MEDIEVAL LATIN SERIES · VOLUME 96

The Defender of the Peace

Marsilius of Padua · Nicole Oresme

Defensor pacis · De moneta

The Defender of the Peace

Dictiones I and III, with Oresme's Treatise on Money

---

with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order



CANES NOBILES · MMXXVI

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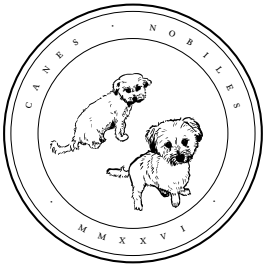

Volume 96 of the Canes Nobiles Medieval Latin interlinear texts

The Medieval Latin text follows C. W. Previté-Orton's
text of the Defensor pacis (Cambridge, 1928),
and Louis Wolowski's of Oresme's treatise on money (Paris, 1864)

Translated and composed with AI, edited by Christopher Hench
Artwork by Esther Steves

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MARSILIUS OF PADUA

Defensor pacis

The Defender of the Peace

Dictio I. Capitulum I. De intentione summaria tractandorum, et causa intentionis, et libri divisione

THE AIM OF THE WORK AND ITS DIVISION

Peace is the mother of the arts, and discord, its opposite, has brought Italy to ruin. Beyond the causes of strife Aristotle described there is one he could not see: a perverse opinion, born of a wonder worked by God, that has long troubled the Roman empire and threatens every kingdom. The author, a son of Antenor, undertakes to expose it for the emperor Louis, in three discourses: reasoned proof, the testimony of Scripture and its approved interpreters, and conclusions for citizens.

Omni quippe regno desiderabilis debet esse tranquillitas, in
for-every indeed kingdom desirable ought to-be tranquility in
qua et populi proficiunt, et utilitas gentium custoditur.
which both the-peoples advance and the-advantage of-nations is-guarded
Haec est enim bonarum artium decora mater. Haec mortalium
this is for of-good arts the-comely mother this of-mortals
genus reparabili successione multiplicans, facultates protendit,
the-race by-renewable succession multiplying the-faculties extends
mores excolit. Et tantarum rerum ignarus agnoscitur, qui
the-morals cultivates and of-so-great things ignorant is-recognized he-who
eam minime quaesisse sentitur. Cassiodorus in prima suarum
it least to-have-sought is-perceived Cassiodorus in the-first of-his
epistolarum, hac serie iam praemissa, tranquillitatis seu
letters with-this train already set-forth of-tranquility or
pacis civilium regiminum commoditates et fructus expressit,
of-peace of-civil regimes the-advantages and fruits expressed
ut per hos tamquam optimos, humanum optimum, eius
that through these as-if the-best the-human best of-it
vitae scilicet sufficientiam explicans, quam sine pace ac
of-life namely the-sufficiency unfolding which without peace and
tranquillitate nemo consequi potest, ad pacem habendam
tranquility no-one to-attain can to peace to-be-had

invicem et hinc tranquillitatem voluntates hominum excitaret.
mutually and hence tranquility the-wills of-men he-might-rouse
In quo beati Iob sententiae pronunciavit conformiter, ubi
in which of-blessed Job to-the-sentence he-pronounced conformably where
xxii° sui capitulo dixit: Habeto pacem, et per hanc
in-the-twenty-second of-his chapter he-said have peace and through it
habebis fructus optimos. Hanc siquidem propterea Christus,
you-will-have fruits best this indeed for-that-reason Christ
Dei filius, sui novi natalis signum et nunciam fore decrevit,
of-God the-son of-his new birth the-sign and messenger to-be decreed
dum militiae caelestis oraculo in eodem voluit decantari:
while of-the-soldiery heavenly by-the-oracle in the-same he-willed to-be-sung
Gloria in altissimis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae
glory in the-highest to-God and on earth peace to-men of-good
voluntatis. Propter hoc etiam idem suis discipulis pacem
will on-account-of this also the-same for-his disciples peace
optabat persaepe. Unde Iohannes: Venit Iesus et stetit in
wished very-often whence John came Jesus and stood in
medio discipulorum et dixit, Pax vobis. De pacis invicem
the-midst of-the-disciples and said peace to-you about of-peace mutual
observatione monens eosdem, dixit in Marco: Pacem habete
the-observance admonishing the-same he-said in Mark peace have
inter vos. Nec solum hanc invicem ipsos habere, verum
among yourselves nor only it mutually themselves to-have but
eandem aliis optare docebat, unde Matthaeus: Intrantes
the-same for-others to-wish he-taught whence Matthew entering
autem in domum, salutate eam dicentes, Pax huic domui.
but into a-house greet it saying peace to-this house
Haec rursum fuit hereditas, quam sibi passionis et mortis
this again was the-inheritance which for-himself of-the-passion and of-death
instante tempore suis discipulis testamento reliquit, dum
with-being-at-hand the-time to-his disciples by-testament he-left while

Iohannis xiv° dixit: Pacem relinquo vobis, pacem
of-John in-the-fourteenth he-said peace I-leave to-you peace
meam do vobis. Cuius instar tamquam veri heredes et
my I-give to-you whose in-likeness as-if true heirs and
ipsius imitatores Apostoli hanc optaverunt, quibus per
his imitators the-Apostles it wished to-those-to-whom through
ipsorum epistolas evangelica documenta et monita dirigebant,
their letters gospel teachings and admonitions they-directed
cognoscentes fructus pacis optimos fore, quemadmodum ex
knowing the-fruits of-peace best to-be as from
Iob inductum est et per Cassiodorum amplius explicatum.
Job brought-in it-is and by Cassiodorus more-fully unfolded
Verum quia contraria per se factiva sunt contrariorum,
but since contraries of themselves productive are of-contraries
ex opposita tranquillitati discordia provenient civili regimini
from the-opposite to-tranquility discord will-come to-the-civil regime
seu regno cuilibet fructus et incommoda pessima, ut
or kingdom any-whatever fruits and disadvantages worst as
videre satis est, et quasi omnibus inoccultum, ab Italico
to-see enough it-is and as-if to-all unhidden from the-Italian
regno. Dum enim ipsius incolae convixerunt pacifice, fructus
kingdom while for its inhabitants lived-together peacefully the-fruits
pacis enumeratos pridem suaviter perceperunt, ex hiis et in
of-peace enumerated before sweetly they-gathered from these and in
hiis proficientes in tantum ut universam habitabilem eorum
these advancing in so-much that the-whole habitable-world their
ditioni subdiderint. Inter ipsos vero discordia seu lite
to-dominion they-subjected among themselves but with-discord or strife
suborta, laboribus et incommodis multimodis vexatum est
arisen with-labors and disadvantages manifold vexed has-been
regnum ipsorum, et alienarum atque invisarum gentium
kingdom their and of-foreign and hated nations

subivit imperium. Sicque etiam rursum propter litem
underwent the-rule and-so also again on-account-of strife
laceratum est undique, quasi solutum, quod occupare volenti
torn it-is on-all-sides as-if loosed so-that to-seize to-one-wishing
et utcumque potenti facilis cuilibet ad ipsum iam patet
and in-any-way able easy to-anyone to it now lies-open
ingressus, nulla siquidem tali eventu admiratione digno,
entrance of-no indeed with-such outcome wonder worthy
quoniam (in hiis quae de Iugurtha) teste Salustio:
since in these-things which about Jugurtha with-witness Sallust
Concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia vero maximae
by-concord small things grow by-discord but the-greatest
dilabuntur. Ob quam quidem in erroris seducti devium,
fall-apart on-account-of which indeed into of-error led-astray the-byway
vita sufficienti privantur indigenae, pro quiete quaesita
of-a-sufficient life are-deprived the-natives for the-quiet sought
labores graviores, pro libertate vero dura iuga tyrannidum
labors heavier for liberty but the-hard yokes of-tyrannies
continuo subeuntes, sicque demum ceteris viventibus civiliter
continually undergoing and-so at-last than-the-others living civilly
infeliciores effecti, ut ipsorum patronymicum nomen, gloriam
more-unhappy made so-that their patronymic name glory
et immunitatem invocantibus praebere solitum, in passionem
and immunity to-those-invoking to-offer wont into a-suffering
ignominiae a reliquis nationibus exprobretur eisdem.
of-ignominy by the-remaining nations be-cast-up against-the-same
In has ergo miseri praecipites feruntur tenebras propter
into these therefore the-wretched headlong are-carried darknesses on-account-of
discordiam seu litem ipsorum invicem, quae, velut animalis
the-discord or strife of-themselves mutual which as of-an-animal
aegritudo, sic prava civilis regiminis dispositio fore
the-sickness so the-wicked of-civil regime disposition to-be

dignoscitur. Cuius quidem etsi causae primitivae sint plures
is-recognized of-which indeed although the-causes original be several
et coniunctae non paucae, quas solitis modis evenire
and joined not few which in-the-usual ways to-happen
possibiles, philosophorum eximius in Civili Scientia omnes
possible of-philosophers the-outstanding in the-Civil Science all
fere descripsit; est tamen extra illas una quaedam singularis
almost described there-is however outside them one a-certain singular
et occulta valde, qua Romanum imperium dudum laboravit,
and hidden very by-which the-Roman empire long has-labored
laboratque continuo, vehementer contagiosa, nil minus et
and-labors continually vehemently contagious nothing less and
prona serpere in reliquas omnes civilitates et regna,
prone to-creep into the-remaining all civil-communities and kingdoms
ipsorumque iam plurima sui aviditate temptavit invadere.
and-of-them already very-many its with-greed it-has-tried to-invade
Hanc siquidem eiusque ortum et speciem nec Aristoteles, aut
this indeed and-its origin and kind neither Aristotle nor
philosophorum alter sui temporis vel prioris, conspicere potuit.
of-philosophers another of-his time or earlier to-perceive could
Est enim haec et fuit opinio perversa quaedam in posteris
is for this and was an-opinion perverse certain in the-later-things
explicanda nobis, occasionaliter autem sumpta, ex effectu
to-be-unfolded by-us occasionally but taken from an-effect
mirabili post Aristotelis tempora dudum a suprema causa
wonderful after of-Aristotle the-times long-ago by the-supreme cause
producto praeter inferioris naturae possibilitatem et causarum
produced beyond of-lower nature the-possibility and of-causes
solitam actionem in rebus. Haec nempe sophistica, honesti
the-usual action in things this namely sophistic of-the-honest
atque conferentis faciem gerens, hominum generi perniciosa
and of-the-advantageous the-face bearing of-men to-the-race pernicious

prorsus existit, omnique civilitati ac patriae, si non
wholly stands and-to-every civil-community and fatherland if not
prohibeatur, nocumentum tandem importabile paritura.
it-be-prohibited harm at-length unbearable about-to-bring-forth
Sunt igitur, ut diximus, pacis seu tranquillitatis fructus
are therefore as we-have-said of-peace or of-tranquility the-fruits
optimi, oppositae vero litis importabilia nocumenta, propter
best of-the-opposite but strife unbearable the-harms on-account-of
quod pacem optare, non habentes quaerere, quaesitam servare,
which peace to-wish not having to-seek the-thing-sought to-keep
litemque oppositam omni conamine repellere debemus. Ad
and-strife opposite with-every effort to-repel we-ought to
ea quoque singuli fratres, eoque magis collegia et
these-things also single brothers and-by-this more colleges and
communitates se invicem iuvare tenentur, tam supernae
communities themselves mutually to-help are-bound as-much of-supernal
caritatis affectu, quam vinculo sive iure societatis humanae.
charity by-the-affection as by-the-bond or right of-society human
Quod etiam Plato nos admonet, teste Tullio De Officiis,
which also Plato us admonishes with-witness Tully On Duties
libro primo cum dixit: Non nobis solum nati sumus, ortusque
in-book first when he-said not for-us alone born we-are and-of-birth
nostri partem patria vendicat, partem amici. Cuius
our a-part the-fatherland claims a-part friends whose
sententiae subdit Tullius consequenter: Atque, ut Stoicis
to-opinion adds Tully next and as to-the-Stoics
placet, quae in terris gignuntur, ad usum hominum
it-pleases the-things-which on earth are-produced for the-use of-men
omnia creari, homines autem hominum causa generatos
all to-be-created men but of-men for-the-sake begotten
esse. In hoc naturam ducem sequi debemus, communes
to-be in this nature as-guide to-follow we-ought common

utilitates in medium afferre. Quodque communis utilitas non
advantages into the-midst to-bring and-that common advantage not
parva foret, quinimo necessitas, iam dictae singularis causae
small would-be nay necessity of-the-now said singular cause
litium, regnis atque communitatibus omnibus nocumenta non
of-strifes to-kingdoms and communities all harms not
parva minantis, reserare sophisma, curam vigilem diligentemque
small threatening to-unlock the-sophism care watchful and-diligent
operam huic praebere tenetur quilibet, commune volens
effort to-this to-offer is-bound anyone the-common wishing
et potens utile cernere; hoc enim immanifesto,
and able the-advantageous to-discern with-this for being-unmanifest
nequaquam pestis haec evitari potest, nec ipsius perniciosus
by-no-means plague this to-be-avoided can nor its pernicious
effectus a regnis seu civilitatibus resecari perfecte.
effect from kingdoms or civil-communities to-be-cut-off perfectly
Non debet autem curam hanc negligere quispiam timore aut
not ought but care this to-neglect anyone from-fear or
segnitie vel quovis alio malignitatis spiritu. Nam ii ad
sloth or any-whatever other of-malignity spirit for second to
Timotheum i°, Non dedit nobis Deus timoris spiritum
Timothy in-the-first not has-given to-us God of-fear a-spirit
sed virtutis et dilectionis: virtutis inquam et dilectionis
but of-power and of-love of-power I-say and of-love
propalandae veritatis, unde subdit ibidem Apostolus: Noli
to-be-made-public of-truth whence adds there the-Apostle do-not
itaque erubescere testimonium Domini nostri; hoc autem fuit
and-so blush-at the-testimony of-the-Lord our this but was
testimonium veritatis, ad quod perhibendum Christus se
the-testimony of-truth for which to-be-borne Christ himself
venisse dixit in mundum, dum Iohannis xviii° inquit:
to-have-come said into the-world while of-John in-the-eighteenth he-says

Ego in hoc natus sum, et ad hoc veni in mundum, ut
I for this born am and for this I-came into the-world that
testimonium perhibeam veritati; ducenti scilicet humanum genus
testimony I-may-bear to-the-truth leading namely the-human race
ad salutem aeternam. Ipsius ergo instar, docendae veritati,
to salvation eternal his therefore in-likeness to-be-taught to-the-truth
qua civilium regiminum iam dicta pestis cessari valeat ab
by-which of-civil regimes the-now said plague to-cease may-avail from
humano maxime Christicolarum genere, veritati inquam ad
the-human most of-Christians race to-the-truth I-say to
salutem civilis vitae ducenti, ad aeternam quoque proficienti
the-salvation of-civil life leading to the-eternal also profiting
non parum, is magis obligatur intendere, cui gratiarum Dator
not a-little he more is-bound to-attend to-whom of-graces the-Giver
harum rerum intelligentiam amplius inspiravit, graviterque velut
of-these things understanding more-fully has-inspired and-gravely as-if
ingratus hoc sciens et potens peccat omittens, teste Iacobo
ungrateful this knowing and able he-sins omitting with-witness James
suae canonicae capitulo iv° cum dixit: Scienti bonum facere
of-his canonical in-chapter fourth when he-said to-one-knowing good to-do
et non facienti, peccatum est illi. Non aliter enim nequitia
and not doing sin it-is to-him not otherwise for wickedness
haec humani generis communis hostis succidetur perfecte,
this of-the-human race the-common enemy will-be-cut-down perfectly
nec perniciosi, quos hactenus produxit, fructus arescent,
nor the-pernicious which hitherto it-has-produced fruits will-wither
nisi suae causae sive radicis primum pandatur et arguatur
unless of-its cause or root first be-laid-open and be-convicted
iniquitas, hac namque via, non alia, tute ingredi potest
the-iniquity by-this for way not another safely to-enter can

principantium coactiva potestas ad huius malitiae patronos
of-those-ruling the-coercive power for of-this malice the-patrons
improbos et defensores pertinaces finaliter expugnandos.
wicked and defenders stubborn finally to-be-conquered
Praemissis itaque Christi, sanctorum, atque philosophorum
to-the-aforesaid and-so of-Christ of-the-saints and of-philosophers
monitis attendens et obsequens, Antenorides ego quidam
the-admonitions heeding and obeying a-son-of-Antenor I a-certain-one
ex intelligentiae rerum harum si qua mihi gratia credita
from of-the-understanding of-things these if any to-me grace entrusted
est, spiritu quoque confidentiae ministrato desursum (a
has-been with-a-spirit also of-confidence furnished from-above from
quo teste Iacobo suae canonicae primo capitulo: Omne
whom with-witness James of-his canonical in-the-first chapter every
datum optimum et omne donum perfectum, desursum
gift best and every gift perfect from-above
descendens est a patre luminum); propter Dantis
descending is from the-father of-lights on-account-of of-the-Giver
reverentiam, propalandae veritatis amorem, patriae ac
reverence to-be-made-public of-truth the-love of-fatherland and
fratrum caritatis fervorem, oppressorum siquidem misericordiam
of-brothers of-charity the-fervor of-the-oppressed indeed pity
et reservationem, opprimentium vero ab erroris devio
and preservation of-the-oppressors but from of-error the-byway
revocationem, eaque permittentium, hiis tamen
recall and-these-things of-those-permitting to-these-things however
obviare debentium atque potentium, excitationem; in te
to-oppose bound and able rousing at you
quoque respiciens singulariter tamquam Dei ministrum
also looking singularly as-if of-God the-minister
huic operi finem daturum, quem extrinsecus optat inesse,
to-this work the-end about-to-give which outwardly it-wishes to-be-in

inclitissime Ludovice, Romanorum Imperator, cui sanguinis
most-renowned Louis of-the-Romans Emperor in-whom of-blood
antiquo speciali quasi quodam iure, nec minus singulari
by-ancient special as-if certain right nor less by-singular
heroica tua indole ac praeclara virtute insitus et firmatus
heroic your disposition and by-illustrious virtue implanted and confirmed
est amor haereses extirpare, catholicam veritatem omnemque
is the-love heresies to-root-out the-catholic truth and-every
aliam studiosam disciplinam extollere atque servare, vitia
other studious discipline to-exalt and to-preserve vices
caedere, studia propagare virtutum, lites extinguere, pacem
to-cut-down the-studies to-propagate of-virtues strifes to-extinguish peace
seu tranquillitatem ubique diffundere ac nutrire; sequentium
or tranquility everywhere to-spread and to-nourish of-the-following
sententiarum summas, post tempus diligentis et intentae
sentences the-sums after a-time of-diligent and intent
perscrutationis, scripturae mandavi, ex ipsis arbitrans
searching to-writing I-have-committed from them judging
iuvamentum quoddam evenire posse tuae vigili maiestati,
help a-certain to-come to-be-able to-your watchful majesty
praescriptis lapsibus atque contingentibus aliis reliquisque
for-the-aforesaid lapses and contingent others and-for-the-remaining
utilitatibus publicis providere curanti.
advantages public to-provide caring
Est ergo propositum meum, auxiliante Deo, singularem hanc
is therefore purpose my with-helping God singular this
litis causam solummodo pandere. Nam earum quae per
of-strife the-cause only to-lay-open for of-those which by
Aristotelem assignatae fuerunt, numerum atque naturam iterare
Aristotle assigned were the-number and nature to-repeat
foret abundans; huius vero quam nec Aristoteles conspicere
would-be superfluous of-this but which neither Aristotle to-perceive

potuit, nec post ipsum qui potuerit determinationem alter
could nor after him who could-have the-determination another
assumpsit, sic volumus revelare velamen, ut a regnis
undertook so we-wish to-reveal the-veil that from kingdoms
seu civilitatibus omnibus deinceps facile possit excludi,
or civil-communities all henceforth easily it-may to-be-shut-out
exclusa vero possint securius studiosi principantes et subditi
shut-out but may more-safely the-studious rulers and subjects
tranquille vivere, quod est desiderabile propositum in huius
tranquilly to-live which is the-desirable purpose at of-this
operis initio, necessarium debentibus civili felicitate
work the-beginning necessary to-those-who-ought by-civil happiness
frui, quae in hoc saeculo possibilium homini desideratorum
to-enjoy which in this world of-the-possible for-man desired-things
optimum videtur et ultimum actuum humanorum.
the-best seems and the-last of-acts human
Propositum itaque mihi iam dictum negotium distinguam
the-proposed and-so to-me now said business I-shall-distinguish
per tres dictiones. In prima quarum demonstrabo
through three discourses in the-first of-which I-shall-demonstrate
intenta viis certis humano ingenio adinventis,
the-things-intended by-ways certain by-human wit discovered
constantibus ex propositionibus per-se-notis cuilibet menti
consisting from propositions self-evident to-any mind
non corruptae natura, consuetudine, vel affectione perversa.
not corrupted by-nature custom or affection perverse
In secunda vero, quae demonstrasse credidero, confirmabo
in the-second but what to-have-demonstrated I-shall-have-believed I-shall-confirm
testimoniis veritatis in aeternum fundatis, auctoritatibus quoque
by-testimonies of-truth for ever founded by-authorities also
sanctorum illius interpretum, necnon et aliorum approbatorum
of-the-saints of-it the-interpreters and-also also of-other approved

doctorum fidei Christianae; ut liber iste sit stans per se,
doctors of-faith Christian that book this be standing by itself
nullius egens probationis extrinsecae. Hinc etiam falsitates
of-no needing proof outside hence also the-falsities
determinationibus meis oppositas impugnabo, et impedientia
to-determinations my opposed I-shall-attack and the-hindering
suis involutionibus adversantium sophismata reserabo. In
with-their windings of-the-adversaries sophisms I-shall-unlock in
tertia siquidem conclusiones quasdam seu perutilia documenta,
the-third indeed conclusions certain or very-useful teachings
civibus tam principantibus quam subiectis observanda,
for-citizens as-much rulers as subjects to-be-observed
inferam, ex praedeterminatis habentia certitudinem
I-shall-bring-in from the-things-determined-before having certainty
evidentem. Unamquamque vero harum dictionum per capitula
evident each but of-these discourses into chapters
secabo, et capitulum quodlibet dividam in certas partes
I-shall-cut and chapter any-whatever I-shall-divide into fixed parts
plures aut pauciores secundum capituli quantitatem; eritque
more or fewer according-to of-the-chapter the-quantity and-will-be
dictarum divisionum utilitas una, facilitas inveniendi quaesita,
of-the-said divisions a-usefulness one the-ease of-finding things-sought
in quae remittentur lectores huius de dictionibus et
to which will-be-referred the-readers of-this from discourses and
capitulis posterioribus ad priora. Ex qua sequetur voluminis
chapters later to the-earlier from which will-follow of-the-volume
abbreviatio utilitas reliqua. Cum enim continget nos in
the-shortening the-usefulness remaining when for it-will-happen us in
posterioribus dictis assumere veritatem aliquam, vel propter
later sayings to-assume truth some either for
ipsam aut propter alia demonstranda, cuius probatio aut
its-own-sake or for other-things to-be-demonstrated whose proof or

certitudo in prioribus sufficienter tradita fuerit, absque
certainty in the-earlier sufficiently handed-down shall-have-been without
probationis nugatione remittemus lectorem ad dictionem,
of-proof trifling we-shall-refer the-reader to the-discourse
capitulum, et partem suae traditionis, ut sic quaesiti
chapter and part of-its handing-down that so of-the-thing-sought
sui certitudinem possit faciliter reperire.
his the-certainty he-may-be-able easily to-find

Capitulum II. De primis quaesitis in hoc libro, et distinctione ac significatorum assignatione huius dictionis regnum

WHAT TRANQUILITY IS, AND THE ORIGIN OF THE CIVIL COMMUNITY

He defines his terms, kingdom among them, and takes the city, with Aristotle, as a kind of living thing: as health is the good disposition of an animal, tranquility is the good disposition of a city, in which each part can do its proper work. Civil communities grew from small beginnings: first the single household ruled by its eldest, then the village, which needed a rule for wrongs, then the city, perfect and self-sufficient, with its arts and parts distinct.

Aggredientes itaque proposita, primum manifestare volumus
approaching and-so the-things-proposed first to-make-plain we-wish
quid sit tranquillitas et intranquillitas regni vel civitatis,
what be tranquility and intranquility of-a-kingdom or of-a-city
horum autem prius tranquillitatem, hac enim non
of-these but first tranquility with-this for not
manifesta intranquillitatem quid sit ignorare necesse est.
made-plain intranquility what it-be to-be-ignorant-of necessary it-is
Et quoniam ambae hae videntur esse dispositiones civitatis
and since both these seem to-be dispositions of-a-city

aut regni, quod ex Cassiodoro supponatur, continuo
or of-a-kingdom which from Cassiodorus let-be-assumed at-once
declarandum manifestabimus consequenter, quid et propter
to-be-declared we-shall-make-plain next what and on-account-of
quid sit regnum aut civitas, unde etiam tranquillitatis et
what be a-kingdom or a-city whence also of-tranquility and
sui oppositi descriptiones apparebunt amplius.
of-its opposite the-descriptions will-appear more-fully
Volentes itaque secundum praemissum ordinem describere
wishing and-so according-to the-premised order to-describe
tranquillitatem civitatis aut regni, ne propter nominum
the-tranquility of-a-city or of-a-kingdom lest on-account-of of-names
multiplicitatem in proposito eveniat ambiguitas, oportet
the-multiplicity in the-matter-proposed arise ambiguity it-behooves
non latere quod haec dictio regnum in una sui significatione
not to-lie-hid that this word kingdom in one of-its signification
importat pluralitatem civitatum seu provinciarum sub uno
imports a-plurality of-cities or of-provinces under one
regimine contentarum; secundum quam acceptionem non
regime contained according-to which acceptation not
differt regnum a civitate in politiae specie, sed magis
differs a-kingdom from a-city in of-polity the-kind but rather
secundum quantitatem. In alia vero sui acceptione significat
according-to quantity in another but of-its acceptation signifies
hoc nomen regnum speciem quandam politiae seu regiminis
this name kingdom a-kind certain of-polity or of-regime
temperati, quam vocat Aristoteles monarchiam temperatam;
tempered which calls Aristotle monarchy tempered
quo modo potest esse regnum in unica civitate sicut
in-which way can to-be a-kingdom in a-single city as
in pluribus, quemadmodum fuit circa ortum communitatum
in several as was about the-rise of-communities

civilium, quasi enim ut in pluribus erat rex unus in
civil as-if for as in most-cases there-was a-king one in
unica civitate. Tertia significatio huius nominis et famosior
a-single city the-third signification of-this name and more-famous
componitur ex prima et secunda. Quarta vero ipsius acceptio
is-composed from the-first and second the-fourth but its acceptation
est commune quiddam ad omnem regiminis temperati
is common something to every of-regime tempered
speciem, sive in unica civitate sive in pluribus civitatibus,
kind whether in a-single city or in several cities
secundum quam significationem sumpsit ipsum Cassiodorus
according-to which signification took it Cassiodorus
in oratione quam posuimus initium huius libri, qua
in the-oration which we-set the-beginning of-this book in-which
etiam utemur hoc nomine in determinationibus quaesitorum.
also we-shall-use this name in the-determinations of-the-things-sought
Debentes itaque describere tranquillitatem et suum oppositum,
being-bound and-so to-describe tranquility and its opposite
suscipiamus cum Aristotele i et v Politicae suae,
let-us-assume with Aristotle in-the-first and fifth of-Politics his
capitulis 2° et 3°, civitatem esse velut animatam seu
in-chapters second and third a-city to-be as-if animate or
animalem naturam quandam. Nam sicuti animal bene
animal nature a-certain for just-as an-animal well
dispositum secundum naturam componitur ex quibusdam
disposed according-to nature is-composed from certain
proportionatis partibus invicem ordinatis, suaque opera
proportioned parts mutually ordered and-their works
sibi mutuo communicantibus et ad totum, sic civitas ex
to-themselves mutually communicating and to the-whole so a-city from
quibusdam talibus constituitur cum bene disposita et instituta
certain such-parts is-constituted when well disposed and instituted

fuerit secundum rationem. Qualis est igitur comparatio
it-shall-have-been according-to reason what-kind is therefore the-relation
animalis et suarum partium ad sanitatem, talis videbitur
of-an-animal and of-its parts to health such will-seem
civitatis sive regni et suarum partium ad tranquillitatem.
of-a-city or of-a-kingdom and of-its parts to tranquility
Huius vero illationis fidem accipere possumus ex eo quod
of-this but inference the-credibility to-receive we-can from this that
de ipsarum utraque comprehendunt omnes. Extimant enim
about of-them each comprehend all think for
sanitatem esse dispositionem animalis optimam secundum
health to-be the-disposition of-an-animal best according-to
naturam, sic quoque tranquillitatem dispositionem optimam
nature so also tranquility the-disposition best
civitatis secundum rationem institutae. Sanitas autem, ut aiunt
of-a-city according-to reason instituted health but as say
peritiores physicorum describentes ipsam, est bona dispositio
the-more-skilled of-physicians describing it is the-good disposition
animalis, qua potest unaquaeque suarum partium perfecte
of-an-animal by-which can each of-its parts perfectly
facere operationes convenientes suae naturae; secundum quam
to-do the-operations befitting to-its nature according-to which
siquidem analogiam erit tranquillitas bona dispositio civitatis
indeed analogy will-be tranquility the-good disposition of-a-city
aut regni, qua poterit unaquaeque suarum partium
or of-a-kingdom by-which will-be-able each of-its parts
facere perfecte operationes convenientes sibi secundum
to-do perfectly the-operations befitting to-itself according-to
rationem et suam institutionem. Et quia bene diffiniens
reason and its institution and since well defining
contraria consignificat, erit intranquillitas prava dispositio
contraries co-signifies will-be intranquility the-bad disposition

civitatis aut regni, quemadmodum infirmitas animalis,
of-a-city or of-a-kingdom as the-infirmity of-an-animal
qua impediuntur omnes aut aliquae partes illius facere
by-which are-hindered all or some parts of-it to-do
opera sibi convenientia, simpliciter vel in complemento.
the-works to-themselves befitting simply or in completion
De tranquillitate quidem igitur et intranquillitate opposita
about tranquility indeed therefore and intranquility opposite
sic figuraliter sit dictum a nobis.
thus figuratively let-it-be said by us

Capitulum III. De origine communitatis civilis.

Chapter III about the-origin of-the-community civil

Quoniam autem tranquillitatem diximus bonam dispositionem
since but tranquility we-have-called the-good disposition
civitatis ad partium opus, oportet consequenter intendere
of-a-city for of-the-parts the-work it-behooves next to-attend
quid et propter quid sit civitas secundum se, quae sint
what and on-account-of what be a-city in itself what be
et quot primae partes ipsius, amplius de uniuscuiusque
and how-many the-first parts of-it further about of-each
ipsarum convenienti opere, adhuc de causis et earum ordine
of-them the-befitting work still about the-causes and their order
invicem; prae opere enim sunt haec ad tranquillitatis
mutually before the-work for are these-things for of-tranquility
et sui oppositi determinationem perfectam.
and of-its opposite the-determination perfect
Ante tamen quam de civitate illiusque speciebus aut modis
before however than about the-city and-its kinds or modes
agamus, quae perfecta communitas est, debemus inducere primo
we-treat which a-perfect community is we-ought to-bring-in first
civilium communitatum originem suorumque regiminum et
of-civil communities the-origin and-of-their regimes and

modorum vivendi. Ex quibus tamquam imperfectis processerunt
of-the-modes of-living from which as-if imperfect proceeded
homines ad perfectas communitates, regimina, et modos
men to perfect communities regimes and modes
vivendi in eis. Nam ex minus perfectis ad perfectiora semper
of-living in them for from less perfect-things to more-perfect always
est naturae atque artis suae imitatricis incessus. Nec homines
is of-nature and of-art its imitator the-advance nor men
aliter scire arbitrantur unumquodque, nisi cum causas illius
otherwise to-know think each-thing except when the-causes of-it
primas et principia prima cognoverint usque ad elementa.
first and the-principles first they-shall-have-known all-the-way to the-elements
Secundum hunc itaque modum ingredientes, oportet non
according-to this and-so way entering it-behooves not
latere, quod communitates civiles secundum diversas regiones
to-lie-hid that communities civil according-to diverse regions
et tempora inceperunt ex parvo, et paulatim suscipientes
and times began from small and little-by-little taking-up
incrementum demum perductae sunt ad complementum,
increase at-last brought were to completion
sicuti evenire iam diximus in omni actione naturae vel
as to-happen already we-have-said in every action of-nature or
artis. Prima namque humanarum et minima combinatio,
of-art the-first for of-human(-combinations) and least combination
ex qua etiam aliae provenerunt, fuit masculi et feminae, ut
from which also others came was of-male and female as
dicit philosophorum eximius i Politicae, capitulo 1°,
says of-philosophers the-outstanding in-the-first of-the-Politics in-chapter first
et apparet hoc amplius ex ipsius Iconomia. Ex hac nempe
and it-appears this more-fully from his Economics from this indeed
propagati sunt homines, qui primo repleverunt domum
propagated were men who first filled house

unam; ex quibus ampliores factae huiusmodi combinationes,
one from which more-ample made of-this-kind combinations
tanta hominum propagatio facta est, ut eis non suffecerit
so-great of-men a-propagation made was that for-them not sufficed
domus unica, sed plures oportuerit facere domos, quarum
a-house single but several it-behooved to-make houses of-which
pluralitas vocata est vicus seu vicinia, et haec fuit prima
the-plurality called was a-village or neighborhood and this was the-first
communitas, sicut scribitur etiam ubi supra.
community as is-written also where above
Verum quamdiu fuerunt homines in unica domo, ipsorum
but as-long-as were men in a-single house their
actus omnes, quos maxime civiles infra vocabimus, regulabantur
acts all which most civil below we-shall-call were-regulated
seniori eorum tamquam discretiore, absque lege tamen aut
by-the-elder of-them as-if the-more-discerning without law however or
consuetudine aliqua, eo quod nondum hae potuerunt inveniri.
custom any for-this that not-yet these could to-be-found
Nec solum autem unicae domus homines regebantur hoc modo,
nor only but of-a-single house the-men were-ruled in-this way
verum etiam quasi eodem prima communitas vocata vicus,
but also as-if in-the-same the-first community called village
licet in aliquibus differenter. Quoniam etsi patrifamiliae
although in some-things differently since even-if for-the-father-of-the-family
domus unicae licuerit remittere vel punire domesticas iniurias
of-house single it-was-allowed to-remit or to-punish domestic injuries
iuxta ipsius votum et beneplacitum omnimode, non tamen
according-to his wish and pleasure in-every-way not however
illi sic licuisset praesidenti primae communitati
for-him so it-would-have-been-allowed presiding over-the-first community
vocatae vico. In hac enim oportuit seniorem disponere
called village in this for it-behooved the-elder to-dispose

iusta et conferentia rationabili aliqua ordinatione vel lege
just-things and advantageous-things by-reasonable some ordinance or law
quasi naturali, ut quia sic omnibus conveniens videbatur
as-if natural as because thus to-all fitting it-seemed
aequitate quadam absque magna exquisitione, solo communi
by-equity a-certain without great inquiry by-alone the-common
dictamine rationis et debito quodam societatis humanae.
dictate of-reason and by-a-duty a-certain of-society human
Huius autem differentiae causa regiminis in domo unica
of-this but difference the-cause of-regime in a-house single
et vicinia est et fuit: quoniam si ex unica et prima
and neighborhood is and was since if from the-single and first
iconomia seu domestica familia frater occidisset aut aliter
household or domestic family a-brother had-killed or otherwise
offendisset fratrem, absque discrimine inde accidente licebat
had-offended a-brother without danger thence happening it-was-allowed
patrifamiliae si volebat delinquentem extremo supplicio
for-the-father-of-the-family if he-wished the-offender with-extreme punishment
non punire, tum quia soli remittenti patri facta videbatur
not to-punish both because to-alone the-remitting father done seemed
iniuria, tum propter hominum paucitatem, tum etiam quia
the-injury and on-account-of of-men the-fewness and also because
patrifamiliae minus erat damni atque tristitiae uno carere
to-the-father-of-the-family less was of-loss and of-sorrow one to-lack
filio quam duobus; quod etiam fecisse videtur primus
son than two which also to-have-done seems first
avus noster Adam, dum filius eius Cain primogenitus Abel
forefather our Adam when son his Cain the-firstborn Abel
fratrem suum occidit. Non enim patris ad filium est
brother his killed not for of-a-father toward a-son is
proprie civile iustum, ut scribitur iv Ethicorum, ubi
properly civil just as is-written in-the-fourth of-the-Ethics where

de iustitia tractatus existit. In communitate vero prima,
about justice the-treatise stands in the-community but first
vico sive vicinia, non sic facere licuit nec liceret
village or neighborhood not so to-do was-allowed nor would-it-be-allowed
propter dissonantiam praedictorum; quinimo nisi per
on-account-of the-dissonance of-the-aforesaid nay unless through
seniorem vindicta seu aequalitas iniuriarum illatarum facta
the-elder vengeance or equality of-injuries inflicted made
fuisset aut fieret, contigisset vel contingeret inde pugna
had-been or were-made would-have-happened or would-happen thence a-fight
et vicinorum separatio.
and of-the-neighbors separation
Multiplicatis autem vicis et facta communitate ampliori, quod
with-multiplied but villages and made a-community more-ample which
oportuit crescente propagatione, adhuc regebantur uno, vel
behooved with-growing propagation still they-were-ruled by-one either
propter defectum pluralitatis prudentum, aut aliam quandam
on-account-of the-lack of-a-plurality of-the-prudent or other some
alteram causam ut scribitur iii Politicae, capitulo 9°, illo
another cause as is-written in-the-third of-the-Politics in-chapter ninth by-him
tamen qui senior aut melior habebatur, quamvis ordinationibus
however who elder or better was-held although by-ordinances
minus imperfectis hiis quibus in vico seu sola vicinia
less imperfect than-those by-which in a-village or alone neighborhood
disponebantur. Nec tamen habuerunt communitates illae primae
they-were-disposed nor however had communities those first
tantam partium distinctionem et ordinem, aut necessariarum
so-great of-parts distinction and order or of-necessary
artium atque regularum vivendi summam, quanta postmodum
arts and of-rules of-living the-sum as-great-as afterward
successive reperta est in communitatibus perfectis. Fuit enim
successively found was in communities perfect was for

quandoque idem homo princeps et agricola seu pastor ovium,
sometimes the-same man prince and farmer or shepherd of-sheep
veluti Abraham et alii posteriorum quamplures; quod tamen
as Abraham and others of-later-men very-many which however
in communitatibus perfectis nec expedit, nec liceret.
in communities perfect neither is-expedient nor would-be-allowed
Augmentatis autem hiis successive, aucta est hominum
with-increased but these-things successively increased was of-men
experientia, inventae sunt artes et regulae ac modi vivendi
the-experience found were arts and rules and modes of-living
perfectiores, distinctae quoque amplius communitatum partes.
more-perfect distinguished also more-fully of-communities the-parts
Demum vero quae necessaria sunt ad vivere et bene
at-last but the-things-which necessary are for living and well
vivere, per hominum rationem et experientiam perducta
living through of-men reason and experience brought
sunt ad complementum, et instituta est perfecta communitas
were to completion and instituted was the-perfect community
vocata civitas cum suarum partium distinctione, cuius
called city with of-its parts distinction of-which
continuo determinationem aggrediemur.
next the-determination we-shall-approach
De ortu itaque civilis communitatis tanta sufficiant.
about the-rise and-so of-civil community so-much may-suffice

Capitulum IV. De causa finali civitatis, et quaesitorum scibilium, et suarum partium distinctione in generali

THE FINAL CAUSE OF THE CITY, AND ITS PARTS

The city exists for living, and for living well, in this world and the next, which philosophy cannot prove. Since quarrels would dissolve a community, it needs a rule of justice and a guardian of it. Its parts answer human needs: farming, the crafts, the military, finance, the ruling part, and the priesthood, whose true necessity reason cannot show; pagan philosophers devised religions to keep men good, but every sect outside the faith the Bible contains erred about God.

Est autem civitas secundum Aristotelem i Politicae,
is but the-city according-to Aristotle in-the-first of-the-Politics
capitulo 1°: Perfecta communitas omnem habens terminum
in-chapter first the-perfect community every having bound
per-se-sufficientiae, ut consequens est dicere, facta quidem igitur
of-self-sufficiency as following it-is to-say made indeed therefore
vivendi gratia, existens autem gratia bene vivendi. Quod
of-living for-the-sake existing but for-the-sake well of-living what
autem dixit Aristoteles, vivendi gratia facta, existens autem
but said Aristotle of-living for-the-sake made existing but
gratia bene vivendi, significat causam finalem ipsius perfectam,
for-the-sake well of-living signifies the-cause final its perfect
quoniam viventes civiliter non solum vivunt, quod faciunt bestiae
since those-living civilly not only live which do beasts
aut servi, sed bene vivunt, vacantes scilicet operibus liberalibus
or slaves but well live being-free namely for-works liberal
qualia sunt virtutum tam practicae quam speculativae animae.
such-as are of-the-virtues as-much practical as speculative of-the-soul

Sic itaque determinata civitate propter vivere et bene
thus and-so with-determined the-city for-the-sake-of living and well
vivere tamquam finem, oportet de ipso vivere ac modis
living as-if the-end it-behooves about the-very living and modes
eius tractare primum. Est enim, ut diximus, cuius gratia
its to-treat first it-is for as we-have-said whose for-the-sake
civitas instituta est et necessitas omnium quae sunt
the-city instituted is and the-necessity of-all-things which are
et fiunt per hominum communicationem in ea. Hoc
and are-done through of-men the-communication in it this
ergo statuamus tamquam demonstrandorum omnium
therefore let-us-set as-if of-the-things-to-be-demonstrated all
principium naturaliter habitum, creditum, et ab omnibus
the-principle naturally held believed and by all
sponte concessum: omnes scilicet homines, non orbatos
willingly granted all namely men not deprived
aut aliter impeditos, naturaliter sufficientem vitam appetere,
or otherwise hindered naturally a-sufficient life to-desire
hinc quoque nociva refugere et declinare; quod etiam
hence also harmful-things to-flee and to-avoid which also
nec solum de homine confessum est, verum de omni
not only about man confessed is but about every
animalium genere secundum Tullium i De Officiis,
of-animals kind according-to Tully in-the-first On Duties
capitulo 3°, ubi sic inquit: Principio generi animantium
in-chapter third where thus he-says from-the-beginning to-the-kind of-animate-beings
omni a natura tributum est, ut se, corpus, vitamque
every by nature granted it-is that itself body and-life
tueatur, declinet ea quae nocitura videantur, omnia
it-protect it-avoid those-things which about-to-harm seem all-things

quae necessaria sunt ad vivendum acquirat et paret. Quod
which necessary are for living it-acquire and prepare which
etiam ex inductione sensata palam quilibet accipere potest.
also from induction of-the-senses openly anyone to-receive can
Vivere autem ipsum et bene vivere conveniens hominibus
to-live but itself and well to-live befitting for-men
est in duplici modo, quoddam temporale sive mundanum,
is in twofold manner a-certain temporal or worldly
aliud vero aeternum sive caeleste vocari solitum. Quodque
the-other but eternal or heavenly to-be-called wont and-since
istud secundum vivere, sempiternum scilicet, non potuit
this second living everlasting namely not could
philosophorum universitas per demonstrationem convincere,
of-philosophers the-whole-body by demonstration to-convince
nec fuit de rebus manifestis per se, idcirco de traditione
nor was among things manifest by itself therefore about the-handing-down
ipsorum quae propter ipsum sint non fuerunt solliciti. De
of-the-things which for-the-sake-of it be not they-were anxious about
vivere autem et bene vivere seu bona vita secundum primum
living but and well living or the-good life according-to the-first
modum, mundanum scilicet, ac de hiis, quae propter
mode worldly namely and about the-things which for-the-sake-of
ipsum necessaria sunt, comprehenderunt per demonstrationem
it necessary are they-comprehended through demonstration
Philosophi gloriosi rem quasi completam. Unde propter
the-Philosophers glorious the-thing as-if complete whence for
ipsum consequendum concluserunt ipsi necessitatem civilis
it to-be-attained they-concluded they the-necessity of-civil
communitatis, sine qua vivere hoc sufficiens obtineri non
community without which living this sufficient to-be-obtained not
potest. Quorum etiam eximius Aristoteles, i suae
can of-whom also the-outstanding Aristotle in-the-first of-his

Politicae, capitulo 1°, dixit: Omnes homines ferri ad
Politics in-chapter first said all men to-be-borne toward
ipsam, et secundum naturae impetum propter hoc. Quod
it and according-to of-nature the-impulse on-account-of this which
quamvis experientia sensata doceat, eius tamen causam quam
although experience of-the-senses teach its however cause which
diximus inducere volumus distincte magis, dicentes: quod quia
we-have-said to-bring-in we-wish distinctly more saying that because
homo nascitur compositus ex contrariis elementis, propter
man is-born composed from contrary elements on-account-of
quorum contrarias actiones et passiones quasi continue
whose contrary actions and passions as-if continually
corrumpitur aliquid ex sua substantia; rursumque quoniam
is-corrupted something of his substance and-again since
nudus nascitur et inermis ab excessu continentis aeris et
naked he-is-born and unarmed by the-excess of-the-surrounding air and
aliorum elementorum, passibilis et corruptibilis, quemadmodum
of-other elements passible and corruptible as
dictum est in scientia naturarum; indiguit artibus diversorum
said it-is in the-science of-natures be-needed arts of-diverse
generum et specierum ad declinandum nocumenta praedicta.
kinds and species for avoiding the-harms aforesaid
Quae quoniam exerceri non possunt nisi a multa
which since to-be-exercised not can except by a-great
hominum pluralitate, nec haberi nisi per ipsorum invicem
of-men plurality nor to-be-had except through their mutual
communicationem, oportuit homines simul congregari ad
communication it-behooved men together to-be-gathered for
commodum ex hiis assequendum et incommodum fugiendum.
the-advantage from these to-be-attained and the-disadvantage to-be-fled

Verum quia inter homines sic congregatos eveniunt
but since among men thus gathered arise
contentiones et rixae, quae per normam iustitiae non
contentions and quarrels which by the-norm of-justice not
regulatae causarent pugnas et hominum separationem et sic
regulated would-cause fights and of-men separation and so
demum civitatis corruptionem, oportuit in hac communicatione
at-last of-the-city the-corruption it-behooved in this communication
statuere iustorum regulam et custodem sive factorem. Et
to-establish of-just-things a-rule and a-guardian or maker and
quoniam custos hic habet arcere iniuriosos excedentes, et
since the-guardian this has to-restrain the-injurious exceeding and
alios tam intrinsecus quam extrinsecus singulos turbantes
others as-much within as without single disturbing
aut communitatem opprimere temptantes, oportuit civitatem
or the-community to-oppress attempting it-behooved the-city
ad hos habere in se aliquid quo resistat. Rursumque
against these to-have in itself something by-which it-may-resist and-again
quoniam indiget communitas aliquibus opportunitatibus,
since needs the-community some opportunities
reparationibus, et custodiis communium rerum quarundam,
repairs and custodies of-common things certain
et aliis tempore pacis aliisque tempore bellico, necesse
and other-things in-time of-peace and-others in-time of-war necessary
fuit in ea esse talium provisores ut communi necessitati,
it-was in it to-be of-such-things providers that to-the-common necessity
cum expediverit vel oportuerit, succurri possit.
when it-shall-have-been-expedient or it-shall-have-behooved to-be-succored it-may-be-able
Extra haec autem iam dicta, quae solum necessitati
beyond these-things but already said which only to-the-necessity
praesentis vitae succurrunt, est aliud quo indigent
of-present life come-to-help is another-thing which need

communicantes civiliter pro statu futuri saeculi, per
those-communicating civilly for the-state of-the-future world through
Dei revelationem supernaturalem humano generi promisso,
of-God revelation supernatural to-the-human race promised
et utile etiam pro statu vitae praesentis, cultus videlicet
and useful also for the-state of-life present the-worship namely
ac Dei honoratio, et gratiarum actio exhibenda tam
and of-God the-honoring and of-thanks the-giving to-be-shown as-much
pro receptis in hoc saeculo beneficiis quam pro recipiendis
for received in this world benefits as for to-be-received
etiam in futuro; ad quae docenda et in ipsis homines
also in the-future for which to-be-taught and in them men
dirigendos oportuit civitatem quosdam determinare doctores.
to-be-directed it-behooved the-city certain to-appoint teachers
De quibus omnibus et reliquis supra dictis, quae sint
about which all and the-remaining above said what they-are
aut qualia, in sequentibus tractatibus exquisite dicetur.
or what-kind in the-following treatises precisely it-will-be-said
Fuerunt igitur homines propter sufficienter vivere congregati,
were therefore men for-the-sake-of sufficiently living gathered
potentes sibi quaerere necessaria numerata pridem, illa
able for-themselves to-seek the-necessities enumerated before them
sibi communicantes invicem. Haec autem congregatio,
to-themselves communicating mutually this but gathering
sic perfecta et terminum habens per-se-sufficientiae, vocata
thus perfect and bound having of-self-sufficiency called
est civitas, cuius siquidem finalis causa et suarum partium
was a-city whose indeed final cause and of-its parts
pluralitatis iam dicta est aliqualiter nobis et in sequentibus
of-the-plurality already said is somewhat by-us and in the-following
amplius distinguetur. Nam quia diversa sunt necessaria
more-fully will-be-distinguished for since diverse are the-necessities

volentibus sufficienter vivere, quae per homines unius
to-those-wishing sufficiently to-live which through men of-one
ordinis seu officii procurari nequeunt, oportuit esse diversos
order or office to-be-procured cannot it-behooved to-be diverse
ordines hominum seu officia in hac communicatione, diversa
orders of-men or offices in this communication diverse-things
huiusmodi exercentes seu procurantes, quibus pro vitae
of-this-kind exercising or procuring which for of-life
sufficientia homines indigent. Hi autem hominum diversi
the-sufficiency men need these but of-men diverse
ordines seu officia non aliud sunt quam pluralitas et
orders or offices not other-thing are than the-plurality and
distinctio partium civitatis.
distinction of-the-parts of-the-city
Quid quidem igitur sit civitas, et propter quid facta sit
what indeed therefore be a-city and on-account-of what made be
talis communicatio, amplius de suarum partium pluralitate
such a-communication further about of-its parts the-plurality
atque divisione, sic figuraliter pertransisse sufficiat.
and division thus figuratively to-have-passed-through let-it-suffice
Capitulum V. De distinctione ac assignatione partium
Chapter V about the-distinction and assignment of-the-parts
civitatis, et ipsarum inexistentiae ac separationis necessitate,
of-the-city and of-their being-in and of-separation the-necessity
propter finem ab humana inventione assignari possibilem.
on-account-of the-end by human invention to-be-assigned possible
Postquam praemissus est a nobis totalis sermo de
after set-forth has-been by us the-whole discourse about
partibus civitatis, in quarum actione ac communicatione
the-parts of-the-city in whose action and communication
perfecta invicem, nec extrinsecus impedita, tranquillitatem
perfect mutually nor from-without hindered the-tranquility

civitatis consistere diximus, ut earum ampliori determinatione,
of-the-city to-consist we-have-said that their by-fuller determination
tam ex operibus seu finibus quam aliis appropriatis
as-much from the-works or ends as from-other appropriate
causis ipsarum, causae tranquillitatis et sui oppositi
causes their the-causes of-tranquility and of-its opposite
manifestentur amplius, de ipsis resumentes, dicamus quod
may-be-made-plain further about them resuming let-us-say that
partes seu officia civitatis sunt sex generum, ut dixit
the-parts or offices of-the-city are of-six kinds as said
Aristoteles, vii Politicae, capitulo 7°: agricultura,
Aristotle in-the-seventh of-the-Politics in-chapter seventh agriculture
artificium, militaris, pecuniativa, sacerdotium, et iudicialis seu
craft the-military the-financial the-priesthood and the-judicial or
consiliativa. Quorum tria, videlicet sacerdotium, propugnativa,
deliberative of-which three namely the-priesthood the-defensive
et iudicialis, simpliciter sunt partes civitatis, quas etiam
and the-judicial simply are parts of-the-city which also
in communitatibus civilibus honorabilitatem dicere solent.
in communities civil the-honorable-class to-call they-are-wont
Reliqua vero dicuntur partes large, ut quia sunt officia
the-remaining but are-called parts broadly as because they-are offices
necessaria civitati secundum Aristotelis sententiam, vii
necessary to-the-city according-to of-Aristotle the-opinion in-the-seventh
Politicae, capitulo 7°. Et solet horum multitudo dici
of-the-Politics in-chapter seventh and is-wont of-these the-multitude to-be-called
vulgaris. Sunt igitur hae partes famosiores civitatis seu
the-common-people are therefore these the-parts more-famous of-the-city or
regni, ad quas omnes aliae convenienter reduci possunt.
of-the-kingdom to which all others fittingly to-be-reduced can

Quarum siquidem necessitas licet utcumque dicta fuerit
of-which indeed the-necessity although in-some-way said it-has-been
capitulo praecedenti, volumus tamen hanc rursum dicere
in-the-chapter preceding we-wish however it again to-say
distincte magis, suscipientes tamquam prius demonstratum ex
distinctly more assuming as-if before demonstrated from
per-se-noto, civitatem scilicet communitatem esse institutam
the-self-evident the-city namely a-community to-be instituted
propter vivere et bene vivere hominum in ea. Quod quidem
for-the-sake-of the-living and well living of-men in it which indeed
vivere duobus modis determinavimus prius: uno namque, vita
living in-two ways we-determined before in-one for the-life
seu vivere huius saeculi, mundano videlicet, alio vero, vita
or living of-this world worldly namely in-the-other but the-life
seu vivere alterius saeculi sive futuri. Ex quibus siquidem
or living of-another world or future from which indeed
vivendi modis, desideratis homini velut finibus, assignabimus
of-living modes desired for-man as-if ends we-shall-assign
necessitatem distinctionis partium communitatis civilis. Vivere
the-necessity of-the-distinction of-the-parts of-the-community civil living
igitur hominis primo modo, mundanum scilicet, quandoque
therefore of-man in-the-first mode the-worldly namely sometimes
accipitur pro esse viventium, ut in ii De Anima:
is-taken for the-being of-the-living as in the-second On the-Soul
Vivere viventibus est esse; quo modo vita nil aliud est
to-live for-the-living is to-be in-which way life nothing other is
quam anima. Quandoque vero accipitur vivere pro actu seu
than soul sometimes but is-taken living for the-act or
actione aut passione animae sive vitae. Rursum utrumque
action or passion of-the-soul or of-life again each
horum dupliciter, quoniam aut in eodem esse numerali,
of-these doubly since either in the-same being numerical

vel in consimili, quod dicunt specificum. Et licet vivere
or in a-like-one which they-call specific and although living
unoquoque modorum dictorum, tam homini proprium quam
in-each of-the-modes said as-much to-man proper as
sibi et reliquis animantium commune, dependeat a
to-himself and to-the-remaining of-animals common depend on
causis naturalibus, non tamen est ipsius consideratio praesens
causes natural not however is its consideration present
in quantum provenit ab illis, sed in ea quae de plantis
in so-far-as it-comes from them but in that which about plants
et animalibus scientia naturali; de ipsis autem secundum
and animals science natural about them but according-to
quod ab arte ac ratione, quibus hominum genus vivit,
that from art and reason by-which of-men the-race lives
suscipiunt complementum, est nobis perscrutatio praesens.
they-receive completion is for-us the-searching present
Et propterea oportet attendere, quod si debeat homo vivere
and therefore it-behooves to-attend that if ought man to-live
et bene vivere, necesse est ut ipsius actiones fiant et
and well to-live necessary it-is that his actions be-done and
bene fiant, nec solum actiones, verum etiam passiones, bene
well be-done nor only actions but also passions well
inquam, id est in temperamento convenienti. Et quoniam
I-say that is in tempering fitting and since
ea quibus haec temperamenta complentur, non accipimus
the-things by-which these temperings are-completed not we-receive
a natura omniquaque perfecte, necessarium fuit homini
from nature in-every-way perfectly necessary it-was for-man
ultra causas naturales per rationem aliqua formare, quibus
beyond causes natural through reason some-things to-form by-which
compleatur efficientia et conservatio suarum actionum et
be-completed the-efficiency and preservation of-his actions and

passionum secundum corpus et animam. Et haec sunt
passions according-to body and soul and these are
operum et operatorum genera, provenientium a virtutibus
of-works and of-things-wrought the-kinds coming from the-virtues
et artibus tam practicis quam speculativis.
and arts as-much practical as speculative
Actionum autem humanarum et suarum passionum quaedam
of-the-actions but human and of-their passions certain
proveniunt a causis naturalibus praeter cognitionem, quales
come from causes natural apart-from knowledge such-as
fiunt per elementorum contrarietatem nostra componentium
are-done through of-the-elements the-contrariety our composing
corpora propter ipsorum permixtionem. In quo genere
bodies on-account-of their mixture in which kind
reponi possunt convenienter actiones particulae nutritivae.
to-be-placed can fittingly the-actions of-the-part nutritive
Quod etiam capitulum ingrediuntur actiones, quas faciunt
which also heading enter the-actions which make
elementa nostrum corpus continentia per alterationem suarum
the-elements our body surrounding through the-alteration of-their
qualitatum; de quorum genere sunt etiam alterationes quae
qualities of whose kind are also the-alterations which
fiunt ab ingredientibus humana corpora, veluti sunt cibi,
are-made by the-things-entering human bodies as are foods
potus, medicinae, venena, et reliqua similia hiis. Aliae vero
drinks medicines poisons and the-remaining like to-these others but
sunt actiones et passiones a nobis vel in nobis per virtutes
are actions and passions by us or in us through powers
nostras cognoscentes et appetentes, quarum quaedam vocantur
our knowing and desiring of-which certain are-called
immanentes, ut quia non transeunt in aliud subiectum a
immanent as because not they-pass into another subject from

faciente, nec exercentur per aliquod exteriorum organorum
the-doer nor are-exercised through any of-the-exterior organs
seu membrorum motorum secundum locum, ut sunt
or members moved according-to place as are
cogitationes et hominum desideria seu affectiones. Aliae vero
thoughts and of-men desires or affections others but
sunt et dicuntur transeuntes, quia modo altero vel utroque
are and are-called transient because in-manner one or each
praedictorum opposite se habent immediate praedictis.
of-the-aforesaid oppositely themselves they-hold immediately to-the-aforesaid
Propter has ergo temperandas actiones et passiones omnes
for these therefore to-be-tempered actions and passions all
atque complendas in eo ad quod natura producere nequit,
and to-be-completed in that to which nature to-produce cannot
inventa fuerunt artificiorum diversa genera et reliquarum
found were of-crafts diverse kinds and of-the-remaining
virtutum, quemadmodum diximus prius, institutique sunt
virtues as we-have-said before and-instituted were
homines diversorum officiorum ad illa exercenda propter
men of-diverse offices for them to-be-exercised for
supplendam humanam indigentiam; qui ordines nihil aliud sunt
to-be-supplied human need which orders nothing other are
quam partes civitatis enumeratae pridem. Ad temperandos enim
than the-parts of-the-city enumerated before for to-be-tempered for
atque salvandos actus nutritivae partis animae, quo cessante
and to-be-preserved the-acts of-the-nutritive part of-the-soul with-which ceasing
simpliciter corrumperetur animal secundum individuum et
simply would-be-corrupted the-animal according-to individual and
speciem, instituta fuit agricultura camporum et cura pecorum,
species instituted was the-agriculture of-fields and the-care of-cattle
ad quas convenienter reducuntur omnes species venativae
to which fittingly are-reduced all kinds of-hunting

terrestrium, aquatilium, et volatilium animalium, et omnes
of-land of-water and of-flying animals and all
aliae artes, quibus acquiritur alimentum commutatione aliqua
other arts by-which is-acquired food by-exchange some
vel paratur ad esum, ut per ipsum reparetur tandem quod
or is-prepared for eating that through it be-restored at-length what
deperditur ex substantia nostri corporis, et per id continuetur
is-lost from the-substance of-our body and through it be-continued
etiam in esse suo immortali quantum homini natura permisit.
also in being its immortal as-far-as to-man nature has-permitted
Ad moderandas vero actiones et passiones nostri corporis ab
for to-be-moderated but the-actions and passions of-our body by
hiis, quae nos extrinsecus continent, elementis et ipsorum
those which us from-without surround elements and their
impressionibus, inventum fuit genus mechanicarum, quas
impressions found was the-kind of-mechanics which
Aristoteles vii Politicae, capitulo 6°, vocat artes, sicuti
Aristotle in-the-seventh of-the-Politics in-chapter sixth calls arts as
lanificium, coriaria, sutoriae, et omnes domificativae species,
wool-working tanning shoemaking and all of-building kinds
et universaliter omnes aliae mechanicae aliis subservientes
and universally all other mechanics to-other serving
officiis civitatis, mediate aut immediate, nec solum moderativae
offices of-the-city mediately or immediately nor only moderating-ones
tactus aut gustus, verum etiam aliorum sensuum, quae magis
of-touch or of-taste but also of-the-other senses which more
sunt ad voluptatem et bene vivere quam ad vitae necessitatem,
are for pleasure and well living than for of-life the-necessity
velut pictoria cum sibi similibus, de quibus Aristoteles
as painting with to-itself like-ones about which Aristotle
iv Politicae, capitulo 3°, inquit: Harum autem artium
in-the-fourth of-the-Politics in-chapter third says of-these but arts

has ex necessitate oportet existere, has autem ad delicias
these from necessity it-behooves to-exist these but for delights
et bene vivere. Sub quo etiam genere reponitur medicinalis
and well living under which also kind is-placed medicinal
practica, architectonica, quodammodo ad plures praedictarum.
practice architectonic in-a-certain-way to several of-the-aforesaid
Ad moderandos autem excessus actuum qui sunt a virtutibus
for to-be-moderated but the-excesses of-the-acts which are from the-powers
motivis secundum locum per cognitionem et appetitum,
motive according-to place through knowledge and appetite
quos transeuntes diximus, et qui possibiles sunt fieri ad
which transient we-have-called and which possible are to-be-done for
commodum vel incommodum seu iniuriam alterius a faciente
the-advantage or disadvantage or injury of-another from the-doer
pro statu praesentis saeculi, statuta fuit necessario in civitate
for the-state of-the-present world established was necessarily in the-city
pars aliqua seu officium, per quam excessus talium actuum
a-part some or office through which the-excesses of-such acts
corrigantur, et ad aequalitatem aut proportionem debitam
may-be-corrected and to equality or proportion due
reducantur, aliter namque causaretur ex hiis pugna et inde
be-reduced otherwise for would-be-caused from these a-fight and thence
civium separatio, demum civitatis corruptio et vitae sufficientis
of-citizens separation at-last of-the-city corruption and of-life sufficient
privatio. Haec autem pars ab Aristotele vocata est iudicialis
privation this but part by Aristotle called is the-judicial
seu principans et consiliativa, cum sibi subservientibus,
or ruling and deliberative with to-itself the-serving-ones
cuius est iusta et conferentia communia regulare.
whose it-is the-just-things and advantageous common to-regulate

Ceterum quia sufficiens vita duci non posset oppressis
moreover since sufficient life to-be-led not could with-oppressed
civibus, aut in servitutem redactis per extrinsecos oppressores;
citizens or into servitude reduced by outside oppressors
rursum quoniam iudicum sententias ad iniuriosos et rebelles
again since of-the-judges the-sentences against the-injurious and rebels
intrinsecos oportet exequi per potentiam coactivam,
within it-behooves to-be-carried-out through power coercive
necesse fuit in civitate militarem seu propugnativam partem
necessary it-was in the-city a-military or defensive part
statuere, cui etiam mechanicarum multae subserviunt. Est
to-establish which also of-the-mechanics many serve is
enim civitas vivendi et bene vivendi gratia constituta,
for the-city of-living and well of-living for-the-sake constituted
quemadmodum dictum est capitulo praecedenti; quod
as said it-is in-the-chapter preceding which
impossibile est civibus in servitutem redactis. Hoc enim
impossible is for-citizens into servitude reduced this for
dixit eximius Aristoteles esse contra naturam civitatis. Unde
said the-outstanding Aristotle to-be against the-nature of-the-city whence
iv Politicae, capitulo 3°, necessitatem huius partis
in-the-fourth of-the-Politics in-chapter third the-necessity of-this part
assignans, ait: Quintum autem genus quod propugnans, quod
assigning he-says the-fifth but kind which defending which
hiis quidem nihilominus necessarium est existere, si debeant
for-these indeed nonetheless necessary is to-exist if they-ought
non servire invadentibus. Nihil enim verius impossibilium
not to-serve the-invaders nothing for more-true of-impossibilities
quam dignum esse vocare civitatem natura servam:
than worthy to-be to-call a-city by-nature slavish
per-se-sufficiens enim est civitas, quod autem servum non
self-sufficient for is the-city which but slavish not

per-se-sufficiens. Huius vero partis necessitas propter rebelles
self-sufficient of-this but part the-necessity on-account-of the-rebels
intrinsecos habetur ab Aristotele vii Politicae, capitulo
within is-held by Aristotle in-the-seventh of-the-Politics in-chapter
6°. Seriem autem hic omisimus propter abbreviationem,
sixth the-series but here we-have-omitted on-account-of abbreviation
et quia ipsam inducemus xiv° huius, parte 8ª.
and because it we-shall-bring-in in-the-fourteenth of-this in-part eighth
Rursumque quoniam in annis mundanis quandoque sunt
and-again since in years worldly sometimes are
fructuum fertilitates, quandoque sterilitates; adhuc quia civitas
of-fruits fertilities sometimes sterilities further because the-city
quandoque pacifice disponitur ad vicinas, quandoque aliter;
sometimes peacefully is-disposed toward neighbors sometimes otherwise
suntque ipsius aliae communes opportunitates, quibus indiget,
and-there-are its other common needs which it-needs
ut viarum, pontium, et aliorum aedificiorum constructiones
as of-roads of-bridges and of-other buildings the-constructions
aut reparationes, et reliquae consimiles, quas nec
or repairs and the-remaining like-ones which neither
opportunum hic est nec breve foret numerare; oportuit
opportune here it-is nor brief would-it-be to-number it-behooved
pro hiis parandis convenienti tempore in civitate statuere
for these to-be-prepared at-fitting time in the-city to-establish
partem thesaurizantem, quam vocavit Aristoteles pecuniativam.
a-part treasuring which called Aristotle the-financial
Haec enim pecunias, blada, vina, olea, et reliqua necessaria
this for moneys grain wines oils and the-remaining necessities
congregat et custodit, et communia conferentia undecumque
gathers and guards and common advantageous-things from-wherever
procurat, et quaerit ad succurrendum futurae necessitati;
procures and seeks for helping the-future necessity

cui etiam subserviunt aliarum quaedam. Vocavit autem hanc
which also serve of-the-others certain called but this
Aristoteles pecuniativam, quoniam pecuniarum custodia videtur
Aristotle the-financial since of-moneys the-custody seems
thesaurus omnium, eo quod in ipsas omnia commutantur.
the-treasure of-all for-this that into them all-things are-exchanged
Superest autem nobis de sacerdotalis partis necessitate dicere,
remains but for-us about of-the-priestly part the-necessity to-speak
de qua non omnes homines sic senserunt concorditer ut
about which not all men so have-thought harmoniously as
de necessitate reliquarum partium civitatis. Et causa huius
about the-necessity of-the-remaining parts of-the-city and the-cause of-this
fuit quoniam ipsius vera et prima necessitas non potuit
was since its true and first necessity not could
comprehendi per demonstrationem, nec fuit res manifesta
to-be-comprehended through demonstration nor was a-thing manifest
per se. Convenerunt tamen omnes gentes in hoc, quod ipsum
by itself agreed however all nations in this that it
conveniens sit instituere propter Dei cultum et honorationem,
fitting be to-institute for of-God the-worship and honoring
et consequens inde commodum pro statu praesentis saeculi
and the-following thence advantage for the-state of-the-present world
vel venturi. Plurimae enim legum, sive sectarum, bonorum
or the-coming the-most for of-the-laws or sects of-the-good
praemium et malorum operatoribus supplicium in futuro
reward and of-the-evil for-the-doers punishment in the-future
saeculo promittunt distribuenda per Deum.
world promise to-be-distributed through God
At extra causas positionis legum, quae absque demonstratione
but beyond the-causes of-the-positing of-laws which without demonstration
creduntur, attenderunt philosophantes convenienter valde
are-believed attended philosophers fittingly very

aliam et pro huius saeculi statu quasi necessariam causam
another and for of-this world the-state as-if necessary cause
traditionis legum divinarum sive sectarum, ex quibus fuit
of-the-handing-down of-laws divine or sects of whom was
Hesiodus, Pithagoras, et aliorum antiquorum quamplures.
Hesiod Pythagoras and of-other ancients very-many
Haec autem fuit bonitas humanorum actuum monasticorum
this but was the-goodness of-human acts individual
et civilium, a quibus quies seu tranquillitas communitatum,
and civil from which the-quiet or tranquility of-communities
et demum sufficiens vita praesentis saeculi, quasi tota
and at-last the-sufficient life of-the-present world as-if wholly
dependet. Nam licet philosophorum aliqui, talium legum sive
depends for although of-the-philosophers some of-such laws or
sectarum adinventores, non senserint aut crediderint hominum
sects inventors not thought or believed of-men
resurrectionem et illam vitam quae vocatur aeterna, ipsam
the-resurrection and that life which is-called eternal it
tamen esse finxerunt et persuaserunt, et in ipsa delectationes
however to-be they-feigned and persuaded and in it delights
et tristitias secundum qualitates humanorum operum in
and sorrows according-to the-qualities of-human works in
hac vita mortali, ut ex hoc inducerent hominibus
this life mortal that from this they-might-bring-in to-men
Dei reverentiam et timorem, desiderium fugiendi vitia et
of-God reverence and fear the-desire of-fleeing vices and
colendi virtutes. Sunt enim actus quidam quos legislator
of-cultivating virtues there-are for acts certain which the-legislator
humana lege regulare non potest, ut qui alicui non possunt
by-human law to-regulate not can as which to-anyone not can
probari adesse vel abesse, quos tamen non potest
to-be-proved to-be-present or to-be-absent which however not can

latere Deum, quem finxerunt ipsi talium legum latorem et
to-escape God whom feigned they of-such laws the-maker and
praeceptorem observationis ipsarum, sub aeternae poenae vel
the-commander of-the-observance of-them under of-eternal punishment or
praemii comminatione vel promissione bonorum aut malorum
reward the-threat or promise of-good or of-evil
operatoribus. Unde dixerunt de differenter studiosis in hoc
to-the-doers whence they-said about the-differently studious in this
saeculo, quod locabantur in firmamento caeli. Et hinc
world that they-were-placed in the-firmament of-heaven and hence
fortasse provenerunt nomina quibusdam astris et figuris
perhaps came the-names to-certain stars and figures
caelestibus. Agentium vero perverse quorundam dixerunt
heavenly of-those-acting but perversely of-certain they-said
animas diversa brutorum ingredi corpora, puta porcorum
the-souls diverse of-brutes to-enter bodies for-instance of-pigs
qui intemperati fuerant secundum gustum, hircorum qui
those-who intemperate had-been according-to taste of-goats those-who
secundum tactum et venerea, sicque reliquorum in reliqua,
according-to touch and venereal-things and-so of-the-remaining into the-remaining
iuxta proportiones humanorum vitiorum ad damnabiles
according-to the-proportions of-human vices to the-damnable
eorum proprietates. Sic etiam varia tormentorum assignaverunt
their properties so also various of-torments assigned
genera pravorum operatoribus, quomodo intemperato Tantalo
kinds of-the-wicked to-the-doers as to-intemperate Tantalus
sitim et famem perpetuam, aquam et poma praesentia quae
thirst and hunger perpetual water and fruits present which
nec bibere aut manducare potest, semper amplius fugientia
neither to-drink nor to-eat he-can always more fleeing
quam persequi possit. Dixerunt quoque Tartara loca quaedam
than to-pursue he-can they-said also Tartarus places certain

talium tormentorum voraginosa et tenebrosa, terribilibus et
of-such torments gulf-like and dark with-terrible and
contristativis quasi omnibus intentionibus talia describentes.
saddening as-if all intentions such-things describing
Ex quorum terrore fugiebant homines perverse agere,
from whose terror fled men perversely to-act
ad studiosa quoque operum, pietatis et misericordiae,
to the-studious-things also of-works of-piety and of-mercy
excitabantur, ad seipsos atque alios disponebantur bene.
they-were-roused toward themselves and others they-were-disposed well
Cessabantque propter haec in communitatibus multae
and-ceased on-account-of these-things in communities many
contentiones et iniuriae. Unde pax etiam seu tranquillitas
contentions and injuries whence peace also or tranquility
civitatum et vita hominum sufficiens pro statu praesentis
of-cities and life of-men sufficient for the-state of-the-present
saeculi difficile minus servabatur, quod expositione talium
world with-difficulty less was-kept which by-the-exposition of-such
legum sive sectarum sapientes illi finaliter intendebant.
laws or sects wise-men those finally intended
Fuit ergo gentilium sacerdotum traditio talium
was therefore of-the-gentile priests the-handing-down of-such
praeceptorum, ad quae docenda statuere in suis
precepts for which to-be-taught they-established in their
communitatibus templa in quibus colebantur ipsorum dii;
communities temples in which were-worshiped their gods
statuerunt etiam doctores dictarum legum seu traditionum,
they-established also teachers of-the-said laws or traditions
quos sacerdotes vocabant, eo quod templorum sacra
whom priests they-called for-this that of-the-temples the-sacred-things

tractabant ut libros, vasa, et huiusmodi reliqua
they-handled as books vessels and of-this-kind remaining-things
deservientia cultui divinorum.
serving to-the-worship of-the-divine
Haec siquidem ordinabant decenter iuxta ipsorum
these-things indeed they-ordered becomingly according-to their
credulitates et ritus. Nam sacerdotes instituebant non
beliefs and rites for priests they-instituted not
quoscumque, sed cives aliquos studiosos et approbatos, qui
any-whatever but citizens some studious and approved who
fuerant ex officio militari, iudiciario, vel consiliativo, cives
had-been from the-office military judicial or deliberative citizens
inquam qui saecularia negotia abdicaverant, excusati iam a
I-say who secular business had-renounced excused now from
muneribus et officiis civilibus propter aetatem. A talibus enim
duties and offices civil on-account-of age by such for
viris iam separatis a passionibus, et quorum dictis propter
men now separated from passions and whose to-sayings on-account-of
aetatem et morum gravitatem amplius credebatur, decebat
age and of-morals gravity more it-was-believed it-befitted
honorari deos et illorum sacra tractari, non a banausis
to-be-honored the-gods and their sacred-things to-be-handled not by mechanics
seu mercenariis, qui vilia et maculativa officia exercuerant.
or hirelings who mean and defiling offices had-exercised
Unde vii Politicae, capitulo 7°: Neque enim agricolam
whence in-the-seventh of-the-Politics in-chapter seventh neither for a-farmer
neque banausum sacerdotem constituendum. Verum quia
nor a-mechanic priest to-be-constituted but because
gentiles et omnium reliquae leges aut sectae, quae sunt aut
the-gentile and of-all the-remaining laws or sects which are or
fuerunt extra catholicam fidem Christianam, aut quae ante
have-been outside the-catholic faith Christian or which before

ipsam fuit Mosaicam Legem, vel quae ante hanc fuit sanctorum
it was the-Mosaic Law or which before this was of-the-holy
patrum credulitatem, et generaliter extra traditionem eorum
fathers belief and generally outside the-handing-down of-those-things
quae in sacro canone, vocata Biblia, continentur, non recte
which in the-sacred canon called the-Bible are-contained not rightly
senserunt de Deo, ut quia humanum ingenium secuti
have-thought about God as because human wit followed
sunt aut falsos prophetas vel doctores errorum; ideoque
they-have or false prophets or teachers of-errors and-therefore
nec de futura vita ipsiusque felicitate vel miseria, nec de
neither about the-future life and-its happiness or misery nor about
vero sacerdotio propterea instituto, recte senserunt. Locuti
the-true priesthood for-that instituted rightly have-they-thought spoken
tamen sumus in ipsorum ritibus, ut ipsorum a vero
however we-have in their rites that their from the-true
sacerdotio, Christianorum scilicet, differentia et sacerdotalis
priesthood of-Christians namely the-difference and of-the-priestly
partis necessitas in communitatibus manifestius appareret.
part the-necessity in communities more-manifestly might-appear

Capitulum VI. De finali causa cuiusdam partis civilis, sacerdotalis scilicet, ex Dei traditione sive revelatione immediata, impossibili tamen humana ratione convinci

THE FINAL CAUSE OF THE PRIESTHOOD

The true priesthood was instituted for the life to come. Adam fell from innocence into guilt, and God gave remedies in turn: the first precepts, the Mosaic law, and last the law of Christ, by whose passion grace is given. Priests teach that law and administer its sacraments, instructing men in what they must believe, do, or avoid for salvation. Each office's immediate work, as preaching is the priest's, differs from the end it serves, here eternal happiness.

