the messenger as is appropriate to each of them, and clarify all the agreements, if he has the power to do this, in such a way that he has good documents to eliminate all manner of doubt. 3. When this has been done, then he should hand over letters, with the salutation first, and then proceed in this way: "It is true that nature has made all men equal, but it has happened, not through a defect of nature but through the maliciousness of men, that to restrain iniquity men should have rulers, not because of their nature, but their vices. Without doubt, that man alone is worthy of such an honorable thing who knows how to surpass men by his merits and by his virtue. To this man alone should be given the government who for his goodness is worthy of the place and the honor, and a person whose shoulders are not too weak to support such a heavy burden, for although a lordship is a great honor, nevertheless it carries with it the weight of danger and responsibility. 4. But because the capability of Jesus Christ alone makes a man capable of these duties, we, through the faith we have only in Him, not through the goodness we might have in us, in the name of the Sovereign Father and through the counsel of all our friends, take and receive the honor and the post of governor according to the descriptions in your letters; and especially because we are confident and truly believe that the wisdom and knowledge of the knights and the people, and the faith and the loyalty of all the citizens, will help us to bear a part of our burden and lighten it through good obedience." 5. After he has sent the letters back along with the messenger, then let him immediately begin his preparations, and busy himself in obtaining good and honorable horses and harness; but above all let him show special zeal in acquiring his judge and assessors, discrete and wise men, tested and God-fearing, eloquent, not dishonorable, chaste in body with respect to women, neither proud nor irascible, nor fearful, nor two-tongued, and not desirous of reward for great pride or great pity; rather let him be strong and fair, just, and of good faith and religious towards God and the Holy Church. 6. For in the law the judge is called sacred at the beginning of the Digest, where it says: you are called priest worthily; and in the Code of judgments and oaths and in many other places, the law says that the judge is consecrated in the presence of God, and that on earth he is like a God. 7. And if he is not so accomplished in all things, because all white birds are not swans, let him at least be loyal and steadfast, a person who cannot be corrupted, and let him be of good faith, but neither naïve nor foolish, nor enveloped in evil vices. Be careful, then, that the lord does not abandon for money good judges when he finds them; for it is written: who is the one who goes alone, for if he falls, he has no one to pick him up. This is why I say that if a lord goes into the lordship to acquire honor rather than for desire of wealth, certainly he must be careful about who governs the law, for just as the ship is guided by the rudder, similarly the city is led by the knowledge of the judges. 8. Similarly he must have very good notaries, knowledgeable of the law, and who know how to speak well and read well and write charters and letters well, and who are good writers, and chaste in their body; for often the goodness of the judge's clerks corrects and makes up for the mistakes of the judges, and he carries a great burden in the office. Similarly, he should have in his company knights who are wise and well instructed and who love the honor of their masters, seneschals and apprentices and officers and the whole retinue, wise and measured and with pride and without foolishness, and who willingly obey him and those of his household. After this, the custom is to make new robes for him and for his companions, and to clothe the members of his retinue in the same type of garment, and to renew his armor, his banners, and the other things which are appropriate to his task. Then, as the time draws near, he must send his seneschal to the city to equip the residence with necessary things; for the wise man says that it is better to take care of things beforehand than to seek counsel afterwards.

80. What the lord must do when he is on the road

Now it sometimes happens that at the time the lord must set out on the road, the commune of the city sends him honorable citizens of the city to his residence, to accompany him on the road or to ask the commune of this city to allow him to go to his office, or for other reasons. But whatever the case may be, he must honor and receive them extremely well, and send them generous presents, and go see them in
their lodgings. But he should be very careful not to speak to any of them in private, for from such discussion evil suspicions can arise; for this reason this custom has remained, that few cities sent such ambassadors to meet him. 2. When the lord has made the preparations for his trip, let him set out on the road in the name of the true body of God, and let him go directly to his office always investigating and observing the customs and conditions of the city and the nature of the people, so that he knows everything before he enters. And when he is one day away from the city, he must send his seneschal before him with all the cooks so that they may prepare the food in his lodgings; in the same way, he must send to the city letters announcing his arrival, and in the morning of the day he enters into the city, he must without fail hear the mass and the service of Our Lord. 3. Furthermore, his predecessor, that is, the one who holds the lordship of the city at that time, as soon as he receives the letters announcing the arrival of the new lord, should have it announced throughout the city that all the knights and city dwellers should go to meet him, and he himself must go with the lord bishop if he is there or if he wants to go there. 4. Certainly when the new lord and the old one meet one another, someone must ride between the two of them to remove all suspicion and to greet the people in a gentle fashion. In this way he must go straight to the principal church and go in and kneel in front of the altar, and pray to God humbly with all his heart and with all his faith, and put some money on the altar in honorable fashion, and then go back out to go where he must.

