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Henry Taylor
1919

The Game of the Chess,

by

William Caxton.

LONDON: 1477.

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CIVB
*

TO W.H.
A. G. H.

t He holyn apostle and doctour of the peple Saynt
Poule sayth in his epystole. Alle that is Bryten
is Bryten vnto our doctrine and for our ler-
nyng . Wherfore many noble clerkes haue endeuyred
them to Bryte and compyle many notable Werkes and
histories to the ende that it myght come to the knowlege
and vnderstanding of suche as ben ygnoraunt. Of whiche
the nombre is infenyte / And accordyng to the same saith
Salamon . that the nombre of folies . is infenyte , And
emong alle other good Werkys . It is a Werke of ryght
special recomendacion to enforme and to late vnderstonde
Wysdom and vertue vnto them that be not lernyd ne can
not dysceerne Wysdom fro folye . Then emong whom
there was an excellent doctour of dyuynyte in the royme
of fraunce of the ordre of thospytal of Saynt Johns of
Iherusalem whiche entended the same and hath made a
book of the chesse moralysyd . Whiche at suche tyme as I
was resident in brudgys in the counte of Flaundres cam
in to my handes , whiche whan I had redde and ouerseen /
me semed ful necessarye for to be had in englissh / And
in eschewyng of ydlenes And to thende that some whiche
haue not seen it / ne vnderstonde frensch ne latyn . I dely-
bered in myself to translate it in to our maternal tonge ,
And whan I so had achyued the sayd translation , I
dyde doo sette in enprynte a certeyn nombre of theym ,
Whiche anone were decessed and solde . Wherfore by cause
thys sayd book is ful of holsom Wysdom and requysyte
vnto every astate and degree , I haue purposed to
enprynte it / shewyng therin the figures of suche persons

as longen to the playe. In Whom al astates and degrees
ben compryseid / besechyngh al them that this litel Werke
shal see / here , or rede to haue me for excused for the rude &
symply makynge and reducyng in to our englissh / And
Wher as is defaute to correcte and amende / and in so d oyng
they shal deserue meryte and thanke / and I shal pray for
them / that god of his grete mercy shal rewarde them in
his euerlastyngh blisse in heuen / to the Whiche he bryngē
Vs / that Wyth his precious bloodē redemed Vs Amen

This booke is deuyded / and departed in to four traytyes
and partyes .

The first traytē

HoW the playe of the chesse Was fyſt founden and Under What kyng capitulo	j
Who fond first the playe of the chesse capitulo . . .	ij
Wherfore the play Was founden and maad Capitulo	ijij

The ſecond traytē

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The thirde traytē

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Of thyssue of the comyn peple/ whom the passnes represente capitulo	vii
Of the epilogacion and recapitulacion of thys booke capitulo	viii

This first chappitre of the first tractate sheweth Under what kyng the playe of the Chesse Was founden and maad.

Capitulo primo

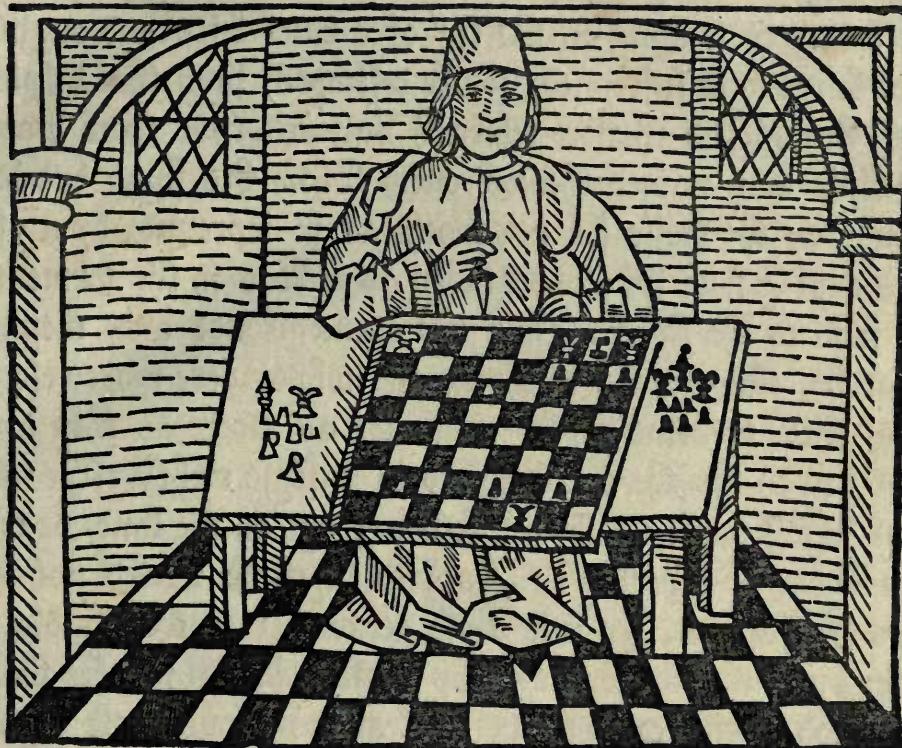


Monge alle the euyl condicions & signes that may
a be in a man the first and the grettest is. Whan he fe-
reth not ne dredeth to displesē & make wroth god by synne
& the peple by kyngyn disordonatly / Whan he retcheth not.
nor taketh hede vnto them that repreue hym and his sy-
ces, But sleeth them. In suche wyse as did the emperour
new. Whiche did do flee his mayster seneque 'for as moche
as he myght not suffre to be repreynd & taught of hym. in
like wise was sōtyme a kyng in babilon that was named

Enylmerdach a Jolye man Without Justyse and so cruel that he did do hewe his faders body in thre hondred pieces and gaf hit to eke and deuoure to thre hondred byrdes that men calle boultres / And was of such condicion as was new / And right wel resemblid and was lyke unto his fader Nabugodonosor . Whiche on a tyme bold do slee alle the sage and wise men of babilone . For as moche as they coude not telle hym his dreame that he had dremyd on a nyght and had forgoten hit like as hit is breton in the byble in the booke of danyel . Under this kyng thene Enylmerdach was this game and playe of the chesse founden . True it is that some men wene that this playe was founden in the tyme of the batayllies and siege of troye . But that is not so / For this playe cam to the playes of the caldees as diomedes the greek saith and reherceth / that amonge the philosophres was the most renomed playe amonge al other playes . And after that cam this playe in the tyme of aliyander the grete in to egypt and so unto alle the parties toward the south . And the cause wherfore this playe was so renomed shal be sayd in the ij chepitre .

This chappytre of the first tractate shewyth Whō fonde
first the playe of the Chesse.

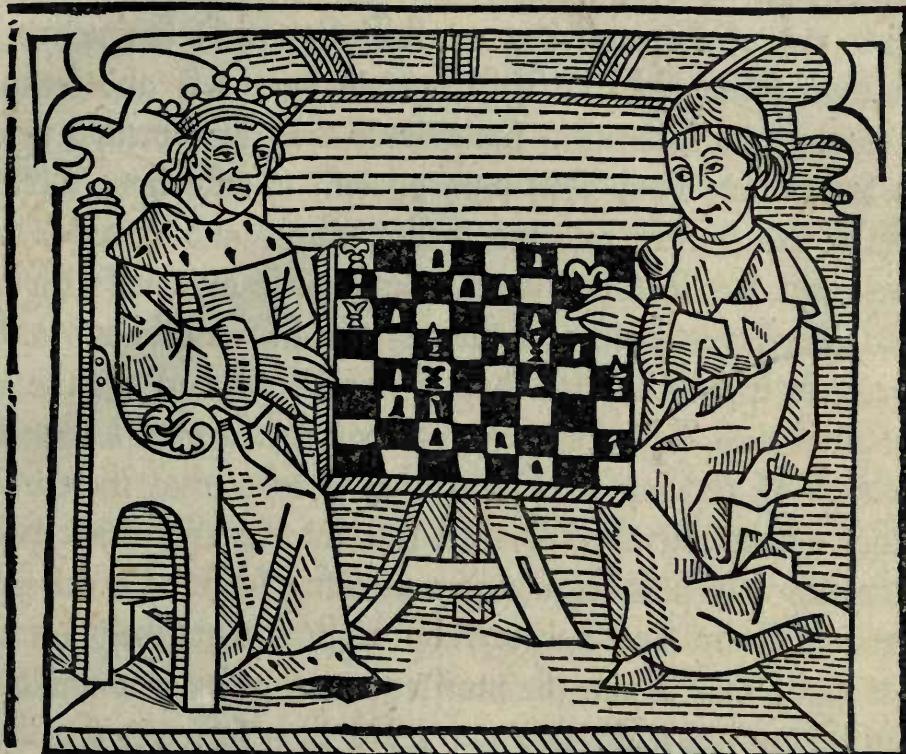
Capitulo ii



His playe fonde a phylosopher of thoygent Whiche
Was named in caldee Eyerces or in greke phileme-
tor Which is as moche to say in englissh as he that louyth
Justyce and mesure / And this philosopher Was renomed
gretly among the greces and them of Athenes Whiche
Were good clerkys and phylosophers also renomed of their
connyng / This philosopher Was so Just and trewe that he
had leuer dye / than to lyue longh and be a fals flaterer
With the sayd kyng / For whan he behelde the foul & syn-
ful lyf of the kyng / And that no man durst blame hym

For by his grete cruelte he put them al to deth that disple
sid him. He put hym self in parel of deth, and louyd &
cheses rather to dye than lenger to lyue. The euyl lyf and
dissafmed of a kyng is the lyf of a cruel feste. and ought
not longe to be susteyned / for he destroyeth hym that dispe
sith him. And therfore reherceth Balenius. that there Was
a Wyse man named Theodore cerem Whom his kyng dyd do
hange on the crosse for as moche as he repreuyd hym of
his euyl & foul lyf, and alwey as he Was in the torment
he sayd to the kyng. Upon thy cunceyllours and thaym
that ben clad in thy clothyng and robyns Were more reson
that this torment shold come / for as moche as they daz
not say to the the trouth for to do Justyse right Wyse / of
my self I make no force Whether I dye on the lond or on
the Water or other Wyse / As Who sayth he wretched not to
dye for Justyce . In like Wyse as democreon the philoso
pher put out his owne eyen by cause he wold not see that
no good myght come to the euyl andy bycious peple Wyth
out right , And also deffores the philosophre as he went
toward his deth . His Wyf that folowed after hym sayd
that he Was dypned to deth wrongfullly . thene he ansWerdy
and sayd to her . holde thy pees andy be stille / hit is better
and more meritorye to dye by a wrong & unrightful Ju
gement / than that I had deserued to dye .

The thyrd chappitre of the first tractate treteth therfore
the playe was founden and maad Capitulo iii



He causes therfore this playe was founden ben in
t. The first was for to correcte and repreue the kyng
for than this kyng enylnerdach sawe this playe / And
the barons · knyghtes and gentilmen of his court playe
wyth the phylosopher / he merueyld gretly of the beaulte
and noueltee of the playe . And desired to playe agaynst
the philospher / The philospher answerd and sayd to hym
that hit myght not be doon / but yf he first lernyd the play
The kyng sayd hit was reson and that he wold put hym
to the payn to lerne hit / Then the phylosopher began to

teche hym / andy to shewe hym the maner of the table of the
chesse borde and the chesse meyne. And also the maners &
the condycions of a kyng of the nobles and of the comyn
peple and of theyz offyces and how they shold be touchyd &
drawen. Andy how he shold amende hym self and become
vertuous, and whan this kyng herde that he repreuyd hym
he demaunded hym upon payn of deth to telle hym wher-
fore he had founden and maad this playe, and he answerd
my right dere lord and kyng .the grettest and most thyng
that I desire is that thou haue in thy self a gloriouſ andy
vertuous lyf. And that may I not see ,but yf thou be en-
doctrined and wel manerd and that had so mayſt thou be
belouyd of thy peple . Thus than I desire that thou haue
other gouernement thene thou hast had .& that thou haue
Upon thy self fift ſeignourie & maistrie ſuche as thou haſt
Upon other by force and not by right , Certeynly hit is
not right that a man be maister ouer otherz & comandour
Wher he can not rebble nor may rebble hym ſelf and that his
vertues domyne aboue his byces , for ſeignourie by force
and Wyll may not longe endure / Thenne thus may thou
ſee oon of the cauſes why andy wherfore I haue founden &
maad this playe . Whiche is for to correcte and repreue the
of thy tyrannye & viciouſ lyuyng . for all kynges ought
ſpecially to here her corrigeours or correctours and her cor-
reccions to holde and kepe in mynde . In like Wyſe as Pa-
lerius reherceth that the kyng aliyandre had a noble and
renomed knyght that ſayd in repreuyng of Alixandre
that he was to moche couetous & in especial of the honours
of the Worlde , And ſayd to hym yf the goddes had maade

thy body as grete as is thy herte . Alle the Worlde coude
not holde the . for thou holdest in thy right honde al the ory-
ent , and in thy lufe honde the occident . sith than hit is so
oz thou art a god oz a man oz nougnt . yf thou be god .
doo than Wel and good to the peple as god doth . and take
not from them that they ought to haue and is theyres .
Yf thou be a man thynke that thou shalst dye . and than
thou shalst doo noon euyl . yf thou be nougnt forgete thy
self . There is no thyng so strunge and ferme . but
that sumtyme a feble thyng casteth down and ouerthwiche
hit . How Wel that the Lyon be the strengest beest , yet
sumtyme a lityl byrde eth hym . The second cause ther-
fore this playe Was founden and maad . Was for to kepe
hym from ydlenesse / Wherof Seneque sayth Unto lucylle
ydlenes Without ony ocupacion is sepulture of a man ly-
uyng / and Zarro saith in his sentences that in lyke Wyse
as men goo not for to goo , the same Wyse the lyf is not
gyuen for to lyue but for to doo Wel and good . & therfore
secondly the philosopherz fond this playe for to kepe the pe-
ople from ydlenes , for there is moche peple Whan so is that
they be fortunat in Worlde goodes that they drave them
to ease & ydlenes Wherof comyth ofte tymes many euyllis
and grete synnes / and by this ydlenes the herte is quen-
chydi Wherof comyth good desperacion . The thyrd cause is
that eueri man naturally desireth to knowe and herte no-
ueltees and tydynges . for this cause they of Athenes
studyed as We rede , and for as the corporal or bodelye
sight enpesseth and letteth otherwhyle the knowbleche of
subtyl thynges . Therfore We rede that democrite the

philosopher put out his o^Wen eyen , For as moche as he
myght haue the better entendement and vnderstanding .
many haue ben made blynde that were grete clerkes in like
Wyse as Was didimus bishop of aliyandrie . that h^oW Bel
that he sa^We not . yet he Was so grete a clerke / that gregore
nazaz and saynt Iewome that were clerkes and maysters
to other cam for to be his scolers and lernyd of hym . And
saynt anthonye the grate hermyte cam for to see hym on a
tyme , and emonge alle other thynges , he demaunded hym
yf he were not gretly dysplesid that he Was blynde & sa^We
not . and he ans^Werd , that he Was gretly abasshyd ' for that
he supposid not that he Was not displeasid in that he had
lost his sight , and saynt anthonye ans^Werd to hym I mer
uaile moche that hit displesith the that thou hast lost that
thyng whiche is comyn betwene the and bestes . and thou
knowest wel that thou hast not lost that thyng that is co
myn betwene the and the aungellis , And for thise causes
forsayd the phylosopher intended to put away al pensifnes
and thoughtes . and to thynke onely on this playe as
shal be sayd and appere in this book after .