Reliquum autem sermonis huius est, dicere de causa finali
the-remainder but of-discourse this is to-speak about the-cause final
propter quam fuit verum sacerdotium in communitatibus
on-account-of which was the-true priesthood in the-communities
fidelium institutum. Est enim haec moderatio humanorum
of-the-faithful instituted is for this the-moderation of-human
actuum imperatorum per cognitionem et appetitum, tam
acts commanded through knowledge and appetite as-much
immanentium quam transeuntium, secundum quod ex illis
immanent as transient according-to that from them
ordinatur genus humanum ad optimum vivere venturi
is-ordered the-race human to the-best living of-the-coming
saeculi. Et propterea oportet attendere, quod licet primus
world and therefore it-behooves to-attend that although the-first
homo, Adam videlicet, creatus fuerit principaliter propter
man Adam namely created was principally for
Dei gloriam sicuti ceterae creaturae, fuit ipse tamen creatus
of-God the-glory as the-other creatures was he however created

singulariter ab aliis speciebus corruptibilium, quoniam ad
singularly from the-other species of-corruptible-things since to
imaginem Dei et similitudinem, ut capax et particeps
the-image of-God and likeness that capable and sharer
esset felicitatis aeternae post vitam praesentis saeculi. Fuit
he-might-be of-happiness eternal after the-life of-the-present world he-was
etiam creatus in statu innocentiae seu iustitiae originalis
also created in the-state of-innocence or of-justice original
et etiam gratiae, ut probabiliter dicunt sanctorum aliqui et
and also of-grace as probably say of-the-saints some and
Scripturae Sacrae quidam doctores praecipui. In quo siquidem
of-Scripture Holy certain teachers principal in which indeed
permansisset, nec sibi aut suae posteritati necessaria
if-he-had-remained neither for-himself nor for-his posterity necessary
fuisset officiorum civilium institutio vel distinctio,
would-have-been of-offices civil the-institution or distinction
eo quod opportuna quaeque ac voluptuosa sufficientiae
for-this that the-opportune each-thing and delightful of-the-sufficiency
huius vitae in paradiso terrestri seu voluptatis natura
of-this life in the-paradise terrestrial or of-pleasure nature
produxisset eidem absque ipsius poena vel fatigatione
would-have-produced for-him without his pain or fatigue
quacumque.
any-whatever
Verum quia suam corrupit innocentiam seu originalem
but since his he-corrupted innocence or original
iustitiam et gratiam in esu prohibiti sibi ligni,
justice and grace in the-eating of-the-forbidden to-him tree
divinum in hoc transgrediendo mandatum, repente lapsus
the-divine in this transgressing command suddenly fallen
est in culpam atque miseriam sive poenam, poenam
he-has into guilt and misery or punishment punishment

inquam privationis felicitatis aeternae, ad quam Dei gloriosi
I-say of-the-privation of-happiness eternal to which of-God the-glorious
beneficio cum sua posteritate qualibet finaliter fuerat
by-the-benefit with his posterity every finally he-had-been
ordinatus. Demeruit etiam ex iam dicti transgressione
ordered he-deserved also from of-the-now said the-transgression
mandati omnem sui successionem in libidine propagare, in
command all his succession in lust to-propagate in
qua etiam et cum qua quilibet homo postmodum conceptus
which also and with which each man afterward conceived
est et natus, ex hac peccatum contrahens, quod in Lege
was and born from this sin contracting which in the-Law
Christianorum originale vocatur, praeter Christum Iesum,
of-Christians original is-called except Christ Jesus
qui absque peccato et libidine quibuscumque conceptus fuit
who without sin and lust any-whatever conceived was
de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria virgine; quod factum est,
of the-Spirit Holy born of Mary virgin which done was
dum una trium divinarum personarum, Filius videlicet,
when one of-the-three divine persons the-Son namely
verus Deus in unitate sui suppositi, naturam assumpsit
true God in the-unity of-his supposit nature assumed
humanam. Ex hac siquidem transgressione primorum
human from this indeed transgression of-the-first
parentum infirmata est secundum animam omnis humana
parents weakened is according-to the-soul all human
successio et infirma nascitur, quae ante creata fuerat in
succession and weak is-born which before created had-been in
statu sanitatis perfectae, innocentiae, atque gratiae, privata
the-state of-health perfect of-innocence and of-grace deprived

quoque propter delictum suo finali optimo ad quod fuerat
also on-account-of the-offense of-its final best to which it-had-been
ordinata.
ordered
Quod quia Dei proprium est misereri humano generi,
which because of-God proper it-is to-pity the-human race
facturae ac imagini suae, quam praeordinaverat ad beatam
his-making and image his which he-had-preordained to blessed
et aeternam vitam, voluit, qui numquam facit frustra
and eternal life he-willed who never does in-vain
quicquam neque deficit in necessariis, humani casus exhibere
anything nor fails in necessities of-the-human fall to-show
remedium, tradendo scilicet praecepta quaedam obedientiae
a-remedy by-handing-down namely precepts certain of-obedience
servanda homini, quae tamquam contraria transgressioni
to-be-kept by-man which as-if contrary to-the-transgression
sanare deberent aegritudinem culpae, quae provenit ab illa;
to-heal ought the-sickness of-guilt which came from it
processitque in hiis ordinate valde a facilioribus ad difficiliora
and-he-proceeded in these orderly very from easier-things to more-difficult
velut peritus medicus. Praecepit namque hominibus primo
as a-skilled physician he-commanded for to-men first
ritum holocaustorum, de frugum primitiis et primogenitis
the-rite of-burnt-offerings from of-the-crops the-first-fruits and the-firstborn
animalium, quasi poenitentiam et humanam obedientiam
of-animals as-if penitence and human obedience
experiri vellet; quem ritum servaverunt antiqui patres in
to-test he-wished which rite kept the-ancient fathers in
Dei reverentiam, fidem, obedientiam, et gratiarum actionem
of-God reverence faith obedience and of-thanks the-giving
usque ad Abrahae tempora. Cui siquidem iuxta
all-the-way to of-Abraham the-times to-whom indeed according-to

praedictum dedit aliud praeceptum gravius, circumcisionis
the-aforesaid he-gave another precept heavier of-circumcision
scilicet omnis humani et masculini sexus in carne praeputii,
namely of-every human and masculine sex in the-flesh of-the-foreskin
quasi videretur rursum Deus poenitentiam et humanam
as-if seemed again God penitence and human
obedientiam amplius experiri. Fuerunt autem praecepta haec
obedience more-fully to-test were but precepts these
per aliquos observata usque in tempora Moysi, per quem
by some observed all-the-way into the-times of-Moses through whom
postmodum tradidit Deus Israelitico populo legem, per
afterward handed-down God to-the-Israelite people the-law through
quam cum supradictis ampliora praecepta statuit, tam
which with the-above-said more-ample precepts he-established as-much
pro statu praesentis saeculi quam venturi, ipsiusque legis
for the-state of-the-present world as of-the-coming and-of-the-very law
ministros etiam statuit sacerdotes atque levitas. Horum
ministers also he-established priests and levites of-these
siquidem omnium priorum praeceptorum atque Mosaicae
indeed all earlier precepts and of-the-Mosaic
Legis observationis utilitas erat, purgatio quaedam peccati
Law of-the-observance the-usefulness was a-purging certain of-sin
sive culpae tam originalis quam actualis seu sponte
or guilt as-much original as actual or willingly
commissae, evasio quoque seu praeservatio quaedam ab
committed an-escape also or preservation certain from
aeterna et temporali poena sensus alterius saeculi, quamvis
eternal and temporal punishment of-sense of-the-other world although
ex horum observatione non mererentur homines felicitatem
from their observance not merited men happiness
aeternam.
eternal

Ad quam tamen quoniam ordinaverat misericors Deus
to which however since had-ordered the-merciful God
humanum genus, volens ipsum a lapsu reducere seu
the-human race wishing it from the-fall to-lead-back or
restituere ad eandem secundum convenientem ordinem,
to-restore to the-same according-to fitting order
omnium novissime humano generi, per filium eius
of-all-things last to-the-human race through son his
Iesum Christum, verum Deum et verum hominem in
Jesus Christ true God and true man in
suppositi unitate, tradidit Legem Evangelicam, praecepta
of-the-supposit unity he-handed-down the-Law Evangelical precepts
continentem credendorum, agendorum, et fugiendorum,
containing of-things-to-be-believed to-be-done and to-be-fled
atque consilia eorum. Quorum observatione non solum
and counsels of-them whose by-observance not only
a poena sensus praeservantur homines, ut per
from the-punishment of-sense are-preserved men as through
priorum observantiam, verum ex ipsius gratiosa ordinatione
of-the-earlier the-observance but by its gracious ordinance
merentur ex talibus, congruitate quadam, felicitatem
they-merit from such-things by-congruity a-certain happiness
aeternam. Et propterea lex gratiae vocata est, tum
eternal and therefore the-law of-grace called it-is both
quia per Christi passionem et mortem redemptum
because through of-Christ the-passion and death redeemed
est humanum genus a culpa et poena damni
was the-human race from guilt and the-punishment of-the-loss
aeternae beatitudinis, quam subiverat ex lapsu seu
of-eternal beatitude which it-had-undergone from the-fall or
peccato primorum parentum; tum quia per illius
sin of-the-first parents and because through its

observationem et sacramentorum cum ipsa et in ipsa
observance and of-the-sacraments with it and in it
institutorum receptionem nobis confertur gratia divina,
instituted the-receiving to-us is-conferred grace divine
collata roboratur, et amissa recuperatur, per quam ex
conferred is-strengthened and lost is-recovered through which by
Dei ordinatione, cum merito passionis Christi, congruitate
of-God the-ordinance with the-merit of-the-passion of-Christ by-congruity
quadam (ut diximus) opera nostra fiunt meritoria felicitatis
a-certain as we-have-said works our become meritorious of-happiness
aeternae.
eternal
Huius autem merito passionis, Christi videlicet, non
of-this but by-the-merit of-the-passion of-Christ namely not
solum posteriores gratiam susceperunt, qua beatam vitam
only the-later-ones grace received by-which a-blessed life
mereri valeant, verum etiam priorum praeceptorum et
to-merit they-may-avail but also of-the-earlier precepts and
Mosaicae Legis observatores inde gratiam consecuti sunt
of-the-Mosaic Law the-observers thence grace obtained have
aeternae beatitudinis, qua quidem in alio saeculo,
of-eternal beatitude of-which indeed in the-other world
et in loco quem Limbum vocant, privati manserant
and in the-place which Limbo they-call deprived they-had-remained
usque in Christi adventum, passionem, mortem, et
all-the-way into of-Christ the-coming passion death and
resurrectionem. Per quem repromissionem acceperunt
resurrection through whom the-promise they-received
sibi datam a Deo, quamvis in praeceptis prioribus
to-them given by God although in the-precepts earlier
prophetarum et Legis Mosaicae talis gratiae repromissio
of-the-prophets and of-the-Law Mosaic of-such grace the-promise

sub aenigmatico velamine traderetur eisdem, omnia
under an-enigmatic veil was-handed-down to-the-same all-things
enim illis contingebant in figura, ut dicit Apostolus ad
for to-them happened in figure as says the-Apostle to
Hebraeos.
the-Hebrews
Fuit autem deductio haec divina conveniens valde,
was but leading this divine fitting very
quoniam de minus perfecto ad magis, et demum
since from the-less perfect to the-more and at-last
ad perfectissimum convenientium humanae saluti. Nec
to the-most-perfect of-the-things-befitting human salvation nor
est opinandum propterea quin Deus potuisset, si
is to-be-thought therefore but-that God could-have if
voluisset, statim a principio lapsus humani remedium
he-had-wished at-once from the-beginning of-the-fall human a-remedy
adhibere perfectum. Sed sic egit, quia sic voluit
to-apply perfect but so he-acted because so he-willed
et decuit, hominum exigente delicto, ut ne veniae
and it-befitted of-men with-requiring the-offense that lest of-pardon
nimis prompta facilitas praeberet occasionem ulterius
too ready ease might-offer occasion further
delinquendi.
of-offending
Iam dictae vero legis doctores ac sacramentorum
of-the-now said but law the-teachers and of-the-sacraments
secundum illam administratores instituti sunt quidam in
according-to it the-administrators instituted were certain-men in
communitatibus vocati sacerdotes et diaconi seu levitae,
communities called priests and deacons or levites
quorum officium est, Legis Evangelicae Christianae
whose office is of-the-Law Evangelical Christian

praecepta et consilia docere, in hiis quae credenda
the-precepts and counsels to-teach in these-things which to-be-believed
sunt, agenda, et fugienda, finaliter pro statu venturi
are to-be-done and to-be-fled finally for the-state of-the-coming
saeculi, beato siquidem consequendo et opposito
world with-the-blessed(-state) indeed to-be-attained and the-opposite
devitando.
to-be-avoided
Sacerdotalis igitur finis est hominum disciplina et
of-the-priestly therefore the-end is of-men the-discipline and
eruditio de hiis quae secundum Evangelicam
instruction about these-things which according-to the-Evangelical
Legem necessarium est credere, agere, vel omittere
Law necessary it-is to-believe to-do or to-omit
propter aeternam salutem consequendam et miseriam
for eternal salvation to-be-attained and misery
fugiendam.
to-be-fled
In hoc autem officium convenienter veniunt omnes disciplinae
into this but office fittingly come all disciplines
humano ingenio adinventae, tam speculativae quam activae,
by-human wit discovered as-much speculative as active
humanorum actuum moderativae, tam immanentium quam
of-human acts moderating as-much immanent as
transeuntium, ab appetitu et cognitione provenientium,
transient from appetite and knowledge coming
quibus bene disponitur homo secundum animam pro
by-which well is-disposed man according-to soul for
statu tam praesentis saeculi quam venturi. Has etenim
the-state as-much of-the-present world as of-the-coming these for
quasi omnes habemus ex traditione admirabilis Philosophi
as-if all we-have from the-tradition of-the-admirable Philosopher

et reliquorum gloriosorum virorum; enumerare tamen
and of-the-remaining glorious men to-enumerate however
omisimus hic eas propter abbreviationem sermonis,
we-have-omitted here them on-account-of abbreviation of-discourse
et quoniam huius necessitas non habet considerationem
and since of-this the-necessity not has consideration
praesentem.
present
Debemus autem intelligere de hoc capitulo et ipsum
we-ought but to-understand about this chapter and it
sequente continuo, alias esse causas officiorum civitatis
following next other to-be the-causes of-the-offices of-the-city
iuxta quodlibet ipsarum genus, secundum quod officia
according-to any-whatever of-their kind according-to that offices
sunt civitatis, et alias ipsorum secundum quod sunt
they-are of-the-city and other-ones of-them according-to that they-are
habitus corporis aut mentis humanae. Nam finales eorum
habits of-the-body or of-the-mind human for the-final their
causae secundum quod habitus corporis aut humanae
causes according-to that habits of-the-body or of-the-human
animae sunt opera quae ab illis proveniunt immediate
soul they-are the-works which from them come immediately
per se, ut navifactivae, navis; militaris, armorum usus
by themselves as of-shipbuilding the-ship of-the-military of-arms the-use
et pugna; sacerdotii vero, praedicatio legis divinae
and the-fight of-the-priesthood but the-preaching of-the-law divine
et secundum illam sacramentorum administratio; et sic
and according-to it of-the-sacraments the-administration and so
conformiter in reliquis omnibus. Ipsorum autem causae
conformably in the-remaining all their but causes
finales secundum quod officia in civitate determinata
final according-to that offices in the-city determined

et instituta sunt commoda et sufficientiae perfectivae
and instituted they-are the-advantages and sufficiencies perfecting
actionum et passionum humanarum, provenientes ab
of-actions and passions human coming from
operibus dictorum habituum, vel quae sine hiis haberi
the-works of-the-said habits or which without these to-be-had
nequeunt, quomodo a pugna qui est actus seu finis
cannot in-which-way from the-fight which is the-act or end
militaris habitus, hominibus in civitate libertas provenit
of-the-military habit for-men in the-city liberty comes
et servatur, quae quidem finis est actuum et operum
and is-kept which indeed the-end is of-the-acts and works
militaris. Sic etiam a domificativae opere seu fine, qui
of-the-military so also from of-building the-work or end which
domus est, provenit hominibus seu civitati defensio ab
a-house is comes for-men or for-the-city defense from
aeris impressionibus nocivis, calidi, frigidi, humidi, aut
of-the-air the-impressions harmful hot cold moist or
sicci, quae siquidem defensio causa finalis est propter
dry which indeed defense the-cause final is on-account-of
quam domificativae officium fuit in civitate statutum.
which of-building the-office was in the-city established
Eodemque modo ab observatione legis divinae, quae
and-in-the-same way from the-observance of-the-law divine which
finis est sacerdotii, provenit hominibus aeterna felicitas.
the-end is of-the-priesthood comes for-men eternal happiness
Sic quoque de reliquis omnibus partibus seu officiis
so also about the-remaining all parts or offices
civitatis extimare oportet. Hoc etiam modo sive consimili
of-the-city to-judge it-behooves in-this also way or a-like-one
distinguuntur reliquae causarum species officiorum dictorum,
are-distinguished the-remaining of-causes the-species of-the-offices said

materialis, formalis, et efficiens, ut ex sequentibus
material formal and efficient as from the-following
apparebit.
will-appear
De numero quidem igitur partium civitatis, ipsarumque
about the-number indeed therefore of-the-parts of-the-city and-of-their
necessitate ac distinctione propter finales sufficientias dicta
necessity and distinction on-account-of the-final sufficiencies said
sint tanta.
let-be so-much

Capitulum VII. De reliquis speciebus causarum inexistentiae ac separationis partium civitatis, et uniuscuiusque speciei divisione per modos duos ad propositum pertinentes

THE OTHER CAUSES OF THE PARTS, AND THE KINDS OF GOVERNMENT

The parts of the city have their material causes in men's aptitudes, their formal causes in the habits that perfect them, and their moving causes in men's minds and wills; their efficient cause is the human legislator, though God once instituted a few directly. The ruling part is either tempered, ruling for the common good with the subjects' consent, or vitiated: royal monarchy, aristocracy, and polity against tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy, each described after Aristotle.

Hiis autem consequens est dicere de reliquis causis
to-these but following it-is to-speak about the-remaining causes
officiorum seu partium civitatis. Et primum loquemur in
of-the-offices or parts of-the-city and first we-shall-speak on
causis materialibus et formalibus, deinde vero inquiremus de
the-causes material and formal then but we-shall-inquire about
ipsarum causa movente. Verum quia in rebus quae ab humana
their cause moving but since in things which from the-human

mente recipiunt complementum, materia formae praeexistit
mind receive completion matter to-form pre-exists
in actu, prius loquamur in causa materiali. Et dicemus,
in act first let-us-speak on the-cause material and we-shall-say
quod materia propria officiorum diversorum, secundum quod
that the-matter proper of-the-offices diverse according-to that
officia nominant habitus animae, sunt homines ex ipsorum
offices name habits of-the-soul are men from their
generatione seu nativitate inclinati ad diversas artes seu
generation or birth inclined to diverse arts or
disciplinas. Cum enim natura non deficiat in necessariis,
disciplines since for nature not fails in necessities
de nobilioribus magis sollicita, qualis inter corruptibilia est
about the-nobler more anxious such-as among corruptible-things is
hominum species, ex qua perfecta per diversas artes aut
of-men the-species from which perfected through diverse arts or
disciplinas oportet, tamquam ex materia, constituere civitatem
disciplines it-behooves as-if from matter to-constitute the-city
et partes distinctas in ipsa necessarias ad vitae sufficientiam
and the-parts distinct in it necessary for of-life the-sufficiency
consequendam, ut iv° et v° huius ostensum est.
to-be-attained as in-the-fourth and in-the-fifth of-this shown it-is
Initiavit ipsa circa generationem hominum distinctionem hanc,
she-began herself about the-generation of-men distinction this
quosdam in naturalibus dispositionibus producens aptos et
certain-ones in natural dispositions producing apt and
inclinatos ad agriculturam, alios ad militiam, reliquos vero ad
inclined to agriculture others to soldiering the-remaining but to
aliorum artificiorum et disciplinarum genera, diversos tamen
of-other crafts and disciplines the-kinds diverse however
ad diversas. Nec solum unicum individuum ad unius speciei
to diverse nor only a-single individual to of-one species

artem vel disciplinam, sed ipsorum plura in eandem artificii
the-art or discipline but of-them several to the-same of-craft
seu disciplinae speciem inclinavit, veluti sufficientiae necessitas
or discipline species she-inclined as of-sufficiency the-necessity
exigebat. Quosdam ergo genuit aptos prudentiae, quoniam
required certain-ones therefore she-begot apt for-prudence since
ex prudentibus in civitate statui debet iudicialis pars et
from the-prudent in the-city to-be-established ought the-judicial part and
consiliativa; quosdam vero ad robur et audaciam, quoniam ex
deliberative certain but for strength and boldness since from
talibus convenienter statuitur militaris. Sic quoque reliquos
such fittingly is-established the-military so also the-remaining
adaptavit ad operativorum et speculativorum habituum genera,
she-adapted to of-operative and speculative habits the-kinds
quae sunt ad vivere et bene vivere necessaria seu convenientia,
which are for living and well living necessary or fitting
ut in omnibus scilicet perficeret de diversitate naturalium
that in all-things namely she-might-perfect about the-diversity of-natural
inclinationum ad habitus diversorum generum et specierum
inclinations to habits of-diverse kinds and species
quod necesse fuit ad diversitatem partium civitatis. Materiales
what necessary was for the-diversity of-the-parts of-the-city the-material
vero causae officiorum civitatis, secundum quod officia nominant
but causes of-the-offices of-the-city according-to that offices name
partes civitatis, iam quasi apparent. Nam hae sunt homines
parts of-the-city now as-if appear for these are men
habituati per artes et disciplinas diversorum generum et
habituated through arts and disciplines of-diverse kinds and
specierum, ex quibus diversi ordines sive partes statuuntur in
species from which diverse orders or parts are-established in
civitate propter finales sufficientias provenientes ab ipsorum
the-city on-account-of the-final sufficiencies coming from their

artibus et disciplinis, quo modo proprie dicuntur partes
arts and disciplines in-which way properly are-called the-parts
civitatis officia quasi obsequia, quoniam consideratae, ut statutae
of-the-city offices as-if services since considered as established
sic sunt in civitate, ad humanum obsequium ordinantur.
thus they-are in the-city for human service they-are-ordered
Horum vero formales causae, secundum quod humanae
of-these but the-formal causes according-to that of-the-human
mentis habitus, non aliae sunt ab huiusmodi habitibus,
mind habits not other are than of-this-kind habits
nam ipsi formae sunt habentium complectivae seu perfectivae
for they forms are of-those-having completive or perfective
humanarum inclinationum inexistentium a natura. Unde
of-human inclinations being-in from nature whence
vii Politicae, capitulo finali: Omnis ars et disciplina
in-the-seventh of-the-Politics in-chapter final every art and discipline
quod deficit naturae vult supplere. Formales autem officiorum
what fails nature wishes to-supply the-formal but of-the-offices
causae, secundum quod instituta et partes civitatis, sunt
causes according-to that instituted and parts of-the-city they-are
praecepta moventis causae hiis tradita seu impressa, qui
the-precepts of-the-moving cause to-those handed-down or impressed who
deputantur in civitate ad determinata opera exercenda.
are-deputed in the-city for determinate works to-be-exercised
Moventes quidem igitur causae seu factivae officiorum,
moving indeed therefore causes or productive of-the-offices
ut animae nominant habitus, sunt mentes et voluntates
as of-the-soul they-name habits are the-minds and wills
hominum per suas cogitationes et desideria divisim aut
of-men through their thoughts and desires separately or
coniunctim indifferenter; et quorundam etiam cum hiis
jointly indifferently and of-some also with these

principium est motus et exercitium corporalium organorum.
the-principle is the-motion and exercise of-bodily organs
Ipsorum vero causa efficiens, secundum quod partes sunt
their but cause efficient according-to that parts they-are
civitatis, est humanus legislator frequenter et in pluribus,
of-the-city is the-human legislator frequently and in most-cases
licet olim raro et in paucissimis cuiusdam aut quarundam
although once rarely and in very-few of-some or of-some-ones
causa movens immediata fuerit Deus absque humana
the-cause moving immediate was God without human
determinatione, sicuti ix° huius dicetur et xii°
determination as in-the-ninth of-this it-will-be-said and in-the-twelfth
et xv° de hiis amplius apparebit. De sacerdotio vero,
and fifteenth about these more-fully it-will-appear about the-priesthood but
diversa quaedam institutionis est ratio, de qua xv°
different certain of-institution is the-reason about which in-the-fifteenth
et xvii° Secundae dicetur utique sufficienter.
and seventeenth of-the-Second it-will-be-said surely sufficiently
De partibus itaque civitatis ipsarumque institutionis necessitate
about the-parts and-so of-the-city and-of-their institution the-necessity
a reliquis trium causarum generibus, determinatum sit
by the-remaining of-three causes kinds determined let-it-be
hoc modo.
in-this way

Capitulum VIII. De generibus politiarum sive regiminum,
Chapter VIII about the-kinds of-polities or regimes
temperato et vitiato, et suarum specierum divisione.
tempered and vitiated and of-their species the-division
Quoniam autem in prioribus monstratum est aliqualiter,
since but in the-earlier-things shown it-has-been somewhat
monstrandum tamen certius institutionem et distinctionem
to-be-shown however more-certainly the-institution and distinction

partium civitatis ab aliqua movente causa fieri, quam pridem
of-the-parts of-the-city by some moving cause to-be-done which before
legislatorem diximus; quodque legislator idem has partes statuit,
legislator we-called and-that the-legislator same these parts establishes
distinguit, et separat instar animalis naturae, formando
distinguishes and separates in-the-likeness of-animal nature by-forming
scilicet primum seu instituendo in civitate partem unam,
namely first or by-instituting in the-city part one
quam principantem seu iudicialem diximus v° huius,
which ruling or judicial we-called in-the-fifth of-this
per hanc vero reliquas, ut declarabitur amplius xv°
through this but the-remaining as will-be-declared more-fully in-the-fifteenth
huius; convenit propterea nobis primum aliquid dicere de
of-this it-befits therefore us first something to-say about
natura partis illius. Cum enim sit aliarum prima, ut ex
the-nature of-part that since for it-is of-the-others the-first as from
sequentibus apparebit, ex ipsius efficientiae manifestatione
the-following will-appear from its efficiency the-manifestation
priori convenienter ingrediemur ad manifestationem institutionis
earlier fittingly we-shall-enter to the-manifestation of-the-institution
et distinctionis activae reliquarum partium civitatis.
and distinction active of-the-remaining parts of-the-city
Sunt autem principativae partis seu principatuum genera duo,
are but of-the-ruling part or of-principates kinds two
unum quidem bene temperatum, reliquum vero vitiatum.
one indeed well tempered the-remaining but vitiated
Voco autem bene temperatum genus, cum Aristotele, iii
I-call but well tempered the-kind with Aristotle in-the-third
Politicae, capitulo 5°, in quo dominans principatur ad commune
of-the-Politics in-chapter fifth in which the-dominant rules for the-common
conferens secundum voluntatem subditorum, vitiatum vero
advantage according-to the-will of-the-subjects vitiated but

quod ab hoc deficit. Horum rursum generum utrumque
that-which from this falls-short of-these again kinds each
dividitur in tres species: primum quidem, temperatum scilicet,
is-divided into three species the-first indeed tempered namely
in regalem monarchiam, aristocratiam, et politiam; reliquum
into royal monarchy aristocracy and polity the-remaining
vero, vitiatum scilicet, in tres oppositas species dividitur,
but vitiated namely into three opposite species is-divided
tyrannicam monarchiam, oligarchiam, et democratiam. Et
tyrannical monarchy oligarchy and democracy and
unaquaeque rursum harum specierum modos habet, de quibus
each again of-these species modes has about which
praesentis negotii non est exquisite tractare. De hiis enim
of-the-present business not is precisely to-treat about these for
sufficienter tradidit Aristoteles iii et iv suae Politicae.
sufficiently handed-down Aristotle in-the-third and fourth of-his Politics
Ad habendam vero ipsarum ampliorem notitiam, quae
for to-be-had but of-them fuller knowledge which
necessaria est aliqualiter propter sequentia declaranda,
necessary is somewhat for the-following-things to-be-declared
unamquamque dictarum principatus specierum iuxta
each of-the-said of-principate species according-to
intentionem Aristotelis describamus, dicentes primum, quod
the-intention of-Aristotle let-us-describe saying first that
regalis monarchia est temperatus principatus, in quo dominans
royal monarchy is a-tempered principate in which the-dominant
est unicus ad commune conferens, et subditorum voluntatem
is single for the-common advantage and of-the-subjects the-will
sive consensum. Tyrannis vero, illi opposita, est principatus
or consent tyranny but to-it opposite is a-principate
vitiatus, in quo dominans est unicus ad conferens proprium
vitiated in which the-dominant is single for the-advantage his-own

praeter voluntatem subditorum. Aristocratia est principatus
apart-from the-will of-the-subjects aristocracy is a-principate
temperatus, in quo dominatur honorabilitas sola iuxta
tempered in which rules the-honorable-class alone according-to
subditorum voluntatem sive consensum et commune conferens.
of-the-subjects the-will or consent and the-common advantage
Oligarchia vero, illi opposita, est principatus vitiatus, in
oligarchy but to-it opposite is a-principate vitiated in
quo dominantur aliqui ditiorum seu potentiorum ad ipsorum
which rule some of-the-richer or more-powerful for their
conferens praeter subditorum voluntatem. Politia vero, licet
advantage apart-from of-the-subjects the-will polity but although
in una significatione sit commune quiddam ad omne genus
in one signification it-be common something to every kind
vel speciem regiminis seu principatus, in una tamen ipsius
or species of-regime or principate in one however of-its
significatione importat speciem quandam principatus temperati,
signification imports a-species certain of-principate tempered
in quo civis quilibet participat aliqualiter principatu vel
in which citizen any-whatever shares somewhat in-the-principate or
consiliativo vicissim iuxta gradum et facultatem seu
deliberative in-turn according-to the-degree and faculty or
conditionem ipsius, ad commune etiam conferens et civium
condition his for the-common also advantage and of-the-citizens
voluntatem sive consensum. Democratia vero, illi opposita,
the-will or consent democracy but to-it opposite
est principatus, in quo vulgus seu egenorum multitudo
is a-principate in which the-crowd or of-the-needy the-multitude
statuit principatum et regit sola praeter reliquorum civium
establishes the-principate and rules alone apart-from of-the-remaining citizens

voluntatem sive consensum, nec simpliciter ad commune
the-will or consent nor simply for the-common
conferens secundum proportionem convenientem.
advantage according-to proportion fitting
Quis autem bene temperatorum principatuum sit optimus,
which but of-well tempered principates be the-best
aut quis vitiatorum pessimus, de reliquorum quoque
or which of-the-vitiated the-worst about of-the-remaining also
ordine in bonitate vel malitia dicere, non habet praesentem
the-order in goodness or malice to-say not has present
speculationem. Haec tamen de principatuum divisione in
speculation these-things however about of-principates the-division into
suas species ipsarumque descriptione dixisse sufficiat.
their species and-their description to-have-said let-it-suffice

Capitulum IX. De modis instituendi regalem monarchiam et perfectionis assignatione, de modis quoque instituendi reliqua regimina seu politias tam temperatas quam vitiatas

THE MODES OF INSTITUTING A MONARCHY

Some principates God instituted directly, as Moses' and Aaron's, and these reason cannot judge. Of those men institute, Aristotle names five kinds of royal monarchy: the general for a campaign, the Asiatic king, the elected tyrant, the heroic king chosen with his line, and the absolute lord. A king rules willing subjects by law, and election is the better institution. The right question is not election against heredity but the elected against the non-elected.

Determinatis autem hiis, consequens est dicere de
with-determined but these-things following it-is to-speak about
modis efficiendi seu instituendi partem principantem. Ex
the-modes of-making or of-instituting the-part ruling from
ipsorum namque natura meliori vel deteriori, provenientibus
their for nature better or worse coming
hinc civili regimini tamquam actionibus, arguere oportet
hence to-the-civil regime as-if from-actions to-argue it-behooves
causam agentem, a qua tam ipsi quam pars principans
the-cause agent from which as-much they as the-part ruling
per ipsos ad politiam utilius habeant provenire.
through them for the-polity more-usefully may-have to-come
Verum quia de causis et actionibus, a quibus secundum
but since about the-causes and actions from which according-to
plurimum pars principans creari debet, intendimus in hoc
the-most-part the-part ruling to-be-created ought we-intend in this
libro, antea volumus dicere modum et causam, per quem
book before we-wish to-speak-of the-mode and cause through which

iam creata fuit pars haec, licet raro, ut hunc modum
already created was part this although rarely that this mode
seu actionem et ipsius causam immediatam discernamus
or action and its cause immediate we-may-distinguish
a modis seu actionibus et ipsarum immediatis causis,
from the-modes or actions and their immediate causes
per quas huiusmodi pars regulariter et in pluribus
through which of-this-kind part regularly and in most-cases
creari debet, quas etiam humana demonstratione convincere
to-be-created ought which also by-human demonstration to-convince
possumus; prioris enim modi per demonstrationem certa
we-can of-the-former for mode through demonstration certain
comprehensio nequit haberi. Hic autem modus seu actio
comprehension cannot to-be-had this but mode or action
et ipsius immediata causa, per quam formata est iam
and its immediate cause through which formed was already
pars principans et reliquae partes civitatis, praecipue
the-part ruling and the-remaining parts of-the-city chiefly
sacerdotium, fuit divina voluntas, immediate hoc praecipiens
the-priesthood was the-divine will immediately this commanding
alicuius singularis creaturae oraculo determinato, aut per
of-some singular creature by-the-oracle determinate or through
se solam immediate fortassis; quo modo principatum
itself alone immediately perhaps in-which way the-principate
Israelitici populi in personam Moysi et quorundam aliorum
of-the-Israelite people in the-person of-Moses and of-certain other
iudicum post ipsum, sacerdotium quoque in personam Aaron
judges after him the-priesthood also in the-person of-Aaron
et ipsius successorum instituit. De qua siquidem causa et
and of-his successors it-instituted about which indeed cause and
ipsius actione libera tradere seu dicere, cur sic aut aliter,
its action free to-hand-down or to-say why thus or otherwise

nec sic esse aut fuisse factum, per demonstrationem nec
nor thus to-be or to-have-been done through demonstration nor
quicquam dicere possumus, sed simplici credulitate absque
anything to-say we-can but by-simple belief without
ratione tenemus. Alia vero est principatuum institutio, quae
reason we-hold other but is of-principates the-institution which
scilicet ab humana mente immediate provenit, licet a Deo
namely from the-human mind immediately comes although from God
tamquam a causa remota, qui omnem principatum terrenum
as-if from a-cause remote who every principate earthly
etiam concedit, ut Iohannis xix° habetur, et aperte
also grants as of-John in-the-nineteenth is-held and openly
dicit Apostolus ad Romanos xiii°, et beatus Augustinus
says the-Apostle to the-Romans thirteenth and blessed Augustine
v De Civitate Dei, capitulo 21°; quod tamen non est
in-the-fifth On the-City of-God in-chapter twenty-first which however not is
immediate semper, quinimo ut in pluribus et ubique quasi
immediately always nay as in most-cases and everywhere as-if
hos statuit per hominum mentes, quibus talis institutionis
these he-established through of-men the-minds to-whom of-such institution
concessit arbitrium. Et de hac causa quae sit, aut quali
he-granted the-judgment and about this cause what it-be or by-what-kind-of
actione talia debeat instituere, ex meliori aut deteriori
action such-things it-ought to-institute from the-better or worse
ad politiam, potest per humanam certitudinem assignari.
for the-polity can through human certainty to-be-assigned
Omisso itaque modo quem per demonstrationem
with-omitted and-so the-mode which through demonstration
certificare non possumus, modos institutionum principatus
to-make-certain not we-can the-modes of-the-institutions of-principate
per humanam voluntatem immediate factos, narrare volumus
through human will immediately made to-narrate we-wish

primum, deinde vero monstrabimus ipsorum certiorem atque
first then but we-shall-show their more-certain and
simpliciorem. Postmodum vero ex illius modi natura
simpler afterward but from of-that mode the-nature
meliori arguemus causam moventem, a qua provenire
better we-shall-argue the-cause moving from which to-come
solummodo debet et potest. Ex quibus etiam apparebit
only it-ought and can from which also will-appear
consequenter causa movere debens ad institutionem optimam
next the-cause to-move bound to the-institution best
et determinationem reliquarum partium civitatis. Demum
and the-determination of-the-remaining parts of-the-city at-last
vero dicemus de principatus unitate, propter quam
but we-shall-speak about of-the-principate the-unity on-account-of which
apparebit etiam quae sit unitas civitatis aut regni.
will-appear also what be the-unity of-the-city or of-the-kingdom
Prosequentes itaque proposita, primum enumerabimus
pursuing and-so the-things-proposed first we-shall-enumerate
modos institutionis regalis monarchiae, loquendo scilicet
the-modes of-the-institution of-royal monarchy by-speaking namely
in ipsorum origine. Species enim haec principatus videtur
in their origin the-species for this of-principate seems
quasi cognata nobis, et propinqua statim domesticae
as-if akin to-us and near at-once to-domestic
iconomiae, ut apparet ex dictis capitulo iii°. Post huius
household as appears from the-things-said in-chapter third after of-this
vero determinationem apparebit consequenter de modis
but the-determination will-appear next about the-modes
institutionis reliquarum divisionum principatus.
of-the-institution of-the-remaining divisions of-principate

Sunt autem modi sive institutiones regalis monarchiae
are but the-modes or institutions of-royal monarchy
numero quinque secundum Aristotelem iii Politicae,
in-number five according-to Aristotle in-the-third of-the-Politics
8° capitulo. Unus quidem cum monarcha statuitur ad
in-the-eighth chapter one indeed when a-monarch is-established for
aliquod unum opus determinatum, circa regimen communitatis
some one work determinate about the-regime of-the-community
tamen, ut ducatum exercitus, sive cum generis successione
however as the-leadership of-the-army whether with of-the-family succession
sive pro solius unicae personae periodo; quo modo
or for of-the-sole a-single person the-period in-which way
instituebatur dux exercitus Agamemnon a Graecis. Vocatur
was-instituted leader of-the-army Agamemnon by the-Greeks is-called
autem officium hoc in communitatibus modernis capitaneatus
but office this in communities modern the-captaincy
aut constabiliaria. Hic vero exercitus dux de nullo se
or constabulary this but of-the-army leader in no himself
intromittebat iudicio tempore pacis, exercitu tamen militante
meddled judgment in-time of-peace with-the-army however campaigning
dominus erat occidendi aut aliter puniendi transgressores.
lord he-was of-killing or otherwise of-punishing transgressors
Alius autem modus est, quo quidam monarchae in Asia
another but mode is by-which certain monarchs in Asia
principantur, habentes dominia ex praedecessoribus per
rule having dominions from predecessors through
successionem, secundum legem tamen, ad monarchae conferens
succession according-to law however for of-the-monarch the-advantage
magis quam ad commune simpliciter, quasi despoticam.
more than for the-common simply as-if despotic
Sustinent enim habitatores illius regionis talem principatum
endure for the-inhabitants of-that region such a-principate

nihil contristati propter ipsorum barbaram et servilem
in-nothing saddened on-account-of their barbarous and servile
naturam et consuetudinis auxilium. Hic siquidem principatus
nature and of-custom the-help this indeed principate
regalis est, quia patrius et voluntariis subditis, ut quia
royal is because paternal and over-the-willing subjects as because
primi habitatores fuerant regionis praecessores monarchae;
the-first inhabitants had-been of-the-region the-predecessors of-the-monarch
aliqualiter tamen tyrannicus propter non esse ipsius leges
somewhat however tyrannical on-account-of not to-be its laws
ad commune conferens simpliciter, sed monarchae. Tertius
for the-common advantage simply but of-the-monarch the-third
vero modus regalis principatus est, cum quis principatur
but mode of-royal principate is when one rules
electus, non ex successione patria seu paterna, secundum
elected not by succession ancestral or paternal according-to
tamen legem quae non est ad commune conferens simpliciter,
however a-law which not is for the-common advantage simply
sed monarchae magis, quasi tyrannicam. Propter quod
but of-the-monarch rather as-if tyrannical on-account-of which
etiam vocavit Aristoteles ibidem hanc speciem principatus
also called Aristotle there this species of-principate
electam tyrannidem, tyrannidem quidem propter legis
elected tyranny tyranny indeed on-account-of of-the-law
despotiam, electam quidem propterea quod non erat
the-despotism elected indeed for-that-reason that not it-was
subditis involuntaria. Quartus autem modus est, quo per
to-the-subjects involuntary the-fourth but mode is by-which through
electionem instituitur aliquis princeps cum omni suo generis
election is-instituted some prince with all his of-the-family
successione secundum leges quae sunt simpliciter ad commune
succession according-to laws which are simply for the-common

conferens; et hoc utebantur secundum heroica tempora, ut
advantage and this they-used in the-heroic times as
dicit ibidem. Vocata vero sunt ea heroica tempora, vel quia
he-says there called but were those heroic times either because
tunc constellatio tales homines producebat qui Heroës, id
then the-constellation such men produced who Heroes that
est divini, credebantur propter virtutis excessum; aut quia
is divine were-believed on-account-of of-virtue the-excess or because
tales statuebantur principes, non alii, propter virtutum et
such were-established princes not others on-account-of of-virtues and
suorum beneficiorum excessum, ut quia sparsam multitudinem
of-their benefits the-excess as because the-scattered multitude
collegerunt et in communitatem civilem congregaverunt; vel
they-collected and into a-community civil gathered or
quia per pugnam et armorum strenuitatem liberaverunt
because through fight and of-arms vigor they-freed
regionem ab opprimentibus; aut quia fortasse regionem
the-region from oppressors or because perhaps the-region
emerunt vel alio convenienti modo acquisiverunt, et
they-bought or in-another fitting way acquired and
inter subditos diviserunt; et (ad unum dicere) propter
among the-subjects divided and to one-thing to-say on-account-of
magni beneficii collationem aut alterius virtutis excessum ad
of-a-great benefit the-conferring or of-another virtue the-excess over
reliquam multitudinem instituti fuerunt hii principes cum sua
the-remaining multitude instituted were these princes with their
posteritate seu successione tota, sicut etiam dixit Aristoteles
posterity or succession whole as also said Aristotle
v Politicae, capitulo 5°. Sub hac autem monarchiae
in-the-fifth of-the-Politics in-chapter fifth under this but of-monarchy
specie fortasse comprehendit Aristoteles eam, ad quam quis
species perhaps comprehends Aristotle that to which one

eligitur pro sola sui periodo vel parte periodi, vel eam fecit
is-elected for alone his period or a-part of-the-period or that he-made
nos intelligere per hanc et vocatam tyrannidem electam,
us to-understand by this and the-called tyranny elected
eo quod utrique participet. Quintus vero modus est et
for-this that in-each it-shares the-fifth but mode is and
fuit, quo principans statuitur omnium dominus eorum
was by-which the-ruler is-established of-all lord of-those-things
quae sunt in communitate, sic secundum suam voluntatem
which are in the-community thus according-to his will
realia et personalia disponens, quemadmodum iconomus
real-things and personal-things disposing as the-householder
pro voto disponit de hiis quae in propria domo sunt.
at wish disposes about these-things which in his-own house are
Quod tamen, ut haec Aristotelis dicta manifestentur amplius,
which however that these of-Aristotle sayings be-made-plain more-fully
et etiam modi omnes instituendi reliquos principatus ad
and also the-modes all of-instituting the-remaining principates to
capitulum reducantur, dicemus, quod omnis principatus vel
a-head be-reduced we-shall-say that every principate either
est voluntariis subditis, vel involuntariis. Primum est genus
is over-the-willing subjects or over-the-unwilling-ones the-first is the-kind
bene temperatorum principatuum, secundum vero vitiatorum.
of-well tempered principates the-second but of-the-vitiated
Distinguitur autem utrumque horum generum in tres species
is-distinguished but each of-these kinds into three species
sive modos, sicut dictum est viii° capitulo. Et quoniam
or modes as said it-is in-the-eighth chapter and since
una specierum bene temperati principatus et fortasse perfectior
one of-the-species of-well tempered principate and perhaps more-perfect
est regalis monarchia, ideoque praemissa recolligentes ab illius
is royal monarchy and-therefore the-premises recollecting from its

modis inchoemus sermonem, dicentes quod rex seu monarcha
modes let-us-begin the-discourse saying that a-king or monarch
vel instituitur per electionem incolarum seu civium, aut
either is-instituted through the-election of-the-inhabitants or citizens or
absque ipsorum electione rite obtinuit principatum. Si absque
without their election rightly obtained the-principate if without
civium electione, vel sic est quia primus inhabitavit
of-the-citizens election either thus it-is because first he-inhabited
regionem aut ipsius praedecessores, ex quibus traxit originem;
the-region or his predecessors from whom he-drew origin
vel quia terram et iurisdictionem emit, aut ipsam iusto
or because the-land and jurisdiction he-bought or it by-just
bello acquisivit, aut alio quovis licito modo, puta
war acquired or in-another any-whatever lawful way for-instance
dono sibi de ipsa facto propter impensum servitium.
by-gift to-him about it made on-account-of rendered service
Participat autem quilibet dictorum modorum tanto amplius
shares but each of-the-said modes by-so-much more
de vero regali, quanto magis est ad subditos voluntarios
about the-true royal by-how-much more it-is over subjects willing
et secundum legem latam ad commune conferens subditorum;
and according-to law passed for the-common advantage of-the-subjects
tanto vero amplius tyrannidem sapiens, quanto magis
by-so-much but more tyranny savoring by-how-much more
exit ab hiis, consensu videlicet subditorum et lege ad
it-goes-out from these consent namely of-the-subjects and law for
ipsorum commune conferens instituta. Unde iv Politicae,
their common advantage instituted whence in-the-fourth of-the-Politics
capitulo 8°, scribitur: Erant autem propterea quod secundum
in-chapter eighth is-written they-were but for-that-reason that according-to
legem regales (monarchiae scilicet), et quia monarchizabant
law royal monarchies namely and because they-monarchized

voluntariis, tyrannicae autem propter despotice principari
over-the-willing tyrannical but on-account-of despotically to-rule
et secundum suam sententiam (monarcharum scilicet). Haec
and according-to their opinion of-the-monarchs namely these
igitur duo praedicta principatum temperatum et vitiosum
therefore two aforesaid the-principate tempered and vitiated
separant, ut apparet ex Aristotelis aperta sententia, simpliciter
separate as appears from of-Aristotle the-open opinion simply
autem aut magis subditorum consensus. Quod si monarcha
but or more of-the-subjects the-consent but if a-monarch
principans per electionem incolarum fuerit institutus,
ruling through the-election of-the-inhabitants shall-have-been instituted
hoc fieri convenit aliquo horum modorum, quoniam vel
this to-be-done befits in-some of-these ways since either
instituitur cum sua tota posteritate seu successione, vel non.
he-is-instituted with his whole posterity or succession or not
Si enim non instituitur cum omni posteritate, hoc contingit
if for not he-is-instituted with all posterity this happens
pluribus modis, quoniam vel instituitur pro tota unius vita
in-several ways since either he-is-instituted for the-whole of-one life
tantummodo, vel pro unius et alicuius sui successoris unius
only or for of-one and of-some his successor one
aut plurium; vel non instituitur ad vitam totam alicuius,
or several or not he-is-instituted for life whole of-anyone
nec primi nec successorum, sed solummodo pro aliqua
neither of-the-first nor of-the-successors but only for some
parte temporis terminata, ut annali aut biennali, longiori
part of-time bounded as annual or biennial longer
vel breviori, et rursum vel ad omne iudiciale officium
or shorter and again either for every judicial office
exercendum, vel ad solum unicum velut exercitus dux.
to-be-exercised or for alone a-single-one as of-the-army leader

Conveniunt autem et differunt monarchae regales, electi cum
agree but and differ monarchs royal elected with
non-electis, quoniam utrique voluntariis principantur. Differunt
non-elected since both over-the-willing rule they-differ
autem, quoniam ut in pluribus non-electi principantur subditis
but since as in most-cases the-non-elected rule over-subjects
minus voluntariis, et ipsos disponunt legibus minus politicis ad
less willing and them dispose by-laws less political for
commune conferens, quales pridem barbaricas diximus. Electi
the-common advantage such-as before barbarous we-called the-elected
vero magis voluntariis praesunt, eosque disponunt legibus
but more over-the-willing-ones preside-over and-them dispose by-laws
politicis magis, quas diximus latas ad commune conferens.
political more which we-called passed for the-common advantage
Ex quibus patet, quod et in sequentibus amplius apparebit,
from which it-is-plain what also in the-following more-fully will-appear
genus electum principatus praestantius esse non-electo. Est
the-kind elected of-principate more-excellent to-be than-the-non-elected is
quoque sententia haec Aristotelis, iii Politicae, 8°
also opinion this of-Aristotle in-the-third of-the-Politics in-the-eighth
capitulo, quam induximus supra de hiis qui statuebantur
chapter which we-brought-in above about those who were-established
circa heroica tempora. Rursum hic modus institutionis in
about the-heroic times again this mode of-institution in
communitatibus perfectis permanentior est. Nam omnes alios
communities perfect more-permanent is for all others
in hunc quandoque oportet reducere per necessitatem, non
into this sometimes it-behooves to-reduce by necessity not
econverso, ut, si generis successio defecerit, aut alia
conversely as if of-the-family the-succession shall-have-failed or another
de causa fiat genus illud importabile multitudini ab
for cause become family that unbearable to-the-multitude from

excessu malitiae sui regiminis, oportet tunc multitudinem
the-excess of-the-malice of-its regime it-behooves then the-multitude
se convertere ad electionem; quae siquidem electio deficere
itself to-turn to election which indeed election to-fail
numquam potest, generatione hominum indeficiente. Amplius
never can with-the-generation of-men unfailing further
hoc solo modo institutionis habetur principans optimus.
by-this alone mode of-institution is-had the-ruler best
Nam eum expedit optimum esse illorum qui versantur in
for him it-is-expedient best to-be of-those who are-engaged in
politia, debet enim regulare actus civiles omnium aliorum.
the-polity he-ought for to-regulate the-acts civil of-all others
Modus vero institutionis aliarum specierum principatus
the-mode but of-the-institution of-the-other species of-principate
temperati ut plurimum est electio, et quandoque in aliquibus
tempered as in-most-cases is election and sometimes in some
sors, absque generis successione continua. Vitiatorum autem
lot without of-the-family succession continuous of-the-vitiated but
principatuum institutiones ut plurimum sunt fraus, aut
principates the-institutions as in-most-cases are fraud or
violentia, vel utrumque.
violence or both
Quis vero principatuum temperatorum sit praestantior, an
which but of-principates tempered be more-excellent whether
monarchia vel reliquae duae species, aristocratia vel politia;
monarchy or the-remaining two species aristocracy or polity
et rursum monarchiarum, an electa vel non-electa;
and again of-monarchies whether the-elected or the-non-elected
adhuc autem electarum, an ea quae cum omni generis
further but of-the-elected whether that which with all of-the-family
successione statuitur, aut in qua solus statuitur absque tali
succession is-established or in which alone is-established without such

successione; quae secatur in duas, ut eam scilicet quae ad
succession which is-cut into two as that namely which for
totam periodum alicuius aut aliquorum, vel ad partem solam
the-whole period of-someone or of-some-ones or for a-part only
temporis terminatam, puta annalem, biennalem, longiorem
of-time bounded for-instance annual biennial longer
aut breviorem; inquisitionem et dubitationem rationabilem
or shorter inquiry and doubt reasonable
habet, quamvis indubie tenendum secundum veritatem et
has although undoubtedly to-be-held according-to truth and
Aristotelis apertam sententiam, electionem esse certiorem
of-Aristotle the-open opinion election to-be the-surer
regulam principatus, ut in xii°, xvi° et xvii° huius
rule of-principate as in the-twelfth sixteenth and seventeenth of-this
certificabitur amplius.
will-be-made-certain more-fully

Hoc tamen non ignorare debemus, quod alia et altera
this however not to-be-ignorant-of we-ought that another and different
multitudo, in alia vel diversa regione ac tempore, disposita
multitude in another or different region and time disposed
est ad alteram et diversam politiam, aliumque aut alterum
is to another and different polity and-another or different
ferre principatum, ut dicit Aristoteles iii Politicae,
to-bear principate as says Aristotle in-the-third of-the-Politics
capitulo 9°; quae attendenda sunt a legum latoribus et
in-chapter ninth which to-be-attended are by of-laws the-makers and
principatuum institutoribus. Nam sicuti non quilibet homo
of-principates the-founders for as not any-whatever man
dispositus est ad optimam disciplinam, et propterea non ad
disposed is to the-best discipline and therefore not to
illam acquirendam statuitur a dirigente convenienter, sed
it to-be-acquired he-is-set by the-one-directing fittingly but

ad quam, bonarum tamen, magis fuerit praeparatus,
to that-which of-good-ones however more he-shall-have-been prepared
sic fortasse multitudo aliqua, quandoque aut in loco
so perhaps a-multitude some sometimes or in place
aliquo, non est disposita ferre optimum principatum,
some not is disposed to-bear the-best principate
ideoque ad temperatorum sibi convenientiorem ipsam
and-therefore to of-the-tempered the-one-to-itself more-fitting it
prius temptandum reducere. Ante enim Iulii Caesaris
first to-be-tried to-lead before for of-Julius Caesar
monarchiam Romanus populus diu ferre noluit monarcham
the-monarchy the-Roman people long to-bear refused a-monarch
aliquem terminatum, nec cum generis successione neque
any bounded neither with of-the-family succession nor
etiam ad totam unius solius monarchae periodum. Quod
even for the-whole of-one sole monarch period which
siquidem contingebat illi fortasse propter heroicorum et
indeed happened to-it perhaps on-account-of of-heroic and
principativorum virorum multitudinem, tam secundum genera
princely men the-multitude as-much according-to families
seu cognationes, quam secundum individua personarum.
or kinships as according-to individuals of-persons
Ex hiis igitur quae a nobis determinata sunt, manifeste
from these therefore which by us determined have-been manifestly
apparet, quod quaerentes quis monarcharum sit praestantior
it-appears that those-asking which of-monarchs be more-excellent
civitati vel regno, an qui per electionem, vel qui per
for-the-city or kingdom whether he-who through election or he-who through
generis successionem principatur, inconvenienter interrogant
of-the-family succession rules unfittingly question
et quaerunt. Sed oportet corrigentes quaerere primum, quis
and ask but it-behooves correcting to-ask first which

monarcharum sit praestantior, an electus aut non-electus.
of-monarchs be more-excellent whether the-elected or the-non-elected
Et si electus, rursum quis electorum, an qui cum omni
and if the-elected again which of-the-elected whether he-who with all
sui generis successione statuitur, vel qui absque generis
of-his family succession is-established or he-who without of-the-family
successione. Quoniam licet non-electus monarcha quasi semper
succession since although the-non-elected monarch as-if always
principatum transmittat heredi, electus tamen non omnis, sed
the-principate transmits to-an-heir the-elected however not every-one but
is solum qui cum sui successione omni statuitur principari.
he only who with his succession all is-established to-rule
De modis itaque institutionis principatuum, et quoniam
about the-modes and-so of-the-institution of-principates and that
ipsorum simpliciter praestantior est electio, determinatum
of-them simply more-excellent is election determined
sit hoc modo.
let-it-be in-this way

Capitulum X. De distinctione ac assignatione significatorum huius nominis lex, et ipsius propriissima et nobis intenta significatione

WHAT LAW IS, AND WHY RULERS NEED IT

Law may mean a natural inclination, a pattern in the mind, a rule of reward in the next life, or knowledge of the just; most properly it is that knowledge given coercive force, a precept enforced by punishment in this world. Law is necessary because judges are swayed by love, hatred, and greed, and no man, however good, knows enough alone. A ruler bound by law rules more securely and longer, as Theopompus knew when he gave up power.