81. What the lord must say on the day of his arrival

At this point there are various options, for in some cities the custom is to have the lord go to his residence, and he is given the books with the ordinances of the city before he takes his oath; there is a great advantage in this approach, for he can better prepare himself for the chapters which are against him. 2. There are also some cities where the custom is to have the lord, as soon as he is in the city and has gone before the altar, go directly to the council of the city or before the commune of the people, where they are assembled; and there they have him swear along with his people before the book of the chapter is opened or given to him or his judge. 3. But the lord who is wise, before he places his hands on the holy relics, requests that the commune give him the final say over crimes, not for his own advantage, but for the good of the city and the harm of the evildoers. If this is granted to him, it is a good thing, and if it is not, he requests that if there should be any malicious chapter against him or against the honor of the commune or of Holy Church, it be amended by the counsellors of the city. If they do it, it is good if he has it written in the charter of the notary, and if they do not, he will take the oath according to what is explained to him by those representing the commune. 4. The form of the oath is such: "You, sir, swear on the holy relics to govern the things and the concerns of this city which appertain to your office, and to guide, and lead, and maintain, and save the city and the whole area and its jurisdiction, all men and women, knights great and small, and city dwellers, and to maintain their rights, and to defend and protect them, and to carry out what the common law and the constitutions order, and see to it that they are obeyed and adhered to by all people, especially with regard to orphans and widows and other defenseless people, and all men who will plead their case before you and before your judges. 5. To protect and maintain and defend the Church and the temples and hospitals and all religious houses, roads and pilgrims and merchants, and to do everything written in these books concerning the establishments of this city, to which you swear with good and loyal faith and conscience. May you be uncoached by love and hatred, and rewards and praise and all malice, following your true intention, beginning with the next All Saints Day and for a year after that and the whole day of that All Saints Day." 6. The lord will take his oath in this manner, except that if there is anything which should be removed from the oath, let him remove it before placing his hands on the relics, and once he has sworn, then his judges must immediately swear, along with the knights and notaries, each as befits his position, to carry out well and faithfully their duties, and to give good counsel to their lord, and to keep the faith concerning things which must be private.

82. What the lord must do when he has arrived in the city

At this point usage varies, for there are some cities where the custom is for the lord to speak before the people of the city as soon as he has taken his oath, and there are others where he does not speak at all; rather he simply goes to his residence, especially if the city is at peace. 2. There are still other differences, for the city could be at war against one of its neighbors, or the conflict could be internal among the dwellers in the city, or it could be at peace both outside and inside of the city. For this reason I say that the lord must abide by the customs of the
country, for if the customs require that he speak, then he can express himself well and courteously and without ordering anything, for as long as his predecessor remains in power; it is not permissible for him to use a sickle on someone else’s crops, but he certainly can plead and advise the people without ordering or forbidding anything. 3. If the land is at peace, he can speak in this way: “At the outset, I proclaim the name of Jesus Christ, and the all-powerful king who gives all good things and all powers, and the glorious Virgin Mary, and My Lord Saint John, who is patron and guide of this city, that he by his holy pity might grant me grace and power that I might on this very day, as long as I am in your service, say and do everything to the honor and glory of his majesty, and in reverence and honor to My Lord the Pope and the Emperor of Holy Church and the empire of Rome; and that honor and esteem be given to Monsignor A., who has been your lord, and who still is; and that growth and improvement and good fortune come to you and this city and all your friends. 4. If I wish to base the substance of my speech on the praise of such a noble city as this one, and refer to the good sense, and the power, and the honor, and the other works of yours and of your ancestors, indeed I could not finish the task, for there is so much to tell concerning both the noble leaders and the free people of this city, and for this reason I shall cease speaking now. Concerning Monsignor A. himself and the good works he has done during the year as your ruler and in the government of the commune and all the people, I shall say nothing, for they shine forth throughout the world like the brightness of the sun. 5. It is true that you have elected me and made me your Lord and magistrate, and although I am not worthy, either on the basis of my merits or of my goodness, nevertheless I received, with confidence in Jesus Christ and the distinguished men of this city, the honor which you have done to me, with such a heart and with such an intention that I devote to you my heart and body, and without consideration for bodily harm or financial loss. 6. Since you have done to me the greatest honor people can do in this world, that is, of your own good will to make me your lord and leader, I hope and believe truly that you will be firm and obedient to my honor and my commandments, especially for the profit and government of yourselves and your city. You should know this: I shall love all those who behave in this way and shall do great honor to them, but those who commit evil acts against my honor or who do harmful or unjust things to anybody, whoever they might be, great or small, I shall condemn and torment in their bodies and in their possessions in such a way that the punishment of one will strike fear in the hearts of many. 7. I have certainly not come out of desire for financial gain, but to win praise and esteem and honor for myself and my people. Therefore I shall follow the course of law and justice, in such a way that I do not stray to the right or to the left, for I know very well, and each person should know it too, that the city which is governed according to justice and according to the truth, so that each person has what he ought to have and evildoers are either expelled or punished, grows and multiplies in people and in wealth, and lasts forever in a happy state of peace, for its honor and the honor of its friends. For this reason I turn to Him with whom I began, to God the Almighty, so that he might give to you and to me and to all the citizens and those under the jurisdiction of this city, both here and elsewhere, grace and power to do and to say what will bring honor and advancement to you and to the commune of the city and to all those who love you with good hearts.” 8. In this manner the newly appointed magistrate can make his inaugural speech; but the wise speaker must very carefully observe the customs and the state and the condition of the city, so that he can change these words and use other ones according to the place and the time. 9. But if there is war in the city because of discord among the inhabitants, then the lord must speak in this way: he can follow what was said above, and where he sees that his speech would be better, he can call to mind how Our Lord commanded that peace and good will should exist among people, and how he would be happy to have found them in a state of peace and love. For it is very important to a lord that his subjects should live in harmony, and if they do not, then he must redirect them and tell them how concord elevates cities and makes their residents wealthy, whereas war destroys them, and remind them of Rome and other good cities which fell because of internal war and fared badly, and how a civil war brings many evils, such as the robbery of temples or on the highways, and the burning of houses, murder, adultery, theft, treason and the loss of God and of the world. 10. The lord can say such words or others on his arrival, praying and admonishing the people to do well and to keep peace and abandon hatred; and let him say how he will have the counsel of the important men, and how he will establish his affairs well and honorably. 11. When the city is at war against some other city, then the lord can indeed follow what has been described and said above. 12. When he sees that it would be better, then he can add other words: “And it is true, and all the world knows it, that for the evil and crimes which cannot and should not be tolerated any longer, a war has arisen between you and your enemies, in which they and their allies are guilty of great
crimes and disloyalty. 13. And although this is a very demanding enterprise, nevertheless I shall say little about it here, for it is requires more deeds than words, but if there is anything in this world of ours in which one can display one's force and power and acquire high esteem for one's virtue, I say that war surmounts all enterprises, for it makes a man brave with weapons and noble of heart, vigorous and full of virtue, strong in physical difficulties and watchful in traps, clever and enterprising in all things. 14. Let each person inwardly strive therefore to have in himself the aforementioned things. Equip yourselves with fine weapons and good horses, for such things make men want to fight and achieve the certainty of victory, and they make the enemies fearful that they will lose, and make them want to flee. Be of one heart and of one will; be fiery and steadfast in the assembly, and go to battle together, and do not separate without leave. Remember your ancestors and their victories. Because of your valor and goodness and that of your men, and in the justice of your cause against your enemies, I have faith that you will have the victory and the honor which you desire." 15. The wise speaker must say to his citizens such words and others which are appropriate, in a way he thinks will be most agreeable to them, and then he must bring his speech to a close. 16. When he is seated, his predecessor, if he is there, must immediately rise and begin his prologue well and wisely, and reply to what the other has said, and praise him and his intelligence and his deeds and his family, and thank him for the good and the honor which he has expressed to him in his speech. At the end of his speech he must order all to obey the new lord and carry out his instructions, and when he has said this, let him give leave to his people, and let each one go home. 17. Now it sometimes happens that noble men of the city come with the new lord, on behalf of the commune of the city, and speak at this same council and bear greetings and describe the love which is between one city and the other; and they praise the city and the citizens and the old magistrate and his good government, and similarly they praise the new lord and his family and their good deeds, and they show how all of their people consider it a great honor and love that he has been elected governor. And let them say that the lord and the citizens of their city have ordered him, under pain of harm to his person and his possessions, to do and say things that bring honor and profit to the city he must govern. For this reason, they ask the people of the city to obey him and give him aid and counsel, in such a way that he can carry out his duties honorably. 18. And when they have said this, the previous governor must make an appropriate response in this very assembly, and reply to the new lord as the narrative said above, or in another fashion if the condition requires it.