The second tractate / the first chapiter treteþ of the forme
of a kyng of his maners & of his estate Capitulo primo



The kyng must be thus maad .for he must sytte
in a chayer clothyd in purpure/crowned on his heed
in his right hond a sceptre and in the lyst honde an apple of
golde/ for he is the most grettest and hyest in dygnyte a-
bove al other and most Worthy, And that is signyfied
by the cowne .for the glorie of the peple is the dygnyte of
the kyng /and above al other the kyng ought to be re-
plenysched With vertues and of grace .and this signyfieþ
the purpure , For in like Wyse as the robes of purpure ma-
keth fayr and enbelissheth the body, the same Wyse vertues

makyth the swble , he ought alway thynk on the governe
ment of the wyame & whiche hath thadmystracion of Jus-
tice , and this shold be by hym self pryncipally . This sig-
nifyeth the appel of golde that he holdeth in his left hond /
and for as moche as it aperteyneth unto hym to punysshe
the rebelles hath he the septre in his right hond . And for
as moche as mysericorde and trouth conserue and kepe the
kyng in his trone , Therfore ought a kyng to be merciful
and debonayr . for when a kyng or prynce desirith or wyl
be belouyd of his peple lete hym be gouerned by debonayre
And Valerius saith that debonayre percyth the hertes of
strangiers / and amolisheth and makyth softe the hertes
of his enemyes . Whereof he rehercith that phylistratus that
Was duc of athenes had a daughter . whom a man louyd
so ardantly / that on a tyme as he sawe her with her moder
sodaynly he cam and kysseth her . Whereof the moder Was so
angry and sorowful that she went and requyred of her lord
the duc , that his heed myght be smyten of . The prynce
answerted to her and sayd . if we shold flee them that loue
vs . what shal we do to our enemyes that hate vs . Cer-
teynly this Was the answer of a noble & debonayr prynce
that suffred that bylonye doon to his daughter & to hym
self yet more . This prynce had also a frende that Was na
med arispe that sayd on a tyme as moche bylonye unto
the prynce as ony man myght saye . And that myght not
suffysse hym . but he cratchid hym in the bysage . the prynce
suffryd hym paciently in such blysse as though he had doon
to hym no bylonye but curtesye . And when his sones
bold haue auengyd this bylonye . he comaunded them

that they shold not be so hardy so to doo / The next day
folowyng Arispe remembred of the right grete bylonye
that he had doon to his frende and lord without cause ,
He fyl in dyspayz and bold haue slayn hym self / Whan
the duc knewe and understood that . he cam to hym and
said ne doubtethe no thyng . and swore to hym by hys
faith that also wel he was and shold be his frend fro thā
forthon as euer he had ben tofore yf he bold , and thus he
respited hym of his deth by his debonayrte / and in lyke
wise rede we of the kyng pirre to whom was reported that
they of tarente had sayd grete bylonye of hym . for whiche
cause he maad al them to come tofore hym & demaunded
of them yf they had so said . than one of them answeerd &
said yf the wynn & the candellis had not fayled thys langa
ge had ben a Jape . in regarde of that we had thought
to haue doon / Than the kyng began to lawhe . For they
had confessyd that suche langage as was said and spoken
was by dwonkenshyp , And for this cause of debonayrte
the peple of tarente tooke for a custome that the dwonken
men shold be punysshid , and the sobre men preyfed / The
kyng therine thus ought to loue humylite and hate
falsyte after the holy scripture that speketh of euery man
generally . For the kyng in his wyame representeth god
& god is verite . and therfore hym ought to say no thyng
but yf hit were verystable and stable , Valerius reherceth
that Alyxandre Wyth alle his ooste rood for to destroye
a cyte whiche was named lapsare / Whan than a phy
losophre whiche had to name anayymenes whiche had ben
tofore maistre & gouernour of alixadre herd & understood

of his comyng , cam agayn alixandre to desire and requyre
of hym . And whan he sawe alixandre he suposid to haue
appyd his request / Alixandre brake his demaunde tofore
and swore to hym to fore he axid ony thyng by his gooddes
that suche thyng as he appyd or requyred of hym . he woldyn
in no wyse doon . Thenne the phylosopher requyred hym
to destroye the cyte whan Alixandre understandid his desyre
z the oth that he hath maad . he suffrid the cyte to stonde
and not to be destroyed / ffor he had leuer not to do his Wyll
than to be periured and forsworn and doo ageynst his oth
Quyntilian sayth that no grete man ne lord sholdyn not
swere . But whare as is grete nede / andi that the symple
parolle or Worde of a prynce ought to be more stable thenne
the oth of a marchaunt , Alas who kepe the prynces their
promyses in thyse dayes . not onely her promyses but their
otheres her sealis and wrytynges and signes of theyr pro-
pre handes / alle faylenth god amende hit ,

A kyng also ought to hate all cruelte . For we rede that
neuer dyed yet ony pietous persone of euyl deth . ne cruel
persone of good deth / Therfore recounteth Valerius that
there was a man namedi therile a werkman in metalle ,
that maad a boole of coppir and a lityl Wyket on the syde
therby men myght put in them that sholdyn be brent therin
And hit was maad in suche manere . that they that
shold be put andi enclosyd therin sholdyn crye no thyng
lyke to the boys of a man but of an oxe .

Andi thys maad he by cause men sholdyn haue the lasse
pyte of them / whan he had maad thys boole of copper .
he presentyd hit unto a kyng whiche was called philarde

that Was so cruel a tyraunt that he delited in no thyng
but in cruelte . And he tolde hym the condicyon of the bole
Whan philerde herde and understand thys . he alowded and
praisid moche the Werke / and after sayd to hym / thou that
art more cruel than I am / shalt assay and proue first thy
presente and yeste / and so maad hym to go in to the boole
and dye an euyl deth . Therfore sayth ouyde there is no
thyng more resonable thenne that a man dye of such deth
as he purchaseth unto other . Also the kyng ought souer-
raynly kepe Justyce / Who maketh or keepeth a wryame With-
out Justyce . of verray force there must be grete robberye &
theft . Therfore reherseth Saynt Augustyn in a book
Whiche is intituled the cyte of god / that there Was a theef
of the see named diomedes that Was a grete wuaz & dyng
so moche harme that the complayntes cam tofore alixander
Whiche dyd hym to be taken and brought afore hym ,
And he demaunded hym therfore he Was so nouous and
cruel in the see , And he ansWerden to hym agayn , For
as moche as thou art oon a londe in the Worlde . so am I
another in the see / But for as moche as the euyl that I
doo is in oon galeyn or tWeyn therfore I am callyd a theef
But for as moche as thou doost in many shippys and
With grete puyssance and pouer . Therfore arte thou
callyd an Emperour . But yf fortune Were for
me in suche Wyse , I woldyn become a goodyn man and
better thenne I now am , But thou the more rycher and
fortunat that thou art / The more Worse art thou /
alixander said to hym I shal chaunge thy fortune in
suche Wyse as thou ne say that thou shalt do it by pouerte

but for euyl and mauayste. and so he made hym ryche , and
this Was he that afterward Was a good prynce & a good
Justicer, The kyng ought to be soueraynly chaste / and
this signefyeth a quene that is oonly on his right side .
For it is to be beleuyd and credyble that Whan the kyng
is a good man , Juste trewe and of good maners & con-
ditions that his childdren shal folowe gladly the same. for
a good sone and a trewe ought not to forsake and goo fro
the good condicions of his fader / for certes it is agayust
god and nature in partie Whan a man taketh other wene
his propre Wyf , and that see we by byrdes . of whom the
male and female haue to gyder the charge in kepyng and
norissbyng of their yonge fowles and byrdes. For somme
maner of fowles kepen them to their females oonly / As
hit appereth by storkes doves and turtils . But tho fow-
les that norissbeth not their birdes haue many Wyues and
femels / As the cok that no thyng norissbeth his chekens
And therfore amonge al the bestes that been , man and
woman putteth moste their entente and haue most care &
charge in norissbyng of their chylldren & therfore don they
agaynst nature in partie Whan they leue theyr Wyues for
other Women . of this chastete reherceth Valerius an exâple
& saith that ther Was a man of ryme Whiche Was named
Scipio affrica for as moche as he had conquerd affrique hov-
Wel that he Was of ryme born. Whan he Was of xxxijij yere
of age he conqueryd cartage & toke moche people in ostage
among whom he Was presented With a right fayr mayde
for his solas & plaisir Which Was assured & handfast unto
a noble yonge gentilman of cartage Whiche Was named

Indiuicible , and anon as this gentil scipio knewe that
not Withstondyng that he Was a prynce noble & lusty/dyd
do calle anon the parents & kynnesmen of them & delyuerd
to them theri daughter With out doyng of ony bylonye to
her . And the rauinson or goldy that they had ordyned
for their daughter + gaf hit every deel in doBaire to her .
and the yonge man that Was her hussond sawe the fraun
chise & gentilnes of hym , torned hym self and the hertes
of the noble peple onto the loue & alliance of the wmay
nes , & this suffisith as touchyng the kyng

The second chapitre of the second book andi treteith of the
forme and maners of the quene capitulo secundo



Hus ought the quene be maad / She ought to be
t a fayr lady sittyng in a chayer and crownded With a
cowne on her head and cladde With a cloth of gold and a
mantel aboue furrid With ermynes . and she shold sitte on
the lyst side of the kyng for the amplexions and embrasyng
ges of her husband like as it is sayd in Scripture in the
Canticles . her lyste arme shal be vnder my heed and her
right arme shal beclyppe and embraxe me . In that she is
sette on his lyste side is by grace geuyng to the kynge by
nature and of right . For better is to haue a kyng by
successyon thenne by eleccyon , For often tymes the elec-
tours and chosers can not ne wylle not accorde / And
so is the eleccyon leſt , And otherwyle they chese not the
beste and most able and conuenyent / But hym that they
best loue , or is for them most proffytale ,
But whan the kyng is by signage and by trewe succeſ-
ſion . He is taught enſeygned and norisshyd in his
youth all good and vertuous tatches and maners of his
fader . And also the prynces of the wyame dar not so
hardly meue Barre agaynst a kyng hauyng a sone for
to reigne after hym / and so a quene ought to be chaste
wyse of honest lyf . Wel manerd and not Curious in
noryſhyng of her chyldren , Her Wyſedom ought not
only to appere in fait and Werkes / but also in ſpekyng
that is to ſete that ſhe be ſecrete and telle not ſuche
thynges as ought to be holden ſecrete .
Wherfore it is comyn prouerbe that Womyn can kepe
no cuncyyl / And accordyng thereto Macrob reherceth
in the booke of the dremes of Scyppon . That there was

a chyld of wome that Was named papirus that on a tyme
Went With his fader Which Was a senatour in to the cham
bre whiche as they helde heyr councyl . Andi that tyme
they spake of suche maters as Was comaunderd by a
greedh sholdh be kepte secret vpon payn of theyz hedes .
andi so deparzed / And whan he Was comen home from the
senatoyre andi fro the councyl Wyth his fader / His mo
der demaunded of hym what Was the councyl and wherof
they spake and had taryed so longe there , Andi the
chyld answerd to her andi sayd he durst not tellle nor
saye hit for so moche as hit Was defended vpon payn of
deth / Thenne Was the moder more desirous to knowe
than she Was to fore / Andi began to flaterre hym one
tyme , Andi afterward to menace hym that he shold
saye andi tellle to her what it Was / Andi whan the
chyld sawe that he myght haue no reste of his moder in
no wyse , He made her first promyse that she shold
hit secrete . And to tellle hit to noon of the Worlde ,
Andi that doon , he feyned a lesingh or a lye andi sayde
to her , that the Senatours had in councyl a grete questi
on andi dyfferencc whiche Was thys , Whether hit were
better and more for the comyn wele of Rome , that a man
shold haue two wyues / Or a wyf to haue two hus
bondys / Andi whan she had vnderstonde thys , He
defended hyr that she shold tellle hit to none other body /
Andi after thys she Went to her gossyb and tolde to her
thys councyl secretly . And she tolde to another .
And thus euery wyf tolde hit to other in secrete / & thus
hit happend anone after that alle the wyues of Rome

cam to the Senatoyre Where the Senatours Were assemblyd
and cryed With an hygh Boys .that they had leuer / And
also hit Were better for the comyn Wele that a Wyf shold
haue two husbondys than a man two wyues , The Sena-
tors hevyng this Were gretely abasshyd and wist not
to say , ner what / ner how to answere . tyl atte laste that
the child papyre referred to them all the caas and fayt how
hit was happend . And whan the Senatours herd and un-
derstood the mater they Were gretely abasshyd , & comendyd
grately the Ingene and Wyte of the chyld that so wylly
contrayued the lyfe rather than he wold discouere their coun-
cyl . And forthwyth made hym a senatour , and establis-
shed and ordeyned fro thon forthon that no chyld in ony
wise shold entre in to the coucyl hows amonge them With
their faders except papirus . Whome they wold that he shold
alway be amonge them . Also a quene ought to be chaste
For as she is aboue al other in estate and reuerence . So
shold she be ensaumple unto al other in her kyuyng honest
lyfe , wherof Jerome refreth agaynst Jonynyan . that
there was a gentyl man of wome named duele + and this
man was he that first sond the maner to fight on the war-
ter , and had first the victory / This duele had to his wyf
one of the best Womyn and so chaste , that every Woman
myght take ensaumple of her / and at that tyme the synne
of the fleshe was the grettest synne that ony myght do
agaynst nature / And this sayd good Woman was named
ylie . And so hit happend that this duele becam so olde that
he stowped and quaked for age . and on a tyme one of his
aduersaries reproyed & reprochyd hym sayeng that he had

a stynkyng breeth . And forth byth he went home to hys
wyf al angry and abasshyd / and axed her why & wherfore
she had not tolde his defaute to hym that he myght haue
founden remedye to haue ben purged therof , & she answerd
that as for as moche as she supposyd that euery man had
the same faute as wel as he , For she kyst neuer ony man
nes mouth but her husbondes . O moche was this woman
to be prayzed and haue a synguler laude wenyng that
this defaute had not ben onely in her husbond , wherfore she
suffryd hit paciently in suche wise that her husbond knewe
his defaute sonner by other thenne by her . Also we rede
that there was a wedowe named Anna Whiche had a
frende that councayled hyz to marye . For she was yonge
sayr and ryche . to whom she answerd that she wold not
so doo in no wyse , For yf I shold haue an husbond as I
haue had & that he were as good as he was . I shold euer
ben aferd to lose hym , lyke as I lost that other . & thenne
shold I lyue alwey in fere and drede . Whiche I wyl not .
And yf hit happend me to haue a worse . What shold hit
proffyte me to haue an euyl husbond after a good . and
so she concluded that she wold kepe her chasteitie . Saynt
Austyn reherceth in the booke de Ciuitate dei that in wome
was a noble lady gentyl of maners and of hygh kynrede
named Lucrecia , And had an husbond named Colatyne
Whiche desired on a tyme the Emperours sone named tor-
quyne thorguyllous or the proude . and he was calle sixte
for to come dyne and sporke hym in his castel or manoyz
And whan he was entred amonge many noble ladys he
saw Lucrecia . And whan thys emperours sone had seen &

aduertysed her deportes . her countenaunce . her manere , &
her beaulte . he Was alle rauysshed and espryzed Wyth her
loue forthWyth . And espyed a tyme Whan her husbond
Collatyn Wente unto the oost of hemperour . and cam
in to the place Where as lucresse Was With her felawshyp
Whom she receyued honourably . And Whan tyme came to
goo to bedde and slepe she maad redy a bedde nally for hym
as hit apperteyned to the emperours sone . And this sixtis
espyed Where lucrecia laye . and Whan he supposid & knebbe
that euery body Was in his first sleep . he cam unto the
bedde of lucresse and that one hand sette on her breste and
in that other honde a nakyd Werd . and sayd to her . Lu-
cresse holde thy pees and crye not . For I am sixte tar-
quynus sone . for yf thou speke ony word thou shalt be
dede / and for feare she helde her pees . Then he began to
praye and promyse many thynges , and after he menaced
and threatened her that she shold enclyne to hym to doo his
Wylle , and Whan he saue he coude nor myght haue his en-
tente he sayd to her / yf thou do not my Wylle / I shal flee
the and one of thy seruauntis and shal lay hym alle deed
by thy syde / And thenne I shal say that I haue slayn you
for your rybaudrye . and lucresse than doubted more
the shame of the Worlde than the deth . consentyd to hym /
And anone after as the emperours sone Was departed
the lady sent lettres to her husbond her fader her bretheryn
and to her frendes and to a man calyd brute cuncyllour
and newebe to tarquyn / and sayd to them that yesterday
Sypte the emperours sone cam in to myn houes as an ene-
mye in liknes of a frende + and hath oppressyd me , And

knowe thou Colatyn that he hath dishonouryd thy bedde ,
And how Wel that he hath fowled and dishonoured my bo :
dy . yet myn herte is not therfore I beseeche the of pardon
for yefnes and absolucion of the trespass but not of the
payne . And he that hath don thys synne to me hit shal
ben to his myschance yf ye doo your deuoyr . and bycause
no Womman take ensaumple of lucresse andy lyue after the
trespass . but that she in lyke Wyse take ensaumple also of
the payne . And forthwyth with a swerde that she helde
vnder her gonne or wke , she wos her self vnto the herte
And dyped forthwyth to fore them + and thenne brante the
counayller and her husbond collatyn and alle her other
frendes swore by the blood of lucresse that they wold ne :
uer restre vnto the tyme that they had put out of wome tar
quyn and al his lygne ! And that never after none of
them sholdy come to dygnyte . and al this was don , For
they bare the deed corps thrugh the cyte and meydyn the
peple in suche Wyse . That tarquyn was put in exyle , andy
Sypte his sone was slayn . A quene ought to be Wel
manerd and amonge alle she ought to be tumerous andy
Shamefast / For whan a Womman hath lost shamefastnes
she may ner can not Wel be chaste . Therfore sayth Sy :
machus that they that ben not shamefast haue no consci :
ence of luxurye , And saynt ambrose sayth that one of
the best parementes and maketh a Womman most fayz in
her persone . is to be Shamefast . Seneque reherceth that
there was one named archezylle whiche was so shamefast
that she put in a pelewe of fetheres a certeyn somme of
money . and put hit vnder the heed of a poure frende of

herys, Whiche dissymyled his puerite and Wolde not nor
durſt not be a knowen of his puerite, for shame ſhe durſt
not gyue it openly, but had leuer that he holdyn fynde hyst
than that ſhe had gyuen hit hym. Wherfore otherwhile men
hold gyue & helpe her frendes ſo ſecretly, that they knowe
not whens it come, for whan we kepe it ſecret and make
no boſte therowf, our dedes and werkis ſhal please god and
them alſo. A quene ought to be chosen whan ſhe ſhal be
beddyd of the moſte honest kynrede and peple, for often ty-
mes the daughters folowen the tatches & maners of theym
that they ben dyscended from. Wherof Valeryus maximus
ſayth that there was one that wold marye. Whiche cam to
a philosopher and aryd counceyl what wyf he myght best
take, he answerd that he ſhould take her that thou knowest
certeynly that her moder & her graundame haue ben chaste
and wel condycioned, for ſuche moder / ſuche daughter co-
munely. Alſo a quene ought to teche her chyldren to ben
contynent and kepe chafftie entierly, as hit is Wryten in
ecclesiastes, yf thou haue ſones enſigne and teche them
and yf thou haue daughters kepe wel them in chastyte.
For helemonde reherceth that euery kyng & prynce ought
to be a clerke for to comaunde to other to ſtudye and rede
the lawe of our lord god / and therfore wrote hemperwurz
to the kyng of fraunce that he ſhould do lerne his children
ſones the ſeven ſciences liberal / and ſayd amonge other
thynges that a kyng not lettred reſembleth an aſſe cow-
ned / Hemperwurz octouyan maad his ſones to be taught
and lerne to wymme, to ſprynge and lepe / to Juste / to
playe byth the axe and berde / and al maner thyng that

apperteyneth to a knyght , and his daughters he made hem
to lerne to sew , to spynne to labour as Wel in Wolle as
in lynen cloth . and al other Werkis langyng to Womyn ,
And whan his frendes demaunded wherfore he dyd so . he
answred hys Wel that he was lord and Syre of alle the
World + yet wiste he not what shold befalle of his children
and whether they shold falle or come to pouerte or noo /
and therfore yf they conne a good crafte they may alwey
lyue honestly . The Quene ought to kepe her daughters in
alle chastyte . For we rede of many maydens that for their
virgynete haue ben maad quenes , For Poule the histo
riograph of the Lombardes reherceth that ther was a du
chesse named remonde whiche had thre sones & ij daughters
And hit happend that the kyng of longrye cانتaus as
sayled a castel wher he and her chylddren were inne /
And on a day she behelde her enemys , and amonge alle
other she sawe the kyng that he was a wel faryng and a
goodly man . Anone she was esprysed and taken byth
his loue . and that so sore that forthbyth she sent to hym
that she wold deluyer ouer the castel to hym yf he wold
take her to his wyf and wedde her , And he agreed thereto
and wære that he wold haue her to his wyf on that con
dition . whan than the kyng was in the castel / his peple
took men and Womyn and alle that they fonde , her sonnes
fledde from her / of whome one was named Ermoaldus &
was yongest , and after was duc of boneuentan & fithen
kyng of the Lombardis / and the two sisters toke chy
kens and put hem vnder her armes neyt the flessh and
bytwene her pappes / that of the herte and chauffyng the

fless^B of the chikyns stanke / and whan so was that they
of hongrye wold haue enforced and defowbled anone they
felte the stenche and fledde abey and so left hem sayeng
by how these lombardes stynke / and so they kepte theyr
virgynete / Wherefore that one of hem afterward was
quene of fraunce / and that other quene of almayn / and
hit happend thenne that the kyng catanus toke accordyng
to his promyse the duchesse / and lay byth her one nyght
for to sauе his ooth / & on the morne he made her comune
Unto al the hungrys / And the thyrd day after he dyd doo
put a staf of tree fro the nether parte of her . thogh her
body unto her throte or mouthe / for by cause of the luste
of her fless^B she betrayed her cyte and sayd suche hysbondy
suche wyf / and this suffyseth of the quene