Quoniam autem electionem diximus perfectiorem atque
since but election we-have-called the-more-perfect and
praestantiorem modorum instituendi principatum, bene se
more-excellent of-the-modes of-instituting a-principate well itself
habet inquirere illius effectivam causam, a qua scilicet
it-holds to-inquire its effective cause from which namely
secundum complementum suae bonitatis habeat provenire;
according-to the-completion of-its goodness it-may-have to-come
nam ex hoc apparebit etiam causa principatus electi et
for from this will-appear also the-cause of-the-principate elected and
similiter reliquarum partium politiae. Verum quia principatus
likewise of-the-remaining parts of-the-polity but since the-principate
regulare debet actus civiles humanos (ut demonstravimus
to-regulate ought the-acts civil human as we-have-demonstrated
v° huius) et secundum regulam, quae forma est et esse
in-the-fifth of-this and according-to a-rule which the-form is and to-be
debet principantis, inquantum huiusmodi, inquirere oportet
ought of-the-ruler in-so-far-as of-this-kind to-inquire it-behooves

huiusmodi regulam, si est, quid est, et propter quid. Est
of-this-kind rule if it-is what it-is and on-account-of what it-is
enim fortassis eadem ipsius effectiva causa, quae principantis.
for perhaps the-same its effective cause as of-the-ruler
Hanc itaque regulam, quam statutum vel consuetudinem
this and-so rule which statute or custom
et communi nomine legem appellant, existere supponentes
and by-a-common name law they-call to-exist assuming
quasi per-se-notum ex inductione in omnibus perfectis
as-if self-evident from induction in all perfect
communitatibus, primum ostendemus quid sit, deinde vero
communities first we-shall-show what it-be then but
ipsius finalem assignabimus necessitatem, demum autem
its final we-shall-assign necessity at-last but
determinabimus per demonstrationem cuius aut quorum
we-shall-determine through demonstration of-whom or of-which-ones
et quali actione hanc statuere oporteat; quod erit
and by-what-kind-of action this to-establish it-behooves which will-be
inquirere legislatorem seu causam agentem ipsius, ad quem
to-inquire-into the-legislator or cause agent of-it to whom
etiam electionem principatuum pertinere putamus et per
also the-election of-principates to-pertain we-think and through
demonstrationem in sequentibus ostendemus. Ex quibus etiam
demonstration in the-following we-shall-show from which also
apparebit materia sive subiectum regulae supradictae, quam
will-appear the-matter or subject of-the-rule above-said which
legem diximus. Nam haec est pars principans, cuius est
law we-have-called for this is the-part ruling whose it-is
secundum legem regulare politicos seu civiles hominum actus.
according-to law to-regulate the-political or civil of-men acts

Ad dicta quidem igitur procedentibus, ne propter
to the-things-said indeed therefore for-those-proceeding lest on-account-of
nominis multiplicitatem eveniat discolia, distinguere convenit
of-the-name the-multiplicity arise discord to-distinguish it-befits
intentiones seu significata huius nominis lex. Hoc enim nomen
the-intentions or significations of-this name law this for name
de numero multiplicium dictionum importat in una sui
from the-number of-multiple words imports in one of-its
significatione naturalem inclinationem sensitivam ad actionem
signification a-natural inclination sensitive to action
aut passionem aliquam, quo modo vocavit eam Apostolus,
or passion some in-which way called it the-Apostle
ad Romanos vii°, cum dixit: Video autem aliam legem in
to the-Romans seventh when he-said I-see but another law in
membris meis, repugnantem legi mentis meae. In alia
members my warring-against the-law of-mind my in another
vero ipsius acceptione dicitur hoc nomen lex de quolibet
but its acceptation is-said this name law of any-whatever
habitu operativo, et generaliter de omni forma rei
habit operative and generally of every form of-a-thing
operabilis existente in mente, a qua tamquam exemplari
operable existing in the-mind from which as-if from-an-exemplar
sive mensura formae artificiatorum proveniunt; quo modo
or measure the-forms of-artifacts come in-which way
dicitur Ezechielis xliii°: Haec ergo est lex domus;
it-is-said in-Ezekiel forty-third this therefore is the-law of-the-house
istae autem mensurae altaris. Tertio vero modo sumitur
these but the-measures of-the-altar in-the-third but way is-taken
lex pro regula continente monita humanorum actuum
law for a-rule containing admonitions of-human acts
imperatorum, secundum quod ordinantur ad gloriam vel
commanded according-to that they-are-ordered to glory or

poenam in saeculo venturo; secundum quam significationem
punishment in the-world coming according-to which signification
Lex Mosaica dicta est lex quantum ad aliquam sui partem,
the-Law Mosaic called is law as-far-as to some its part
sic quoque Lex Evangelica secundum se totam lex dicitur.
so also the-Law Evangelical according-to itself whole law is-called
Unde Apostolus ad Hebraeos de hiis ait: Translato
whence the-Apostle to the-Hebrews about these-things says with-transferred
enim sacerdotio, necesse est ut legis translatio fiat.
for the-priesthood necessary it-is that of-the-law a-transfer be-made
Sic etiam de disciplina evangelica lex dicitur Iacobi 1°:
so also of the-discipline evangelical law is-said in-James first
Qui autem prospexerit in legem perfectam libertatis, et
who but shall-have-looked into the-law perfect of-liberty and
in ea permanserit etc., hic beatus in facto suo erit.
in it shall-have-remained etc this-one blessed in deed his will-be
Hac etiam legis acceptione dicuntur leges omnes sectae, ut
in-this also of-law acceptation are-called laws all sects as
quae Machometi aut Persarum, secundum se totas aut
those of-Mohammed or of-the-Persians according-to themselves whole or
aliquas sui partes, licet ex hiis Mosaica et Evangelica,
some their parts although of these the-Mosaic and Evangelical
Christiana scilicet, solae contineant veritatem. Sic etiam sectas
Christian namely alone contain truth so also sects
leges vocavit Aristoteles, ii Philosophiae, cum dixit:
laws called Aristotle in-the-second of-Philosophy when he-said
Quantam vim habeat quod consuetum est, leges ostendunt;
how-much force has what customary is the-laws show
et in xii eiusdem: Reliqua vero fabulose iam adducta
and in the-twelfth of-the-same the-remaining but fabulously already brought-in
sunt ad persuasionem multorum ad leges et conferens.
have-been for the-persuasion of-many for the-laws and the-advantageous

Quarto autem importat hoc nomen lex, et famose magis,
in-the-fourth but imports this name law and famously more
scientiam seu doctrinam sive iudicium universale iustorum
the-science or doctrine or judgment universal of-the-just
et conferentium civilium, et suorum oppositorum.
and advantageous civil-things and of-their opposites
Et sic accepta lex dupliciter considerari potest: uno modo
and thus taken law doubly to-be-considered can in-one way
secundum se, ut per ipsam solum ostenditur quid
according-to itself as through it alone is-shown what
iustum aut iniustum, conferens aut nocivum, et inquantum
just or unjust advantageous or harmful and in-so-far-as
huiusmodi iuris scientia vel doctrina dicitur. Alio modo
of-this-kind of-right the-science or doctrine it-is-called in-another way
considerari potest secundum quod de ipsius observatione
to-be-considered it-can according-to that about its observance
datur praeceptum coactivum per poenam aut praemium
is-given a-precept coercive through punishment or reward
in praesenti saeculo distribuenda, sive secundum quod per
in the-present world to-be-distributed or according-to that by
modum talis praecepti traditur, et hoc modo considerata
way of-such a-precept it-is-handed-down and in-this way considered
propriissime lex vocatur et est. Quam etiam sic sumptam
most-properly law it-is-called and is which also thus taken
diffinit Aristoteles, x Ethicorum, 8° capitulo, cum
defines Aristotle in-the-tenth of-the-Ethics in-the-eighth chapter when
dixit: Lex autem coactivam habet potentiam, sermo ens
he-said law but coercive has power a-discourse being
ab aliqua prudentia et intellectu; sermo igitur seu oratio
from some prudence and understanding a-discourse therefore or speech
ab aliqua prudentia et intellectu, politico scilicet, id est,
from some prudence and understanding political namely that is

ordinatio de iustis et conferentibus et ipsorum oppositis
an-ordinance about just-things and advantageous-things and their opposites
per prudentiam politicam, habens coactivam potentiam, id
through prudence political having coercive power that
est, de cuius observatione datur praeceptum quod quis cogitur
is of whose observance is-given a-precept which one is-compelled
observare, seu lata per modum talis praecepti, lex est.
to-observe or passed by way of-such a-precept law is
Unde iustorum et conferentium civilium non omnes verae
whence of-just and advantageous civil-things not all true
cognitiones sunt leges, nisi de ipsarum observatione datum
knowledges are laws unless of their observance given
fuerit praeceptum coactivum, seu latae fuerint
shall-have-been a-precept coercive or passed they-shall-have-been
per modum praecepti, licet talis vera cognitio ipsorum
by way of-precept although such true knowledge of-them
necessario requiratur ad legem perfectam. Quinimo quandoque
necessarily be-required for law perfect nay sometimes
falsae cognitiones iustorum et conferentium leges fiunt, cum
false knowledges of-just-things and advantageous-things laws become when
de ipsis datur observationis praeceptum, seu feruntur per
about them is-given of-observance a-precept or they-are-passed by
modum praecepti, sicut apparet in regionibus barbarorum
way of-precept as appears in the-regions of-barbarians
quorundam, qui tamquam iustum observari faciunt homicidam
certain who as-if just to-be-observed make the-homicide
absolvi a culpa et poena civili, reale aliquod pretium
to-be-absolved from guilt and punishment civil a-real some price
exhibentem pro tali delicto, cum tamen hoc simpliciter sit
showing for such an-offense though however this simply be
iniustum, et per consequens ipsorum leges non perfectae
unjust and by consequence their laws not perfect

simpliciter. Esto enim quod formam habeant debitam,
simply let-it-be for that form they-have due
praeceptum scilicet observationis coactivum, debita tamen
the-precept namely of-observance coercive due however
carent conditione, videlicet debita et vera ordinatione iustorum.
they-lack condition namely the-due and true ordinance of-just-things
Comprehenduntur autem sub hac legis acceptione omnes
are-comprehended but under this of-law acceptation all
iustorum et conferentium civilium regulae auctoritate humana
of-just and advantageous civil-things the-rules by-authority human
institutae, ut consuetudines, statuta, plebiscita, decretales, et
instituted as customs statutes plebiscites decretals and
omnes consimiles, quae scilicet humanae auctoritati, ut iam
all like-ones which namely on-human authority as already
diximus, innituntur.
we-have-said rest
Debemus tamen non ignorare, quod tam Lex Evangelica,
we-ought however not to-be-ignorant-of that as-much the-Law Evangelical
quam Mosaica, et fortasse sectarum reliquae, diversimode
as the-Mosaic and perhaps of-the-sects the-remaining diversely
consideratae ac comparatae in toto vel parte ipsarum, ad
considered and compared in whole or part of-them to
humanos actus pro statu praesentis saeculi vel venturi,
human acts for the-state of-the-present world or of-the-coming
quandoque veniunt, vel venerunt hactenus, aut venturae
sometimes come or have-come hitherto or about-to-come
sunt in tertiam legis significationem, et quandoque in
are into the-third of-law signification and sometimes into
ultimam, ut viii° et ix° Secundae manifestabitur
the-last as in-the-eighth and ninth of-the-Second will-be-made-plain

amplius, quaedam quidem secundum veritatem, quaedam vero
more-fully certain indeed according-to truth certain but
secundum fantasiam falsam et promissionem inanem.
according-to fantasy false and promise empty
Quod quidem igitur sit regula seu lex aliqua humanorum
that indeed therefore there-be a-rule or law some of-human
actuum civilium, et quid sit, ex iam dictis palam.
acts civil and what it-be from the-now said-things clear
Capitulum XI. De necessitate lationis legum in propriissima
Chapter XI about the-necessity of-the-passing of-laws in the-most-proper
significatione sumptarum; et quod nullum principantem
signification taken and that for-no ruler
quantumcumque studiosum aut iustum expediat absque
however studious or just it-is-expedient without
legibus principari.
laws to-rule
Hiis itaque legis acceptionibus sic divisis, eius secundum
with-these and-so of-law acceptations thus divided its according-to
ultimam et propriissimam significationem ostendere volumus
the-last and most-proper signification to-show we-wish
necessitatem finalem: principaliorem quidem civile iustum et
the-necessity final the-more-principal indeed the-civil just and
conferens commune, assecutivam vero quandam principantium,
advantageous common the-consequent but a-certain of-rulers
maxime secundum generis successionem, securitatem et
most according-to of-the-family succession security and
principatus diuturnitatem. Primam ergo necessitatem sic:
of-the-principate long-duration the-first therefore necessity thus
quoniam illud necessarium est in politia statuere absque
since that necessary it-is in the-polity to-establish without
quo civilia iudicia simpliciter recte fieri nequeunt, per
which civil judgments simply rightly to-be-made cannot through

quod rite feruntur, et a defectu quantum possibile est
which duly they-are-passed and from defect as-much-as possible it-is
humanis actibus praeservantur. Lex est huiusmodi: ut cum
human in-acts are-preserved law is of-this-kind as when
secundum ipsam determinatus fuerit principans ferre
according-to it determined shall-have-been the-ruler to-pass
civilia iudicia, ergo legis institutio necessaria est in politia.
civil judgments therefore of-law the-institution necessary is in the-polity
Prima propositio huius demonstrationis est quasi per-se-nota,
the-first proposition of-this demonstration is as-if self-evident
et indemonstrabilibus propinqua valde. Cuius etiam certitudo
and to-the-indemonstrable near very of-which also the-certainty
accipi debet et potest ex v° huius, parte 7ª. Secunda
to-be-taken ought and can from the-fifth of-this in-part seventh the-second
vero propositio manifestabitur ex hoc: quoniam ad iudicii
but proposition will-be-made-plain from this since for of-judgment
complementum in bonitate requiritur affectio recta iudicum,
the-completion in goodness is-required the-affection right of-judges
et iudicandorum vera cognitio, quorum opposita civilia
and of-the-things-to-be-judged true knowledge of-which the-opposites civil
corrumpunt iudicia. Nam perversa iudicantis affectio, ut odii
corrupt judgments for the-perverse of-the-judge affection as of-hatred
vel amoris aut avaritiae, desiderium iudicantis pervertit. Haec
or of-love or of-avarice the-desire of-the-judge perverts these
autem a iudicio prohibentur, et ab hiis praeservatur, dum
but from judgment are-kept-off and from these he-is-preserved while
fuerit iudex seu principans determinatus secundum leges
shall-have-been the-judge or ruler determined according-to laws
ferre iudicia, propterea quod lex omni caret affectione perversa;
to-pass judgments for-this-reason that law of-every lacks affection perverse
non enim facta est ad amicum aut inimicum utilem vel
not for made it-is for a-friend or enemy useful or

nocivum, sed universaliter ad agentem civiliter bene aut male.
harmful but universally for one-acting civilly well or badly
Omnia namque reliqua sibi accidunt et extra legem sunt,
all for remaining-things to-it happen and outside the-law are
non sic autem extra iudicem sunt. Quoniam personae in iudicio
not so but outside the-judge are-they since the-persons in judgment
constitutae possunt esse amicae vel inimicae iudicanti, utiles vel
set can to-be friendly or hostile to-the-judge useful or
nocivae, dando aut aliquid promittendo; sic quoque in reliquis
harmful by-giving or something by-promising so also in the-remaining
intentionibus, quae in iudice causare possunt affectionem
intentions which in the-judge to-cause can an-affection
ipsius iudicium pervertentem. Propter quod nullum iudicium,
his judgment perverting on-account-of which no judgment
quantum possibile est, debet committi arbitrio iudicantis,
as-much-as possible it-is ought to-be-committed to-the-discretion of-the-judge
sed lege determinari et secundum ipsam pronunciari.
but by-law to-be-determined and according-to it to-be-pronounced
Haec autem fuit sententia divini Aristotelis, iii
this but was the-opinion of-the-divine Aristotle in-the-third
Politicae, capitulo 9°, ubi ex intentione perquirens, an
of-the-Politics in-chapter ninth where on purpose inquiring whether
melius sit regi politiam optimo viro absque lege, vel ab
better it-be to-be-ruled the-polity by-the-best man without law or by
optimis legibus, inquit sic: Valentius autem (id est, praestantius
the-best laws he-says thus stronger but that is more-excellent
ad iudicandum), cui non adest quod passionale omnino
for judging in-whom not is-present what passionate wholly
(id est, affectio quae iudicium pervertere potest), quam
that is affection which judgment to-pervert can than
cui connaturale. Legi quidem igitur hoc non inest (passio
in-whom connatural to-law indeed therefore this not is-in passion

videlicet sive affectio); humanam autem animam necesse hoc
namely or affection the-human but soul necessary-it-is this
habere omnem; et dixit omnem, non excipiendo quemquam
to-have every and he-said every not excepting anyone
quantumcumque studiosum. Quam siquidem sententiam repetens
however studious which indeed opinion repeating
i Rhetoricae, capitulo 1°, sic ait: Omnium quidem
in-the-first of-the-Rhetoric in-chapter first thus he-says of-all indeed
maximum quaeritur (scilicet nihil absque lege iudicandum
the-greatest is-sought namely nothing without law to-be-judged
relinqui debet arbitrio iudicantis), quia iudicium quidem
to-be-left ought to-the-discretion of-the-judge because the-judgment indeed
legislatoris (id est lex) non secundum partem (id est, non est
of-the-legislator that is law not according-to part that is not is
latum propter aliquem unicum particularem hominem), sed
passed for-the-sake-of some single particular man but
de futuris et universalibus est. Praefectus autem et iudex
about future-things and universal-things is the-prefect but and the-judge
iam de praesentibus et determinatis iudicant, ad quos et
now about present-things and determinate-things judge to whom both
amare iam et odire et proprium commodum annexa sunt
to-love now and to-hate and one's-own advantage joined are
saepe, ut non adhuc possint videre sufficienter verum, sed
often so-that not still they-can to-see sufficiently the-true but
attendere in iudicio proprium delectabile aut triste. Hoc etiam
to-attend in judgment to-their-own pleasant or sad this also
dicit eodem i, capitulo 2°: Non enim, inquit, similiter
he-says in-the-same first in-chapter second not for says-he likewise
reddimus iudicia tristes et gaudentes, amantes vel odientes.
we-render judgments sad and rejoicing loving or hating

Corrumpitur adhuc iudicium propter iudicum ignorantiam,
is-corrupted further judgment on-account-of of-judges the-ignorance
esto quod bonae sint affectionis seu intentionis. Quod etiam
granted that good they-be of-affection or intention which also
peccatum sive defectus per legem tollitur et suppletur,
sin or defect through law is-removed and is-supplied
quoniam in ipsa determinatum est quasi perfecte, quid iustum
since in it determined is as-if perfectly what just
aut iniustum, conferens aut nocivum, secundum unumquemque
or unjust advantageous or harmful according-to each
humanum actum civilem. Hoc autem nequit sic sufficienter
human act civil this but cannot so sufficiently
fieri per unicum hominem quantumcumque ingeniosum.
to-be-done by a-single man however ingenious
Quoniam unus solus homo, nec fortasse omnes unius aetatis
since one alone man nor perhaps all of-one age
homines invenire aut retinere possent omnes actus civiles
men to-find or to-retain could all acts civil
determinatos in lege; quinimo, quod de ipsis dixerunt
determined in law nay what about them said
inventores primi, et omnes etiam eiusdem aetatis homines
the-inventors first and all also of-the-same age men
talium observatores, fuit res modica et imperfecta,
of-such-things observers was a-thing small and imperfect
quae postmodum ex additione posteriorum complementum
which afterward from the-addition of-later-men completion
suscepit. Quod quidem videre sat est experientia nota per
received which indeed to-see enough it-is by-experience known through
additionem et subtractionem ac totaliter in contrarium
the-addition and subtraction and wholly into the-contrary

mutationem quandoque factam in legibus secundum diversas
change sometimes made in laws according-to diverse
aetates, et secundum diversa tempora eiusdem aetatis.
ages and according-to diverse times of-the-same age
Testatur autem et hoc Aristoteles, ii Politicae, capitulo
testifies but also this Aristotle in-the-second of-the-Politics in-chapter
2°, cum dixit: Oportet autem non hoc ipsum ignorare,
second when he-said it-behooves but not this itself to-be-ignorant-of
quia oportet attendere multo tempore et multis annis, in
because it-behooves to-attend for-much time and many years in
quibus non utique lateat, si haec bene se habuerunt,
which not surely may-lie-hid if these-things well themselves have-held
quae scilicet statui debent tamquam leges. Idem
which namely to-be-established ought as-if laws the-same
dicit ipse, i Rhetoricae, capitulo 1°: Deinde, inquit,
says he in-the-first of-the-Rhetoric in-chapter first then says-he
legislationes quidem ex multo tempore consideratis fiunt.
legislations indeed from much time with-things-considered are-made
Et confirmatur id ratione quoniam legislationes indigent
and is-confirmed this by-reason since legislations need
prudentia, ut pridem ex descriptione legis apparuit, prudentia
prudence as before from the-description of-law appeared prudence
vero longa eget experientia, haec autem temporis multitudine.
but long needs experience this but of-time a-multitude
Unde vi Ethicorum: Signum autem ipsius quod dictum
whence in-the-sixth of-the-Ethics a-sign but of-it what said
est, et quod geometrici quidem iuvenes et disciplinati
is and that geometers indeed young-men and disciplined
fiunt et sapientes talia; prudentes autem non videntur
become and wise in-such-things prudent but not seem
fieri. Causa autem, quoniam et singularium est prudentia,
to-become the-cause but since also of-singulars is prudence

quae fiunt cognita ex experientia; iuvenis autem expertus
which become known from experience the-young-man but experienced
non est; multitudo enim temporis faciet experientiam. Et
not is the-multitude for of-time will-make experience and
ideo quod unus solus homo invenit aut scire potest per
therefore what one alone man finds or to-know can through
seipsum, tam in scientia iustorum et conferentium civilium
himself as-much in the-science of-just and advantageous civil-things
quam in aliis scientiis, est parum aut nihil. Adhuc etiam
as in other sciences is little or nothing further also
quod unius aetatis homines respectu eius quod ex pluribus
what of-one age men in-respect of-that which from several
aetatibus observatur, imperfecta res est; propter quod
ages is-observed an-imperfect thing is on-account-of which
de inventione veritatis secundum unamquamque artem et
about the-finding of-truth according-to each art and
disciplinam tractans Aristoteles, ii Philosophiae, capitulo
discipline treating Aristotle in-the-second of-Philosophy in-chapter
1°, sic inquit: Secundum unum quidem (inventorem scilicet
first thus says according-to one indeed finder namely
cuiusvis disciplinae aut artis) nihil aut parum ei immittere
of-any discipline or art nothing or little to-it to-put-in
(id est, de ipsa per se solum invenire), ex omnibus
that is about it through himself alone to-find from all-things
coarticulatum fieri magnitudinem aliquam. Secundum
joined to-be-made a-magnitude some according-to
tamen translationem ex Arabico magis aperta est haec series,
however the-translation from Arabic more open is this series
in qua sic habetur: Et unusquisque eorum (id est, inventorum
in which thus is-had and each of-them that is of-the-finders
cuiusvis artis aut disciplinae) aut nihil comprehendit de
of-any art or discipline either nothing comprehends of

veritate aut modicum. Cum igitur congregatum fuerit
truth or little when therefore gathered it-shall-have-been
ex eo ab omnibus qui comprehenderunt, tunc congregatum
from it by all who comprehended then the-thing-gathered
erit alicuius quantitatis; quod maxime apparet de Astrologia.
will-be of-some quantity which most appears about Astrology
Sic ergo per auxilium hominum invicem et additionem
thus therefore through the-help of-men mutual and the-addition
posterius inventorum ad inventa prius, receperunt omnes artes
later of-things-found to things-found earlier received all arts
et disciplinae complementum. Quod figuraliter etiam declarat
and disciplines completion which figuratively also declares
ibidem Aristoteles circa Musicae inventionem, cum dixit: Si
there Aristotle about of-Music the-finding when he-said if
Timotheus non fuisset, multam melodiam non haberemus:
Timotheus not had-been much melody not we-would-have
si autem Phrynes, Timotheus non fuisset, ita perfectus
if but Phrynis Timotheus not would-have-been so perfect
scilicet in melodiis, nisi habuisset prius inventa per Phrynem.
namely in melodies unless he-had-had before things-found by Phrynis
Quae verba exponens Averrois 2° Commento, sic ait: Et
which words expounding Averroes in-the-second Commentary thus says and
quod dicit in hoc capitulo (Aristoteles scilicet), manifestum
what says in this chapter Aristotle namely manifest
est. Nullus enim potest invenire per se artes operativas aut
is no-one for can to-find by himself arts operative or
consideративas (id est speculativas) in maiori parte, quia non
considerative that is speculative in the-greater part because not
complentur nisi per iuvamentum prioris ad sequentem.
they-are-completed except through the-help of-the-earlier to the-following
Idem dicit ii Elenchorum, capitulo finali, de inventione
the-same says in-the-second of-the-Refutations in-chapter final about the-finding

rhetoricae et omnium aliarum, quicquid fuerit de
of-rhetoric and of-all others whatever there-shall-have-been about
Logices inventione, quam soli sibi absque prioris alicuius
of-Logic the-finding which to-alone himself without of-an-earlier any
inventione seu auxilio perfectam adscribit, in quo singularis inter
the-finding or help perfect he-ascribes in which singular among
alios extitisse videtur. Hoc etiam dicit ipse viii Ethicorum,
others to-have-stood he-seems this also says he in-the-eighth of-the-Ethics
capitulo 1°: Duo, inquit, venientes (id est convenientes) agere
in-chapter first two says-he coming that is coming-together to-act
et intelligere potentiores sunt (supple, uno solo). Quod si
and to-understand more-powerful are supply than-one alone but if
duo, magis plures duobus, et simul, et successive, quam solus
two more several than-two both at-once and successively than alone
unus. Et hoc est quod de proposito dicit, iii Politicae,
one and this is what about the-purpose he-says in-the-third of-the-Politics
capitulo 9°: Inconveniens, inquit, forte utique videbitur, si
in-chapter ninth unfitting says-he perhaps surely will-seem if
melius percipiat quis duobus oculis et duabus auribus iudicans
better should-perceive one with-two eyes and two ears judging
et agens duobus pedibus et manibus, quam multi multis.
and acting with-two feet and hands than many with-many
Cum igitur lex sit oculus ex multis oculis, id est comprehensio
since therefore law be an-eye from many eyes that is a-comprehension
examinata ex multis comprehensoribus ad errorem evitandum
examined from many comprehenders for error to-be-avoided
circa civilia iudicia, et recte iudicandum, tutius est ea fieri
about civil judgments and rightly judging safer it-is them to-be-made
secundum legem quam secundum iudicantis arbitrium. Et
according-to law than according-to of-the-judge the-discretion and
propter hoc ipsam statui necesse est, si debeant politiae
for this it to-be-established necessary it-is if ought polities

quantum ad iusta et conferentia ipsarum civilia disponi
as-far-as to the-just and advantageous their civil-things to-be-disposed
optime; per ipsam enim iudicia civilia praeservantur ab
best through it for judgments civil are-preserved from
ignorantia et iudicum affectione perversa, quae fuit minor
ignorance and of-judges affection perverse which was the-minor
assumptae demonstrationis, qua ex principio capituli huius
of-the-assumed demonstration by-which from the-beginning of-chapter this
necessitatem legum assignare temptavimus. Quo vero modo
the-necessity of-laws to-assign we-attempted in-what but way
subortam litem seu civilem causam, lege non determinatam,
an-arisen dispute or civil case by-law not determined
diffinire seu iudicare oporteat, dicetur xiv° huius.
to-define or to-judge it-behooves will-be-said in-the-fourteenth of-this
Sunt ergo leges necessariae ad excludendum a civilibus
are therefore laws necessary for excluding from civil
iudiciis seu sententiis iudicum malitiam et errorem.
judgments or sentences of-judges malice and error
Haec propter consuluit Aristoteles, nulli iudici seu
these on-account-of advised Aristotle to-no judge or
principanti concedere arbitrium iudicandi aut praecipiendi de
ruler to-grant discretion of-judging or of-commanding about
civilibus absque lege, in quibus lex determinare potuit. Unde
civil-things without law in which-things law to-determine could whence
iv Ethicorum, capitulo 5°, in tractatu de iustitia dixit
in-the-fourth of-the-Ethics in-chapter fifth in the-treatise about justice said
Aristoteles: Propter hoc non sinimus principari hominem,
Aristotle on-account-of this not we-allow to-rule a-man
sed secundum rationem, id est legem, causam assignans,
but according-to reason that is law the-cause assigning
quam pridem induximus, affectionem perversam scilicet quae
which before we-brought-in affection perverse namely which

in illo cadere potest. Idem, iii Politicae, capitulo 6°,
into him to-fall can the-same in-the-third of-the-Politics in-chapter sixth
cum dixit: Prima autem dicta dubitatio facit manifestum,
when he-said the-first but said doubt makes manifest
nihil sic alterum, quam quod oportet leges recte positas esse
nothing so other than that it-behooves the-laws rightly laid-down to-be
dominans, id est dominari principantes secundum ipsas. Idem,
dominant that is to-rule the-rulers according-to them the-same
eodem, capitulo 9°, dum dixit: Qui quidem intellectum
in-the-same chapter ninth while he-said he-who indeed understanding
iubet principari, videtur iubere principari Deum et leges, qui
bids to-rule seems to-bid to-rule God and the-laws he-who
autem hominem iubet (absque lege scilicet secundum arbitrium
but a-man bids without law namely according-to discretion
proprium), apponit et bestiam; parum post subiungens causam,
his-own adds also a-beast a-little after adding the-cause
cum dixit: Propter quod sine appetitu intellectus lex est;
when he-said on-account-of which without appetite understanding law is
quasi dicat, legem intellectum seu cognitionem esse absque
as-if he-should-say law understanding or knowledge to-be without
appetitu, id est affectione aliqua. Hanc quoque sententiam
appetite that is affection any this also opinion
repetit i Rhetoricae, capitulo 1°, ubi sic inquit: Maxime
he-repeats in-the-first of-the-Rhetoric in-chapter first where thus he-says most
quidem igitur convenit, rectas positas leges quaecumque
indeed therefore it-befits right laid-down laws whatever-things
contingit, omnia determinare ipsas, et quam paucissima
happen all to-determine themselves and as very-few-things
committere iudicantibus; assignans huius pridem adductas
to-commit to-the-judges assigning of-this before adduced
causas, exclusionem scilicet malitiae atque ignorantiae iudicum
causes the-exclusion namely of-malice and of-ignorance of-judges

a civilibus iudiciis, quae in lege cadere nequeunt sicut in
from civil judgments which into law to-fall cannot as into
iudice, quemadmodum ostensum est prius. Et hiis
a-judge as shown it-has-been before and beyond-these
amplius dicit aperte Aristoteles iv Politicae, capitulo 4°,
more says openly Aristotle in-the-fourth of-the-Politics in-chapter fourth
quod: ubi non principantur leges (id est, ubi principantes
that where not rule laws that is where rulers
non principantur secundum ipsas), non est politia (temperata,
not rule according-to them not is a-polity tempered
supple). Oportet enim legem quidem principari omnium.
supply it-behooves for law indeed to-rule over-all
Superest autem ostendere, quod principari secundum legem,
remains but to-show that to-rule according-to law
nec praeter ipsam, debent omnes principantes. Horum
nor beyond it ought all rulers of-these
vero maxime monarchae, qui cum omni eorum successione
but most monarchs who with all their succession
principantur, ut ipsorum principatus securiores et diuturniores
rule that their principates more-secure and more-lasting
existant, quae in huius capituli principio fuerat tamquam
may-stand which at of-this chapter the-beginning had-been as-if
secundaria legum necessitas assignata. Hoc autem sic primum
a-secondary of-laws necessity assigned this but thus first
videre est, quoniam secundum legem principari ipsorum iudicia
to-see it-is since according-to law to-rule their judgments
praeservat a defectu contingente propter ignorantiam et
preserves from defect happening on-account-of ignorance and
affectionem perversam. Unde in seipsis et ad cives subditos
affection perverse whence in themselves and toward citizens subjects
regulati, minus patiuntur seditiones, et per consequens suorum
regulated less they-suffer seditions and by consequence of-their

principatuum solutiones, quae illis contingerent agentibus
principates dissolutions which to-them would-happen acting
prave secundum suum arbitrium, sicut patenter dicit Aristoteles,
wickedly according-to their discretion as openly says Aristotle
v Politicae, capitulo 5°: Regnum enim, inquit Aristoteles,
in-the-fifth of-the-Politics in-chapter fifth the-kingdom for says Aristotle
ab extrinsecis quidem minime corrumpitur; ex seipso autem
from outside-things indeed least is-corrupted from itself but
plurimae corruptiones accidunt. Corrumpitur autem secundum
very-many corruptions happen it-is-corrupted but according-to
duos modos: uno quidem seditionem facientibus hiis, qui
two ways in-one indeed sedition making those who
participant regno, alio autem modo magis tyrannice
share in-the-kingdom in-the-other but way more tyrannically
temptantibus gubernare, quando exegerint esse domini
attempting to-govern when they-shall-have-required to-be lords
plurium et praeter legem. Non fiunt autem adhuc regna
of-more and beyond law not are-made but still kingdoms
nunc, sed si fiant monarchiae, et tyrannides magis.
now but if they-be-made monarchies and tyrannies rather
Obiciet autem aliquis de optimo viro, quod careat ignorantia
will-object but someone about the-best man that he-lacks ignorance
et affectione perversa. Nos autem dicamus rarissime id
and affection perverse we but let-us-say very-rarely this
contingere, nec tamen aequaliter ipsi legi, ut pridem
to-happen nor however equally to-the-very law as before
induximus ab Aristotele a ratione et sensata experientia,
we-brought-in from Aristotle from reason and sensed experience
quoniam omnem animam contingit habere hanc, id est
since every soul happens to-have this that is
affectionem quandoque sinistram. Quod facile credere possumus
affection sometimes sinister which easily to-believe we-can

ex Danielis xiii°. Ibi namque scribitur quod venerunt
from of-Daniel the-thirteenth there for is-written that came
duo presbyteri iniqua cogitatione adversus Susannam, ut
two priests with-wicked thought against Susanna that
interficerent eam. Hii autem erant senes et sacerdotes et
they-might-kill her these but were old-men and priests and
populi iudices anno illo, qui tamen falsum testimonium
of-the-people judges in-year that who however false testimony
perhibuerunt adversus eam, propterea quod ipsorum iniquae
bore against her for-this-reason that their to-wicked
concupiscentiae acquiescere noluit. Et ideo si presbyteri
lust to-assent she-refused and therefore if priests
et senes, de quibus minime videretur, corrupti fuerunt
and old-men about whom least it-would-seem corrupted were
propter carnalem concupiscentiam, et quanto magis propter
on-account-of carnal lust and how-much more on-account-of
avaritiam et reliqua, quid de reliquis sentiendum?
avarice and the-remaining what about the-remaining is-to-be-thought
neminem certe quantumcumque studiosum sic posse carere
no-one surely however studious so to-be-able to-lack
passione perversa et ignorantia quemadmodum lex. Ideoque
passion perverse and ignorance as law and-therefore
tutius est regulari iudicia civilia lege quam arbitrio
safer it-is to-be-regulated judgments civil by-law than to-the-discretion
iudicantis committi quantumcumque etiam studiosi.
of-the-judge to-be-committed however even studious
Esto tamen, quamvis rarissimum aut impossibilium quoddam,
let-it-be however although very-rare or of-impossible-things a-certain-thing
esse virum aliquem principantem sic heroicum ut in ipso
to-be a-man some ruling so heroic that in him
neque passio neque ignorantia cadat. Quid de natis
neither passion nor ignorance fall what about the-born

dicemus, huic dissimilibus entibus, qui propter ipsorum
shall-we-say to-this-one unlike beings who on-account-of their
excessum in principatu secundum proprium arbitrium
excess in the-principate according-to their-own discretion
committent unde principatu priventur? nisi forte quis
will-commit whence of-the-principate they-may-be-deprived unless perhaps someone
dixerit quod pater, virorum optimus, illis principatum
shall-have-said that the-father of-men best to-them the-principate
non tradet; quod tamen audiri non debet, tum quia in
not will-hand-over which however to-be-heard not ought both because in
ipso non est filios hac successione privare, ex quo generi
him not it-is the-sons of-this succession to-deprive from which to-the-family
per successionem principatus debetur, tum quia, si in
through succession the-principate is-owed and because if in
ipsius potestate foret principatum in quem vellet transferre,
his power it-were the-principate to whom he-wished to-transfer
non privaret eo filios quantumcumque pravos. Unde
not he-would-deprive of-it the-sons however wicked whence
Aristoteles, iii Politicae, capitulo 9°, huic respondens
Aristotle in-the-third of-the-Politics in-chapter ninth to-this replying
obiectioni, sic inquit: Adhuc hoc credere (scilicet patrem
objection thus says further this to-believe namely the-father
privare filios principatu) difficile est, et maioris virtutis quam
to-deprive the-sons of-the-principate difficult is and of-greater virtue than
secundum humanam naturam. Propter quod principantibus
according-to human nature on-account-of which for-rulers
expedit magis lege regulari et determinari, quam
it-is-expedient more by-law to-be-regulated and to-be-determined than
arbitrio proprio iudicia ferre civilia, secundum legem enim
by-discretion their-own judgments to-pass civil according-to law for

nil pravum aut reprehensibile agent, unde securior et
nothing wicked or blameworthy they-will-do whence more-secure and
diuturnior efficietur principatus eorum.
more-lasting will-be-made principate their
Hoc autem fuit consilium eximii Aristotelis ad omnes
this but was the-counsel of-the-outstanding Aristotle to all
principantes, quod tamen parum advertunt, cum, v
rulers which however little they-heed when in-the-fifth
Politicae, capitulo 6°, dixit: Quanto enim pauciorum fiunt
of-the-Politics in-chapter sixth he-said by-how-much for of-fewer-things they-become
domini (absque lege scilicet) ampliori tempore necessarium
lords without law namely for-a-longer time necessary
manere omnem principatum, ipsi enim (principantes videlicet)
to-remain every principate the-very for rulers namely
fiunt minus despotici, et moribus aequi magis et a subditis
become less despotic and in-morals equal more and by the-subjects
invidetur eis minus. Et adducit consequenter testimonium
is-envied them less and he-adduces next the-testimony
cuiusdam prudentissimi regis vocati Theopompi, qui de
of-a-certain most-prudent king called Theopompus who from
potestate sibi concessa dimisit. Unde iudicavimus conveniens
the-power to-him granted let-go whence we-have-judged fitting
hic seriem Aristotelis inducere propter huius principis
here the-series of-Aristotle to-bring-in on-account-of of-this prince
singularitatem et virtutem excellentem et quasi per saecula
the-singularity and virtue excellent and as-if through ages
inauditam in alio quoquam. Dixit ergo Aristoteles: Rursum
unheard-of in another anyone said therefore Aristotle again
Theopompo moderante (id est, minorante potestatem suam,
with-Theopompus moderating that is lessening power his
quae forte videbatur excedens) et in aliis instituente
which perhaps seemed exceeding and among other-things instituting

ephororum principatum; a potestate enim auferens (scilicet
of-the-ephors the-principate from power for taking-away namely
sua) auxit tempore regnum (id est, fecit durabilius),
his-own he-increased in-time the-kingdom that is made-it more-lasting
quare modo quodam fecit non minus, sed maius ipsum.
wherefore in-a-way certain he-made not less but greater it
Quae quidem (id est, haec verba) aiunt et ad uxorem
which indeed that is these words they-say also to his-wife
respondisse ipsum, quae (scilicet uxor) dixerat: Si nihil (id
to-have-answered he which namely wife had-said if nothing that
est, si non) verecundaretur, minus regnum tradens filiis,
is if not he-was-ashamed a-lesser kingdom handing-down to-his-sons
quam a patre accepit? (cui verba iam dicta respondit)
than from his-father he-received to-whom words now said he-answered
non oportet hoc dicere, trado enim diuturnius. O vox
not it-behooves this to-say I-hand-down for a-more-lasting-one O voice
heroica, ex inaudita prudentia Theopompi procedens, et
heroic from unheard-of prudence of-Theopompus proceeding and
quam notanda hiis qui extra leges uti volunt plenitudine
how to-be-noted by-those who outside the-laws to-use wish fullness
potestatis in subditos; quam inadvertentes multi principantium
of-power over subjects which not-heeding many of-rulers
corruerunt. Et nos quidem ex huius inadvertentia regnorum
have-fallen and we indeed from of-this the-not-heeding of-kingdoms
non minimum modernis temporibus quasi totum mutare
not the-least in-modern times as-if wholly to-change
vidimus, dum ipsius princeps quidam insolitam et praeter
have-seen while its prince a-certain unwonted and beyond
legem voluit subditis exactionem imponere.
law wished on-subjects an-exaction to-impose

Sic itaque palam ex dictis, in politiis necessarias esse
thus and-so clear from the-things-said in polities necessary to-be
leges, si debeant simpliciter recte disponi, et principatus
laws if they-ought simply rightly to-be-disposed and principates
diutius permanere.
longer to-remain

Capitulum XII. De causa legum humanarum effectiva demonstrabili, et de ea etiam quae per demonstrationem convinci non potest; quod est legis latorem inquirere. Unde etiam apparet, quod electione sola praeter alteram confirmationem datur auctoritas ei, quod per electionem statuitur

THE LEGISLATOR: THE WHOLE BODY OF CITIZENS

The legislator, the first and proper cause of human law, is the people, the whole body of citizens or its weightier part, commanding in assembly; others make law only by its authority. Laws made by all are best, since all can see a defect and none wishes harm to himself, and are best kept, since free men obey a law they seem to have made themselves, not one a few impose as despots. The same authority alone approves, amends, and suspends laws and whatever election establishes.

Hiis autem habitum est dicere de causa legum effectiva
to-these but held it-is to-say about the-cause of-laws effective
quam reddere possumus per demonstrationem; de illa enim
which to-render we-can through demonstration about that for
institutione quae Dei opere vel oraculo immediate absque
institution which of-God by-work or oracle immediately without
humano arbitrio fieri possibilis est aut iam extitit, qualem
human discretion to-be-made possible is or already has-stood such-as
Mosaicae Legis institutionem diximus, etiam quantum ad
of-the-Mosaic Law the-institution we-have-called also as-far-as to

ea praecepta civilium actuum quae in ea sunt pro statu
those precepts of-civil acts which in it are for the-state
praesentis saeculi, non intendo hic assignationem facere, sed
of-the-present world not I-intend here an-assignment to-make but
de legum et principatuum institutione tantummodo, quae
about of-laws and of-principates the-institution only which
immediate proveniunt ex arbitrio humanae mentis.
immediately come from the-discretion of-the-human mind
Ad quam siquidem ingredientes, dicamus, quod legem sumptam
to which indeed entering let-us-say that law taken
quasi materialiter et secundum tertiam significationem,
as-if materially and according-to the-third signification
videlicet scientiam iustorum et conferentium civilium, invenire
namely the-science of-just and advantageous civil-things to-find
potest ad quemlibet civem pertinere, licet inquisitio haec
can to any-whatever citizen pertain although inquiry this
convenientius fieri possit et compleri melius ex
more-fittingly to-be-made may and to-be-completed better from
observatione potentium vacare, seniorum et expertorum in
the-observation of-those-able to-have-leisure of-elders and of-the-experienced in
agibilibus quos prudentes appellant, quam ex mechanicorum
practical-matters whom prudent they-call than from of-mechanics
consideratione, qui ad acquirenda vitae necessaria suis
the-consideration who to acquiring of-life the-necessities with-their
operibus habent intendere. Verum quia cognitio seu inventio
works have to-attend but since the-knowledge or finding
vera iustorum et conferentium ac suorum oppositorum non
true of-just-things and advantageous-things and of-their opposites not
est lex secundum ultimam significationem et propriam, qua
is law according-to the-last signification and proper by-which
sit mensura humanorum actuum civilium, nisi dum de
it-may-be the-measure of-human acts civil unless when about

ipsius observatione praeceptum coactivum datum fuerit,
its observance a-precept coercive given shall-have-been
seu per modum talis praecepti lata fuerit ab eo
or by way of-such a-precept passed it-shall-have-been by him
cuius auctoritate transgressores arceri debent et possunt,
whose by-authority transgressors to-be-restrained ought and can
propterea dicere convenit, cuius aut quorum sit auctoritas
for-that-reason to-say it-befits of-whom or of-which-ones be the-authority
ferendi tale praeceptum, et ipsius transgressores arcendi;
of-passing such a-precept and its transgressors of-restraining
quod quidem est inquirere legis latorem sive factorem.
which indeed is to-inquire-into of-law the-maker or doer
Nos autem dicamus secundum veritatem atque consilium
we but let-us-say according-to the-truth and the-counsel
Aristotelis iii Politicae, capitulo 6°, legislatorem seu
of-Aristotle in-the-third of-the-Politics in-chapter sixth the-legislator or
causam legis effectivam primam et propriam esse populum
cause of-law effective first and proper to-be the-people
seu civium universitatem, aut eius valentiorem partem
or of-citizens the-whole-body or its weightier part
per suam electionem seu voluntatem in generali civium
through its election or will in a-general of-citizens
congregatione per sermonem expressam, praecipientem seu
assembly by speech expressed commanding or
determinantem aliquid fieri vel omitti circa civiles actus
determining something to-be-done or to-be-omitted about civil acts
humanos sub poena vel supplicio temporali: valentiorem
human under penalty or punishment temporal the-weightier
inquam partem considerata quantitate personarum et qualitate
I-say part with-considered the-quantity of-persons and the-quality
in communitate illa super quam lex fertur; sive id
in community that over which law is-passed whether this

fecerit universitas praedicta civium aut eius pars valentior
shall-have-done the-whole-body aforesaid of-citizens or its part weightier
per seipsam immediate, sive id alicui vel aliquibus
through itself immediately or this to-someone or to-some
commiserit faciendum, qui legislator simpliciter non sunt
shall-have-committed to-be-done who the-legislator simply not are
nec esse possunt, sed solum ad aliquid et quandoque
nor to-be can but only in-relation-to something and sometimes
ac secundum primi legislatoris auctoritatem. Et dico
and according-to of-the-first legislator the-authority and I-say
consequenter huic, quod eadem auctoritate prima, non
consequently to-this that by-the-same authority first not
alia, debent leges et aliud quodlibet per electionem
another ought laws and other any-whatever-thing through election
institutum approbationem necessariam suscipere, quicquid sit
instituted approval necessary to-receive whatever be
de ceremoniis seu solemnitatibus quibusdam quae ad esse
about ceremonies or solemnities certain which for the-being
non exiguntur electorum, sed ad bene esse, quibus etiam
not are-required of-the-elected but for the-well being with-which even
non factis nil minus electio valida foret; amplius quod
not done nothing less the-election valid would-be further that
ab eadem auctoritate debent leges, et alia quae per
from the-same authority ought laws and other-things which through
electionem statuuntur, suscipere additionem aut diminutionem
election are-established to-receive addition or diminution
vel totalem mutationem, interpretationem, et suspensionem,
or total change interpretation and suspension
secundum exigentiam temporum vel locorum, et reliquarum
according-to the-requirement of-times or of-places and of-the-remaining
circumstantiarum, quibus horum aliquid propter commune
circumstances by-which of-these something on-account-of the-common

conferens circa talia fuerit opportunum. Eadem quoque
advantage about such-things shall-have-been opportune by-the-same also
auctoritate promulgari seu proclamari debent leges post
authority to-be-promulgated or to-be-proclaimed ought laws after
earum institutionem, ne quisquam civis aut advena delinquens
their institution lest any citizen or stranger offending
in eas possit per ipsarum ignorantiam excusari.
against them can through their ignorance to-be-excused
Civem autem dico, secundum Aristotelem, iii Politicae,
a-citizen but I-call according-to Aristotle in-the-third of-the-Politics
capitulis 1, 3 et 7, eum qui participat in communitate
in-chapters first third and seventh him who shares in the-community
civili, principatu aut consiliativo vel iudicativo secundum
civil in-the-principate or deliberative or judicial according-to
gradum suum. Per quam siquidem descriptionem separantur
rank his through which indeed description are-separated
a civibus pueri, servi, advenae, ac mulieres, licet
from the-citizens children slaves strangers and women although
secundum modum diversum. Pueri namque civium cives
according-to way diverse the-children for of-citizens citizens
sunt in propinqua potentia propter solum aetatis defectum.
are in near potency on-account-of alone of-age the-defect
Valentiorem vero civium partem oportet attendere secundum
the-weightier but of-the-citizens part it-behooves to-attend-to according-to
politiarum consuetudinem honestam, vel hanc determinare
of-polities the-custom honorable or it to-determine
secundum sententiam Aristotelis, vi Politicae, capitulo 2°.
according-to the-opinion of-Aristotle in-the-sixth of-the-Politics in-chapter second
Sic itaque determinato cive ac civium valentiore multitudine,
thus and-so with-determined the-citizen and of-citizens the-weightier multitude
ad propositam intentionem redeamus, demonstrare scilicet
to the-proposed intention let-us-return to-demonstrate namely

legum lationis auctoritatem humanam ad solam civium
of-laws of-passing the-authority human to alone of-the-citizens
universitatem aut eius valentiorem partem pertinere. Quod
the-whole-body or its weightier part to-pertain which
quidem sit, primum inferre temptabimus. Quoniam illius
indeed it-be first to-infer we-shall-attempt since of-that-one
tantummodo est legum humanarum lationis seu institutionis
only is of-laws human of-passing or of-institution
auctoritas humana prima simpliciter, a quo solum
the-authority human first simply from whom alone
optimae leges possunt provenire. Hoc autem est civium
the-best laws can to-come this but is of-citizens
universitas aut eius pars valentior, quae totam universitatem
the-whole-body or its part weightier which the-whole whole-body
repraesentat; quoniam non facile, aut non possibile, omnes
represents since not easy or not possible all
personas in unam convenire sententiam, propter quorundam
persons into one to-agree opinion on-account-of of-certain-ones
esse naturam orbatam, malitia vel ignorantia singulari
to-be the-nature maimed by-malice or ignorance singular
discordantem a communi sententia; propter quorum
disagreeing from the-common opinion on-account-of whose
irrationabilem reclamationem seu contradictionem non debent
unreasonable protest or contradiction not ought
communia conferentia impediri vel omitti. Pertinet igitur
common advantages to-be-hindered or to-be-omitted pertains therefore
ad universitatem civium, aut eius valentiorem partem,
to the-whole-body of-citizens or its weightier part
tantummodo legum lationis seu institutionis auctoritas.
only of-laws of-passing or of-institution the-authority

Prima propositio huius demonstrationis est valde propinqua
the-first proposition of-this demonstration is very near
per-se-notis, quamvis eius robur et ultima certitudo sumi
to-the-self-evident although its strength and last certainty to-be-taken
possit ex v° huius. Secundam vero propositionem
can from the-fifth of-this the-second but proposition
probo, videlicet quod ex universae multitudinis auditu et
I-prove namely that from of-the-whole multitude the-hearing and
praecepto tantummodo feratur lex optima, supponendo cum
precept only is-passed law best by-supposing with
Aristotele, iii Politicae, capitulo 7°, legem optimam
Aristotle in-the-third of-the-Politics in-chapter seventh law best
esse quae lata est ad commune conferens civium. Unde
to-be which passed is for the-common advantage of-the-citizens whence
dixit: Rectum autem forte (in legibus scilicet) ad conferens
he-said right but perhaps in laws namely for the-advantage
civitatis et ad commune civium. Hoc autem fieri optime
of-the-city and for the-common of-citizens this but to-be-done best
per civium universitatem tantummodo, aut eius valentiorem
by of-citizens the-whole-body only or its weightier
partem quod pro eodem de cetero supponatur, sic ostendo:
part which for the-same for the-future let-it-be-supposed thus I-show
quoniam illius veritas certius iudicatur, et ipsius communis
since of-that the-truth more-certainly is-judged and its common
utilitas diligentius attenditur, ad quod tota intendit civium
utility more-diligently is-attended-to to which whole attends of-citizens
universitas intellectu et affectu. Advertere enim potest
the-whole-body with-understanding and affection to-notice for can
magis defectum circa propositam legem statuendam maior
more the-defect about the-proposed law to-be-established a-greater
pluralitas quacumque sui parte, cum omne totum corporeum
plurality than-any-whatever its part since every whole corporeal

saltem maius sit mole atque virtute qualibet sui parte
at-least greater be in-mass and power than-any-whatever its part
seorsum. Adhuc, ex universa multitudine magis attenditur
separately further by the-whole multitude more is-attended-to
legis communis utilitas, eo quod nemo sibi nocet scienter.
of-law the-common utility in-that that no-one himself harms knowingly
Ibi autem inspicere potest quilibet, an lex proposita
there but to-examine can any-whatever-one whether the-law proposed
magis declinet ad cuiusdam aut quorundam commodum quam
more inclines to of-someone or of-some-ones the-advantage than
aliorum vel communitatis, et in contrarium reclamare; quod
of-others or of-the-community and to-the contrary to-protest which
non fieret si per unum aut paucos quosdam, proprium
not would-be-done if by one or few certain-ones their-own
magis quam commune attendentes commodum, lex ipsa
more than the-common attending-to advantage the-law itself
feratur. Hanc quoque sententiam satis adiuvant quae
be-passed this also opinion enough help the-things-which
de legum necessitate assignavimus in xi° huius.
about of-laws the-necessity we-have-assigned in the-eleventh of-this
Rursum ad principalem conclusionem sic: quoniam illius
again to the-principal conclusion thus since of-that-one
tantummodo est legum lationis auctoritas, per quem
only is of-laws of-passing the-authority by whom
latae melius aut simpliciter observantur. Hoc autem est
passed better or simply they-are-observed this but is
tantummodo civium universitas; ipsius igitur est auctoritas
only of-citizens the-whole-body of-it therefore is the-authority
lationis legum. Prima propositio huius demonstrationis est
of-passing of-laws the-first proposition of-this demonstration is
per-se-notis propinqua valde, otiosa namque lex esset nisi
to-the-self-evident near very idle for the-law would-be unless

observaretur. Unde Aristoteles, iv Politicae, capitulo
it-were-observed whence Aristotle in-the-fourth of-the-Politics in-chapter
6°: Non est autem bona legum dispositio bene poni
sixth not is but good of-laws the-disposition well to-be-laid-down
leges, non obedire autem. Idem vi eiusdem, capitulo
the-laws not to-obey but the-same in-the-sixth of-the-same in-chapter
5°: Nullus profectus est, inquit Aristoteles, fieri quidem
fifth no profit is says Aristotle to-be-made indeed
sententias de iustis, has autem non accipere finem.
sentences about just-things these but not to-receive end
Secundam propositionem probo: quoniam lex illa melius
the-second proposition I-prove since law that better
observatur a quocumque civium, quam sibi quilibet
is-observed by any-whatever of-the-citizens which on-himself any-whatever-one
imposuisse videtur; talis est lex lata ex auditu et
to-have-imposed seems such is the-law passed from the-hearing and
praecepto universae multitudinis civium. Prima propositio
precept of-the-whole multitude of-citizens the-first proposition
huius prosyllogismi apparet quasi per se: nam quia civitas
of-this prosyllogism appears as-if through itself for because the-city
est communitas liberorum, ut scribitur iii Politicae,
is a-community of-free-men as is-written in-the-third of-the-Politics
capitulo 4°, quilibet civis liber esse debet, nec alterius
in-chapter fourth any-whatever citizen free to-be ought nor of-another
ferre despotiam, id est servile dominium. Hoc autem
to-bear the-despotism that is servile lordship this but
non contingeret si unus aliquis aut pauciores civium
not would-happen if one some or fewer of-the-citizens
legem ferrent auctoritate propria supra civium universitatem;
law should-pass by-authority their-own over of-citizens the-whole-body
sic enim legem ferentes aliorum despotes essent, et
thus for law passing of-others despots they-would-be and

ideo reliqui civium, pars amplior scilicet, talem legem
therefore the-remaining of-the-citizens part larger namely such law
quantumcumque bonam moleste ferrent aut nullo modo,
however good with-vexation would-bear or in-no way
et contra illam contemptum passi reclamarent, et non
and against it contempt having-suffered would-protest and not
vocati ad illius lationem nullatenus observarent. Latam vero
called to its passing in-no-way would-observe passed but
ex auditu seu consensu omnis multitudinis, etiam minus
from the-hearing or consent of-all the-multitude even less
utilem, quilibet civium faciliter observaret et ferret;
useful any-whatever of-the-citizens easily would-observe and bear
eo quod hanc quilibet sibi statuisse videtur,
in-that that this any-whatever-one for-himself to-have-established seems
ideoque contra illam reclamare non habet, sed aequo animo
and-therefore against it to-protest not he-has but with-even mind
illam potius tolerare. Adhuc secundam propositionem primi
it rather to-tolerate further the-second proposition of-the-first
syllogismi probo ex alio sic: quoniam illius est
syllogism I-prove from another-thing thus since of-that-one is
potestas observationis legum, cuius tantummodo est potentia
the-power of-the-observance of-laws of-whom only is the-power
transgressorum coactiva; hoc autem est universitas aut ipsius
of-transgressors coercive this but is the-whole-body or its
pars valentior; ergo ipsius solius est legum lationis auctoritas.
part weightier therefore of-it alone is of-laws of-passing the-authority
Amplius ad principale sic: quoniam illud agibile, in
further to the-principal thus since that practicable-thing in
cuius debita institutione consistit maxima pars communis
whose due institution consists the-greatest part of-the-common
sufficientiae civium in hac vita, et in cuius prava
sufficiency of-the-citizens in this life and in whose wicked

institutione commune detrimentum imminet, per universitatem
institution common detriment threatens by the-whole-body
civium tantummodo debet institui; hoc autem est lex;
of-citizens only ought to-be-instituted this but is law
ergo ad universitatem civium illius pertinet institutio. Maior
therefore to the-whole-body of-citizens its pertains institution the-major
huius demonstrationis est per-se-notis propinqua, et stabilitur
of-this demonstration is to-the-self-evident near and is-established
in immediatis veritatibus quae positae sunt iv° huius
in the-immediate truths which laid-down have-been in-the-fourth of-this
et v°. Convenerunt enim homines ad civilem communitatem
and fifth came-together for men to the-civil community
propter commodum et vitae sufficientiam consequendam
on-account-of advantage and of-life sufficiency to-be-attained
et opposita declinandum. Quae igitur omnium tangere
and the-opposites to-be-avoided the-things-which therefore of-all to-touch
possunt commodum et incommodum, ab omnibus sciri
can the-advantage and disadvantage by all to-be-known
debent et audiri, ut commodum assequi et oppositum
ought and to-be-heard that the-advantage to-attain and the-opposite
repellere possint. Talia vero sunt leges, sicut in minori
to-repel they-may-be-able such but are laws as in the-minor
assumebatur. In ipsis enim recte positis totius et
was-assumed in them for rightly laid-down of-the-whole and
communis humanae sufficientiae pars magna consistit; sub
common human sufficiency a-part great consists under
iniquis vero servitus et oppressio atque miseria civium
unjust(-ones) but slavery and oppression and misery of-the-citizens
importabiles, ex quibus tandem contingit solvere politiam.
unbearable from which at-last it-happens to-dissolve the-polity

Rursum, et est haec quasi abbreviatio et summa priorum
again and is this as-if an-abbreviation and sum of-the-prior
demonstrationum: aut legum lationis auctoritas ad solam
demonstrations either of-laws of-passing the-authority to alone
civium universitatem pertinet, ut diximus, vel ad hominem
of-the-citizens the-whole-body pertains as we-have-said or to a-man
unicum aut pauciores, non ad solum unum propter ea
single or fewer not to alone one on-account-of those-things
quae dicta sunt in xi° huius et in prima demonstratione
which said have-been in the-eleventh of-this and in the-first demonstration
quam in hoc adduximus; posset enim propter ignorantiam vel
which in this we-adduced he-could for on-account-of ignorance or
malitiam aut utrumque legem pravam ferre, inspiciendo scilicet
malice or both a-law wicked pass by-looking namely
magis proprium conferens quam commune, unde tyrannica
more one's-own advantage than the-common whence tyrannical
foret. Propter eandem vero causam non pertinet hoc ad
it-would-be on-account-of the-same but cause not pertains this to
pauciores; possent enim peccare in ferendo legem, ut prius, ad
fewer they-could for to-sin in passing law as before to
quorundam (scilicet paucorum) et non commune conferens,
of-certain-ones namely of-few and not the-common advantage
quemadmodum videre est in oligarchiis. Pertinet hoc igitur ad
as to-see it-is in oligarchies pertains this therefore to
civium universitatem aut eius partem valentiorem, de quibus
of-citizens the-whole-body or its part weightier about which
est altera et opposita ratio. Quia enim lege debent omnes
is another and opposite reasoning because for by-law ought all
cives mensurari secundum proportionem debitam, et nemo
citizens to-be-measured according-to proportion due and no-one

sibi scienter nocet aut vult iniustum, ideoque volunt omnes
himself knowingly harms or wishes the-unjust and-therefore wish all
aut plurimi legem convenientem communi civium conferenti.
or most law fitting to-the-common of-citizens advantage
Ex eisdem quoque demonstrationibus sola minori extremitate
from the-same also demonstrations with-only the-minor term
mutata convincitur, legum approbationem, interpretationem,
changed is-proved of-laws the-approval interpretation
suspensionem, et cetera proposita parte 3ª huius,
suspension and the-other-things proposed in-part third of-this
ad solius legislatoris auctoritatem tantummodo pertinere.
to of-the-sole the-legislator the-authority only to-pertain
Idemque sentiendum de omni eo quod per electionem
and-the-same is-to-be-thought about every that which through election
statuitur. Cuius enim est auctoritas prima eligendi, ipse idem
is-established of-whom for is the-authority first of-electing he the-same
approbat aut reprobat, vel ille cui auctoritatem eligendi
approves or reproves or he to-whom the-authority of-electing
concesserit; aliter namque pars maior esset toto, vel
he-shall-have-granted otherwise for the-part greater would-be than-the-whole or
illi saltem aequalis, si ea quae per totum instituta sunt,
to-it at-least equal if those-things which by the-whole instituted have-been
auctoritate propria dissolvere posset. Modus autem conveniendi
by-authority its-own to-dissolve it-could the-mode but of-coming-together
ad legum lationem in sequenti capitulo describetur.
for of-laws the-passing in the-following chapter will-be-described

Capitulum XIII. De quibusdam instantiis addicta in capitulo praecedenti, et ipsarum solutione, ac propositi ampliori manifestatione

OBJECTIONS TO THE PEOPLE'S AUTHORITY ANSWERED

It is objected that most men are wicked and foolish, that many agree with difficulty, and that the few wise would legislate better. He answers that the whole is greater than its part: the many can judge what they could not find, and the few would seek their own advantage, as the makers of the clergy's Decretals did. Experts chosen by all should draft laws, and the assembled citizens approve or reject them, so that laws are better kept.

De quibus tamen diximus dubitabit aliquis, disputans
about the-things-which however we-have-spoken will-doubt someone arguing
ad civium universitatem non pertinere legum lationis seu
to of-citizens the-whole-body not to-pertain of-laws of-passing or
institutionis auctoritatem. Primum quidem, quoniam pravum
of-institution the-authority first indeed since the-wicked
et indiscretum secundum plurimum non debet legem statuere.
and undiscerning according-to the-most-part not ought law to-establish
Haec enim duo peccata a legislatore debent excludi, malitia
these for two sins from the-legislator ought to-be-excluded malice
scilicet atque ignorantia, propter quae etiam in iudiciis
namely and ignorance on-account-of which also in judgments
evitanda legis necessitatem accepimus xi° huius.
to-be-avoided of-law the-necessity we-have-accepted in-the-eleventh of-this
Populus autem seu civium universitas est huiusmodi; homines
the-people but or of-citizens the-whole-body is of-this-kind men
enim, ut in pluribus videntur, pravi et stulti, nam stultorum
for as in most-cases seem wicked and foolish for of-fools
infinitus est numerus, ut habetur Ecclesiastae 1°. Amplius,
infinite is the-number as is-had in-Ecclesiastes first further

quoniam difficile valde aut impossibile plurium pravorum et
since difficult very or impossible of-many wicked and
insensatorum concordare sententias; quod non evenit de paucis
senseless-men to-harmonize the-opinions which not happens about few
et studiosis. Est igitur utilius per paucos legem ferri
and studious-men it-is therefore more-useful by few law to-be-passed
quam per civium universitatem aut ipsorum superfluam
than by of-citizens the-whole-body or their superfluous
pluralitatem. Rursum, in qualibet communitate civili sunt
plurality again in any-whatever community civil are
pauci sapientes et docti respectu alterius multitudinis indoctae.
few wise and learned in-respect of-the-other multitude unlearned
Cum igitur per sapientes et doctos utilius lex feratur quam
since therefore by the-wise and learned more-usefully law be-passed than
per indoctos et rudes, videtur quod ipsarum lationis auctoritas
by the-unlearned and rude it-seems that of-them of-passing the-authority
ad paucos pertineat, non ad plures aut omnes. Adhuc, frustra
to few pertains not to more or all further in-vain
fit per plures, quod per pauciores fieri contingit. Cum
is-done by more what by fewer to-be-done happens since
ergo per sapientes (qui pauci sunt) lex ferri possit, ut
therefore by the-wise who few are law to-be-passed can as
dictum est, frustra occuparetur in hoc universa multitudo
said it-is in-vain would-be-occupied in this the-whole multitude
aut ipsius pars maior. Non igitur ad universitatem aut
or its part greater not therefore to the-whole-body or
ipsius valentiorem partem pertinet legum lationis auctoritas.
its weightier part pertains of-laws of-passing the-authority
Ex supposito nobis in prioribus quasi omnium in hoc
from what-was-supposed by-us in the-earlier-things as-if of-all-things in this
libro demonstrandorum principio, videlicet omnes homines
book to-be-demonstrated the-principle namely all men

appetere sufficientiam vitae et oppositum declinare, per
to-desire sufficiency of-life and the-opposite to-avoid through
demonstrationem conclusimus ipsorum communicationem
demonstration we-concluded their association
civilem iv° huius, quoniam, per ipsam, sufficientiam hanc
civil in-the-fourth of-this since through it sufficiency this
adipisci possunt, et praeter eam minime; propter quod etiam
to-attain they-can and apart-from it by-no-means on-account-of which also
Aristoteles, i Politicae, capitulo 1°, inquit: Natura quidem
Aristotle in-the-first of-the-Politics in-chapter first says by-nature indeed
igitur in omnibus impetus est ad talem communitatem,
therefore in all an-impulse is toward such community
civilem scilicet. Ex qua siquidem veritate per necessitatem
civil namely from which indeed truth by necessity
sequitur alia quaedam, quae habetur iv Politicae,
follows another certain-truth which is-had in-the-fourth of-the-Politics
capitulo 10°, videlicet quod oportet valentiorem esse partem
in-chapter tenth namely that it-behooves weightier to-be the-part
civitatis volentem non-volente manere politiam. Quoniam
of-the-city willing than-the-unwilling to-remain the-polity since
nihil desideratur per eandem naturam specie secundum eius
nothing is-desired by the-same nature in-species according-to its
plurimum et immediate cum ipsius corruptione simul, inane
most-part and immediately with its corruption together empty
namque foret tale desiderium. Quinimo non-volentes manere
for would-be such desire nay those-unwilling to-remain
politiam computantur inter servos, non inter cives, ut sunt
the-polity are-counted among slaves not among citizens as are
advenae quidam, unde Aristoteles vii Politicae, capitulo
strangers certain whence Aristotle in-the-seventh of-the-Politics in-chapter
13°: Cum subditis enim existunt omnes volentes insolescere,
thirteenth with subjects for are all wishing to-grow-insolent

qui per regionem; et tunc subinfert: totque multitudine
who throughout the-region and then he-adds and-so-many in-multitude
esse eos in politeumate (insolentes scilicet, seu non curantes
to-be them in the-polity insolent namely or not caring
civiliter vivere) ut sint valentiores hiis omnibus (videlicet
civilly to-live that they-be weightier than-these all namely
politizare volentibus), unum impossibilium est. Cur autem
to-live-politically wishing one of-the-impossible-things is why but
impossibilium sit, apparet; quoniam hoc esset naturam
of-the-impossible-things it-be appears since this would-be nature
peccare vel deficere ut in pluribus. Si ergo valentior hominum
to-sin or to-fail as in most-cases if therefore the-weightier of-men
multitudo vult politiam manere, quemadmodum bene dictum
multitude wishes the-polity to-remain as well said
videtur, vult illud etiam sine quo politia manere non
it-seems it-wishes that also without which the-polity to-remain not
potest. Hoc autem est iustorum et conferentium regula,
can this but is of-just and advantageous-things the-rule
tradita cum praecepto, vocata lex, eo quod impossibilium
handed-down with a-precept called law in-that that of-the-impossible-things
est civitatem aristocratizantem (id est, secundum virtutem
it-is a-city aristocratically-governed that is according-to virtue
gubernatam) non bene legibus disponi, ut habetur iv
governed not well by-laws to-be-disposed as is-had in-the-fourth
Politicae, capitulo 7°, et demonstravimus xi° huius.
of-the-Politics in-chapter seventh and we-have-demonstrated in-the-eleventh of-this
Vult ergo valentior multitudo civitatis legem, aut contingeret
wishes therefore the-weightier multitude of-the-city law or would-happen
orbatio in natura et arte, secundum plurimum; quod
a-privation in nature and art according-to the-most-part which
impossibilium supponatur ex scientia naturali.
of-the-impossible-things let-it-be-supposed from science natural

Suscipio rursum cum supradictis veritatibus manifestis
I-take-up again with the-above-said truths manifest
communem animi conceptionem, videlicet, omne totum
the-common of-the-mind conception namely every whole
maius esse sua parte, quod verum est tam in magnitudine
greater to-be than-its part which true is as-much in magnitude
sive mole, quam etiam in activa virtute et actione. Unde
or mass as also in active power and action whence
satis evidenter per necessitatem infertur, universitatem civium
enough evidently by necessity is-inferred the-whole-body of-citizens
aut ipsius valentiorem multitudinem, quae pro eodem
or its weightier multitude which for the-same
accipienda sunt, magis posse quid eligendum et quid
to-be-taken are more to-be-able what to-be-chosen and what
spernendum discernere, quacumque sui parte seorsum.
to-be-spurned to-discern than-any-whatever its part separately
Hiis itaque suppositis tamquam veritatibus inoccultis, facile
with-these and-so supposed as-if truths unbidden easy
est repellere instantias, quibus niteretur aliquis convincere,
it-is to-repel the-objections by-which might-strive someone to-prove
legislationem non pertinere ad civium universitatem aut eius
legislation not to-pertain to of-citizens the-whole-body or its
valentiorem multitudinem, sed ad paucos quosdam. Cum ergo
weightier multitude but to few certain-ones when therefore
primum dicebatur, ad pravum et in pluribus indiscretum non
first it-was-said to the-wicked and in most-cases undiscerning not
pertinet legum lationis auctoritas, conceditur. Et cum additur,
pertains of-laws of-passing the-authority it-is-granted and when is-added
universitatem civium esse huiusmodi, negandum est. Nam
the-whole-body of-citizens to-be of-this-kind to-be-denied it-is for
civium pluralitas neque prava neque indiscreta est quantum ad
of-citizens the-plurality neither wicked nor undiscerning is as-far-as to

pluralitatem suppositorum et in pluri tempore; omnes enim
the-plurality of-supposits and in more time all for
aut plurimi sanae mentis et rationis sunt et recti appetitus
or most of-sound mind and reason are and of-right appetite
ad politiam et quae necessaria sunt propter eius
toward the-polity and the-things-which necessary are on-account-of its
permanentiam, quemadmodum leges et alia statuta vel
permanence as laws and other statutes or
consuetudines, sicut pridem ostensum est. Quamvis enim
customs as before shown it-has-been although for
non quilibet aut maior multitudo civium sit legum
not any-whatever-one or the-greater multitude of-citizens be of-laws
inventor, potest tamen quilibet de inventis et ab
a-finder can however any-whatever-one about things-found and by
alio sibi propositis iudicare, addendum vel minuendum aut
another to-him proposed to-judge to-be-added or to-be-diminished or
mutandum discernere. Propterea si, quod in maiori propositione
to-be-changed to-discern for-that-reason if what in the-major proposition
dicitur indiscretum, intelligatur id, quod per se invenire nequit
is-said undiscerning be-understood that which by itself to-find cannot
legem secundum plures sui partes vel supposita, non debere
law according-to the-more its parts or supposits not to-be-obliged
legem statuere, ipsa esset neganda tamquam falsa manifeste,
law to-establish it would-be to-be-denied as false manifestly
testibus inductione sensata et Aristotele, iii Politicae,
with-witnesses induction sensed and Aristotle in-the-third of-the-Politics
capitulo 6°; inductione quidem, quoniam multi de qualitate
in-chapter sixth by-induction indeed since many about the-quality
picturae, domus, aut navis, ceterorumque artificiatorum iudicant
of-a-painting of-a-house or of-a-ship and-of-the-other artifacts judge
recte, qui tamen ea invenire nescirent. Testatur autem huic
rightly who however them to-find would-not-know testifies but to-this

Aristoteles ubi supra, respondens ad propositam instantiam
Aristotle where above replying to the-proposed objection
in haec verba: Et quia de quibusdam non solus qui fecit,
in these words and because about some-things not alone he-who made
neque utique optime iudicabit; inducens hoc in pluribus
nor surely best will-judge inducing this in many
artificiorum speciebus, idem faciens intelligere de reliquis.
of-artifacts species the-same making to-understand about the-rest
Nec obstat quod dicitur, sapientes (qui pauci sunt)
nor stands-in-the-way what is-said the-wise who few are
magis possunt agibilia statuenda discernere reliqua
more can practicable-things to-be-established to-discern than-the-remaining
multitudine: quoniam esto sic verum, non tamen ex hoc
multitude since let-it-be thus true not however from this
sequitur, quod sapientes sciant statuenda discernere magis
follows that the-wise know things-to-be-established to-discern more
tota multitudine, in qua comprehenduntur ipsi cum
than-the-whole multitude in which are-comprehended they with
reliquis minus doctis. Omne enim totum maius est sua
the-remaining less learned every for whole greater is than-its
parte in agendo, et etiam discernendo. Et fuit haec indubie
part in acting and also in-discerning and was this undoubtedly
Aristotelis sententia iii Politicae, capitulo 6°, cum dixit:
of-Aristotle the-opinion in-the-third of-the-Politics in-chapter sixth when he-said
Quare iuste dominans maiorum multitudo; id est, iuste
wherefore justly lording of-the-greater-things the-multitude that is justly
dominari debet de maioribus, quae sunt in politia, multitudo
to-lord ought over the-greater-things which are in the-polity the-multitude
seu civium universitas aut eius pars valentior, quam nomine
or of-citizens the-whole-body or its part weightier which by-the-name
multitudinis significat, causam huius assignans: ex multis
of-multitude he-signifies the-cause of-this assigning from many

enim populus et consilium et praetorium, et honorabilitas,
for the-people and the-council and the-court and the-honorable-body
amplior autem horum omnium, quam qui eorum qui
larger but than-these all than who of-those who
secundum unum et secundum paucos principantium magnis
according-to one and according-to few of-the-ruling in-great
principatibus. Vult dicere, quod omnium collegiorum politiae
principates he-wishes to-say that of-all the-colleges of-the-polity
seu civilitatis simul sumptorum amplior est multitudo sive
or citizenry together taken larger is the-multitude or
populus, et per consequens iudicium securius iudicio
people and by consequence the-judgment safer than-the-judgment
alicuius partis seorsum; sive pars illa sit vulgus, quam
of-any part separately whether part that be the-common-folk which
hic nomine consilii significavit, veluti agricolae, artifices, et
here by-the-name of-council he-signified such-as farmers craftsmen and
huiusmodi; sive sit praetorium, id est, qui in praetorio
of-this-kind or be-it the-court that is those-who in the-court
sunt officiales principanti subservientes, ut advocati seu
are officials to-the-ruler subserving as advocates or
iurisperiti atque notarii; sive sit honorabilitas, id est collegium
jurists and notaries or be-it the-honorable-body that is the-college
optimatum, qui pauci sunt, et soli convenienter eliguntur
of-the-optimates who few are and alone fittingly are-elected
ad maximos principatus; sive altera pars civitatis quaecumque
to the-greatest principates or another part of-the-city whatever
seorsum accepta. Amplius, esto, sicut est secundum veritatem,
separately taken further let-it-be as it-is according-to truth
aliquos minus doctos non aeque bene iudicare de statuenda
some less learned not equally well to-judge about to-be-established
lege aut altero agibili totidem doctis. Posset tamen
law or other practicable-thing as-so-many learned could however

intantum augeri numerus minus doctorum, quod aeque
in-so-far to-be-increased the-number of-the-less learned that equally
bene vel melius iudicarent de hiis paucis doctioribus;
well or better they-would-judge about than-these few more-learned
quod palam dixit Aristoteles ubi supra, hanc volens confirmare
which openly said Aristotle where above this wishing to-confirm
sententiam: Si sit multitudo non nimis vilis, inquit Aristoteles,
opinion if be the-multitude not too vile says Aristotle
unusquisque quidem erit deterior iudex scientibus, omnes
each indeed will-be a-worse judge than-those-knowing all
autem congregati meliores, aut non deteriores.
but gathered better or not worse
Ad illud vero quod dicebatur ex Ecclesiastae 1°: Stultorum
to that but which was-said from Ecclesiastes first of-fools
infinitus est numerus, oportet dicere, per stultos intelligi
infinite is the-number it-behooves to-say by fools to-be-understood
minus doctos, vel non vacantes liberalibus operum, qui tamen
the-less learned or not having-leisure for-the-liberal of-works who however
participant intellectu et iudicio agibilium, licet non
share in-understanding and judgment of-practicable-things although not
aequaliter vacantibus; aut fortasse significavit ibi Sapiens
equally with-those-having-leisure or perhaps signified there the-Wise-man
per stultos, infideles, sicut dicit ibidem Hieronymus, qui
by fools unbelievers as says there Jerome who
etiam quantumcumque scientes mundanas scientias simpliciter
even however-much knowing worldly sciences simply
sunt stulti, secundum illud Apostoli, i ad Corinthios
are foolish according-to that of-the-Apostle in-the-first to the-Corinthians
iii°: Sapientia huius mundi, stultitia est apud Deum.
third the-wisdom of-this world foolishness is with God

Secunda vero instantia parum urget: quoniam licet facilius
the-second but objection little presses since although easier
sit concordare pauciorum sententiam quam plurium, ex hoc
it-be to-harmonize of-fewer the-opinion than of-more from this
non concluditur pauciorum seu partis praestantiorem esse
not is-concluded of-fewer or of-a-part more-excellent to-be
sententiam ea quae totius multitudinis, cuius pauci sunt
the-opinion than-that which of-the-whole multitude of-which the-few are
pars. Nam hii pauciores non aeque bene discernerent neque
a-part for these fewer not equally well would-discern nor
vellent commune conferens, quemadmodum universa civium
would-wish the-common advantage as the-whole of-citizens
multitudo. Quinimo insecurum esset, sicut ex iam dictis
multitude nay unsafe it-would-be as from the-now said-things
apparuit, pauciorum arbitrio committere legis lationem.
appeared of-fewer to-the-discretion to-commit of-law the-passing
Respicerent enim in ea fortasse magis conferens proprium,
they-would-look-to for in it perhaps more the-advantage their-own
ut personarum vel alicuius collegii, quam commune, quod in
as of-persons or of-some college than the-common which in
hiis qui Decretales clericorum tulerunt, satis apparet; sicut
those who the-Decretals of-the-clergy passed enough appears as
etiam manifestabimus sufficienter in xxviii° Secundae. Ex
also we-shall-make-plain sufficiently in the-twenty-eighth of-the-Second from
hoc enim praeberetur oligarchiae via quaedam, veluti dum
this for would-be-offered to-oligarchy a-way certain just-as when
uni soli legum lationis potestas tribuitur, tyrannidi locus
to-one alone of-laws of-passing the-power is-given to-tyranny place
datur, quemadmodum xi° huius, parte 4ª, induximus
is-given as in-the-eleventh of-this in-part fourth we-brought-in
ab Aristotele, iv Ethicorum, tractatu de iustitia.
from Aristotle in-the-fourth of-the-Ethics in-the-treatise on justice

Instantia vero tertia ex iam dictis facile repelli
the-objection but third from the-now said-things easily to-be-repelled
potest: quoniam etsi per sapientes melius possint leges
can since even-if by the-wise better can laws
ferri quam per minus doctos, non tamen ex hoc
to-be-passed than by the-less learned not however from this
concluditur, quod per solos sapientes ferantur melius
is-concluded that by alone the-wise they-are-passed better
quam per universam multitudinem civium, in qua etiam
than by the-whole multitude of-citizens in which also
includuntur sapientes praedicti. Verum horum omnium
are-included the-wise aforesaid but of-these all
congregata multitudo discernere potest et velle amplius
the-gathered multitude to-discern can and to-wish more
commune iustum et conferens harum partium quacumque
the-common just and advantage of-these parts than-any-whatever
seorsum accepta quantumcumque prudentum.
separately taken however of-prudent-ones
Unde non verum enunciant, dicentes minus doctam
whence not true-things declare those-saying the-less learned
multitudinem impedire veri aut communis boni electionem
multitude to-hinder of-the-true or of-the-common good the-choice
et approbationem; quinimo adiuvat in hoc iuncta doctioribus
and approval nay it-helps in this joined to-the-more-learned
et magis expertis. Nam licet vera et utilia statuenda
and more experienced for although true and useful things-to-be-established
per se nesciat invenire, ea tamen per alios adinventa
by itself may-not-know-how to-find them however by others found
et sibi proposita discernere potest et iudicare, si
and to-itself proposed to-discern it-can and to-judge if
quid addendum, minuendum, aut totaliter mutandum,
anything to-be-added to-be-diminished or wholly to-be-changed

vel spernendum in propositis videatur. Multa namque
or to-be-spurned in the-things-proposed seems many-things for
comprehendit homo post alterius dictionem et ad multorum
comprehends a-man after of-another the-saying and to of-many-things
complementum agere potest, ad quorum initia seu inventionem
the-completion to-act can to whose beginnings or finding
per seipsum pervenire nequisset. Sunt enim rerum initia
by himself to-arrive he-could-not are for of-things the-beginnings
difficillimae inventionis, unde Aristoteles, ii Elenchorum,
of-most-difficult finding whence Aristotle in-the-second of-the-Refutations
capitulo finali: Difficillimum est videri principium, scilicet
in-chapter final most-difficult is to-be-seen the-principle namely
veritatis et proprium secundum unamquamque disciplinam.
of-truth and proper according-to each discipline
Hoc autem invento facile est addere et augere reliquum,
with-this but found easy it-is to-add and to-increase the-rest
propter quod scientiarum et artium et aliarum traditionum
on-account-of which of-sciences and of-arts and of-other traditions
invenire principia, non est nisi optimorum et acutorum
to-find the-principles not is except of-the-best and sharp
ingeniorum; adinventis autem addere possunt etiam humilioris
wits to-things-found but to-add can even of-humbler
ingenii homines, qui tamen neque propter hoc indiscreti
wit men who however nor on-account-of this undiscerning
debent appellari, si ex se talia nequeant invenire,
ought to-be-called if from themselves such-things they-cannot to-find
imo et in bonorum numero computari debent, ut in i
nay and in of-the-good the-number to-be-counted they-ought as in the-first
Ethicorum, 2° capitulo, dixit Aristoteles: Iste quidem,
of-the-Ethics in-the-second chapter said Aristotle that-one indeed
inquit, optimus, qui sibi ipse omnia intellexit. Bonus
says-he best who for-himself himself all-things understood good

autem rursus et ille, qui bene dicenti obedit, ipsum
but again also that-one who well to-one-saying obeys him
scilicet auscultando, illique non absque ratione contradicendo.
namely by-listening-to and-to-him not without reason by-contradicting
Et propterea iustorum et conferentium civilium, et
and for-that-reason of-just and advantageous civil-things and
incommodorum seu onerum communium, et similium
of-disadvantages or of-burdens common and of-like
reliquorum regulas, futuras leges sive statuta, quaerendas
remaining-things the-rules future laws or statutes to-be-sought
seu inveniendas et examinandas prudentibus et expertis
or to-be-found and to-be-examined to-the-prudent and experienced
per universitatem civium committi, conveniens et perutile
by the-whole-body of-citizens to-be-committed fitting and very-useful
est; sic ut vel seorsum ab unaquaque primarum partium
is so that either separately by each of-the-first parts
civitatis, enumeratarum v° huius, parte 1ª, secundum
of-the-city enumerated in-the-fifth of-this in-part first according-to
tamen uniuscuiusque proportionem eligantur aliqui, vel ab
however of-each the-proportion be-elected some or by
omnibus simul congregatis civibus omnes eligantur experti
all together gathered citizens all be-elected experienced
seu prudentes viri praedicti. Et hic erit conveniens et utilis
or prudent men aforesaid and this will-be the-fitting and useful
modus conveniendi ad legum inventionem absque nocumento
mode of-coming-together for of-laws the-finding without harm
reliquae multitudinis, minus doctorum scilicet, quae
of-the-remaining multitude of-the-less learned namely which
parum proficeret in quaerendis huiusmodi regulis, et a
little would-profit in seeking of-this-kind rules and from

reliquis operibus sibi et aliis necessariis turbaretur,
the-remaining works for-itself and for-others necessary would-be-disturbed
quod onerosum esset tam singulis quam communi.
which burdensome would-be as-much to-individuals as to-the-community
Adinventae vero et diligenter examinatae huiusmodi regulae,
found but and diligently examined of-this-kind rules
futurae leges, approbandae vel reprobandae in universitate
future laws to-be-approved or to-be-reproved in the-whole-body
civium congregata proponi debent, ut si cui civium
of-citizens gathered to-be-proposed ought so-that if to-any of-the-citizens
videatur quicquam ipsis addendum, aut minuendum,
seem anything to-them to-be-added or to-be-diminished
mutandum, aut totaliter spernendum, id dicere possit,
to-be-changed or wholly to-be-spurned this to-say he-may-be-able
quoniam ex hoc poterit lex utilius ordinari. Possunt
since from this will-be-able the-law more-usefully to-be-ordered can
enim, ut iam diximus, cives minus docti quandoque
for as already we-have-said citizens less learned sometimes
percipere aliquid corrigendum circa propositam legem, qui
to-perceive something to-be-corrected about the-proposed law who
tamen ipsam invenire nescirent. Et quoniam sic latae
however it to-find would-not-know and since thus passed
per auditum et consensum universae multitudinis melius
through the-hearing and consent of-the-whole multitude better
observabuntur, nec adversus eas habebit aliquis reclamare.
they-will-be-observed nor against them will-have anyone to-protest
Publicatis autem iam dictis regulis, futuris legibus, et in
with-published but the-now said rules future laws and in
universali civium congregatione, auditisque civibus qui aliqua
the-universal of-citizens assembly and-with-heard the-citizens who something
circa ipsas rationabiliter dicere voluerunt, eligi debent
about them reasonably to-say wished to-be-elected ought

rursum viri quales et secundum quem modum praediximus,
again men such and according-to which mode we-have-said-before
vel confirmari praedicti, qui vicem et auctoritatem universitatis
or to-be-confirmed the-aforesaid who the-place and authority of-the-whole-body
civium repraesentantes, supradictas quaesitas et propositas
of-citizens representing the-above-said sought and proposed
regulas approbabunt vel reprobabunt in toto vel parte, aut
rules will-approve or will-reprove in whole or part or
faciet idem, si voluerit, universitas civium tota simul
will-do the-same if it-shall-have-wished the-whole-body of-citizens whole together
vel ipsius valentior pars. Post quam siquidem approbationem
or its weightier part after which indeed approval
iam dictae regulae leges sunt, et sic nominari merentur,
the-now said rules laws are and thus to-be-named deserve
non antea; quae etiam post ipsarum publicationem seu
not before which also after their publication or
proclamationem solae humanorum praeceptorum obligant
proclamation alone of-human precepts bind
transgressores ad civilem culpam et poenam.
transgressors to civil guilt and punishment
Quod quidem igitur legum lationis seu institutionis auctoritas,
that indeed therefore of-laws of-passing or of-institution the-authority
et de ipsarum observatione coactivum dare praeceptum, ad
and about their observance a-coercive to-give precept to
solam civium universitatem seu ipsius valentiorem partem
alone of-citizens the-whole-body or its weightier part
tamquam efficientem causam pertineat, aut ad illum vel illos
as-if the-efficient cause pertains or to him or them
cui vel quibus auctoritatem hanc concesserit iam dicta
to-whom or to-whom authority this shall-have-granted the-now said
universitas, sufficienter ex dictis monstrasse putamus.
whole-body sufficiently from the-things-said to-have-shown we-think

Capitulum XIV. De qualitatibus seu dispositionibus principantis perfecti, ut sciatur qualem oporteat esse qui ad principatum debet assumi. Unde apparet etiam conveniens materia sive subiectum humanarum legum

THE QUALITIES A RULER MUST HAVE

A future ruler needs prudence, to judge what the law leaves undetermined, as the consul Cicero did in having Catiline's accomplices put to death in the prison, and moral virtue, above all justice, since a wicked ruler harms even a well-ordered polity. He should also have equity and love for the citizens. He needs armed force, enough to subdue any citizen but not the whole people, given him with the office so that the virtuous poor are not shut out. A ruler so prepared is the proper subject of human laws.