83. What the lord must do when he has taken his oath of office

After the oath and the speeches of all parties, the lord must go to his residence and open the books of the laws and the statutes of the city, which the judges and notaries must read and study night and day, from one end to the other, and take note of what it is necessary to do, the actions to do first, and those to do last. It is a very good thing for the judges and notaries to read and reread often, in such a way that they retain everything in their hearts, and that they know the places and the points which have bearing on the matter, and even the lord himself must know the points, especially those which are the most important for him, and always remember them. 2. When they have examined them diligently, then they must immediately note the form of the oath and the instructions which must be sworn to by all those who are in their jurisdiction, and instruct all those who are there in all the matters they must swear to first, and then let all those bearing arms swear, and have the names put in writing and given to the notaries. 3. After this, he must select his council according to the law of the city, but he must see to it that the counsellors are good and wise and of good age, for from good people come good counsel, and then the other good and loyal officials and servants good and loyal to help him to bear the burdens of his office. 4. While the lord is at his residence and makes these and other preparations, before he goes up to the house of the commune and before he officially becomes lord, he must often and scrupulously advise the important men of the city about the matters which pertain to his honor and to the city's. 5. If there is any internal or external discord in the city, he must make every effort to make peace, unless the citizens do not want him to get involved in this matter; for the lord must be very careful not to recur the hatred or suspicion of his people.

84. What the lord must do when he first enters into his lordship

When the day has arrived when he must begin his duties, he must first thing in the morning go to church and hear the service, and pray to God and to his saints, and then right away he must go to the house of the commune, and take the chair of his glory. Because it has become the custom that the governor is allowed to establish the
punishments, especially for petty crimes, the lord must through the
counsel of the wise men set up his orders and ordinances in accord with
the good usage of the city; but let them not contradict the charters to
which he swore the first day. 2. On the first feast day which occurs, he
will assemble the people of the city in the accustomed place, and speak
before them in a voice so loud that each one can hear his words; and let
him continue in his speech along the same path he began on the first day,
except that now he must speak more forcefully, and command and forbid
like a lord, and threaten and entreat and admonish as he deems it
appropriate. 3. When he has finished his presentation, let his notaries
read aloud and clearly the ordinances; and the lord should not allow any
man of the city to rise to speak in opposition to the assembly, for if one
does, another will want his turn, and thus there would be a serious
impediment, especially if in the city there are two parties.