The thyrd chappytre of the secondi traytyme treteth of the
Alphyns her offyces and maners capitulo tercio



He alphynts ought to be maad and formed in mane
t ze of Juges sittyngh in a chayer Wyth a booke open
wefore theyr eyen , and that is by cause that some causes
ben crymynel , And some ben crymynel as about possessions
and other temporel thynges and trespasses / and therfore
ought to be two Juges in the wyame / one in the black
for the first cause , And that other in Wynt as for the se-
condi . Theyr offyce is for to cuncytle the kyng . And
to make by his comandementis good lawes & to enforme

alle the woyame in good and vertuous maners , And to
Juge and gyue sentence Wel and trewly after the caas is
had , and to councelyl Wel and Justely alle them that axe
councelyl of hem , Byth out hauyng of ony eye opene to
ony persone , And to estudye diligently in such Wyse and
to ordeigne alle that, that ought to be kept be obseruyd be
faste and stable , So that they be not founde corrupt , for
yeftre for fauour ne for lignage ne for enuye variable .
And as touchyng the first poynct Seneque saith in the
book of benefets that the pouer diogenes Was more strong
than alixandre / For Alisandre coude not gyue so muche
as diogenes Wold refuse . Marcius curſus a romayn of
grete renomee saith thus , that Whan he had besieged and
assayled them of Samente / and beneuentans Which herde
that he Was pouer / they took a grete masse and Wedge
of gold & sendyd hit to hym prayeng hym that he Wold
refeyue hit and leue his assault and siege , and Whan they
came with the present to hym they fond hym sittyngh on
the erthe and ete his mete out of platerz and dyshes of
tree and of Wode , and did than her message / to whom he
ansWerid and said that they shold goo home and saye to
them that sente them that Marcius curſus loueth better
to be lord and Wynne richesses than richesse shold Wynne
hym . For by batayle he shal not be ouercome and wain-
quysshed / nor by gold ne siluer he shal not be corrupt ne
corwpid . Oftentymes that thyng taketh an euyll ende
that is bntrewe for gold and siluer , and that a man is
subget unto money may not be lord therowf / Helymonid
reherceth that demostene deuaide of aristodone hōB moche

he had Bonne for pleyng of a cause for hys client . And he ans Werdi a mark of golde . Demostenes ans Werdi to hym agayn / that he had Bonne as mocke for to holde hys pres and speke not thus the tungenes of aduocates & men of lawe ben perilous & domegeable , yet they must be hadyn yf thou wolt Wynne thy cause , for with money and yefte thou shalt Wynne . & oftentymes they selle as wel theyz salence / as their utteraunce . Valerius rehercith that the se natours of ryme took councel to geder of two persones that one was poure & that other ricche and covetous , Whiche of hem bothe were most apte for to sende to governe and Juge the contre of Spayn , And scippon of affrique saidy that none of hem bothe were good ne profitable to be sent therder , For that one hath no thyng , And to that other may no thyng suffyse , And despised in hys sayeng alle pouerte and auarice in a Juge . For a covetous man hath nede of an halpeny . for he is seruaunt and bonde unto money / and not lorde therof / but pouerte of herte and of Wyll ought to be gretely alowed in a Juge , Therfore we rede that as longe as the Romayns louyd pouerte they were lordys of alle the Worlde , For many there were that exposed al theyz goodes for the comyn Wel , and for that was most profitabile for the comynalite that they were so poure that than they were dede they were buryed and brought to erthe Wyth the comyn good , And theyr daughters were maryed by the comauement of the senatours , but sithen that they despised pouerte / & begonne to gadre richesses & haue made grete batayllies , they haue vsed many synnes / and so the

comyn Bele perissid/for ther is no synne but that it reig
neth there,there is none that is so blisful as he that hath
al the World in despite / For he is in pees that dredith no
man , & he is riche that coueiteth no thyng/Balere refertothe
that he is not riche that moche hath/but he is riche that hath
kyl & coueyteth no thyng/than thus late the Juges take
hede that they enclyne not for loue or for hate in ony Ju-
gement /for theofrast saith that all loue is blynde ·there
loue is .there can not right Jugement be gyuen . for all
loue is blynde .and therfore loue is none euyn Judge·for
ofte tymes loue Jugeth a fowle and lothly Woman to be
sayz / And so refertothe quinte curse in his first book that
the grete godachas saith the same to Alyxandre / Men
may saye in this caas that nature is euyl / For every
man is lasse aduysed and Worse in his owne feet and
cause than in another mannys·And therfore the Juges
ought to kepe hem Wel from Ire in Jugement, Tullyus
sayth that an angry and yrous persone Beneth that for
to do euyl is good councayl/and Socrates saith that two
thynges ben contrarious to councayl / & they ben hastynes
and Wrath . and galeren sayth in Aleixandrye , yf yre or
Wrath ouercome the whan thou sholdest geue Jugement /
Weye all thyng in the balaunce so that thy Jugement be
not enclyned by loue ne by yest .ne fauor of persone to
ne not thy corage ·Helemondy refertothe that Cambyses
kyng of perse Whiche Was a right Bis kyng had an un-
right Bis Juge /Whiche for enuye & euyl Wyll had darpned
a man wrongfully and agaynst right / Wherfore he dyd
hym to be flayn al quyk and made the chayer or siege of

Jugement to be couenid Byth his skyn / and made his sone
Juge and to sitte in the chayez on the skyn of his fader . to
thende that the sone shold Juge rightwyssly , & abhorre the
Jugement & Payne of his fader . Judges ought to punysshe
the defaultes egally / & fulfille the lawe that they ordyne .
Caton saith accomplitshē and do the lawe in suchē Wyse as
thou hast ordeyned & geuen , Valerius reherceth that calen
gius a consul had a sone Whiche Was taken in aduoultzye
& therfore after the lawe at that tyme he Was dampned to
lose bothe his eyen . the fader told that the lawe shold be
accomplished in his sone Byth out fauour . but al the cite
Was meuyd hereByth andy told not suffre hit / but in the
ende his fader Was laynquysshēd by theyz prayers . And
ordeyned that his sone shold lese one eye Whiche Was put
out . Andy he hym self lost an other eye . Andy thus
Was the lawe obseruyd and kept . Andy the prayer of
the peple Was accomplitshed . We rede that there Was
a cuncyflour of wome that had gyuen cuncyflle to ma-
ke a statute that Who sōme euer that entryd in to the se-
natoyr and a Werde gyrt about hym shold be deed . Then
hit happend on a tyme that he came from Without & entred
in to the senatoir & his Werde gyrt about hym . Whereof he
toke none hede / & one of the senatoris told hym of hit , &
Whan he knew hit & remembred the statute he drewe out his
Werde & slewe hym self tofore them . rather to dye than to
breke the lawe / for Whos dethe alle the senatoris maden
grete sowle / But alas we fynde not many in thyse day-
es that so do / But they do lyke as anastasius saith that
the lawes of sōme ben like unto the nettis of spynoppis

that take no grete bestes and fowles but let goo andy flee
thorgh/but they take flyes & gnattes & suche smale thyn-
ges / In like wise the lawes now adayes ben not execu-
ted but vpon the poure peple + the grete & riche breke hit &
goo thorgh With al /and for this cause sourden batailles &
disordes & make the grete & riche men to take by force &
strengthe lordshippis & seignories vpon the smale & poure
peple /& this don they specially that ben gentil of lignage
& poure of goodes /& causeth them to wolle & reue/ and yet
constreyne them by force to serue them.+ & thys is no mer-
uayle/for they that drede not to angre god , ner to breke
the lawe & to false hit / falle often tymes by force in moche
cursidnes & Wickednes ,but whan the grete peple do accor-
dynge to the lawe/and punyssh the transgressours Sharp-
ly/The comyn peple absteyne & Withdrawen hem fro doryng
of euyl and chastiseth hem self by theyz example / And
the Juges ought to entende for to studye . For yf the
smythes the carpentiers the Signours andy otherz crafty-
men say that it is not necessarye to studye for the comyn
proffit/ And glorefye them in theiz conyng and say that
they ben proffitable + than shold the Juges studye and con-
templaire moche more than they in that that sholdy be for
the comyn Wele. Wherfore saith Seneka beleue me that they
seme that they do no thyng /they do more than they that
laboure for they do spirituel & also corporal werkis . And
therfore amoge artificers thez is no plesant rest/ but that
reson of the Juges hath maad & ordeyned hit . & therfore
anglius saith in li atticorū de socrate, that socrates was
on a tyme so pensif that in an hole naturel day, he helde one

estate that he ne meued mouth ne eye ne foot ne hand but
Was as he had ben deed or maysshed, and whan one demau-
ded hym wherfore he Was so pensif. he answeerd in al Worlde
by thynges and labours of the same and helde hym four-
gys and Cytezeyn of the Worlde / and Valerus rehercith
that carnardes a knyght Was so sage Wyse andy laborous
in pensifnes of the comyn Wele / that whan he Was sette
atte table for to eate, he forgate to put his hondz unto the
mete to fede hym self / and therfore his Wyf that Was na
med Mellyse whom he had taken more to haue her compa-
nye and felawshyp than for ony other thyng / Fedde
hym to thende that he shold not dye for hongre in his pen-
sifnes. Didimus sayd to alixandre We be not deynseyns
in the Worlde but straungers / nor we ben not born in the
Worlde for to dwelle andy abyde alwey therin . but for to
goo andy passe thrugh hit . we haue doon noon euyl dede ,
but that it is Worthy , to be punysshed & we to suffre Payne
therfore , and thenne we may goon with open face & good
conscience . And so may we goo lightly and appertly the
way that we hope andy purpose to goo . Thys suffyseth as
for the Alphyns /

The fourth chappitre of the second book treteth of the ordre
of cheualrye and knyghteode and of her offyces and
maners capitulo

quarto



He knyght ought to be maad al armed Upon an
t hors in suche wise that he haue an helme on his heed
and a spere in his right hond / & couerid With his shelde , a
swerd & a mace on his lyft syde , clad With an habberk &
plates tofore his breste . legge harnoys on his legges . spo
res on his heelis , on hys handes hys gauntelettes . hys
hors Wel broken & taught and apte to bataylle & coueryd
With his armes . Whan the knyghtes ben maad they ben
bayned or bathed . That is the signe that they sholdyn lede

a newe lyf and newe maners . also they Wake alle the nyght in prayers and orisons unto god that he wil geue hem grace that they may gete that thyng that they may not gete by nature , The kyng or prynce gyrdeth a boute them a swerde in signe , that they shold abyde and kepen hym of whom they taken their dispences and dignyte .

Also a knyght ought to be wyse liberaile / trewe . strong and ful of mercy and pyte and kepar of the peple and of the lawe / and right as cheualrye passeth other in vertue in dignyte in honour and in reuerence , right so ought he to surmounte alle other in vertue . for honouer is no thyng ellys but to do reuerence to another persone for the good & vertuous disposition that is in hym , A noble knyghte ought to be wyse and prouyd before he be maad knyght , hit behoued hym that he had long tyme bider the warre & armes , that he may be expert and wyse for to gouerne the other / For sithen that a knyght is capitayn of a batayle , the lyf of them that shal be bider hym lyeth in his honde / and therfore behoueth hym to be wyse & wel aduy sed , For somtyme art craft and engyne is more worthe than strengthe or hardynes of a man that is not proued in armes / for other while it happeneth that whan the prynce of the batayl affyeth and trusteth in his hardynes and strengthe , and wol not use wisedom and engyne for to renne upon his enemyes / he is laynquysched & his people slayn . therfore saith the philosopher that no man shold chese yōg peple to be captayns & gouernours / for as moche as ther is no certeynte in her wisedom / aliāndre of macedone laynquysched & conquerd Egypce , Jude , caldee , Affrique

and assynie vnto the marches of bragmans more by the
council of olde men than by the strengthe of the yong
men . We rede in the historye of wme that ther was a
knyght whiche had to name malechete that was so wyse &
trewe that whan the emperour Theodosius was dede . He
made mortal warre ayenst his broder germayn whiche was
named Gylde or Guye . for as moche as this sayd guye
wold be lord of affrique with out leue and wylle of the ses
natours / and thys sayd Guye had slayn the two sones of
his broder malechete , And dyd moche torment vnto the
crysten peple , and afore that he shold come in to the felde
ayenst his broder Guyon . he went in to an yle of capayre
and ladde byth hym al the cristen men , that had ben sent
therer in exyle . And maad hem alle to praye with hym
by the space of thre dayes and thre nyghtes . For he had
grete affyaunce and triste in the prayers and orisons of
good folke and specially that no man myght councelyl ne
helpe but god / And thre dayes tofore he shold fight saynt
Ambrose whiche was dede a litil tofore apperyd to hym &
shewed hym by reuelacion the tyme and houre that he shold
haue victorey . And for so moche as he had ben in dayes
and thre nyghtes in orysons & prayers and that he was
assuryd for to haue victorey , he caught byth fyue thou
sand men ayenst his broder that had in his compayne four
score thousand men . and by goddes helpe he had victorey
And whan the barkaryans that were comen to helpe guyon
saw the discomfiture they fledde away . And guyon fledde
also in to affryque by shyppe . And whan he was therre a
ryued he was sone after stranglid . These two knyghtes

of whom I speke Were two brethren germayns . Whiche
Were sent in to affrique for to defende the comyn wele .
In lyke wyse Judas machabeus Jonathas and Symon
his brethren put them self in the mercy and garde of our
lord god , And ageyn the enemyes of the lawe of god
With litil people in regarde of the multitude that Were a -
gayn them , And had also victory / The knyghtes
ought to ben trewe to theyr prynces , For he that is not
trewe leseth the name of a knyght . Unto a prynce trouth
is the grettest precious stome whan hit is medlid byth
Justyce . Paule the historiograph of the lombardes reker
ceth that there Was a knyght named Enulphus & Was
of the cyte of papye that Was so trewe and faythful to
his lord and kyng named patharich that he put hym in
parolle of deth for hym , For hit happend that Grymald
duc of buneuentayns of whom We haue touched before in
the chapytre of the quene . dyd so slee Godebert Whiche
Was kyng of the lombardes by the hande of goribert duc
of tarente / Whiche Was descended of the crowne of lom -
bardes . And this grymalde Was maad kyng of lombard
dye in his place and after this put and banysched out of
the contraye this patharich Whiche Was broder unto the
kyng Godebert , that for feare and drede fledde in to hon -
grye . And thenne this knyght enulphus dyd so mocke
that he gate the pees agayn of his lord patharich agaynst
the kyng grymalde . And that he had licence to come
out of hongrye whare he Was alway in parell , and so he
came and cryed hym mercy / And the kyng Grymalde
gaf hym leue to dwelle and to lyue honestly in his contre

alwey forseen that he took not upon hym & named hym
self kyng . How wel he was kyng by right / This doon
a lityl whyle after / the kyng that belewyd euyl tonges /
thought in hym self how he myght bryng this pathariche
Unto the deth , and al thys knebbe Wel the knyght Enul-
phus , Whiche came the same nyght With his squyer for to
disite his lord + and maad hys squyer to unclothe hym &
to lye in the bedde of his lord / and maad his lord to rise
and clothe hym With the clothes of his squyer / And in
this wyse brought hym out . brabbling and belyng hym
as his seruaunt by them that were assigned to kepe the
hows of patharich that he shold not escape . Whiche supposid
that hit had been his squyer that he entred so outragy-
ously / and so he brought hym Unto his hows Whiche joy-
ned Wyth the walles of the towne . And at mydnyght
When al men were a slepe , he lete a douyn his maistre by a
corde . Whiche took an hors out of the pasture and fledde
Unto the cyte of aast & there cam to the kyng of frunce
And whan it cam Unto the morne / hit was founden that
enulphus and his squyer had deceyued the kyng and the
watchemen . whom the kyng comauanded shold be brought
tofore hym / and demanded of them the maner how he
was escappyd , and they tolde hym the trouthe / Thenne
the kyng demanded his councayl of what deth they had de-
serwyd to dye that had so doon and brought agayn the
wyke of hym , Somme said that they shold ben honged
& some said they shold be flayn / and other said that they
shold be hched . Then said the kyng by that lordy that
maad me . they ben not worthy to dye . but for to haue