Post haec autem dicere oportet de causa effectiva partis
after these-things but to-speak it-behooves about the-cause effective of-the-part
principantis. Hoc autem erit ostendere per demonstrationem,
ruling this but will-be to-show through demonstration
cuius sit auctoritas eligendi eam, et consequenter instituendi
of-whom be the-authority of-electing it and consequently of-instituting
reliquas partium civitatis. De non-electae namque partis
the-remaining of-the-parts of-the-city about the-non-elected for part
principantis institutione sufficienter dictum est ix° huius,
ruling the-institution sufficiently said it-is in-the-ninth of-this
parte 5ª. Incipiemus autem primum determinando qualem
in-part fifth we-shall-begin but first by-determining what-kind
esse oporteat qui convenienter est ad principatum eligendus
to-be it-behooves he-who fittingly is to the-principate to-be-elected
seu promovendus. Ex hoc enim transibimus certius ad
or to-be-promoted from this for we-shall-pass more-certainly to
ipsius electionis seu institutionis auctoritatem factivam.
of-him of-election or of-institution the-authority productive

Sunt autem futuri principantis perfecti habitus intrinseci
are but of-the-future ruler perfect habits intrinsic
duo, separationem non recipientes in esse, videlicet prudentia
two separation not receiving in being namely prudence
et moralis virtus, maxime iustitia. Unus quidem, ut ipsius
and moral virtue most justice the-one indeed that his
in principando dirigatur intellectus, prudentia scilicet. Unde
in ruling be-directed understanding prudence namely whence
iii Politicae, capitulo 2°: Prudentia autem propria virtus
in-the-third of-the-Politics in-chapter second prudence but the-proper virtue
principis sola; alias enim videtur conveniens communes
of-the-prince alone the-others for seems fitting common
subditorum et principum. Reliquus vero habitus est quo
of-subjects and of-princes the-other but habit is by-which
ipsius rectus extet affectus, moralis virtus scilicet, aliarum
his right may-stand affection moral virtue namely of-the-others
maxime iustitia. Unde iv Ethicorum, tractatu de
most justice whence in-the-fourth of-the-Ethics in-the-treatise on
iustitia, inquit Aristoteles: Est autem princeps custos iusti.
justice says Aristotle is but the-prince the-guardian of-the-just
Est ergo futuro principanti prudentia necessaria, quoniam
is therefore for-the-future ruler prudence necessary since
per ipsam magnifice potest in ipsius opus proprium,
through it splendidly he-can in his work proper
iudicio videlicet conferentium et iustorum civilium. In
the-judgment namely of-advantageous and just civil-things in
quibus namque humanis actibus civilibus actus ipse vel
which for human acts civil the-act itself or
modus non determinatur a lege, per prudentiam dirigitur
mode not is-determined by law through prudence is-directed
principans in iudicando et etiam exequendo, facto vel modo
the-ruler in judging and also in-executing in-deed or mode

aut horum utroque, in quibus ipsum peccare contingeret
or of-these in-both in which him to-sin would-happen
absque prudentia. Nam (ut in Catilinario Salustii) si consul
without prudence for as in the-Catiline of-Sallust if the-consul
Cicero complices Catilinae, Romanos cives atque potentes,
Cicero the-accomplices of-Catiline Roman citizens and powerful
adversus rempublicam coniuratores, proinde mortis reos,
against the-republic conspirators therefore of-death guilty
secundum legem punisset loco, tempore, ac modo
according-to law had-punished in-the-place time and mode
consuetis, exorta foret inde verisimiliter civilis pugna
customary arisen would-have-been thence probably civil fight
politiae solutiva propter seditionem per dictos iam
of-the-polity dissolving on-account-of sedition by the-said now
coniuratores adversus consulem et reliquos principantes in
conspirators against the-consul and the-remaining rulers in
populo concitatam. Hoc siquidem periculum Cicero consul
the-people stirred-up this indeed danger Cicero the-consul
seu principans urbis per suam evasit prudentiam, dum
or ruler of-the-city through his escaped prudence while
dictos reos tortoribus necandos tradidit et praecepit in
the-said guilty-men to-the-torturers to-be-killed he-handed-over and commanded in
loco carceris, quem forte propterea Tullianum appellant.
the-place of-the-prison which perhaps for-that-reason the-Tullianum they-call
Sic ergo prudentia diriguntur agibilium consilia, unde
thus therefore by-prudence are-directed of-practicable-things the-counsels whence
vi Ethicorum, capitulo 4°, dixit Aristoteles prudentiam:
in-the-sixth of-the-Ethics in-chapter fourth said Aristotle prudence
habitum verum cum ratione activum circa hominis bona
a-habit true with reason active about of-man the-goods
vel mala, inquantum homo scilicet. Huius autem causa est,
or evils in-so-far-as man namely of-this but the-cause is

quoniam agibilia sunt, circa quae et de quibus plurimis
since practicable-things are about which and of which very-many
sunt humanae leges secundum quas debet principans disponere
are human laws according-to which ought the-ruler to-dispose
civiles actus humanos; quodque non omnes aut ipsorum
civil acts human and-that not all or their
modos seu circumstantias, quibus involvuntur, possibile videtur
modes or circumstances by-which they-are-involved possible seems
semper simul lege determinare propter ipsorum varietatem
always at-once by-law to-determine on-account-of their variety
et differentiam secundum regiones et tempora, ut aperta
and difference according-to regions and times as open
docet experientia, et testis est Aristoteles i Ethicorum,
teaches experience and witness is Aristotle in-the-first of-the-Ethics
capitulo 1°, cum dixit: Bona autem et iusta de quibus
in-chapter first when he-said the-good but and just-things about which
civilis intendit, tantam habent differentiam et errorem, ut
the-civil-science attends such have difference and error that
videantur sola lege esse, non natura, id est, quia sic velint
they-seem by-alone law to-be not by-nature that is because thus wish
homines de ipsis statuere, non quia ipsorum agibilium
men about them to-establish not because of-these practicable-things
natura determinata sit, ut videlicet hoc quidem sit iustum,
the-nature determined be so-that namely this indeed be just
illud vero iniustum; idemque etiam exprimens amplius
that but unjust and-the-same also expressing more-fully
iii Politicae, capitulo 9°, cum dixit: Sed quoniam
in-the-third of-the-Politics in-chapter ninth when he-said but since
haec quidem comprehendi legibus contingit, haec autem
these-things indeed to-be-comprehended by-laws happens these but
impossibilia, haec sunt quae faciunt dubitare et quaerere,
impossible these are the-things-which make to-doubt and to-ask

utrum optimam legem eligibilius principari quam optimum
whether the-best law more-choice-worthy to-rule than the-best
virum. De quibus enim consiliantur (homines scilicet) sunt
man about which for take-counsel men namely they-are
impossibilium lege statuta esse (omnia, supple).
of-the-impossible-things by-law established to-be all supply
Haec propter oportuit quaedam evenientium in
these on-account-of it-behooved certain of-the-things-happening in
civilibus actibus hominum arbitrio principantium iudicanda
civil acts of-men to-the-discretion of-rulers to-be-judged
committere, quae scilicet secundum se aut modum
to-commit which namely according-to themselves or mode
aliquem sui seu circumstantiam lege determinata non sunt.
some of-theirs or circumstance by-law determined not are
Nam in hiis quae lege determinata fuerunt, debitum est
for in those-things which by-law determined have-been owed it-is
principantem sequi legalem determinationem. Et fuit haec
the-ruler to-follow the-legal determination and was this
Aristotelis sententia iii Politicae, capitulo 6°, cum dixit:
of-Aristotle the-opinion in-the-third of-the-Politics in-chapter sixth when he-said
Principem autem, sive unum sive plures, de hiis esse
the-prince but whether one or several about these-things to-be
dominos, de quibus leges non possunt dicere certitudinaliter,
lords about which the-laws not can to-speak with-certainty
propterea quod non facile sit universaliter determinare
for-this-reason that not easy it-be universally to-determine
de omnibus; quam sententiam replicans 9° eiusdem,
about all-things which opinion repeating in-the-ninth of-the-same
inquit sic: Sunt autem et nunc de quibusdam principatus,
he-says thus are but also now about some-things principates
dominantes iudicio sicut iudex, de quibus lex non potest
dominant in-judgment as the-judge about which law not can

determinare, quoniam de quo potuit, nullus dubitat de
to-determine since about what it-could no-one doubts about
hiis tamquam non utique optime lex praecepit. Est
these-things as-if not surely best law commanded is
ergo necessaria principanti prudentia propter talia
therefore necessary for-the-ruler prudence on-account-of such-things
iudicanda quae lege determinari non possunt. Hanc siquidem
to-be-judged which by-law to-be-determined not can this indeed
sententiam Aristotelis, quasi propinquam rebus manifestis per
opinion of-Aristotle as-if near to-things manifest by
se, certificare potest per demonstrationem, cui cura
itself to-make-certain can through demonstration he-to-whom care
fuerit, per ea quae dicta sunt xi° huius.
shall-have-been through those-things which said have-been in-the-eleventh of-this
Est rursum moralis bonitas, virtus scilicet, aliarum vero
is again moral goodness virtue namely of-the-others but
maxime iustitia, principanti necessaria, nam si perversus
most justice for-the-ruler necessary for if perverse
fuerit secundum morem, multum laeditur ex eo politia
he-shall-have-been according-to character much is-harmed from it the-polity
quantumcumque formata legibus. Iam enim diximus, non
however-much formed by-laws already for we-have-said not
facile aut non possibile simul omnia determinare legibus, sed
easy or not possible at-once all-things to-determine by-laws but
aliqua committi oportere principantis arbitrio, in quibus
some-things to-be-committed to-behoove of-the-ruler to-the-discretion in which
laedere potest politiam si fuerit affectionis perversae.
to-harm he-can the-polity if he-shall-have-been of-affection perverse
Et haec fuit Aristotelis sententia ii Politicae, 8°
and this was of-Aristotle the-opinion in-the-second of-the-Politics in-the-eighth
capitulo, dum dixit: Magnorum enim domini constituti, si
chapter while he-said of-great-things for lords established if

viles fuerint (id est, more pravi) multum laedunt,
vile they-shall-have-been that is in-character wicked much they-harm
et laeserunt iam civitatem Chalcedoniorum. Et quoniam
and have-harmed already the-city of-the-Chalcedonians and since
ab hoc praeservantur per moris virtutem, maxime
from this they-are-preserved through of-character the-virtue most
iustitiam, ideoque conveniens est, si necessarium conveniens
justice and-therefore fitting it-is if necessary fitting
dicere liceat, neminem futurum principari carere morali
to-say it-be-permitted no-one (one)-about to-rule to-lack moral
virtute, aliarum vero maxime iustitia.
virtue of-the-others but most justice
Cui siquidem etiam in principante futuro conveniens est
to-which indeed also in the-ruler future fitting it-is
assequi virtutem quandam, vocatam epieikeiam, qua dirigitur
to-attain a-virtue certain called epieikeia by-which is-directed
iudex, praecipue secundum affectum, in quibus lex deficit.
the-judge chiefly according-to affection in which-things the-law fails
Unde Aristoteles, iv Ethicorum, tractatu de iustitia,
whence Aristotle in-the-fourth of-the-Ethics in-the-treatise on justice
inquit: Et haec natura est, quae epieikes directio legis,
says and this the-nature is that-of the-equitable the-direction of-the-law
ubi deficit propter particulare. Quam, extimo, iuristae volunt
where it-fails on-account-of the-particular which I-reckon the-jurists wish
aequitatem dicere. Est enim haec benigna legis quaedam
equity to-call is for this a-kindly of-law certain
interpretatio vel moderatio in aliquo casu, quem lex sub
interpretation or moderation in some case which the-law under
rigoris universalitate comprehendit, in quo pro tanto lex
of-rigor universality comprehends in which for so-much the-law
deficere dicitur, quia ipsum a regula non excepit, quem
to-fail is-said because it from the-rule not it-excepted which

tamen si sic futurum attendisset ab universalitate regulae
however if thus to-come-about it-had-attended-to from the-universality of-the-rule
cum aliquo moderamine vel simpliciter excepisset. Adhuc
with some moderation or simply it-would-have-excepted further
cum hiis etiam singularis quidam amor seu benevolentia
with these-things also a-singular certain love or benevolence
futuri principantis ad politiam et cives exigitur. Ex hoc
of-the-future ruler toward the-polity and citizens is-required from this
namque principantis actiones ad commune ac singulorum
for of-the-ruler the-actions to the-common and of-individuals
conferens intenduntur in sollicitudine et bonitate.
advantage are-directed in solicitude and goodness
Praeter hos autem dictos habitus et dispositiones necessarium
beyond these but said habits and dispositions necessary
est principanti extrinsecum organum quoddam, armatorum
it-is for-the-ruler an-external organ certain of-armed-men
videlicet numerus certus, quo suas civiles sententias in
namely a-number fixed by-which his civil sentences against
rebelles et inobedientes per coactivam potentiam exequi
rebels and disobedient through coercive power to-execute
possit. Unde Aristoteles, vii Politicae, capitulo
he-may-be-able whence Aristotle in-the-seventh of-the-Politics in-chapter
6°: Communicantes autem (civiliter, supple) necessarium est
sixth associating but civilly supply necessary it-is
ipsis habere arma (id est, armatorum multitudinem aliquam)
for-them to-have arms that is of-armed-men a-multitude some
ad principatum inobedientium gratia (id est, ad arcendos
for the-principate of-the-disobedient for-the-sake that is for restraining
inobedientes principantibus); aliter enim leges atque civiles
the-disobedient to-the-rulers otherwise for laws and civil
sententiae otiosae forent, nisi earum executio posset expleri.
sentences idle would-be unless their execution could to-be-fulfilled

Debet autem haec armata potentia principantis determinari
ought but this armed power of-the-ruler to-be-determined
per legislatorem, veluti civilia reliqua: tanta siquidem ut
by the-legislator as civil remaining-things so-great indeed that
uniuscuiusque civis seorsum aut aliquorum simul excedat
of-each citizen separately or of-some together it-exceed
potentiam, non tamen eam quae simul omnium aut maioris
the-power not however that which together of-all or of-the-greater
partis, ne principantem praesumere aut posse contingat
part lest the-ruler to-presume or to-be-able happen
violare leges, et praeter aut contra ipsas despotice principari.
to-violate the-laws and beyond or against them despotically to-rule
Unde Aristoteles, iii Politicae, capitulo 9°: Oportet
whence Aristotle in-the-third of-the-Politics in-chapter ninth it-behooves
enim ipsum quidem habere potentiam tantam, ut sit ea
for him indeed to-have power so-great that it-be than-that
quae singulorum et unius et simul plurium maior, ea
which of-individuals and of-one and together of-several greater than-that
autem quae multitudinis minor. Oportet autem simul plurium
but which of-the-multitude less it-behooves but together of-several
intelligere non comparative, id est maiorem partem, sed
to-understand not comparatively that is the-greater part but
plurium positive, secundum quod a pluralitate derivatur, id
of-several positively according-to that from plurality it-is-derived that
est a multitudine aliqua, non tamen valentiori civium parte.
is from a-multitude some not however the-weightier of-citizens part
Si enim non sic intelligatur, repugnantia esset in dictis
if for not thus it-be-understood a-contradiction there-would-be in the-sayings
ipsius. Hanc vero coactivam potestatem futurum principari,
his this but coercive power (one)-about to-rule
ante ipsius ad principatum electionem, non necessarium est
before his to the-principate election not necessary it-is

habere, quemadmodum reliquas sui dispositiones intrinsecas
to-have as the-remaining his dispositions intrinsic
de quibus iam pridem diximus. Sic enim ad principatum
about which already before we-have-spoken thus for to the-principate
numquam assumerentur studiosi pauperes. Cuius oppositum
never would-be-taken-up studious poor-men of-which the-opposite
voluit Aristoteles idem, ii Politicae, 8° capitulo,
wished Aristotle the-same in-the-second of-the-Politics in-the-eighth chapter
dum dixit: A principio autem hoc videre est necessariorum,
while he-said from the-beginning but this to-see is of-necessary-things
qualiter optimi possint vacare et nihil dehonestari,
how the-best may-be-able to-have-leisure and in-nothing to-be-dishonored
non solum principes sed neque singulariter viventes.
not only princes but nor singly living-men
Verumtamen ut quae de principantium dispositionibus
nevertheless that the-things-which about of-rulers the-dispositions
ac reliquis sibi necessariis ad capitulum reducantur,
and the-remaining-things to-them necessary to a-head be-reduced
dicamus, quod prudentia et moralis virtus necessariae sunt
let-us-say that prudence and moral virtue necessary are
futuro in principantem eligendo, vel eligendis si
for-the-future as ruler one-to-be-elected or for-those-to-be-elected if
plures fuerint principantes ut in aristocratia, ante ipsius
several shall-have-been the-rulers as in aristocracy before his
electionem. Armata vero potentia necessaria est principanti
election armed but power necessary is for-the-ruler
maximum principatum civitatis aut regni, tamquam
the-greatest principate of-the-city or of-the-kingdom as-if
instrumentum seu extrinsecum organum, quo ipsius secundum
an-instrument or external organ by-which his according-to
leges expleantur sententiae; non tamen hanc oportet habere
the-laws be-fulfilled sentences not however this it-behooves to-have

ante ipsius electionem, sed illi simul cum principatu conferre.
before his election but to-him together with the-principate to-confer
Amor autem seu benevolentia singularis ad politiam et cives
the-love but or benevolence singular toward the-polity and citizens
in suarum actionum civilium bonitatem et sollicitudinem addit,
to of-his actions civil the-goodness and solicitude adds
licet non aequa necessitate cum praedictis exigatur in ipso.
although not with-equal necessity with the-aforesaid it-be-required in him
Testatur autem hiis Aristoteles, v Politicae, capitulo
testifies but to-these-things Aristotle in-the-fifth of-the-Politics in-chapter
4°, dum dixit: Tria autem quaedam oportet habere futuros
fourth while he-said three but certain-things it-behooves to-have those-about
principari principales principatus, primo quidem amorem ad
to-rule the-principal principates first indeed love toward
consistentem politiam, deinde potentiam maximorum operum
the-established polity then the-power of-the-greatest works
principatus, tertio autem virtutem et iustitiam; per virtutem
of-the-principate third but virtue and justice by virtue
intelligens prudentiam, quae omnium vinculum est et magistra
understanding prudence which of-all the-bond is and mistress
virtutum. Unde vi Ethicorum, capitulo finali: Simul
of-virtues whence in-the-sixth of-the-Ethics in-chapter final together
enim prudentiae uni existenti omnes inerunt. Collocavit autem
for with-prudence one existing all will-be-in placed but
Aristoteles sub eadem parte dictae divisionis prudentiam et
Aristotle under the-same part of-the-said division prudence and
moralem virtutem, propterea quod in esse non separantur,
moral virtue for-this-reason that in being not they-are-separated
ut extimasse videtur eodem libro et capitulo cum dixit:
as to-have-reckoned he-seems in-the-same book and chapter when he-said
Manifestum igitur ex dictis, quoniam non possibile bonum
manifest therefore from the-things-said since not possible good

esse principaliter sine prudentia, neque prudentem sine morali
to-be principally without prudence nor prudent without moral
virtute. Et nominavit Aristoteles, v Politicae, supra dicto
virtue and named Aristotle in-the-fifth of-the-Politics above said
capitulo, res quas futuro principanti convenire diximus,
chapter the-things which for-the-future ruler to-befit we-have-said
fortassis converso modo necessitati earum. Ex dictis
perhaps in-reversed way to-the-necessity of-them from the-things-said
itaque apparet subiectum proprium seu materia humanarum
and-so appears the-subject proper or matter of-human
legum. Hoc enim est principans, cum prudentia et virtute
laws this for is the-ruler when with-prudence and virtue
moris, maxime iustitia, praeparatus fuerit sufficienter.
of-character most justice prepared he-shall-have-been sufficiently
Qualis quidem igitur esse debeat futurus principans civitatis
what-kind indeed therefore to-be ought the-future ruler of-the-city
aut regni, quae etiam sibi necessaria sint et convenientia,
or of-the-kingdom which also to-him necessary be and fitting
determinatum sit hoc modo.
determined let-it-be in-this way

Capitulum XV. De causa factiva potioris institutionis principatus, unde apparet etiam effectiva causa reliquarum partium civitatis

THE LEGISLATOR INSTITUTES THE RULER AND THE PARTS OF THE CITY

The authority to elect, correct, and depose the ruler belongs to the legislator, as lawmaking does. Like the heart in an animal, the ruling part is formed first and given law as its form; it then establishes, by the legislator's authority, the other offices, fitting men to them by their skills. No one may take an office at will. The ruler must never cease to act, and all parts of the city are ordered to it.

Consequenter autem dictis restat ostendere principantis
consequently but to-the-things-said it-remains to-show of-the-ruler
factivam causam, per quam videlicet alicui vel aliquibus
the-productive cause through which namely to-someone or to-some
datur auctoritas principatus, qui per electionem statuitur.
is-given the-authority of-the-principate which through election is-established
Hac enim auctoritate fit princeps secundum actum, non
by-this for authority becomes a-prince according-to act not
per legum scientiam, prudentiam, aut moralem virtutem,
through of-laws knowledge prudence or moral virtue
licet sint hae qualitates principantis perfecti. Contingit
although be these qualities of-the-ruler perfect it-happens
enim has multos habere, qui tamen hac auctoritate carentes
for these many to-have who however this authority lacking
non sunt principes nisi forte propinqua potentia.
not are princes unless perhaps in-near potency
Ad quaesitum ergo redeuntes, dicamus secundum veritatem
to the-thing-sought therefore returning let-us-say according-to the-truth
et sententiam Aristotelis, iii Politicae, capitulo 6°,
and the-opinion of-Aristotle in-the-third of-the-Politics in-chapter sixth

potestatem factivam institutionis principatus seu electionis
the-power productive of-the-institution of-the-principate or of-its
ipsius ad legislatorem seu civium universitatem, quemadmodum
election to the-legislator or of-citizens the-whole-body as
ad eandem legum lationem diximus pertinere xii° huius,
to the-same of-laws the-passing we-have-said to-pertain in-the-twelfth of-this
principatus quoque correptionem quamlibet, etiam depositionem,
of-the-principate also correction any-whatever even deposition
si expediens fuerit propter commune conferens, eidem
if expedient it-shall-have-been on-account-of the-common advantage to-the-same
similiter convenire. Nam hoc est unum de maioribus in
likewise to-belong for this is one of the-greater-things in
politia quae ad multitudinem civium universam, ex dictis
the-polity which to the-multitude of-citizens whole from the-sayings
Aristotelis, iii Politicae, capitulo 6°, pertinere conclusimus
of-Aristotle in-the-third of-the-Politics in-chapter sixth to-pertain we-concluded
xiii° huius, parte 4ª. Est enim multitudo dominans
in-the-thirteenth of-this in-part fourth is for the-multitude lording
maiorum, ut dicebatur ibidem. Modus autem conveniendi
of-the-greater-things as was-said there the-mode but of-coming-together
ad institutionem seu electionem praedictam variatur fortasse
for the-institution or election aforesaid varies perhaps
secundum provinciarum varietatem. Verum qualitercumque
according-to of-provinces the-variety but however
diversetur, hoc in quolibet observandum, ut talis electio seu
it-be-diversified this in any-whatever-one is-to-be-observed that such election or
institutio semper fiat auctoritate legislatoris, quem civium
institution always be-made by-the-authority of-the-legislator whom of-citizens
universitatem aut eius valentiorem partem persaepe diximus.
the-whole-body or its weightier part very-often we-have-called
Potest autem et debet convinci propositum hoc eisdem
can but and ought to-be-proved proposition this by-the-same

demonstrationibus, quibus legum lationem, mutationem,
demonstrations by-which of-laws the-passing change
et reliqua circa ipsas ad civium universitatem
and the-remaining-things about them to of-citizens the-whole-body
pertinere conclusimus xii° huius, sola tamen harum
to-pertain we-concluded in-the-twelfth of-this with-only however of-these
demonstrationum minori extremitate mutata, ut videlicet
demonstrations the-minor term changed so-that namely
pro termino qui lex dicitur sumatur terminus principantis.
for the-term which law is-called be-taken the-term ruler
Est autem et hoc cum sua veritate probabile valde, si
is but also this with its truth probable very if
necessarium probabile liceat dicere. Cuius enim est
the-necessary probable it-be-allowed to-call of-whom for it-is
generare formam aliquam, ipsius est determinare subiectum
to-generate a-form some of-him it-is to-determine the-subject
illius, ut in omnibus artibus operativis videre est. Unde et
of-it as in all arts operative to-see it-is whence also
Aristoteles, ii Physicae, capitulo 4°: Eiusdem autem
Aristotle in-the-second of-the-Physics in-chapter fourth of-the-same but
scientiae est cognoscere speciem et materiam usque ad hoc,
science it-is to-know the-species and the-matter up to this
ut medici sanitatem et choleram et phlegma, in quibus
as of-the-physician health and bile and phlegm in which
est sanitas. Similiter autem aedificatoris est speciem domus,
is health likewise but of-the-builder it-is the-species of-the-house
et materiam, quoniam lateres et ligna. Sic quoque in
and the-matter that bricks and timbers thus also in
reliquis artificialibus et naturalibus apparet hoc inductione
the-remaining artificial and natural-things appears this by-induction
manifesta. Cuius quidem causa est, quoniam formae cum
manifest of-which indeed the-cause is that forms with

suis operationibus sunt fines et cuius causa materiae sunt
their operations are ends and whose for-the-sake the-matters are
aut fiunt, ut eodem libro et capitulo dictum est. Cum
or come-to-be as in-the-same book and chapter said it-is since
igitur ad civium universitatem pertineat generare formam
therefore to of-citizens the-whole-body pertains to-generate the-form
secundum quam civiles actus omnes regulari debent, legem
according-to which civil acts all to-be-regulated ought law
scilicet, eiusdem universitatis esse videbitur huius formae
namely of-the-same whole-body to-be will-seem of-this form
determinare materiam seu subiectum, cuius secundum hanc
to-determine the-matter or subject whose according-to this
formam est disponere civiles hominum actus, partem scilicet
form it-is to-dispose civil of-men acts the-part namely
principantem. Et quoniam haec est formarum optima civilis
ruling and since this is of-forms the-best of-the-civil
communitatis, debet illi determinari subiectum optimum
community ought for-it to-be-determined a-subject best
secundum dispositiones; quod etiam in praecedente capitulo
according-to dispositions which also in the-preceding chapter
probabili ratione conclusimus. Unde convenienter inferri
by-probable reason we-concluded whence fittingly to-be-inferred
posse videtur, electum principantem et absque generis
to-be-able it-seems the-elected ruler and without of-the-family
successione simpliciter non-electis, aut hiis qui cum generis
succession simply to-the-non-elected or to-those who with of-the-family
successione statuuntur, politiae praestantiori modo praeferri.
succession are-established for-the-polity in-a-more-excellent way to-be-preferred
Huius ergo partis efficiente monstrato, habitum est
of-this therefore part with-the-efficient-cause shown held it-is
dicere secundum proposita frequenter a nobis causam
to-say according-to the-things-proposed often by us the-cause

effectivam, instituentem, et determinantem reliqua officiorum
effective instituting and determining the-remaining of-the-offices
seu partium civitatis. Hanc autem primam dicimus legislatorem,
or parts of-the-city this but the-first we-call the-legislator
secundariam vero quasi instrumentalem seu executivam dicimus
the-secondary but as-if instrumental or executive we-call
principantem per auctoritatem huius a legislatore sibi
the-ruler through the-authority of-this by the-legislator to-him
concessam secundum formam illi traditam ab eodem, legem
granted according-to the-form to-him handed-down by the-same law
videlicet, secundum quam semper agere ac disponere debet
namely according-to which always to-act and to-dispose he-ought
quantum potest actus civiles, quemadmodum ostensum est
as-much-as he-can civil acts as shown it-has-been
capitulo praecedente. Quamvis enim legislator, tamquam
in-the-chapter preceding although for the-legislator as-if
prima causa et appropriata, determinare debeat quos qualia in
the-first cause and appropriate to-determine ought whom what-kind in
civitate oporteat officia exercere, talium tamen executionem,
the-city it-behooves offices to-exercise of-such-things however the-execution
sicuti et ceterorum legalium, praecipit et si oporteat cohibet
as also of-the-other legal-things commands and if it-behooves restrains
pars principans. Fit enim per ipsum convenientius
the-part ruling is-made for through it more-fittingly
executio legalium quam per universam civium multitudinem,
the-execution of-legal-things than through the-whole of-citizens multitude
quoniam in hoc sufficit unus aut pauci principantes, in quo
since in this suffices one or few rulers in which
frustra occuparetur universa communitas, quae etiam ab aliis
in-vain would-be-occupied the-whole community which also from other
operibus necessariis turbaretur. Nam et hoc facientibus hiis,
works necessary would-be-disturbed for also this with-doing these

id facit communitas universa, quoniam secundum communitatis
this does the-community whole since according-to of-the-community
determinationem, legalem scilicet, id faciunt principantes, qui
the-determination legal namely this do the-rulers who
etiam pauci aut unicus existentes legalia facilius exsecuntur.
also few or single being legal-things more-easily carry-out
Fuit autem in hoc humana sollicitudo convenienter imitata
has but in this human solicitude fittingly imitated
naturam. Quia enim civitas et ipsius partes secundum
nature because for the-city and its parts according-to
rationem institutae, analogiam habent animali et suis
reason instituted analogy have to-an-animal and its
partibus perfecte formatis secundum naturam, ut apparet ex
parts perfectly formed according-to nature as appears from
Aristotele, i et v Politicae, 2[is] capitulis. Qualis
Aristotle in-the-first and fifth of-the-Politics in-the-second chapters what-kind
igitur est naturae actio in animali perfecte formando,
therefore is of-nature the-action in the-animal perfectly to-be-formed
proportionata fuit ea quae humanae mentis ad civitatem et
proportioned was that which of-the-human mind for the-city and
ipsius partes instituendas convenienter. Ad quam siquidem
its parts to-be-instituted fittingly to which indeed
describendam proportionem, ex qua patebit amplius
to-be-described proportion from which will-be-plain more-fully
efficientia et determinatio partium civitatis, suscipiemus
the-efficient-causation and determination of-the-parts of-the-city we-shall-take-up
cum Aristotele in 16° De Animalibus, et a Galieno in
with Aristotle in the-sixteenth On Animals and from Galen in
suo quodam libro, quem vocavit De Zogonia, cum reliquis
his certain book which he-called On Zogonia with the-remaining
quoque magis expertis posteriorum, a principio quodam seu
also more experienced of-later-men from a-principle certain or

causa movente aliqua (sit illud forma materiae aut separata,
cause moving some be it the-form of-the-matter or separate
vel alterum quiddam virtutem habens generativam animalis et
or another something power having generative of-the-animal and
partium eius) formari primum tempore atque natura partem
of-parts its to-be-formed first in-time and nature a-part
quandam organicam animalis ipsius, et in ipsa virtutem
certain organic of-the-animal itself and in it a-power
seu potentiam naturalem cum calore aliquo tamquam activo
or potency natural with heat some as-if an-active
principio, virtutem inquam et calorem universales activa
principle a-power I-say and heat universal by-active
causalitate ad formandum et distinguendum unamquamque
causality for forming and distinguishing each
reliquarum partium animalis. Et est pars ista primum
of-the-remaining parts of-the-animal and is part that first
formata cor aut cordi proportionalis aliqua, sicut dixit
formed the-heart or to-the-heart proportional some-part as said
Aristoteles ubi supra et reliqui philosophorum peritiores,
Aristotle where above and the-remaining of-philosophers more-skilled
quibus credere oportet propter ipsorum experientiam in
whom to-believe it-behooves on-account-of their experience in
hoc, et absque probatione nunc supponere, quoniam id
this and without proof now to-suppose since this
demonstrare non est praesentis inquisitionis. Haec siquidem
to-demonstrate not is of-the-present inquiry this indeed
pars, formata primum, nobilior est et perfectior in suis
part formed first nobler is and more-perfect in its
qualitatibus et dispositionibus ceteris partibus animalis.
qualities and dispositions than-the-other parts of-the-animal
Statuit enim in ea natura generans virtutem et instrumentum,
established for in it nature generating a-power and an-instrument

per quae partes animalis reliquae formantur ex convenienti
through which the-parts of-the-animal remaining are-formed from fitting
materia, separantur, distinguuntur, invicem ordinantur, in
matter are-separated are-distinguished from-one-another are-ordered in
suis dispositionibus conservantur, et a nocumento quantum
their dispositions are-preserved and from harm as-far-as
natura patitur praeservantur per ipsam; lapsae vero a
nature allows are-kept-safe through it fallen but from
sui natura propter aegritudinem aut aliud impedimentum,
their nature on-account-of sickness or other impediment
huius partis virtute reparantur.
of-this part by-the-power they-are-repaired
Hiis autem proportionaliter contemplandum in civitate
these-things but proportionally is-to-be-contemplated in a-city
convenienter instituta secundum rationem. Nam ab anima
fittingly instituted according-to reason for by the-soul
universitatis civium aut eius valentioris partis formatur
of-the-whole-body of-citizens or of-its weightier part is-formed
aut formari debet in ea pars una primum proportionata
or to-be-formed ought in it a-part one first proportioned
cordi, in qua siquidem virtutem quandam seu formam
to-the-heart in which indeed a-power certain or form
statuit cum activa potentia seu auctoritate instituendi
it-establishes with active potency or authority of-instituting
partes reliquas civitatis. Haec autem pars est principatus,
the-parts remaining of-the-city this but part is the-principate
cuius quidem virtus causalitate universalis lex est, et
of-which indeed the-power in-causality universal law is and
cuius activa potentia est auctoritas iudicandi, praecipiendi,
of-which the-active potency is the-authority of-judging of-commanding
et exequendi sententias conferentium et iustorum civilium;
and of-executing sentences of-advantageous and just civil-things

propter quod dixit Aristoteles, vii Politicae, capitulo
on-account-of which said Aristotle in-the-seventh of-the-Politics in-chapter
6°, hanc esse omnium aliarum necessariissimam in civitate.
sixth this to-be of-all others the-most-necessary in the-city
Causa vero eius est, quoniam sufficientia quae habetur per
the-cause but of-it is since the-sufficiency which is-had through
reliquas partes seu officia civitatis, si non inexisterent,
the-remaining parts or offices of-the-city if not they-were-present
posset aliunde sufficienter haberi, licet non sic faciliter, ut
could from-elsewhere sufficiently to-be-had although not so easily as
per navigium et reliqua vectigalia; sed sine principatus
through navigation and the-remaining tolls but without of-the-principate
inexistentia civilis communitas manere aut diu manere non
the-presence the-civil community to-remain or long to-remain not
potest, quoniam necesse est ut scandala veniant, ut dicitur
can since necessary it-is that offenses come as is-said
in Matthaeo. Haec autem sunt contentiones atque iniuriae
in Matthew these but are contentions and injuries
hominum invicem, quae non vindicatae aut mensuratae
of-men against-one-another which not avenged or measured
per iustorum regulam, legem videlicet, et per principantem
by of-just-things the-rule law namely and by the-ruler
cuius est secundum illam talia mensurare, contingeret inde
whose it-is according-to it such-things to-measure would-happen thence
congregatorum hominum pugna et separatio, et demum
of-gathered men fight and separation and at-last
corruptio civitatis et privatio sufficientis vitae.
the-corruption of-the-city and the-privation of-sufficient life
Debet etiam pars haec in civitate nobilior atque perfectior esse
ought also part this in the-city nobler and more-perfect to-be
in suis dispositionibus, prudentia scilicet atque virtute moris,
in its dispositions in-prudence namely and virtue of-character

ceteris partibus civitatis. Unde vii Politicae, capitulo
than-the-other parts of-the-city whence in-the-seventh of-the-Politics in-chapter
12°, dixit Aristoteles: Si tantum fuerint differentes
twelfth said Aristotle if so-much they-shall-have-been differing
alteri ab alteris quantum deos et heroes extimamus ab
the-ones from the-others as-much-as gods and heroes we-reckon from
hominibus differre, confestim primo secundum corpus multam
men to-differ straightway first according-to the-body much
habentes excellentiam, deinde secundum animam, ut
having excellence then according-to the-soul so-that
indubitata et manifesta sit excellentia principantium respectu
undoubted and manifest be the-excellence of-the-rulers in-respect
subiectorum, palam quidem, quia melius per eosdem, hos
of-the-subjects plain indeed that better through the-same these
quidem principari, hos autem subici secundum semel,
indeed to-rule those but to-be-subject according-to once
id est secundum vitam. Statuit etiam principium factivum
that is according-to life established also the-principle productive
civitatis, anima videlicet universitatis, in hac prima parte
of-the-city the-soul namely of-the-whole-body in this first part
virtutem quandam causalitate universalem, legem scilicet,
a-power certain in-causality universal law namely
auctoritatem quoque seu potestatem agendi secundum illam
the-authority also or power of-acting according-to it
iudicia civilia, praecipiendi, et exequendi de hiis, non
judgments civil of-commanding and of-executing about these-things not
aliter. Quoniam sicut caliditas innata ipsius cordis tamquam
otherwise since as the-heat innate of-the-very heart as-if
subiecti, per quam cor seu forma eius omnes actiones
of-the-subject through which the-heart or its form all actions
complet, dirigitur, et mensuratur in agendo per cordis
completes is-directed and is-measured in acting by of-the-heart

formam seu virtutem, nec aliter ageret ad debitum
the-form or power nor otherwise would-it-act toward the-due
finem. Adhuc etiam sicut calor, quem spiritum dicunt,
end further also as the-heat which spirit they-call
tamquam instrumentum ad complendas actiones, per totum
as-if an-instrument for completing actions through the-whole
corpus ab eadem virtute regitur, nec aliter horum calorum
body by the-same power is-ruled nor otherwise of-these heats
alteruter ageret ad debitum finem, quoniam deterius agit
either would-act toward the-due end since worse acts
ignis quam organa, ut in ii Perigeneseos et De Anima.
fire than organs as in the-second On-Generation and On the-Soul
Sic quoque auctoritas principandi alicui hominum data
so also the-authority of-ruling to-some-one of-men given
caliditati cordis tamquam subiecti proportionata. Sic etiam
to-the-heat of-the-heart as-if of-the-subject proportioned so also
ipsius armata seu coactiva potestas instrumentalis, calori
his armed or coercive power instrumental to-the-heat
quem spiritum diximus proportionalis, debet regulari
which spirit we-have-called proportional ought to-be-regulated
per legem in iudicando, praecipiendo, et exequendo de
by law in judging commanding and executing about
iustis et conferentibus civilibus, aliter enim non ageret
just and advantageous civil-things otherwise for not would-act
principans ad debitum finem, conservationem scilicet civitatis,
the-ruler toward the-due end the-preservation namely of-the-city
quemadmodum demonstratum est xi° huius.
as demonstrated it-has-been in-the-eleventh of-this
Adhuc autem secundum iam dictam virtutem, legem scilicet,
further but according-to the-now said power law namely
auctoritatemque sibi datam distinguere debet principans atque
and-the-authority to-him given to-distinguish ought the-ruler and

statuere partes et officia civitatis ex convenienti materia,
to-establish the-parts and offices of-the-city from fitting matter
hominibus siquidem habentibus artes seu habitus ad officia
from-men indeed having arts or habits for offices
convenientes. Sunt enim tales propinqua materia partium
fitting are for such-men the-near matter of-the-parts
civitatis, quemadmodum dictum est vii° huius. Est enim
of-the-city as said it-is in-the-seventh of-this is for
haec norma seu lex politiarum bene institutarum, homines
this the-norm or law of-polities well instituted men
statuere ad officia civitatis habentes habitus operativos
to-establish for the-offices of-the-city having habits operative
convenientes ad illa, non-habentes vero, verbi gratia iuvenes, ad
fitting for them those-not-having but for example young-men to
illos ordinare discendos in quos magis naturaliter inclinantur.
those to-order to-be-learned to which more naturally they-are-inclined
Et haec fuit sententia eximii Aristotelis in hoc ubi
and this was the-opinion of-the-outstanding Aristotle in this where
i Ethicorum, capitulo 1°, dixit: Quas enim esse debitum
in-the-first of-the-Ethics in-chapter first he-said which for to-be owed
est disciplinarum in civitatibus, et quales unumquemque
it-is of-disciplines in cities and what-kind each
addiscere, et usque quo haec praeordinat, politica
to-learn and up-to what-point these-things preordains the-political
scilicet seu legislativa prudentia, et consequenter qui
namely or legislative prudence and consequently he-who
secundum legem politiam disponit, principans scilicet. Hoc
according-to law the-polity disposes the-ruler namely this
etiam dixit vii Politicae, capitulo 13°: Ad omnia
also he-said in-the-seventh of-the-Politics in-chapter thirteenth for all-things
quidem igitur, inquit, aspicienti politico leges ferendum,
indeed therefore says-he for-one-looking political-man laws are-to-be-passed

et secundum partes animae et secundum passiones ipsarum.
both according-to the-parts of-the-soul and according-to the-passions of-them
Idem quoque viii eiusdem, capitulo 1°, dum dixit:
the-same also in-the-eighth of-the-same in-chapter first while he-said
Quod quidem igitur legislatori negociandum circa viventium
that indeed therefore for-the-legislator it-is-to-be-busied about of-the-living
disciplinam, nullus utique dubitabit. Etenim non factum hoc,
the-discipline no-one surely will-doubt for not done this
laedet politias. Ex praedictis igitur apparet, ad legislatorem
will-harm polities from the-aforesaid therefore it-appears to the-legislator
pertinere determinationem seu institutionem officiorum et
to-pertain the-determination or institution of-the-offices and
partium civitatis, eiusque determinationis iudicium, praeceptum,
parts of-the-city and-of-its determination the-judgment precept
et executionem ad principantem secundum legem spectare.
and execution to the-ruler according-to law to-belong
Posset autem hoc eisdem convinci demonstrationibus, quibus
could but this by-the-same to-be-proved demonstrations which
ad legum lationem et principantis institutionem utebamur
for of-laws the-passing and of-the-ruler the-institution we-used
xii° huius et supra, syllogismorum sola minori
in-the-twelfth of-this and above of-the-syllogisms with-only the-minor
extremitate mutata.
term changed
Propter quod non licitum est alicui pro libito sibi
on-account-of which not lawful it-is for-anyone at pleasure for-himself
assumere officium in civitate, maxime advenis. Non enim
to-take-up an-office in the-city most for-strangers not for
debet nec rationabiliter potest pro voto quilibet se convertere
ought nor reasonably can at wish anyone himself to-turn
ad militare vel sacerdotium exercendum, neque debet hoc
to the-military or the-priesthood to-be-exercised nor ought this

permittere principans, nam ex hoc contingeret insufficientia
to-permit the-ruler for from this would-happen insufficiency
civitati eorum, quae per alia officia procurari necesse
to-the-city of-those-things which through other offices to-be-procured necessary
est. Verum ad talia debet principans determinare personas,
it-is but for such-things ought the-ruler to-determine the-persons
partium quoque seu officiorum ipsorum quantitatem et
of-the-parts also or offices themselves the-quantity and
qualitatem secundum numerum et potentiam et huiusmodi
quality according-to number and power and of-this-kind
reliqua, ne propter ipsarum excessum invicem
remaining-things lest on-account-of their excess over-one-another
immoderatum contingat politiam solvi; propter quod
immoderate it-happen the-polity to-be-dissolved on-account-of which
v Politicae, capitulo 2°, dixit Aristoteles: Fiunt
in-the-fifth of-the-Politics in-chapter second said Aristotle are-made
autem et propter excrescentiam quae praeter proportionem
but also on-account-of growth which beyond proportion
transmutationes politiarum. Sicut enim ex partibus corpus
the-transmutations of-polities as for from parts the-body
componitur, et oportet augeri proportionaliter ut
is-composed and it-behooves to-be-increased proportionally that
maneat commensuratio; si autem non, corrumpitur. Si
may-remain the-commensuration if but not it-is-corrupted if
enim non solum secundum quantum, sed et secundum
for not only according-to quantity but also according-to
quale crescit praeter proportionem; sic et civitas componitur
quality it-grows beyond proportion so also the-city is-composed
ex partibus, quarum saepe latet aliqua excrescens, velut
from parts of-which often lies-hid some-one growing-excessive as
egenorum multitudo in democratiis, et sacerdotium in lege
of-the-needy the-multitude in democracies and the-priesthood in the-law

Christianorum. Idem dixit etiam iii Politicae, capitulo
of-Christians the-same said also in-the-third of-the-Politics in-chapter
7°, cuius omitto seriem propter abbreviationem sermonis.
seventh whose I-omit series on-account-of the-abbreviation of-the-discourse
Debet rursum pars haec, principans scilicet, auctoritate sua
ought again part this ruling namely by-authority its
secundum legem praecipere iusta et honesta, et hiis
according-to law to-command just-things and honorable-things and to-these
contraria prohibere, tam opere quam sermone, praemiis
contrary-things to-prohibit as-much by-deed as by-word with-rewards
aut poenis afficiendo merita vel demerita observantium aut
or punishments affecting the-merits or demerits of-those-observing or
transgredientium praecepta legalia. Quo modo conservabit
of-those-transgressing the-precepts legal in-which way it-will-preserve
in esse debito unamquamque partium civitatis, et a
in being due each of-the-parts of-the-city and from
nocumentis ac iniuriis praeservabit. Quod si patiatur aut
harms and injuries will-keep-safe but if suffer or
agat iniuriam ipsarum aliqua, curari debet per principantis
do injury of-them some-one to-be-cured it-ought through of-the-ruler
actionem, inferens quidem iniuriam sustinendo poenam.
the-action the-one-inflicting indeed injury by-undergoing punishment
Est enim poena sicut medicina quaedam delicti. Unde
is for punishment as a-medicine certain of-the-offense whence
ii Ethicorum, capitulo 2°: Monstrant autem et
in-the-second of-the-Ethics in-chapter second show but also
poenae factae propter hoc (id est, propter delectationes
punishments made on-account-of this that is on-account-of the-pleasures
quae habentur in male agendo), medicinae enim quaedam
which are-had in badly acting medicines for certain
sunt. Cui vero illata fuerit iniuria curabitur emendam
they-are to-whom but inflicted shall-have-been injury will-be-cured amends

recipiendo, quo modo reducentur omnia ad convenientem
by-receiving in-which way will-be-brought-back all-things to fitting
aequalitatem aut proportionem.
equality or proportion
Amplius conservat haec pars reliquas civitatis partes ipsasque
further preserves this part the-remaining of-the-city parts and-them
adiuvat in ipsarum operibus tam propriis quam communibus
helps in their works as-much proper as common
exercendis, propriis quidem ut quae provenire habent ab
to-be-exercised proper indeed as those-which to-come have from
officiis earum propriis, communibus vero ut communicationibus
offices their proper common but as the-associations
quae sunt ipsarum invicem, quorum utraque turbarentur
which are of-them with-one-another of-which both would-be-disturbed
principantis actione cessante a violentorum correptione.
of-the-ruler with-the-action ceasing from of-the-violent correction
Et propterea numquam debet actio principantis in civitate
and for-that-reason never ought the-action of-the-ruler in the-city
cessare, quemadmodum nec actio cordis in animali, nam
to-cease as nor the-action of-the-heart in the-animal for
licet actiones aliarum partium civitatis aliquo tempore
although the-actions of-the-other parts of-the-city at-some time
cessare possint absque nocumento singularis personae,
to-cease can without harm of-a-single person
collegii, vel communitatis, ut actio militaris tempore pacis,
college or community as the-action military in-time of-peace
similiter quoque reliquarum partium, huius tamen partis et
likewise also of-the-remaining parts of-this however part and
suae virtutis numquam cessare potest actio prima sine
of-its power never to-cease can the-action first without
nocumento. Quacumque enim hora vel momento durare
harm in-whatever for hour or moment to-last

oportet praeceptum et communem custodiam de licitis et
it-behooves the-precept and common guard about lawful and
prohibitis secundum legem, et quandocumque fiat illicitum
forbidden-things according-to law and whenever be-done the-unlawful
aut iniustum, oportet principantem talia regulare perfecte
or unjust it-behooves the-ruler such-things to-regulate perfectly
vel illa exercere quae praevia sunt ad talia regulanda.
or those-things to-exercise which preliminary are to such-things to-be-regulated
Ex praedictis autem apparere potest sufficienter ordo
from the-aforesaid but to-appear can sufficiently the-order
partium civitatis invicem, quoniam propter principantem et
of-the-parts of-the-city to-one-another since on-account-of the-ruler and
ad ipsum tamquam omnium primum ordinantur omnes pro
to him as-if of-all the-first are-ordered all for
statu praesentis saeculi. Nam pars illa in civili communitate
the-state of-the-present world for part that in the-civil community
omnium prima est, quae ceteras habet instituere, determinare,
of-all first is which the-others has to-institute to-determine
ac conservare in statu et pro statu praesentis saeculi seu fine
and to-preserve in state and for the-state of-the-present world or end
civili; pars autem principans secundum humanam legem est illa,
civil part but ruling according-to human law is that
ut iam probabili et demonstrativa ratione conclusimus. Est
as already by-probable and demonstrative reason we-concluded is
igitur aliarum omnium prima, et ad ipsam ceterae ordinantur.
therefore of-the-others all first and to it the-others are-ordered
De causa quidem igitur effectiva electionis partis principantis,
about the-cause indeed therefore effective of-the-election of-the-part ruling
similiter autem et reliquarum partium et civitatis institutione,
likewise but also of-the-remaining parts and of-the-city the-institution
ac ipsarum invicem ordine, determinatum sit hoc modo.
and their to-one-another order determined let-it-be in-this way

Capitulum XVI. An magis expediat politiae monarcham quemlibet per novam electionem singillatim sumere, vel aliquem quendam solum eligere cum omni posteritate sua, quam generis successionem vocare solent

ELECTION OR HEREDITARY SUCCESSION

Many arguments favor a hereditary monarch: he cares for the realm as his own, is less proud and more readily obeyed, may come of an excellent line, and escapes the dangers of electoral discord. Marsilius answers that election gives a better ruler far more often, since succession cannot guarantee prudence or virtue, and the electors aim at the common good. The objections are answered one by one, and election is shown the more perfect way.

Est autem dictis cognita dubitatio, an videlicet magis
is but to-the-things-said known a-doubt whether namely more
expediat civiliter viventibus, monarchamque sibi ex
it-be-expedient for-those-civilly living and-a-monarch over-themselves from
electione praeficientibus, hunc statuere principaturum cum omni
election setting him to-establish about-to-rule with all
sua posteritate, quam generis successionem vocare solent,
his posterity which of-the-family succession to-call they-are-wont
vel illum pro sola eius periodo ad principatum assumere,
or him for alone his period to the-principate to-take-up
corrupto vero vel aliter a principatu iuste privato, novam
with-dead but or otherwise from the-principate justly deprived a-new
vicissim semper electionem facere de futuro. Quibusdam
in-turn always election to-make about the-future-one to-some
quidem enim visum est potiorem esse priorem institutionem
indeed for seemed it-was preferable to-be the-former institution
propter apparentia quaedam. Primum namque propterea
on-account-of appearances certain first for for-this-reason

quod monarcha succedens ex genere rempublicam magis
that the-monarch succeeding from family the-republic more
curabit, tamquam sibi quasi propriam et hereditariam, non
will-care-for as-if to-himself as-if one's-own and hereditary not
sic autem monarcha cui proprium heredem principaturum
so but the-monarch to-whom his-own heir about-to-rule
fore non constat. Unde ii Politicae, capitulo 1° circa
to-be not is-certain whence in-the-second of-the-Politics in-chapter first about
medium, inquit Aristoteles: Minime enim cura sortitur quod
the-middle says Aristotle least for care obtains what
plurimorum est commune; de propriis enim maxime curant,
of-very-many is common about their-own for most they-care
de communibus autem minus quam quantum unicuique
about common-things but less than as-much-as to-each
attinet. Et rursum eodem capitulo circa finem: Duo enim
pertains and again in-the-same chapter about the-end two for
sunt quae maxime faciunt sollicite curare homines et
are things-which most make solicitously to-care-for men and
diligere, proprium et dilectum. Amplius eiusdem 2°
to-love one's-own and the-beloved further of-the-same in-the-second
capitulo inquit: Adhuc autem et ad delectationem inenarrabile
chapter he-says further but also for pleasure unspeakable
quantum differt putare aliquid proprium esse.
how-much differs to-think something one's-own to-be
Ad quaesitum vero principale rursum, quoniam successores
to the-question but principal again since the-successors
monarchae minus despotizare videbuntur subditis, quam
of-the-monarch less to-act-despotically will-seem to-the-subjects than
nuper electi, propter principatum ipsos assuevisse,
the-newly elected on-account-of the-principate them to-have-become-accustomed
nilque sibi novum evenisse putantes propter quod
and-nothing to-themselves new to-have-happened thinking on-account-of which

amplius extolli debeant et contemnere subditos. Noviter
more to-be-exalted they-ought and to-despise the-subjects the-newly
autem semper electos, quemadmodum ditatos noviter,
but always elected as the-enriched newly
plerumque superbire contingit. Unde ii Rhetoricae,
generally to-grow-proud it-happens whence in-the-second of-the-Rhetoric
capitulo 24°: Divitiis autem qui assecuntur mores,
in-chapter twenty-fourth to-riches but which follow-upon the-manners
leviter est videre omnibus. Contumeliosi enim et elati,
easily it-is to-see for-all insolent for and arrogant
patientes aliquid a possessione divitiarum. Tamquam enim
suffering something from the-possession of-riches as-if for
habentes omnia bona sic disponuntur.
having all goods thus they-are-disposed
Amplius ad idem, quoniam succedentibus in principatu ex
further to the-same since to-those-succeeding in the-principate from
genere magis obedit subiecta multitudo propter assumptam
family more obeys the-subject multitude on-account-of the-assumed
praecessoribus obediendi consuetudinem. Unde ii
toward-the-predecessors of-obeying custom whence in-the-second
Philosophiae primae, finali capitulo: Ut consuevimus,
of-Philosophy first in-the-final chapter as we-have-been-accustomed
ita dignamur; et ii Politicae, capitulo 5° circa finem:
so we-deem-worthy and in-the-second of-the-Politics in-chapter fifth about the-end
Non tantum proderit qui mutaverit quantum nocebit,
not so-much will-profit he-who shall-have-changed as-much-as he-will-harm
principibus rebellare assuescens; cum aliis quae de
against-princes to-rebel accustoming with the-other-things which about
consuetudine dicta sunt xviii° huius, parte 6ª.
custom said have-been in-the-eighteenth of-this in-part sixth

Adhuc etiam ad quaesitum, quoniam genus aliquod tale
further also to the-question since a-family some such
vel tantum beneficium reliquae multitudini contulisse
or so-great a-benefit on-the-remaining multitude to-have-conferred
contingit, aut in tantum reliquos cives virtute praecellere, vel
happens or in so-much the-remaining citizens in-virtue to-excel or
propter utrumque, ut semper principari, numquam vero sit
on-account-of both that always to-rule never but it-be
subici dignum. Unde iii Politicae suae, capitulo 8°,
to-be-subject worthy whence in-the-third of-the-Politics his in-chapter eighth
Aristoteles de hiis sermonem faciens inquit: Quarta autem
Aristotle about these-things discourse making says the-fourth but
species monarchiae regalis, quae secundum heroica tempora
species of-monarchy royal which according-to the-heroic times
voluntariae et patriae factae secundum legem. Quia primi
voluntary and paternal made according-to law because the-first
fuerunt benefactores multitudinis secundum artes aut bellum,
were benefactors of-the-multitude according-to arts or war
aut quia collegerunt, aut emerunt regionem, facti fuerunt reges
or because they-gathered or bought the-region made were kings
voluntariorum, et successive sumentibus patriae. Quod etiam
of-the-willing and successively to-those-taking paternal which also
expresse magis inducens, eiusdem 9° inquit: Cum igitur
expressly more bringing-in of-the-same in-the-ninth he-says when therefore
sit genus totum vel aliorum unum acciderit esse differentem
be a-family whole or of-others one shall-have-happened to-be differing
secundum virtutem tantum, ut excedat quae illius eam quae
according-to virtue so-much that it-exceed that-which of-him that which
aliorum omnium, tunc iustum est genus hoc esse regale, et
of-others all then just it-is the-family this to-be royal and
dominans omnium et regem unum hunc. Sic etiam v
lord of-all and king one this-one so also in-the-fifth

Politicae, capitulo 5°, repetens idem, ait: Regnum quidem enim
of-the-Politics in-chapter fifth repeating the-same he-says the-kingdom indeed for
ad auxilium quod a populo epieikeis factum est, et instituitur
for help which by the-people of-the-equitable made is and is-instituted
rex epieikorum, quae secundum excessum virtutis vel
the-king of-the-equitable which according-to excess of-virtue or
actionum quae a virtute, vel secundum excessum talis generis.
of-actions which from virtue or according-to excess of-such family
Amplius per successionem melior princeps habetur, eo quod
further by succession a-better prince is-had in-that that
tales ad virtutem amplius inclinantur, quoniam ex strenuis
such-men to virtue more are-inclined since from vigorous
parentibus prodeunt magis. Unde Aristoteles 2°
parents they-come-forth more whence Aristotle in-the-second
Politicae suae, poetae cuiusdam Theodecti inducens ex
of-the-Politics his of-a-poet certain Theodectes bringing-in from
egloga sermonem, inquit: Ex ambabus divinis progenitricibus
an-eclogue a-saying says from both divine progenitors
radicibus quis utique dignificabit adducere servum? parum
roots who surely will-deem-worthy to-call a-slave a-little
infra subiungens: Dignificant enim, quemadmodum ex
below adding they-deem-worthy for as from
homine hominem et ex bestiis fieri bestiam, sic et
man man and from beasts to-be-made a-beast so also
ex bonis bonum. Et rursum, quoniam talis plerumque
from the-good a-good-one and again since such-a-one generally
meliori consuetudine ductus est; unde Aristoteles i
by-better custom led is whence Aristotle in-the-first
Rhetoricae suae, capitulo 13°: Verisimile enim ex bonis
of-the-Rhetoric his in-chapter thirteenth likely for from good-men
bonum et sic nutritum talem esse.
a-good-one and thus nurtured such to-be

Rursum ad primum quaesitum, quoniam principatus
again to the-first question since the-principate
succedentis ex genere non eas patitur difficultates, quas
of-one-succeeding from family not those suffers difficulties which
semper vicissim nuper electus. In hoc enim, noviter electo
always in-turn the-newly elected in this for newly elected
videlicet, accidit difficultas habendi studiosos electores, quos
namely happens the-difficulty of-having studious electors whom
ad bonam electionem habere necesse est, atque difficile.
for good election to-have necessary it-is and difficult
Amplius, et quoniam adinventos non discrepare invicem,
further and since the-ones-found not to-disagree with-one-another
difficile, sicque discrepantes, dubium est in seditionem
difficult and-thus disagreeing doubtful it-is into sedition
universam deducere politiam, quemadmodum monstrat
whole to-lead the-polity as shows
experientia in electione nova principis Romanorum. Adhuc
experience in the-election new of-the-prince of-the-Romans further
etiam, quoniam humanae mentes in malum plerumque sunt
also since human minds to evil generally are
pronae, propter quod amore vel odio, prece vel pretio,
prone on-account-of which by-love or hatred by-prayer or by-price
aut alterius commodi vel delectabilis spe non semper ab
or of-another advantage or pleasant-thing by-hope not always by
electoribus melior principans, sed fortasse rarius, assumetur.
the-electors the-better ruler but perhaps more-rarely will-be-taken-up
Amplius ad primum quaesitum, quoniam monarchae succedentis
further to the-first question since of-the-monarch succeeding
ex genere facilius est morem cognoscere per cives et
from family easier it-is the-character to-know by the-citizens and
consules quoniam unicus et determinatus est, quam noviter
consuls since single and determinate he-is than of-the-one-newly

eligendi qui determinatus non est. Plurimi namque sunt cives,
to-be-elected who determinate not is very-many for are the-citizens
quos per electionem possibile est ad principatum assumi.
whom through election possible it-is to the-principate to-be-taken-up
Facilius autem est unici mores nosse quam plurium.
easier but it-is of-one the-character to-know than of-many
Principis vero, cui per consilium aliquid suaderi oportet
of-the-prince but whom through counsel something to-be-persuaded it-behooves
ipsumque dirigere quantumcumque prudentem, expedit
and-him to-direct however prudent it-is-expedient
morem agnoscere. Unde i Rhetoricae, capitulo 11°:
the-character to-know whence in-the-first of-the-Rhetoric in-chapter eleventh
Morem enim uniuscuiusque maxime persuasivum.
the-character for of-each most persuasive
Rursum, quoniam monarcham per successionem assumere,
again since a-monarch through succession to-take-up
subditorum ambitionem, temeritatem seu praesumptionem,
of-the-subjects the-ambition rashness or presumption
atque seditionis concitationem videtur auferre. Scientes
and of-sedition the-stirring seems to-take-away knowing
namque sibi numquam principatum deberi neque ad illum
for to-themselves never the-principate to-be-owed nor to it
rationabiliter pervenire se posse, nequaquam ad illum
reasonably to-come themselves to-be-able by-no-means for it
anhelant subditi, nec propter illum obtinendum quicquam
pant the-subjects nor on-account-of it to-be-obtained anything
machinantur sinistrum; quae tamen satagunt
they-contrive sinister which-things however they-busy-themselves-with
ad ipsum rationabiliter pervenire potentes atque credentes,
to it reasonably to-come able and believing
quemadmodum contingit in quibus semper monarcha novus
as happens in which always a-monarch new

vicissim eligitur. Unde Tullius De Officiis, libro i°:
in-turn is-elected whence Tully in-On Duties in-book first
Molestum est quod in maximis animis splendidisque ingeniis
troublesome it-is that in the-greatest minds and-splendid wits
plerumque existunt honoris, imperii, potentiae, et gloriae
generally exist of-honor of-command of-power and of-glory
cupiditates. Dignificantes enim hii seipsos principatu
desires deeming-worthy for these-men themselves of-the-principate
propter aliquod vel aliqua bonorum excellentium, procurant
on-account-of some or some-things of-goods excellent they-procure
eligentium sibi vota prece vel pretio aut altero
of-the-electors to-themselves the-votes by-prayer or by-price or by-other
quovis illicito modo.
any-whatever unlawful way
Amplius, quoniam electus monarcha, non transmittens
further since the-elected monarch not transmitting
principatum in posteros, inaudebit iustificare potentes,
the-principate to posterity will-not-dare to-bring-to-justice the-powerful
quamvis legem transgressos, et praesertim occidendo vel
although the-law having-transgressed and especially by-killing or
aliter in corpus plectendo, formidans ipse propriis heredibus,
otherwise in body by-punishing fearing he to-his-own heirs
fortassis non principaturis, inde odia vel graves inimicitias et
perhaps not about-to-rule thence hatreds or heavy enmities and
iniurias provenire. Haec autem non habet dubitare monarcha
injuries to-come these-things but not has to-fear the-monarch
succedens ex genere, propter quod secure atque complete
succeeding from family on-account-of which securely and completely
in qualescumque legum transgressores iustitiam exercebit.
against whatever-kind-of of-laws transgressors justice he-will-exercise