85. How the lord must admonish his officials

After this the lord must assemble his judges and his notaries
and his companions and the other officers of his residence, and entreat them
and admonish them as kindly as he possibly can to behave well; and after
this request, let him then order them to watch over and maintain his and
the common honor, and to watch over and take care of their own duties,
and render what is just to each person, and resolve all quarrels as soon
as they can, preserve the order of reason, guard against all vices and
against the criticism of people, and not become angry at the people or go
to taverns or to any man's house to eat or to drink. Let them not be on
intimate terms with anybody, and let them take care not to be corrupted
by money, or by women, or by anything else, and if they behave
otherwise, I say that the lord must punish them more harshly than the
others, for a more grievous punishment falls on our own associates than
on those who must keep our commandments.

86. How the new lord must honor his predecessors

Among the other things which are appropriate for a lord, he
must soften the hearts of those who went before him and show them as
much honor and love as he can. When the time comes for him to render
his account, let him not allow that any shame nor wrong be done to him,
for a lord must restrain the iniquities of the wicked within the bounds of
justice. And let him know well that he will reach this point, and just as

he will house his father, in just that way will his son house him, for it is
written that we should behave towards our fathers as we would wish our
sons to behave towards us.

87. How the lord must assemble the council of the city

When the lord has come to the point of taking up his office and
his lordship, he must think day and night of the things which are
associated with his government. Although he is head and guardian of the
commune, nevertheless in great and dangerous undertakings he must
assemble the counsellors of the city, and present and tell the undertaking
to them, and ask them to advise him on what course seems to be best for
the city, and listen to what they have to say. 2. If the undertaking is a
great one, he must seek advice once, twice, three times or more, and
from many different people if necessary, at the small council or at the
great one, and add to the council other good men, judges and heads of
corporations and other good people, for it is written that from great
counsel comes great salvation. To tell the truth, the lord can certainly
proceed according to the decisions of this counsel, for Solomon says: do
all things by counsel, and then you will not regret the action. 3. But let
the lord be very careful that the proposition he makes before the
counsellors be brief, and written in few sections, for a large number of
things gives rise to obstacles and confusion in the hearts, and weakens
the best minds, for the mind which thinks of many things is less effective
in each one. 4. When the notary has read the proposition before the

counsellors, let the lord rise and repeat the matter as it is and how it
arose. Let him be very careful that his speech and the points he makes
be unadorned and simple, in such a way that no man can tell him that
one section is more important than another. I do not say that the lord
cannot sometimes tell a tale, if it is not something which will arouse
suspicion, for there are many people who through the envy or the hatred
in their hearts speak more against the lord than for the common good. 5.
When the lord has stated his plan, he must immediately command that no
one should say anything other than what he said, and that no one
should begin to praise him or his men, and that they should listen to those
who are speaking. Then he must order his notary to diligently put down in
writing the speeches of the speakers, not everything they say, but the
essence of their counsel. Let him not allow too many people to rise to
give counsel. 6. When they have discussed all the facets of the issue, let
the lord rise to describe the various opposing opinions which have been
expressed. The position to which the majority of the assembled people subscribes must be solid and stable, and this is how the notary must write it down, and if it is necessary to cast more light on the matter, he can record how each counsellor favors the one opinion or the other. When this is all done well and diligently, let the lord give them their leave, and if it is necessary, let him demand confidentiality, and whoever is unwilling to obey should be condemned as a traitor and a perjurer. 7. Among other things, the lord must greatly honor the members of the council, for they are like his limbs, and what they decree should not be changed, unless it is for the obvious betterment of the commune. An assembly of counsellors should not be convened for all things, but only for those which are most necessary.

88. How the lord must honor foreign messengers and ambassadors

When ambassadors from foreign lands come to him because of some affair which pertains to the one land and the other, certainly the lord must see them willingly, and honor and receive them in respectful fashion. Before the council is assembled, he must make every effort to know the reason why they have come, if it possibly can be known, for it might be such that he will not assemble a council at all, and it might be such that only the small council will be assembled, or perhaps the great one, and even the whole commune of the city. 2. But if they are legates of my lord the pope or of the emperor of Rome, or of the great lords, he must not refuse a council, but rather he must go to meet them, and accompany them and honor them as much as he can. When they have spoken to the council, the lord must answer well and courteously, and say that it is up to them to decide whether to go or to come, and that the wise men of the city will determine what is appropriate. And when the ambassadors have left the council, the lord must hear the will of the counsellors, and as they decree, so must he carry out the deed and the reply.

89. How the lord must send his ambassadors

When something arises which necessitates the sending of a messenger or an ambassador out of the city, if the matter is not of the greatest importance, he should write a letter appointing some of the counsellors of the city, or make the appointment in some other way, according to the customs of the city, but if they must be sent to the pope or to the emperor of Rome, or somewhere else which requires great solemnity, I suggest that the lord himself select the very best of the city, if this is the will of the council.