mocke Worshyp and honour , For they haue ben trewe to
theyz lord . Wherfore the kyng gaf hem a grete laude and
honour for theyzfeat . And after hit happend that the pwo
pre squier and seruaunt of Godeberd slewe the traytre
Gorybalde that by treason had slayn his lorde at a feste
of Saynt John in his cyte of tarente wherof he was lord
and duc . Thus ought the knyghtes to loue to gyder +
eche to put his lyf in auenture for other . ffor so been they
the strenger and the more doubted . lyke as were the no
ble knyghtes Joab and abysay that fought ageynst the
syryens and amonytes and were so trewe that one to that
other that they synquysshed theyr enemyes . And were
so ioyned to gyder that yf the sinens were strenger thene
that one of them . that other helpe hym . We rede that
damon and phisias were so right parficht frendes to gy
der that whan dionysius whiche was kyng of zecille had
Jugged one to deth for his trespass in the cyte of Siriau
sane whom he wold haue executed . he desired grace + leue
to goo in to his contre for to dispose + ordeyne his testa
ment . And his felawe pledgyd hym and was swerte for
hym bpon his heed that he shold come agayn / wherof they
that herde and sawe this / helde hym for a fool + blamed
hym . And he sayd alway that he repentyd hym no thyng
at all . For he knew wel the trouth of his felawe / and
whan the day cam and the howre that execution shold be
doon . his felowe cam and presented hym self before the
Iuge . and dischargid his felowe that was pledge for hym
wherof the kyng was gretely abashyd . and for the grete
trouthe that was founden in hym / he pardenyd hym and

prayed hem bothe that they wold receyue hym as theyr
grete frende and felowe + so here the vertues of loue / that
a man ought not to doubt the deth for his frende / So
what it is to doo for a frende , and to lede a lyf desonayz /
and to be wyth out cruelte + to loue & not to hate / Whiche
causeth to doo good ayenst euyl , and to torne Payne in to
benefete and to quench cruelte . Anthonyus sayth that
Iulius cesar lefte not lightly frendshyp and amyghtye /
But whan he had hit , he retayned hit faste & mayntened
hit alwey . Scipion of affrique saith that there is no
thyng so stonge as for to mayntayne loue unto the deth
The loue of concupisence and of lecherye is sone dissol-
uyd and broken , but the verray trewe loue of the compyn
Wele and proffyt now a dayes is selde founden , whare shal
thou fynde a man in thyse dayes that wyl expose hym self
for the worship & honour of his frende / or for the compyn
Wele , selde or neuer shal he be founden / also the knyghtes
sholdy be large and liberal / For whan a knyght hath re-
garde unto his synguler proffyt by his couetyse + he dys-
pyleth his peple / For whan the souldryours se that they
put hem in parel , and theri maister wyl not pay hem
theyr wages liberally / but entendeth to his owne propre
gwyn and proffyt , than whan the enemyes come they
torne sone her backes and flee often tymes / And thus hit
happeth by hym that entendeth more to gete money than
byctorye that his auarye is ofte tymes cause of his con-
fusion / Thenne lete every knyght take hede to be lyberalle
in such wyse that he wene not ne suppose that his scarste
be to hym a grete wynnyng or gwyn / And for thys cause

he be the lasse louyd of his peple , and that his aduersa :
zye Wythdraue to hym them by large geuyng . For ofte
tyme batayle is auaunced more for getyng of siluer than
by the force and strengthe of men . For men see alle day
that suche thynges as may not be achyeuyd by force of
nature + ben gotten and achyeued by force of money . And
for so moche it behoueth to see Wel to that Whan the tyme
of bataille cometh that he knowe not ne make no tayllage
For no man may be riche that leuyth his oþne / hopyng
to gete and take of other / Than alway al her gayn and
wynnyng ought to be comyn emongh exēpt heyr armes
For in like Wyse as the Buctorye is comune / so shold the
dispoyle and botye be comune vnto them , And therfore
dauyd that gentyl knyght in the first book of kynges in
the last chappitre made a lawe . that he that abode behynde
by maladye or sekenes in the tentes shold haue as moche
parte of the butyn as he that had ben in the batayle . And
for the loue of this lawe he was maad after Ward kyng
of Israel , Alixandre of macedone cam on a tyme lyke
a symple knyght vnto the court of porus kyng of Pnde
for to espye thastate of the kyng and of the knyghtes of
the court , And the kyng receyuyd hym right Worshyp-
fullly . And demaunded of hym many thynges of Alix-
ander and of his constance and strengthe . nothyng we
nyng that he had ben alixander / but antygone one of
his knyghtes , and after he had hym to dinner . and whan
they had seruyd alixander in lessayl of goldi and syluer
With diuerse metes , After that he had eten suche as plesid
hym he boyded the mete & toke the lessayl and helde hit to

hym self and put hit in his bosom or sleups . Wherof he was accusid unto the kyng . After dynner thene the kyng callyd hym and demanded hym wherfore he had taken hys basayl : and he answeryd . Sir kyng my lord I pray the to understande and take heide thy self & also thy knyghtes I haue herd moche of thy grete hyghnes : and that thou art more myghty and puyssaunt in cheualrye and in dispensis than is Aliyaunder , and therfore I am come to the a poure knyght whiche am named Antygone for to serue the . Then hit is the custome in the courte of Alixander that what thyng a knyght is seruyd byth alle is hys mete and brasell andy cupe . and therfore I had supposid that this custome had ben kept in thy court , for thou art richer than he . When the knyghtes herde this , anone they lefte purpos , and went to serue Aliyaunder : and thus he dresse to hym the hertes of hem by yestes , whiche afterward slewe purpos that was kyng of ynde . and they maad Alixandre kyng therof . Therfore remembre knyght alwyd that byth a closid and hette purse shalst thou never haue victorey . Ouyde saith that he that taketh yestes , he is glad therbyth . For they wynne byth yestes the hertes of the goddes andy of men . For yf Jupyter were an god , byth yestes he wold be plesid . the knyghtes ought to be stonge not onely of body but also in corage . therere ben many stonge andy grete of body , that ben faynt andy feble in the herte / he is stonge that may not be wyngayf shed andy overcome . how wel that he suffreth moche other whyle . Andy so we beleue that they that be not ouergrete ne ouer litel ben most corageous andy beste in bataylle ,

We rede that cadrus duc of athenes shold haue a bataylle
agayn them of polipe / And he was warned and had a re-
uelacion of the goddes / that they shold haue the victorye
of whom the prynce shold be slayn in the batayle . And
the prynce whiche was of a grete corage and trewe herte
took other armes of a poure man / and put hym self in
the fronte of the bataylle to thende that he myght be slayn
and so he was / For the right trewe prynce had leuer
dye / than his peple shold be ouercomen . and so they had the
victorye / Certes hit was a noble and a fayr thyng to
expose hym self to the deth for to defende his contraye ,
But no man wold do so but yf he hopyd to haue a better
thyng therfore / Therfore the lawe sayth that they lyue
in her souldes gloriouly that ben slayn in the warre for
the comyn wele . A knyght ought also to be merciful &
pietous , For there is no thyng that maketh a knyght
so renomed as is whan he sauyth the lyf of hem that he
may flee , For to shede and spylle blood is the condicōn
of a Wyldē bestē and not the condicōn of a good knyght
Therfore we rede that salla that was duc of the romayns
With out had many fair victories agaynst the romayns &
With in that were contrarye to hym in so moche that in the
bataylle of pupille he slewe ybiij thousand men . And in
champayne lyij thousand / and after in the cyte he slewe
thre thousand men bñarmed & whan one of his knyght
es that was named Quynitus catulus sawe this cruelte
sayd to hym , Sesse now and suffre them to lyue and be
merciful to them Byth whom we haue ben victorius &
Byth whom we ought to lyue / For it is the most hyest

and fair vengeaunce that a man may do, as to spare them
and gyue hem her lyf whom he may sle. Therfore Joab
ordeyned whan absalon was slayn, he sownde a trumpette
that his peple sholdy nomore venne andy slee theyr aduersa-
ries, For therere were slayn about xx thousand of them.
And in like Wyse dyd he whan he faught ayenst Abner,
and abner was baynquysshed and fledde. For wherere that
he went in the chias he comaundered to spare the people.
The knyghtes ought to kepe the peple / for whan the peple
ben in their tentis or castellis, the knyghtes ought to kepe
the Watche, For this cause the womayns callyd them le-
gyons, and they were made of dyuerse prowncies andy of
dyuerse nacions to thentente to kepe the peple, Andy the
peple shold entende to theyr Worke, For no crafty man
may bothe entende to his crafte and to fight/ How may a
crafty man entende to his Werke swerly in tyme of Warre
but yf he be kept, and right in such Wyse as the knyghtes
shold kepe the peple in tyme of pees in like Wyse the peple
ought to purueye for theyr dispencis. How shold a plow
man be swere in the felde, but yf the knyghtes made dayly
Watche to kepe them, For like as the glorye of a kyng
is vpon his knyghtes / So it is necessarye to the knygh-
tes that the marchauntes crafty men andy comyn peple be
defendedy and kept / Therfore late the knyghtes kepe
the peple in such Wyse that they may enioye pees and gete
and gadre the costis and expensis of them bothe. We rede
that at this sayd to dauyd whiche was a knyght. I make
the my kepar & defendar al Wey, thus shold the knyghtes
haue grete zele that the lawe be kept. For the mageste

Ryal ought not onely to be garnysshed byth armes but also byth good lawes. And therfore shold they laboure that they shold be wel kepte, Turgeus pompeus rehercith of a noble knyght named surgrypus that had made auncient lawes the whiche the peple wold not kepe ne obserue for they semed hard for them to kepe, and wold constreyne hym to rapelle & sette hem aparte / Whan the noble knyght sawe that, he dyd the peple to understande that he had not made them, but a god that was named apollo delphynus had made them, & had comauanded hym that he shold do the peple kepe hem / thyse wordes auaybed not / they wold in no wyse kepe them. And than he sayd to them that it were good that or the sayd lawes shold be broken that he had gauen to them / that he shold goo and speke byth the god Appollo / For to gete of hym a dispensacion to breke hem and that the peple shold kepe and obserue them tyl that he returned agayn / the peple accorded thereto and wroten that they shold kepe them vnto the tyme he returned / than the knyght went in to grece in exyle and dwellydyn there alle his lyf / And whan he shold dye he comauanded that hys body shold be cast in the see / for as moche as yf his body shold be borne therer / the peple shold bene to be quyt of theyr othe, and shold kepe no lenger his lawes that were so good & resonable / that the knyght had leuer to forsake his owne contree & to dye so than to repele his lawes / and his lawes were such / The first lawe was that the peple shold obeye and serue the prynces / And the prynces shold kepe the peple and do Justyce on the malefactors / the second lawe that they shold be al sobre / For

he wist wel that the labour of cheualrye is most stonge
Whan they lyue soberly / the thyrd was that no man shold
bye ony thyng for money but they shold chaunge Ware for
Ware / and one marchaundysse for another / the fourth was
that men shold sette nomore by money ner kepe hit more
than they wold dunge or filthe / the fift he ordeyned for
the comyn wele alle thynges by ordre / that the prynces
myght meue and make bataylle by her power / to the mai-
ters councellours he comyssed the Jugementis / and the
annuel rentes / to the senatours the kepyng of the lawe /
and to the comyn peple he gaf power to chese such Juges
as they wold haue / the sixte he ordeyned that alle thynges
shold be departed egally & al thyng shold be comyn / & none
richer tha other in patrimony / the viij that euer man shold
ete lyke Wel in comyn oppynly / that richesse shold not be
cause of luxurye Whan they ete secretly / the viij that the
yonge peple shold not haue but one gowne or garment in
the yere / The ix that men shold sette poure children to la-
boure in the felde to thende that they shold not employe
theyr yongthe in playes and folye but in laboure / The
tenthe that the maydens shold be maried Wythout dwaire
in such Wyse that no man shold take a Wyf for money /
The viij that men shold rather take a Wyf for her goodi ma-
ners and vertues than for her richesses / the viij that men
shold Worshyp the olde and auncient men for theyr age and
more for theyr Wysedom than for her riches / This knyght
made none of thyse lawes but he first kepte hem /

The fyfthe chappytre of the second booke of the forme
andy maners of the Rookes capitulo quinto



He wokes Whiche been Bycayrs andy legates of the
t kynge ,ought to be maad a knyght spon an hors &
a mantel and hood furnd With meneuier holdyng a staf in
his hand / & for as moche as a kyng may not be in al pla
ces of his wyame therfore the auctorite of hym is gyuen
to the wokes . Whiche represente the kyng . & for as moche
as a wyame is grete andy large , andy that zekelyon or
noueltees myght sourde and arysse in one partye or other,
therfore ther ben two wokes one on the right syde andy
that other on the left syde / They ought to haue in hem pyte
Justice humylite . Wyful pouerte / andy kyberalyte ,

d ij

first Justyce for it is most fayr of the vertues / For hit
happeth ofte tyme that the mynystres by theyr prude and
orgueil subuerte Justyce and doo no right , Wherfore the
kynges otherwhyle lose theyr wyames Byth out theyr
culpe or gylte / For an Entrewe Juge or offycer ma-
keth his lord to be named Entriste and euyt / & contrarie
Wyse a trewe mynystre of the lawe and rightwys/ causeth
the kyng to be reputed Just & trewe / The wmayns ther-
fore maad good lawes and bold that they shold be Juste
and trewe, and they that establisshid them for to gouerne
the peple . Bold in no Wyse breke them , but kepe them
for to dye for them / For the auncient and Wyse men said
comynly that it Was not good to make and ordeynge that
lawe that is not Just . Wkerof Valeryus reherceth that
there Was a man that Was named Themystrydes Whiche
came to the councyllours of athenes and sayd that he
knewe a councyl Whiche Was right proffytale for them
But he told hit but to one of them whom that
they bold . And they assygned to hym a Wyse man na-
med aristydes . And whan he had Understonde hym he cam
agayn to the other of the councyl , and sayd that the
councyl of hemystydes Was Wel proffytale / but hit Was
not Just / how be hit ye may reuolue hit in your mynde /
and the councyl that he sayd Was thys . that there Were
comen two grete shippes fro lacedome and were arryued
in theyr londe , & that hit were good to take them / & whan
the councyl herde hym that sayd , that hit Was not Juste
nor right , they left hem al in pees & bold not haue a doo
With al . the bicair or iuge of the kyng ought to be so iust

that he shold employe al his entente to sauе the comyn We
le . and yf hit were nede to put his lyf and lose hit ther-
fore . We haue an ensaumple of marcus regulus wherof
Tullyus reherceth in the booke of offyces . And Saynt
Augustyn also de Ciuitate dei . how he faught agayn them
of cartage by see in Shypes and Was synquysshed and
taken . Then hit happend that they of cartage sent him in
her message to rōme for to haue theyr prysoneſ there for
them that were taken . and so to chaunge one for another .
And made hym ſwere and promyſe to come ageyn . And
ſo he came to rōme , and made propoſition tofore the ſenate
And demaunded them of cartage of the ſenatours to be
chaunged as afore is ſayd , and than the ſenatours de-
maunded hym what councelyl he gaf . certeyn ſayd he I
counuceyll yow that ye doo hit not in no Wyſe . For as
muche as the peple of rōme that they of cartage holde in
pryſon of youris / Ben olde men and brusidz in the Barre
as I am my ſelf , But they that ye holde in pryſon of
theyr peple is alle the flouze of alle theyr folke Whiche
councelyl they took . & than his frendes Wold haue holden
hym & coucerilled them to abyde therē & not retorne agayn
pryſoneſ in to cartage but he Wold neuer do ſo meſt abyde
but Wold goo agayn & kepe his oþ / how Wel that he kne
we that he went to Ward his deth , for he had leuer dye than
to breke his oþ / Valerius reherceth in the þi booke of one
emelie duc of the romayns . that in the tyme whan he had
assiegid the phalistes , the ſcole maistre of the children de-
ceyuyd the children of the gentilmen that he drewe hym a
litil & a litil unto the teus of the romayns by fayr ſpeche

Andi sayd to the duc emelye + that by the moyan of the
chyldyn that he had brought to hym . He shold haue the
cyte . For theyz faders Were lordes and gouernours /
Whan emelye hadi herde hym he said thus to hym / Thou
that art euyl and cruel . And thou that Woldest gyue a
gyfte of grete felonye and of mauastrye , thou shalt ner
hast not founden here / duc ne peple that resembleth the .
We haue also Wel lawes to kepe in batayle and Warre/ as
in our contrees and other places / And We Wol obserue
and kepe them Unto euery man as they ought to be kept
and We ben armes ayenst our enemyses that Wol defende
them , andi not ayenst them that can not saue their lyf
Whan their contre is taken . as thise litil chyldyn , Thou
hast laynquysshed them as moche as is in the by thy newbe
deceyuable falsnes & by subtilnes & not by armes , But I
that am a womayn shal laynquysshe the by crast & strength
of armes / Andi anone he comaunded to take the sayd
sole maister andi to bynde his handes behynde hym as a
traytour and lede hym Unto the parentis of the chyldyn ,
And Whan the faders and parentes sawe the grete curtoysye
that he hadi doon to them , They opened the yates and
yeldedi them Unto hym . We rede that Hanybal had ta
ken a prynce of ryme Whiche upon his othe & promyse suf
fred hym to goo home , & to sende hym his munson . or he
shold come agayn With in a certeyn tyme / & Whan he was
at home in his place/he said that he had deceyued hym by a
false oth / Andi Whan the senatours knewe therowf / they
constrayned hym to retorne agayn Unto hanybal /
Amos florus tellith that the phisicien of kyng pirus cam

on a nyght to fabrice his aduersarye / and promyſed hym
yf he Wold geue hym for his labouz that he Wold enþoy:
ſone pirus his mayster. Whan fabrius vnderstood this
he dyd to take hym and bynde hym hande and foot / and
ſent hym to his maistre & dyd to ſay to hym word for word
like as the phisicien had ſaid and promyſed hym to do / &
Whan pirus vnderstood this he Was gretly admeruaylid
of the loyalte and trouth of fabrice his enemye / and ſaid
certeynly that the ſonne myght lightlyer & ſonner be en:
peſſid of his cours . whenne fabrice ſhould be letted to holde
loyalte and trouth / yf they than that were not cryſten
Were ſo Juste and trewe and louyd theyz contrey & theyz
good renomee . What ſhould we noþ doon than that been
Castron / and that ouz laþe is ſette al vpon loue and
charite / but noþ a dayes there is no thyngellis in the
World but karate tressō / deſtit falſenes & trecherye me kepe
not their couenauntes / promyſes . othes / vritynge / ne
trouth / the ſubgettis rebelle agayn theiſ lord . ther is noþ
no laþe kepte / nor fydelyte / ne oþre holden . The people
murmure and ryse agayn theyz lord and Wol not be
ſubget / they ought to be pietous in heſte / Whiche is a :
uaylable to alle thyng / There is pyte in effect by com:
paſſyon / and in Worde by remyſſyon and pardon / By
almesse / for to enclyne hym ſelf vnto the poure / For
pyte is no thyngellis but a right grete Wyſle of a debo:
nary heſte for to helpe alle men / Valerius reherath that
there Was a Juge named Sangis Whiche dampned a Bo:
man that had deseruyd the deth for to haue her heed ſmy:
ten of or ellys that ſhe ſhould dye in pryſon .