Rursum, quo plures et in pluribus regionibus ac populis
again by-how-much more and in more regions and peoples
et pluri tempore perfectior est modus assumendi monarcham;
and for-more time more-perfect is the-mode of-taking-up a-monarch
quoniam qui magis naturalis, magis perfectus; magis naturale
since what more natural more perfect more natural
autem quod in pluribus est: Natura namque rerum est, quae
but what in more-cases is the-nature for of-things is what
pluribus et plurimo tempore inest, ut in iii Caeli
in-more and for-most time is-in as in the-third of-the-Heaven
et Mundi, et ii Physicae etiam scriptum est, et
and the-World and in-the-second of-the-Physics also written it-is and
inductione palam. Sic autem habet modus per generis
by-induction plain thus but stands the-mode through of-the-family
successionem assumendi monarcham ad eum qui per
succession of-taking-up a-monarch toward that which through
novam semper electionem futurum assumere, ut in pluralitate
new always election the-future-one to-take-up as in the-plurality
monarcharum, regionum, et populorum, monstrat inductio, et
of-monarchs of-regions and of-peoples shows induction and
in temporum descripta per historiographos gesta declarant.
in of-times described by historiographers the-deeds declare
Demum vero, quoniam principatus monarchae successoris ex
at-last but since the-principate of-the-monarch successor from
genere amplius similis est regimini seu principatui universi
family more similar is to-the-regime or principate of-the-universe
cum in universo semper unicus intransmutabiliter extet,
since in the-universe always one unchangeably stands
ut in xii Philosophiae, finali capitulo: Unus ergo
as in the-twelfth of-Philosophy in-the-final chapter one therefore
princeps propter entia non velle male disponi. Sic autem
prince for the-beings not wish badly to-be-disposed thus but

ubi filius in principatu succedit parenti, evenire videtur
where the-son in the-principate succeeds to-the-father to-happen it-seems
propter generis unitatem, et quoniam pater filio
on-account-of of-the-family the-unity and since the-father with-the-son
eadem quasi persona censetur.
the-same as-if person is-reckoned
Ex determinatis autem a nobis xiv° huius
from the-things-determined but by us in-the-fourteenth of-this
suppositionem accipientes, oportere futurum monarcham
a-supposition taking it-to-behoove the-future monarch
quemlibet prudentem et bonum esse secundum moralem
any-whatever prudent and good to-be according-to moral
virtutem, praecipue iustitiam, et quasi excellenter ad
virtue chiefly justice and as-if excellently in-relation-to
reliquos cives. Amplius et cum hiis suscipientes
the-remaining citizens further and with these-things taking-up
quae de diversitate inclinationum et dispositionum in
the-things-which about the-diversity of-inclinations and dispositions in
gentibus et regionibus ad regiminum diversitates diximus
nations and regions toward of-regimes the-diversities we-have-said
ix° huius, parte 10ª, credendum opinor, melius esse
in-the-ninth of-this in-part tenth it-is-to-be-believed I-think better to-be
simpliciter reipublicae propter civilis vitae sufficientiam
simply for-the-republic on-account-of of-civil life the-sufficiency
monarcham quemcumque futurum per novam electionem
a-monarch any-whatever future through new election
statuere, quam ipsum per generis successionem assumere.
to-establish than him through of-the-family succession to-take-up
Quoniam, secundum hunc quem potiorem diximus modum
since according-to this which preferable we-have-called mode
instituendi monarcham, semper aut raro deficiens erit sumere
of-instituting a-monarch always or rarely failing it-will-be to-take

monarcham, haberi tunc possibilium optimum, vel saltem
a-monarch to-be-had then of-possible-ones the-best or at-least
sufficientem sive perfectum. Ab electione namque legislatoris
sufficient or perfect from the-election for of-the-legislator
humani quasi semper, raro deficiens, intenditur et perficitur
human as-if always rarely failing is-intended and is-accomplished
commune conferens civium, quemadmodum ostensum est
the-common advantage of-the-citizens as shown it-has-been
xiii° huius, quorum quasi maximum est monarcha
in-the-thirteenth of-this of-which-things as-if the-greatest is a-monarch
sufficiens, ut docet experientia, et ratione deductum est
sufficient as teaches experience and by-reason deduced it-has-been
xiv° huius. Talem autem sic certitudinaliter dare non
in-the-fourteenth of-this such but thus with-certainty to-give not
potest natalis, et fortuita plerumque successio, ut per singula
can the-natal and fortuitous generally succession as in single
regna sic monarcham suscipientia ex inductione palam.
kingdoms thus a-monarch receiving from induction plain
Amplius, quoniam id bonum omne, quod in monarcha
further since that good all which in a-monarch
simpliciter requisitum dat generis sive natalis successio,
simply required gives of-the-family or natal succession
nova quasi semper exhibebit electio, quamvis econverso non
a-new as-if always will-show election although conversely not
tamen. Eundem enim heredem et successorem monarchae
however the-same for heir and successor of-the-monarch
prioris potest civilis multitudo per electionem assumere, si
prior can the-civil multitude through election take-up if
fuerit studiosus et prudens; qui si non sic dispositus
he-shall-have-been studious and prudent who if not thus disposed

extiterit, studiosum et prudentem alium nova dabit
he-shall-have-been a-studious and prudent other a-new will-give
electio, qualem tamen successio generis dare non potuit.
election such however succession of-the-family to-give not could
Rursum, propter futuri monarchae novam electionem
again on-account-of of-the-future monarch the-new election
redditur praesens amplius diligens ad communem
is-rendered the-present-one more diligent toward the-common
personarum et rerum civilem custodiam; propter virtutem
of-persons and of-things civil guard on-account-of virtue
siquidem primum, quoniam ex electione hunc talem
indeed first since from election him such
supponimus; deinde vero metu correptionis per futurum
we-suppose then but by-fear of-correction by the-future
monarcham; et rursum, ut mereatur ipse pro successoribus
monarch and again that may-merit he for his-successors
electionem futuram. Quos etiam propterea disciplinatos et
the-election future whom also for-that-reason disciplined and
studiosos effici magis curabit, ipsique hoc attendentes ad
studious to-be-made more he-will-care and-they this attending to
virtutes et ipsorum opera intendent ampliori conatu. Unde
virtues and their works will-attend with-greater effort whence
verisimile, parenti similes effectos virtute, ac propter illius
likely to-the-parent similar made in-virtue and on-account-of his
meritum et eidem ex consuetudine obedientiam praestitam,
merit and to-the-same from custom the-obedience rendered
per electionem novam, quamdiu tales successerint, ad
through election new as-long-as such-ones shall-have-succeeded to
principatum assumi. Est autem quam diximus in hoc
the-principate to-be-taken-up is but what we-have-said in this

sententia Philosophi i, ii, iii, et vii Politicae,
the-opinion of-the-Philosopher in-the-first second third and seventh of-the-Politics
capitulis 9°, et 8°, 2° et 9°, atque 12°.
in-chapters ninth and eighth second and ninth and twelfth
Contraria vero hiis solvere temptantes, ad quod
the-contrary-things but to-these to-resolve attempting to that-which
primum inducebatur, monarcham per generis successionem
first was-brought-in the-monarch through of-the-family succession
assumptum magis curaturum commune conferens sive
taken-up more to-be-about-to-care-for the-common advantage or
rempublicam quasi propriam et hereditariam illi: Dicendum,
the-republic as-if one's-own and hereditary to-him it-must-be-said
id amplius facturum monarcham ex electione nova semper
this more to-be-about-to-do the-monarch from election new always
assumptum, quoniam hunc constat saepius esse prudentem
taken-up since him it-is-agreed more-often to-be prudent
et bonum, ut inductione palam. Quem enim studiosum
and good as by-induction plain whom for studious
producit successio, assumere semper potest electio, quamvis
produces succession to-take-up always can election although
econverso non tamen. Hic autem agens secundum suam
conversely not however this-one but acting according-to his
monasticam et civilem virtutem propter finem optimum in
individual and civil virtue for the-end best in
hoc saeculo, virtutis opus scilicet, ac propter extrinsecum
this world the-work of-virtue namely and on-account-of the-external
consequenter honorem et famam sibi et suae memoriae
consequently honor and fame for-himself and for-his memory
atque posteritati quaerendam, aeque vel amplius curabit
and posterity to-be-sought equally or more will-care-for
rempublicam sive communem monarcha succedente per
the-republic or common-thing than-the-monarch succeeding by

genus, qui praenoscens posteritatem successuram in principatu,
family who foreknowing his-posterity about-to-succeed in the-principate
si non studiosus extiterit, plerumque talia non attendit,
if not studious he-shall-have-been generally such-things not attends-to
et sui correptionem, si deliquerit, minus formidat.
and his-own correction if he-shall-have-offended less fears
Et quod addebatur monarcham per generis successionem
and what was-added the-monarch through of-the-family succession
futurum despotizare minus eo qui per novam
future to-act-despotically less than-him who through new
electionem vicissim assumitur, negandum utique. Despotia
election in-turn is-taken-up is-to-be-denied surely despotism
namque debenti politice principari, ab imprudentia, malitia,
for in-one-obliged politically to-rule from imprudence malice
vel utroque contingit; et hiis adice, praesertim cum quis
or both happens and to-these add especially when one
sperat impune malum agere posse. Nunc autem ex nova
hopes with-impunity evil to-do to-be-able now but from new
sumptus electione monarcha ut plurimum prudentior et
taken election the-monarch as most more-prudent and
melior est eo qui per generis successionem assumitur,
better is than-he who through of-the-family succession is-taken-up
propter quod amplius observabit seipsum a malo propter
on-account-of which more he-will-keep himself from evil on-account-of
virtutem; rursum et quoniam id minus impune facere
virtue again and since this less with-impunity to-do
potest, et facilius corrigi eo cuius est in principatu
he-can and more-easily to-be-corrected than-he of-whom is in the-principate
determinate successura posteritas.
determinately about-to-succeed posterity

Quod autem de noviter ditatis exemplum adducitur, nihil
what but about the-newly enriched as-an-example is-adduced nothing
ad rationem hanc obviare videtur. Quoniam id de fastu
against reason this to-oppose seems since that of pride
seu aliorum contemptu patiuntur ditati noviter, ignorantes
or of-others contempt suffer the-enriched newly ignorant
et more perversi, adveniente illis instrumento, divitiarum
and in-character perverse with-coming to-them the-instrument of-riches
scilicet copia, per quod opus secundum ipsorum
namely the-abundance through which the-work according-to their
malitiam explere possunt, quamvis divitiae secundum ipsarum
malice to-fulfill they-can although riches according-to their
naturam ad bonum et vitae sufficientiam huius saeculi
nature to good and of-life the-sufficiency of-this world
determinatae sint amplius quam ad horum opposita, ut palam
determined be more than to of-these the-opposites as plain
ex i Politicae, capitulis 6°, 7°, et 8°; sic etiam
from the-first of-the-Politics in-chapters sixth seventh and eighth so also
et principatus. Unde advenientia haec viris prudentibus
and the-principate whence coming these-things to-men prudent
et studiosis, quales saepius nova dabit electio quam natalis
and studious such-as more-often a-new will-give election than natal
successio, non eveniet hinc despotia vel fastus sed opera
succession not will-come-about hence despotism or pride but works
laudabilia, in quae non potuit exire studiosus dum talibus
praiseworthy into which not could to-go-out the-studious-man while such
caruit instrumentis. Accidit autem sic opponentibus concedere,
he-lacked instruments it-happens but thus to-those-objecting to-grant
a primo electo, quamquam cum illius successione, subiectam
from the-first elected although with his succession the-subject
multitudinem pati despotiam. Ipse enim, quoniam electus
multitude to-suffer despotism he for since elected

noviter, a progenitoribus non habuit principatum, ideoque
newly from progenitors not he-had the-principate and-therefore
secundum disputantis rationem patietur ipse de fastu et
according-to of-the-disputant the-reasoning will-suffer he from pride and
subditorum contemptu, propter novae rei adventum, quod
of-the-subjects contempt on-account-of of-a-new thing the-coming what
noviter patiuntur ditati. Eius tamen oppositum secundum
newly suffer the-enriched of-this however the-opposite according-to
veritatem dicere convenit adversantem, quoniam propter huius
truth to-say befits the-adversary since on-account-of of-this
electi primi excellentem virtutem aut beneficium, impensum
elected first the-excellent virtue or benefit bestowed
ad reliquam multitudinem, successoribus posteris tamquam
upon the-remaining multitude to-successors to-posterity as-if
propter ipsum studiosis conceditur principatus, unde
on-account-of him studious is-granted the-principate whence
studiosus ipse magis. Semper enim, iuxta Sapientis Gentilis
studious he more always for according-to of-the-Wise Gentile
oraculum, propter quod unumquodque est, et illud magis.
the-oracle on-account-of which each-thing is also that-thing more
Id vero quod de obedientia subiectae multitudinis inducebatur,
that but which about the-obedience of-the-subject multitude was-brought-in
quamquam inter cetera singulariter attendendum, non urget
although among the-rest singularly to-be-attended-to not compels
concedere, noviter electum semper futurum monarcham minus
to-grant the-newly elected always future monarch less
esse praestantem eo qui per generis successionem
to-be excellent than-him who through of-the-family succession
assumitur. Quamvis enim ex consuetudine confirmetur
is-taken-up although for from custom be-confirmed
obedientia, videmus tamen ex novitate maiorem admirationem
obedience we-see however from novelty greater wonder

et reverentiam, praesertim cum ex electione nova fuerit
and reverence especially when from election new shall-have-been
princeps assumptus ex alia regione sive provincia. Rursumque
the-prince taken-up from another region or province and-again
quoniam obedientiae consuetudo simpliciter attenditur in
since of-obedience the-custom simply is-attended-to in
comparatione ad leges et principatum, ad personam vero
comparison to the-laws and the-principate to the-person but
principantem secundum quid. Unde videmus semper omnes
ruling according-to something whence we-see always all
animo et opere revereri principatum et leges, quamvis animo
in-mind and deed to-revere the-principate and the-laws although in-mind
quandoque propter insufficientiam personam principantem
sometimes on-account-of insufficiency the-person ruling
contemnant, econverso non tamen. Propter quod cum
they-despise conversely not however on-account-of which since
ubique quasi subiecta multitudo assueta sit legibus et
everywhere as-if the-subject multitude accustomed be to-laws and
principatibus obedire, non tantum nocet personae principantis
principates to-obey not so-much harms of-the-person ruling
mutatio secundum genus, quantum prodest ex electione
the-change according-to family as-much-as profits from election
nova sufficientia eius, ex cuius reverentia propter virtutem
new the-sufficiency of-him from whose reverence on-account-of virtue
ad principatum et leges obedientia crescit. Signum autem
toward the-principate and the-laws obedience grows a-sign but
sufficere obedientiam quae ad principatum et leges, est quod
to-suffice the-obedience which toward the-principate and the-laws is what
in ecclesiastica iconomia de Romano papa videmus. Ipsi
in the-ecclesiastical economy about the-Roman pope we-see to-him
namque subiecta multitudo quasi semper obedientiam debitam,
for the-subject multitude as-if always obedience due

et amplius debita praestat. Cuius quidem causam assignavimus
and more-than due renders of-which indeed the-cause we-have-assigned
i° Secundae, parte 1ª. Ex qua siquidem abundanti
in-the-first of-the-Second in-part first from which indeed abundant
obedientia principantem despotizare quandoque contingit
obedience the-ruler to-act-despotically sometimes it-happens
propter speratam impunitatem, quemadmodum quibusdam
on-account-of hoped-for impunity as to-certain-ones
iam dictorum episcoporum evenisse videmus. Et quod
of-the-now said bishops to-have-happened we-see and what
dixit Aristoteles, ii Politicae: Non tantum proderit qui
said Aristotle in-the-second of-the-Politics not so-much will-profit he-who
mutaverit etc., intentionem habet in hiis, qui ex occasione
shall-have-changed etc intention has in those who from occasion
qualibet, quamvis levi, mutare quaerunt legem aut principem.
any-whatever although light to-change seek the-law or the-prince
Ad verbum Aristotelis, iii Politicae, capitulo 9°:
to the-word of-Aristotle in-the-third of-the-Politics in-chapter ninth
Quod genus aliquod tam excellens virtute aut beneficio
that a-family some so excellent in-virtue or benefit
ad reliquam multitudinem reperire contingit, ut idem
toward the-remaining multitude to-find happens that the-same
dignum sit principari, non subici; esto id aliquo tempore
worthy be to-rule not to-be-subject let-it-be this at-some time
fortasse etiam alicubi verum esse, quamvis non plerumque
perhaps even somewhere true to-be although not generally
ubique hoc reperire contingat. Unde Aristoteles, ii
everywhere this to-find it-happen whence Aristotle in-the-second
Rhetoricae, 24° capitulo: Generosum autem fuit
of-the-Rhetoric in-the-twenty-fourth chapter well-born but was
secundum non degenerasse a natura. Quod quidem ut
according-to not to-have-degenerated from nature which indeed as

in pluribus non accidit nobilibus, sed sunt multi levis
in most-cases not happens to-the-noble but are many of-light
valoris. Fertilitas enim quaedam est in generibus virorum,
worth fertility for a-certain is in the-families of-men
quemadmodum in hiis quae per regiones fiunt; et
as in those-things which throughout regions are-made and
aliquando si sit bonum genus, fiunt per quoddam
sometimes if be good the-family there-are-made for a-certain
tempus viri superflui (id est, excessivi virtute); et demum
time men superfluous that is excessive in-virtue and at-last
iterum suspenduntur (id est, deficiunt). Degenerant quae
again they-are-suspended that is they-fail degenerate those-which
quidem bene nata genere in insaniores mores, velut [qui]
indeed well born in-family into madder characters as those-who
ab Alkibiado, et qui a Dionysio priore, id est, qui
from Alcibiades and those-who from Dionysius the-elder that is who
descenderunt ab hiis viris Alkibiado et Dionysio priore,
descended from these men Alcibiades and Dionysius the-elder
quamvis illustribus, degeneraverunt. Propterea dicendum, quod
although illustrious degenerated for-that-reason it-must-be-said that
ex hoc solo genere, quamdiu suae nobilitatis durabit fertilitas
from this alone family as-long-as of-its nobility will-last the-fertility
et legislatori videatur expediens, convenienter ordinari seu
and to-the-legislator it-seem expedient fittingly to-be-ordered or
statui potest, per electionem assumi monarcham
to-be-established can through election to-be-taken-up a-monarch
vicissim tamen novum, quandocumque defecerit prior,
in-turn however a-new whenever shall-have-failed the-former
ut ex eodem genere melior habeatur. Non enim constat,
so-that from the-same family a-better-one be-had not for it-is-certain
quales monarchae futuri sint nati, et praesertim primus
of-what-kind monarchs about-to-be be the-born and especially the-first

eorum, quem ubique quasi suscipientes ex successione
of-them whom everywhere as-if receiving from succession
monarcham ad principatum assumere semper solent.
a-monarch to the-principate to-take-up always they-are-wont
Amplius, quoniam etsi tale genus illustrium virorum
further since even-if such a-family of-illustrious men
quandoque repertum sit in aliquibus provinciis, et circa
sometimes found be in some provinces and about
ipsarum originem propter esse paucitatem prudentum
their origin on-account-of to-be the-fewness of-prudent
studiosorum, eligentium et eligendorum, non tamen id
studious electing and to-be-elected-ones not however this
semper evenire videmus, quinimo perducta communitate ad
always to-happen we-see nay with-brought the-community to
complementum ultimum, ut ea quae Romanorum, apparet
completion last as that which of-the-Romans appears
principaturum quemcumque ad principatum per novam
the-future-ruler any-whatever to the-principate through new
electionem assumi debere, tamquam per regulam
election to-be-taken-up to-be-obliged as-if through a-rule
certiorem et perfectiorem. Quamvis enim principatus qui
more-certain and more-perfect although for the-principate which
per generis successionem assumitur quibusdam regionibus
through of-the-family succession is-taken-up to-certain regions
etiamsi pluribus convenire videatur, non tamen haec species
even-if to-more to-befit it-seem not however this species
institutionis propterea perfectior est ea quae novae vicissim
of-institution for-that-reason more-perfect is than-that which of-new in-turn
electionis; sicut neque fabrilis habitus, quamvis in pluribus
election as nor the-smith-like habit although in more
reperiatur regionibus aut suppositis, perfectior est medicinali.
be-found regions or subjects more-perfect is than-the-medical

Ea vero propositione concessa, quod magis ad virtutem
with-that but proposition granted that more to virtue
inclinatur frequenter et meliori consuetudine ducitur, qui
is-inclined frequently and by-better custom is-led he-who
ex strenuis parentibus traxit originem: Dicendum quod
from vigorous parents drew origin it-must-be-said that
hiis amplius in dispositione assumendi monarchae
in-these-things more in the-disposition of-the-to-be-taken-up monarch
dare potest electio nova successione natali, quoniam non
to-give can election new than-succession natal since not
solum inclinatum ad prudentiam et virtutem, qualem dat
only one-inclined to prudence and virtue such-as gives
natalis successio, verum etiam iam perfectum et actualiter
natal succession but also one-already perfected and actually
operantem secundum virtutem; talem autem praestantius est
acting according-to virtue such-a-one but more-excellent it-is
ad principatum assumere, qualem in posse aut agere secundum
to the-principate to-take-up such-as in potency or to-act according-to
actum non sic frequenter exhibet quae per genus successio.
act not so frequently shows that-which by family succession
Quod autem adversum novitatem electionis induximus inter
what but against the-novelty of-election we-brought-in among
cetera singularius formidandum atque cavendum, difficultas
the-rest more-singularly to-be-feared and to-be-guarded-against the-difficulty
scilicet, quam patitur a studiosorum carentia, per quos
namely which it-suffers from of-studious-men the-lack by whom
solummodo debet electio fieri, et hoc amplius ipsorum
only ought the-election to-be-made and this more their
discrepantia, propter quam politiae seu civilitati periculum
disagreement on-account-of which to-the-polity or citizenry the-danger
schismatis imminet, rursumque horum affectio sinistra,
of-schism threatens and-again their affection sinister

propter quam quomodocumque susceptam, concorditer
on-account-of which in-whatever-way undertaken in-concord
possunt ipsi vel ipsorum pars valentior pravum eligere
they-can themselves or their part weightier a-wicked to-elect
principantem: Dicendum utique, quod ea electio, per quam
ruler it-must-be-said surely that that election through which
principans cum omni sua posteritate seu successione ad
the-ruler with all his posterity or succession to
principatum assumitur, primam iam dictarum difficultatum,
the-principate is-taken-up the-first of-the-now said difficulties
iterata electione cuiuslibet monarchae futuri patitur
than-the-repeated election of-any-whatever monarch future suffers
amplius, eo quod circa politiarum originem minor
more in-that that about of-polities the-origin smaller
est prudentum pluralitas; ex quorum siquidem debilitate
is of-the-prudent the-plurality from whose indeed weakness
contingens error in eligendo, multum laedet politiam quoniam
happening error in electing much will-harm the-polity since
diuturnius. Quae vero schismatis adducitur dubitatio, quamvis
longer-lasting that but of-schism is-adduced the-doubt although
super omnes instantias attendenda, non urget electionem
above all objections to-be-attended-to not compels the-election
novam futuri monarchae minus praestantem ea quae
new of-a-future monarch less excellent than-that which
unica cum omni posteritate principaturum assumit. Quoniam
a-single with all posterity future-ruler takes-up since
electio semper fit propter commune conferens, quod
election always is-made on-account-of the-common advantage which
plerumque quasi semper etiam vult et perficit legislator
generally as-if always also wills and accomplishes the-legislator
humanus, ut demonstratum est xiii° huius; ad
human as demonstrated it-has-been in-the-thirteenth of-this to

quem etiam huius electionis auctoritas pertinet, quemadmodum
whom also of-this election the-authority pertains as
certificatum est xii° huius et capitulo praecedenti.
made-certain it-has-been in-the-twelfth of-this and in-the-chapter preceding
Esto rursum cum disputante ad solos prudentes et studiosos
let-it-be again with the-disputant to alone the-prudent and studious
electionem hanc pertinere. Non est verisimile neque verum
election this to-pertain not it-is likely nor true
in pluribus eos adinvicem discrepare, quoniam prudentes,
in most-cases them with-one-another to-disagree since prudent
neque corrumpi secundum affectum, quoniam studiosi, quae
nor to-be-corrupted according-to affection since studious which
tertia superextitit difficultas inducta.
third remained difficulty brought-in
Id autem exemplum, quod de imperio Romanorum induximus
that but example which about the-empire of-the-Romans we-brought-in
ex difficultate, quam patitur propter electionem novam semper
from the-difficulty which it-suffers on-account-of election new always
fieri de quolibet futuro monarcha: Dicendum difficultatem
to-be-made about any-whatever future monarch it-must-be-said difficulty
hanc ab electione tamquam per se causa minime provenire.
this from election as-if through itself cause least to-come
Sed provenit per se difficultas haec ex quorundam
but comes through itself difficulty this from of-certain-ones
malitia, ignorantia, vel utroque impedientium electionem
the-malice ignorance or both hindering the-election
atque processum principantis praedicti; de quibus quidem
and progress of-the-ruler aforesaid about whom indeed
pertranseundum hic, quoniam de ipsis et eorum actionibus,
is-to-be-passed-over here since about them and their actions
quibusque modis id hactenus fecerint et faciant ac facturi
and-in-what ways this hitherto they-have-done and do and about-to-do

sint, et propter quas causas, xix° huius, xxiii°,
are and on-account-of which causes in-the-nineteenth of-this the-twenty-third
xxiv°, xxv°, et xxvi° Secundae seriose dicetur.
twenty-fourth twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth of-the-Second in-detail it-will-be-said
Quae vero fuit obiectio, quoniam facilius et certius bene
which but was the-objection since more-easily and more-certainly well
consulendo dirigitur monarcha succedens ex genere, quam
by-counseling is-directed the-monarch succeeding from family than-the-one
nova semper electione vicissim assumptus, fantasiam modicam
by-new always election in-turn taken-up fantasy slight
habet. Non enim si perversi moris esset monarcha, debent illi
has not for if of-perverse character were the-monarch ought to-him
per consiliarios suaderi quae secundum suum morem
by counselors to-be-urged the-things-which according-to his character
sunt, vel appetit, sed opposita magis. Verum monarcha
are or he-desires but the-opposites rather but with-the-monarch
supposito, qualem expedire in suppositionibus et veris
supposed such-as to-be-expedient in the-suppositions and true
probationibus diximus, quae ad politiam seu commune
proofs we-have-said the-things-which to the-polity or common
conferens sunt, debent prudentes et studiosi, quales nobiscum
advantage are ought the-prudent and studious such-as with-us
supponit disputans futuros principantis consiliarios, illi
supposes the-disputant future of-the-ruler counselors to-him
simpliciter suadere. Quinimo dicetur, expediens fortasse magis
simply to-urge nay it-will-be-said expedient perhaps more
ipsos ignorare morem illius, ne ad illius illicitum placitum
them to-be-ignorant-of the-character of-him lest to his unlawful pleasure
propter eius gratiam aut favorem sibi quaerendum, sed
on-account-of his grace or favor for-themselves to-be-sought but
verum et commune conferens consulant. Hoc autem sufficienter
the-true and common advantage they-counsel this but sufficiently

norunt habentes politicam prudentiam; propter quod non
know those-having political prudence on-account-of which not
refert ad hoc monarchae mos qualiscumque fuerit,
it-matters to this of-the-monarch the-character of-whatever-kind it-shall-have-been
debet enim illi semper ad politiam magis expediens suaderi.
ought for to-him always to the-polity the-more expedient-thing to-be-urged
Amplius, esto notitiam dispositionum monarchae aliquid
further let-it-be the-knowledge of-the-dispositions of-the-monarch something
consiliariis conferre, propter ipsum certius posse dirigere:
to-the-counselors to-contribute on-account-of him more-certainly to-be-able to-direct
Dicendum tamen, non tantum quantum per certitudinem quasi
it-must-be-said however not so-much as-much-as through certainty as-if
semper studiosum et prudentem habere monarcham, cuius
always a-studious and prudent to-have monarch of-whom
siquidem etiam per consilium dirigendi morem attendendum
indeed also through counsel to-be-directed the-character is-to-be-attended-to
per se; hoc ipso sufficienter consiliarius quilibet prudens
through itself by-this very-thing sufficiently counselor any-whatever prudent
cognoscere potest. Talem autem certius exhibet nova semper
to-know can such but more-certainly shows a-new always
electio quam natalis successio, ut persaepe diximus. Unde etiam
election than natal succession as very-often we-have-said whence also
attendendum, quod succedenti monarchae per genus quandoque
it-is-to-be-attended that to-the-succeeding monarch by family sometimes
perverso magis obtemperant assistentes seu consiliarii, minusque
perverse more comply the-assistants or counselors and-less
increpare audent, aut illius correptionem temptare, propter
to-rebuke they-dare or his correction to-attempt on-account-of
futuram principari posteritatem ipsius. Et quod inquit
the-future to-rule posterity his and what says
Aristoteles, i Rhetoricae: Morem uniuscuiusque maxime
Aristotle in-the-first of-the-Rhetoric the-character of-each most

persuasivum ad unumquemque, potest concedi tamquam
persuasive to each-one can to-be-granted as-if
verum, ut quod quisque secundum morem seu inclinationem
true as that-which each according-to character or inclination
suam desiderat, vehementius et facilius persuadenti credit
his desires more-vehemently and more-easily to-the-one-persuading he-believes
illud. Quod si tamen perversum appetat, ut diximus, debet
that but if however a-perverse-thing he-desire as we-have-said ought
hoc illi minime suaderi. Adhuc, quod nec praetereundum
this to-him least to-be-urged further what nor is-to-be-passed-over
silentio, et evenire videmus persaepe, monarcham, si non
in-silence and to-happen we-see very-often the-monarch if not
studiosus extiterit, perversorum magis quam studiosorum
studious he-shall-have-been of-perverse-men more than of-studious-men
plerumque sequi consilia; propter quod ipsum, quoniam
generally to-follow the-counsels on-account-of which he since
certius studiosum, per electionem novam sumendum.
more-certainly studious through election new is-to-be-taken
Et quod inducitur ex succedente per genus monarcha,
and what is-brought-in from the-succeeding by family monarch
civium temeritatem seu praesumptionem, et ambitionem
of-the-citizens the-rashness or presumption and ambition
principatus indebitam magis auferri: Dicendum quod
for-the-principate undue more is-taken-away it-must-be-said that
non solum indebitum illis aufertur, verum etiam quod
not only the-undue from-them is-taken-away but also what
secundum rationem debetur, unde illis seditionis movendae
according-to reason is-owed whence to-them of-sedition to-be-stirred
datur occasio. Attendentes enim civium plurimi super
is-given occasion noticing for of-the-citizens very-many over
se monarchizare frequenter minus dignos secundum
themselves to-monarchize frequently less worthy according-to

virtutem, et semper principatu privari, aut non intantum
virtue and always of-the-principate to-be-deprived either not so-much
vacant virtutibus quibus principari sint digni, aut
they-give-themselves to-virtues by-which to-rule they-be worthy or
vacantes continuo, tamen privati sibi quandoque
giving-themselves continually however deprived to-themselves sometimes
debito principatu, iuste seditionem movebunt; quam siquidem
of-the-due principate justly sedition will-stir which indeed
minime temptabunt movere, sperantes ad principatum posse
least they-will-attempt to-stir hoping to the-principate to-be-able
per electionem assumi tempore debito. Amplius, quoniam
through election to-be-taken-up in-time due further since
prudentes et studiosi entes non absque iniuria gravi seditionem
prudent and studious being not without injury heavy sedition
movere temptabunt, hanc autem non illis inferet legislator,
to-stir they-will-attempt this but not on-them will-inflict the-legislator
aut principans studiosus, qualem semper quasi futurum
or ruler studious such-as always as-if to-be-about-to-be
diximus qui per novam electionem assumitur. Plurimum
we-have-said who through new election is-taken-up most
enim studiosus principans et legislator intendunt quod iustum,
for the-studious ruler and legislator intend what just
ut in xiii° et xiv° huius. Quod autem dixit disputans,
as in the-thirteenth and fourteenth of-this what but said the-disputant
ambitionem aut praesumptionem fore civibus appetere
ambition or presumption to-be for-the-citizens to-desire
principatum, non recte dixit, quoniam studioso et sic
the-principate not rightly he-said since for-the-studious-one and thus
bene merito appetere principatum debito tempore, non est
well deserving to-desire the-principate at-due time not is
ambitio, superbia, neque praesumptio, sed magnanimitatis atque
ambition pride nor presumption but of-magnanimity and

virtutis politicae opus appetere. Propter quod Aristoteles,
of-virtue political the-work to-desire on-account-of which Aristotle
iv Ethicorum, testatur magnanimum non inconvenienter
in-the-fourth of-the-Ethics testifies the-magnanimous not unfittingly
aut praeter virtutem appetere magnos honores. Quod autem
or beyond virtue to-desire great honors what but
dixit Tullius De Officiis, libro i: Molestum esse, quod in
said Tully in-On Duties in-book first troublesome to-be that in
maximis animis etc., si verum dixerit, veritatem habet
the-greatest minds etc if true he-shall-have-said truth it-has
dum talia desiderantur indebite in quanto vel quali
while such-things are-desired unduly in how-much or of-what-kind
aut reliquis modis praeter rationis normam et regulam.
or in-the-remaining ways beyond of-reason the-norm and rule
Quod autem post haec inducebatur, quod non transmittens
what but after these-things was-brought-in that not transmitting
principatum ad heredes monarcha inaudebit iustificare seu
the-principate to heirs the-monarch will-not-dare to-bring-to-justice or
punire potentes, personaliter saltem et extremo supplicio,
to-punish the-powerful personally at-least and by-the-extreme punishment
propter timere ipsorum malevolentias ad proprios
on-account-of to-fear their ill-wills toward his-own
natos: Dicendum non timere propter animo fortem esse
children it-must-be-said not to-fear on-account-of in-mind strong to-be
talem electum. Et quoniam iustificati potentes, si
such an-elected-man and since the-ones-brought-to-justice powerful if
secundum legem et ipsorum demerito passi fuerint, aut
according-to law and their demerit suffered they-shall-have either
odium non concipient ad monarcham et natos illius,
hatred not will-conceive toward the-monarch and the-children of-him
aut debile, non quaerentes vindictam. Norunt etenim ipsi
or weak not seeking revenge know for they

iustitiam fieri oportere per illum vel alium principantem.
justice to-be-done to-behoove by him or another ruler
Qui si tamen id cum appetitu vindictae conceperint,
who if however this with appetite for-revenge they-shall-have-conceived
propter ipsorum ignorantiam, malitiam, aut utramque, ad
on-account-of their ignorance malice or both into
vindictam non audebunt prorumpere metu legislatoris et
revenge not will-dare to-break-forth through-fear of-the-legislator and
reliqui principantis, a quo velut a praedecessore rursum
of-the-remaining ruler by whom as by the-predecessor again
puniri verisimiliter dubitabunt.
to-be-punished likely they-will-fear
Ei vero litigiosae rationi, quoniam in pluribus regionibus
to-that but contentious reason since in more regions
et in pluri tempore cum successione generis monarchae
and for more time with succession of-the-family monarchs
per electionem videntur assumi: Dicendum fortasse non
through election seem to-be-taken-up it-must-be-said perhaps not
sic secundum veritatem habere secundum temporis plurimum.
so according-to truth to-hold according-to of-time the-most-part
Esto tamen sic esse quemadmodum disputans sumit.
let-it-be however so to-be as the-disputant assumes
Quod autem annectit, principatum hunc eo naturaliorem
what but he-attaches principate this by-that more-natural
atque perfectiorem, negandum. Et cum inducit Aristotelis
and more-perfect is-to-be-denied and when he-brings-in of-Aristotle
testimonium ex libro iii Caeli et Mundi, ac ii
the-testimony from the-book third of-the-Heaven and the-World and the-second
Physicae, quoniam natura rei videtur, quae pluribus et
of-the-Physics since the-nature of-a-thing seems what in-more and
plurimo tempore inest: Dicendum utique verum esse in eadem
for-most time is-in it-must-be-said surely true to-be in the-same

specie quod naturalius est sic ens quam eius privatio vel
species that more-natural it-is so being than its privation or
orbatio, non tamen naturalius est aut perfectius quocumque
deprivation not however more-natural it-is or more-perfect than-any-whatever
alio sibi specie diverso; sic enim faber perfectior esset
other from-it in-species diverse thus for the-smith more-perfect would-be
primo philosopho, et fabrilis prima philosophia vel
than-the-first philosopher and smithcraft than-the-first philosophy or
alia speculativa quacumque, quod tamen, ut pridem diximus,
other speculative any-whatever which however as before we-have-said
neque necessarium est, neque verum. Nunc autem electa
neither necessary is nor true now but elected
semper noviter monarchia non est privatio succedentis
always newly monarchy not is the-privation of-the-one-succeeding
ex genere, nec econverso, sed species invicem disparatae,
from family nor conversely but species from-one-another disparate
simul in eodem incompossibiles respectu eiusdem multitudinis
together in the-same incompossible in-respect of-the-same multitude
seu communitatis subiectae. Sunt autem et alia fortasse
or community subject are but also other perhaps
peccata orationis praedictae, quae consideranti reliquimus
sins of-the-argument aforesaid which to-one-considering we-have-left
et assignare omisimus propter abbreviationem sermonis.
and to-assign we-have-omitted on-account-of the-abbreviation of-the-discourse
Ad eam vero qua omnium novissime astruebatur,
to that but by-which of-all last was-built-up
monarcham electum cum omni posteritate praestantiorem
the-monarch elected with all posterity more-excellent
propter eius ampliorem similitudinem unitatis ad Principem
on-account-of his greater likeness of-unity to the-Prince
universi: Dicendum, non tantum attendendam huius unitatis
of-the-universe it-must-be-said not so-much to-be-attended-to of-this unity

similitudinem, quamvis aequivocam quasi, quantum secundum
the-likeness although equivocal as-if as-much-as according-to
animam seu animae habitum est attendenda perfectionis
the-soul or of-the-soul the-habit is to-be-attended-to of-perfection
conformitas. Est enim haec praecipua causa propter quam
the-conformity is for this the-chief cause on-account-of which
debet quis ad principatum assumi, non similitudo generis,
ought one to the-principate to-be-taken-up not the-likeness of-family
secundum quam solum attenditur unitas corporalis dispositionis
according-to which only is-attended-to the-unity of-bodily disposition
per se, non autem habitus animae propter quem per se
through itself not but the-habit of-the-soul on-account-of which through itself
alicui principatus debetur. Secundum hanc autem perfectionis
to-someone the-principate is-owed according-to this but of-perfection
unitatem sive similitudinem amplius et saepius suo praecessori
unity or likeness more and more-often to-his predecessor
et studioso monarchae ac enti primo seu Principi
and studious monarch and to-the-being first or Prince
universitatis entium conformatur electus monarcha singulariter
of-the-whole of-beings is-conformed the-elected monarch singularly
secundum seipsum quilibet, quam successor ex genere solo
according-to himself any-whatever than the-successor from family alone
et propter alterius electionem, ut palam ex prioribus dictis.
and on-account-of of-another the-election as plain from the-earlier said-things
Apparebunt autem et apparent fortasse utrimque quamplures
will-appear but and appear perhaps on-both-sides very-many
instantiae melius et deterius in singulis ad politiam
objections better and worse in particulars for the-polity
considerare volenti; quas tamen magis attendendas
to-consider to-one-wishing which however more to-be-attended-to
advertimus, in praedictis induximus.
we-noticed in the-aforesaid we-brought-in

De perfectissimo itaque modo instituendi monarcham, sic
about the-most-perfect and-so mode of-instituting a-monarch thus
pertransivisse sufficiat.
to-have-passed-through let-it-suffice

Capitulum XVII. De numerali unitate supremi principatus civitatis aut regni, et ipsius necessitate; unde etiam apparet unitas numeralis civitatis aut regni, et numeralis unitas singularum partium primarum sive officiorum civitatis aut regni

THE UNITY OF THE SUPREME PRINCIPATE

There must be one supreme principate in a city or kingdom, one in office though several men may hold it. With several not ordered under one, no one could be summoned and judged, since he could not appear before all, and the citizens would split among them. A city is one by order, not by form, as Rome and Mainz are one empire because each is ordered to one supreme principate. No person or college holds coercive jurisdiction except by grant of the legislator, divine or human.

Hiis autem habitum erit dicere de principantis seu
to-these but held it-will-be to-speak about of-the-ruler or
principatus unitate; ad quam siquidem ingredientes, dicamus:
of-the-principate the-unity to which indeed entering let-us-say
quod in civitate unica seu regno unico esse oportet unicum
that in a-city single or a-kingdom single to-be it-behooves a-single
tantummodo principatum; aut si plures numero vel specie,
only principate or if several in-number or in-species
sicut in magnis civitatibus expedire videtur, et maxime
as in great cities to-be-expedient it-seems and most
in regno sumpto secundum primam significationem, oportet
in a-kingdom taken according-to the-first signification it-behooves

inter ipsos unicum numero esse supremum omnium, ad
among them a-single in-number to-be supreme of-all to
quem et per quem reliqui reducantur et regulentur, et
which and through which the-others be-reduced and be-regulated and
contingentes in ipsis errores per ipsum etiam corrigantur.
the-happening in them errors through it also be-corrected
Hunc autem solummodo principatum, supremum scilicet,
this but only principate supreme namely
dico unum numero ex necessitate fore, non plures, si
I-say one in-number from necessity to-be not several if
debeat regnum aut civitas recte disponi. Idemque dico de
ought the-kingdom or city rightly to-be-disposed and-the-same I-say about
principante secundum illum, non quidem unicum numero
the-ruler according-to it not indeed single in-number
principantem secundum suppositum humanae speciei, sed
ruler according-to the-supposit of-the-human species but
secundum officium. Est enim principatus aliquis unicus
according-to office is for a-principate some single
numero supremus et bene temperatus, secundum quem
in-number supreme and well tempered according-to which
principantur plures homines uno, ut aristocratia et politia,
rule several men as-one as aristocracy and polity
de quibus diximus viii° huius. Verum hii plures sunt
about which we-have-spoken in-the-eighth of-this but these several are
unus principatus numero quantum ad officium, propter
one principate in-number as-far-as to office on-account-of
numeralem unitatem cuiuscumque actionis provenientis ab
the-numerical unity of-any-whatever action coming from
eis, iudicii, seu sententiae, vel praecepti; nulla enim talium
them of-judgment or sentence or precept none for of-such
actionum provenire potest ab ipsorum aliquo seorsum, sed
actions to-come can from of-them any-one separately but

ex communi decreto atque consensu eorum aut valentioris
from the-common decree and consent of-them or of-the-weightier
partis secundum statutas leges in hiis. Et propter talem
part according-to established laws in these-things and on-account-of such
actionis numeralem unitatem sic provenientis ab eis est et
of-action numerical unity thus coming from them it-is and
dicitur principatus numero unus, sive unico regatur homine
is-called the-principate in-number one whether by-a-single it-be-ruled man
sive pluribus. Talis vero unitas actionum non requiritur
or by-several such but unity of-actions not is-required
in aliquo uno reliquorum officiorum seu partium civitatis;
in some one of-the-remaining offices or parts of-the-city
possunt enim et debent in unoquoque ipsorum plures
they-can for and ought in each of-them several
actiones consimiles, aut diversae specie, a diversis in eis
actions like or diverse in-species from diverse in them
suppositis provenire seorsum. Quinimo talis unitas actionis in
supposits to-come separately nay such unity of-action in
eis esset communitati et singulis importabilis et nociva.
them would-be to-the-community and to-individuals unbearable and harmful
Sic itaque intellecta unitate numerali principatus aut
thus and-so understood the-unity numerical of-the-principate or
principantis, convincere volumus, aut unicum numero
of-the-ruler to-prove we-wish either a-single in-number
tantummodo principatum vel principantem esse in civitate vel
only principate or ruler to-be in the-city or
regno, aut si plures, supremum omnium esse unicum tantum
kingdom or if several the-supreme of-all to-be single only
numero, non plures. Hoc autem sic primum monstrabimus:
in-number not several this but thus first we-shall-show
quoniam si principatus essent plures in civitate vel regno, et
since if principates were several in the-city or kingdom and

non reducti seu ordinati sub aliquo uno supremo, deficerent
not reduced or ordered under some one supreme would-fail
iudicium, praeceptum, et executio conferentium et iustorum;
judgment precept and execution of-advantageous and just-things
et ex hiis propter invindicatas iniurias hominum, pugna,
and from these on-account-of unavenged injuries of-men fight
separatio, et corruptio demum civitatis aut regni. Consequens
separation and corruption at-last of-the-city or kingdom consequent
autem istud est inconveniens maxime fugiendum, cuius quidem
but this is unfitting most to-be-fled whose indeed
ad antecedens datum, pluralitatem scilicet principatuum,
to the-antecedent given the-plurality namely of-principates
consequentia potest evidenter ostendi. Primum quidem
the-consequence can evidently to-be-shown first indeed
quoniam legum transgressores iustificari rationabiliter
since of-laws the-transgressors to-be-brought-to-justice reasonably
nequeunt nisi vocati coram principante ad quaesitorum seu
cannot unless summoned before the-ruler for of-the-things-sought or
ipsis obiectorum examinationem. Sed principatuum supposita
to-them objected the-examination but of-principates supposed
pluralitate, non reducta in supremum aliquem unum, quo
the-plurality not reduced into supreme some one in-which
modo dicit ipsam disputans, nemo vocatus coram principante
way says it the-disputant no-one summoned before the-ruler
sufficienter poterit comparere. Esto namque, sicut frequenter
sufficiently will-be-able to-appear let-it-be for as frequently
evenit, quod propter legis transgressionem aliquam vocetur
happens that on-account-of of-law transgression some be-summoned
aliquis respondere a pluribus principatibus, non subinvicem
someone to-answer by several principates not under-one-another
ordinatis, et pro eodem tempore, quoniam eadem ratione
ordered and for the-same time since by-the-same reason

tenetur et potest unus principatuum vocare seu citare
is-bound and can one of-the-principates to-summon or to-cite
reum qua reliquus; et qua etiam ratione vocatus
the-accused by-which the-other and by-which also reason the-summoned
tenetur coram uno principatuum respondere ne contumax
is-bound before one of-the-principates to-answer lest contumacious
habeatur, eadem ratione coram alio vel aliis, si duobus
he-be-held by-the-same reason before another or others if than-two
fuerint ampliores. Aut igitur coram omnibus simul
they-shall-have-been more either therefore before all at-once
apparebit, aut coram nullo ipsorum, vel coram quodam
he-will-appear or before none of-them or before a-certain-one
quidem sic, coram alio vel aliis minime; coram omnibus
indeed thus before another or others least before all
autem simul et eodem tempore non, quoniam hoc est
but at-once and at-the-same time not since this is
impossibilium natura et arte; idem enim corpus non
of-the-impossible-things by-nature and art the-same for body not
potest simul esse in diversis locis aut pluribus simul
can at-once to-be in diverse places or to-several at-once
loqui vel respondere, diversa fortasse interrogantibus simul.
to-speak or to-answer diverse-things perhaps to-those-asking at-once
Amplius esto, quamvis impossibile, vocatum coram pluribus
further let-it-be although impossible the-summoned before several
principatibus comparere, simulque diversa tacere vel
principates to-appear and-at-once diverse-things to-keep-silent or
respondere; ab uno tamen fortasse principatuum de eodem
to-answer by one however perhaps of-the-principates for the-same
crimine damnabitur, ab alio fortasse absolvetur; vel si
crime he-will-be-condemned by another perhaps will-be-absolved or if
ab utroque damnetur, non aequaliter ab utroque. Propter
by both he-be-condemned not equally by both on-account-of

quod emendare tenebitur et non tenebitur, aut si
which to-make-amends he-will-be-bound and not will-be-bound or if
tenebitur, hoc erit in tanto, et ampliori vel pauciori, et
he-will-be-bound this will-be in so-much and greater or less and
sic in tanto et non in tanto. Unde vel simul contradictoria
thus in so-much and not in so-much whence either at-once contradictories
faciet aut nihil emendabit. Eadem enim ratione unius
he-will-do or nothing will-amend by-the-same for reason of-one
principatuum et alterius debet observare praeceptum. Coram
of-the-principates and of-the-other he-ought to-observe the-precept before
uno principatuum apparere magis quam coram reliquo vel
one of-the-principates to-appear more than before the-other or
reliquis, non habet aliquam rationem. Quod si tamen appareat
others not has any reason but if however he-appear
coram uno, reliquis spretis, et ab illo fortassis absolvatur
before one with-the-others spurned and by that-one perhaps be-absolved
a culpa et poena civili, a reliquis tamen damnabitur
from guilt and punishment civil by the-others however he-will-be-condemned
propter contumaciam. Sic igitur vocatus seu citatus, nec
on-account-of contumacy thus therefore summoned or cited neither
coram omnibus apparebit simul, nec coram quodam quidem
before all will-appear at-once nor before a-certain-one indeed
sic, coram quodam quidem non, convenienter poterit
thus before a-certain-one indeed not fittingly will-be-able
apparere. Relinquitur ergo, ut coram nullo principatu vocatus
to-appear it-remains therefore that before no principate summoned
seu citatus debeat comparere; non igitur iustificari
or cited he-ought to-appear not therefore to-be-brought-to-justice
poterit. Est igitur impossibilis civitati vel regno pluralitas
he-will-be-able is therefore impossible for-the-city or kingdom a-plurality

talium principatuum non subordinatorum invicem, si debeat
of-such principates not subordinated to-one-another if ought
conservari civile iustum et conferens.
to-be-preserved the-civil just and advantageous
Amplius, talium principatuum pluralitate supposita, omnis
further of-such principates the-plurality supposed every
communis utilitas turbaretur. Cum enim principantes
common utility would-be-disturbed since for rulers
frequenter praecipere debeant civium, praecipue vacantium,
frequently to-command ought of-the-citizens chiefly of-those-having-leisure
congregationem propter communia conferentia inquirenda
the-assembly on-account-of common advantages to-be-sought
et determinanda, vel propter incommoda et emergentia
and to-be-determined or on-account-of disadvantages and emerging
pericula declinanda, ut volentium intrinsecus aut extrinsecus
dangers to-be-avoided as of-those-wishing from-within or from-without
opprimere libertatem communem; qua quidem enim
to-oppress liberty common by-which indeed for
ratione convenire tenentur cives seu subditi vocati ad
reason to-come-together are-bound the-citizens or subjects summoned to
mandatum, locum, et horam unius talium principatuum,
the-command place and hour of-one of-such principates
eadem propter mandatum ad locum et horam alterius;
by-the-same on-account-of the-command to the-place and hour of-the-other
cumque hora eadem, loca vero possint esse diversa; et
and-since the-hour the-same the-places but can to-be diverse and
rursum quod volet unus principatuum proponere, diversum
again what will-wish one of-the-principates to-propose diverse
forte ab hoc vellet alter; cum tamen in locis diversis
perhaps from this would-wish the-other since however in places diverse
esse simul, nec simul diversa intendere, possibile videatur.
to-be at-once nor at-once diverse-things to-attend-to possible it-seem

Rursum, contingeret ex hoc civium sectio et oppositio,
again would-happen from this of-the-citizens division and opposition
pugna et separatio, demumque civitatis corruptio, volentibus
fight and separation and-at-last of-the-city corruption with-wishing
quibusdam ipsorum uni principatuum obedire, quibusdam
certain of-them one of-the-principates to-obey certain
vero alteri; inter principatus quoque invicem, propter
but the-other among the-principates also with-one-another on-account-of
velle supergredi quemcumque ipsorum ad alterum; adhuc
to-wish to-overstep any-whatever of-them toward the-other further
principatuum ad cives sibi recusantes subesse; et amplius
of-the-principates toward citizens to-them refusing to-be-subject and further
principatibus dissidentibus, aut invicem contendentibus,
with-principates disagreeing or with-one-another contending
et iudice superiori carentibus, orirentur scandala supradicta.
and a-judge superior lacking would-arise the-offenses above-said
Rursum, supposita pluralitate hac, erit aliquid
again supposed plurality this there-will-be something
maximorum secundum rationem et artem otiosum atque
of-the-greatest-things according-to reason and art idle and
superfluum, nam per unicum principatum, aut supremum
superfluous for through a-single principate or supreme
unicum, perfecte haberi potest quicquid civilis utilitatis
single perfectly to-be-had can whatever of-civil utility
haberetur ex pluribus absque nocumentis consequentibus
would-be-had from several without the-harms following
pluralitatem ipsorum.
the-plurality of-them
Amplius, horum sic supposita pluralitate, nullum regnum
further of-these thus supposed the-plurality no kingdom
aut civitas erit una. Haec enim unum sunt et dicuntur
or city will-be one these for one are and are-called

propter unitatem principatus, ad quem et propter quem
on-account-of the-unity of-the-principate to which and on-account-of which
reliquae partes civitatis ordinantur omnes, ut etiam apparebit
the-remaining parts of-the-city are-ordered all as also will-appear
ex hiis quae continuo dicturi sumus. Rursumque nullus
from those-things which next about-to-say we-are and-again no
erit ordo partium civitatis aut regni, cum ad nullam primam
will-be order of-the-parts of-the-city or kingdom since to no first
ordinentur, eo quod nulli subici teneantur, ut liquido
they-be-ordered in-that that to-none to-be-subject they-be-bound as clearly
apparuit ex prioribus rationibus, eritque ipsarum atque
appeared from the-earlier reasons and-there-will-be of-them and
totius civitatis confusio; eliget enim sibi quod quisque
of-the-whole city confusion will-choose for for-himself what each
volet officium, unum aut plura, nullo regulante nec talia
will-wish office one or several with-no-one regulating nor such-things
separante. Tot quoque sequerentur ad hoc inconvenientia
separating so-many also would-follow on this unfitting-things
ut ea non facile aut non possibile sit dinumerare.
that them not easy or not possible it-be to-count
Adhuc, sicut in composito animali primum praecipiens et
further as in the-composite animal the-first commanding and
movens ipsum, motu eo qui secundum locum, est unum,
moving it with-motion that which according-to place is one
ut in eo libro qui De motibus animalium apparet, quoniam
as in that book which On the-motions of-animals appears since
pluribus existentibus hiis principiis et contraria vel diversa
with-several being these principles and contrary or diverse-things
simul praecipientibus, necesse foret animal aut in
at-once commanding necessary it-would-be the-animal either into
contraria ferri vel omnimodo quiescere, et hiis carere
contrary-things to-be-borne or altogether to-rest and those-things to-lack

quae per motum sibi necessaria quaeruntur et commoda;
which through motion for-it necessary are-sought and advantageous
sicque in civitate convenienter ordinata, quam animali bene
and-thus in the-city fittingly ordered which to-the-animal well
formato secundum naturam proportionaliter habere diximus
formed according-to nature proportionally to-stand we-have-said
xv° huius. Ideoque velut in animali talium principiorum
in-the-fifteenth of-this and-therefore as in the-animal of-such principles
otiosa, quinimo nociva foret pluralitas, eodem modo in
idle nay harmful would-be the-plurality in-the-same way in
civitate firmiter opinandum. Idem autem videre est, intendere
the-city firmly it-is-to-be-held the-same but to-see it-is to-attend
volenti de primo alterante in animali, quemadmodum
for-one-wishing about the-first altering-thing in the-animal as
de movente secundum locum et in toto similiter ordine
about the-mover according-to place and in the-whole likewise order
moventium et motorum. Haec autem praetermittantur,
of-movers and moved-things these-things but let-be-passed-over
quoniam ad naturale pertinent negotium magis; quantum autem
since to the-natural pertain business more as-much-as but
sufficiens est de ipsis diximus ad praesentem considerationem.
sufficient is about them we-have-said for the-present consideration
Amplius, quoniam ars omnino aliqua quidem perficit,
further since art wholly some-things indeed accomplishes
quae natura non potest operari, alia vero imitatur, ut
which nature not can to-work others but imitates as
in ii Physicae scriptum est; in natura vero entium
in the-second of-the-Physics written it-is in the-nature but of-beings
cum sit unicum numero primum principans, non plura,
since be single in-number the-first ruler not several
quoniam entia non volunt male disponi, sicut habitum
since beings not wish badly to-be-disposed as held

est xii Philosophiae primae; unus ergo erit tantum
it-is in-the-twelfth of-Philosophy first one therefore will-be only
numero primus principatus secundum rationem et artem
in-number the-first principate according-to reason and art
hominum institutus. Cum dictis autem rationibus est hoc
of-men instituted with the-said but reasons it-is this
videre, verum expediens et necessarium experientia cunctis
to-see true expedient and necessary by-experience to-all
sensata: quoniam in quo loco seu provincia vel hominum
sensed since in which place or province or of-men
congregatione principatus, quomodo diximus, defecerit
assembly of-the-principate in-the-way we-have-said shall-have-failed
unitas, haec impossibile videtur bene disponi, quemadmodum
unity this impossible it-seems well to-be-disposed as
de Romanorum regno quasi omnibus evidenter apparet,
about of-the-Romans the-kingdom as-if to-all evidently appears
et in prooemialiter dictis aliqualiter monstrabatur.
and in by-way-of-preface the-things-said in-some-way was-shown
Utrum autem universitati civiliter viventium et in orbe
whether but for-the-whole-body of-those-civilly living and in the-world
totali unicum numero supremum omnium principatum
whole a-single in-number supreme of-all principate
habere conveniat, aut in diversis mundi plagis locorum
to-have be-fitting or in diverse of-the-world regions of-places
situ quasi necessario separatis, et praecipue in
by-the-situation as-if necessarily separated and chiefly in-those
non communicantibus sermone, ac moribus et consuetudine
not communicating in-speech and in-morals and custom
distantibus plurimum, diversos tales principatus habere
differing most diverse such principates to-have
conveniat tempore quodam, ad hoc etiam forte movente causa
be-fitting at-a-time certain to this also perhaps moving cause

caelesti, ne hominum superflua propagatio fiat, rationabilem
celestial lest of-men superfluous propagation be-made reasonable
habet perscrutationem, aliam tamen ab intentione praesenti.
has examination other however from the-intention present
Videretur enim fortasse alicui naturam per pugnas et
it-would-seem for perhaps to-someone nature through wars and
epidimias hominum et reliquorum animalium moderasse
epidemics of-men and of-the-other animals to-have-moderated
propagationem, ut ad ipsorum educationem arida sufficiat,
the-propagation so-that for their nurture the-dry-land suffice
in quo maxime sustentarentur dicentes generationem aeternam.
in which most would-be-sustained those-saying generation eternal
Ad propositam tamen nobis redeuntes intentionem, dicamus,
to the-proposed however to-us returning intention let-us-say
ex hiis quae dicta sunt iam aliqualiter apparere,
from those-things which said have-been already in-some-way to-appear
quae sit numeralis unitas civitatis aut regni, quoniam
what be the-numerical unity of-the-city or of-the-kingdom since
haec unitas est ordinis, non simpliciter unitas, sed pluralitas
this unity is of-order not simply unity but a-plurality
aliquorum, quae una dicitur, vel qui aliquid unum dicuntur
of-some-things which one is-called or which something one are-called
numero, non propter hoc quod unum numero sint
in-number not on-account-of this that one in-number they-be
formaliter per aliquam formam, sed unum numero vere
formally through some form but one in-number truly
dicuntur propterea quod ad unum numero dicuntur,
they-are-called for-this-reason that to one in-number they-are-referred
principatum scilicet, ad quem et propter quem ordinantur
the-principate namely to which and on-account-of which they-are-ordered
et gubernantur. Civitas enim aut regnum non est unorum
and are-governed the-city for or kingdom not is of-things-one

per formam aliquam unicam naturalem, ut compositionis
through form some single natural as of-composition
aut commixtionis, quoniam eius partes seu officia, et harum
or of-mixture since its parts or offices and of-these
partium supposita sive partes, sunt multa in actu et separata
parts the-supposits or parts are many in act and separated
invicem numero formaliter, quoniam loco atque subiecto.
from-one-another in-number formally since in-place and subject
Unde nec sunt unum per aliquid formaliter inhaerens
whence nor are-they one through something formally inhering
unum, nec pertangens unum aut ea continens velut murus.
one nor touching one or them containing as a-wall
Roma namque cum Maguntia et reliquis communitatibus
Rome for with Mainz and the-remaining communities
sunt unum regnum seu imperium numero, non aliter tamen
are one kingdom or empire in-number not otherwise however
nisi quia unaquaeque istarum ordinata est per voluntatem
except because each of-them ordered is through will
ad unum numero principatum supremum. Quo etiam quasi
to one in-number principate supreme in-which also as-if
modo mundus dicitur unus numero, non plures mundi,
way the-world is-called one in-number not several worlds
non quidem propter formam aliquam unicam numeralem
not indeed on-account-of a-form some single numerical
formaliter universis entibus inhaerentem, sed propter
formally in-all beings inhering but on-account-of
numeralem unitatem primi entis dicuntur omnia entia unus
the-numerical unity of-the-first being are-called all beings one
mundus numero, quoniam entium quodcumque naturaliter
world in-number since of-beings any-whatever naturally
inclinatur et pendet ab ente primo. Unde praedicatio, qua
is-inclined and depends on the-being first whence the-predication by-which

omnia entia dicuntur unus mundus numero, non est formaliter
all beings are-called one world in-number not is formally
alicuius unitatis numeralis in eis omnibus, neque alicuius
of-some unity numerical in them all nor of-some
universalis dicti secundum unum, sed est pluralitas quorundam
universal said according-to one but is a-plurality of-certain-things
dicta unum, quia est ad unum et propter unum. Sic
called one because it-is toward one and on-account-of one so
quoque unius civitatis aut provinciae homines dicuntur una
also of-one city or province the-men are-called one
civitas aut regnum, quia volunt unum numero principatum.
city or kingdom because they-wish one in-number principate
Nec tamen propter hoc sunt una pars numero civitatis
nor however on-account-of this are-they one part in-number of-the-city
quo sunt unum regnum aut una civitas numero, quoniam
by-which they-are one kingdom or one city in-number since
etsi haec velint unum numero principatum, propter quod
even-if these wish one in-number principate on-account-of which
dicuntur civitas aut regnum unum, quia tamen ad hoc unum
they-are-called city or kingdom one because however to this one
numero per diversam institutionem activam et passivam
in-number through diverse institution active and passive
referuntur, quae non est aliud quam diversum praeceptum
they-are-referred which not is other than a-diverse precept
eis a principante traditum, per quod diversum ad diversa
to-them by the-ruler handed-down through which diverse to diverse
officia statuuntur. Ex cuius siquidem etiam diversitate
offices they-are-established from whose indeed also diversity
praecepti formaliter sunt isti partes et officia civitatis
of-precept formally are these parts and offices of-the-city
diversa. Dicitur autem quodlibet officiorum etiam numero
diverse is-called but any-whatever of-the-offices also in-number

unum vel una pars civitatis numero, non obstante pluralitate
one or one part of-the-city in-number not withstanding the-plurality
numerali suppositorum in ipsis, nec quidem per unum
numerical of-the-supposits in them nor indeed through one
numero inhaerens, sed quoniam ad unum praeceptum activum
in-number inhering but since to one precept active
principantis secundum legalem determinationem referuntur.
of-the-ruler according-to legal determination they-are-referred
Ex hiis autem quae dicta sunt in hoc capitulo,
from those but which said have-been in this chapter
ix°, xii°, xiii°, et xv° huius, concludi potest
in-the-ninth twelfth thirteenth and fifteenth of-this to-be-concluded can
evidenti demonstratione, nulli personae singulari cuiuscumque
by-evident demonstration to-no person single of-whatever
dignitatis aut status existat, neque collegio cuipiam convenire
dignity or status be-be nor to-college any to-belong
principatum seu iurisdictionem aliquam cuiusquam in hoc
a-principate or jurisdiction some of-anyone in this
saeculo coactivam, nisi per legislatorem divinum aut
world coercive unless through the-legislator divine or
humanum immediate sibi tradita fuerit auctoritas ista.
human immediately to-him handed-down shall-have-been authority that
Qualis quidem igitur esse debeat unitas principatus,
of-what-kind indeed therefore to-be ought the-unity of-the-principate
adhuc autem quae numeralis unitas civitatis aut regni,
further but what the-numerical unity of-the-city or of-the-kingdom
propter quid etiam dicatur et sit numero unum
on-account-of what also it-be-called and be in-number one
horum unumquodque, amplius de numerali atque specifica
of-these each-one further about the-numerical and specific

unitate partium seu officiorum civitatis ipsarumque ordine,
unity of-the-parts or offices of-the-city and-their order
distinctione, ac invicem separatione, dicta sint tanta.
distinction and from-one-another separation said let-be so-much

Capitulum XVIII. De principantis correptione, et propter quam causam, qualiter, et a quibus, legem transgrediens debet arceri

THE CORRECTION OF THE RULER, AND THE SINGULAR CAUSE OF DISCORD

A ruler who breaks the law must be corrected by the legislator, grave offenses always, slight ones only if often committed. Peace comes from the ruler's due action, and Aristotle named the usual causes of discord, but there is one he could not see: the Roman bishops' claim, first from Constantine's gift and then as Peter's successors, to a fullness of power from Christ, by which they seek coercive jurisdiction over all princes and have kept Italy in strife. Marsilius resolves to oppose it.