90. How the lord must hear cases and lawyers

In order to hear the desires of the people and to settle the complaints of the citizens, it behooves the good magistrate to hear the extraordinary quarrels often and resolve them and diminish the complaints of all the people; for it is a good thing for the lord to hold his subjects within the bounds of the law, so that they do not reach the point of discord, for a flame which is not extinguished oftentimes becomes a roaring fire. 2. But if there should arise a difficult point about which he has doubt, my advice is that he should call upon one of his judges and that he follow his advice, or that he set a date which will allow him time to be advised. But it is a beautiful and honest thing for the lord, when he sits at court, to listen willingly and quietly to all, especially the lawyers and the sponsors of the cases, for they reveal the strength of the complaint and point out the substance of the questions. This is why the law says that their profession is extremely good and necessary to the life of men, as much as or more than if they fought with sword and knife for their parents or their country. For we do not believe, says the emperor, that those alone are knights who have shields and halberds; so are lawyers and the sponsors of cases. For this reason, the lord must use his office to make sure that if some poor person or other is involved in a case before him, and is not able to procure the services of a lawyer, either through his weakness or through the strength of his adversary, a good lawyer will be appointed for his aid, to give him counsel and instruct him concerning his rights. 3. When the lord has heard both sides, then he must think well of how to reply; he must not say anything foolishly, but wisely and thoughtfully, and everything he orders or decrees must be by counsel and sound, so that he seems just and wise in deed and in word; otherwise his decision will give rise to derision and everyone will consider it to be worthless. 4. This is why I say that if sometimes he goes beyond the limits of what is good, either in speech or in his orders, he should not be ashamed to make corrections; rather it is a great virtue for each person to correct his error and to amend it, and this is what the lord must do, according to what the law commands.
91. What the lord must do with respect to crime

Above all things, the magistrate must see to it that the city which he governs is in good state, without turmoil and without crime, and this cannot be the case if he does not see to it that the country is emptied and free from thieves and murderers and all evildoers, for the law very clearly commands that the lord purge the country of evil people, and for this reason he has power over outsiders as well as insiders who commit crimes within his jurisdiction. On the other hand, he must not condemn those who are without fault; for it is a holier thing to forgive a guilty person than to condemn one who is not guilty, and it is an ugly thing for you to lose the name of innocent through hatred of a guilty person. With respect to crime, the lord and his officials must follow the customs of the country and the order of reason in this matter: first of all, the accuser should swear by the saints that he is telling the truth in accusing and defending, and that he will not summon a witness he knows to be false; and be will give him his accusation or denunciation in writing, or if not, the notary must write it down word by word, as it was described, and inquire diligently of him what was wrong. The lord or the judges themselves will decide what is pertinent to the matter or the case; and then they will order the person accused of the crime to be summoned, have him swear and assure the court of his pledges, and put in writing his confession or his denial, as he said it, or if he does not give pledges, or if the crime is too great, he should be arrested and held under a guard. Then the lord or the judge must set a date to test and hear the witnesses who wish to come, and force to come those who do not, and examine all things well and wisely, and put what is said in writing. When the witnesses have been well received, the judge and the notaries must summon the parties before them if they are available, and they must reveal and make public the testimony of the witnesses, and distribute them to each person, so that they can take counsel and present their reasons. Now it sometimes happens in great crimes that the matter cannot be known or proven with certainty, but there can indeed be found against the accused some information and strong arguments for suspicion. At this point he can certainly be tortured to make him confess his guilt; otherwise not. And I say that during the torture the question must not be if John committed the murder, but in a general way he must be asked who did it.

92. How the lord must condemn and absolve the accused

This is the way those who have been accused and found guilty of a crime must be received. When both of the parties have shown what they wish, then right away and without delay the lord must enter into one of the chambers with the judges and the notaries of his household, and see and hear and investigate diligently the case, from top to bottom, until they know the truth, according to what has been shown before them. If they are certain of the crime, by the criminal's own confession, given freely and without torment, or by witnesses or by battle of champions or by his contumacy, they must condemn him in person or in property according to the type of misdeed and according to the law and usage of the country. But the lord of the country must take great care that it not be more harshly or more leniently done than the nature of the matter requires, and give him a reputation of harshness or pity. Although a serious crime requires a serious punishment, nevertheless the lord must have power to lighten the sentence somewhat through kindness, but those who are not guilty should be forgiven. Those who live today do not do it in this way; rather they condemn a person to as harsh a punishment as they can. Let the notary put in writing the condemned ones on one hand and the innocent on the other. After this, the lord must assemble the council according to the custom of the country and order that no one raise a hue and cry. If he wishes, he can speak and admonish the people to refrain from misdeeds, and not to be misled by the light punishment inflicted on the criminals, for later on he will make them harsher, and their severity will increase until the end of his term in office. Then he must order those who are to be punished physically to be present there before him to hear the sentence, for no corporal punishment can be given if the guilty party is not present. Then let the notary rise and read the decisions carefully, for the innocent ones first, then for the guilty ones. After he has finished reading, let the lord approve them: he should then order that those who are to be punished in body should be punished immediately, and the others should pay on a set date, and he should give the documentation to the chamberlains of the commune, and dismiss the people.