The Jayler that had pyte on the Woman put not her anon
to deth but put her in the pryson + and this Woman had a
daughter Whiche came for to see and confort her moder /
But alway or she entred in to the prison the Jayler sez :
chyd hys that she shold here no mete ne drynke to her mo-
der . but that she shold dye for honger + than hit happend
after thys that he meruayled moche Why this Woman dy-
ed not / and began to espye the cause Why she leuyd so long
And fonde atte laste how her daughter gaf sowle to her
moder . and fedde her with her mylke / When the Jaler saw
thys merueyle / he went and tolde the Juge / And When
the Juge saw this grete pyte of the daughter to the mo-
der he pardoned her and made her to be delyuerd out of her
pryson / What is that / that pite ne amissibeth / moche peple
Were that it is agaynst nature and wondre that the
daughtre shold gyue the moder to souke + hit Were agaynst
nature but the childdren shold be kynde to fader and moder
Seneka sayth that the kyng of bees hath no prykke to
stynghe Wyth as other bees haue / And that nature hath
take hit away from hym by cause he shold haue none ar-
mes to assayle them + and this is an example unto pryn-
ces that they shold be of the same condycion . Valerius re-
hercith in his fifthe book of Marchus martellus that
When he had taken the cyte of Symcasane + was sette in
the hyest place of the cyte / he behelde the grete destruccyon
of the peple and of the cyte / he wepte + said / thou oughtest
to be sowleful / for so moche as thou woldest haue no pyte
of thy self / But enioye the for thou art fallen in the hande
of a right devonaiz prynce / also he recouerte When pompeo

had conquerdⁿ the kyngⁿ of germanye that often tymes
had foughтен ayenſt the romayns , & that he was brought
to fore hym bounden , He was so pyetous that he wold not
ſuffre hym to ſtoune on his knees tofore hym . but he
reçyued hym curtoſly , and ſette the crowne agayn on
his heed and put hym in theſtate that he was tofore .

For he had oppynyon that it was as woxhypful and
fittyngⁿ to a kyng to pardon as to punyſſe / Also he re
herceth of a coundeyllour that was named poule that dydⁿ
do brynge tofore hym a man that was pryloner / And or
he knelid tofore hym he toke hym vp fro the grounde and
made hym to ſitte beſyde hym for to geue hym good eſpe
rance and hope , and ſayd to the other ſtondyngⁿ by , in
thyſ wyſe / yf hit be grete nobelleſſe that we ſhewe our ſelf
contrarye to our enemys . than this ſete ought to be also
wed that we ſhewe our ſelf debonayr to our captiſſe and
prylones / Cesar whan he had the deth of caſton whiche
was his aduersary ſaydⁿ that he had grete enuye of hys
glorye , and no thyngⁿ of his patrymonye , and therfore
he leſte to his chylđren frely al hys patrymonye / Thus
taught Virgyle and enſeygneth the gloriouſe prynceſ to
reble and gouerne the peple of Rome , and ſaint Austyn
de ciuitate dei ſayth thus , Thou emperour gouerne the pe
ple pyetouſly / and make pees ouerall / deporte and forbere
thy ſubgettis , repreue and correcte the proſſe / For ſo
enſeyne and teche the the laſſes , And hit was Bryten
Unto aliyaunder . that euery prynce ought to be pyetous
in punyſſing , and redy for to rewarde / ther is no thyng
that caueth a prynce to be ſo belouyd of his peple , as whan

He spekyth to hem swetely, and conceruyth byth hem sym
ply, and al this cometh of the wile of pyte.
We rede of the empewour trian that his frendes repre
uyd hym of that he was to moche pryue and famulier
byth the comyn peple more than an empewour ought to be
And he ansWerd that he wold be suche an empewour as
euery man desyred to haue hym, also we rede of aliander
that on a tyme he ladde his boost forth hastely, & in that
haste he felde wher satte an olde knyght that was sore
acolde, whom he dyd do aryse and sette hym in his owne
sete or siege. What wondre was hit though the knyghtes
desyred to serue suche a lorde that lound better theyr helthe
than his dignyte. The wokes ought also to be humble &
meke + after the holy scripture whiche sayth, the greter or
in the hyer astate that thou art, so moche more oughtest
thou be meker and more humble. Valerius referto in his
bi book that ther was an empewour named Publius ce
sar, that dyd do bete down his hows whiche was in the
myddes of the market place for as moche as hit was hy
er than other howses, For as moche as he was more
gloriosus in estate than other + therfore wold he haue a
lasse hows than other, and scipion of affrique that was
so poure of voluntary puerce that whan he dede + he
was buryed at the dispencis and costes of the comyn
good, They shold be so humble that they shold leue theyr
offyces, and suffre other to take hem whan her tyme co
meth + and do honour to other. For he gouerneth wel the
wyame that may gouerne hit whan he wyl. Valerius referto
in his bi book that fabyan the grete had been maystre

counceyllour of his fader his grauntſire , And of his
grauntſirs fader and of alle his antecessours , And yet
dydi he al his payn and labour / that his ſone ſhould neuer
haue that offyce after hym . But for no thyngē that he
myſtruſted his ſone for he was noble and wyſe and more
attempered than other / but he wold that the offyce ſhould
not alwey reſte in the famylie and hōws of the fabrians
Also he reherceth in his ſeuenth book that they wold ma-
ke the ſayd fabrian emperour / But he excusyd hym & ſayde
that he was blynde and myght not ſee for age . But
that excucion myght not helpe hym / Then ſayd he to
hem / ſeke ye and geze you another , For yf ye make me
your emperour / I may not ſuffre your maners / nor ye may
not ſuffre myn . There was a kyng of ſo subtyl engyne
that whan men brought hym the crowne tofore that he to-
ke hit . he remembred hym a litil and ſayd . O thou crowne
that art more noble thenne happy , For yf a kyng knewe
wel and parfaſtly hōw that thou art ful of paryles of
thoughte and of charge / yf thou were on the grounde /
he woldy neuer lyfte nor take the ſp / Remembre the that
whan thou art moſt gloriouſ / thenne haue ſome men moſte
enuye on the . And whan thou haſt moſt ſeignorye and
lordshyps / than ſhalt thou haue moſt care , thought and
anguyſhes , vaspasian was ſo humble that whan new
was ſlayn alle the peple cryed for to haue hym emperour
And many of his frendes came and prayed hym that
he woldy take hit upon hym . So at the laſt he was con-
ſtreyned to take hit upon hym . and ſayd to hys frendys
hit is better and moſe to prayſe and alowe for a man to

take hempyre agaynst hys bylle than for to laboure , to
haue hit and to put hym self therin / Thus ought they to
be humble and meke for to receyue Worshyp . therfore saith
the byble that Joab the sone of saryne that was captayne
of the Barre of the kyng dauyd / Whan he cam to take and
Wynne a cyte . he sente to dauyd and desyred hym to come
to the Barre , that the victorie shold be geuen to Dauid
and not to hym self . also they ought to be ware that
they chaunge not ofte tymes her offyeres , Josephus re-
herceth that the frendes of Tyberius meruayledy moche
why he helde his officers so longe in theyz offyeres Wyth
out chaunchyng . And they demanded of hym the cause
to whom he answerdy I Wolde chaunge them gladly . yf I
wynt that hit shold be good for the peple / But I sawe on
a tyme a man that was wyneous and ful of sores . and
many flyes satte vpon the sores and soukeden his blood
that hit was meruayle to see . wherfore I smote & chaced
them awaie / and he than sayd to me Why chasest & smytest
thou awaie thyse flyes that been ful of my blood / & now
shalt thou lete come other that be hongrye whiche shal don
to me double Payne more than the other dyd / for the prick
of the hongry is more poygnant the half . Henne of the
fullle / And therfore sayde he I leue the offyeres in theyz
offyeres . For they ben al riche / and do not so moche euylle
& harme / as the newe shold do andy Were poure yf I shold
sette hem in her places . They ought also to be pacient in
beryng of wordes and in suffryng Payne on her bodyes / as
to the first , one sayd to alsaunder that he was not wor-
thy to reigne / specially whan he suffred that lecherye and

delyte to haue seignorye in hym / he suffrid hit paciently /
And ansWerdy none otherwyse but that he wold correcte
hym self / And take better maners and more honeste, also
hit is reherced that Iulius Cesar was ballyd wherof he
had displeasir so grete that he kempt hys hevyn that laye
on the after parte of his hevyn forwardy for to hyde the
bare tofore . Then sayd a knyght to hym . Cezar hit is
lightlier and soner to be maad that thou be not ballyd /
than that I haue vsid ony coWardyse in the warre of Ro
me / or here after shal doo ony coWardyse . He suffryd hys
paciently and sayd not one word . another reprochyd
hym by his signage , and called hym bader , he ansWerdy
that hit is better that noblesse begynne in me . than hit
shold saylle in me / another callyd hym tyraunt / he an
swerd yf I were one thou woldest not say so . A knyght
callyd on a tym scippon of Affrique for to be an olde knyght
in armes . And that he knewe lytyl good . And he an
swerd I was borne of my moder a lytyl chylde and feble
and not a man of armes . And yet he was at alle tymes
one of the best and most Worthyest in armes that lyuyd
Another sayd to Waspassyon / & a wolf shold soner chaunge
his skyn and her . than thou sholdest chaunge thy lyf .
For the lenger thou lyuest the more thou couetest / and
he ansWerdy of thyse wordes we ought to laughe / But we
ought to amende our self / and punysshe the trespasses .
Senek reherceth that the kyng antygonus herde certeyn
peple speke and say euyl of hym , and therewas betwene
hem nomore but a courtyne / and than he sayd make an
ende of your euyl langage lest the kyng here you . for

the courtyne heerlyth you Wel y noug̃ than as touchyng
to the paynes that they ought to suffre paciently / Valerius
reherceth that a tyraunt dyd to torment Anamaymenes
and thretenyd hym for to cutte of his tunge . to whom he
sayd hit is not in thy pouer to do so , and forthwith he
bote of his owne tongue , and therid hit byth his teethe
and caste hit in the bysage of the tyraunt . hit is a grete
vertu in a man that he forgate not to be pacient in corre-
cions of wronges . hit is better to leue a gyldy man un-
punysshed . than to punyssh hym in a wrath or yre ,
Valerius reherceth that archyta of tarente that Was may-
ster to plato sawe that his feldes and landes were destroy-
ed and lost by the negligence of his seruaunt , to whom he
sayd yf I were not angry with the I wold take venge-
ance and turmente the . so there ye may see that he had
leuer to leue to punyssh , than to punyssh more by yre &
wrath than by right . And therfore sayth seneque , do not
thyng that thou oughtest to doo . Whan thou arte angry
For whan thou art angry thou woldest do alle thynges
after thy playssir / and yf thou canst not synquyssh thy
yre , than must thyne yre overcome the . After thyngs ought
they to haue wylful pouerte / lyke as hit was in the aun-
cient prynces . For they coueyted more to be riche in Wyte
and good maners thenne in money / And that reherceth
Valerius in his viii book that Scyppon of affryque Was
accused unto the senate that he shold haue grete tresour .
And he answeyd certes whan I submyssed Affrique in to
your poeste . I helde no thyng to my self that I myght
say this is myn saue onely the surname of affrique . Mer

the affiquans haue not founden in me ner in my broder
ony auazyce / ner that We Were so couetouse that We had
ne had gretter enuye to be riche of name than of richesses
Andi therfore sayth Seneque that the kyngh altagone
Byd gladly in his hōws bessels of erthe / Andi somme
sayd he dyd hit for couetyse / but he sayd that hit Was bet-
ter and more noble thyng to shyne in good maners than
in Basseyll / And Whan some men demaunded hym Why &
for What cause he dyd so , he answerd I am now kyngh of
Seeylle , and Was sone of a potter / andi for as moche as
I doubte fortune / for Whan I yssued out of the hōws of my
fader and moder . I Was sodaynly maad riche / therfore I
 beholde the natuyre of me and of my lignage / Whiche is
 humble andi meke . and al these thynges cometh of Wy-
 ful pouerte / For he entended more to the comyn proffyt
 than to his oþer . Andi of this pouerte speketh Saynt
 Augustyn in the book of the cyte of god that they that
 entende to the comyn proffyt . sowle more that Wyful
 pouerte is lost in wome . than the richesses of wome / for by
 the Wyful pouerte Was the renomee of good maners
 kepte entierly / thus by this richesse pouerte is not onely
 corrupt in thyse dayes ner the cyte ner the maners / But
 also the thoughtes of the men ben corrupt by this couetuse
 and by felonye that is Worse than ony other enemye / and
 of the cruelte of the peple of wome speketh the good man
 of noble memorye John the monke late cardynal of wome
 in the decretal the sixte in the chappytre gens scā Where he
 sayth , that they ben felons ayenst god / contrarie to holy
 thynges / trayters one to that other . Enuyous , to her

neyghbours . proud vnto straungers , rebell and vntrewe
vnto their souerayns , not suffryng to them that been of
lower degree than they & no thyng shamefast to demaunde
thynges discouenable and not to leue tyl they haue that
they demaunde , and not plesyd but disagreeable whan they
haue receyued the yefte . they haue theyr tongues redy for
to make grete boost , and do lityl / they ben large in promy
syng and smale gyuers / they ben right fals deceyours ,
and right mordent and bytyng detractours . For whiche
thingh hit is a grete sowle to see the humylyte the pacy
ence , and the good wysdom that was wonte to be in this
cyte of wome whiche is chyef of al the Worlde & is peruer
ted and torned in to maleheurte & thyse euylls . And me
thynketh that in other parties of cristente they haue taken
ensaumple of them to do euyll / They may say that this is
after the decretale of seygnorye and dysobeysaunce , that
sayth . that suche thynges that the souerayns do , is lightly
and sone taken in ensaumple of theyr subiectis . also thyse
bycayres shold be large and liberall . in so moche that suche
peple as serue them ben duly payd and guerdoned of her la
bour . For every man doth his labour the better & light
lyer whan he seeth that he shal be wel payed and rewarded
And we rede that titus the sone of baspasian was so large
and so lyberal + that he gaf & promyssed sumwhat to every
man . and whan his most preuy frendes demaunded of
hem why he promyssed more thenne he myght gyue , He
answern for as moche as it aperteyneth not to a prynce
that ony man shold departe sowleful or tryste fro hym .
Whan hit happend on a day that he gaf ner promyssed no

thyng to ony man / and whan it was even and aduyseid
hym self he sayd to his frendes . O ye my frendes thys
day haue I lost for this day haue I don no good . and also
We rede of Julius cesar that he never sayd in alle hys lyf
to hys knyghtes goo on + but alwey he sayd come come .
For I loue alwey to be in your compayne / And he knewe
wel that it was lasse payne and trauaylle to the knyghtes
whan the prynce is in her compayne that loueth hem +
comforteth hem . and also We rede of the same Julius cesar
in the book of truphes of philosophers / that there was an
auncient knyght of his that was in parelle of a caas
hangyng tofore the Juges of wome so he callyd cesar on
a tyme and sayd to hym tofore al men that he shold be
his aduocate . And cesar delyueryd and assygned to hym
a right good aduocate + and the knyght sayd to hym , O
cesar I put no bycayr in my place whan thou were in pa-
ryl in the batayl of assise / but I faught for the + & than
he shewyd to hym the places of his woundes that he had
recepued in the bataylle + and than cam cesar in his propre
persone for to be his aduocate and to plete his cause for
hym . he wold not haue the name of unkyndenes . But
doubted that men shold say that he were proude + and that
he wold not do for them that had seruyd hym / they that
can not do so moche as for to be belouyd of her knyghtes .
can not loue the knyghtes + & this suffiseth of the wokes

e j

The iij tractate of the offices of the comyn peple. The first
chapitre is of the offyce of the labourers & Werkmen ca j