Dictum est autem a nobis in prioribus, correptiones aut
said it-is but by us in the-earlier-things the-corrections or
totaliter mutationes principatuum ad legislatorem pertinere
wholly the-changes of-principates to the-legislator to-pertain
quemadmodum institutiones ipsorum. De quibus merito
as the-institutions of-them about which deservedly
dubitabit aliquis, utrum videlicet principantes expediat
will-doubt someone whether namely rulers it-be-expedient
corrigi per iudicium et potentiam coactivam; et si
to-be-corrected through judgment and power coercive and if
expediat, utrum propter excessum qualemcumque, aut
it-be-expedient whether on-account-of an-excess of-whatever-kind or
solum propter quosdam quidem sic, propter alios vero
only on-account-of some indeed thus on-account-of others but

minime; adhuc etiam cuius aut quorum in ipsos sit
by-no-means further also of-whom or of-which-ones over them it-be
talia ferre iudicia et iudiciorum executiones explere per
such to-pass judgments and of-judgments the-executions to-carry-out through
potentiam coactivam, cum in prioribus dictum sit ad
power coercive since in the-earlier-things said it-be to
solos principantes pertinere, civiles ferre sententias legumque
alone rulers to-pertain civil to-pass sentences and-of-laws
transgressores per coactivam arcere potentiam.
transgressors by coercive to-restrain power
Nos autem dicamus, quod principans per suam actionem
we but let-us-say that the-ruler through his action
secundum legem et sibi datam auctoritatem regula est
according-to law and to-him given authority the-rule is
atque mensura cuiuslibet civilis actus, quemadmodum cor
and measure of-any-whatever civil act as the-heart
in animali, ut satis ostensum est xv° huius. Quod
in the-animal as enough shown it-has-been in-the-fifteenth of-this but
si principans aliam formam non reciperet praeter legem,
if the-ruler another form not would-receive besides law
auctoritatem, et desiderium agendi secundum illam, numquam
authority and desire of-acting according-to it never
minus debitam aut corrigibilem seu mensurabilem ab aliquo
less due or corrigible or measurable by anyone
faceret actionem. Et ideo tam ipse quam eius actio sic
would-be-make action and therefore as-much he as his action thus
esset mensura cuiuslibet civilis actus aliorum a se, quod
would-be the-measure of-any-whatever civil act of-others than himself that
nequaquam ab aliis mensuratus, quemadmodum cor bene
by-no-means by others measured as the-heart well
formatum in animali; quod quidem, quoniam formam non
formed in the-animal which indeed since a-form not

recipit, per quam inclinetur ad actionem contrariam actioni
it-receives through which it-be-inclined to action contrary to-the-action
quae provenire habet a virtute sua et calore naturali, semper
which to-come has from power its and heat natural always
convenientem agit actionem naturaliter, contrariam vero minime;
fitting does action naturally contrary but by-no-means
propter quod sic regulat et mensurat per suam influentiam
on-account-of which thus it-regulates and measures through its influence
seu actionem reliquas partium animalis, quod ab ipsis
or action the-remaining of-the-parts of-the-animal that by them
nullatenus regulatur nec ipsarum influentiam recipit aliquam.
in-no-way it-is-regulated nor their influence receives any
Verum quia principans homo existens habet intellectum
but since the-ruler a-man being has understanding
et appetitum, potentes recipere formas alias, ut falsam
and appetite able to-receive forms other as false
extimationem aut perversum desiderium vel utrumque,
estimation or perverse desire or both
secundum quas contingit ipsum agere contraria eorum
according-to which it-happens him to-do contrary-things to-those
quae lege determinata sunt; propterea secundum has
which by-law determined are for-that-reason according-to these
actiones redditur principans mensurabilis ab aliquo habente
actions is-rendered the-ruler measurable by someone having
auctoritatem mensurandi seu regulandi ipsum secundum
authority of-measuring or of-regulating him according-to
legem, aut eius actiones legem transgressas; alioquin
law or his actions the-law transgressing otherwise
despoticus fieret quilibet principatus, et civium vita
despotic would-become any-whatever principate and of-the-citizens the-life

servilis et insufficiens. Quod est inconveniens fugiendum, ut
servile and insufficient which is an-unfitting-thing to-be-fled as
ex determinatis a nobis apparuit v° et xi° huius.
from the-things-determined by us appeared in-the-fifth and eleventh of-this
Debet autem iudicium, praeceptum, et executio cuiuscumque
ought but the-judgment precept and execution of-any-whatever
correptionis principantis iuxta illius demeritum seu
correction of-the-ruler according-to his demerit or
transgressionem fieri per legislatorem, vel per aliquem
transgression to-be-done by the-legislator or by someone
aut aliquos legislatoris auctoritate statutos ad hoc, ut
or some of-the-legislator by-the-authority established for this as
demonstratum est xii° et xv° huius. Convenit
demonstrated it-has-been in-the-twelfth and fifteenth of-this it-befits
etiam pro tempore aliquo corrigendi principantis
also for a-time some of-the-to-be-corrected ruler
officium suspendere, ad illum maxime aut illos qui de
the-office to-suspend to him most or those who about
ipsius transgressione debuerint iudicare, ne propter tunc
his transgression ought to-judge lest on-account-of then
pluralitatem principatus contingeret in communitate schisma,
the-plurality of-principate there-happen in the-community schism
concitatio, et pugna, et quoniam non corrigitur inquantum
stirring and fight and since not he-is-corrected in-so-far-as
principans, sed tamquam subditus transgressor legis.
ruler but as subject transgressor of-the-law
Secundum haec itaque ingredientes ad quaesitas dubitationes
according-to these-things and-so entering to the-sought doubts
dicamus, quod excessus principantis vel gravis est aut
let-us-say that the-excess of-the-ruler either grave is or
modicus; adhuc vel est de possibilibus evenire frequenter, aut
slight further either it-is of possible-things to-happen frequently or

raro tantummodo; amplius, vel est de lege determinatis
rarely only further either it-is of things-by-law determined
aut non. Si vero gravis fuerit principantis excessus, ut
or not if but grave shall-have-been of-the-ruler the-excess as
in rempublicam, aut in insignem vel aliam quamcumque
against the-republic or against a-notable or other any-whatever
personam, ex quo per correptionis omissionem posset
person from which through of-correction the-omission could
verisimiliter scandalum aut populi concitatio generari,
likely scandal or of-the-people stirring to-be-generated
sive sit evenientium in pluribus sive raro, corrigi debet
whether it-be of-things-happening in most-cases or rarely to-be-corrected ought
propter ipsum principans. Ex ipso enim non vindicato
on-account-of it the-ruler from it for not avenged
possibilis esset in populo concitatio, et politiae turbatio
possible would-be in the-people stirring and of-the-polity disturbance
atque solutio. Si quidem lege determinatus, secundum legem
and dissolution if indeed by-law determined according-to law
corrigendus, si vero non, secundum legislatoris sententiam;
to-be-corrected if but not according-to of-the-legislator the-sentence
et lege debet determinari quantum possibile fuerit,
and by-law ought to-be-determined as-much-as possible it-shall-have-been
ut ostensum est a nobis xi° huius.
as shown it-has-been by us in-the-eleventh of-this
Quod si principantis excessus parvus fuerit, aut est de
but if of-the-ruler the-excess small shall-have-been either it-is of
raro evenientibus et a principante raro commissus, vel de
rarely happening-things and by the-ruler rarely committed or of
possibilibus evenire frequenter et per principantem saepe
possible-things to-happen frequently and by the-ruler often
commissus. Quod si a principante raro committatur aut
committed but if by the-ruler rarely it-be-committed or

committi possit, debet potius sub dissimulatione transiri,
to-be-committed can it-ought rather under dissimulation to-be-passed-over
quam ex eo principans corrigi. Quoniam si ex quolibet
than from it the-ruler to-be-corrected since if for any-whatever
excessu raro contingenti et parvo corrigatur principans,
excess rarely happening and small be-corrected the-ruler
contemptibilis redderetur; quod in commune nocumentum
contemptible he-would-be-rendered which into common harm
non modicum redundans est, eo quod legi et principanti
not slight redounding is in-that that to-law and to-the-ruler
ex hoc cives minus exhibent reverentiae atque obedientiae.
from this the-citizens less show of-reverence and obedience
Rursumque, quoniam nolente principe pro modico quolibet
and-again since with-unwilling the-prince for slight any-whatever
correptionem subire propter id sibi ad parvipensionem
correction to-undergo on-account-of this to-himself to contempt
reputare, poterit inde oriri scandalum grave, cum tamen
to-reckon he-will-be-able thence to-arise scandal grave since however
tale aliquid non sit in communitatibus refricandum ex quo
such something not is in communities to-be-rubbed-raw from which
evidens utilitas provenire non potest, sed potius nocumentum.
evident utility to-come not can but rather harm
Haec autem fuit in hoc Aristotelis aperta sententia, ii
this but was in this of-Aristotle the-open opinion in-the-second
Politicae, capitulo 4°, cum dixit: Manifestum, quod
of-the-Politics in-chapter fourth when he-said manifest that
sinendum quaedam peccata legislatoribus et principibus.
are-to-be-allowed certain sins to-legislators and princes
Non enim tantum proderit qui mutaverit, quantum
not for so-much will-profit he-who shall-have-changed as-much-as
nocebit principibus rebellare assuescens. Intellexit autem
he-will-harm against-princes to-rebel accustoming understood but

ibidem per legislatorem latam legem, quam si observare
there by legislator the-passed law which if to-observe
consueverint homines, dicit non esse mutandam propter
shall-have-been-accustomed men he-says not to-be to-be-changed on-account-of
modicum in ea corrigendum, sed sinendam, eo quod legum
slight in it to-be-corrected but to-be-allowed in-that that of-laws
frequens mutatio robur ipsarum debilitat, consuetudinem
frequent change the-strength of-them weakens the-custom
scilicet obediendi atque servandi quae praecipiuntur in
namely of-obeying and of-keeping the-things-which are-commanded in
ipsis. Unde idem eodem libro et capitulo: Lex nullum
them whence the-same in-the-same book and chapter law no
robur habet ad persuaderi praeter consuetudinem, ut videlicet
strength has for being-persuaded besides custom that namely
a subditis observetur, maximum est consuetudo. In quo
by the-subjects it-be-observed the-greatest-thing is custom in which
etiam consimile est de reverentia et obedientia principantis.
also like it-is about the-reverence and obedience of-the-ruler
Si vero excessus principantis magnitudine modicus sit,
if but the-excess of-the-ruler in-magnitude slight be
possibilis evenire frequenter, lege determinandus est, et in eo
possible to-happen frequently by-law to-be-determined it-is and in it
saepe delinquens principans per convenientem poenam debet
often offending the-ruler by fitting punishment ought
arceri. Nam excessus huiusmodi, quantumcumque modicus,
to-be-restrained for an-excess of-this-kind however slight
saepe commissus notabiliter laederet politiam, sicuti et
often committed notably would-harm the-polity as also
substantias, id est divitias, parvae expensae consumunt saepe
substances that is riches small expenses consume often

factae. Totum enim et omnia non parvum, sed componitur
made the-whole for and all-things not small but is-composed
ex parvis, ut scriptum est v Politicae, capitulo 4°.
from small-things as written it-is in-the-fifth of-the-Politics in-chapter fourth
De correptione itaque principantium, per quem, et quibus
about the-correction and-so of-rulers by whom and which
ex causis, determinatum sit hoc modo.
from causes determined let-it-be in-this way
Capitulum XIX. De causis factivis tranquillitatis et
Chapter XIX about the-causes productive of-tranquility and
intranquillitatis civitatis aut regni, et ea quae praeter
of-intranquility of-the-city or of-the-kingdom and that which beyond
solitos modos singulariter regna conturbat, et de
the-wonted modes singularly kingdoms disturbs and about
continuatione dictionis primae ad secundam.
the-continuation of-the-discourse first to the-second
Reliquum autem et ultimum huius dictionis est, ex prioribus
the-remaining but and last-thing of-this discourse is from the-earlier
determinationibus inferre causas tranquillitatis et sui oppositi
determinations to-infer the-causes of-tranquility and of-its opposite
in civitate vel regno. Hoc enim fuit quaesitorum principale
in the-city or kingdom this for was of-the-things-sought the-principal
secundum propositam nobis a principio intentionem. Et
according-to the-proposed to-us from the-beginning intention and
primum quidem ostendemus has causas in esse communi,
first indeed we-shall-show these causes in being common
singularem ipsarum determinationem, quae solito modo
the-singular their determination which in-the-wonted way
proveniunt, ab Aristotele in v suae Politicae supponentes.
come from Aristotle in the-fifth of-his Politics supposing
Hiis consequenter sermonem faciemus determinatum in specie
to-these consequently discourse we-shall-make determinate in species

de insolita causa discordiae seu intranquillitatis civilium
about the-unwonted cause of-discord or intranquility of-civil
regiminum, quam in dictis prooemialiter dudum turbasse
regimes which in the-things-said by-way-of-preface long-since to-have-disturbed
diximus, vexare atque turbare continuo magis Italicum regnum.
we-said to-vex and to-disturb continually more the-Italian kingdom
Resumere autem oportet propter haec tranquillitatis et
to-resume but it-behooves on-account-of these-things of-tranquility and
sui oppositi descriptiones iam dictas ii° huius. Erat
of-its opposite the-descriptions now said in-the-second of-this was
enim tranquillitas bona dispositio civitatis seu regni, qua
for tranquility the-good disposition of-the-city or kingdom by-which
potest unaquaeque suarum partium facere opera convenientia
can each of-its parts do the-works fitting
sibi secundum rationem et suam institutionem. Ex qua
to-it according-to reason and its institution from which
siquidem descriptione apparet ipsius natura. Cum enim dicitur
indeed description appears its nature when for is-said
bona dispositio, notatur ipsius intrinseca quidditas generalis.
good disposition is-noted its intrinsic quiddity general
In eo vero quod per ipsam dicitur unaquaeque partium
in that but which through it is-said each of-the-parts
civitatis posse agere sibi opera convenientia, significatur eius
of-the-city to-be-able to-do for-itself works fitting is-signified its
finis, qui etiam ipsius propriam quidditatem seu differentiam
end which also its proper quiddity or difference
intelligere facit. Ipsa vero, cum forma seu dispositio quaedam
to-understand makes it but since a-form or disposition certain
sit civitatis aut regni, nec amplius una quam regnum et
be of-the-city or kingdom nor more one than the-kingdom and
civitatem esse dixerimus xvii° huius, parte 11ª et
city to-be we-have-said in-the-seventeenth of-this in-part eleventh and

12ª, non habet formalem causam; hoc enim proprium est
twelfth not has a-formal cause this for proper is
compositorum. Ipsius autem agentem causam sive factivam
of-composites its but agent cause or productive
comprehendere possumus ex dictis xv° huius et
to-comprehend we-can from the-things-said in-the-fifteenth of-this and
aliis, quae ipsam necessario consecuntur in civitate vel
other-things which it necessarily follow in the-city or
regno: haec nempe sunt civium conversatio mutua, et
kingdom these surely are of-the-citizens intercourse mutual and
communicatio ipsorum invicem suorum operum, mutuumque
the-communication of-them to-one-another of-their works and-mutual
auxilium atque iuvamentum, generaliterque suorum propriorum
aid and help and-generally of-their proper
operum et communium exercendi ab extrinseco non impedita
works and common of-exercising from outside not hindered
potestas, participatio quoque communium commodorum et
power the-sharing also of-common advantages and
onerum secundum convenientem unicuique mensuram, et cum
burdens according-to fitting to-each measure and with
hiis cetera commoda et desiderabilia expressa in oratione
these-things the-other advantages and desirable-things expressed in the-speech
Cassiodori quam posuimus initium huius libri. Quorum
of-Cassiodorus which we-placed at-the-beginning of-this book of-which
quidem omnium aut praecipuorum quorundam contraria
indeed all or of-the-chief certain the-contraries
intranquillitatem seu discordiam illi oppositam consecuntur.
intranquility or discord to-it opposed follow
Cum igitur actio debita principantis sit omnium civilium
since therefore the-action due of-the-ruler be of-all civil
commodorum et praedictorum causa efficiens et conservans,
advantages and of-the-aforesaid the-cause efficient and preserving

ut demonstratum est xv° huius, parte 11ª et
as demonstrated it-has-been in-the-fifteenth of-this in-part eleventh and
12ª, erit ipsa tranquillitatis causa factiva; et hoc sensit
twelfth will-be it of-tranquility the-cause productive and this meant
Apostolus indubie, dum dixit ad Timotheum i, capitulo
the-Apostle undoubtedly when he-said to Timothy in-the-first in-chapter
ii°: Obsecro igitur primum fieri obsecrationes, etc. pro
second I-beseech therefore first to-be-made supplications etc for
regibus et omnibus qui in sublimitate sunt, ut quietam et
kings and all who in eminence are that a-quiet and
tranquillam vitam agamus. Quod vero huius partis actionem
tranquil life we-may-lead what but of-this part the-action
per se impediverit, ab eo civitatis intranquillitas seu
through itself shall-have-hindered from it of-the-city the-intranquility or
discordia proveniet tamquam causa factiva. Quae siquidem
discord will-come as-if from-a-cause productive which indeed
in genere visa, etsi per plures species varietur et modos,
in genus seen even-if through many species it-be-varied and modes
de quibus Aristoteles ab actione solita provenientibus
about which Aristotle from action wonted coming
sufficientem, ut dicere est, notitiam fecit in v Civilis
sufficient as to-say it-is knowledge made in the-fifth of-the-Civil
Scientiae, quam Politicam diximus.
Science which the-Politics we-have-called

Est tamen intranquillitatis seu discordiae civitatum seu
is however of-intranquility or discord of-cities or
regnorum insolita causa quaedam, occasionaliter sumpta
kingdoms an-unwonted cause certain occasionally taken
propter effectum a divina causa productum praeter solitam
on-account-of an-effect by the-divine cause produced beyond wonted
omnem eius actionem in rebus, quem, ut in dictis
every its action in things which as in the-things-said

prooemialiter tetigisse meminimus, nec Aristoteles aut
by-way-of-preface to-have-touched we-remember neither Aristotle nor
philosophantium alter sui temporis vel prioris conspicere potuit.
of-philosophers another of-his time or earlier to-discern could
Haec autem dudum hactenus et nunc amplius continuo
this but long-since hitherto and now more continually
actionem debitam principantis impediens in Italico
the-action due of-the-ruler hindering in the-Italian
regno, ipsum pace seu tranquillitate ceterisque ipsam
kingdom it of-peace or tranquility and-the-other-things it
consequentibus et iam dictis commodis privavit et privat,
following and now said advantages has-deprived and deprives
omnique incommodo vexavit et vexat, et quasi omnis
and-with-every disadvantage has-vexed and vexes and as-if of-every
generis miseria et iniquitate replevit.
kind with-misery and iniquity has-filled
Cuius quidem impedientis singulariter causae propter
of-which indeed hindering singularly cause on-account-of
consuetudinem malignitatis occultae secundum nobis a
the-custom of-malignity hidden according-to by-us from
principio propositam intentionem, naturam in specie
the-beginning proposed intention the-nature in species
determinare debentes, reminisci oportet eorum quae diximus
to-determine owing to-remember it-behooves those-things which we-said
vi° huius: quod videlicet Dei filius, una trium
in-the-sixth of-this that namely of-God the-Son one of-the-three
divinarum personarum, verus Deus, propter delictum
divine persons true God on-account-of the-offense
transgressionis primorum parentum, et consequenter totius
of-the-transgression of-the-first parents and consequently of-the-whole
humani generis lapsum reparandum, naturam assumpsit
human race the-fall to-be-repaired nature took-on

humanam, dudum post Aristotelis tempora verus homo factus,
human long-since after of-Aristotle the-times true man made
et idem Deus simul existens, quem Iesum Christum vocatum
and the-same God at-once being whom Jesus Christ called
adorant Christiani fideles. Hic inquam Christus benedictus
adore the-Christian faithful this-one I-say Christ blessed
Dei filius, Deus et homo simul idem suppositum existens,
of-God the-Son God and man at-once the-same supposit being
inter homines Iudaici populi, ex quibus secundum carnem
among men of-the-Jewish people from whom according-to the-flesh
traxit originem, conversatus est; veritatem credendorum,
he-drew origin dwelt has the-truth of-things-to-be-believed
agendorum, et fugiendorum, ad vitam aeternam hominibus
to-be-done and to-be-fled for life eternal for-men
consequendam et miseriam declinandam docere coepit et
to-be-attained and misery to-be-avoided to-teach began and
docuit. Propter hoc tandem Iudaeorum malitia et insania
taught on-account-of this at-last of-the-Jews by-the-malice and madness
sub Pilato Pontio Caesaris vicario passus et mortuus,
under Pilate Pontius of-Caesar the-vicar having-suffered and died
resurrexit a mortuis die tertia suae mortis, postmodum
rose-again from the-dead on-the-day third of-his death afterward
et caelos ascendens; ante tamen propter humani
and to-the-heavens ascending before however on-account-of of-the-human
generis salutem quosdam sibi, dum viveret corruptibili vita,
race the-salvation certain to-himself while he-lived with-corruptible life
collegas in veritatis docendae ministerium, quos Apostolos
colleagues into of-the-truth to-be-taught the-ministry whom Apostles
dicunt, assumpsit, et per universum orbem, quam docuerat
they-call he-took-up and through the-whole world which he-had-taught
et ipsos instruxerat, veritatem praedicare praecepit. Unde
and them had-instructed the-truth to-preach he-commanded whence

Matthaei xxviii° et ultimo, post sui resurrectionem dixit
in-Matthew twenty-eighth and last after his resurrection he-said
ad eos: Euntes ergo docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos
to them going therefore teach all nations baptizing them
in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, docentes
in the-name of-the-Father and of-the-Son and of-the-Holy Spirit teaching
eos servare omnia quaecumque mandavi vobis. Per
them to-keep all-things whatever I-have-commanded you through
hos inquam apostolos, quorum nomina satis nota sunt
these I-say apostles whose names enough known are
apud Christi fideles, et alios quosdam Christus Legem
among of-Christ the-faithful and others certain Christ the-Law
Evangelicam conscribi voluit, et per ipsorum dictamina
Evangelical to-be-written wished and through their dictations
conscripta est velut per organa quaedam ad hoc mota et
written it-was as-if through organs certain to this moved and
directa immediate divina virtute; per quam siquidem legem
directed immediately by-divine power through which indeed law
praecepta et consilia salutis aeternae in ipsius Christi
the-precepts and counsels of-salvation eternal in of-himself of-Christ
atque apostolorum et evangelistarum absentia comprehendere
and of-the-apostles and of-the-evangelists the-absence to-comprehend
valeremus. In qua etiam et secundum quam sacramenta
we-might-be-able in which also and according-to which sacraments
culpae originalis et actualis mundativa, divinae gratiae factiva
of-guilt original and actual cleansing of-divine grace productive
et conservativa, illiusque amissae reformativa, huiusque legis
and preserving and-of-it lost restoring and-of-this law
ministrorum institutiva, signavit et statuit.
of-the-ministers instituting he-designated and established

Huius quoque legis doctores, et sacramentorum secundum
of-this also law the-teachers and of-the-sacraments according-to
ipsam ministros primum instituit iam dictos apostolos, ipsis
it the-ministers first he-instituted the-now said apostles to-them
per Spiritum Sanctum auctoritatem huius ministerii conferens,
through the-Spirit Holy the-authority of-this ministry conferring
quam sacerdotalem appellant Christi fideles. Per quam
which priestly call of-Christ the-faithful through which
siquidem iisdem et ipsorum successoribus in hoc officio,
indeed to-the-same and their to-successors in this office
non aliis, potestatem contulit, sub certa forma verborum
not to-others power he-conferred under a-fixed form of-words
ab ipsis et eorum singulis dicta, transubstantiandi panem et
by them and of-them each-one said of-transubstantiating bread and
vinum in verum corpus et sanguinem eius. Cum hoc etiam
wine into the-true body and blood his with this also
ipsis auctoritatem solvendi atque ligandi homines a peccatis,
to-them authority of-loosing and binding men from sins
quam dicere solent clavium potestatem, sibique alios
which to-call they-are-wont the-power of-the-keys and-for-themselves others
substituendi cum eadem auctoritate potestatem concessit.
of-substituting with the-same authority power he-granted
Quam etiam auctoritatem apostoli quibusdam contulerunt,
which also authority the-apostles to-certain-ones conferred
aut Deus per ipsos orantes et manus aliis imponentes.
or God through them praying and hands on-others laying
Sic quoque reliqui potestatem faciendi susceperunt, et
thus also the-rest power of-making received and
consequenter fecerunt, faciunt, et facient usque ad saeculi
consequently have-made make and will-make all-the-way to of-the-world
consummationem. Quo etiam modo Apostolus Paulus
the-consummation in-which also way the-Apostle Paul

Timotheum, Titum, et aliorum plures instituit aliosque
Timothy Titus and of-others several instituted and-others
instituere docuit. Unde i ad Timotheum, iv°: Noli
to-institute taught whence in-the-first to Timothy fourth do-not
negligere gratiam quae in te est, quae data est tibi per
neglect the-grace which in you is which given was to-you through
prophetiam cum impositione manuum presbyteri. Et ad
prophecy with the-imposition of-hands of-the-presbytery and to
Titum, i°: Huius gratia reliqui te Cretae, ut quae
Titus first of-this for-the-sake I-left you in-Crete that the-things-which
desunt corrigas, et constituas per civitates presbyteros,
are-lacking you-may-correct and you-may-establish through cities presbyters
sicut ego tibi disposui. Et est haec auctoritas sacerdotalis
as I to-you arranged and is this authority priestly
et clavium, sive unica sive plures, character seu forma
and of-the-keys whether single or several a-character or form
quaedam animae per immediatam Dei actionem impressa.
certain of-the-soul through immediate of-God action impressed
Praeter hanc autem est auctoritas alia quaedam sacerdotibus,
beyond this but is an-authority other certain to-the-priests
humana concessione tradita, ipsorum multiplicato iam
by-human grant handed-down their multiplied already
numero, propter scandalum evitandum, et haec auctoritas
number on-account-of scandal to-be-avoided and this authority
est inter ipsos unius praeeminentia super alios dirigendos in
is among them of-one the-preeminence over others to-be-directed in
templo ad cultum divinum debite fiendum, et ordinandum
the-temple for worship divine duly to-be-done and for-ordering
seu distribuendum de quibusdam temporalibus, quae ad
or distributing about certain temporal-things which for
usum ministrorum praedictorum statuta sunt. De cuius
the-use of-the-ministers aforesaid established are about of-which

quidem auctoritatis potestate factiva, et unde derivetur,
indeed authority the-power productive and whence it-be-derived
sufficienter dicetur xv° et xvii° Secundae, quoniam
sufficiently it-will-be-said in-the-fifteenth and seventeenth of-the-Second since
non fit haec per Deum immediate, sed per hominum
not is-made this by God immediately but by of-men
voluntatem et mentem, quemadmodum officia cetera civitatis.
the-will and mind as the-offices other of-the-city
Sic itaque repetita et aliqualiter declarata ministrorum
thus and-so repeated and in-some-way declared of-the-ministers
ecclesiasticorum origine ac ipsorum officii potestate factiva,
ecclesiastical the-origin and of-their office the-power productive
oportet amplius attendere, quod inter apostolos Christi
it-behooves further to-attend that among the-apostles of-Christ
praedictos fuit unus nomine Simon, cognomine vero Petrus, qui
aforesaid was one by-name Simon by-surname but Peter who
a Christo auctoritatis clavium promissionem primus accepit,
from Christ of-the-authority of-the-keys the-promise first received
sicut dicit Glossa secundum Augustinum, Matthaei xvi°,
as says the-Gloss according-to Augustine on-Matthew sixteenth
super illud Christi oraculum: Et tibi dabo claves regni
upon that of-Christ oracle and to-you I-will-give the-keys of-the-kingdom
caelorum; inquit Glossa: Qui prae ceteris confessus est, Iesum
of-the-heavens says the-Gloss who before the-others confessed has Jesus
Christum scilicet esse verum Dei filium, prae ceteris dotatur
Christ namely to-be the-true of-God Son before the-others is-endowed
clavibus, id est ante ceteros. Hic siquidem apostolus post
with-the-keys that is before the-others this indeed apostle after
Christi passionem, resurrectionem, et in caelum ascensionem
of-Christ the-passion resurrection and into heaven ascension
pervenit Antiochiam, et ibidem factus fuit episcopus per
came to-Antioch and there made was bishop by

populum, sicuti ex ipsius liquet historia. Inde vero, ut habet
the-people as from its is-clear history thence but as has
historia supradicta, quaecumque causa fuerit praetermissa,
the-history above-said whatever the-cause shall-have-been passed-over
quoniam de hoc sunt diversae sententiae, Romam profectus
since about this are diverse opinions to-Rome set-out
est, et ibidem Christi fidelibus praefuit episcopus,
he-has and there of-Christ over-the-faithful presided bishop
tandem vero propter Christi professionem et praedicationem
at-last but on-account-of of-Christ the-profession and preaching
obtruncato capite mortuus est, et cum eodem, eadem hora
with-cut-off head died has and with the-same at-the-same hour
et loco, Paulus Apostolus secundum supradictam historiam.
and place Paul the-Apostle according-to the-above-said history
Ex praerogativa igitur quam hic discipulus seu apostolus ad
from the-prerogative therefore which this disciple or apostle over
alios visus est habere (ut quia prae ceteris dotatus fuit
the-others seemed has to-have as because before the-others endowed he-was
clavibus propter praeinducta Scripturae verba, et alia
with-the-keys on-account-of the-before-adduced of-Scripture words and other
quaedam a Christo singulariter sibi dicta, quae etiam in
certain-things by Christ singularly to-him said which also in
sequentibus adducentur), episcoporum aliqui post ipsum in
the-following will-be-adduced of-the-bishops some after him in
apostolica seu episcopali sede Romana, maxime citra tempora
the-apostolic or episcopal see Roman most since the-times
Constantini Romanorum imperatoris, se dicunt et asserunt
of-Constantine of-the-Romans emperor themselves say and assert
praeesse quantum ad omnimodam iurisdictionis auctoritatem
to-preside as-far-as to every-kind of-jurisdiction authority
reliquis omnibus episcopis et presbyteris mundi; et
over-the-remaining all bishops and priests of-the-world and

ipsorum moderniores aliqui non solum hiis, verum etiam
of-them more-modern some not only over-these but also
omnibus mundi principibus, communitatibus, et singulis
over-all of-the-world princes communities and single
personarum, licet hoc non aequaliter de omnibus exprimant,
of-persons although this not equally about all they-express
nec explicite dicant, ut de principe Romanorum imperatore
nor explicitly say as about the-prince of-the-Romans emperor
vocato et cunctis provinciis ac civitatibus et personis subiectis
called and all provinces and cities and persons subject
eidem; huius quamvis secundum veritatem dominii seu
to-the-same of-this although according-to truth of-lordship or
coactivae iurisdictionis in hunc principem expressio singularis
coercive jurisdiction over this prince the-expression singular
faciem et exordium primum sumpsisse videatur ex quodam
the-face and beginning first to-have-taken it-seem from a-certain
edicto et dono, quod quidam dicunt per Constantinum
edict and gift which certain-men say by Constantine
fuisse factum beato Sylvestro Romano pontifici.
to-have-been made to-blessed Sylvester Roman pontiff
Quod quia donum seu privilegium illud non habet hoc clare,
which because gift or privilege that not has this clearly
aut quoniam ex post factis expiravit fortasse, vel etiam quia,
or since from after facts it-expired perhaps or also because
validum existens, ad reliquos mundi principatus, nec ad
valid being to the-remaining of-the-world principates nor to
eum qui Romanorum in omnibus provinciis, illius privilegii
him who of-the-Romans in all provinces of-that privilege
seu concessionis se virtus extendit; ideoque postmodum
or concession itself the-force extends and-therefore afterward
iurisdictionem hanc coactivam orbi universalem sibi
jurisdiction this coercive over-the-world universal to-themselves

alio quodam omnes comprehendente titulo moderniores
by-another certain all comprehending title the-more-modern
Romanorum assumpserunt episcopi, Plenitudine potestatis
of-the-Romans have-taken-up bishops by-Fullness of-power
videlicet, quam concessam asserunt per Christum beato Petro
namely which granted they-assert by Christ to-blessed Peter
eiusque successoribus in Romana episcopali sede, tamquam
and-his successors in the-Roman episcopal see as-if
Christi vicariis. Christus enim, ut aiunt et vere, fuit
of-Christ vicars Christ for as they-say and truly was
rex regum et dominus dominantium, universorum omnium
king of-kings and lord of-lords of-all of-all
personarum et rerum; quamvis ex hoc minime sequatur quod
persons and things although from this least follow what
volunt inferre, ut in sequentibus certitudinaliter apparebit.
they-wish to-infer as in the-following with-certainty will-appear
Est igitur huius tituli sensus apud Romanos episcopos,
is therefore of-this title the-sense among the-Roman bishops
quod sicut Christus plenitudinem potestatis et iurisdictionis
that as Christ fullness of-power and jurisdiction
habuit supra reges omnes, principes, communitates, collegia,
had over kings all princes communities colleges
et singulares personas, sic et ipsi qui Christi et beati
and single persons so also they who of-Christ and of-blessed
Petri se dicunt vicarios hanc habeant plenitudinem
Peter themselves call vicars this have fullness
coactivae iurisdictionis, humana lege nulla determinatam.
of-coercive jurisdiction by-human law no determined
Signum autem huius tituli, plenitudinis suae potestatis scilicet,
a-sign but of-this title of-the-fullness of-their power namely
Romanos episcopos eum quem diximus intendere sensum,
the-Roman bishops that which we-have-said to-intend sense

evidens est, quod Clemens quidam nomine, Clementium
evident is that Clement a-certain by-name of-the-Clements
quintus Romanus episcopus, sic eo utitur in quodam suo
fifth Roman bishop thus it uses in a-certain his
edicto seu decretali, De sententia et re iudicata, libro
edict or decretal On sentence and thing judged in-book
vii, ad Henricum Henricorum septimum, divae memoriae,
seventh to Henry of-the-Henrys seventh of-divine memory
Romanorum imperatorem novissimum, dum ipsius felicis
of-the-Romans emperor most-recent while of-that-very happy
Henrici quandam revocando sententiam, inter cetera protulit
Henry a-certain revoking sentence among other-things he-put-forth
seriem, quod diximus de ipsorum sensu circa praedictum
a-series what we-have-said about their sense about the-aforesaid
titulum exprimentem. Hanc vero inducere hic omisimus
title expressing this but to-bring-in here we-have-omitted
propter rei notitiam et sermonis abbreviationem,
on-account-of of-the-thing the-notoriety and of-the-discourse abbreviation
et quoniam ad propositum magis inducemus xxv°
and since to the-purpose more we-shall-bring-it-in in-the-twenty-fifth
Secundae, parte 17ª. Cum igitur Christus non magis sit
of-the-Second in-part seventeenth since therefore Christ not more be
aut fuerit rex et dominus Romanorum imperatoris quam regis
or was king and lord of-the-Roman emperor than of-king
aut principis alterius cuiuscumque, quinimo ipsorum aeque
or of-prince another any-whatever nay of-them equally
vel magis, quoniam et tempore Christi Romanus princeps
or more since also in-the-time of-Christ the-Roman prince
monarchizabat ubique terrarum, palam est huius tituli sensum
monarchized everywhere of-lands plain it-is of-this title the-sense
ex eiusdem virtute radicis ad omnes principatus extendi.
from of-the-same the-power root to all principates to-be-extended

Quem etiam per ipsum episcopos Romanos intendere,
which also through it the-bishops Roman to-intend
manifeste nos docet octavi Bonifacii Romanorum episcopi
manifestly us teaches of-the-eighth Boniface of-the-Romans bishop
contra Philippum Pulchrum clarae memoriae regem Francorum
against Philip the-Fair of-bright memory king of-the-Franks
attentatio contentiosa de hiis, et inde subsecuta eiusdem
the-attempt contentious about these-things and thence following of-the-same
Bonifacii decretalis, inducta xx° Secundae, parte 8ª.
Boniface the-decretal brought-in in-the-twentieth of-the-Second in-part eighth
Per quam siquidem omnem humanam creaturam coactiva
through which indeed every human creature to-coercive
iurisdictione subiectam fore Romano pontifici diffinit esse
jurisdiction subject to-be to-the-Roman pontiff he-defines to-be
credendum de necessitate salutis aeternae.
to-be-believed of necessity of-salvation eternal
Hoc igitur modo ad haec ingredientes Romanorum
in-this therefore way to these-things entering the-Roman
episcopi, primum quidem sub specie quaerendae pacis
bishops first indeed under the-guise of-the-to-be-sought peace
inter Christi fideles quosdam excommunicaverunt, ipsorum
among of-Christ the-faithful certain-ones excommunicated their
nolentes parere sententiae, deinde vero in ipsos realem et
not-wishing to-obey sentence then but against them real and
personalem ferendo sententiam, in quosdam quidem magis
personal by-passing sentence against some indeed more
expresse, ut qui minus ipsorum potentiae resistere possunt,
expressly as those-who less their power to-resist can
velut Italicorum singulares personas et communitates, quorum
such-as of-the-Italians single persons and communities whose
regnum divisum et laceratum in omnibus quasi partibus suis
kingdom divided and torn in all as-if parts its

facilius opprimi potest, in quosdam vero remisse magis,
more-easily to-be-oppressed can against some but remissly more
veluti reges et principes, quorum resistentiam et coactivam
such-as kings and princes whose resistance and coercive
formidant potentiam. Ad hos tamen paulatim serpunt et
they-dread power to these however little-by-little they-creep and
serpere continuo temptant in iurisdictionum usurpatione
to-creep continually they-try in of-jurisdictions the-usurpation
totum simul inaudentes invadere, propter quod etiam
the-whole at-once not-daring to-invade on-account-of which also
Romanorum principes et populos sibi subiectos hactenus
of-the-Romans from-the-princes and peoples to-them subject hitherto
latuit horum subintrans praevaricatio. Paulatim namque
has-lain-hid their creeping-in prevarication little-by-little for
iurisdictionem post aliam occupaverunt episcopi Romanorum,
jurisdiction after another have-seized the-bishops of-the-Romans
maxime imperiali sede vacante; sic tandem ut iam sibi
most with-the-imperial see vacant thus at-last that now to-themselves
totalem supra eundem principem iurisdictionem coactivam
total over the-same prince jurisdiction coercive
temporalem habere se dicant. Quorum novissime atque
temporal to-have themselves they-say of-whom most-recently and
manifestissime modernus iam dictorum episcopus ad
most-manifestly the-modern of-the-now said bishop over
Romanorum principem tam in Italicorum provinciis quam
the-Roman prince as-much in of-the-Italians the-provinces as
Germanorum, ad omnes quoque iam dictarum provinciarum
of-the-Germans over all also of-the-now said provinces
inferiores principes, communitates, collegia, et personas
lower princes communities colleges and persons
singulares cuiuscumque dignitatis et conditionis existant, ac
single of-whatever dignity and condition they-be and

super omnia ipsorum feudalia et reliqua temporalia supremam
over all their fiefs and remaining temporal-things supreme
iurisdictionem se scripsit habere, ipsorumque principatus
jurisdiction himself has-written to-have and-of-their principates
dandi et transferendi potestatem sibi palam ascribens, ut
of-giving and of-transferring the-power to-himself openly ascribing as
liquido patere potest omnibus ex huius episcopi quibusdam
clearly to-be-plain can to-all from of-this bishop certain
scripturis, quas vocat edicta sive sententias.
writings which he-calls edicts or sentences
Haec itaque Romanorum quorundam episcoporum extimatio
this and-so of-the-Roman certain bishops estimation
non recta et perversa fortassis affectio principatus, quem
not right and perverse perhaps affection for-the-principate which
sibi deberi asserunt ex eisdem (ut dicunt) per
to-themselves to-be-owed they-assert from the-same as they-say by
Christum tradita plenitudine potestatis, causa est singularis
Christ handed-down fullness of-power the-cause is singular
illa quam intranquillitatis seu discordiae civitatis aut regni
that which of-intranquility or discord of-the-city or kingdom
factivam diximus. Ipsa enim in omnia regna serpere prona,
productive we-have-called it for into all kingdoms to-creep prone
quemadmodum prooemialiter dicebatur, infesta sui actione
as by-way-of-preface was-said hostile its by-action
dudum vexavit Italicum regnum, et a sui tranquillitate
long-since has-vexed the-Italian kingdom and from its tranquility
seu pace prohibuit prohibetque continuo, principantis, scilicet
or peace has-kept and-keeps continually of-the-ruler namely
imperatoris Romani, promotionem seu institutionem, ipsiusque
of-the-emperor Roman the-promotion or institution and-his
actionem in dicto imperio, sui toto conamine prohibendo.
action in the-said empire its with-whole effort by-hindering

Cuius siquidem actionis carentia, iustificationis scilicet
of-which indeed action the-lack of-the-bringing-to-justice namely
civilium actuum, iniuriae ac contentiones eveniunt facile.
of-civil acts injuries and contentions happen easily
Quae regula iustitiae sive legis non mensuratae propter
which by-the-rule of-justice or law not measured on-account-of
mensurantis absentiam pugnas causant, unde civium
of-the-measurer the-absence fights cause whence of-the-citizens
separationes demumque Italicarum politiarum seu civilitatum
separations and-at-last of-the-Italian polities or citizenries
solutiones contigerunt, quemadmodum diximus. Opinione
dissolutions have-happened as we-have-said by-opinion
igitur hac, et affectione fortasse quam diximus principandi,
therefore this and affection perhaps which we-have-said of-ruling
Romanus episcopus iurisdictione coactiva seu temporali
the-Roman bishop to-jurisdiction coercive or temporal
subiectum facere sibi nititur principem Romanorum, qui
subject to-make to-himself strives the-prince of-the-Romans who
nec iure debet, ut ex sequentibus palam monstrabitur, nec
neither by-right ought as from the-following plainly will-be-shown nor
eidem tali iudicio subici vult. Unde tanta lis et discordia
to-the-same such judgment to-be-subject wishes whence so-great strife and discord
suborta est, ut non sine magno discrimine animarum et
arisen has that not without great peril of-souls and
corporum ac rerum dispendio possit extingui.
of-bodies and of-things loss it-can to-be-extinguished
Non enim Romano vel alteri episcopo, sacerdoti, aut
not for to-the-Roman or another bishop priest or
cuiquam spirituali ministro, inquantum huiusmodi, in
any spiritual minister in-so-far-as of-this-kind over
quemquam cuiuscumque conditionis singularem personam,
anyone of-whatever condition single person

communitatem, vel collegium aliquod convenit officium
community or college any befits the-office
principatus coactivi, quemadmodum demonstratum est
of-principate coercive as demonstrated it-has-been
xv° et xvii° huius. Et hoc de sacerdotio in
in-the-fifteenth and seventeenth of-this and this about the-priesthood in
qualibet lege sive secta sensit Aristoteles iv Politicae,
any-whatever law or sect meant Aristotle in-the-fourth of-the-Politics
cum dixit: Propter quod non omnes, neque electos neque
when he-said on-account-of which not all neither elected nor
sortiales ponendum principes, puta sacerdotes primo. Hoc
by-lot is-to-be-set princes for-instance priests first this
enim aliquid praeter politicos principatus ponendum etc.
for something beyond the-political principates is-to-be-set etc
Sunt autem haec politicae curarum, id est officiorum, etc.
are but these of-political cares that is of-offices etc
Et parum infra subdit: Haec autem iconomicae sunt.
and a-little below he-adds these but economic are
Quodque perniciosa pestis haec, humanae quieti atque
and-because pernicious plague this to-human quiet and
felicitati suae omni adversans penitus, ex eiusdem
happiness its every opposing utterly from of-the-same
vitio corruptae radicis reliqua mundi regna fidelium
the-vice of-corrupt root the-remaining of-the-world kingdoms of-the-faithful
Christianorum maxime posset inficere, ipsam repellere omnium
Christians most could to-infect it to-repel of-all-things
necessariissimum arbitror, quemadmodum prooemialiter dictum
most-necessary I-judge as by-way-of-preface said
est. Primum quidem opinionis iam dictae, tamquam
it-has-been first indeed of-the-opinion now said as-if
radicis iam factorum et futurorum malorum, involucrum
of-the-root of-now done and future evils the-wrapping

reserando, deinde vero ipsius patronos seu inventores ignaros
by-unsealing then but its patrons or inventors ignorant
aut iniustos ac defensores pertinaces exteriori opera si
or unjust and defenders obstinate by-exterior work if
oporteat cohibendo. Ad haec autem obligantur omnes illi
it-behooves by-restraining to these-things but are-obliged all those
obviare scientes atque potentes; quod etiam negligentes aut
to-oppose knowing and able which also neglecting or
omittentes occasione quacumque iniusti sunt, teste Tullio
omitting on-occasion any-whatever unjust are with-witness Tully
i De Officiis, capitulo 5°, cum dixit: Iniustitiae genera
in-the-first On Duties in-chapter fifth when he-said of-injustice the-kinds
duo sunt: unum eorum qui inferunt, alterum eorum qui ab
two are one of-those who inflict the-other of-those who from
hiis quibus infertur, si possunt, non propulsant iniuriam.
those on-whom it-is-inflicted if they-can not repel the-injury
Ecce ergo secundum Tullii sententiam hanc notabilem,
behold therefore according-to of-Tully opinion this notable
quod non solum iniusti sunt qui aliis iniuriam inferunt,
that not only unjust are those-who on-others injury inflict
verum etiam hii qui prohibere sciunt et possunt iniuriam
but also those who to-prevent know and can injury
aliis inferentes, non prohibent autem, quoniam ad hoc
on-others those-inflicting not prevent however since to this
tenetur quilibet alteri iure quodam quasi naturali,
is-bound any-whatever-one to-another by-right a-certain as-if natural
debito videlicet amicitiae atque societatis humanae. Quod ius
by-debt namely of-friendship and of-society human which right
ne siquidem scienter transgrediens, ipse saltem mihi dicar
lest indeed knowingly transgressing I at-least myself be-called
iniustus, hanc pestem a fratribus Christi fidelibus, doctrina
unjust this plague from the-brothers of-Christ the-faithful by-teaching

primum et qua valuero exteriori consequenter opera,
first and by-what I-shall-have-been-able exterior consequently work
propulsare propono. Quoniam, ut indubitanter videre videor,
to-repel I-propose since as undoubtedly to-see I-seem
desuper mihi datum est nosse sophisma et reserandi potestas,
from-above to-me given it-is to-know the-sophism and of-unsealing the-power
in quo Romanorum episcoporum quorundam hactenus et in
in which of-the-Roman bishops certain hitherto and in
praesentiarum suorumque complicium obliqua extimatio et
present and-of-their accomplices the-oblique estimation and
cum hac perversa fortassis affectio, scandalorum iam dictorum
with this perverse perhaps affection of-the-scandals now said
parens, hactenus innisa est, et continuo nititur sustentari.
the-parent hitherto rested has and continually strives to-be-sustained

Dictio III. Capitulum I. De rememoratione principaliter intentorum et determinatorum dictione I et II, et dictorum cum dicendis consequentia quadam

CONCLUSIONS DRAWN FROM THE WHOLE WORK

Having shown that no bishop holds coercive jurisdiction or fullness of power, he draws conclusions to uproot the plague. Only Scripture must be believed, and only a general council defines its doubtful sense; no one may be compelled by punishment to keep divine law; the legislator is the whole body of citizens, and the ruler judges clergy and laity; no bishop may excommunicate without the legislator, and the Roman bishop himself may be excommunicated, suspended, and deposed. These few conclusions, he ends, suffice.

Quoniam autem in prioribus regnorum et communitatum
since but in the-earlier-things of-kingdoms and communities
quarundam singularem civilis discordiae seu intranquillitatis
certain the-singular of-civil discord or intranquility
iam existentem assignavimus causam, omniumque reliquarum
already existing we-have-assigned cause and-of-all the-remaining
(nisi prohibeatur) futuram: extimationem, desiderium, atque
unless it-be-prevented future the-estimation desire and
conatum, quibus Romanus episcopus et suorum coetus
effort by-which the-Roman bishop and his company
clericorum singulariter ad saeculares tendunt principatus et
of-clerics singularly toward secular tend principates and
temporalia possidenda superflue. Quorum etiam supremum
temporal-things to-be-possessed superfluously of-which also the-supreme
omnium sibi vendicare nititur memoratus episcopus ex
of-all to-himself to-claim strives the-mentioned bishop from
eidem praecipue (ut asserit) concessa per Christum in
to-the-same chiefly as he-asserts granted by Christ in
persona beati Petri plenitudine potestatis, ut in ultimo
the-person of-blessed Peter the-fullness of-power as in the-last

Primae diximus et in plerisque dictionis Secundae
of-the-First we-said and in very-many of-the-discourse Second
capitulis non inconvenienter extitit repetitum; cum tamen
chapters not unfittingly has-been repeated whereas however
nullus principatus seu cuiusquam coactivum iudicium in
no principate or of-anyone coercive judgment in
hoc saeculo, nedum supremus omnium, illi conveniat
this world much-less the-supreme of-all to-him befits
neque alteri cuiquam episcopo, sacerdoti, vel clerico,
nor to-another any bishop priest or cleric
inquantum huiusmodi, communiter aut divisim, veluti viis
in-so-far-as of-this-kind in-common or severally as-if by-ways
certis humanis demonstravimus xii°, xiii°, et xv°
certain human we-have-demonstrated in-the-twelfth thirteenth and fifteenth
Primae, idque iv° et v° Secundae firmavimus
of-the-First and-this in-the-fourth and fifth of-the-Second we-have-confirmed
testimoniis Veritatis Aeternae, necnon sanctorum eius
by-the-testimonies of-the-Truth Eternal and-also of-holy its
interpretum expositionibus ac plurimorum approbatorum
interpreters by-the-expositions and of-very-many approved
eiusdem doctorum; postque etiam vi° et vii° dictionis
of-the-same doctors and-after also in-the-sixth and seventh of-the-discourse
Secundae assignavimus ex scripturis et rationibus certis,
Second we-have-assigned from scriptures and reasons certain
quae, quantave sit, ac in quibus sacerdotum seu
what and-how-great be and in what-things of-priests or
episcoporum potestas. Quibus omnibus etiam aut ipsorum
of-bishops the-power to-which all also or of-them
alicui ostendimus eiusdem xxiii° nec communiter
to-any we-have-shown of-the-same in-the-twenty-third nor in-common
vel divisim quam sibi sumpserant, praesertim Romanus
or severally which to-themselves they-had-taken especially the-Roman

episcopus, convenire plenitudinem potestatis. Propter quae
bishop to-befit the-fullness of-power on-account-of which-things
malignitatis illius singularis in dictis prooemialiter saepius
of-malignity that singular in the-things-said by-way-of-preface often
nominatae sufficienter radices succisae videntur. Nunc, ut
named sufficiently the-roots cut-down seem now that
quos hactenus pestilentia haec regnis et communitatibus
which hitherto pestilence this to-kingdoms and communities
palmites et germina discordiae sive litis adduxit, nec
shoots and sprouts of-discord or strife has-brought nor
inducere cessat, arescant citius et de cetero propagari
to-bring-in ceases may-wither sooner and for the-rest to-be-propagated
non valeant, ex iam praemissis dictionibus reliquam
not may-avail from the-now premised discourses the-remaining
et tertiam producemus. Quae nil aliud erit quam ex
and third we-shall-produce which nothing other will-be than from
antepositis per-se-notis vel demonstratis necessaria et
the-things-placed-before self-evident or demonstrated the-necessary and
explicita illatio conclusionum quarundam; quibus, adhibita
explicit inference of-conclusions certain by-which with-applied
diligenti attentione meditationis et opere, supradicta pestis
diligent attention of-meditation and work the-above-said plague
eiusque sophistica causa non difficulter excludentur a
and-its sophistical cause not with-difficulty will-be-excluded from
regnis, ipsisque deinceps ad ea reliquasque civilitates
kingdoms and-to-them henceforth to them and-the-remaining citizenries
praecludetur ingressus.
will-be-closed entrance

Capitulum II. De conclusionum quarundam explicita illatione
Chapter II about of-conclusions certain the-explicit inference
ad determinata in prioribus dictionibus de necessitate
to the-things-determined in the-earlier discourses by necessity

sequentium. Quarum attentione facilius assequi possunt
following whose by-attention more-easily to-attain can
principantes et subditi finem per hunc librum intentum.
rulers and subjects the-end through this book intended
Harum autem inferendarum conclusionum hanc primam
of-these but to-be-inferred conclusions this first
ponemus:
we-shall-set
Solam Divinam seu Canonicam Scripturam, et ad
alone the-Divine or Canonical Scripture and to
ipsam per necessitatem sequentem quamcumque, ipsiusque
it by necessity following anything and-its
interpretationem ex communi concilio fidelium factam veram
interpretation by the-common council of-the-faithful made true
esse, ad aeternam beatitudinem consequendam necesse credere,
to-be for eternal beatitude to-be-attained it-is-necessary to-believe
si alicui debite proponatur. Huius siquidem certitudo est
if to-someone duly it-be-proposed of-this indeed the-certainty is
et sumi potest xix° Secundae, ex 2ª in 5ªm.
and to-be-taken can in-the-nineteenth of-the-Second from the-second to the-fifth
Legis Divinae dubias diffinire sententias, in hiis praesertim
of-the-Law Divine doubtful to-define meanings in those especially
qui Christianae fidei vocantur articuli, reliquisque
which of-the-Christian faith are-called articles and-the-remaining
credendis de necessitate salutis, solum generale concilium
things-to-be-believed of necessity of-salvation alone the-general council
fidelium aut illius valentiorem multitudinem sive partem
of-the-faithful or its weightier multitude or part
determinare debere, nullumque aliud partiale collegium aut
to-determine ought and-no other partial college or
personam singularem cuiuscumque conditionis existat iam
person single of-whatever condition he-be of-the-now

dictae determinationis auctoritatem habere. Huius autem
said determination the-authority to-have of-this but
certitudo habetur xx° Secundae, ex 4ª in 13ªm.
the-certainty is-had in-the-twentieth of-the-Second from the-fourth to the-thirteenth
Ad observanda praecepta Divinae Legis, poena vel supplicio
to observing the-precepts of-the-Divine Law by-penalty or punishment
temporali nemo Evangelica Scriptura compelli praecipitur:
temporal no-one by-the-Evangelical Scripture to-be-compelled is-commanded
ix° Secundae, ex 3ª in 10ªm.
in-the-ninth of-the-Second from the-third to the-tenth
Solius Evangelicae Legis praecepta vel ad ipsa per
of-the-sole Evangelical Law the-precepts or to them by
necessitatem sequentia, et quae secundum rectam
necessity following-things and the-things-which according-to right
rationem fieri aut omitti convenit, propter aeternam
reason to-be-done or to-be-omitted it-befits for eternal
salutem necesse servari; Antiquae vero Legis nequaquam
salvation it-is-necessary to-be-kept of-the-Old but Law by-no-means
omnia: ix° Secundae, ex 10ª in finem.
all in-the-ninth of-the-Second from the-tenth to the-end
In divinis seu Evangelicae Legis praeceptis aut prohibitis
in divine or of-the-Evangelical Law precepts or prohibitions
neminem mortalem dispensare posse; permissa vero
no mortal to-dispense can permitted-things but
prohibere, obligando ad culpam aut poenam pro statu
to-prohibit by-binding to guilt or penalty for the-state
praesentis saeculi vel venturi, solum posse generale concilium
of-the-present world or of-the-coming alone can the-general council
aut fidelem legislatorem humanum, nullumque aliud partiale
or the-faithful legislator human and-no other partial
collegium vel singularem personam cuiuscumque conditionis
college or single person of-whatever condition

existat: xii° Primae, 9ª, et ixª Secundae, 1ª,
be-be in-the-twelfth of-the-First the-ninth and in-the-ninth of-the-Second the-first
et xxi° Secundae, 8ª.
and in-the-twenty-first of-the-Second the-eighth
Legislatorem humanum solam civium universitatem esse aut
the-legislator human alone of-citizens the-whole-body to-be or
valentiorem illius partem: xii° et xiii° Primae.
the-weightier of-it part in-the-twelfth and thirteenth of-the-First
Decretales vel decreta Romanorum aut aliorum quorumlibet
decretals or decrees of-the-Roman or of-other any-whatever
pontificum, communiter aut divisim absque concessione
pontiffs in-common or severally without the-grant
legislatoris humani constituta, neminem obligare poena
of-the-legislator human established no-one to-bind by-penalty
vel supplicio temporali: xii° Primae, et xxviii°
or punishment temporal in-the-twelfth of-the-First and in-the-twenty-eighth
Secundae, 29ª.
of-the-Second the-twenty-ninth
In humanis legibus solum legislatorem vel illius auctoritate
in human laws alone the-legislator or his by-authority
alterum dispensare posse: xii° Primae, 9ª.
another to-dispense can in-the-twelfth of-the-First the-ninth
Principatum electum aut alterum qualecumque officium a
a-principate elected or another of-whatever-kind office on
sola electione auctoritatem habentis ad illam, nullaque alia
alone the-election authority of-the-one-having for it and-on-no other
confirmatione seu approbatione pendere: xii° Primae,
confirmation or approval to-depend in-the-twelfth of-the-First
9ª, et xxvi° Secundae, ex 4ª in 7ªm.
the-ninth and in-the-twenty-sixth of-the-Second from the-fourth to the-seventh

Cuiuslibet principatus aut alterius officii per electionem
of-any-whatever principate or of-other office through election
instituendi, praecipue vim coactivam habentis, electionem
to-be-instituted chiefly force coercive having the-election
a solius legislatoris expressa voluntate pendere: xii°
on of-the-sole the-legislator the-expressed will to-depend in-the-twelfth
Primae et xv° Primae, ex 2ª in 4ªm.
of-the-First and in-the-fifteenth of-the-First from the-second to the-fourth
Solum unum numero supremum principatum esse debere in
only one in-number supreme principate to-be ought in
civitate vel regno: xvii° Primae.
a-city or kingdom in-the-seventeenth of-the-First
Personas et ipsarum qualitatem ac numerum ad officia
the-persons and their quality and number for the-offices
civitatis, sic quoque civilia omnia determinare, ad
of-the-city so also civil-things all to-determine to
principantis fidelis auctoritatem secundum leges aut probatas
of-the-ruler faithful the-authority according-to the-laws or approved
consuetudines tantummodo pertinere: xii° Primae et
customs only to-pertain in-the-twelfth of-the-First and
xv°, 4ª et 10ª.
in-the-fifteenth the-fourth and the-tenth
Nullum principantem, eoque minus collegium partiale vel
no ruler and-by-so-much less a-college partial or
singularem personam cuiuscumque conditionis existat, alienorum
single person of-whatever condition be-be of-others
actuum monasticorum aut civilium absque mortalis legislatoris
acts individual or civil without of-the-mortal legislator
determinatione imperii plenitudinem seu potestatis habere:
determination of-command the-fullness or of-power to-have
xi° Primae et xxiii° Secundae, ex 3ª in 5ªm.
in-the-eleventh of-the-First and in-the-twenty-third of-the-Second from the-third to the-fifth

Principatum seu iurisdictionem coactivam supra quemquam
principate or jurisdiction coercive over any
clericum aut laicum, etiam si haereticus extet, episcopum vel
cleric or layman even if heretic he-be a-bishop or
sacerdotem inquantum huiusmodi nullam habere: xv°
priest in-so-far-as of-this-kind none to-have in-the-fifteenth
Primae, ex 2ª in 4ªm, iv°, v°, et ix° Secundae,
of-the-First from the-second to the-fourth in-the-fourth fifth and ninth of-the-Second
ac x°, 7ª.
and in-the-tenth the-seventh
Super omnem singularem personam mortalem cuiuscumque
over every single person mortal of-whatever
conditionis existat, atque collegium laicorum aut clericorum,
condition he-be and college of-laymen or of-clerics
auctoritate legislatoris solummodo principantem iurisdictionem,
by-the-authority of-the-legislator only the-ruler jurisdiction
tam realem quam personalem, coactivam habere: xv°
as-much real as personal coercive to-have in-the-fifteenth
et xvii° Primae, iv°, v°, ac viii° Secundae.
and seventeenth of-the-First in-the-fourth fifth and eighth of-the-Second
Excommunicare quemquam absque fidelis legislatoris
to-excommunicate anyone without of-the-faithful legislator
auctoritate ulli episcopo vel sacerdoti aut ipsorum collegio
the-authority for-any bishop or priest or their for-college
non licere: vi° Secundae, ex 11ª in 14ªm,
not to-be-lawful in-the-sixth of-the-Second from the-eleventh to the-fourteenth
et xxi° Secundae, 9ª.
and in-the-twenty-first of-the-Second the-ninth
Omnes episcopos aequalis auctoritatis esse immediate per
all bishops of-equal authority to-be immediately through
Christum, neque secundum Legem Divinam convinci posse,
Christ nor according-to the-Law Divine to-be-proved to-be-able

in spiritualibus aut temporalibus praeesse invicem vel
in spiritual or temporal-things to-preside over-one-another or
subesse: xv° et xvi° Secundae.
to-be-subject in-the-fifteenth and sixteenth of-the-Second
Auctoritate divina, legislatoris humani fidelis interveniente
by-the-authority divine of-the-legislator human faithful with-intervening
consensu seu concessione, sic alios episcopos communiter
consent or grant so the-other bishops in-common
aut divisim excommunicare posse Romanum episcopum
or severally to-excommunicate to-be-able the-Roman bishop
et in ipsum auctoritatem aliam exercere, quemadmodum
and over him authority other to-exercise as
econverso: vi° Secundae, ex 11ª in 14ªm, et
conversely in-the-sixth of-the-Second from the-eleventh to the-fourteenth and
xv° et xvi° Secundae.
in-the-fifteenth and sixteenth of-the-Second
Coniugia seu matrimonia Divina Lege prohibita per
marriages or matrimonies by-the-Divine Law prohibited by
mortalem neminem dispensari posse, humana vero lege
mortal no-one to-be-dispensed to-be-able by-human but law
prohibita ad solius legislatoris vel per ipsum principantis
prohibited to of-the-sole the-legislator or through him of-the-ruler
auctoritatem pertinere: xii° Primae, 9ª, et xxi°
the-authority to-pertain in-the-twelfth of-the-First the-ninth and in-the-twenty-first
Secundae, 8ª.
of-the-Second the-eighth
Natos, non ex legitimo thoro seu matrimonio, legitimos
those-born not from a-lawful bed or marriage legitimate
facere sic, ut hereditarie succedere possint aliaque
to-make so that hereditarily to-succeed they-may-be-able and-other

suscipere civilia et ecclesiastica officia et beneficia, ad solum
to-receive civil and ecclesiastical offices and benefices to alone
fidelem legislatorem noscitur pertinere: ubi supra immediate.
the-faithful legislator is-known to-pertain where above immediately
Ad ecclesiasticos ordines promovendos ipsorumque
to ecclesiastical orders those-to-be-promoted and-their
sufficientiam iudicare iudicio coactivo ad solum legislatorem
sufficiency to-judge by-judgment coercive to alone the-legislator
fidelem spectare, ac sine ipsius auctoritate quemquam
faithful to-belong and without his authority anyone
promovere ad haec cuiquam sacerdoti vel episcopo non
to-promote to these-things for-any priest or bishop not
licere: xv° Primae, 2ª, 3ª, 4ª, et xvii°
to-be-lawful in-the-fifteenth of-the-First the-second third fourth and in-the-seventeenth
Secundae, ex 8ª in 16ªm.
of-the-Second from the-eighth to the-sixteenth
Numerum ecclesiarum sive templorum ac in ipsis ministrare
the-number of-churches or temples and in them to-minister
debentium sacerdotum, diaconorum, et reliquorum officialium
of-those-obliged of-priests deacons and of-the-remaining officials
ad solum principantem secundum leges fidelium pertinet
to alone the-ruler according-to the-laws of-the-faithful it-pertains
mensurare: ubi supra immediate.
to-measure where above immediately
Ecclesiastica officia separabilia solius fidelis legislatoris
ecclesiastical offices separable of-the-sole of-the-faithful legislator
auctoritate debere conferri et similiter auferri
by-the-authority to-be-obliged to-be-conferred and likewise to-be-taken-away
posse, sic quoque beneficia et propter pias causas reliqua
to-be-able so also benefices and for pious causes the-other-things
constituta: xv° Primae, 2ª, et 4ª, et xvii°
established in-the-fifteenth of-the-First the-second and fourth and in-the-seventeenth

Secundae, ex 16ª in 18ªm, et xxi° Secundae,
of-the-Second from the-sixteenth to the-eighteenth and in-the-twenty-first of-the-Second
ex 11ª in 15ªm.
from the-eleventh to the-fifteenth
Notarios aut alios officiales publicos civiles statuere ad nullum
notaries or other officials public civil to-establish to no
episcopum pertinere inquantum huiusmodi, communiter
bishop to-pertain in-so-far-as of-this-kind in-common
aut divisim: xv° Primae, 2ª, 3ª, et 10ª, et
or severally in-the-fifteenth of-the-First the-second third and tenth and
xxi° Secundae, 15ª.
in-the-twenty-first of-the-Second the-fifteenth
Docendi aut operandi publice secundum artem aut disciplinam
of-teaching or of-working publicly according-to an-art or discipline
aliquam neminem episcopum, communiter aut divisim,
some no bishop in-common or severally
inquantum huiusmodi, licentiam concedere posse; sed hoc ad
in-so-far-as of-this-kind license to-grant to-be-able but this to
legislatorem saltem fidelem aut eius auctoritate principantem
the-legislator at-least faithful or his by-authority the-ruler
tantummodo pertinere: ubi supra immediate.
only to-pertain where above immediately
Promotos ad diaconatum, aut sacerdotium, reliquosque
those-promoted to the-diaconate or priesthood and-the-remaining
Deo irrevocabiliter consecratos in ecclesiasticis officiis et
to-God irrevocably consecrated in ecclesiastical offices and
beneficiis, ceteris non sic consecratis debere praeferri:
benefices to-the-others not thus consecrated to-be-obliged to-be-preferred
xiv° Secundae, ex 6ª in 8ªm.
in-the-fourteenth of-the-Second from the-sixth to the-eighth

Ecclesiasticis temporalibus, expleta sacerdotum et aliorum
the-ecclesiastical temporal-things with-fulfilled of-the-priests and of-other
Evangelii ministrorum (et hiis quae ad cultum divinum
of-the-Gospel ministers and of-those-things which to worship divine
pertinent) ac impotentum pauperum necessitate, licite ac
pertain and of-the-helpless poor the-need lawfully and
secundum Legem Divinam pro communibus seu publicis
according-to the-Law Divine for common or public
utilitatibus aut defensionibus uti posse legislatorem
utilities or defenses to-use to-be-able the-legislator
simpliciter et in parte: xv° Primae, 10ª, et
simply and in part in-the-fifteenth of-the-First the-tenth and
xvii° Secundae, 16ª, et xxi°, 14ª.
in-the-seventeenth of-the-Second the-sixteenth and in-the-twenty-first the-fourteenth
Cuncta temporalia quae ad pias causas seu misericordiae
all temporal-things which for pious causes or of-mercy
opera statuta sunt, ut quae testamentis legantur pro
works established are as those-which by-testaments are-bequeathed for
ultramarino transitu ad resistendum infidelibus, aut pro
the-overseas passage for resisting the-infidels or for
captivorum ab ipsis redemptione, vel pauperum impotentum
of-captives from them the-redemption or of-the-poor helpless
sustentatione, ceterisque similibus, ad solum principantem
the-sustenance and-other like-things to alone the-ruler
secundum legislatoris determinationem ac legantis vel aliter
according-to of-the-legislator the-determination and of-the-bequeather or otherwise
largientis intentionem disponere pertinet: ubi supra immediate.
of-the-giver the-intention to-dispose pertains where above immediately
Collegii cuiuscumque vel religionis vacationem concedere,
of-a-college of-whatever-kind or of-a-religious-order exemption to-grant
ipsamque approbare vel instituere, ad auctoritatem pertinet
and-it to-approve or to-institute to the-authority pertains

solius legislatoris fidelis: xv° Primae, 2ª, 3ª, 4ª,
of-the-sole the-legislator faithful in-the-fifteenth of-the-First the-second third fourth
et 10ª, et xvii° Secundae, ex 8ª in 16am,
and tenth and in-the-seventeenth of-the-Second from the-eighth to the-sixteenth
et xxi° Secundae, 8ª et 15ª.
and in-the-twenty-first of-the-Second the-eighth and fifteenth
Haereticos, omnesque delinquentes, et arcendos poena
heretics and-all offenders and those-to-be-restrained by-penalty
vel supplicio temporali iudicare iudicio coactivo, poenasque
or punishment temporal to-judge by-judgment coercive and-penalties
personales infligere, ac reales exigere, ipsasque applicare
personal to-inflict and real to-exact and-them to-apply
ad solius principantis auctoritatem pertinet secundum
to of-the-sole the-ruler the-authority pertains according-to
determinationem legislatoris humani: xv° Primae, ex
the-determination of-the-legislator human in-the-fifteenth of-the-First from
6ª in 9am, et viii° Secundae, 2ª et 3ª, et
the-sixth to the-ninth and in-the-eighth of-the-Second the-second and third and
x° Secundae.
in-the-tenth of-the-Second
Neminem subditum et per iuramentum licitum alteri
no subject and by oath lawful to-another
obligatum, absque causa rationabili per fidelem legislatorem
bound without cause reasonable by the-faithful legislator
tertiae significationis iudicio iudicanda, per episcopum aut
of-the-third signification by-judgment to-be-judged by a-bishop or
presbyterum aliquem solvi posse huiusque oppositum
priest any to-be-released to-be-able and-of-this the-opposite
adversari sanae doctrinae: vi° et vii° Secundae et
to-be-adverse to-sound doctrine in-the-sixth and seventh of-the-Second and
xxvi° Secundae, ex 13ª in 16am.
in-the-twenty-sixth of-the-Second from the-thirteenth to the-sixteenth

Episcopum aut ecclesiam aliquam metropolitanam simpliciter
a-bishop or church some metropolitan simply
omnium statuere atque privare seu deponere ab huiusmodi
of-all to-establish and to-deprive or to-depose from such
officio ad solum generale concilium fidelium omnium
office to alone the-general council of-the-faithful all
pertinere: xxii° Secundae, ex 9ª in 12ªm.
to-pertain in-the-twenty-second of-the-Second from the-ninth to the-twelfth
Generale concilium aut partiale sacerdotum et episcoporum
a-general council or partial of-priests and of-bishops
ac reliquorum fidelium per coactivam potestatem congregare,
and of-the-remaining faithful by coercive power to-gather
ad fidelem legislatorem aut eius auctoritate principantem
to the-faithful legislator or his by-authority the-ruler
in communitatibus fidelium tantummodo pertinere, nec
in communities of-the-faithful only to-pertain nor
in aliter congregato determinata vim aut robur habere,
in-one otherwise gathered the-things-determined force or strength to-have
ad observationem quoque neminem obligare temporali aut
for observance also no-one to-bind by-temporal or
spirituali poena vel culpa: xv° Primae, 2ª, 3ª, et
spiritual penalty or guilt in-the-fifteenth of-the-First the-second third and
4ª, et xvii° Primae, et viii° Secundae, ex 6ª
fourth and in-the-seventeenth of-the-First and in-the-eighth of-the-Second from the-sixth
in finem, et xxi° Secundae, ex 2ª in 8ªm.
to the-end and in-the-twenty-first of-the-Second from the-second to the-eighth
Ieiunia et aliquorum ciborum prohibitiones solius generalis
fasts and of-some foods prohibitions of-the-sole of-the-general
concilii fidelium seu fidelis legislatoris auctoritate fieri
council of-the-faithful or of-the-faithful legislator by-the-authority to-be-made
debere; opera quoque mechanicarum artium ac doctrinas
ought the-works also of-mechanical arts and the-teachings

disciplinarum, quae Lege Divina nulla dierum exerceri
of-disciplines which by-Law Divine on-no of-days to-be-exercised
prohibita fuerint, solum praedictum concilium seu
prohibited shall-have-been only the-aforesaid council or
legislatorem praedictum interdicere posse; ad observationem
the-legislator aforesaid to-forbid can for the-observance
quoque talium arcere poena vel supplicio temporali
also of-such-things to-restrain by-penalty or punishment temporal
solum legislatorem fidelem aut eius auctoritate principantem:
only the-legislator faithful or his by-authority the-ruler
xv° Primae, 2ª, 3ª, 4ª, et 8ª, et xxi°
in-the-fifteenth of-the-First the-second third fourth and eighth and in-the-twenty-first
Secundae, 8ª.
of-the-Second the-eighth
Canonizari aut tamquam sanctum adorari quempiam per
to-be-canonized or as a-saint to-be-adored anyone by
solum generale concilium statui et ordinari debere:
alone the-general council to-be-established and to-be-ordained ought
xxi° Secundae, 8ª.
in-the-twenty-first of-the-Second the-eighth
Episcopis aut presbyteris aliisque templorum ministris si uxores
for-bishops or priests and-other of-the-temples ministers if wives
interdicere convenit, reliqua quoque circa ecclesiasticum
to-forbid befits the-remaining-things also about the-ecclesiastical
ritum, per generale solum fidelium concilium id statui
rite by the-general alone of-the-faithful council this to-be-established
et ordinari, ac solum eum, collegium aut personam, in hoc
and to-be-ordained and alone that college or person in this
cum praedictis dispensare posse cui data fuerit eius
with the-aforesaid to-dispense can to-whom given shall-have-been its
auctoritas per concilium supradictum: ubi supra immediate.
authority by the-council above-said where above immediately

A iudicio coactivo episcopo vel sacerdoti concesso semper
from a-judgment coercive to-a-bishop or priest granted always
ad legislatorem contendentem liceat appellare vel ad eius
to the-legislator for-one-contending be-it-lawful to-appeal or to his
auctoritate principantem: xv° Primae, 2ª et 3ª,
by-authority the-ruler in-the-fifteenth of-the-First the-second and third
et xxii° Secundae, 11ª.
and in-the-twenty-second of-the-Second the-eleventh
Perfectionem evangelicam summae paupertatis servare debentem
the-perfection evangelical of-highest poverty to-keep the-one-obliged
nihil immobilium in sua potestate habere posse absque
nothing of-immovables in his power to-have can without
determinato proposito quodlibet tale habitum vendendi,
fixed purpose any-whatever such-thing had of-selling
cum primum potuerit, pretiumque pauperibus tribuendi;
as first he-shall-have-been-able and-the-price to-the-poor of-giving
mobilis autem aut immobilis rei nullius habere dominium
of-a-movable but or immovable thing of-none to-have lordship
seu potestatem, cum proposito scilicet vendicandi eam coram
or power with purpose namely of-claiming it before
iudice coactivo ab auferente vel auferre volente: xiii°
a-judge coercive from one-taking-away or to-take-away wishing in-the-thirteenth
Secundae, 22ª et 30ª, et xiv°, 14ª.
of-the-Second the-twenty-second and thirtieth and in-the-fourteenth the-fourteenth
Episcopis reliquisque ministris evangelicis quae ad
to-bishops and-the-remaining ministers evangelical the-things-which for
alimentum et tegmentum necessaria fuerint, saltem cotidiana
nourishment and covering necessary shall-have-been at-least daily
vice, cui ministrant Evangelium, multitudo vel persona
in-turn to-whom they-minister the-Gospel the-multitude or person
singularis secundum Legem Divinam et suam possibilitatem
single according-to the-Law Divine and its possibility

exhibere tenetur, decimas vero vel alterum quid aliud, si
to-provide is-bound tithes but or other something else if
superfuerit dictorum ministrorum necessitati supplendae,
it-shall-have-exceeded of-the-said ministers the-need to-be-supplied
nequaquam: xiv° Secundae, ex 6ª in 11ªm.
by-no-means in-the-fourteenth of-the-Second from the-sixth to the-eleventh
Legislatorem fidelem aut eius auctoritate principantem in
the-legislator faithful or his by-authority the-ruler in
subiecta sibi provincia compellere posse tam episcopos
the-subject to-him province to-compel to-be-able as-much bishops
quam reliquos evangelicos ministros, quibus de sufficientia
as the-remaining evangelical ministers for-whom about sufficiency
victus et tegmenti provisum est, ad divina officia celebranda
of-food and covering provided it-is to divine offices to-be-celebrated
et sacramenta ecclesiastica ministranda: xv° Primae,
and sacraments ecclesiastical to-be-ministered in-the-fifteenth of-the-First
2ª, 3ª, et 4ª, et viii° Secundae, ex 6ª in
the-second third and fourth and in-the-eighth of-the-Second from the-sixth to
finem, et xvii° Secundae, 12ª.
the-end and in-the-seventeenth of-the-Second the-twelfth
Episcopum Romanum et alium quemlibet ecclesiasticum
the-bishop Roman and other any-whatever ecclesiastical
seu templi ministrum secundum Legem Divinam per
or of-the-temple minister according-to the-Law Divine by
solum fidelem legislatorem aut eius auctoritate principantem
alone the-faithful legislator or his by-authority the-ruler
vel fidelium generale concilium ad officium ecclesiasticum
or of-the-faithful the-general council to office ecclesiastical
separabile promoveri debere, ab eodem quoque suspendi
separable to-be-promoted ought by the-same also to-be-suspended
atque privari exigente delicto: xv° Primae, 2ª,
and to-be-deprived with-requiring offense in-the-fifteenth of-the-First the-second

3ª, 4ª, et 10ª, et xvii° Secundae, ex 8ª in
third fourth and tenth and in-the-seventeenth of-the-Second from the-eighth to
16ªm, et xxii° Secundae, ex 9ª in 13ªm.
the-sixteenth and in-the-twenty-second of-the-Second from the-ninth to the-thirteenth
Possent autem aliae quamplures et utiles conclusiones ex
could but other very-many and useful conclusions from
prioribus dictionibus per necessitatem inferri; quas tamen
the-earlier discourses by necessity be-inferred which however
deduximus, contenti sumus, quoniam ad praedictam pestem
we-have-deduced content we-are since for the-aforesaid plague
cum ipsius causa succidendam facilem atque sufficientem
with its cause to-be-cut-down easy and sufficient
praebent ingressum, et propter abbreviationem sermonis.
they-offer entrance and on-account-of the-abbreviation of-the-discourse

Capitulum III. De titulo huius libri

THE TITLE OF THE BOOK

The treatise is called the Defender of the Peace, because it explains the causes by which civil peace is kept and strife prevented. From it both rulers and subjects can learn their part: the ruler, that his authority comes from the people and must be used according to law; the subjects, whom to elect and how to obey. He submits anything less than Catholic to the Catholic Church or a general council; the work was finished on the feast of the Baptist, 1324.