93. How the lord must take care of community funds

If the day goes by on which the condemned must pay their fines, if they do not pay, then the lord must force them to pay, for it does little
good to condemn them if they do not have to pay. Furthermore, he must see to it that the chamberlains of the commune are well provided with money to make the large and small expenditures required of the commune. 2. But he must often and carefully look over the accounts of the chamberlains, both the income and the expenditures, and see to it that the money of the commune is not spent inappropriately; for if he must restrain himself from spending too much, certainly he must conserve the common treasure, because it is an ugly thing to be miserly with one's own money and generous with another's. 3. Even if he is a big spender of his own money, he must be more careful with that of the commune, and keep and maintain the rights of the commune, the taxes, jurisdictions, lordships, castles, cities, houses, courts, officials, public squares, highways, roads, and all the things which belong to the commune, in such a way that the honor and profit of the city are not diminished, but rather they should increase and grow better in time. In similar fashion the lord should watch over the city, inside and out, especially at night, because of thefts and other terrible crimes.

94. How the lord must protect his residence

Within his residence, the lord must establish his household personnel well and wisely, each one in his place and with his function, and he should instruct some with words and others with the rod, and admonish his serjeant to be moderate in his spending, not in such a way that he can be criticized for avarice, but to maintain his honor, and provide sufficient funds to the people of his residence, so that they lack nothing, because the lack of necessary things could lead him to evil and villainous thoughts.

95. How the lord must seek counsel from his wise men

Therefore he must honor and love all the members of his household, and laugh and have fun with them sometimes, but above all he must love and honor the judges and the notaries of his residence, for they have in their hands the greater part of his honor and of this good ness. For this reason, the wise magistrate must often and carefully, especially on feast days and at night and in the wintertime, gather them together in his chamber or elsewhere, and speak to them about things which pertain to their duties, and learn what they are doing and what disputes have come before them, and inquire concerning the nature of their complaints, and take counsel about the things they must do; for it is a matter of great sense to remember things gone by, and to establish present things, and to prepare for those to come. 2. He must also entreat and admonish them to be the just balance which counterbalances right and wrong, according to God, reason and justice, and to see to it that justice is not sold or exchanged for money, or for love or hatred or for anything else in this world; let him remember then that Our Lord commands: love justice, you who judge the earth. But now the master will be silent about this, and turn to something else.

96. The discord between those who want to be feared and those who want to be loved

In this part the master says that among governors of cities there is often this difference, that some prefer to be feared rather than loved, and others prefer to be loved rather than feared. Those who prefer to be feared rather than loved wish to have the reputation of being harsh, and because they wish to seem harsh and cruel, they impose harsh punishments and bitter torments, and through this they believe that they will be feared more and that the city will be more peaceful. They prove this through the sayings of Seneca, who says that infrequent punishment corrupts a city, and that an abundance of sinners brings about sinful habits, and that a person loses the desire for malice when he is harshly tormented, and that a lenient prince reinforces vice, and the mildness of the lord removes the shame of the evildoer, and the punishment which is established by the lord is more to be feared than the one established by a friend, and the more the punishments are public, the more they serve as examples, and all people fear the harsh and the bold, and the punishment of one is the fear of many. 3. Against this others say that it is better to be loved than feared, because love cannot exist without fear, but fear can easily exist without love. Cicero says that in the world there is no safer thing than to be loved, and no more terrible one than to be feared, for each one hates the one he fears. The person who is hated by all the people will perish, for no wealth can stand up to the hatred of many. Long fear is a poor guardian; cruelty is the enemy of nature. 4. Each person must fear those by whom he wants to be feared, and power which is based on fear will not last long; all punishment must be imposed without wrong, not by the lord, but for the common good; the punishment must not be greater than the fault, and no one must be condemned for the crime of another. All governments must be without
foolishness and without laziness. Cicero says: be careful not to do
anything for which you cannot give a reason. Seneca says that that
person commits a crime who pleases his reputation more than his
conscience, and cruelty is nothing other than pride in great punishments.
That is why I say that the person is cruel who is immoderate in
condemning when he has the chance to do it. 5. Plato says that no wise
man condemns because the sin was committed, but so that it will not be
committed in the future. What difference is there between a king and a
tyrant? They are similar in good fortune and in power, but the tyrant
performs works of cruelty gladly; a king only by necessity. The one is
loved, the other feared. One is considered to be a bad father who always
strikes and hits his child harshly. 6. The surest defense in the world is
the love of one's citizens, for it gives the most beautiful thing in the
world, which is that each person wants you to live. 7. By these words
you can clearly understand this debate, for clemency which is opposed
to cruelty is a restraint to the heart over the punishment it can establish.
Cicero says that the most beautiful thing in a lordship is clemency and
pity. To this is added justice, without which the city cannot be governed.
Seneca says: when I am occupied with watching over the city, I find so
many vices among so many people that to cure the evils of each person
it is necessary that some be healed by anger and others by exile and by
pilgrimages, and others by sorrow, and others by poverty and others by
iron. Were it necessary for me to go to condemn them, I would not go with
fury or cruelty, but along the path of law through the works of wise
men, voice without pride, judgment without anger. And evil people
display the appearance and the disposition of snakes and other poisonous
beasts. 8. It is not necessary that a lord be completely cruel or
completely filled with clemency, for it is just as cruel to forgive all as it
is not to forgive anybody; but it is a work of the greatest clemency to
confound evil deeds by forgiving them. This is why I say that no one
should forgive an evildoer, for the judge is condemned when the evildoer
is acquitted. He must also not be too cruel, for no punishment must be
greater than the crime, or fall upon the person who has done no harm,
for if the punishment is bodily, then it is homicide, and if it is financial,
it is necessary to give it back.