Or so moche as noble persones can not rewle ne go
fuerne Without the seruyse and Werke of the people
Than hit behoueth to deuyse the oultrages and the offy-
ces of the Werkmen. than I shal begynne first at the first
paWn that is in the playe of the chesse. & signifieth a man
of the comyn peple on fote. for they be al named pictons
that is as moche to say as footmen. And by thenne We
Wyl begynne at the paWn Whiche standeth tofore the woke
on the right syde of the kyng. For as moche as thys
paWne apperteyneth to serue the Bycayre or lyeuetenant
of the kyng and other officeres. Under hym of necessaries

of Bytaylle / and this maner of peple is figured & ought
be maad in the forme and shappe of a man holdyng in his
right honde a spade or shouel , and a wodde in the lyft hand
the spade or shouel is for to delue and labour therWith the
erthe . and the wodde is for to dryue and conduyte With al
the bestys Unto her pasture / also he ought to haue on his
gyrdel a sarpe or crokyd hachet for to cutte of the superflu-
ytees of the Signes and trees . And We rede in the bible
that the first labouzer that euer Was . Was caym the first
sonne of adam that Was so euyl that he slewe his broder abel
For as moche as the smoke of his tithes Went straught Un-
to heuen , and the smoke and fume of the tithes of caym
Went down Ward vpon the erthe . and how Wel that thys
cause Was trewe , yet Was there another cause of enuye
that he had Unto his broder , For When Adam theyr fader
marched them for to multiplye the erthe of his ligne , he
wold not marye ner Joyne to gyder the two that Were
borne attones , but gaf Unto caym her that Was born With
abel , and to abel her that Was borne With caym . & thus
he gan thenuye that caym had ayenst abel / For hys Wyf
Was fayrer than cayms Wyf / and for this cause he slewe
abel With the chekebone of a teste / And at that tyme
Was neuer no maner of yron blody of mannes blood .
And Abel Was the fyrist martir in the olde testament .
and thys sayd caym dyd many other euyl thynges Whiche
I leue , for it apperteyneth not to my mater , but it behoueth
for necessite that some shold laboure the erthe , after the
synne of adam / for tofore or adam synned / therthe brought
forth fruyt Without labour of handes but sith he synned

hit must nedes be laboured With the handes of men , & for
as moche as the erthe is moder of al thynges / and that
We were first formed & took our begynnyng of the erthe /
the same Wyse at the last / She shal be the ende vnto al vs
& to al thynges + & god that formed vs of the erthe / hath
ordeyned that by the labour of men she shold gyue nourys :
thyng vnto al that lyueth , & first the labourer of therth
ought to knowe his god that formed & made heuen & erthe
of noughe / and ought to haue loyalte & trouth in hym self
and despise deth for to entende to his labour / and he ought
to geue thankynges to hym that made hym & of whom he
receyuethe al his goodes temporal / Wherof his lyf is sustey-
ned . and also he is bounden to pape the dismes & tythes of
al his thynges . and not as caym dyd . but as abel dyd
of the beste that he chese out alway for to gyue to god and
to plese hym / for they that grutche and be greued in that
they rendre & geue to god the tienthes of her goodes / they
ought to be aferd and haue drede that they shal falle in
necessyte / And that they myght be despoylyd or wþþyd
by Warze or by tempest that myght falle or happen in the
contray / And hit is no merueylle though hyt so happen /
For that man that is disagreeable vnto god / and Beneth
that the multeslyeng of his goodes temporall cometh by
the vertu of his owne councayl and his Witte / the whiche
is made by the only ordenaunce of hym that made al / and
by the same ordenaunce is sone taken awaie fro hym that is
disagreeable . & hit is reson that whan a man haboundeth
by fortune in goodes , & knowith not god by whō it cometh .
that to hym come some other fortune by the whiche he may

requyre grace and pardon & to knowBe his god & Be rede of
the kyng dauyd, that Was first simple & one of the comyn
peple that When fortune had enhauncid & sette him in grete
estate, he left & forgate his god & fyl to aduoueltrie & ho-
mycide & other synnes, than anone his oþne sone absalon
assaillid & began to persecute hym, & than Whan he sawe that
fortune Was contrarye to hym, he began to take ageyn his
vertuous werkis and requyred pardon & so returned to god
agayn. Be rede also of the children of ysrael that Were
nygh enfamyned in desert & sore hungry & thursty that they
prayed & requyred of god for remedye, anone he chaunged
his wille & sent to hem manna & flessh, & Whan they Were
replenysched & fatte of the flessh of bestes & of the manna
they made a calf of gold & Worshipped hit. Whiche Was a
grete synne & inyquyte, for Whan they Were hongry they
knewe god, & Whan theyz belies Were filled & fatted, they
forgid ydolles & Were ydolatzeres, after this euery labou-
rez ought to be faithful and trewe, that Whan his maister
delyuereth to hym his lande to be laboured, that he take no
thyng to hym self but that he ought to haue & is his, but
laboure truly and take care & charge in the name of hys
maystre, and do more diligently hys maysters labours
than his oþen, for the lyf of the most grete & noble men
next god lieth in the handes of the labourers, and thus al
craftes and occupacions ben ordeyned not only to suffise to
þe only, but to þ comyn, & so it happeneth oft tyme that the
labourer of the erth bþeth grete & boistrouſ metis, & bþyn
geth to his maister more subtile & more deyntrous metes.
And Valerius rehercith in his sixt book that ther Was a

Wyse and noble maistre that Was named anthonius that
Was accusid of a caas of auoustry. & as the cause henge
tofore the Juges / his accusers or denonciatours brought
a labourez that closid his lande for so moche as they sayd
Whan his mayster Went to do the aduoultre / this same
seruaunt bare the lanterne / Wherof Anthonus Was sore
abassid . & doubted that he shold depose agaynst hym / But
the labourez that Was named papirion said to his maister
that he shold denye his cause hardily Unto the Juges / for
to be tormentid / his cause shold never be enpeyred by hym
nor no thyng shold yssue out of his mouth Wherof he shold
be noyed or greuyd / & than Was the labourez beten & tor-
mentid & brent in many places of his body . but he sayd ne-
uer thyng Wherof his maister Was hurt or noyed / but the
other that accused his maister Were punysshed / & papirion
Was delyuerd of his paynes . & also tellith Valerius that
there Was another labourez that Was named penapion /
that seruyid a maister Whos name Was themes Which Was
of meruaillous faith to his maister . for hit befel that cer-
teyn knyghtes cam to his maisters houss for to sle hym / &
anone as penapion knew hit . he Went in to his maisters
chambre / & wold not be known / for he did on his maysters
gowne & his rynge on his finge , & lay in his bedde / and
thus put hym self in parelle of deth for to respyre hys
maysters lyf . But we see now a dayes many foors that
daigne not to bese gowe metis of labourers . and flee the
ours clothynge and maners of a seruaunt / Every Wyse
man a seruaunt that trewly seruyth his maister is free
and not bond . but a fool that is ouer proud is bond .

For the debylite and feblenes of corage that is broken in
conscience by prude . Enuye , or by couetyse is right seruy-
tude yet they ought not to doubte to laboure . for feare and
drede of deth no man ought to loue to moche his lyf / For
hit is a foul thyng for a man to renne to the deth for the
enuye of his lyf / and a Wyse man and a stwunge man
ought not to fle for his lyf , but to yssue , for there is no
man that lyueth . but he must nedes dye / & this speketh
claudyan and saith that al tho thynges that the ayer goeth
about & enuyronneth & alle thyng that the erthe laboureth
Al thynges that ben conteyned Within the see , al thynges
that the fodes brynge forth , alle thynges that ben noris-
shed , & al the bestes that ben Under the heuen shal deporte
alle from the Worlde , and al shal goo at his comandement
as Wel kynges prynces and al that the Worlde enuyron-
neth and goeth about , alle shal goo this Way / Then he
ought not to doubte for feare of deth , for as Wel shal dye
the ryche as the poure . deth maketh alle thyng lyke and
putteth al to an ende , and therof made a noble Versifyer
two Versis Whiche foloweth / Forma genus mores , sapiencia
res et honores . Morte ruant subita sola manent menta .
Wherof the englissh is / beaute , lignage maners , Wysesdom .
thynges and honoures , shal ben defetid by sodeyn deth +
no thyng shal abyde but the meritis , & herof fynde We in
bitas patrum that ther Was an erle a riche & noble man
that had a sone onely / And When thys sone Was of age
to haue knolleche of the lawe . he herde in a sermone that
deth sparcth none / & as Wel dyeth the yonge as the olde .

And that the deth ought specially to be doubted for thre
causes / one Was that no man knoweth whan he comyth /
and the second ner in what state he taketh a man . And
the thyrd he wote never whether he shal goo / therfore ech
man shold dispysse and flee the world and syue wel and
holde hym toward god + and whan this yonge man herde
this thyng / he wente out of his contray and fledde unto
a Wyldernessee unto an hermytage + and whan his fader had
lost hym he made grete sowthe and dyd do enquire & seke
hym so moche that atte last he was founden in the hermy-
tage / And thenne his fader cam therder to hym and sayd .
Dere sone come from thens / thou shalt be after my deth
erle and chyef of my lignage , I shal be lost yf thou come
not out from thens , & he than that wylt none other wyse
to eschewe the yre of his fader bethought hym and sayd /
Dere fader there is in your contre and lande a right euyll
custume yf hit plesa you to put that awey I shal gladly
come out of this place and goo with you . The fader was
glad and had grete Joye / and demaunded of hym what hit
was . and yf he wold tell hym he promyssed hym to take
hit away and hit shold be lefte and sette a parte / Than he
sayd dere fader therdyng as wel the yonge folke as the
olde in your contray , do that away I praye you / whan his
fader herde that , he sayd dere sone that may not be ner no
man may put that away but god onely / than answeyd
the sone to the fader , than wyl I serue hym and dwelle
here with hym that may do that / And so abode the childe
in the hermytage and syued therde in good werkis + after
this hit apperteyneth to a labourer to entede to his labour

and flee ydernes / and thou oughtest to knowe that dauryd
preyseth moche in the saMter the trewe labourers & sayth
thou shalt ete the labour of thy handes and thou art
blessyd / and he shal doo to the good / And hit behoueth
that the labourer endende to his labour on the Werkedayes
for to recayel and gadre to gydre the fruyt of his laboure
and also he ought to reste on the holy day , bothe he & hys
bestys , and a good labourer ought to nonisshe and kepe
his bestys . And this is signyfied by the wodde that he
hath , Whiche is for to lede and dryue them to the pasture .
The first pastour that euer Was Was Abel Whiche Was
Juste and trewe / and offrid to godyn the bestis unto hys
sacrifise . and hym ought he to folowe in craft and maners
but no man that seth the malycie of cym maye ensue &
folowe abel / and thus hit apperteyneth to the labourer to
sette and graffe trees and bignes , and also to planten &
cutte them / and so dydy Noe Whiche Was the first that
planted the Bygne after the deluge and flood / For as
Josephus reherceth in the book of naturel thynges / Noe
Was he that fonde first the Bigne . and he fonde hym byt-
ter and Wyld / and therfore he took four maners of blood
that is to bete the bloody of a lyon / the bloody of a lamb
the bloody of a Wyne , and the blood of an ape & medlid
them al to geder Wyth the erthe , And than he cutte the
Bigne and put thys about the wtes therw / to thende that
the byttirnes sholdy be put away / & that hit sholdy be bete
And than he hady dronken of the fruyt of thys Bygne .
hit Was so good / & myghty that he becam so dronke that
he despoyled hym in such Wyse that his pruyv membres

myght be seen / and his yongest sone chaym mocqued / and
skorned hym / and whan noe was awaked and was sobre
and fastyng / he assembled his sones and shewed to them
the nature of the bygne and of the wyn / & tolde to them
the cause why that he had put the blood of the bestes about
the rote of the signe and that they shold knowe wel that
otherwhile by the strengthe of the wyn men be mad / as
hardy as the Lyon and ywous / and otherwhile they be made
symples and shamefast as a lambe / & lecherous as a wyne
and curios / and ful of play as an ape / for the ape is of
suche nature that whan he seeth one doo a thyng he enfor-
ceth hym to do the same / and so don many whan they been
drunke / they wyl meddle them with al offyders and ma-
ters that apperteyne no thyng to them / and whan they ben
fastyng & sobre they can scarcely accomplitsh theyz owne
thynges / and therfore Valerian reherceth that of auncient
and in olde tymen women dranke no wyn for as moche as
by dronkenshyp they myght falle in ony filthe or bylony
and as ouyde saith / that the wynnes otherwhyle apparylle
the corages in suche manere that they ben couenable to al
synnes whiche take away the hertes to do wel / they make
the poure / riche as longe as the wyn is in his heyd / and
shortly dronkenshyp is the begynnyng of alle euylls / &
corrupteth the body / and destroyeth the soule & mynnes /
the goodes temporels / & this suffiseth for the labourers /

The second chappytre of the thyrde tractate treteth of
the forme and maner of the second paſſne and of the
maner of a ſmyth capitulo

secundo



He ſecond paſſn that ſtondeth tofore the knyght on
the right syde of the kyng hath the forme & fygure
of a man as a ſmyth and that is reson for hit appertey-
neth to the knyghtes to haue bradlyis ſadellis ſpores and
many other thynges maad by the handes of ſmythes and
ought to holde an hamer in his right hond and in his left
hande a ſquyer . and he ought to haue on his gyrdel a two
Wel / For by this is ſigneſped alle maner of Werkmen .
as goldſmythes + marchallis . ſmythes of alle forges /

forgers and makers of money and al maner of smythes
ben signefyed by the martel or hamer . The carpenters
ben signefyed by the dolabre or squyzer and by the troule
We understande al masons and keruers of stones . tylers
and al those that make housses castels and towres / And
Unto al thyse crafty men hit aperteyneth that they be tre
we . Wyse and stronge / And hit is nede that they haue in
hem self fayth and loyaulte , For Unto the goldsmythes
behoueth golde and syluer and alle other metallys . yzen
andy steel to other . and Unto the carpentiers and ma-
sons ben put to theyr edefynges the bodyes and goodes of
the peple / and also men put in the handes of the mariners
body and goodes of the peple . and in the garde and servante
of them men put body and sable in the paralles of the see
And therfore ought they to be trewe Unto whom men com
mytte suche grete charge and so grete thynges Upon her
fayth and truste . and therfore sayth the phylosopher . He
that leseth his fayth and beleue , may lose no gretter ne
more thyng / and fayth is a souemyn good and cometh
of the good Wyll of the herte and of his mynde , and for
no necessite Wyll deceyue no man + and is not corrupt for
no mede . Valerius reberath that fabius had receyued
hanybal certeyn pryzsoners that he helde of the romayns
for a certeyn sone of money Whiche he promyzed to paye
to the sayd hanybal . and whan he cam Unto the senatours
of Rome and desyred to haue the money lente for hem .
They ansWerden that they wold not paye nor lene / and than
ffabius sent his sone to Rome and made hym to selle hys
heritage and patrymonye + and sent the money that he

receyued therof unto hanibal . andy had leuer andy louyd
better to be poure in his contrey of heritge , than of beleue
and fayth . But in thyse dayes it were grete folye to haue
suche affyaunce in moche peple but yf they had ben preuyd
afore / for oftentimes men trusste in them by whom they
ben deceyued at theyz nede / andy it is to wate that these
craftey men and werkmen ben soueraynly proffyttable unto
the Worlde / and Wythout artificers and werkmen the Worlde
myght not be gouerned / and knowe thou verily that alle
the thynges that ben engendrid on the erthe and on the
see . ben maad andy formed for to do proffyt unto the lig-
nage of man . For man was formed for to haue gene-
racion , that the men myght helpe and proffyt ech other /
And here in ought we to folowe nature / For she sheweth
to vs that we shold do comyn proffyt one to another . and
the first fondement of Justyce is that no man shold noye
ne greue other . but that they ought do the comen proffyt
For men say in reproche . that I see of thyn . I hope it shal
be myn / but who is he in thyse dayes that entendeth more
to the comyn proffyt than to his owne / certeynly none but
alwhey a man ought to haue dredre andy fere of his owne
hous / whan he seeth his neyhbours hous a fyre . Andy
therfore ought men gladly helpe the comyn proffyt , for
men otherwyse sette not by a lytyl fyre & myght quench
hit in the begynnyng / that afterward maketh a grete bla-
syng fire & fortune hath of no thyng so grete plesure as
for to torne & werke alwhey / & nature is so noble a thyng
that wheresoever she is shyl susteyne andy kepe . but thys
reble of nature hath fayled longe tyme . How wel that

the decree saith that alle the thynges that been ayenst the
la^{we} of nature ought to be taken awa^y and put a parte /
And he sayth tofore in the viij distincion that the ryght
la^{we} of nature defferenceth ofte tyme fro custom & statu-
tes establisshyd / For by la^{we} of nature al thyng ought
to be comyn to euery man / and thys la^{we} was of olde ty-
me, and men Bene yet specially that the twians kept this
la^{we} .and^t we rede that the multitude of the twians Was
one herte & one sowle + and verayly we fynde that in tyme
passid the philosophres dide the same .And also it is to be
supposid that such as haue theyr goodes comune and not
propre is most acceptable to god. ffor ellis Wold not thyse
religous men as monkes freres chanons obseruantes
and al other auo^we hem and kepe the Wyful pouerte that
they ben professyd to + For in trouth I haue my self ben
conuersaunt in a religiouse ho^{us}e of Whyt freres at gaunt
Whiche haue al thyng in comyn amongh them .and^t not
one richer than another in so muche that yf a man gaf to
a frere ij d^oz or iij d^oz to praye for hym in his masse / as
sonē as the masse is don he deluyereth hit to his ouerest
or procuratour in Whiche ho^{us}e ben many vertuous and^t de-
uout freres / and^t yf that lyf were not the best & the most
holiest . holy chirche Wold never suffre hit in religion /
And^t accordyng thereto we rede in plato Whiche sayth that
the cyte is Wel and Justly gouerned and ordeyned in the
Whiche no man may say by right, by custome ne by ordenaū-
ce .Thys is myn . But I say to the certeynly that sythen
this custome came forth to say this is myn . and^t this is
thyng . no man thought to preferre the comyn prouffyt so