Vocabitur autem tractatus iste Defensor Pacis, quoniam
will-be-called but treatise this the-Defender of-the-Peace since
in ipso tractantur et explicantur praecipuae causae quibus
in it are-treated and are-explained the-chief causes by-which
conservatur et extat civilis pax sive tranquillitas et hae etiam
is-preserved and stands civil peace or tranquility and those also

propter quas opposita lis oritur, prohibetur, et tollitur. Per
on-account-of which the-opposite strife arises is-prevented and is-removed through
ipsum enim scitur auctoritas, causa, et concordantia Divinarum
it for is-known the-authority cause and concordance of-the-Divine
et humanarum Legum et coactivi cuiuslibet principatus,
and human Laws and of-coercive any-whatever principate
quae regulae sunt actuum humanorum, in quorum convenienti
which rules are of-acts human in whose fitting
mensura non impedita pax seu tranquillitas civilis consistit.
measure not hindered peace or tranquility civil consists
Amplius, per ipsum comprehendere potest tam principans
further through it to-comprehend can as-much the-ruler
quam subiectum quae sunt elementa prima civilitatis cuiuslibet,
as the-subject which are the-elements first of-citizenry any-whatever
quid observare oporteat propter conservationem pacis et
what to-observe it-behooves on-account-of the-preservation of-peace and
propriae libertatis. Primus namque civis vel civilis regiminis
of-one's-own liberty the-first for citizen or of-the-civil regime
pars, principans scilicet, sit unicus homo vel plures,
the-part ruling namely be-it a-single man or several
comprehendet per eas quae in hoc libro scriptae sunt humanae
will-comprehend through those which in this book written are human
veritates atque divinae, soli sibi convenire auctoritatem
truths and divine to-alone itself to-belong the-authority
praecipiendi subiectae multitudini communiter aut divisim; et
of-commanding the-subject multitude in-common or severally and
unumquemque arcere, si expediat, secundum positas leges, et
each-one to-restrain if it-be-expedient according-to laid-down laws and
nil praeter has, arduum praesertim, agere absque multitudinis
nothing beyond these arduous especially to-do without of-the-multitude
subiectae seu legislatoris consensu; nec iniuria provocandam
subject or of-the-legislator the-consent nor by-injury to-be-provoked

esse multitudinem seu legislatorem, quoniam in ipsius expressa
to-be the-multitude or legislator since in its expressed
voluntate consistit virtus et auctoritas principatus. Subiecta
will consists the-power and authority of-the-principate the-subject
vero multitudo et ipsius singulum quodlibet ex hoc
but multitude and its single any-whatever-one from this
libro addiscere potest, qualem aut quales instituere oporteat
book to-learn can what-kind or what-kinds to-institute it-behooves
principantes; et quoniam solius principantis partis praeceptis
rulers and since of-the-sole the-ruling part the-precepts
velut coactivis pro statu et in statu praesentis saeculi
as coercive for the-state and in the-state of-the-present world
obedire tenetur, solummodo tamen secundum positas leges
to-obey it-is-bound only however according-to laid-down laws
in quibus determinant, in quibus vero minime secundum
in which-things they-determine in which but by-no-means according-to
tradita xiv° et xviii° Primae; et quantum
the-things-handed-down in-the-fourteenth and eighteenth of-the-First and as-much-as
possibile fuerit observare, ne principans aut altera quaevis
possible it-shall-have-been to-observe lest the-ruler or other any
communitatis particula contra vel praeter leges iudicandi aut
of-the-community particle against or beyond the-laws of-judging or
aliud quid civile agendi sibi sumat arbitrium.
else something civil of-doing to-himself take discretion
Hiis enim comprehensis memoriterque retentis et diligenter
with-these for comprehended and-by-memory retained and diligently
custoditis sive servatis, salvabitur regnum et quaevis altera
guarded or kept will-be-saved the-kingdom and any other
quaecumque temperata civilis communitas in esse pacifico seu
whatever tempered civil community in being peaceful or
tranquillo; per quod viventes civiliter adipiscuntur, et sine
tranquil through which those-living civilly attain and without

ipso de necessitate privantur sufficientia vitae mundanae,
it of necessity are-deprived of-the-sufficiency of-life worldly
ad aeternam quoque beatitudinem prave disponuntur. Quas
for eternal also beatitude badly are-disposed which
tamen velut fines et optima desideratorum humanorum,
however as ends and the-best of-things-desired human
secundum diversum tamen et alterum saeculum, in prioribus
according-to diverse however and other world in the-earlier
sermonibus, tamquam omnibus per se manifestum,
discourses as to-all through itself manifest
suscepimus; supradictis a nobis adicientes quod, si quid in
we-took-up to-the-above-said by us adding that if anything in
ipsis reperiri contingat determinatum, diffinitum, aut aliter
them to-be-found happen determined defined or otherwise
quomodolibet pronuntiatum vel scriptum minus catholice, id
in-any-way pronounced or written less catholicly this
non pertinaciter dictum esse; ipsumque corrigendum atque
not obstinately said to-be and-it to-be-corrected and
determinandum supponimus auctoritati ecclesiae catholicae
to-be-determined we-submit to-the-authority of-the-church catholic
seu generalis concilii fidelium Christianorum.
or of-the-general council of-the-faithful Christians

Anno trecenteno milleno quarto vigeno
in-the-year three-hundredth thousandth fourth twentieth
Defensor est iste perfectus festo Baptistae.
the-Defender is this completed on-the-feast of-the-Baptist
Tibi laus et gloria, Christe!
to-you praise and glory Christ

NICOLE ORESME

De moneta

On Money

Incipit tractatus de origine, natura, jure, et mutationibus monetarum, compositus per magistrum Nicolaum Oresme sacræ theologiæ professorem. Prologus

PROLOGUE, THE INVENTION OF MONEY, AND ITS MATERIAL

Some hold that a prince may change his realm's coinage at will and profit by it; others hold the opposite. Oresme will set out what Aristotle requires, and the chapters follow. Men first bartered, but exchange was hard, so they devised money as an instrument for exchanging natural riches; it is artificial wealth, as the greedy king who starved amid gold shows. Money should be of gold, then silver, else a mixture or bronze, neither too scarce nor too plentiful.

Quibusdam videtur quod aliquis rex aut princeps auctoritate
to-some it-seems that some king or prince by-authority
propria possit de jure vel privilegio libere mutare monetas in suo
his-own can by right or privilege freely to-change the-moneys in his
regno currentes, et de eis ad libitum ordinare, ac super hoc
kingdom current and about them at pleasure to-ordain and over this
capere lucrum seu emolumentum quantumlibet: aliis autem
to-take profit or emolument however-much to-others but
videtur oppositum. Propter quod intendo in præsenti tractatu
seems the-opposite on-account-of which I-intend in the-present treatise
de hoc scribere, quid secundum philosophiam Aristotelis
about this to-write what according-to the-philosophy of-Aristotle
principaliter mihi videtur esse dicendum, incipiens ab origine
chiefly to-me seems to-be to-be-said beginning from the-origin
monetarum: nihil temere asserendo, sed totum submitto
of-moneys nothing rashly asserting but the-whole I-submit
correctioni majorum, qui forsan ex eis quæ dicturus sum,
to-the-correction of-greater-men who perhaps from those-things which about-to-say I-am
poterunt excitari ad determinandum veritatem super isto, ita ut
will-be-able to-be-roused to determining the-truth over this so that

omni cessante scrupulo omnes in unam possint sententiam
with-every ceasing scruple all into one may-be-able opinion
pariter convenire, et circa hoc invenire quod principibus
equally to-come-together and about this to-find what for-princes
et subjectis, immo toti reipublicæ proficiat in futurum.
and subjects nay for-the-whole republic may-profit in the-future
Incipiunt capitula presentis tractatus.
begin the-chapters of-the-present treatise
I. Propter quod moneta sit inventa.
I on-account-of what money be invented
II. De qua materia debet esse moneta.
II about what material ought to-be money
III. De diversitate monetarum et mixtione.
III about the-diversity of-moneys and mixture
IV. De forma vel figura monetæ.
IV about the-form or figure of-money
V. Cui incumbit facere numisma.
V on-whom it-is-incumbent to-make coin
VI. Cujus sit ipsa moneta.
VI whose be the-very money
VII. Ad cujus expensas fabricanda sit moneta.
VII at whose expense to-be-made be money
VIII. De mutationibus monetarum, in generali.
VIII about the-changes of-moneys in general
IX. De mutatione monetæ in figura.
IX about the-change of-money in figure
X. De mutatione proportionis monetarum.
X about the-change of-the-proportion of-moneys
XI. De mutatione appellationis monetarum.
XI about the-change of-the-name of-moneys
XII. De mutatione ponderis monetarum.
XII about the-change of-the-weight of-moneys

XIII. De mutatione materiæ monetarum.

XIII about the-change of-the-material of-moneys

XIV. De mutatione composita monetarum.

XIV about the-change compound of-moneys

XV. Quod lucrum quod provenit principi ex mutatione monetæ est injustum.

XV that the-profit which comes to-the-prince from the-change of-money is unjust

XVI. Quod lucrum in mutatione monetæ est innaturale.

XVI that profit in the-change of-money is unnatural

XVII. Quod lucrum in mutatione monetæ est pejus quam usura.

XVII that profit in the-change of-money is worse than usury

XVIII. Quod tales mutationes monetarum, quantum est ex se, non sunt permittendæ.

XVIII that such changes of-moneys as-far-as it-is from themselves not are to-be-permitted

XIX. De quibusdam inconvenientibus tangentibus principem, quæ sequuntur ex mutationibus monetarum.

XIX about certain disadvantages touching the-prince which follow from the-changes of-moneys

XX. De aliis inconvenientibus totam communitatem tangentibus.

XX about other disadvantages the-whole community touching

XXI. De aliis inconvenientibus quæ tangunt partem communitatis.

XXI about other disadvantages which touch part of-the-community

XXII. Si communitas potest facere tales mutationes
XXII whether the-community can to-make such changes
monetæ.
of-money
XXIII. In quo arguitur quod princeps possit mutare monetas.
XXIII in which it-is-argued that the-prince can to-change moneys
XXIV. Responsio ad prædicta, et conclusio principalis.
XXIV reply to the-aforesaid and conclusion principal
XXV. Quod tyrannis non potest diu durare.
XXV that tyranny not can long to-last
XXVI. Quod capere lucrum ex mutationibus monetarum
XXVI that to-take profit from the-changes of-moneys
præjudicat toti regali potestati.
prejudices the-whole royal power
Capitulum I. Propter quid moneta sit inventa.
Chapter I on-account-of what money be invented
Quando dividebat Altissimus gentes, quando separabat filios
when divided the-Most-High the-nations when he-separated the-sons
Adam, constituit terminos populorum. Inde multiplicati sunt
of-Adam he-established the-bounds of-the-peoples thence multiplied were
homines super terram, et possessiones prout expediebat
men upon the-earth and possessions as it-was-expedient
divisæ sunt. Ex hoc autem contigit, quod unus habuit de
divided were from this but it-happened that one had of
una re ultra suam necessitatem; alius vero de eadem re
one thing beyond his need another but of the-same thing
habuit parum aut nihil; et de alia re e contrario fuit,
had little or nothing and of another thing on the-contrary it-was
sicut forsan quis abundavit ovibus et pane indiguit, et
as perhaps one abounded in-sheep and of-bread lacked and
agricola e converso. Una etiam regio superabundavit in uno,
the-farmer on the-converse one also region superabounded in one-thing

et defecit in alio. Cœperunt ergo homines mercari sine
and was-lacking in another began therefore men to-trade without
moneta, et dabat unus alteri ovem pro frumento, et alius
money and gave one to-another a-sheep for grain and another
de labore suo pro pane vel lana, et sic de aliis rebus. Quod
of labor his for bread or wool and so of other things which
adhuc longo postea tempore fuit in quibusdam civitatibus
still long afterward in-time was in certain cities
institutum, prout narrat Justinus. Sed tamen in hujusmodi
instituted as tells Justin but however in such
permutatione et transportatione rerum, multæ difficultates
exchange and transport of-things many difficulties
acciderunt. Subtilisati sunt homines usum invenire monetæ,
happened grown-subtle are men the-use to-find of-money
quæ esset instrumentum permutandi ad invicem naturales
which might-be an-instrument for-exchanging to one-another natural
divitias, quibus de per se subvenitur naturaliter humanæ
riches by-which from through themselves is-relieved naturally human
necessitati. Nam ipsæ pecuniæ dicuntur artificiales divitiæ:
need for the-very moneys are-called artificial riches
contigit enim his abundantem mori fame, sicut exemplificat
it-happened for in-these one-abounding to-die of-hunger as exemplifies
Aristoteles de rege cupido, qui oravit, ut quidquid ipse
Aristotle about the-king greedy who prayed that whatever he
tangeret, aurum esset; quod Dii annuerunt, et sic fame
touched gold might-be which the-Gods granted and so of-hunger
periit, ut dicunt pœtæ; quoniam per pecuniam non immediate
he-perished as say the-poets since by money not immediately
succuritur indigentiæ vitæ, sed est instrumentum artificialiter
is-succored the-need of-life but it-is an-instrument artificially
adinventum pro naturalibus divitiis levius permutandis. Et
invented for natural riches more-lightly to-be-exchanged and

absque alia probatione clare potest patere, quod numisma
without other proof clearly it-can to-be-plain that coin
est valde utile bonæ communitati civili, et Reipublicæ
is very useful to-the-good community civil and of-the-Republic
usibus opportunum, imo necessarium: ut probat Aristoteles
for-the-uses opportune nay necessary as proves Aristotle
V. Ethicorum. Quanquam de hoc dicat Ovidius:
in-the-fifth of-the-Ethics although about this says Ovid

> Effodiuntur opes irritamenta malorum,
> *are-dug-up riches incitements of-evils*
> Jamque nocens ferrum ferroque nocentius aurum
> *and-now harmful iron and-than-iron more-harmful gold*
> Prodierat, etc.
> *had-come-forth etc*

Hoc enim facit perversa malorum cupiditas, non ipsa
this for does the-perverse of-the-wicked greed not the-very
pecunia, quæ est humano convictui multum accommoda,
money which is to-human living-together much suited
et cujus usus per se bonus est. Inde aut Cassiodorus:
and whose use through itself good is hence says Cassiodorus
Pecuniæ ipsæ quamvis usu creberrimo viles esse videantur,
moneys themselves although by-use most-frequent cheap to-be they-seem
animadvertendum est quanta tamen a veteribus ratione
to-be-noticed it-is with-how-great however by the-ancients reason
collectæ sunt. Et in alio loco dicit, quod constat
collected they-are and in another place he-says that it-is-agreed
monetarios in usum publicum specialiter esse inventos.
moneyers for use public specially to-have-been invented

Capitulum II. De qua materia debet esse moneta.

Chapter II about what material ought to-be money

Et quoniam moneta est instrumentum permutandi divitias

and since money is an-instrument for-exchanging riches

naturales, ut patet ex capitulo præcedenti, conveniens fuit,

natural as is-plain from the-chapter preceding fitting it-was

quod ad hoc tale instrumentum esset aptum: quod fit,

that for this such instrument be apt which is-done

si sit faciliter manibus attrectabile seu palpabile, et leviter

if it-be easily by-hands handleable or palpable and lightly

portabile, et quod pro modica ipsius portione habeantur

portable and that for a-small its portion be-had

divitiæ naturales in quantitate majori, cum aliis conditionibus

riches natural in quantity greater with other conditions

quæ postea videbuntur. Oportuit igitur quod numisma fieret

which afterward will-be-seen it-behooved therefore that coin be-made

de materia preciosa et rara, cujusmodi est aurum. Sed

from material precious and rare of-which-kind is gold but

talis materiæ competens debet esse abundantia. Propter

of-such material sufficient ought to-be abundance on-account-of

quod ubi aurum non sufficeret, moneta fit cum hoc

which where gold not would-suffice money is-made with this

de argento; ubi autem ista duo metalla non sufficerent vel

from silver where but these two metals not would-suffice or

non haberentur, debet fieri mixtio, aut simplex moneta

not were-had ought to-be-made a-mixture or simple money

de alio puro metallo; sicut antiquitus fiebat ex ære,
from another pure metal as of-old was-made from bronze
ut narrat Ovidius I. Fastorum dicens:
as tells Ovid in-the-first of-the-Fasti saying

> Æra dabant olim, melius nunc omen in auro est,
> *bronze-coins they-gave once better now the-omen in gold is*
> Victaque concedit prisca moneta novæ.
> *and-conquered yields the-ancient money to-the-new*

Similem etiam mutationem promisit Dominus per Esaiam
a-like also change promised the-Lord through Isaiah
prophetam dicens: Pro ære afferam aurum, et pro ferro
the-prophet saying for bronze I-will-bring gold and for iron
afferam argentum. Hæc enim metalla sunt ad monetam
I-will-bring silver these for metals are for money
aptissima. Et, ut Cassiodorus inquit, primi dicuntur Eacus
most-apt and as Cassiodorus says the-first are-said Aeacus
aurum, argentum Indus rex Scythiæ reperisse et humano usui
gold silver Indus king of-Scythia to-have-found and to-human use
summa laude tradidisse. Et ideo non debet permitti
with-highest praise to-have-handed-down and therefore not ought to-be-permitted
quod tantum ex eis in usus alios applicetur, quod residuum
that so-much of them to uses other be-applied that the-remainder
non sufficiat pro moneta. Quod Theodoricus rex Italiæ recte
not suffice for money which Theodoric king of-Italy rightly
advertens, aurum et argentum, quod more gentium in
noticing the-gold and silver which by-the-custom of-the-nations in
sepulchris mortuorum erat reconditum, jussit depromi, et
the-tombs of-the-dead was hidden ordered to-be-brought-out and
usui monetæ ad utilitatem publicam fecit afferri dicens,
to-the-use of-money for utility public he-caused to-be-brought saying

culpæ genus esse inutiliter in abditis relinquere mortuorum
of-fault a-kind to-be uselessly in hidden-places to-leave of-the-dead
unde se vita potest sustentare viventium. Rursum nec
whence itself the-life can to-sustain of-the-living again nor
expedit politiæ quod talis materia sit nimis abundans: hac
is-it-expedient for-the-polity that such material be too abundant this
enim de causa moneta ærea recessit ab usu, ut ait Ovidius.
for for cause money bronze withdrew from use as says Ovid
Forsan etiam quod ab hoc humano generi provisum est
perhaps also that by this for-the-human race provided it-has-been
ut aurum et argentum, quæ sunt ad hoc aptissima, non facile
that gold and silver which are for this most-apt not easily
habeantur in copia, et ut non possint per alchimiam
be-had in abundance and that not they-may-be-able through alchemy
leviter fieri, sicut aliqui tentant, quibus, ut ita dicam, juste
lightly to-be-made as some attempt whom that so I-may-say justly
obviat ipsa natura, cujus opera frustra nituntur excedere.
opposes the-very nature whose works in-vain they-strive to-exceed

Capitulum III. De diversitate materiæ monetarum et mixtione

MIXTURE, FORM, WHO MAKES MONEY, AND WHOSE IT IS

Gold serves great trade, silver lesser, and a black mixed coin the smallest, but a mixture should be made only in the least precious metal, since mixture invites fraud. Coins bear a stamp so their weight and metal are known without weighing. The prince, as the most public person, should mint the money and forbid counterfeits. Yet the money is not his but belongs to the community and to those who earned it; Caesar's penny shown to Christ was owed as tribute, not as proof of ownership.

Moneta, ut dicit primum capitulum, est instrumentum
money as says the-first chapter is the-instrument
mercaturæ. Et quoniam communitati et cuilibet expedit
of-trade and since for-the-community and for-anyone it-is-expedient
mercaturam fieri aliquotiens magnam seu grossam,
trade to-be-made sometimes great or gross
quandoque vero minorem, et plerumque de parvis vel
sometimes but smaller and mostly about small-things or
parvam, inde est quod conveniens fuit habere monetam
small thence it-is that fitting it-was to-have money
pretiosam, quæ facilius portaretur et numeraretur, et quæ
precious which more-easily might-be-carried and might-be-counted and which
magis esset habilis ad mercaturas majores. Expedivit etiam
more might-be apt for trades greater it-was-expedient also
habere argenteam, minus scilicet pretiosam, quæ apta est ad
to-have silver less namely precious which apt is for
recompensationes et æquiparantias faciendas, et pro emptione
compensations and equalizations to-be-made and for the-purchase
mercimoniorum minorum. Et quoniam aliquotiens in una
of-merchandises lesser and since sometimes in one
regione non satis est competenter de argento, secundum
region not enough there-is sufficiently of silver according-to

portionem divitiarum naturalium; imo portiuncula argenti, quæ
the-proportion of-riches natural nay the-little-portion of-silver which
juste dari deberet pro libra panis vel aliquo tali, esset
justly to-be-given ought for a-pound of-bread or something such would-be
minus bene palpabilis propter nimiam parvitatem, ideo facta
less well palpable on-account-of excessive smallness therefore made
fuit de minus bona materia cum argento; et inde habuit
it-was from less good material with silver and thence had
ortum nigra moneta, quæ est congrua pro minutis mercaturis.
origin black money which is suitable for petty trades
Et sic convenientissime, ubi non abundat argentum, sunt
and so most-fittingly where not abounds silver there-are
tres materiæ monetarum, prima aurea, secunda argentea, et
three materials of-moneys the-first gold the-second silver and
tertia nigra mixta. Sed animadvertendum est et notandum
the-third black mixed but to-be-noticed it-is and to-be-noted
pro regula generali, quod nunquam debet fieri mixtio,
as a-rule general that never ought to-be-made a-mixture
nisi tantummodo ex minus precioso metallo de quo
except only from the-less precious metal from which
consuevit fieri parva moneta. Verbi gratia, ubi haberetur
is-accustomed to-be-made small money for example where were-had
moneta ex auro et argento, mixtio nunquam facienda est in
money from gold and silver a-mixture never to-be-made is in
moneta aurea, si tamen aurum talis naturæ fuerit, quod
money gold if however the-gold of-such nature shall-have-been that
monetari possit immixtum. Et est causa, quoniam omnis
to-be-coined it-can unmixed and is the-cause since every
talis mixtio de se suspecta est, nec facile possunt auri
such mixture of itself suspect is nor easily can of-the-gold
substantia, et ejus quantitas in mixtione cognosci. Propter
the-substance and its quantity in a-mixture be-known on-account-of

quod nulla mixtio debet in monetis fieri, nisi propter
which no mixture ought in moneys to-be-made except on-account-of
necessitatem jam tactam; et tunc facienda est, ubi suspicio
the-necessity already touched and then to-be-made it-is where suspicion
est minor vel deceptionis minoris, et hoc est in minus
is less or of-deception lesser and this is in the-less
pretioso metallo. Rursum nulla talis mixtio facienda est, nisi
precious metal again no such mixture to-be-made is except
duntaxat pro utilitate communi, ratione cujus moneta est
only for utility common by-reason of-which money is
inventa et ad quam naturaliter ordinatur, ut patet ex prius
invented and to which naturally it-is-ordered as is-plain from the-earlier
dictis. Sed nunquam est necessitas, nec apparet communis
said-things but never is there-necessity nor appears common
utilitas, faciendi mixtionem in moneta aurea, ubi habetur
utility of-making a-mixture in money gold where is-had
argentea; nec videtur posse bona intentione fieri, neque
silver nor seems-it to-be-able with-good intention to-be-made nor
unquam factum est in communitate prospere gubernata.
ever done was-it in a-community prosperously governed

Capitulum IV. De forma seu figura monetæ.

Chapter IV about the-form or figure of-money

Cum primum cœpissent homines mercari sive comparare
when first had-begun men to-trade or to-procure
divitias mediante moneta, nondum erat in ea aliqua impressio
riches by-means-of money not-yet was in it any impression
vel imago, sed una portio argenti vel æris dabatur
or image but one portion of-silver or of-bronze was-given
pro potu vel cibo, quæ quidem portio mensurabatur ad
for drink or food which indeed portion was-measured by
pondus. Et quoniam tædiosum erat ita crebro ad trutinam
weight and since tedious it-was so often to the-scale

recurrere, nec bene poterat pecunia mercaturis æquiparari per
to-run-back nor well could money to-merchandise to-be-equated by
pondus; cum hoc esset ut in pluribus venditor non poterat
weight with this it-was that in most-cases the-seller not could
cognoscere metalli substantiam sive modum mixtionis, ideo
to-know of-the-metal the-substance or the-mode of-mixture therefore
per sapientes illius temporis prudenter provisum est, quod
by the-wise of-that time prudently provided it-was that
portiones monetæ fierent de certa materia et determinati
the-portions of-money be-made from fixed material and of-determinate
ponderis, quodque in eis imprimeretur figura, quæ cunctis
weight and-that on them be-impressed a-figure which to-all
notoria significaret qualitatem materiæ numismatis et
well-known might-signify the-quality of-the-material of-the-coin and
ponderis veritatem, ut amota suspicione posset valor
of-the-weight the-truth so-that with-removed suspicion could the-value
monetæ sine labore cognosci. Quod autem impressio talis
of-the-money without labor to-be-known that but impression such
instituta sit nuntius et in signum veritatis materiæ
instituted was a-messenger and in sign of-the-truth of-the-material
et ponderis nobis ostendunt antiqua nomina monetarum
and of-the-weight to-us show the-ancient names of-moneys
cognoscibilium ex impressionibus vel figuris, cujusmodi sunt
knowable from impressions or figures of-which-kind are
libra, solidus, denarius, obolus, as, sextula, et similia quæ sunt
pound shilling penny obol as sextula and the-like which are
nomina ponderum appropriata monetis, ut ait Cassiodorus.
names of-weights appropriated to-moneys as says Cassiodorus
Similiter siclus est nomen monetæ, ut patet in Genesi, et
likewise shekel is the-name of-a-money as is-plain in Genesis and
est nomen ponderis, ut patet ibidem. Alia vero nomina
is the-name of-a-weight as is-plain in-the-same-place other but names

monetæ sunt impropria, accidentalia seu denominativa a
of-money are improper accidental or denominative from
loco, a figura, ab auctore, vel aliquo tali modo; portiones
place from figure from author or some such way the-portions
autem monetæ quæ dicuntur numisma, deberent esse figuræ
but of-money which are-called coin ought to-be of-figure
et quantitatis habilis ad contrectandum et ad numerandum,
and quantity apt for handling and for counting
et de materia numerabili, ac etiam ductibili ac recepticili
and of material countable and also ductile and receptive
impressionis sive tenaci. Et inde est quod non omnis
of-impression or tenacious and thence it-is that not every
res pretiosa apta est ut fiat numisma: gemmæ enim,
thing precious apt is that it-be-made coin gems for
lazuleus, piper, et talia non sunt ad hoc apta nata,
lapis-lazuli pepper and such-things not are for this apt by-nature
sed præcipue aurum et argentum, sicut fuit supra tactum.
but chiefly gold and silver as was above touched
Capitulum V. Cui incumbit facere numisma.
Chapter V on-whom it-is-incumbent to-make coin
Adhuc autem fuit antiquitus ordinatum, et propter
further but it-was of-old ordained and on-account-of
deceptionem cavendam, quod non licet cuilibet facere
deception to-be-guarded-against that not it-is-lawful for-anyone to-make
monetam, aut hujusmodi figuram vel imaginem imprimere
money or such figure or image to-impress
in suo proprio argento et auro, sed quod moneta vel
on his own silver and gold but that money or
characteris impressio fieret per unam personam publicam,
of-the-character the-impression be-made by one person public
seu per plures a communitate ad hoc deputatas; quia, sicut
or by several by the-community for this deputed because as

præmissum est, moneta de natura sua instituta est et
premised it-is money from nature its instituted is and
inventa pro bono communitatis. Et quoniam princeps est
invented for the-good of-the-community and since the-prince is
persona magis publica, et majoris auctoritatis, conveniens
a-person more public and of-greater authority fitting
est quod ipse, pro communitate, faciat fabricare monetam
it-is that he for the-community make to-mint money
et eam congrua impressione signare. Hæc autem impressio
and it with-suitable impression to-mark this but impression
debet esse subtilis, et ad effigiandum seu contrafaciendum
ought to-be subtle and for copying or counterfeiting
difficilis. Debet etiam prohiberi sub pœna ne aliquis
difficult it-ought also to-be-prohibited under penalty lest any
extraneus princeps vel alter fabricaret monetam similem in
foreign prince or another should-make money like in
figura et minoris valoris, ita quod vulgus nesciret
figure and of-lesser value so that the-common-folk would-not-know-how
distinguere inter istam et illam. Hoc esset malefactum,
to-distinguish between this and that this would-be an-ill-deed
nec aliquis potest de hoc habere privilegium; quia falsitas
nor anyone can about this to-have privilege because falsity
est, et causa juste bellandi contra talem extraneum.
it-is and a-cause justly of-warring against such a-foreigner

Capitulum VI. Cujus sit ipsa moneta.

Chapter VI whose be the-very money

Quamvis pro utilitate communi princeps habeat signare
although for utility common the-prince has to-mark
numisma, non tamen ipse dominus seu proprietarius est
coin not however he lord or proprietor is
monetæ currentis in suo principatu. Moneta siquidem est
of-the-money current in his principality money indeed is

instrumentum æquivalens permutandi divitias naturales, ut
an-instrument equivalent for-exchanging riches natural as
patet ex primo capitulo. Ipsa igitur est eorum possessio
is-plain from the-first chapter it therefore is their possession
quorum sunt hujusmodi divitiæ. Nam si quis dat panem
whose are such riches for if one gives bread
suum, vel laborem proprii corporis pro pecunia, cum ipse eam
his or the-labor of-his-own body for money when he it
recepit, ipsa est sua, sicut erat panis vel labor corporis, qui
has-received it is his as was the-bread or labor of-the-body which
erat in ejus potestate libera, supposito quod non sit servus.
was in his power free supposing that not he-be a-slave
Deus enim a principio non dedit solis principibus libertatem
God for from the-beginning not gave to-alone princes liberty
ad dominium rerum, sed primis parentibus et toti
for lordship of-things but to-the-first parents and to-the-whole
posteritati, ut habetur in Genesi. Moneta igitur non est solius
posterity as is-had in Genesis money therefore not is of-the-sole
principis. Si quis autem vellet opponere per hoc, quod
the-prince if one but should-wish to-object through this that
Salvator noster, ostenso sibi quodam denario, interrogavit
Savior our with-shown to-him a-certain penny asked
dicens, Cujus est imago et superscriptio hæc? et cum
saying whose is image and superscription this and when
responsum esset, Cæsaris, ipse sententiavit dicens: Reddite
answered it-had-been of-Caesar he gave-sentence saying render
ergo quæ sunt Cæsaris, Cæsari, et quæ Dei sunt,
therefore the-things-which are of-Caesar to-Caesar and which of-God are
Deo. Acsi diceret: Cæsaris est numisma, ex quo imago
to-God as-if he-should-say of-Caesar is the-coin from which-fact the-image
Cæsaris in eo est impressa. Sed inspicienti seriem Evangelii
of-Caesar on it is impressed but to-one-examining the-series of-the-Gospel

patet facile, quod non ideo dicitur Cæsari deberi denarius,
it-is-plain easily that not therefore is-said to-Caesar to-be-owed the-penny
quia erat Cæsaris imagine superscriptus, sed quoniam erat
because it-was of-Caesar by-the-image superscribed but since it-was
tributum. Nam, ut ait Apostolus: Cui tributum, tributum,
tribute for as says the-Apostle to-whom tribute tribute
et cui vectigal, vectigal. Christus itaque signavit, per
and to-whom toll toll Christ and-so signified through
hoc posse cognosci cui debeatur tributum: quia illi
this to-be-able to-be-known to-whom be-owed tribute because to-him
debebatur, qui pro republica militabat, et qui ratione imperii
it-was-owed who for the-republic was-serving and who by-reason of-empire
poterat fabricare monetam. Est igitur pecunia communitatis
could to-make money is therefore money of-the-community
et singularium personarum: et ita dicit Aristoteles vii°
and of-single persons and so says Aristotle in-the-seventh
Politicæ, et Tullius circa finem veteris Rhetoricæ.
of-the-Politics and Tully about the-end of-the-old Rhetoric

Capitulum VII. Ad cujus expensas fabricanda sit moneta

MINTING COSTS, CHANGES IN GENERAL, FIGURE, AND PROPORTION

Money should be made at the community's expense, by a small charge on each mark minted. Laws and customs should never be changed without evident need, and money, on which rents are fixed, is a kind of law; it can be changed in figure, proportion, name, weight, or material. A new figure is just only to defeat counterfeits or replace worn coin. The ratio of gold to silver may change only with a real change in supply, and the community, not the prince, must decide it.

Sicut ipsa moneta est communitatis, ita facienda est ad
as the-very money is of-the-community so to-be-made it-is at
expensas communitatis. Hoc autem fit convenientissime, si
the-expense of-the-community this but is-done most-fittingly if
hujusmodi expensæ accipiantur supra totam monetam, per
such expenses be-taken over the-whole money by
hunc modum quod materia monetabilis, sicut aurum quando
this way that material coinable as gold when
traditur ad monetandum vel venditur pro moneta, detur
it-is-handed-over for coining or is-sold for money be-given
pro minori pecunia quam possit fieri ex ea sub certo
for less money than can to-be-made from it under a-fixed
pretio taxato, verbi gratia, si ex marca argenti fieri possint
price assessed for example if from a-mark of-silver to-be-made can
lxii solidi, et pro labore et necessariis ad monetandum
sixty-two shillings and for labor and necessities for coining
eam requirantur duo solidi, tunc marca argenti non monetata
it be-required two shillings then a-mark of-silver not coined
valebit lx solidos et alii duo erunt pro monetatione.
will-be-worth sixty shillings and the-other two will-be for the-coinage
Hæc autem portio taxata debet esse tanta quod sufficiat
this but portion assessed ought to-be so-great that it-suffice

abundanter omni tempore pro fabricatione monetæ. Et si
abundantly at-every time for the-making of-money and if
moneta possit fieri pro minori pretio, satis congruum
money can to-be-made for a-lesser price enough fitting
est quod residuum sit distributori vel ordinatori, scilicet
it-is that the-remainder be to-the-distributor or orderer namely
principi vel magistro monetarum, et sic quasi quædam
to-the-prince or the-master of-the-moneys and so as-if a-certain
pensio. Sed tamen hujusmodi portio debet esse moderata,
pension but however such portion ought to-be moderate
et sufficienter satis parva, si monetæ sufficerent debito
and sufficiently quite small if moneys should-suffice in-due
modo, ut dicetur postea. Et si talis portio vel pensio esset
way as will-be-said afterward and if such portion or pension were
excessiva, hoc foret in damnum et præjudicium totius
excessive this would-be to the-loss and prejudice of-the-whole
communitatis, sicut potest unicuique faciliter apparere.
community as can to-each easily to-appear

Capitulum VIII. De mutationibus monetarum in generali.

Chapter VIII about the-changes of-moneys in general

Ante omnia sciendum est, quod nunquam sine evidenti
before all-things to-be-known it-is that never without evident
necessitate mutandæ sunt priores leges, statuta, consuetudines
necessity to-be-changed are prior laws statutes customs
seu ordinationes quæcumque, tangentes communitatem. Imo,
or ordinances whatever touching the-community nay
secundum Aristotelem in ii° Politicæ, lex antiqua positiva
according-to Aristotle in the-second of-the-Politics a-law ancient positive
non est abroganda pro meliore nova, nisi sit multum
not is to-be-abrogated for a-better new-one unless there-be a-very
notabilis differentia in bonitate earum, quoniam mutationes
notable difference in goodness of-them since changes

hujusmodi diminuunt ipsarum legum auctoritatem et
of-this-kind diminish of-the-very laws the-authority and
reverentiam, et multo magis si frequenter fiant. Ex hoc
reverence and much more if frequently they-be-made from this
enim oritur scandalum et murmur in populo, et periculum
for arises scandal and murmur in the-people and danger
inobedientiæ. Maxime autem si tales mutationes essent in pejus,
of-disobedience most but if such changes were for the-worse
nam tunc forent intolerabiles et injustæ. Nunc autem ita
for then they-would-be intolerable and unjust now but so
est, quod cursus et pretium monetarum in regno debet esse
it-is that the-course and price of-moneys in the-kingdom ought to-be
quasi quædam lex et quædam ordinatio firma. Cujus signum
as-if a-certain law and a-certain ordinance firm of-which the-sign
est, quod pensiones et quidam reditus annuales taxati sunt
is that pensions and certain revenues annual assessed are
ad pretium pecuniæ, scilicet ad certum numerum librarum vel
at the-price of-money namely at a-fixed number of-pounds or
solidorum. Ex quo patet, quod nunquam debet fieri mutatio
shillings from which is-plain that never ought to-be-made a-change
monetarum, nisi forsan emineret necessitas, aut evidens
of-moneys unless perhaps there-stood-out necessity or evident
utilitas pro tota communitate. Unde Aristoteles, v°
utility for the-whole community whence Aristotle in-the-fifth
Ethicorum, loquens de numismate, Verumtamen, inquit,
of-the-Ethics speaking about coin nevertheless he-says
vult manere magis. Mutatio autem monetæ (prout in generali
it-wishes to-remain rather the-change but of-money as in general
possum perpendere) potest imaginari fieri multipliciter:
I-can to-consider can to-be-imagined to-be-made in-many-ways
uno modo in forma seu figura præcise, alio modo in
in-one way in form or figure precisely in-another way in

proportione, alio modo in pretio vel appellatione, alio
proportion in-another way in price or name in-another
modo in quantitate vel pondere, et alio modo in substantia
way in quantity or weight and in-another way in the-substance
materiæ. Quolibet enim istorum quinque modorum
of-the-material in-any-whatever for of-these five ways
sigillatim aut pluribus simul potest mutari moneta. Bonum
singly or in-several together can to-be-changed money good
est igitur istos modos discurrendo declarare, et per rationem
it-is therefore these ways by-running-through to-declare and by reason
inquirere, si aliquo eorum potest juste mutari moneta,
to-inquire if in-any of-them can justly to-be-changed money
et quando, et per quem, et qualiter, et propter quid.
and when and by whom and how and on-account-of what

Capitulum IX. De mutatione monetæ in figura.

Chapter IX about the-change of-money in figure

Figura impressa seu character monetæ potest dupliciter
the-figure impressed or character of-money can in-two-ways
innovari. Uno modo, non prohibendo cursum monetæ prioris,
to-be-renewed in-one way not by-prohibiting the-course of-the-money prior
ut si princeps in moneta, quæ sit suo tempore; inscriberet
as if the-prince on the-money which be in-his time should-inscribe
nomen suum, permittendo semper cursum præcedentis. Et hoc
name his by-permitting always the-course of-the-preceding and this
non est proprie mutatio, nec est magna vis si hoc fiat,
not is properly a-change nor is great the-force if this be-done
dum tamen non implicetur cum hoc alia mutatio. Alio
provided however not be-involved with this another change in-another
modo potest innovari figura, faciendo novam monetam cum
way can to-be-renewed the-figure by-making new money with
prohibitione cursus antiquæ. Et est proprie mutatio; et
prohibition of-the-course of-the-old and it-is properly a-change and

potest fieri juste propter alteram duarum causarum.
can to-be-made justly on-account-of one of-two causes
Una est si aliquis princeps extraneus, vel aliqui falsarii,
one is if some prince foreign or some forgers
malitiose effigiarint vel contrafecerint modulos seu cuneos
maliciously shall-have-copied or shall-have-counterfeited the-molds or dies
monetarum, et inveniatur in regno moneta sophistica,
of-the-moneys and be-found in the-kingdom money sophistical
falsa et similis bonæ in colore et figura: tunc qui
false and like to-the-good in color and figure then for-one-who
non posset aliter remedium apponere, expediret mutare
not could otherwise a-remedy to-apply it-would-be-expedient to-change
modulos et figuram impressionis monetæ. Alia causa
the-molds and the-figure of-the-impression of-the-money the-other cause
posset esse, si forsan antiqua moneta esset vetustate nimia
could to-be if perhaps the-old money were by-age excessive
impejorata, vel in pondere diminuta: tunc cursus deberet
worsened or in weight diminished then the-course ought
prohiberi, et in nova meliore esset facienda impressio
to-be-prohibited and on the-new better-one would-be to-be-made an-impression
differens, ut vulgus sciret per hoc distinguere
different that the-common-folk might-know through this to-distinguish
inter istam et illam. Sed non videtur mihi, quod princeps
between this and that but not seems to-me that the-prince
posset inhibere cursum prioris monetæ sine altera istarum
could to-forbid the-course of-the-prior money without one of-these
causarum; alias enim talis mutatio esset præternecessaria,
causes otherwise for such change would-be unnecessary
scandalosa, et communitati damnosa. Nec apparet quod
scandalous and to-the-community harmful nor appears-it that
princeps ad talem mutationem posset aliunde moveri, nisi
the-prince to such change could from-elsewhere to-be-moved except

propter alterum duorum: aut videlicet, quia vult ut
on-account-of one of-two-things either namely because he-wishes that
in quolibet numismate inscribatur nomen suum et nullum
on any-whatever coin be-inscribed name his and no
aliud, et hoc esset facere irreverentiam prædecessoribus
other and this would-be to-do irreverence to-predecessors
suis et ambitio vana; aut quia vult plus fabricare de
his and an-ambition vain or because he-wishes more to-make of
moneta, ut ex hoc habeat plus de lucro, juxta illud
money that from this he-may-have more of profit according-to that
quod tactum est supra in capitulo vii, et hoc est prava
which touched was above in chapter seventh and this is wicked
cupiditas, in præjudicium et damnum totius communitatis.
greed to the-prejudice and loss of-the-whole community

Capitulum X. De mutatione proportionis monetarum.

Chapter X about the-change of-the-proportion of-moneys

Proportio est rei ad rem comparatio, vel habitudo: sicut
proportion is of-a-thing to a-thing the-comparison or relation as
in proposito monetæ aureæ ad monetam argenteam debet
in the-case-at-hand of-money gold to money silver ought
esse certa habitudo in valore et pretio. Nam secundum hoc
to-be a-fixed relation in value and price for according-to this
quod aurum est de natura sua pretiosius et rarius argento,
that gold is by nature its more-precious and rarer than-silver
et ad inveniendum vel habendum difficilius, ipsum aurum
and for finding or having more-difficult the-very gold
æqualis ponderis debet prævalere in certa proportione; sicut
of-equal weight ought to-prevail in a-fixed proportion as
forsan esset proportio viginti ad unum, et sic una libra auri
perhaps would-be the-proportion of-twenty to one and so one pound of-gold
valeret viginti libras argenti et una marcha xx marchas,
would-be-worth twenty pounds of-silver and one mark twenty marks

et una uncia xx uncias, et sic semper conformiter. Et
and one ounce twenty ounces and so always conformably and
possibile est quod sit una alia proportio, sicut forte xxv
possible it-is that there-be one other proportion as perhaps twenty-five
ad tria, et quævis alia. Verumtamen ista proportio debet sequi
to three and any other nevertheless this proportion ought to-follow
naturalem habitudinem auri ad argentum in pretiositate, et
the-natural relation of-gold to silver in preciousness and
secundum hoc instituenda est hujusmodi proportio, quam non
according-to this to-be-instituted is such proportion which not
licet voluntarie transmutare, nec potest juste variari, nisi
it-is-lawful voluntarily to-change nor can justly to-be-varied except
propter causam realem, et variationem ex parte ipsius
on-account-of a-cause real and variation on the-part of-the-very
materiæ, quæ tamen raro contingit. Ut si forsan notabiliter
material which however rarely happens as if perhaps notably
minus inveniretur de auro, quam ante, tunc oporteret quod
less were-found of gold than before then it-would-behoove that
esset carius in comparatione ad argentum, et quod mutaretur
it-be dearer in comparison to silver and that it-be-changed
in pretio et valore. Si parum aut nihil sit mutatum in
in price and value if little or nothing be changed in
re, tunc hoc nullo modo posset licere principi. Nam
the-thing then this in-no way could to-be-lawful for-the-prince for
si hujusmodi proportionem ad libitum immutaret, ipse per
if such proportion at pleasure he-should-change he through
hoc posset attrahere sibi indebite pecunias subditorum,
this could to-draw to-himself unduly the-moneys of-the-subjects
ut si taxaret aurum ad parvum pretium, et illud emeret
as if he-should-assess gold at a-small price and it should-buy
pro argento, deinde augmentato pretio, rursum venderet
for silver then with-increased price again should-sell

aurum suum vel monetam auream, vel conformiter de
gold his or the-money gold or conformably about
argento: illud esset simile, sicut si poneret pretium in
silver that would-be like as if he-should-set a-price on
toto frumento regni sui, et emeret et postea venderet
all the-grain of-kingdom his and should-buy and afterward should-sell
pro majori pretio. Quisque certe potest clare videre quod
for a-greater price each-one surely can clearly to-see that
ista esset injusta exactio, et vere tyrannis: immo videretur
this would-be an-unjust exaction and truly tyranny nay it-would-seem
violentior et pejor quam illa fuerit quam fecit Pharao in
more-violent and worse than that was which made Pharaoh in
Ægypto. De qua Cassiodorus inquit: Joseph legimus contra
Egypt about which Cassiodorus says Joseph we-read against
famem funestam, emendi quidem tritici dedisse licentiam,
famine deadly of-buying indeed grain to-have-given leave
sed tale posuisse pretium, ut suæ subjectionis avidus populus
but such to-have-set a-price that of-his subjection eager the-people
se venderet, potius alimoniam mercaturus. Quale fuit rogo
itself might-sell rather food about-to-buy what-kind was I-ask
tunc miserum vivere, quibus acerba subventio libertatem
then wretched to-live for-whom bitter relief liberty
suam videbatur adimere, ubi non minus ingemit liberatus
their seemed to-take-away where not less groans the-freed-man
quam potuit flere captivus. Credo virum sanctum hac
than could to-weep the-captive I-believe the-man holy by-this
necessitate constrictum, ut et avaro principi satisfaceret,
necessity constrained that both the-avaricious prince he-might-satisfy
et periclitanti populo subveniret. Hæc ille. Istud autem
and the-endangered people he-might-relieve these-things he this but
monopolium monetarum adhuc esset verius tyrannicum,
monopoly of-moneys still would-be more-truly tyrannical

eo quod foret magis involuntarium et communitati non
in-that that it-would-be more involuntary and to-the-community not
necessarium, sed præcise damnosum. Si quis autem dicat
necessary but precisely harmful if one but say
quod non est simile de frumento, quia aliqua spectant
that not it-is like about grain because some-things pertain
specialiter ad principem in quibus potest statuere pretium
specially to the-prince in which he-can to-establish a-price
prout placet, sicut dicunt aliqui de sale, et fortiori ratione
as it-pleases as say some about salt and with-stronger reason
de moneta; istud autem monopolium seu gabella salis, aut
about money this but monopoly or gabelle of-salt or
cujuscumque rei necessariæ communitati, injusta est. Et si
of-any thing necessary to-the-community unjust is and if
qui principes statuerint leges hoc eis concedentes, ipsi
any princes shall-have-established laws this to-them granting they
sunt de quibus Dominus per Isaiam prophetam dicit,
are about whom the-Lord through Isaiah the-prophet says
Væ qui condunt leges iniquas et scribentes injustitias
woe-to-those who frame laws unjust and writing injustices
scripserunt, etc. Rursum ex primo et sexto capitulis satis
they-have-written etc again from the-first and sixth chapters enough
patet, quod pecunia est ipsius communitatis. Ideoque, et
is-plain that money is of-the-very community and-therefore and
ne princeps possit malitiose fingere causam mutationis
lest the-prince may-be-able maliciously to-feign the-cause of-the-change
proportionis monetarum in præsenti capitulo assignatam,
of-the-proportion of-moneys in the-present chapter assigned
ipsi soli communitati spectat decernere, si et quando et
to-the-very sole community it-belongs to-decide if and when and

qualiter et usquequo immutanda est hujusmodi proportio,
how and how-far to-be-changed is such proportion
nec princeps hoc debet sibi quomodolibet usurpare.
nor the-prince this ought to-himself in-any-way to-usurp

Capitulum XI. De mutatione appellationis monetæ

CHANGES IN NAME, WEIGHT, AND MATERIAL

The names of money, penny, shilling, and pound, were set by the ancients with deep reason, as Cassiodorus says, and must not be changed, since rents fixed in them would rise or fall unjustly. To lessen the weight under the same stamp is the vilest falsity, which Cassiodorus and Scripture's curse on double weights condemn. Changing the material or mixture is worse still, harder to detect, and a prince who does it under God's name and the cross commits perjury; the community should keep the standard.

Sicut fuit dictum capitulo iiii, quædam sunt appellationes seu
as was said in-chapter fourth certain are names or
necessaria accidentalia monetarum, denominativa ab auctore,
necessary accidentals of-moneys denominative from the-author
vel a loco, et ista quasi nihil vel modicum faciunt ad
or from the-place and these as-if nothing or little make to
propositum. Sed alia sunt magis essentialia et appropriata
the-purpose but others are more essential and appropriated
numismati, sicut denarius, solidus, libra, et similia, quæ
to-coin as penny shilling pound and the-like which
denotant pretium, sive pondus, et quæ fuerunt alta
denote price or weight and which were with-deep
consideratione et magno mysterio ab antiquis imposita.
consideration and great mystery by the-ancients imposed
Unde Cassiodorus, Animadvertendum est, inquit, quanta
whence Cassiodorus to-be-noticed it-is says-he with-how-great

ratione ipsæ pecuniæ a veteribus collectæ sunt. Sex millia
reason the-very moneys by the-ancients collected are six thousand
denariorum solidum esse volebant, scilicet ut radiantis
pennies a-solidus to-be they-wished namely that of-the-radiant
metalli formata rotunditas ætatem mundi, quasi sol aureus,
metal the-formed roundness the-age of-the-world as-if a-sun golden
convenienter includeret. Senarium vero (quem non immerito
fittingly might-enclose the-senary but which not undeservedly
perfectum antiquitas docta definivit) unciæ, qui mensuræ
perfect antiquity learned defined of-the-ounce which of-measure
primus gradus est, appellatione significavit, quam duodecies
the-first degree is by-the-name it-signified which twelve-times
similitudine mensium computatum in libræ plenitudinem
by-the-likeness of-the-months reckoned into of-the-pound the-fullness
ab anni circulo collegerunt. O inventa prudentium! O
from of-the-year the-circle they-gathered O the-findings of-the-prudent O
provisa majorum! Exquisita res est, quæ et usui humano
the-provisions of-the-elders exquisite a-thing it-is which both for-use human
necessaria distingueret, et tot arcana naturæ figuraliter
necessary might-distinguish and so-many secrets of-nature figuratively
contineret. Merito igitur dicitur libra, quæ tanta rerum est
might-contain deservedly therefore is-called a-pound which with-so-great of-things is
consideratione trutinata. Hæc ille. Si autem alio modo
consideration weighed these-things he if but in-another way
utamur pro nunc istis nominibus et nummis, nunquam tamen
we-use for now these names and coins never however
immutanda sunt frustra. Sint igitur, gratia exempli,
to-be-changed are-they in-vain let-there-be therefore for-the-sake of-example
tres modi numismatis: primum valeat unum denarium,
three modes of-coin the-first let-be-worth one penny
secundum unum solidum, et tertium unam libram. Si ergo
the-second one shilling and the-third one pound if therefore

appellatio unius immutetur, et non alterius, jam variabitur
the-name of-one be-changed and not of-another already will-be-varied
proportio. Sicut qui vocaret vel faceret valere primum
the-proportion as he-who should-call or should-make to-be-worth the-first
numisma duos denarios, aliis non mutatis, proportio
coin two pennies with-the-others not changed the-proportion
esset variata; quod non licet fieri (ut patet ex
would-be varied which not it-is-lawful to-be-done as is-plain from
capitulo præcedenti) nisi forte rarissime, et hoc ad præsens
the-chapter preceding unless perhaps very-rarely and this at present
non curo. Oportet igitur si proportio remaneat immutata,
not I-care-for it-behooves therefore if the-proportion remain unchanged
et unum numisma mutet appellationem, quod aliud etiam
and one coin change name that the-other also
proportionabiliter immutetur: ut si primum vocetur duo
proportionally be-changed as if the-first be-called two
denarii, secundum vocetur duo solidi, et tertium duæ libræ.
pennies the-second be-called two shillings and the-third two pounds
Si autem non fieret alia mutatio, oporteret mercimonia
if but not were-made another change it-would-behoove merchandise
ad majus pretium comparare proportionabiliter seu appellare.
at a-greater price to-buy proportionally or to-name
Sed talis mutatio nominum fieret frustra, et non est
but such change of-names would-be-made in-vain and not is
facienda, quia scandalosa esset, et appellatio falsa. Illud
to-be-made because scandalous it-would-be and the-name false that
enim vocaretur libra, quod in veritate non esset libra; quod
for would-be-called a-pound which in truth not would-be a-pound which
est inconveniens, ut nunc dictum est. Verumtamen nullum
is unfitting as now said it-has-been nevertheless no
aliud inconveniens sequeretur, ubi non essent pensiones vel
other disadvantage would-follow where not were pensions or

aliqui reditus ad pecuniæ numerum assignati; ubi vero essent,
some revenues to of-money the-number assigned where but they-were
statim patet, quod cum inconvenientibus prædictis hujusmodi
at-once is-plain that with the-disadvantages aforesaid such
reditus ex tali mutatione proportionaliter minuerentur, aut
revenues from such change proportionally would-be-diminished or
crescerent irrationabiliter et injuste, ac etiam in præjudicium
would-grow unreasonably and unjustly and also to the-prejudice
multorum. Nam ubi pensiones vel reditus aliquorum essent
of-many for where the-pensions or revenues of-some were
nimis parvi, deberent per alium modum specialem augeri,
too small they-ought by another way special to-be-increased
et non isto modo præjudiciali et damnoso. Hæc ergo
and not by-this way prejudicial and harmful this therefore
appellationis mutatio præcise nunquam est facienda, et
of-the-name change precisely never is to-be-made and
maxime princeps in nullo casu debet hoc attentare.
most the-prince in no case ought this to-attempt

Capitulum XII. De mutatione ponderis monetarum.

Chapter XII about the-change of-the-weight of-moneys

Si pondus numismatis mutaretur, et cum hoc variaretur
if the-weight of-the-coin were-changed and with this were-varied
proportionabiliter pretium, et appellatio cum figura, hoc
proportionally the-price and the-name with the-figure this
esset facere aliud genus monetæ; sicut qui faceret de
would-be to-make another kind of-money as he-who should-make from
uno denario duos obolos, vel aliquid tale, sine perditione
one penny two halfpennies or something such without loss
vel lucro. Et istud posset licite aliquotiens fieri propter
or profit and this could lawfully sometimes to-be-done on-account-of
aliquam transmutationem realem in materia monetabili, quæ
some transmutation real in the-material coinable which

non potest nisi rarissime contingere, sicut de quadam alia
not can except very-rarely to-happen as about a-certain other
mutatione dictum est cap. x. Nunc autem volo dicere
change said it-was in-chapter tenth now but I-wish to-speak
de præcisa mutatione ponderis seu quantitatis monetæ, quæ
about the-precise change of-the-weight or quantity of-money which
fieret appellatione et pretio non mutatis. Et videtur mihi
would-be-made with-name and price not changed and it-seems to-me
quod talis mutatio est simpliciter illicita, potissime principi
that such change is simply illicit most-of-all for-the-prince
qui nullo modo potest hoc facere, nisi turpiter et injuste.
who in-no way can this to-do except shamefully and unjustly
Primo namque, quoniam imago seu superscriptio in numismate
first for since the-image or superscription on the-coin
per principem ponitur ad designandam certitudinem ponderis,
by the-prince is-placed for designating the-certainty of-the-weight
et materiæ qualitatem, sicut fuit ostensum supra cap.
and of-the-material the-quality as was shown above in-chapter
iiii. Ergo si non responderet veritas in pondere, patet statim
fourth therefore if not should-correspond the-truth in weight it-is-plain at-once
quod esset falsitas vilissima et deceptio fraudulenta. Sæpe
that it-would-be a-falsity most-vile and a-deception fraudulent often
enim mensuræ bladi et vini et aliæ signatæ sunt publico
for the-measures of-grain and of-wine and others marked are with-the-public
signo regis, et si quis in istis fraudem committat, reputatur
sign of-the-king and if one in these fraud commit he-is-reckoned
falsarius. Omnino autem consimiliter suscriptio numismatis
a-forger altogether but likewise the-inscription of-the-coin
significat mensuram ponderis et materiæ veritatem. Quam
signifies the-measure of-weight and of-the-material the-truth how
igitur sit iniquum, quam detestabile, præcipue in Principe,
therefore it-be iniquitous how detestable especially in a-Prince

sub eodem signo pondus minuere, quis sufficeret explicare?
under the-same sign the-weight to-diminish who would-suffice to-unfold
De hoc enim ad istud propositum Cassiodorus v°
about this for to this purpose Cassiodorus in-the-fifth
Variarum sic inquit: Quid enim tam nepharium, quam ut
of-the-Variae thus says what for so nefarious than that
præscriptionibus liceat etiam in ipsa trutinæ qualitate
by-prescriptions it-be-lawful even in the-very of-the-scale quality
peccare, ut quod est justitiæ proprium datum, hoc per
to-sin so-that what is of-justice the-proper given this through
fraudes noscatur esse corruptum. [Idemque lib. I, cap. x:
frauds be-known to-be corrupted and-the-same in-book first chapter tenth
Talia igitur secreta violare, sic certissima velle confundere,
such therefore secrets to-violate so most-certain-things to-wish to-confound
nonne veritatis ipsius videtur esse crudelis ac fœda
surely of-truth itself seems to-be a-cruel and foul
laceratio? Exerceantur negociatores in mercibus; emantur late
laceration let-be-exercised traders in wares let-be-bought broadly
quæ vendantur angustius. Constet populis pondus ac
the-things-which are-sold more-narrowly let-stand for-the-peoples weight and
mensura probabilis: quia cuncta turbantur, si integritas cum
measure approved because all-things are-disturbed if integrity with
fraudibus misceatur. Da certe solidum, et aufer inde, si
frauds be-mixed give surely a-solidus and take-away from-it if
prævales. Trade libram, et aliquid inde, si potes, imminue.
you-prevail hand-over a-pound and something from-it if you-can diminish
Cuncta ista, nominibus ipsis constat esse provisum,
all these-things by-the-names themselves it-is-agreed to-have-been provided
aut integra tribuis, aut non ipsa quæ dicuntur, exsolvis.
either whole you-give or not the-very-things which are-named you-pay
Non potestis omnino, non potestis nomina integritatum dare,
not you-can at-all not you-can the-names of-wholeness to-give

et scelestas imminutiones efficere]. Adhuc autem Princeps
and wicked diminutions to-effect further but the-Prince
per hunc modum sibi posset adquirere pecuniam alienam,
by this way for-himself could to-acquire money of-another
nec aliunde potest moveri ad mutationem hujusmodo
nor from-elsewhere can to-be-moved to change of-this-kind
faciendam. Reciperet enim numismata boni ponderis, et ex
to-be-made he-would-receive for coins of-good weight and from
eis fabricaret et traderet numismata tempore mutilato
them would-make and would-hand-over coins at-the-time with-mutilated
pondere. Et hoc non est aliud quam quod in multis locis
weight and this not is other than what in many places
sacræ Scripturæ prohibetur a Deo: Inde ait sapiens: Pondus
of-sacred Scripture is-forbidden by God thence says the-wise-man weight
et pondus, mensura et mensura, utrumque abominabile
and weight measure and measure both abominable
apud Deum. Et in Deuteronomio dicitur, quod Dominus
with God and in Deuteronomy it-is-said that the-Lord
abominatur eum qui facit hoc. Et ideo divitiæ taliter
abominates him who does this and therefore riches thus
congregatæ in malum domini sui, consumuntur in brevi,
gathered to the-evil of-lord their are-consumed in brief
quia, sicut ait Tullius, male parta male dilabuntur.
because as says Tully ill gotten ill slip-away

Capitulum XIII. De mutatione materiæ monetarum.

Chapter XIII about the-change of-the-material of-moneys

Aut materia numismatis est simplex, aut mixta, ut patuit
either the-material of-the-coin is simple or mixed as was-plain
ex capitulo tertio. Si simplex, ipsa potest propter defectum
from the-chapter third if simple it can on-account-of defect
dimitti: ut si nihil aut modicum auri possit inveniri,
to-be-given-up as if nothing or little of-gold can to-be-found

oportet ipsum desinere monetari; et si de novo reperiretur
it-behooves it to-cease to-be-coined and if from new should-be-found
sufficiens abundantia ejus, incipiendum esset facere monetam
sufficient abundance of-it to-be-begun it-would-be to-make money
ex ipso, sicut aliquotiens fuit factum. Rursus aliqua materia
from it as sometimes was done again some material
deberet dimitti monetari propter abundantiam excessivam.
ought to-be-given-up to-be-coined on-account-of abundance excessive
Propter hoc enim ærea moneta olim recessit ab usu, ut
on-account-of this for bronze money once withdrew from use as
dictum fuit in eodem capitulo tertio. Sed hujusmodi causæ
said was in the-same chapter third but such causes
eveniunt rarissime, et in nullo alio relinquenda est vel
happen very-rarely and in no other-case to-be-given-up is or
assumenda noviter pura sive simplex materia monetarum.
to-be-taken-up newly pure or simple the-material of-moneys
Si autem in tali materia sit mixtio, ipsa debet fieri
if but in such material there-be a-mixture it ought to-be-made
solum in minus precioso metallo per se monetabili (ut
only in the-less precious metal by itself coinable as
probatum fuit in eodem capitulo tertio) et in nigra moneta,
proved was in the-same chapter third and in black money
ut cognoscatur purum a mixto. Hæc autem mixtio debet
that be-known the-pure from the-mixed this but mixture ought
esse secundum certam proportionem, sicut decem de argento
to-be according-to a-fixed proportion as ten of silver
contra unum, vel contra tria de alio metallo, vel alio
against one or against three of another metal or in-another
modo, sicut expedit, secundum prius dicta in capitulo
way as is-expedient according-to the-earlier said-things in chapter
tertio. Et ista proportio potest mutari propter aliquam
third and this proportion can to-be-changed on-account-of some

proportionem seu variationem realem in natura materiæ vel
proportion or variation real in the-nature of-the-material or
æquivalentis, et dupliciter: aut propter defectum materiæ,
of-the-equivalent and in-two-ways either on-account-of defect of-material
sicut qui non haberet argentum, nisi multum notabiliter
as he-who not should-have silver except very notably
minus quam ante, tunc potest diminui proportio argenti
less than before then can to-be-diminished the-proportion of-silver
ad reliquum metallum in nigra moneta; aut si haberetur
to the-remaining metal in black money or if were-had
de argento abundanter plus quam ante, tunc plus de eo
of silver abundantly more than before then more of it
deberet poni in ista mixtione. Sed, sicut prædictum est,
ought to-be-put in this mixture but as aforesaid it-is
istæ causæ valde raro contingunt, et si forsan talis casus
these causes very rarely happen and if perhaps such a-case
aliquotiens evenerit, adhuc hujusmodi proportionis sive
sometimes shall-have-happened still of-such proportion or
mixtionis mutatio facienda est per communitatem ad majorem
mixture the-change to-be-made is by the-community for greater
securitatem habendam, et deceptionis malitiam evitandam;
security to-be-had and of-deception the-malice to-be-avoided
sicut de mutatione proportionis monetarum dictum est in
as about the-change of-the-proportion of-moneys said it-is in
capitulo x. In nullo vero alio casu debet mutari mixtio
chapter tenth in no but other case ought to-be-changed mixture
talis sive proportio mixtionis, potissime nunquam potest
such or the-proportion of-mixture most-of-all never can
hoc licere Principi, propter rationes factas in capitulo
this to-be-lawful for-the-Prince on-account-of the-reasons made in the-chapter
præcedenti, quæ de directo faciunt ad istud propositum,
preceding which from direct make for this purpose

quoniam impressio monetæ est signum veritatis materiæ
since the-impression of-money is the-sign of-the-truth of-the-material
et hujusmodi mixtionis; hanc igitur mutare, esset monetam
and of-such mixture this therefore to-change would-be money
falsificare. Præterea in quibusdam nummis inscribitur nomen
to-falsify moreover on certain coins is-inscribed the-name
Dei, vel alicujus sancti, et signum crucis; quod fuit
of-God or of-some saint and the-sign of-the-cross which was
inventum et antiquitus institutum in testimonium veritatis
invented and of-old instituted in testimony of-the-truth
monetæ in materia et pondere. Si igitur Princeps sub ista
of-the-money in material and weight if therefore the-Prince under this
inscriptione immutet materiam sive pondus, ipse videtur tacite
inscription should-change the-material or weight he seems tacitly
mendacium et perjurium committere, et falsum testimonium
a-lie and perjury to-commit and false testimony
perhibere, ac etiam prævaricator fieri illius præcepti legalis
to-bear and also a-transgressor to-become of-that precept legal
quo dicitur: Non assumes nomen Dei tui in vanum.
by-which it-is-said not you-shall-take the-name of-God your in vain
Etiam ipse abutitur hoc vocando monetam; nam, secundum
also he abuses this by-calling money for according-to
Hugutionem, moneta dicitur a moneo, quia monet ne
Huguccio money is-called from moneo because it-warns lest
fraus in metallo vel pondere sit. Rursum princeps per hunc
fraud in metal or weight be again the-prince by this
modum ad se posset trahere populi substantiam indebite,
way to himself could to-draw of-the-people the-substance unduly
sicut fuit dictum de mutatione ponderis in priori capitulo,
as was said about the-change of-weight in the-prior chapter
et multa alia inconvenientia sequerentur. Imo pro certo ista
and many other disadvantages would-follow nay for certain this

falsitas esset pejor quam in mutatione ponderis: quia magis
falsity would-be worse than in the-change of-weight because more
est sophistica, et minus perceptibilis, et magis potest nocere
it-is sophistical and less perceptible and more it-can to-harm
et plus lædere communitatem. Et propter hoc, ubi fit
and more to-injure the-community and on-account-of this where is-made
talis mixtio vel nigra moneta, communitas debet custodire
such mixture or black money the-community ought to-keep
penes se, in loco ve locis publicis, exemplar istius proportionis
with itself in place or places public a-pattern of-that proportion
et qualitatem mixtionis, pro vitandis periculis; ne videlicet
and the-quality of-the-mixture for to-be-avoided dangers lest namely
Princeps (quod absit!) vel monetarii mixtionem hujusmodi
the-Prince which be-it-far or the-moneyers mixture of-this-kind
occulte falsificarent. Sicut etiam apud communitatem servantur
secretly should-falsify as also with the-community are-kept
quandoque aliarum mensurarum exemplaria.
sometimes of-other measures patterns

Capitulum XIIII. De mutatione composita monetarum

COMPOUND CHANGES, AND WHY THE PROFIT IS UNJUST

A compound change is rarer still and never the prince's to make. The prince's profit from changing money is unjust, since he takes what is lost by the community, and if he may take a little he may take all and reduce his subjects to servitude. It is unnatural, making money breed money, and worse than usury: the usurer lends to a willing borrower, but the prince takes his subjects' good money by force and returns them worse.

Mutatio monetæ composita est, quando plures mutationes
the-change of-money compound is when several changes
simplices implicantur in unam, sicut qui mutaret simul
simple are-involved into one as he-who should-change at-once
proportionem monetæ vel mixtionem materiæ, vel cum hoc
the-proportion of-money or the-mixture of-the-material or with this
etiam pondus. Et sic multipliciter fierent combinationes
also the-weight and so in-many-ways would-be-made combinations
possibiles quandoque mutationum simplicium superius
possible sometimes of-the-changes simple above
positarum. Et quoniam nulla mutatio simplex debet fieri,
set-out and since no change simple ought to-be-made
nisi propter reales et naturales causas jam dictas, quæ
except on-account-of real and natural causes already said which
rarissime accidunt, sciendum quod adhuc rarius, imo forte
very-rarely happen it-is-to-be-known that still more-rarely nay perhaps
nunquam, contigit vera occasio faciendi mutationem monetæ
never has-happened a-true occasion of-making a-change of-money
compositam. Et si forsan contingeret, adhuc fortiori ratione
compound and if perhaps it-should-happen still by-stronger reason
quam de simplici, talis mutatio composita nunquam debet
than about the-simple such change compound never ought

per Principem fieri, propter pericula et inconvenientia
by the-Prince to-be-made on-account-of the-dangers and disadvantages
prius tacta, sed per ipsam communitatem. Nam si ex
earlier touched but by the-very community for if from
mutationibus simplicibus indebite factis tot abusiones
changes simple unduly made so-many abuses
sequuntur, sicut dictum est ante; multo majores et pejores
follow as said it-is before much greater and worse
sequerentur ex mutatione composita. Moneta namque debet
would-follow from a-change compound money for ought
esse vera et justa in substantia et pondere, quod nobis
to-be true and just in substance and weight which to-us
signatum est in sacra scriptura, ubi de Abraham dicitur,
signified is in sacred scripture where about Abraham it-is-said
quod ipse emit agrum, pro quo dedit cccc siclos argenti
that he bought a-field for which he-gave four-hundred shekels of-silver
probatæ monetæ publicæ. Si igitur ipsa foret bona, et non
of-approved money public if therefore it were good and not
mutaretur indebite, cum ipsa sit longo tempore durabilis,
were-changed unduly since it be for-a-long time lasting
non oporteret de ea multum fabricare, nec plures monetarios
not it-would-behoove of it much to-make nor several moneyers
ad expensas communitatis habere. Et in hoc esset utilitas
at the-expense of-the-community to-have and in this would-be the-utility
communis, sicut tactum fuit capitulo vii°. Universaliter igitur
common as touched it-was in-chapter seventh universally therefore
ex præmissis concludendum est, quod nulla mutatio monetæ,
from the-premises to-be-concluded it-is that no change of-money
sive simplex, sive composita, est sola principis auctoritate
whether simple or compound is by-sole of-the-prince authority

facienda; et maxime ubi hoc vellet facere propter
to-be-made and most where this he-should-wish to-do on-account-of
emolumentum et lucrum ex tali mutatione sumendum.
the-emolument and profit from such change to-be-taken
Capitulum XV. Quod lucrum quod provenit principi ex
Chapter XV that the-profit which comes to-the-prince from
mutatione monetæ sit injustum.
the-change of-money be unjust
Videtur mihi, quod principalis et finalis causa, propter quam
it-seems to-me that the-principal and final cause on-account-of which
princeps vult sibi assumere potestatem mutandi monetas,
the-prince wishes to-himself to-take-up the-power of-changing moneys
est emolumentum vel lucrum quod potest inde habere:
is the-emolument or profit which he-can thence to-have
aliter enim frustra faceret tot et tantas mutationes.
otherwise for in-vain he-would-make so-many and so-great changes
Volo ergo adhuc plenius ostendere, quod talis adquisitio est
I-wish therefore still more-fully to-show that such acquisition is
injusta. Omnis enim mutatio monetæ, præterquam in rarissimis
unjust every for change of-money except in the-very-rare
casibus prius dictis, falsitatem et deceptionem includit, et
cases earlier said falsity and deception includes and
non potest principi pertinere, sicut probatum est ante. Ex
not can to-the-prince to-pertain as proved it-is before from
quo ergo princeps hanc rem de se injustam usurpat injuste,
which therefore the-prince this thing in itself unjust usurps unjustly
impossibile est quod ibi capiat emolumentum juste. Præterea,
impossible it-is that there he-take emolument justly moreover
quantum princeps capit ibi de lucro tantum necesse est ipsam
as-much-as the-prince takes there of profit so-much necessary it-is the-very
communitatem habere de damno. Quidquid autem princeps
community to-have of loss whatever but the-prince

fecit in damnum communitatis injustitia est et factum
has-done to the-loss of-the-community injustice is and a-deed
tyrannicum, non regale, ut ait Aristoteles. Et si ipse diceret,
tyrannical not royal as says Aristotle and if he should-say
sicut solent mentiri tyranni, quod ipse tale lucrum convertit
as are-wont to-lie tyrants that he such profit turns
in publicam utilitatem, non est concedendum sibi, quia
to public utility not it-is to-be-granted to-him because
pari ratione posset mihi tunicam amovere et dicere quod
by-equal reason he-could from-me the-tunic to-remove and to-say that
ipse indigeret ea pro communi commodo. Etiam secundum
he needed it for the-common advantage also according-to
apostolum non sunt facienda mala ut eveniant bona. Nihil
the-apostle not are to-be-done evil-things that may-come good-things nothing
ergo debet turpiter extorqueri ut postea in pravos usus
therefore ought shamefully to-be-extorted that afterward on wicked uses
fingatur expendi. Rursum, si princeps de jure potest facere
it-be-feigned to-be-spent again if the-prince by right can to-make
unam simplicem mutationem monete et ibi capere aliquod
one simple change of-money and there to-take some
lucrum, pari ratione potest facere majorem mutationem et
profit by-equal reason he-can to-make a-greater change and
capere majus lucrum, et mutare pluries et adhuc plus habere
to-take greater profit and to-change many-times and still more to-have
de lucro et facere mutationem vel mutationes compositas,
of profit and to-make a-change or changes compound
et semper augere lucrum secundum modos prius tactos; et
and always to-increase the-profit according-to the-ways earlier touched and
verisimile est quod ita procederet ipse vel successores sui, aut
likely it-is that so would-proceed he or successors his either
proprio motu aut per consiliarios, ex quo istud liceret,
by-his-own motion or through counselors from which-time this were-lawful

quia natura humana inclinatur et prona est ad augendum
because nature human is-inclined and prone is to increasing
sibi divitias quando hoc potest leviter facere, et sic tandem
for-itself riches when this it-can lightly to-do and so at-last
princeps potest sibi attrahere quasi totam pecuniam sive
the-prince can to-himself to-draw as-if all the-money or
divitias subditorum et eos in servitutem redigere, quod
riches of-the-subjects and them into servitude to-reduce which
esset directe tyrannisare, imo vera et perfecta tyrannis,
would-be directly to-tyrannize nay true and perfect tyranny
sicut patet per philosophos et per historias antiquorum.
as is-plain through the-philosophers and through the-histories of-the-ancients

Capitulum XVI. Quod lucrum in mutatione monetæ est innaturale.