97. The things the lord must observe and do in his government

Remember, then, you who are governing a city, the oath you
took on saintly relics when you took up the duties of your lordship.
98. The things the lord must refrain from doing for his own good

Now the master says that he does not in this last part wish to name the virtues the lord must have, because he has already spoken at length about them in the second part of this book, and for this reason he will refrain from speaking of them here. Nevertheless he will name a few of the vices which the lord must at all costs avoid, both he and his wise men; for there is no doubt that he must avoid the things which he tells others they must avoid, according to what the Apostle says: I correct, said he, my heart first of all, and put it into servitude, so that I am not condemned when I correct others. And Cato says that it is an ugly thing for the master when the fault redounds to him. But to speak of good is praiseworthy if he also does it, for to speak well and to act badly is nothing other than to condemn oneself by one's words. 2. After this he must avoid drunkenness, pride, anger, sorrow, and avarice, envy and lust, for each one of these sins is mortal before both God and men, and they make princes easily fall from their thrones. But he must take great care to avoid speaking too much, for if he speaks little and well, he will be considered to be wiser, and to speak a lot is never without sin. He must also refrain from laughing too much, for it is written that laughter is in the mouth of fools. Nevertheless, he can certainly laugh and play and have fun occasionally, but not in a childish or womanly way, and not in a way which produces false laughs or haughty ones. If he is good in other things, he will be feared all the more when he does not show a happy face, especially when he is seated to hear cases. 3. In the same way, he must not praise himself, for he is praised by the good people, and it should not be a matter of concern to him if he is criticized by bad ones. Let him avoid entertainers who praise him to his face. Let him believe in himself more than in others, and let him be as sad when he is praised by bad people as he would be if he were praised for bad works. He must also avoid spies, and let him not say or do anything that would bring blame upon him if it were known. 4. He must also see to it that justice is not sold for money, for the law says that he who does this should be condemned like a thief. He should also be careful not to be intimate with his subjects, for through this he falls into scorn and suspicion. 5. Similarly, he should avoid receiving presents from anybody within his jurisdiction, because all men who receive gifts or services have sold their freedom and are obligated, as they would be for a debt. Also, let him avoid taking private counsel from anyone in the city, or going riding with him, or going to his house to eat or to drink or to do anything else, because this gives rise to suspicion of him and envy of his citizens.

99. The things the lord must refrain from doing for the common good

Because of the common people he has in his care, the lord must also be very careful to avoid entering into a conspiracy or an arrangement with the other cities and towns of the country, and if it is necessary to do so, let him act through the council of the city and the common assent of the people, for in such a matter one must think and rethink for a long time about establishing these ties which subsequently will require his breaking his faith, or if he does not break it, might bring peril upon him. 2. Similarly let him avoid levying during his term a tax, or making a bill of sale or debt, or any binding commitment for the commune unless it is for the manifest profit of the city and by the common consent of the council.

100. The things the lord must do in times of war

In this part the master will say that in lordships there are two seasons, one of peace and another of war, and because he has spoken sufficiently of the one and the other in the book of vices and virtues, in the chapter on magnificence, he will not say anything else here, except what is necessary for the lord in his office. Certainly if the lord, when he goes to govern the city, finds it in peace, he should be very happy and joyous over this, and he should avoid beginning a war during his term if he at all can, for there are too many perils in war. 2. But if he has to undertake one, let it be done by the common assent of the citizens, and by the establishment of the council and the wise people in the city; but if the war was begun in the days of his predecessors, I advise him to pursue peace, or at least a truce, and if this does not succeed, he must often and seriously ask for the advice of wise men, and spy on the power of his parties and his enemies, and see if it that the city is well protected, both inside and out, as well as the castles and cities which have been entrusted to his protection. 3. He must have around him a group of the wise and valiant men of the city, who know how to wage war, and who always follow his advice, and who are after him captains and leaders in the war; and let him always request his friends and companions and the subjects of the city, some by letters, others by word of mouth, and still others by messengers, to be prepared for battle and for war. 4. After this
he must assemble the people of the city in the main square of the city, or in some other customary place, and speak words of war before them, and remind them of the crimes of the enemy and the rights of the citizens, and describe the prowess and the valor of their ancestors, and their outstanding battles, summon the people to war, exhort them to battle, and order each one to prepare a great quantity of weapons and horses and large and small tents and all things necessary for battle. 5. Such words and others must the lord say to sharpen the courage of the people as much as he possibly can, but let him be very careful not to say a weak word; rather let his face reflect his anger and his ire, with a terrible countenance and a menacing voice. And let his horse neigh and strike its hooves against the ground; and several times before he finishes his speech let him evoke uproar and shouts among the citizens, as if they were assembled for battle. However, he must consider carefully the type of war, for one countenance is necessary among the important people, and another before peers, and another still for people of lower rank. 6. After this assembly, let him have his notary, one who has a clear voice which carries, read aloud the ordinances and chapters of war, and let him arrange, if he possibly can, that there be an evaluator of the crimes committed by the army. When all of this is done, he must with his own hand give the standards and banners, according to the custom of the city. From that time on, let the lord not cease readying himself and all his subjects for war, in such a way that nothing is lacking when the army is assembled and in battle. 7. But the master will say no more about how he should lead the army, and arrange the fields of tents, and keep the army all around, day and night, and how he should arrange the troops, and how he must be everywhere, now here, now there, and how he must protect his person, and not fight unless it is necessary, or how he must watch over his city if it has been besieged, and many other things necessary for war; rather he leaves this up to the lord and his council.