muche as his oⁿne . and al Werkmen ought to be Wyse &
Wel aduyed so that they haue none enuye ne none eyfull
suspcion one to another / For god Wyll that our humayn
nature be couetous of tho thynges / that is of religyon &
of Wysedom , but in this caas ben some often tymes decey /
ued , For they take often tymes religyon & leue Wysedom
& they take Wysedom & refuse religyon / And none may be
veray and trewe Wyth out other + for it apperteyneth not
to a Wyse man to do ony thynge that he may repente hym
of hit / and he ought to do no thynge ayenst his Wyll /
But to do al thynge nobly meurely fermely & honestly / &
yf he haue enuye vpon ony hit is folye / for he on whom he
hath enuye is more honest and of more hauoyr than he
Whiche is so enuyous / For a man may haue none enuye
on another , but by cause he is more fortunat & hath more
grace than hym self / for enuye is a sowle of corage that
cometh of this ordenaunce of the prouffyt of another man
and knowle thou verily that he that is ful of bounte shal
neuer haue enuye of another , but thenuyous man seeth
and thynketh alway that euery man is more noble . and
more fortunat than hym self / and saith alway to hym self
that man wynnethe more than I / and myn neyghbours
haue more plente of festes / and her thynges multe plye
more than myn , and therfore thou oughtest knowle that
enuye is the most grettest dedely synne that is / For she
tormenteth hym that hath her withyn hym / Wythout tor-
mentyngh or doyngh ony harme to hym . on whom he hath
enuye / And an enuyous man hath no vertu in hym self
For he corrupteth hym self for as moche as he hateth

alwhey the Welthe and vertues of other / And thus ought
they to kepe them that they take none euyl susppcion , for
a man naturally whan his affecion hath suspencion in ony
man that he beneth that he doth . hit semeth to hym very
ly that it is don . And it is an euyl thyng for a man to
haue suspencion on hym self / For we rede that dyonyse of
zeccle a tyraunt . Was so suspicious that he had so grete
fere and dredre , for as moche as he was hated of alle men /
that he put his frendes out theyr offyces that they had
andi put other straungers in their places for to kepe his
body , andi chese suche as were right cruel and felons / andi
for fere & doubte of the barbours . he made his doughters
to lerne shawe andi kembe , andi whan they were grete , he
wold not they shold bse ony yron to be occupedy by them
but to brenne andi senge his heiris / and menacedi them
and durst not trusste in them . And in like wyse they had
none affyaunce in hym . and also he did do enuyronne the
place whare he lay wþt grete dyches and brode lyke a cas-
tel . and he entred by a drawe bridge whiche closid after
hym . and his knyghtes laye wþtout wþt his gardes
whiche Watched and kept straytly thys forteresse , & whan
platys salwe thy said dyonyse kyngi of zeccle thus enuy-
roned and sette about wþt gardes and Watchemen for the
cause of his suspencion / sayd to hym openly tofore alle
men kyngi why hast thou don so moche euyl andi harme ,
that the behoueth to be kept wþt so moche peple , & therfore
I say that it apperteyneth not to ony man that wylle tri-
ly behauie hym self in his werkis to be suspicious , & also
they ought to be stronge and seure in theyr werkys / andi

specially they that ben maysters and mariners on the
see, for yf they be tumerous and ferdful they shold make
aferde them that ben in theyz shippis /that knowe not the
parvilles , and so hit myght happen that by that drede and
fere al men shold leue their labour /and so they myght be
perissled and dispayred in theyz corages . For a shyppe is
soon perissled and lost by a litil tempest /Whan the gouer-
nour fayleth to gouerne his shyppe for drede , and can
geue no councayl to other /thenne it is no meuyable ,
though they be aferde that ben in his gouernance . And
therfore ought to be in them strengthe , force and corage
and ought to considere the parvilles that myght falle , and
the gouernour specially ought not to doubt /and yf hyt
happyn that ony parv il falle /he ought to promyse to the o-
ther good hoop , and hit aperteyneth wel /that a man of
good and hardy corage be sette in that office , in suche Wyse
that he haue ferme and seure mynde ayenst the parvilles
that oft tymes happen in the see , and Byth this ought the
mariners haue good and ferme creauice and beleue in
god , and to be of good recomforte and of fayz langage
Unto them that he gouerneth in suche parvilles /And thys
suffyseth to you as touchyng the labourers .

f j

The thyrd chappytre of the thyrd booke treteth of the office
of notaries aduocates skryuenars andy drapers or cloth
makers capitulo

tercio



He thrid paſon Whiche is ſette tofore the alþyn on
the right syde ought to be fygured as a clerke/ andy
hit is reson that he sholdy ſo be / for as moche as emonge
the comune peple of whom we ſpeke in thiſ booke they plete
the diſferences contencions andy cauſes otherwhyle the
Whiche behoueth the alþyns to geue ſentene andy Juge
as Juges / and hit is reson that the alþyn or Juge haue
his notarye / by whom the proceſſe may be breton . Andy
this paſon ought to be maad and figured in thiſ manere

He must be made like a man that holdeth in his right hand a payz of shenis / or forsettis / and in the lyfte hand a grete knyf and on his gurzel a penner an ynk horn . and on his eere a penne to Wryte With 'andz that been the Instrumentis and the offyces that been maad and putte in Wrytyng autentique 'andz ought to haue passyd tofore the Juges as likelles Writs condempnacions & sentences and that is signefied by the scripture andz the penne / and on that other parte hit aperteyneth to them to cutte clothe shere , dyght and dye + and that is signefyed by the for : cettis or shenis , and the other ought to shauē berdis andz kembe the heenis , and the other ben coupers + corvers 'ta : Wyers / skynners bouchers / and cordwanners + and these ben signefyed by the knyf that he holdeth in hys handz + & some of thyse forsayd crafty men been named drapers or clothmakers for so mocke as they Werke With Wolle , and the notaries skynnars Coryours and cordwaners Werke by skynnes and hydes , as perchymyn Belume / peltrie and cordewan , and the tayllours cutters of cloth / weuars + fullars / dyers , andz many other craftes occupye and Bse Bulle , and al thyse crafty men & many other that I haue not named ought to do theyz craft and mestiez . Where as they ben duly ordynyd curiously andz trewly / Also there ought to be amonge thyse crafty men amyable compayne andz trewe honest countenaunce / Andz trouthē in theyr wordes / Andz hit is to wete that the notaries ben ryght prouffytale andz ought to be good and trewe for the co : myn . And they ought to kepe them from approprryng to them self that thyngz that aperteyneth to the compyn .

And yf they be goodi to them self , they ben good to other
and yf they be euyl for them self , they ben euyl for other
And the proceses that ben maad tofore the Juges ought
to ben Writteyn and passyd by them . And it is to Wete that
by their Writynge in the proceses may come moche prouffit
And also yf they Writte otherwyse than they ought to doo
may ensewe moche harme andy domage to the comyn /
Therefore ought they to take goodi hede that they chaunge
not ne corumpe in no Wyse the content of the sentence / for
than ben they first forsworne , and ben bounden to make a-
mendis to them that by their trecherye they haue endoma-
ged / and also ought they to rede Visite & to knowbe the sta-
tutes / ordenaunces & the lawes of the citees of the contre
Where they dwelle and inhabite , and they ought to consi-
dere yf there be ony thyng therin conteyned ayenst right &
reson . and yf they fynde ony thyng contrarie . they ought
to admonest & warne them that gouerne , that suche thyn-
ges may be chaunged in to better estate , for custume esta-
blished ypenst goodi maners andy ageynst the fayth .
ought not to be holden by ryght . For as hit is sayd in the
decree in the chappytre tofore / all ordenaunce maad ypenst
right ought to be holden for nought / Alas who is now
that aduocate or notarye that hath charge to Writte andy
kepe sentence that putteth his entente to kepe more the co-
myn prouffyt or as moche as his oþer / but alle drede of
godri is put aþack . And they deceyue the symple men /
& drassen them to the courtes disordenantly & constraine
them to swere andy make oþers not couenable / and in as-
semblyng the peple thus to gyder they make mo traysons

in the cytres hennē they make goodi alyaunces .
And otherwhiſe they deceyue theiſr ſouerayns whan they
may do hit couertly / For there iſ no thyng at thiſ day
that ſo moche greueth wome and Italiſe as doth the college
of notaryes and aduocates publique / for they be not of
one accorde . Alas and in Engelond what hurtz doon the
aduocates men of laſſe and attorneyes of court to the co-
myn peple of the woyame as Bel in the ſpirituel laſſe as
in the temporalle . hoſt torne they the laſſe and ſtatutes
at theiſr pleſure / hoſt etc they the peple / hoſt empouere they
the comynte / I ſuppoſe that in alle criftendom are not ſo
many pleſars attorneyes andi men of the laſſe as been in
englond onely . for yf they were nombrid alle that longe
to the courtes of the chaunſerve + kynges bencis + comyn
place + cheker / reſayt / and helle / and the bagge berars of
the ſame hit ſhould amounte to a grete multitudine . Andi
hoſt al thyſe lyue and of whom / yf hit ſhould be ſttid and
tolde / hit ſhould not be beleuyd for they entend to theiſr syn-
guler Wele and prouffyt and not to the comyn / hoſt Bel
they ought to be of good Wyl to gydez . And admonenſte +
Warne the cytres eche in hiſ right in ſuiche Wyſe that they
myght haue pees and loue one Wyth another + + Tullyus
ſaith that friendſhyp and goodi Wyſle that one ought to
haue ayenſt another for the Wele of hym that he loueth .
Wyth the ſemblable Wyſle of hym ought to be put forth
toſore al other thynges + + ther iſ no thyng ſo reſebleyng
andi lyke to the keſs that maſken hony ſo couenable in
proſperite and in aduerſite as iſ loue . For by loue
gladly the keſs holden them to gydez . f in

and yf ony trespass to that other anone they venne bpon
the malefactour for to punysshe hym . and veray trewe loue
faylenth never for wele ne for euyl , and the most swete &
the most confortyng thyng is for to haue a frend to whō
a man may say his secret as wel as to hym self , but ver-
rayly amytye and frendshyp is sometyme founded bpon
some thyng delectable , and this amytie cometh of yongthe
in the whiche dweleth a disordynate herte / & otherwhile amy-
tie is founded bpon honeste / and this amytie is vertuous /
of the whiche tullus saith that there is an amytie vertuous
by the whiche a man ought to do to his frende al that
he requyret by reason , for to do to hym a thyng dishon-
nest it is ayenst the nature of veray frendshyp & amytye
And thus for frendshyp ne for fauour a man ought
not to doo ony thyng bnesonable ayenst the comyn
prouffyt ner ageynst his fayth ne ageynst his othe / For
yf alle tho thynges that the frendes desyre and requyre
were accomplitshed and doon / hyt sholdy seme that they
sholdy be dyshoneste coniuracions / And they myght o-
therwhyle more greue and hurte than proffyte andy ayde /
And herof sayth Senecque that Amytye is of suche bykle
as the frende bylle . And to refuse that ought to be re-
fused by reason . And yet he saith more / that a man ought
to alowe & preise his frend tofore the peple / & to correcte &
to chastyse hym pruely / for the lawe of amytie is such .
for a man ought not to demaunde ner do to be doon to his
frende no bylays thyng that ought to be kept secrete
And Valerian sayth that it is a foulee thyng andy an
euyl excusacion . yf a man confesseth that he hath doon ony

euyl for his frende ayenst right and reason / And sayth
that there Was a good man namedr cassyle Whiche herde
one his frende requyre of hym a thyng dishoneste Whiche
he denyed & wold not do / & than his frende said to hym in
grete despyste / What nede haue I of thy frenship & amytee
Whan thou wilt not do what thyng that I requeyre of the +
& cassile answeyd to hym / What nede haue I of the frenship
& of the amytee of the . yf I shold do for the thyng dishonest
and thus loue is founded otherwhile . Upon good prouffy
table / & this loue endureth as longe as he seeth his prouffy
fyrt . and herof men say a comyn prouerbe in englond / that
loue lasteth as longe as the money endurith / & whan the
money faileth than there is no loue / & harw reherath in
his somes / that the riche men ben al lound by this loue . for
their frendes ben like as the huske Whiche is about the
grayn . and no man may proue his frende so wel as in ad
uersite / or whan he is poure . for the veray trewe frende say
leth at no nede / & seneque saith that some folowe the empe
rour for riches / & so don the flies the hony for the wetenes
& the wolf the carayn . And thysse compayne folowe the
praye / and not the man . And Tullyus sayth that tar
quyn the proud had a newewe of his suster Whiche was
named brutus and this newewe had banysched tarquin
out of wome and had sent hym in exyle . And than sayd
he fyrist that he perceyued and knewe his frendes Whiche
were trewe and bntrewe . & that he never perceyued afore
tyme whan he was puyssant for to do theyr wylle / & sayd
wel that the loue that they had to hym / endured not but
as longe as hit was to them prouffytable .

and therfore ought al the riche men of the Worlde take hede
be they kynges prynces or dukes to whet peple they doo
prouffyt and how they may and ought be louyd of theyr
peple. For cathon sayth in his boke / see to whom thou
geuest. & thys loue Whiche is founded upon theyr prouffit
Whiche fayleth and endureth not, may better be callid and
sayd marchaundyse than loue / for yf we repute this loue
to our prouffyt onely. & no thyng to the prouffyt of hym
that we loue, it is more marchaundyse than loue / for he
byeth our loue for the prouffyt that he doth to vs / Andi
therfore sayth the verſefier thysse two verſis. Tempore fe-
lia multi numerantur amici / Cum fortuna perit nullus
amicus erit. Whiche is to say in englyſh that as longe
as a man is ewous and fortunat he hath many frendes
but when fortune torneth and perissheth there abydeth not
to hym one frende. and of thys loue ben loued the mede-
ves / feldes / trees & the bestys for the prouffyt that men
take of them / but the loue of the men ought to be charite
veray gracious and pure by good fyght / And the veray
trewe frendes ben knownen in pure aduersite. Andi pieris
alphons sayth in his boke of Moralite that therre was a
phylosophre in Arabye that had an onely sone / of whom
he demaunded whet frendes he had gotten hym in his lyf
And he ansWerid that he had many / and his fader sayd to
hym. I am an olde man and yet coude I never fynde but
one frende in al my lyf, and I trowe verely that it is no
lytyl thyng for to haue a frende, and hit is wel gretter &
more a man to haue many / and hit apperteyneth and beho-
ueth a man to assaye and preue his frende or he haue nede

and thenne comaundered the philosopher his sone ·that he
shold goo and flee a swyne /and put hit in a sacke/ and
fayne that it were a man dede that he had slayn and leze
hit to his frendes for to burye hit secretly /And whan the
sone had don as his fader comaunderd hym and had requy-
red his frendes one after another as afore is sayd /
They denyed hym and answerd to hym that he was a by-
layne to requyre and desire of them thyng that was so pe-
nulous ·And than he came agayn to his fader and sayd
to hym how he had requyred al his frendes .And that he
had not founden one that wold helpe hym in his nede ,
And than his fader sayd to hym that he shold goo and
requyre his frende whiche had but one + and requyre hym
that he shold helpe hym in his nede ,and whan he had re-
quyred hym /Anone he put out al his mayne out of hys
hows ,and whan they were out of the waye or a slepe + he
dyd do make secretly a pytte in the grunde /and whan hit
was redy and wold haue buryed the body /he founde hit
an hogge or a swyne and not a man /and thus this sone
preuyd this man to be a veray trewe frende of his fader
And preuyd that his frendes were fals frendes of fortu-
ne / And yet reherceth the sayd pierre Alphons + that there
were two marchauntes one of landach and that other of
egypt whiche were so ioyned to geder by so grete frend-
shyp that he of landache cam on a tyme for to se his frende
in egyp of whom he was receuyd right honuorably /
And this marchaunt of egyp had in his hows a fayre
yonge mayden whom he shold haue had in mariage to
hym self , Of the whiche mayde thys marchaunt of

bandach Was esprised With her loue so ardantly that he
Was right seek , and that men supposid hym to dye . And than the other dyd do come the phisiciens Whiche sayd that
in hym Was no sekenes sauf passyon of loue / Thenne he
ayyd of the seek man ys there Were ony Woman in hys
hous that he loued and maad al the Womyn of his hous
to come tofore hym , And than he ches her that sholdy
haue ben that others Wyf and sayd that he Was seek for
her . Than his frende sayd to hym . frende conforte your
self / for trewly I gyue her to you to Wyf With alle the do-
Waire that is gyuen to me Wyth her + and leuer to suf-
fre to be Wyth out Wyf than to lese the body of his frende
And than he of bandach Bedded the mayde + And Went
With his Wyf and With his ickesse ageyn in to his contre
And after this anone after hit happend that the mar-
chant of Egypt became so poure by euyl fortune + that he
Was constreyned to secke and begge his bread , by the con-
tray in so moche that he cam to bandach / and whan he entred
in to the toun hit Was dark nyght that he coude not fynde
the hous of his frende / But Went and lay thys nyght in
an olde temple / And on the morne whan he sholdy yssue
out of the temple / the offycers of the toun arrestyd hym
and sayd that he Was an homycide and had slayn a man
Whiche lay therre dede / And anone he confessid hyt Wyth a
good Wykle , and had leuer to ben hangyd , than to dye in
that myserable and poure lyf that he suffryd . And thus
whan he Was brought to Jugement , and sentence sholdy
haue ben gyuen agenst hym as an homycide · His frend of
bandach cam and saue hym and anone knewe that thys