Chapter XVI that profit in the-change of-money is unnatural

Quamvis omnis injustitia sit quodam modo contra naturam,
although every injustice be in-a-certain way against nature
verumtamen accipere lucrum ex mutatione monetæ est
nevertheless to-take profit from the-change of-money is
quodam speciali modo injustum in naturale. Naturale enim
in-a-certain special way unjust in natural natural for
est quibusdam naturalibus divitiis se multiplicare, sicut
it-is for-certain natural riches themselves to-multiply as
cerealia grana quæ sata cum multo fenore reddit ager, ut ait
cereal grains which sown with much interest returns the-field as says
Ovidius, sed monstruosum est et contra naturam quod res
Ovid but monstrous it-is and against nature that a-thing
infecunda pariat, quod res sterilis a tota specie
unfruitful should-bring-forth that a-thing sterile by the-whole species
fructificet vel multiplicetur ex se, cujusmodi est pecunia.
should-bear-fruit or be-multiplied from itself of-which-kind is money

Quum igitur ipsa pecunia affert lucrum non exponendo eam
when therefore the-very money brings profit not by-laying-out it
in mercatione naturalium divitiarum ac in usum proprium
in the-trade of-natural riches and in use proper
ac sibi naturale, sed eam transmutando in semetipsam, sicut
and to-it natural but it by-transmuting into itself as
mutando unam in aliam vel tradendo unam pro alia, tale
by-changing one into another or by-handing-over one for another such
lucrum vile est et præter naturam. Per hanc enim rationem
profit vile is and beyond nature by this for reason
probatur Aristoteles primo Politicæ quod usura est præter
proves Aristotle in-the-first of-the-Politics that usury is beyond
naturam, quia naturalis usus monetæ est quod ipsa sit
nature because the-natural use of-money is that it be
instrumentum permutandi divitias naturales, ut sæpe dictum
an-instrument for-exchanging riches natural as often said
est. Qui igitur utitur ea alio modo, ipse abutitur
it-has-been who therefore uses it in-another way he abuses-it
contra institutionem naturalem monetæ; facit enim, ut ait
against the-institution natural of-money he-makes for as says
Aristoteles, quod denarius pariat denarium, quod est
Aristotle that a-penny should-bring-forth a-penny which is
contra naturam. Adhuc autem, in istis mutationibus ubi
against nature further but in these changes where
capitur lucrum, oportet vocare denarium illud quod in veritate
is-taken profit it-behooves to-call a-penny that which in truth
non est denarius et libram illud quod non est libra, et ita
not is a-penny and a-pound that which not is a-pound and so
de aliis sicut dictum fuit ante. Constat autem quod hoc non
about others as said it-was before it-is-agreed but that this not
est aliud nisi naturæ et rationis ordinem perturbare; unde
is other than of-nature and of-reason the-order to-disturb whence

Cassiodorus ait: Da certe solidum et aufer inde si prævales;
Cassiodorus says give surely a-solidus and take-away from-it if you-prevail
trade libram et aliquid si potes minue, cuncta ista
hand-over a-pound and something if you-can diminish all these-things
nominibus ipsis constat esse provisum aut integrum
by-the-names themselves it-is-agreed to-have-been provided either whole
tribuis aut non ipsa quæ dicuntur exsolvis non potestis
you-give or not the-very-things which are-named you-pay not you-can
omnino nomina integritatum dare et scelestas imminutiones
at-all the-names of-wholeness to-give and wicked diminutions
efficere. Talia ergo naturæ secreta violare, sic certissima
to-effect such therefore of-nature secrets to-violate so most-certain-things
velle confundere nonne veritatis ipsius videtur crudelis ac
to-wish to-confound surely of-truth itself seems a-cruel and
fœda laceratio? Constat prius pondus ac mensura probabilis
foul laceration stands-firm first weight and measure approved
quia cuncta turbantur si integritas cum fraudibus misceatur.
because all-things are-disturbed if integrity with frauds be-mixed
Rursum in libro Sapientiæ dicitur quod omnia Deus disposuit
again in the-book of-Wisdom it-is-said that all-things God arranged
mensura, pondere et numero, sed in mutatione monetæ lucrum
in-measure weight and number but in the-change of-money profit
non capitur nisi fraus in istis rebus certissimis committatur,
not is-taken unless fraud in these things most-certain be-committed
sicut prius declaravi. Ergo Deo et naturæ derogat qui
as earlier I-declared therefore from-God and from-nature derogates he-who
sibi ex hujusmodi mutationibus lucrum captat.
for-himself from of-this-kind changes profit grabs

Capitulum XVII. Quod lucrari in mutatione monetæ pejus
Chapter XVII that to-profit in the-change of-money worse
est quam usura.
is than usury
Tres sunt modi, prout mihi videtur, quibus aliquis potest
three are ways as to-me it-seems by-which someone can
in moneta lucrari, absque hoc quod exponat eam in usu
on money to-profit without this that he-lay-out it in use
suo naturali: unus per artem campsoriam, custodiam vel
its natural one through the-art of-exchange the-keeping or
mercantiam monetarum; alius est usura; tertius monetæ
trading of-moneys another is usury the-third of-money
mutatio. Primus modus vilis est, secundus malus, et tertius
the-change the-first way vile is the-second evil and the-third
pejor. De primis duobus fecit Aristoteles mentionem et non
worse about the-first two made Aristotle mention and not
de tertio, quia tempore suo talis malitia nondum fuerat
about the-third because in-time his such malice not-yet had-been
adinventa. Quod autem primus sit vilis et vituperabilis hoc
invented that but the-first be vile and blameworthy this
probat Aristoteles per rationem jam tactam in præcedenti
proves Aristotle by the-reason already touched in the-preceding
capitulo; hoc enim est quodam modo facere pecuniam
chapter this for is in-a-certain way to-make money
parere. Artem etiam campsoriam vocat abolostaticam, quod
to-bring-forth the-art also of-exchange he-calls obolostatic which
vulgariter solet dici pictavinagium; propter quod sanctus
commonly is-wont to-be-called pictavinage on-account-of which saint
Matheus apostolus qui fuerat campsor, non est reversus ad
Matthew the-apostle who had-been an-exchanger not has returned to
priorem operam post resurrectionem dominicam, sicut fecit
the-former work after the-resurrection of-the-Lord as did

Petrus qui fuerat piscator; et in assignando causam hujusmodi,
Peter who had-been a-fisherman and in assigning the-cause of-this
dicit Beatus Gregorius quod aliud est victum per piscationem
says blessed Gregory that one-thing it-is food by fishing
quærere aliud thelonei lucris pecunias augere. Sunt enim,
to-seek another of-the-toll by-gains money to-increase there-are for
inquit, pleraque negotia quæ sine peccatis aut vix aut
he-says very-many businesses which without sins either scarcely or
nullatenus exerceri possunt, etc. Nam sunt quædam artes
in-no-way to-be-exercised can etc for there-are certain arts
banausæ quæ maculant corpus, sicut est cloacaria, et aliæ
banausic which defile the-body as is sewer-cleaning and others
maculant animam sicut est ista. De usura vero certum est
defile the-soul as is this about usury but certain it-is
quod est mala, detestabilis et iniqua, et ista habentur
that it-is evil detestable and iniquitous and these-things are-had
ex sacra Scriptura; sed nunc restat ostendere quod lucrum
from sacred Scripture but now it-remains to-show that profit
sumere in mutatione monetæ est adhuc pejus quam usura.
to-take in the-change of-money is still worse than usury
Usurarius vero tradidit pecuniam suam ei qui recipit
the-usurer indeed has-handed-over money his to-him who receives
eam voluntarie et qui postea potest ex ea se juvare ac
it voluntarily and who afterward can from it himself to-help and
inde suæ necessitati succurrere, et illud quod dat alteri
thence his need to-relieve and that which he-gives to-the-other
ultra sortem est ex contractu voluntario inter partes, sed
beyond the-principal is from a-contract voluntary between the-parties but
princeps in indebita mutatione monetæ accipit simpliciter
the-prince in an-undue change of-money receives simply
involuntarie pecuniam subditorum, quia prohibet cursum
involuntarily the-money of-the-subjects because he-prohibits the-course

prioris monetæ, melioris, et quam quilibet plus vellet
of-the-prior money better and which anyone more would-wish
habere quam malam; deinde præter necessitatem absque
to-have than the-bad then beyond necessity without
utilitate, quæ ex eo posset provenire subditis, ipse reddet
utility which from it could to-come to-the-subjects he will-return
eis pecuniam minus bonam. Etsi faciat meliorem quam
to-them money less good even-if he-make better than
ante, hoc tamen est ut deterioretur in posterum et tribuat
before this however is that it-be-worsened in the-future and he-give
eis minus æquivalenter de bona quam receperat de alia, et
them less equivalently of good than he-had-received of other and
qualitercunque sit, ipse retinet profecto partem pro se. In
however it-be he keeps surely a-part for himself in
hoc igitur quod ipse supra pecuniam recipit incrementum,
this therefore that he over the-money receives increase
contra et præter naturalem ipsius usum, ista adquisitio par
against and beyond the-natural its use this acquisition equal
est ipsi usuræ, sed pejor quam usura, eo quod est
is to-the-very usury but worse than usury in-that that it-is
minus voluntaria vel magis contra voluntatem subditorum, et
less voluntary or more against the-will of-the-subjects and
absque hoc quod possit ipsis proficere, et præter necessitatem
without this that it-can them to-profit and beyond necessity
penitus. Et quoniam lucrum fœneratoris non tantum excedit,
utterly and since the-profit of-the-usurer not so-much exceeds
nec est ita præjudiciabile generaliter multis, sicut istud quod
nor is so prejudicial generally to-many as this which
contra et supra totam communitatem impositum, non minus
against and over the-whole community imposed not less

tyrannice quam dolose, ita ut sit mihi dubium an potius
tyrannically than deceitfully so that it-be to-me doubtful whether rather
debeat dici violenta prædatio, ved actio fraudulenta.
it-ought to-be-called violent plunder or action fraudulent

Capitulum XVIII. Quod tales mutationes monetarum, quantum est ex se, non sunt permittendæ

CHANGES NOT TO BE PERMITTED, AND THEIR HARMS

Brothels and usury are tolerated to avoid worse, but changing money serves no need; it is a recent invention, and a letter Cassiodorus wrote for King Theodoric condemned even a small change. It shames the prince to falsify what he punishes in forgers, to dishonor his predecessors' coin, and to act the tyrant, as Rehoboam did. It drains gold and silver from the realm, drives away merchants, unsettles rents and loans, and impoverishes the people without their feeling it.

Aliquotiens ne pejus eveniat, et pro scandalo evitando,
sometimes lest worse happen and for scandal to-be-avoided
permittuntur in communitate aliqua inhonesta et mala,
are-permitted in the-community some dishonorable and evil-things
sicut lupanaria publica. Aliquando etiam pro aliqua necessitate
as brothels public sometimes also for some necessity
vel oportunitate permittitur aliqua negotiatio vilis, sicut est
or opportunity is-permitted some trade vile as is
ars campsoris, vel etiam prava, sicut est usura. Sed de
the-art of-the-exchanger or even wicked as is usury but about
tali mutatione monetæ pro lucro accipiendo, non apparet
such change of-money for profit to-be-taken not appears
aliqua causa mundi, quare tantum lucrum debeat an possit
any cause in-the-world why so-great profit ought or can
admitti. Quoniam per istud non evitatur scandalum, sed
to-be-admitted since through this not is-avoided scandal but

potius generatur, ut satis patet ex octavo capitulo, et multa
rather it-is-generated as enough is-plain from the-eighth chapter and many
inconvenientia inde sequuntur, quorum aliqua jam tacta sunt,
disadvantages thence follow of-which some already touched are
et adhuc aliqua postea videbuntur, nec est aliqua necessitas
and still some afterward will-be-seen nor is-there any necessity
sive oportunitas hoc faciendi, neque potest reipublicæ expedire.
or opportunity this of-doing nor can-it for-the-republic to-be-expedient
Cujus rei manifestum signum est, quod mutationes hujusmodi
of-which thing a-manifest sign is that changes of-this-kind
sunt noviter adinventæ, sicut jam tactum est in capitulo
are newly invented as already touched it-is in the-chapter
præcedenti. Nunquam enim sic factum est in civitatibus
preceding never for so done was-it in cities
aut regnis olim prospere gubernatis, nec unquam reperi
or kingdoms once prosperously governed nor ever have-I-found
historiam quæ de hoc faceret mentionem, hoc excepto
a-history which about this made mention with-this excepted
quod in quadam epistola Cassiodori scripta nomine Theodorici
that in a-certain letter of-Cassiodorus written in-the-name of-Theodoric
Regis Italiæ, una parva mutatio in pondere facta, durissime
King of-Italy one small change in weight made very-harshly
reprehenditur, et multum efficaciter reprobatur, quam quidem
is-rebuked and very effectively is-condemned which indeed
efficacius fecerat pro quibusdam stipendariis persolvendis.
more-effectively he-had-made for certain stipendiaries to-be-paid
Unde prædictus rex Boëtio de hoc scribens, inter cætera
whence the-aforesaid king to-Boethius about this writing among other-things
dicit: Quapropter prudentia vestra lectionibus erudita dogmaticis
says wherefore prudence your by-readings learned doctrinal
scelestam falsitatem a consortio veritatis ejiciat, ne
wicked falsity from the-fellowship of-truth may-cast-out lest

cui sit appetibile aliquid de illa integritate subducere. Et
to-anyone be desirable anything from that integrity to-withdraw and
quibusdam interpositis rursum inquit: Mutilari certe non
with-certain-things interposed again he-says to-be-mutilated surely not
debet, quod laborantibus datur, sed a quo actus fidelis exigitur,
ought what to-those-laboring is-given but by whom an-act faithful is-required
compensatio minuta præstetur. Si vero Italici seu Romani
the-compensation diminished be-rendered if but the-Italians or Romans
tales mutationes finaliter fecerunt, sicut videtur ex quadam
such changes finally made as seems from a-certain
prava moneta veteri quæ quandoque reperitur in campis, hoc
wicked money old which sometimes is-found in the-fields this
fuit forte una de causis quare eorum nobile dominium devenit
was perhaps one of the-causes why their noble lordship came
ad nihilum. Sic igitur patet quod istæ mutationes tam malæ
to nothing thus therefore is-plain that these changes so evil
sunt quod de natura sua non sunt aliquatenus permittendæ.
are that from nature their not are in-any-way to-be-permitted
Capitulum XIX. De quibusdam inconvenientibus tangentibus
Chapter XIX about certain disadvantages touching
principem, quæ sequuntur ex mutationibus monetarum.
the-prince which follow from the-changes of-moneys
Multa et magna inconvenientia oriuntur ex taliter mutando
many and great disadvantages arise from thus changing
monetas, quorum aliqua principalius respiciunt principem,
moneys of-which some more-principally regard the-prince
alia totam communitatem, et alia magis partes ipsius
others the-whole community and others more the-parts of-the-very
communitatis. Unde brevi tempore nuper transacto quam
community whence in-brief time lately passed very
plurima talia in regno Franciæ visa sunt evenire, aliqua
many such-things in the-kingdom of-France seen were to-happen some

etiam jam tacta sunt ante quæ tamen expedit recitare.
also already touched were before which however it-is-expedient to-recount
Primo namque nimis detestabile et nimis turpe est principi
first for too detestable and too shameful it-is for-a-prince
fraudem committere, monetam falsificare, aurum vocare quod
fraud to-commit money to-falsify gold to-call what
non est aurum, et libram quod non est libra, et sic de
not is gold and a-pound what not is a-pound and so about
talibus prius positis xii et xiii capitulis. Præterea
such-things earlier set-out in-the-twelfth and thirteenth chapters moreover
sibi incumbit falsos monetarios condemnare. Quomodo
on-him it-is-incumbent false moneyers to-condemn how
igitur satis potest erubescere, si reperiatur in eo, quod in alio
therefore enough can to-blush if there-be-found in him which in another
deberet turpissima morte punire! Rursum, magnum scandalum
he-ought by-most-shameful death to-punish again a-great scandal
est sicut dicebatur viii° capitulo et vile principi, quod
it-is as was-said in-the-eighth chapter and vile for-the-prince that
moneta regni sui nunquam in eodem statu permanet, sed
the-money of-kingdom his never in the-same state remains but
de die in diem variatur; et quandoque in uno loco plus valet
from day to day is-varied and sometimes in one place more is-worth
quam in alio pro eodem tempore. Item, sæpissime ignoratur
than in another for the-same time likewise very-often it-is-unknown
his durantibus temporibus vel mutationibus, quantum
with-these lasting times or changes how-much
valeat hoc numisma vel illud, et oportet mercari seu emere
is-worth this coin or that and it-behooves to-trade or to-buy
vel vendere monetam, seu altercari de precio, quod est contra
or to-sell money or to-wrangle about the-price which is against
ejus naturam; et sic rei quæ debet esse certissima nulla
its nature and so of-a-thing which ought to-be most-certain no

est certitudo, sed potius incerta et inordinata confusio in
is certainty but rather uncertain and disordered confusion to
vituperium principantis. Item, absurdum est et penitus alienum
the-reproach of-the-ruler likewise absurd it-is and wholly foreign
a regia nobilitate, prohibere cursum veræ et bonæ monetæ
to royal nobility to-prohibit the-course of-true and good money
regni, et ex cupiditate præcipere, imo cogere subditos
of-the-kingdom and from greed to-command nay to-compel the-subjects
ad utendum minus bona moneta, quasi velit dicere quod
to using less good money as-if he-wish to-say that
bona est mala, et e converso; cum tamen talibus dictum
the-good is evil and on the-converse since however to-such-men said
est a Domino per prophetam, Væ vobis qui bonum
it-has-been by the-Lord through the-prophet woe to-you who good
dicitis malum, et malum bonum. Et iterum dedecus est
call evil and evil good and again a-disgrace it-is
principi, irrevereri prædecessores suos, nam quisque tenetur ex
for-a-prince to-disrespect predecessors his for each-one is-bound from
dominico præcepto honorare parentes. Ipse autem progenitorum
of-the-Lord precept to-honor parents he but of-the-progenitors
videtur detrahere honori, quando bonam monetam eorum
seems to-detract from-the-honor when the-good money their
abrogat, et facit eam cum eorum imagine scindere: et loco
he-abrogates and makes it with their image to-cut and in-place
monetæ aureæ, quam ipsi fabricaverunt, facit monetam
of-money gold which they made he-makes money
æneam in parte. Quod videtur fuisse figuratum in iii°
bronze in part which seems to-have-been prefigured in the-third
Regum, ubi legitur quod rex Roboam abstulit scuta aurea,
of-Kings where is-read that king Rehoboam took-away the-shields golden
quæ fecerat pater ejus Salomon, pro quibus fecit scuta
which had-made father his Solomon for which he-made shields

ænea. Idem quoque Roboam perdidit quinque partes populi
bronze the-same also Rehoboam lost five parts of-people
sui, pro eo quod ipse voluit in principio nimis gravare
his for this that he wished at the-beginning too-much to-burden
subditos. Adhuc autem rex debet nimis abhorrere tyrannica
the-subjects further but a-king ought very-much to-abhor tyrannical
facta, cujusmodi est mutatio talis, ut prædictum est
deeds of-which-kind is change such as said it-has-been
sæpe; quæ etiam est præjudiciabilis et periculosa pro tota
often which also is prejudicial and dangerous for the-whole
posteritate regali, sicut in sequentibus diffusius ostendetur.
posterity royal as in the-following more-at-length will-be-shown
Capitulum XX. De aliis inconvenientibus totam communitatem
Chapter XX about other disadvantages the-whole community
tangentibus.
touching
Inter multa inconvenientia ex mutatione monetæ venientia,
among many disadvantages from the-change of-money coming
quæ totam communitatem respiciunt, unum est quod
which the-whole community regard one is which
prius tangebatur capitulo xv principaliter, quia videlicet
earlier was-touched in-chapter fifteenth principally because namely
princeps per hoc posset ad se trahere quasi totam
the-prince through this could to himself to-draw as-if all
pecuniam communitatis, et nimis depauperare subjectos. Et
the-money of-the-community and too-much to-impoverish the-subjects and
quemadmodum quædam ægritudines chronicæ sunt aliis
just-as certain illnesses chronic are than-others
periculosiores, eo quod sunt minus sensibiles, ita talis
more-dangerous in-that that they-are less perceptible so such
exactio, quanto minus percipitur, tanto periculosius
exaction by-how-much less it-is-perceived by-so-much more-dangerously

exercetur; non enim ita cito gravamen ipsius sentitur a
it-is-exercised not for so quickly the-burden of-it is-felt by
populo, sicut per unam aliam collectam. Et tamen nulla
the-people as through one other levy and yet no
fere talia potest esse gravior, nulla generalior, nulla major.
almost tallage can to-be heavier none more-general none greater
Rursum aurum et argentum propter tales mutationes et
again gold and silver on-account-of such changes and
impejorationes minorantur in regno; quia non obstante
debasements are-lessened in the-kingdom because not withstanding
custodia deferuntur ad extra, ubi carius allocantur.
guard they-are-carried to outside where more-dearly they-are-valued
Homines enim conantur suam monetam portare ad loca, ubi
men for try their money to-carry to places where
eam credunt magis valere. Ex hoc igitur sequitur diminutio
it they-believe more to-be-worth from this therefore follows a-diminution
monetarum materiæ in regno. Item, illi de extra regnum
of-moneys of-the-material in the-kingdom likewise those from outside the-kingdom
aliquotiens contrafaciunt et afferunt similem monetam in
sometimes counterfeit and bring like money into
regno, et sic attrahunt sibi lucrum, quod rex ille credit
the-kingdom and so draw to-themselves the-profit which king that believes
habere. Adhuc etiam forsitan ipsa monetæ materia in parte
to-have further also perhaps the-very of-money material in part
consumitur, fundendo eam et refundendo totiens quotiens
is-consumed by-melting it and remelting as-often as
solet fieri, ubi mutationes hujusmodi exercentur. Sic ergo
is-wont to-be-done where changes of-this-kind are-exercised thus therefore
materia monetabilis tripliciter minuitur occasione mutationum
the-material coinable in-three-ways is-diminished on-the-occasion of-the-changes
prædictarum. Igitur non possunt, ut videtur, longo tempore
aforesaid therefore not they-can as it-seems for-long time

permanere, ubi non exuberaret materia monetabilis in mineriis
to-remain where not abounded material coinable in mines
vel aliunde; et sic tandem princeps non haberet unde
or from-elsewhere and so at-last the-prince not would-have whence
facere posset sufficienter de bona moneta. Item, propter
to-make he-could sufficiently of good money likewise on-account-of
istas mutationes, bona mercimonia seu divitiæ naturales de
these changes good merchandise or riches natural from
extraneis regnis cessant ad illud afferri, in quo moneta
foreign kingdoms cease to that to-be-brought in which money
sic mutatur, quoniam mercatores cæteris partibus prædiligunt
thus is-changed since merchants to-other parts prefer
ad ea loca transire, in quibus recipiunt monetam certam
to those places to-cross in which they-receive money certain
et bonam. Adhuc autem intrinsecus in tali regno negociatio
and good further but within in such kingdom the-business
mercatorum per tales mutationes perturbatur et multipliciter
of-merchants by such changes is-disturbed and in-many-ways
impeditur; præterea his mutationibus durantibus, reditus
is-hindered moreover with-these changes lasting the-revenues
pecuniæ, pensiones annuales, locagia, censivæ, et similia, non
of-money pensions annual rents quitrents and the-like not
possunt bene et juste taxari seu appreciari, ut notum est.
can well and justly to-be-assessed or to-be-valued as known it-is
Item nec pecunia potest secure mutuo dari seu tradi,
likewise nor money can securely as-loan to-be-given or to-be-handed-over
et sic de talibus; imo multi nolunt ista charitativa subsidia
and so about such-things nay many not-wish these charitable aids
facere, propter tales mutationes. Et tamen sufficientia
to-make on-account-of such changes and yet sufficiency
materiæ monetabilis, mercatores et omnia prædicta sunt aut
of-material coinable merchants and all the-aforesaid are either

necessaria, aut valde utilia naturæ humanæ; et opposita
necessary or very useful to-nature human and the-opposites
sunt præjudiciabilia, et nociva toti communitati civili.
are prejudicial and harmful to-the-whole community civil

Capitulum XXI. De aliis inconvenientibus quæ tangunt partem communitatis

WHETHER THE COMMUNITY OR THE PRINCE MAY CHANGE MONEY

Money-changers and insiders grow rich while the best citizens are impoverished, forgers are encouraged, and accounts fall into confusion. The community may change its money only when a great sum must go abroad and its metal would long be short; otherwise the change is worse than any levy, and the money should soon be restored. Arguments are then set out for the prince: necessity makes all his, a privilege or the community's grant may allow it, and his revenues may rest on it.

Quædam partes communitatis occupatæ sunt in negotiis
certain parts of-the-community occupied are in businesses
honorabilibus aut utilibus toti reipublicæ, ut in divitiis
honorable or useful to-the-whole republic as in riches
naturalibus, ad crescendum vel tractandum pro necessitate
natural for increasing or handling for the-need
communitatis, cujusmodi sunt viri ecclesiastici, judices,
of-the-community of-which-kind are men ecclesiastical judges
milites, agricolæ, mercatores, artifices, et similes. Sed alia
knights farmers merchants craftsmen and the-like but another
pars auget divitias proprias vili quæstu, sicut campsores,
part increases riches its-own by-vile gain as exchangers
mercatores monetæ, sive billonatores: quæ quidem negociatio
merchants of-money or bullion-dealers which indeed business
turpis est, prout dicebatur cap. xviii. Isti igitur qui
shameful is as was-said in-chapter eighteenth these therefore who

sunt quasi præternecessarii reipublicæ, et quidam alii, sicut
are as-if unnecessary to-the-republic and certain others as
receptores et tractatores pecuniæ, et tales, capiunt magnam
receivers and handlers of-money and such take a-great
partem emolumenti sive lucri provenientis ex mutationibus
part of-the-emolument or profit coming from the-changes
monetarum, et maliciose aut fortuito ditantur inde contra
of-moneys and maliciously or by-chance are-enriched thence against
Deum et justitiam, quoniam ipsi sunt tot divitiis
God and justice since they are of-so-many riches
immeriti et tantis bonis indigni. Alii vero depauperantur
undeserving and of-so-great goods unworthy others but are-impoverished
ex hoc, qui sunt optimæ partes illius communitatis, ita
from this who are the-best parts of-that community so
quod princeps plures et meliores subditos suos per istud
that the-prince more and better subjects his through this
damnificat, et nimium gravat, et tamen non totum lucrum
damages and too-much burdens and yet not the-whole profit
venit ad ipsum, sed magnam partem habent isti prædicti,
comes to him but a-great part have these aforesaid
quorum negotiatio vilis est et admixta cum fraude. Rursum,
whose business vile is and mixed with fraud again
quando princeps non facit præscire populo tempus et
when the-prince not makes to-foreknow to-the-people the-time and
modum futuræ mutationis monetæ; quam intendit facere,
mode of-the-future change of-money which he-intends to-make
aliqui per cautelas aut amicos hoc secrete provident, et
some through precautions or friends this secretly foresee and
tunc emunt mercimonia pro moneta debili, et postea vendunt
then buy merchandise for money weak and afterward sell
pro forti, et subito fiunt divites, et nimium lucrantur
for strong and suddenly become rich and too-much profit

indebite contra naturalis mercationis legitimum cursum. Et
unduly against of-natural trade the-lawful course and
videtur esse quodammodo genus monopolii, in præjudicium
it-seems to-be in-a-certain-way a-kind of-monopoly to the-prejudice
et damnum totius communitatis residuæ. Adhuc autem
and loss of-the-whole community remaining further but
per tales mutationes necesse est reditus taxatos ad numerum
by such changes necessary it-is revenues assessed at a-number
pecuniæ aut injuste minui, aut injuste saltem augeri,
of-money either unjustly to-be-diminished or unjustly at-least to-be-increased
sicut tactum fuit ante capitulo xi de mutatione
as touched it-was before in-chapter eleventh about the-change
appellationis monetæ. Item, princeps per tales diversificationes
of-the-name of-money likewise the-prince by such diversifications
et sophisticationes monetarum dat malis occasionem
and sophistications of-moneys gives to-the-wicked occasion
faciendi falsam monetam, aut, quia minus est contra
of-making false money either because less it-is against
conscientiam eorum, ipsam falsificare, ex quo apparet
conscience their it to-falsify from which-fact it-appears
eis quod ita princeps fecit aut quia eorum falsitas non ita
to-them that so the-prince did or because their falsity not so
cito deprehenditur, et possunt facilius et plura mala his
quickly is-detected and they-can more-easily and more evils with-these
stantibus perpetrare quam si semper curreret bona moneta.
standing to-perpetrate than if always ran good money
Præterea, istis durantibus, quam innumerabiles perplexitates,
moreover with-these lasting how innumerable perplexities
obscuritates, errores et inextricabiles difficultates accidunt
obscurities errors and inextricable difficulties happen
in computis, demisiis et receptis! Oriuntur etiam inde
in accounts expenses and receipts arise also thence

materiæ litigiorum, et variæ quæstiones: malæ persolutiones
matters of-lawsuits and various questions bad payments
debitorum, fraudes, inordinationes, abusiones quam plurimæ,
of-debts frauds disorders abuses very many
et inconvenientia multa, quæ nescirem explicare, forsan
and disadvantages many which I-would-not-know-how to-unfold perhaps
quibusdam enumeratis prius, majora et deteriora; neque
than-some enumerated earlier greater and worse nor
mirum, quia, sicut ait Aristoteles, uno inconvenienti
is-it-wonderful because as says Aristotle with-one unfitting-thing
dato multa sequuntur, et hoc non est difficile videre.
given many follow and this not is difficult to-see
Capitulum XXII. Si communitas potest facere tales
Chapter XXII whether the-community can to-make such
mutationes monetæ.
changes of-money
Cum moneta sit communitatis, ut ostensum est capitulo
since money be of-the-community as shown it-has-been in-chapter
sexto, videtur quod ipsa communitas possit de ea ad
sixth it-seems that the-very community can about it at
libitum ordinare. Ergo etiam eam potest quomodolibet
pleasure to-ordain therefore also it it-can in-any-way
variare, et super hoc capere quantum placeat, et de ea
to-vary and over this to-take as-much-as may-please and about it
facere sicut de re sua, maxime autem si pro guerra vel
to-do as about a-thing its-own most but if for war or
pro redemptione sui principis de captivitate, vel aliquo tali
for the-ransom of-its prince from captivity or some such
casu fortuito, ipsa communitas indigeret una magna pecuniæ
chance accidental the-very community needed one great of-money
summa. Ipsa enim tunc posset eam levare per mutationem
sum it for then could it to-raise by the-change

monetæ, nec esset contra naturam aut sicut usura, ex
of-money nor would-it-be against nature or like usury from
quo hoc non faceret princeps sed ipsa communitas cujus
which-fact this not would-do the-prince but the-very community whose
est ipsa moneta. Per hoc enim cessarent nec haberent hic
is the-very money through this for would-cease nor would-have here
locum multæ rationes prius factæ contra mutationes monetæ.
place many reasons earlier made against the-changes of-money
Nec solum videtur quod communitas hoc facere potest, sed
nor only it-seems that the-community this to-do can but
etiam quod hoc deberet ex quo necessaria est collecta,
also that this it-ought from which-time necessary is a-levy
quoniam in tali mutatione aggregari videntur quasi omnes
since in such change to-be-gathered seem as-if all
bonæ conditiones requisitæ in aliqua tallia seu collecta,
the-good conditions required in some tallage or levy
nam in brevi tempore multum lucrum affert, facillima est
for in brief time much profit it-brings most-easy it-is
ad colligendum et distribuendum seu assignandum sine
for collecting and distributing or assigning without
occupatione multorum et sine fraude colligentium et cum
the-occupation of-many and without fraud of-the-collectors and with
parvis expensis. Nulla etiam potest imaginari magis æqualis
small expenses none also can to-be-imagined more equal
seu proportionalis, quia fere qui plus potest, plus solvit,
or proportional because almost he-who more can more pays
et est secundum sui quantitatem minus perceptibilis seu
and it-is according-to its quantity less perceptible or
sensibilis, et imo magis portabilis sine periculo rebellionis
sensible and nay more bearable without danger of-rebellion
et absque murmure populi. Est enim generalissima, quod
and without murmur of-the-people it-is for most-general so-that

neque clericus neque nobilis ab ea se potest per
neither cleric nor noble from it himself can by
privilegium vel alias eximere, sicut multi volunt ab aliis
privilege or otherwise to-exempt as many wish from other
collectis, unde oriuntur invidiæ, dissentiones, lites, scandala
levies whence arise envies dissensions lawsuits scandals
et multa alia inconvenientia quæ non veniunt ex tali
and many other disadvantages which not come from such
mutatione monetæ; ergo in casu predicto ipsa potest et
change of-money therefore in the-case aforesaid it can and
debet fieri per ipsam communitatem. De isto autem, salvo
ought to-be-done by the-very community about this but saving
meliore judicio, mihi videtur ad præsens sic posse dici
better judgment to-me it-seems at present thus to-be-able to-be-said
quod videlicet aut illa summa pecuniæ qua communitas
that namely either that sum of-money which the-community
indiget transferenda est vel exponenda in remotis partibus
needs to-be-transferred is or to-be-spent in remote parts
et inter gentes cum quibus non habetur communicatio; et
and among peoples with whom not is-had communication and
etiam tanta est quod materia monetabilis diu erit ex hoc
also so-great it-is that the-material coinable long will-be from this
notabiliter minor in ista communitate. Et in isto casu potest
notably less in this community and in this case can
fieri collecta per mutationem monetæ vel in materia vel
to-be-made a-levy by the-change of-money either in material or
in mixtione, quia si fieret aliter, talis mutatio esset
in mixture because if it-were-made otherwise such change would-be
postea facienda propter causam assignatam et secundum
afterward to-be-made on-account-of the-cause assigned and according-to
modum positum in capitulo xii. Si vero summa prædicta
the-mode set in chapter twelfth if but the-sum aforesaid

non sit ita magna vel si aliter exponatur, quomodocumque
not be so great or if otherwise it-be-spent in-whatever-way
sit, quod ne materia monetabili non sit diu notabiliter
it-be that lest the-material coinable not be long notably
minus in communitate propter istud, dico quod præter
less in the-community on-account-of this I-say that beyond
inconvenientia incepta in præsenti capitulo, adhuc sequerentur
the-disadvantages begun in the-present chapter still would-follow
plura et majora et pejora quam superius explicata de tali
more and greater and worse than above unfolded from such
mutatione monetæ quam de una alia collecta; et potissime
change of-money than from one other levy and most-of-all
sequeretur periculum ne tandem princeps vellet sibi
would-follow the-danger lest at-last the-prince should-wish to-himself
hoc attribuere et tunc reverterentur omnia inconvenientia
this to-attribute and then would-return all the-disadvantages
prius dicta; nec obstat ratio prima in qua dicebatur
earlier said nor stands-in-the-way the-reason first in which it-was-said
quod pecunia est communitatis, quia nec communitas nec
that money is of-the-community because neither the-community nor
aliquis juste potest abuti re sua seu illicite uti, ea
anyone justly can to-abuse a-thing its-own or illicitly to-use it
sicut faceret communitas si taliter mutaret monetas. Et
as would-do the-community if thus it-should-change moneys and
si forsan communitas ipsa qualitercumque faceret talem
if perhaps the-community itself in-whatever-way should-make such
mutationem, tunc moneta citius quam post reducenda
change then the-money sooner than later to-be-brought-back
est ad statum debitum et permanentem et cessare debet
is to state due and permanent and to-cease ought
captio lucri super istam monetam.
the-taking of-profit over this money

Capitulum XXIII. In quo arguitur quod princeps possit
Chapter XXIII in which it-is-argued that the-prince can
mutare monetas.
to-change moneys
Solet dici quod in casu necessitatis omnia sunt principis.
it-is-wont to-be-said that in case of-necessity all-things are of-the-prince
Ipse ergo de monetis regni sui potest quantum et
he therefore from the-moneys of-kingdom his can as-much and
qualiter sibi videtur expediens accipere pro imminenti
in-what-way to-himself seems expedient to-take for impending
vel instanti necessitate seu pro defensione reipublicæ aut
or pressing necessity or for the-defense of-the-republic or
principatus sui regni; modus vero colligendi pecuniam per
of-the-principate of-his kingdom the-mode but of-collecting money by
mutationem monetæ est valde conveniens et idoneus ut
the-change of-money is very fitting and suitable as
probaretur per ea quæ dicta sunt capitulo præcedenti.
would-be-proved by those-things which said were in-chapter preceding
Adhuc autem, supposito quod princeps non potest taliter
further but supposed that the-prince not can thus
mutare monetas et tantum emolumentum super hoc sumere
to-change moneys and so-great emolument over this to-take
de jure ordinario vel communi, tamen diceretur quod hoc
by right ordinary or common yet it-would-be-said that this
ipse potest alio privato jure, ut puta privilegio speciali
he can by-other private right as for-instance by-privilege special
a Papa vel ecclesia vel Imperatore Romano, vel etiam
from the-Pope or the-church or the-Emperor Roman or even
communitate olim sibi hereditarie concesso propter bona
the-community once to-him hereditarily granted on-account-of good
merita sua. Item, moneta est ipsius communitatis, ut patet
merits his likewise money is of-the-very community as is-plain

ex capitulo vi, et ipsa potest eam sic mutare sicut dictum
from chapter sixth and it can it so to-change as said
est capitulo præcedenti; ergo ipsa communitas potest aut
it-was in-chapter preceding therefore the-very community can or
potuit auctoritate taliter mutandi monetas principi concedere
could the-authority of-thus changing moneys to-the-prince to-grant
et se ipsam spoliare jure ordinationis et mutationis
and it itself to-despoil of-the-right of-ordaining and of-changing
monetæ, et partem monetæ principi dare ab eo capiendam
money and a-part of-the-money to-the-prince to-give by him to-be-taken
quomodo vellet. Item si de jure communi spectat ad
in-whatever-way he-might-wish likewise if by right common it-pertains to
communitatem ordinare de monetis ut dictum est sæpe,
the-community to-ordain about moneys as said it-has-been often
et ipsa propter discordiam multitudinis non potuit convenire
and it on-account-of the-discord of-the-multitude not could to-agree
in unum modum, nonne ipsa potuit in hoc condescendere
on one way surely it could in this to-condescend
quod totaliter dispositio monetæ ex tunc et de cætero
that wholly the-disposition of-money from then and for the-rest
staret in principis voluntate? Certe, sic et quod ratione
should-stand in of-the-prince the-will surely so and that by-reason
hujus ipse caperet emolumentum in mutatione sive ordinatione
of-this he should-take emolument in the-change or ordering
monetæ. Item, in capitulo vii dicebatur quod certa pensio
of-money likewise in chapter seventh it-was-said that a-fixed pension
debet esse taxata pro factione monetæ et quod de et super
ought to-be assessed for the-making of-money and that from and over
illa pensione princeps potest aut debet aliquid habere. Ergo
that pension the-prince can or ought something to-have therefore
pari ratione potest habere vel accipere super hoc plus
by-equal reason he-can to-have or to-take over this more

et plus, et per consequens tantum sicut per mutationem
and more and by consequence as-much as through the-change
monetæ; ergo eodem modo per tales mutationes potest
of-money therefore in-the-same way through such changes he-can
illud emolumentum levare. Item, oportet principem habere
that emolument to-raise likewise it-behooves the-prince to-have
redditus certos et magnos super communitatem unde ipse
revenues fixed and great over the-community whence he
possit tenere statum nobilem et honestum, prout decet
may-be-able to-hold a-state noble and honorable as befits
magnificentiam principalem sive regiam majestatem. Oportet
the-magnificence princely or royal majesty it-behooves
etiam quod isti reditus sint de dominio principis seu de
also that these revenues be from the-domain of-the-prince or from
jure proprio coronæ regalis. Possibile est ergo quod una
the-right proper of-the-crown royal possible it-is therefore that one
et magna pars istorum reddituum olim fuerit assignata super
and great part of-these revenues once was assigned over
factum monetarum taliter quod liceret principi lucrum
the-business of-moneys so that it-were-lawful for-the-prince profit
recipere mutando monetas. Possibile est etiam quod isto
to-receive by-changing moneys possible it-is also that with-this
dempto residui redditus numquam sufficerent pro statu
taken-away the-remaining revenues never would-suffice for the-state
principi pertinenti. Velle ergo amovere sibi potestatem
to-the-prince pertaining to-wish therefore to-remove from-him the-power
mutandi monetas, sed hoc est contra honorem regni
of-changing moneys but this is against the-honor of-the-kingdom
attentare, principem exhæreditare, imo ipsum depauperare et
to-attempt the-prince to-disinherit nay him to-impoverish and
statu magnificentiæ destituere, non tam injuste quam
from-the-state of-magnificence to-strip not so unjustly as

etiam vituperabiliter pro tota communitate, quam non
also blameworthily for the-whole community which not
decet habere principem, nisi excellenti statu pollentem.
befits to-have a-prince unless in-excellent state flourishing

Capitulum XXIV. Responsio ad prædicta et conclusio principalis

THE REPLY, AND THAT TYRANNY CANNOT LAST

Necessity must be judged by the community, and the prince may then borrow, to repay in full, but not alter the coin. Oresme thinks no pope ever granted such a privilege; no emperor can grant what he may not do himself, and a free people cannot knowingly sell itself into servitude. His revenues must be assigned elsewhere. A king seeks the common good, a tyrant his own; a realm with a swollen head cannot last, and Theopompus of Sparta, by remitting taxes, left his sons a longer reign.

Quamvis in solutione primi argumenti forsan multæ
although in the-solution of-the-first argument perhaps many
difficultates possent occurrere, verumtamen breviter transeundo
difficulties could to-occur nevertheless briefly passing
pro nunc occurrit mihi quod ne princeps fingeret talem
for now occurs to-me that lest the-prince should-feign such
necessitatem esse quando non est, sicut fingunt tyranni,
necessity to-be when not it-is as feign tyrants
ut dicit Aristoteles determinandum est per communitatem
as says Aristotle to-be-determined it-is by the-community
vel per valentiorem ejus partem, expresse vel tacite, quando
or by the-weightier its part expressly or tacitly when
qualis et quanta necessitas imminet. Expresse dico, quod
of-what-kind and how-great necessity impends expressly I-say that
ad hoc debet congregari communitas, si adsit facultas;
for this ought to-be-gathered the-community if be-present the-means

tacite vero, si fuerit tam festina necessitas, quod
tacitly but if it-shall-have-been so hasty a-necessity that
populus vocari non possit, et tam evidens quod postea
the-people to-be-called not can and so evident that afterward
appareat notorie; tunc enim licet principi aliquid recipere
it-appear notoriously then for it-is-lawful for-the-prince something to-receive
de facultatibus subditorum non per mutationem monetæ,
from the-means of-the-subjects not through the-change of-money
sed per modum mutui, de quo postea facienda est restitutio
but by way of-loan of which afterward to-be-made is restitution
plenaria. Ad aliud cum dicitur, quod princeps potest habere
full to the-other when it-is-said that the-prince can to-have
privilegium mutandi monetas, primo non intromitto me de
a-privilege of-changing moneys first not I-meddle myself with
potentia papæ, sed puto quod nunquam hoc concesserit, nec
the-power of-the-pope but I-think that never this he-has-granted nor
concederet; quoniam sic ipse daret licentiam malefaciendi,
would-grant since so he would-give license of-wrongdoing
quam nullus bene operando meretur accipere. De Imperatore
which no-one well by-acting deserves to-receive about the-Emperor
autem Romano dico, quod ipse nulli principi potuit unquam
but Roman I-say that he to-no prince could ever
privilegium dare faciendi illud quod sibimet non liceret,
a-privilege to-give of-doing that which for-himself not would-be-lawful
sicut est talis mutatio monetæ, ut patet ex prædictis. De
as is such change of-money as is-plain from the-aforesaid about
communitate etiam dictum est in capitulo xxii
the-community also said it-has-been in chapter twenty-second
quod ipsa non potest mutare monetas, nisi in certo casu,
that it not can to-change moneys except in a-fixed case
et tunc si ipsa committeret hoc principi cum limitatione
and then if it should-commit this to-the-prince with limitation

rationabili, quæ potest ex eodem capitulo et aliis apparere,
reasonable which can from the-same chapter and others to-appear
jam hoc non faceret princeps tanquam principalis auctor,
then this not would-do the-prince as principal author
sed sicut ordinationis publicæ executor. Ad aliud autem
but as of-the-ordinance public the-executor to the-other but
cum dicitur quod communitas cujus est moneta, potest se
when it-is-said that the-community whose is the-money can itself
spoliare suo jure, et illud totum principi tradere, et sic
to-despoil of-its right and that whole to-the-prince to-hand-over and so
totum jus monetæ devolveretur ad principem; primo videtur
the-whole right of-money would-devolve to the-prince first it-seems
mihi quod hoc nunquam faceret communitas bene consulta;
to-me that this never would-do the-community well advised
nec etiam sibi licet quomodolibet mutare monetas aut
nor also for-it is-it-lawful in-any-way to-change moneys or
male uti re sua, ut dictum est capitulo xxii.
badly to-use a-thing its-own as said it-has-been in-chapter twenty-second
Item, communitas civium, quæ naturaliter est libera, nunquam
likewise the-community of-citizens which naturally is free never
scienter se redigeret in servitutem, aut se subjiceret jugo
knowingly itself would-reduce into servitude or itself would-subject to-the-yoke
tyrannicæ potestatis. Si igitur ipsa decepta, aut minis territa
of-tyrannical power if therefore it deceived or by-threats terrified
vel coacta, concedat principi tales mutationes, non advertens
or compelled grant to-the-prince such changes not noticing
inconvenientia quæ sequuntur, et ex hoc serviliter se fore
the-disadvantages which follow and from this servilely itself to-be
subjectam, ipsa potest hoc statim aut quomodolibet revocare.
subjected it can this at-once or in-any-way to-revoke
Item, res quæ spectat alicui quasi de jure naturali, non
likewise a-thing which belongs to-someone as-if by right natural not

potest ad alterum juste transferri. Si autem pertinet moneta
can to another justly to-be-transferred if but pertains money
ipsi liberæ communitati, ut satis patet ex capitulis i et
to-the-very free community as enough is-plain from chapters first and
vi, sicut ergo communitas non potest concedere principi
sixth as therefore the-community not can to-grant to-the-prince
quod ipse habeat auctoritatem abutendi uxoribus civium
that he have authority of-abusing the-wives of-the-citizens
quibuscumque voluerit, ita non potest ei dare tale
whichever he-shall-have-wished so not can to-him to-give such
privilegium monetarum quo ipse non posset nisi male
privilege of-moneys by-which he not could except badly
uti, exigendo tale lucrum super mutatione earum; ut satis
to-use by-exacting such profit over the-change of-them as enough
patet ex multis præcedentibus capitulis. Per hoc etiam
is-plain from many preceding chapters through this also
patet illud, quod addebatur ulterius de communitate non
is-plain that which was-added further about the-community not
concordi in ordinatione monetæ, quæ potest condescendere,
agreeing in the-ordering of-money which can to-condescend
quantum ad hoc, in principis arbitrio. Dico quod sic
as-far-as to this to of-the-prince the-discretion I-say that so
potest quantum ad aliqua et ad tempus, sed non sibi
it-can as-far-as to some-things and for a-time but not to-him
concedendo potestatem tanti lucri sumendi super indebitis
granting the-power of-so-great profit to-be-taken over the-undue
mutationibus supradictis. Ad aliud argumentum sumptum
changes above-said to the-other argument taken
ex capitulo vii, de hoc quod princeps potest aliquod
from chapter seventh about this that the-prince can some
emolumentum habere super monetam, respondetur faciliter,
emolument to-have over money it-is-answered easily

quod hoc est quasi quædam parva pensio et limitata,
that this is as-if a-certain small pension and limited
quæ non potest quantumlibet augeri per mutationes
which not can however-much to-be-increased through the-changes
prædictas, sed stat sine mutatione quacumque. Ad aliud
aforesaid but stands without change any to the-other
conceditur, quod princeps potest habere reditus, et debet
it-is-granted that the-prince can to-have revenues and ought
habere magnificum et honestissimum statum; sed isti reditus
to-have a-magnificent and most-honorable state but these revenues
possunt et debent alibi assignari et aliter sumi quam
can and ought elsewhere to-be-assigned and otherwise to-be-taken than
per tales mutationes indebitas ex quibus tanta mala et
through such changes undue from which so-great evils and
tot inconvenientia oriuntur, sicut ostensum est ante.
so-many disadvantages arise as shown it-has-been before
Posito etiam, quod aliqua pars istorum redituum est super
supposed also that some part of-these revenues is over
monetam, ipsa tamen debet esse certæ et determinatæ
money it however ought to-be of-fixed and determinate
quantitatis, sicut supra quamlibet marcham quæ monetaretur,
quantity as over every mark which should-be-coined
duo solidi, vel sic; et tunc istud esset absque quacumque
two shillings or so and then this would-be without any
mutatione sive lucri augmento irrationabili et enormi quod
change or of-profit increase unreasonable and enormous which
potest provenire ex detestabilibus mutationibus sæpe dictis.
can to-come from the-detestable changes often said
De quibus universaliter concludendum est: quod princeps
about which universally to-be-concluded it-is that the-prince
non potest eas facere aut taliter lucrum accipere, nec de
not can them to-make or thus profit to-receive neither by

jure communi seu ordinario, nec de privilegio sive dono,
right common or ordinary nor by privilege or gift
concessione, pacto, sive quavis alia auctoritate, vel alio modo
grant pact or any other authority or other way
quocumque, nec potest esse de suo dominio, aut sibi
whatever nor can to-be of his domain or to-him
quomodo libet pertinere. Item, quod istud sibi denegare
in-what-way it-pleases to-pertain likewise that this to-him to-deny
non est ipsum exhæreditare, aut majestati regiæ contraire,
not is him to-disinherit or to-the-majesty royal to-oppose
sicut mentiuntur falsiloqui adulatores, sophistici, et reipublicæ
as lie false-speaking flatterers sophistical and of-the-republic
proditores. Rursum, cum princeps teneatur hoc non facere,
traitors again since the-prince be-bound this not to-do
ipse non meretur habere aliquam pensionem seu dominium
he not deserves to-have any pension or lordship
pro abstinendo a tali abusiva exactione; hoc enim aliud
for abstaining from such abusive exaction this for other
non videtur esse nisi pretium redemptionis a servitute,
not seems to-be than the-price of-redemption from servitude
quod nullus rex aut bonus princeps debet a subditis
which no king or good prince ought from subjects
exigere. Item, supposito et non concesso, quod ipse haberet
to-exact likewise supposed and not granted that he had
privilegium capiendi aliquid supra monetam pro faciendo eam
a-privilege of-taking something over money for making it
bonam et pro tenendo eam in eodem statu, adhuc etiam
good and for keeping it in the-same state still also
ipse deberet tale privilegium perdere in casu in quo tantum
he ought such privilege to-lose in the-case in which so-much

abuteretur quod ipse mutaret et falsificaret monetam pro
he-should-abuse-it that he should-change and should-falsify money for
suo lucro non minus cupide quam turpiter adaugendo.
his profit not less greedily than shamefully to-be-increased
Capitulum XXV. Quod Tyrannus non potest diu durare.
Chapter XXV that a-Tyrant not can long to-last
In istis duobus capitulis intendo probare, quod exigere
in these two chapters I-intend to-prove that to-exact
pecuniam per tales mutationes monetæ, est contra honorem
money through such changes of-money is against the-honor
regni, et in præjudicium totalis regalis posteritatis.
of-the-kingdom and to the-prejudice of-the-whole royal posterity
Sciendum est igitur, quod inter principatum regium et
to-be-known it-is therefore that between principate royal and
tyranicum hoc interest, quod tyrannis plus diligit et
tyrannical this differs that the-tyrant more loves and
plus quærit proprium bonum quam commune conferens
more seeks his-own good than the-common advantage
subditorum, et ad hoc nititur ut populum teneat sibi
of-the-subjects and for this strives that the-people he-may-hold to-himself
serviliter subjugatum; rex autem e contrario, utilitati privatæ
servilely subjugated the-king but on the-contrary to-utility private
publicam præfert, et super omnia, post Deum et animam
the-public prefers and above all-things after God and soul
suam, diligit bonum et libertatem publicam subditorum.
his loves the-good and liberty public of-the-subjects
Et hæc est vera utilitas et nobilitas principatus, cujus
and this is the-true utility and nobility of-the-principate whose
dominium tanto est nobilius, tanto melius, quanto
lordship by-so-much is nobler by-so-much better by-how-much
est magis liberorum sive meliorum, ut ait Aristoteles, et
it-is more of-free or of-better-men as says Aristotle and

eo diuturnius, quo in tali proposito intentio regis
by-that more-lasting by-which in such purpose the-intention of-the-king
perseverat, dicente Cassiodoro, disciplina imperandi est amare
perseveres with-saying Cassiodorus the-discipline of-commanding is to-love
quod multis expedit. Quotiens enim regnum in tyrannidem
what to-many is-expedient as-often-as for a-kingdom into tyranny
vergitur, non longo tempore post custoditur; quia per hoc
is-turned not long time after it-is-guarded because through this
ad diminutionem, translationem, aut perditionem omnimodam
to diminution transfer or ruin of-every-kind
properatur, maxime in regione temperata et remota a servili
it-hastens most in a-region temperate and remote from servile
barbaria, ubi sunt homines conversatione, moribus et natura
barbarism where are men in-conduct in-morals and in-nature
liberi, non servi nec sub tyrannide per consuetudinem indurati,
free not slaves nor under tyranny by custom hardened
quibus servitus foret inexpediens, involuntaria, et oppressio
for-whom servitude would-be inexpedient involuntary and oppression
tyrannica simplicer violenta; ergo non diu permansura, quia,
tyrannical simply violent therefore not long about-to-remain because
sicut ait Aristoteles, violenta citissime corrumpuntur. Ideo
as says Aristotle violent-things most-quickly are-corrupted therefore
dicit Tullius, quod nulla vis imperii tanta est, quæ premente
says Tully that no force of-command so-great is which with-pressing
metu possit esse diuturna. Et Seneca in tragœdiis inquit:
fear can to-be lasting and Seneca in the-tragedies says

> Violenta nemo imperia continuat diu,
> *violent no-one commands continues long*
> Moderata durant.
> *moderate-things endure*

Unde principibus destitutis improperabat Dominus per
whence to-princes deposed reproached the-Lord through
prophetam dicens, quod imperabant subditis cum austeritate
the-prophet saying that they-commanded the-subjects with harshness
et potentia. Adhuc autem propositum aliter declaratur: ait
and power further but the-proposition otherwise is-declared says
enim Plutarchus ad Trajanum imperatorem, quod respublica
for Plutarch to Trajan the-emperor that the-republic
est corpus quoddam, quod divini numinis instar beneficio
is a-body certain which of-divine godhead like-to by-the-favor
animatur, et summæ æquitatis agitur nutu, et regitur
is-animated and of-highest equity is-driven by-the-nod and is-ruled
quodam moderamine rationis. Est igitur respublica sive
by-a-certain moderation of-reason is therefore the-republic or
regnum, sicut quoddam corpus humanum, et ita vult
kingdom as a-certain body human and so wishes
Aristoteles v Politicæ. Sicut igitur corpus male
Aristotle in-the-fifth of-the-Politics as therefore the-body badly
disponitur, quando humores excessive fluunt in unum ejus
is-disposed when the-humors excessively flow into one its
membrum, ita quod illud membrum sæpe ex hoc inflatur et
member so that that member often from this is-swollen and
nimium ingrossatur, reliquis exsiccatis et nimis attenuatis,
too-much is-thickened with-the-others dried-up and too-much thinned
tolliturque debita proportio, neque tale corpus potest diu
and-is-removed the-due proportion nor such body can long
vivere; ita conformiter est de communitate vel regno,
to-live so conformably it-is about the-community or kingdom
quando divitiæ ab una ejus parte attrahuntur ultra modum.
when riches by one its part are-drawn beyond measure
Communitas namque vel regnum, cujus principantes, in
the-community for or kingdom whose rulers in

comparatione ad subditos, quantum ad divitias, potentiam et
comparison to the-subjects as-far-as to riches power and
statum, enormiter crescunt, est sicut monstrum unum, sicut
state enormously grow is as a-monster one as
unus homo, cujus caput est ita magnum et tam grossum,
one man whose head is so great and so thick
quod non potest a reliquo debili corpore sustentari.
that not it-can by the-remaining weak body to-be-sustained
Quemadmodum igitur talis homo non potest sese juvare,
as therefore such man not can himself to-help
neque sic diu vivere, ita neque regnum permanere poterit
nor so long to-live so neither kingdom to-remain will-be-able
cujus princeps trahit ad se divitias in excessu, sicut fit
whose prince draws to himself riches in excess as is-done
per mutationes monetæ, ut patuit capitulo xx. Rursum,
through changes of-money as was-plain in-chapter twentieth again
sicut in mixtione vocum non placet aut delectat æqualitas
as in the-mixing of-voices not pleases or delights equality
nimia vel indebita, quæ totam consonantiam destruit
excessive or undue which the-whole consonance destroys
et deturpat, imo requiritur proportionata inæqualitas et
and disfigures nay is-required a-proportioned inequality and
commensurata, qua perseverante eminent læti blanda
commensurate with-which persevering stand-out of-the-joyful sweet
modulamina chori; sic etiam universaliter, quoad omnes
melodies choir so also universally as-to all
partes communitatis, æqualitas possessionum vel potentiæ non
parts of-the-community equality of-possessions or of-power not
convenit nec consonat, sed et nimia disparitas harmoniam
befits nor harmonizes but also excessive disparity the-harmony
reipublicæ dissipat et corrumpit, ut patet per Aristotelem
of-the-republic scatters and corrupts as is-plain through Aristotle

v Politicæ. Potissime vero ipse princeps, qui est
in-the-fifth of-the-Politics most-of-all but the-very prince who is
in regno veluti tenor et vox principalis in cantu, si
in the-kingdom as the-tenor and voice principal in song if
magnitudine excedat, et a reliqua communitate discordat,
in-magnitude it-exceed and from the-remaining community is-discordant
regalis politiæ melos tunc erit turbatum. Propter quod,
of-the-royal polity the-melody then will-be disturbed on-account-of which
secundum Aristotelem, adhuc est alia differentia inter
according-to Aristotle still there-is another difference between
regem et tyrannum. Tyrannus enim vult esse potentior
king and tyrant the-tyrant for wishes to-be more-powerful
tota communitate cui præsidet violenter, regis vero
than-the-whole community over-which he-presides violently of-the-king but
temperantia est tali moderamine temperata, quod ipse est
the-temperance is by-such moderation tempered that he is
major atque potentior, quam aliquis ejus subditus, est tamen
greater and more-powerful than any his subject is however
ipsa tota communitate inferior viribus et opibus, et sic
than-the-very whole community inferior in-forces and in-wealth and so
in medio constitutus. Sed quia potestas regia communiter
in the-middle set but because power royal commonly
et leviter tendit in majus, ideo maxima cautela adhibenda
and lightly tends toward greater therefore greatest caution to-be-applied
est et pervigil custodia, imo altissima et principalis prudentia
is and watchful guard nay the-highest and principal prudence
requiritur ad eam præservandam, ne labatur ad tyrannidem,
is-required for it to-be-preserved lest it-slip into tyranny
præcipue propter adulatorum fallacias, qui semper principes
chiefly on-account-of of-flatterers the-deceits who always princes
ad tyranniam impulerunt, ut ait Aristoteles. Ipsi enim, ut in
to tyranny have-driven as says Aristotle they for as in

libro Esther legitur, aures principum simplices, et ex sua
the-book of-Esther is-read the-ears of-princes simple and from their-own
natura alios existimantes, callida fraude decipiunt, et eorum
nature others judging by-cunning fraud deceive and their
suggestionibus regum studia depravantur. Sed quoniam eos
by-suggestions of-kings the-pursuits are-depraved but since them
evitare aut extirpare difficile est, ipse Aristoteles dat aliam
to-avoid or to-root-out difficult it-is the-very Aristotle gives another
regulam, per quam regnum potest longo tempore conservari.
rule through which the-kingdom can for-long time to-be-preserved
Et est, quod princeps non multum amplificet dominium
and it-is that the-prince not much enlarge (his)-lordship
supra subditos, exactiones, captiones non faciat, libertates
over the-subjects exactions seizures not make liberties
eis dimittat aut concedat, nec eos impediat, neque utatur
to-them leave or grant nor them hinder nor use
plenitudine potestatis, sed potentia legibus et consuetudinibus
fullness of-power but power by-laws and customs
limitata vel regulata. Pauca enim, ut ait Aristoteles, sunt
limited or regulated few-things for as says Aristotle are
judicis vel principis arbitrio relinquenda. Aristoteles enim
of-the-judge or of-the-prince to-the-discretion to-be-left Aristotle for
adducit exemplum de Theopompo Lacedæmoniorum rege,
adduces the-example about Theopompus of-the-Lacedaemonians king
qui, cum multas potestates atque tributa populo remisisset
who when many powers and tributes to-the-people he-had-remitted
ab antecessoribus imposita, ipse quidem uxori ploranti
by predecessors imposed he indeed to-(his)-wife weeping
et improperanti, turpe esse regnum minoris emolumenti
and reproaching shameful to-be a-kingdom of-lesser emolument
filiis tradere quam suscepisset a patre, respondit
to-(his)-sons to-hand-down than he-had-received from (his)-father answered

dicens: trado diuturnius. O divinum oraculum! O
saying I-hand-down a-more-lasting-one O divine oracle O
quanti ponderis verbum, et in palatiis regiis literis aureis
of-how-great weight a-word and in palaces royal in-letters golden
depingendum. Trado, inquit, diuturnius, ac si diceret:
to-be-painted I-hand-down he-says a-more-lasting-one as if he-should-say
plus auxi regnum duratione temporis, quam sit
more I-have-increased the-kingdom in-duration of-time than it-be
diminutum moderatione potestatis. Ecce plusquam Salomon
diminished by-moderation of-power behold more-than Solomon
hic. Nam si Roboam, de quo supra memini, a patre
here for if Rehoboam about whom above I-made-mention from father
suo Salomone regnum sic compositum recepisset et tenuisset,
his Solomon a-kingdom so composed had-received and had-held
nunquam decem de duodecim tribubus Israel perdidisset,
never ten of twelve tribes of-Israel would-he-have-lost
nec sibi improperatum fuisset: Prophanasti semen
nor to-him reproached would-it-have-been you-have-profaned seed
tuum inducere iracundiam ad liberos tuos, et cæteris
your to-bring-on wrath to children your and to-the-others
stultitiam tuam, ut faceres imperium bipartitum. Sic
folly your that you-should-make the-empire divided-in-two thus
igitur ostensum est, quod dominium quod ex regno in
therefore shown it-is that the-lordship which from kingdom into
tyrannidem vertitur, oportet ut celeriter finiatur.
tyranny is-turned it-behooves that quickly it-be-ended

Capitulum XXVI. Quod capere lucrum ex mutatione monetarum, præjudicat toti regali potestati

THAT PROFIT FROM CHANGING MONEY HARMS THE ROYAL HOUSE

What disposes a kingdom to ruin dishonors the king and harms his heirs; tyranny exposes a kingdom to ruin, since the free hearts of the French will not long bear it; and profit from changing money is tyrannical. Therefore such exactions are against the king's honor and the whole royal posterity. He offers all this without assertion and invites the prudent to correct or answer him with reason.

Declarare propono quod mutationes prædictæ sunt contra
to-declare I-propose that the-changes aforesaid are against
honorem regis, et generi regio præjudicant. Pro quo
the-honor of-the-king and to-the-family royal are-prejudicial for which
tria præmitto: Primo, quod illud est in rege vituperabile,
three-things I-premise first that that is in a-king blameworthy
et successoribus ejus præjudiciabile, per quod regnum
and to-successors his prejudicial through which the-kingdom
perditioni disponitur, aut ut ad alienigenas transferatur; nec
to-ruin is-disposed or that to foreigners it-be-transferred nor
rex posset satis dolere vel flere, quam esset ita infelix
the-king could enough to-grieve or weep how he-would-be so unhappy
ita miserabilis, qui per negligentiam suam aut per malum
so miserable who through negligence his or through bad
regimen ejus aliquid faceret, unde ipse vel hæredes sui
rule his something should-do whence he or heirs his
perderent regnum tot virtutibus auctum, tanto tempore
should-lose the-kingdom by-so-many virtues increased for-so-long time
gloriose servatum. Necnon in periculo animæ suæ gloriosæ
gloriously preserved and-also in danger of-soul his glorious
foret, si ex defectu sui populus pateretur tot pestilentias,
it-would-be if from defect his the-people should-suffer so-many pestilences

tot calamitates et tantas, quot et quantæ solent accidere
so-many calamities and so-great as-many and as-great-as are-wont to-happen
in dissipatione sive in translatione regnorum. — Secundo,
in the-dissipation or in the-transfer of-kingdoms second
suppono quod per tyrannisationem regnum perditioni
I-suppose that through tyrannizing the-kingdom to-ruin
exponitur, sicut declaratum est in capitulo præcedenti. Et
is-exposed as declared it-is in the-chapter preceding and
quoniam, sicut in Ecclesiastico scribitur, Regnum a gente
since as in Ecclesiasticus is-written the-kingdom from nation
in gentem transfertur propter injustitias et contumelias, et
to nation is-transferred on-account-of injustices and insults and
diversos dolos, tyrannis autem injuriosa est et injusta. Cum
diverse frauds tyranny but injurious is and unjust with
hoc etiam, ut ad specialia descendam, absit quod in tantum
this also that to particulars I-may-descend be-it-far that in so-much
degeneraverint Francigenarum corda libera, quod voluntarie
should-have-degenerated of-the-French the-hearts free that voluntarily
servi fiant, ideoque servitus eis imposita durare non
slaves they-become and-therefore servitude on-them imposed to-last not
potest, quoniam si magna sit tyrannorum potentia, est
can since if great be of-tyrants the-power it-is
tamen liberis subditorum cordibus violenta, et adversus
however to-the-free of-the-subjects hearts violent and against
alienos invalida. Quicumque igitur dominos Franciæ ad
foreigners powerless whoever therefore the-lords of-France to
hujusmodi regimen tyrannicum quocumque modo traherent,
such regime tyrannical in-whatever way should-draw
ipsi regnum magno discrimini exponerent, et ad terminum
they the-kingdom to-great peril would-expose and to (its)-end
præpararent. Neque enim regum Franciæ generosa propago
would-prepare nor for of-the-kings of-France the-noble offspring

tyrannisare didicit, nec serviliter subjici populus Gallicus
to-tyrannize has-learned nor servilely to-be-subjected the-people Gallic
consuevit. Ideo, si regia proles a pristina virtute
has-been-accustomed therefore if the-royal offspring from pristine virtue
degenerat, procul dubio regnum perdet. — Tertio, suppono,
degenerates far-from doubt the-kingdom it-will-lose third I-suppose
tanquam jam probatum et sæpius repetitum, quod capere
as-if already proved and more-often repeated that to-take
vel augere lucrum super mutatione monetæ, est factum
or to-increase profit over the-change of-money is a-deed
dolosum, tyrannicum et injustum, cum etiam non possit
deceitful tyrannical and unjust since also not it-can
continuari in regno, quod quidem regnum non sit jam,
to-be-continued in a-kingdom which indeed kingdom not be already
quoad alia multa, in tyrannidem versum. Unde non solum
as-to other many-things into tyranny turned whence not only
inconvenientia sequuntur ex isto, sed oportet quædam mala
disadvantages follow from this but it-behooves certain evils
alia esse prævia, alia concomitantia; quia hoc non potest a
some to-be preceding others accompanying because this not can by
viris consuli qui non sunt in intentione corrupti, atque
men to-be-counseled who not are in intention corrupted and
ad omnem fraudem et nequitiam tyrannicam consulendam
for every fraud and wickedness tyrannical to-be-counseled
parati, ubi viderent principem ad hoc inclinari vel posse
ready where they-should-see the-prince to this to-be-inclined or to-be-able
flecti. Dico itaque recolligendo, quod res per quam
to-be-bent I-say and-so by-recollecting that a-thing through which
regnum perditioni disponitur turpis est et præjudiciabilis
the-kingdom to-ruin is-disposed shameful is and prejudicial
regi, sed hoc est protrahi vel converti, et hæredibus
to-the-king but this is to-be-drawn-out or to-be-turned and to-heirs

suis, et hoc fuit primum suppositum, in tyrannidem, et
his and this was the-first supposition into tyranny and
hoc fuit secundum, et ad hoc vergitur per mutationes
this was the-second and to this it-is-turned through changes
monetæ, ut dicitur tertium. Igitur exactio quæ fit per
of-money as is-said the-third therefore the-exaction which is-made through
tales mutationes est contra honorem regis, et præjudiciabilis
such changes is against the-honor of-the-king and prejudicial
toti posteritati regali, quod erat probandum.
to-the-whole posterity royal which was to-be-proved
Hæc igitur, ut præmisi, sine assertione dicta sint cum
these-things therefore as I-premised without assertion said let-be with
correctione prudentum. Nam, secundum Aristotelem, civilia
the-correction of-the-prudent for according-to Aristotle civil
negotia plerumque dubia et incerta. Si quis igitur, amore
affairs generally doubtful and uncertain if one therefore by-love
veritatis inveniendæ, his dictis voluerit contradicere
of-truth to-be-found to-these sayings shall-have-wished to-contradict
vel contra scribere, bene faciet; et si male locutus sum,
or against to-write well he-will-do and if badly spoken I-have
perhibeat testimonium de malo, sed cum ratione, ne ipsa
let-him-bear testimony about the-evil but with reason lest it
videatur gratis et voluntarie condemnare, quod non potest
seem gratuitously and willfully to-condemn what not it-can
efficaciter impugnare.
effectively to-attack
Explicit tractatus de mutatione monetarum.
ends the-treatise about the-change of-moneys