101. General instruction on the provostship

By the instructions in this book each person who looks at it carefully can govern the city in time of peace or war, with the help of God and good counsel. Although there are many instructions, nevertheless there is in lordship such a variety of things that no man alive could write them down or tell them; but in short he must follow the common law and the customs of the city in faith, and conduct his office according to the custom of the country. This is the reason for the popular expression: when you are in Rome, do as the Romans, for each land has its own customs. 2. With regard to crime, he must follow the manner of doctors who give weak medication for minor illnesses, and stronger ones for more serious ones, and for the very worst they use fire and sword; similarly, he should condemn evildoers according to the type of misdeed committed, without forgiving the guilty and without harming the innocent.

102. How the new governor must be elected

When the time comes to think about electing a new lord for the following year, the lord must assemble the council of the city and through them, following the law of the city, find the outstanding men who will amend the constitutions of the city. When he has found them and they have taken their oath, they must be in an isolated place until they finish their task, and as soon as the book is established and drawn up, it must be closed and sealed and put in a protected place until the arrival of the new lord. 2. When these things have been accomplished diligently and put in order, the new lord must be elected according to the procedure the master explained at the beginning of this book. But if the citizens want to keep you as lord for the following year, I suggest that you not accept it, for the second term can be brought to a successful close only with difficulty.

103. How the lord must arrange for the end of his lordship

After this you must assemble the judges and the notaries and all the other officials, and entreat them and admonish them to render decisions for all quarrels and all cases before them, according to equitable judgment, and let them leave nothing to be settled by someone else. You yourself should take counsel with them and think over in your heart if you have caused anyone more or less harm than is right, and if you neglected to do anything which is in the book of the city, and right away see to it that you rectify and fulfill and arrange what you can, either on your own or by the advice of the commune's council; for the wise governor prepares himself ahead of time, or has those who amend the constitutions do it, or even his counsellors, and he makes sure he is not blamed for all those things which happened to the chamberlains of the commune and the other chapters which have remained. 2. Similarly, you must, before the end of your term if necessary, appoint ambassadors by
the will of the commune who will accompany you to your residence, and bring thanks, and greetings, and good testimony concerning you and your good works to the commune of the city. Similarly, you should arrange, through the council of the city, for a house which you can stay in, after your term is over, to give your report. 3. But do not forget this one thing, that ten or eight days before the end of your term you have it announced often and repeatedly that anyone who is owed anything great or small by you or your people should come to get his payment; and see to it that all are well paid. Similarly, be careful to keep one copy of all the chapters and establishments of the council which bear upon you and your oath, so that you can make use of it if you are challenged in any way.

104. What the lord must do the last day in office

When your last day in office arrives, you must assemble the people of the city, and pronounce great and pleasant words before them to acquire the love and the benevolence of the citizens, and remind them of your good deeds, the honor and profit of the commune which they enjoyed during your term, and thank them for the love and honor which they have done to you and to your people, and offer them yourself and your power in their service for the rest of your life. 2. In order to better attract the hearts of the people, you can say that if anyone has broken his oath up to that time, either through laziness or ignorance or something else, that you forgive him, if he is not a murderer or thief or other malefactor or condemned person in the city. 3. But nevertheless, retain the lordship until midnight, when you hand it over to the new provost. 4. After this gathering, on that very day or the following one, according to the custom of the country, you must give to the new lord or chamberlain all the books and all the things which you received from the commune, and then you can go to your residence, in which you shall live while you stay to render your account.

105. How the lord must stay to render his account

When you have reached this point, you must be examined and render an account of your performance for yourself and your people. If someone should complain about you, you must have his written request given to you, and take counsel with your wise men, and answer as they advise you to. In this way, you must remain in the city up to the day which was fixed when you took up your provostship. Then, if it pleases God, you will be honorably absolved, and you will take leave of the council and of the commune of the city, and you will go home in glory and in honor.

Here ends the book of the Treasure which Master Brunetto of Florence made. To God be praise and glory, Amen. May the one who wrote this book go with Jesus Christ, and may all those who read it and abide by it go to paradise, without encountering any hindrance. Say Amen, may God grant it; as I have spoken, so be it. Amen.

Explicit explicit; hibero scriptor eat.