Was his good frende of egypte . And forthwith sterte
in and sayd that he hym self was culpable of the deth of
this man , and not that other / and enforad hym in alle
maners for to deluyer and excuse that other / And than
Whan that he that had doon the feit and had slayne the
man sawe this thyng / he considerid in hym self that these
two men were innocent / of thys feit . And doubtyng the
dyngne Jugement , he came tofore the Juge & confessyd
al the feit by ordre / And whan the Juge sawe and herde
al thys mater and also the causes he considered the ferme
and trewe loue that was betwene the two frendes / and
understood the cause why that one wold sauie that other
and the trouth of the fayte of the homicide . And than he
pardoned al the feit hooly and entierly . And after the
marchaunt of landach brought hym of egypt with hym in
to his hōs / And gaf to hym his syster in mariage / and
departed to hym half his goodes . and so bothe of hem were
rich , and thus were they bothe very faythful and trewe
frendes . Furthermore notaries , men of lawe & crafty
men shold and ought to loue ech other and also ought to
be contynent chaste and honeste . For by theyr craftes they
ought so to be by necessyte . For they conuerse and accompanye them ofte tyme with women / And therfore hit
apperteyneth to them to be chaste and honeste / And that
they meue not the women nor entyse them to lawghe and
jape by ony dysordynate ensignes or tokenes / Titus li :
uius reherceth that the philosopher democreon dyd doo put
out his eyen for as moche as he myght not beholde the wo
men with out fleschly desyre , And how wel it is sayd

before that he dyd hit for other certeyn cause yet was this
one of the pryncipal causes. And Valerian tellyth that
there was a yong man of wome of right excellent beaulte
And how wel that he was right chaste. for as moche as
his beaulte meuyd many women to desize hym in so moche
that he vnderstood that the parentes and frendes of them
had suspcion in hym, he dyd his bysage to be kuttte Wyth
a knyf and lancettis endlongh and euerthwart for to de-
forme his bysage. and had leuer haue a fowle bysage and
disformed. than the beaute of his bysage shold meue o-
ther to synne / And also we rede that there was a Nonne
a virgyn dyd do put out bothe her eyen. For as moche as
the beaute of her eyen meuyd a kyng to loue her, Whiche
eyen she sente to the kyng in a present. And also we rede
that plato the right ryche phylosopher lefte his owne lande
and contre. and chase his mansion and dwellyng in acha-
domye a toun, Whiche was not onely destroyed but also
was ful of pestelence, so that by the cure and charge and
customaunce of sowle that he there suffrid. myght eschewe
the hetes and occasions of lecherye / And many of hys
dysaples dyd in lyke wyse / helemand reherceth that de-
mostenes the philosopher laye ones by a noble woman for
his dysport, and playengh wyth her, he demaunded her
What he shold geue to haue to do wyth her / and she answerd
to hym a thousand pens. & he sayd ageyn to her I shold
repente me to bye hit so dere. and whan he aduysed hym
that he was so soze chauffyd to speke to her for to accom-
plisshis fleschly desyre. he despoyled hym al nakyd and
wente and put hym in the myddes of the snowe / And

Oynde rehercith that thys thyng is the leste that maye
helpe and most greue the louers / and therfore saynt au-
gustyn rehercith in his book de ciuitate dei that there was
a right noble womayn named Marcilian that wan and
took the noble cite of Siracuse . And tofore er he dyd do
assayle hit or besight hit , & or he had do beschedde ony blood
he wepte and shedde many teiris tofore the cite / and that
was for the cause that he doubted that his peple sholdy de-
foule and corumpe to moche dishonestly the chastyte of the
toun . and ordeyned upon payn of deth that no man sholdy
be so hardy to take and defoule ony Woman by force what
that euer he were . After thys the crafty men ought to
understonde for to be trewe and to haue trouth in her mou-
thes . And that theyr dedes folowen theyr wordes . For he
that sayth one thyng and doth another / he condempneth
hem self by his word / also they ought to see wel to that
they be of one accorde in good / by entente / by word , and
by dede . so that they be not discordaunt in no cas / But
that every man haue pure verte and trouth in hym self .
For god hym self is pure verte / and men say comynly
that trouth seketh none fernes ne corners / and trouth is
a vertu by the whiche alle drede and fraude is put abyey /
Men saye trewly wan they say that they knowe . And
they that knowe not trouth . ought to knowe hyst / And
alwayse trouth . for saynt austyn sayth that they that
vene to knowe trouth . and lyueth euyl and viciously
it is folye yf he knoweth hit not / and also he sayth in an
other place that it is better to suffre payn for trouth / than
for to haue a benefete by falsnes or by flaterye . And man

that is callyd a beste resonable and doth not his Werkys
after reson and trouthe . is more bestyal than ony beste
brute + and knowe ye that for to come to the trouthe , hit
cometh of a resonable foresight in his mynde + And syeng
cometh of an oulfrageous and contrarie thought in hys
mynde , for he that lyeth wittyngly , knoweth wel that hit
is ageynst the trouthe that he thynketh , and therof speketh
saynt bernard and sayth , that the mouth that lyeth des-
twyeth the sowle . and yet sayth saynt austyn in another
place . for to say one thyng and do the contrarye , maketh
doctryne suspicous . And knowe ye verily that for to lye
is a right perilous thyng to body and sowle / For the lye
that the auncient enemye maad eue and Adam to beleue
hym , made hem for to be dampned with alle their signage
to the deth pardurable / and made hem to be cast out of para-
dyse terrestre / For he maad them to beleue that god had
not forboden them the fruyt / but onely by cause they shold
not knowe that her mayster knewe / but how wel that the
deuyl sayd thyse wordes / yet had he double entente to hem
bothe / For they knewe anone as they had tastyd of the
fruyt that they were dampned to the deth pardurable .
And god knewe hit wel tofore . but they supposid wel to
haue knownen many other thynges , and to be lyke unto
his knowleche and science . And therfore saith saynt poule
in a pistyl . hit ne apperteyneth to sauor or knowe more
than behoueth to sauor or knowe / but to sauor or knowe
by mesure or sobrenes / And Valerian rehercith that there
was a good Woman of simusane that boldy not lye sh-
to the kyng of Seckle Wþyche was named dyonyse + and

this kyng Was so ful of tyrannye and so cruel that alle
the Worlde desired his deth and cursid hym . Sauf this Wo
man onely Whiche Was so olde that she had seen iij or four
kynges reynyng in the contre , and euery mornyngh as
sone as she Was rySEN she prayed to god that he Wold
gyue unto the tyrant good lyf and longe , and that she
myght never see his deth / And whan the kyngh dyonyse
knewe this he sent for her , and meruayled moche herof /
for he knewe wel that he Was sore behated / and demaunded
her . What cause meyd hyr to praye for hym / & she ansWerD
and sayd to hym . Sir whan I Was a mayde we had a right
euyl tyraunt to our kyng of whom we coueyted sore the
deth / and whan he Was dede therere came after hym a Verse /
of whom we coueyted also the deth , and whan we were de
lyuerd of hym . thou camest to be our lord which art Worst
of al other . and now I doubt yf we haue one after the he
shal be Worse than thou art / and therfore I shal praye for
the , and whan dyonyse Understood that she Was so hardy
in sayeng the trouth / he durst not do torment her for shame
by cause she Was so olde .

The fourth chappitre of the third booke tretis of the maner
of the fourth pavy & of the marchauntis or chaungers ca iii



He fourth pavy is sette tofore the kyng . and is
formed in the forme of a man holdyng in his right
hand a balaunce and the Weyght in the lyft hand , and to
fore hym a table / and at his gurdel a purse ful of money
redy for to geue to them that requyred hit , and by thys
peple ben signefyed the marchauntes of cloth lynnen and
Wollen / and of al other marchaundyses , and by the table
that is tofore hym is sygnefyed the chaungers + and they
that lene money / & they that bye and sell by the Weyght
ben signefyed by the balaunces / and the Weyghtes / And the

customers/tollars /and receyours of rentes & of money
ben signefyed by the purse + and knowe ye that alle they
that ben signesied by this peple ought to flee auarice and
couetysse /and eschewe brekyng of the dayes of payment &
ought to holde and kepe theyr promyses . & ought also to
rendre and retore that. that is gauen to them to kepe / &
therfore hit is reson that this peple be set tofore the kyng
for as moche as they signefye the receyours of the tre-
sours ryal that ought alway to be ready tofore the kyng. &
to answer for hym to the knyghtes and to other personnes
for theyr wages and souldyes / & therfore haue I said that
they ought to flee auarice . For auarice is as moche to
say as an adourez or as Worshypar of fals ymages / and
herof sayth tullyus that auarice is a couetise to gete that
thyng that is aboue necessite / and it is a loue disordynate
to haue ony thyng/ & it is one of the Werst thynges that is
& specially to prynces & to them that gouerne the thynges
of the comunete . and this byce causeth a man to do euyl
and thys dyng euyl is whan hit reygneth in olde men / &
herof sayth Senecque . that all Worldey thynges ben mor-
tifyed and appetisched in olde men reseruyd auarice onely
Whiche alway abydeth byth hym and dyeth with hym /
But I understande not wel the cause wherof this cometh
ne therfore hit may be , And hit is a fowle thyng and
contrarie to reson + that whan a man is at the ende of his
Journey for to lengthe his viage and to ordyne more vi-
aylor than hym behoueth / & this may wel be likned to the
auaricious wolf . for the wolf doth neuer good tyl he be
dede / and thus it is sayd in the proverbys of the Wyse men

that thauaricous man doth no good tyl that he be dedeþ +
and he desireþ no thyng but to lyue long in thys synne/
for the couetous man certeynly is not good for ony thyng
for he is euyl to hym self & to the riche & to the poure + and
syndeth cause to gaignsay theyr desire , & herewerath se-
neque & sayth that antigenus Was a couetous prynce , &
Whan tynque Whiche Was his frende requyred of hym a be-
saunt / he ansWerid to hym that he demaunded more than hyt
aperteyned to hym / & than tynque constrainyd by grete
necessite axid & requyred of hym a peny / & he ansWerid to
hym that it Was no yefte couenable for a kynge . and so he
Was alwey redy to fynde a cause nought to geue . For he
myght haue gyuen to hym a besaunt as a kynge to his
frende and the peny as to a poure man . & ther is no thyng
so litel / but that the humanyte of a kynge may geue hyt /
auarice ful of couetise is a maner of al vices of luxurye
& Josephus reherath in the booke of auient histories . that
ther Was in wome a right noble lady named paulyne / and
Was of the most noble of wome . right honest for the no-
blesse of chastite / Whiche Was maryed in the tyme that
the Wommen glorefyed them in theyz chastyte unto a
yonge man / fayr noble + and riche aboue al other + & Was
lyke and semblable to his Wyf in al casis . And thys
paulyne Was belouyd of a knyght namyd enymeterian
andi Was so ardantly esprised in her loue that he sent to
her many right riche yeftes , and made to her many grete
promyses / but he myght neuerorne the herte of her Whiche
Was on her syde also colde and harde / as marbyll . But
she had her leuer to refuse his yeftes and hys promyses .

Than to entendre to couetyse and to lose her chastyte & We
zede also in the histories of wome that there Was a noble
lady of wome Whiche lyued a solitarie lyf & Was chaste &
honeste . & had gadrid to geder a grete somme of golde . and
had hyd hit in the erthe in a pytte Wyth in her housses & When
she Was dead , the bisshop dyd do burye her in the chirche Wel
and honestly / and anone after this gold Was foudyn and
boreyn to the bysshop' and the bisshop had to caste hit in to the
pytte Where she Was buryed . & thre dayes men herd her crye
& make grete noyse / & say that she brenned in grete payn
and they herd her ofte tymes thus tormentid in the chir-
che . the neyghbours Went unto the bysshop & tolde hym
therof , & the bisshop gaf hem leue to open the sepulcre . &
When they had openyd hit they fonde al the golde molten
Wyth fire ful of sulphre & Was poured & put in her mouth
& they herd one say . thou desizedest this gold by couetyse .
take hyt and dynke hyt ! And whenne they took the
body out of the tombe / And hit Was cast out in a preuy
place . Seneque reherath in the booke of the cryes of
Women that auaryce is foundement of alle vices , And
Valerian reherath that auarice is a ferful garde or kepar
of richessis . for he that hath on hym or in his keppyngh
moch money or other richessis + is alwey aferd to lose hit
or to be robbid or to be slayn therfore + & he is not ewrous
nez happy that by couetise getith hit , & al the euyls of this
vice of auarice had a man of wome named septenuelle , for
he Was a frenid of one named tarchus , & this septenuelle
brent so soze & so cruelly in this synne of couetise . that he
had no shame to smyte of the hede of hys frenid by trayson

For as moche as one framosian had promyssed to hym as
muche weyght of pure gold as the heid wayed . & he bare
the said heid vpon a staf through the cite of ryme . and he
boyded the brayn out therof & filled hyt ful of leedz for to
weye the heuyaz , this was a right horrible & cruel auarice
Ptolome kyng of egipciens purswed auarice in another
manere . for whan anthonie emperour of ryme saue that he
was right riche of gold & siluer / he had hym in grete hate &
tormentid hym right cruelly / and whan he shold periss by
cause of his richessis . he toke al his hauroiz & put hyt in a
shipp / & went with alle in to the hye see to thende for to
drowne & periss there the shipp and his richesses by cause
anthonye his enemye sholdy not haue hit , & whan he was
there he durst not perisse hit ner myght not fynde in hys
herze to departe from hit . but cam & brought hit agayn in
to his hōs where he receyuyd the rewarde of deth therfore
& with out doubte he was not lord of the richesse but the
richesse was lady ouer hym , & therfore hit is sayd in prouer
be that a man ought to seignorie ouer the riches , & not for
to serue hit . yf thou canst deawly use thy richesse than she
is thy chamberer . & yf thou can not departe from hit & use
hit honestly at thy pleasure . knowe verily that she is thy
lady / for the riches never satisfieth the covetous / but the
more he hath the more he desireth / & saluste saith that aua-
rice destrukleth fayth / poeste / honeste & al thise other good
vertues / And taketh for thyse vertues / pryde / cruelte
and to forgette god . and sayth that al thynges be vndable
And after this they ought to be ware that they lene not.
to moche ner make so grete creaures by whiche they may

falle in pouerte, for saynt ambrose saith upon thoby + pouerte
hath no laþe / for to oþer hit is a shame/ & to oþer and not
paye is a more shame. yf thou be poure be ware how thou bo-
wwest + & thynke how thou mayst paye & rendre agayn yf
thou be riche thou hast no nede to bowþe & aye + & it is said
in the proverbis that hit is fraude to take that thou Wylt
not ner mayst rendre & paye agayn + & also hit is sayd in
reproche Whan I lene I am thy frende / & Whan I aye I am
thy enemye as Who saith 'god at the lenyng' & the deuyll
atte rendryng. & seneke saith in his auctorites / that they
that gladly borowþe ought gladly to paye, & ought to sur-
moute in orage to loue hem the better by cause they lene
hem & ayde hem in her nede, for benefites & good tornes don
to a man ,ought to gyue hym thankynge therfore ,and
muche more ought a man to repaye that is lent hym in
his nede. but now in these dayes many men by lenyng of
theiȝ money haue made of their frendes enemys + & herof
speketh domas the philosopher & saith that my frende bor-
wed money of me / & I haue lost my frende & my money/
There was a marchant of gene & also a chungeour Whos
name was albert ganor / & this albert was a man of grete
trouth and loyalte . for on a tyme there was a man cam
to hym and sayd and affirmyd that he had deluyeryd
in to his banke 8 hundred floryns of gold to kepe/ Whiche
was not trouth for he lyed . Whiche 8 C floryns the sayd
albert knewe not of . ner coude fynde in al his bookes ony
suche money to hym due, & this lyaz coude brynge no Wyt-
nes . but began to braye . crye & defame the said albert / &
than this albert callyd to hym this marchant and sayd

g iii

dere frende take here 8 hondred florens Whiche thou affer-
mest & sayest that thou hast delyuerd to me . & forthwyth
tolde hem andt tolke hem to hym & so this good man had
leuer to lose his good than his good name and renome .
and this other marchaunt tolke these florens that he had
Wrongfully receyuyd . and employed them in dyuers mar-
chaundysse in so moche that he gate andt encresid and wan
With them y 8 thousand florens / and whan he sawe that
he approched toward his deth & that he had no childdren ,
he establisshed albert his heyr in al thynges & sayd that
With the 8 hondred florens that he had receyuyd of albert
falsely , he had gotten alle that he had in the Worlde / & thus
by deuyne purueaunce he that had be a theef fraudelent Was
maad afterward a trewe procurour & attorney of the sayd
albert / but now in thyse dayes there be marchaunts that do
marchaundise With other mennis money Whiche is taken
to hem to kepe . & whan they ben requyzed to repaye hyt ,
they haue no shame to denye hit appertly / wherof hit happed
that ther Was a marchaunt Which had a good & a grete na-
me & renome of kepyng Wel suche thynges as Was de-
lyuerdn to hym to kepe . but whan he sawe place & tyme , he
reteyned hit lyke a theef . so hit besel that a marchaunt of
Without forth herd the good reporte & fame of this man ,
cam to hym & delyuerd hym grete tresour to kepe / & thys
cresour abode in yere in his kepyng / & after this thre yere
thys marchaunt came andt requyzed to haue his good de-
lyuerd to hym agayn . And thys man knewe Wel that he
had no recorde ne witness to preue on hym this dueite / nor
he had no obligacion ne wrytyng of hym therof .

In such Wyse that he denyed al entierly / and sayd playn
ly he knew hym not . and than this good man herd and
understood this . he went sorrowfully and weeping from
hym so ferre and longe that an olde Woman mette byth
hym . and demaunded of hym the cause of his weeping +
and he sayd to her Woman hit aperteyneth no thyng to the
goo thy Baye , And she prayed hym that he wold telle her
the cause of his sorrow / For paruenture she myght geue
hym councyl good and proffytale , and thenne this man
wolde to her by ordre the caas of his fortune / and the olde
Woman that was Wyse and subtil demaunded of hym yf
he had in that cite ony frende whiche wold be faythal and
trewe to hym / and he sayd ye . that he had dyuerse frendes .
Than sayd she goo thou to them and saye to them that
they doo ordynne and bye dyuerse cofres and chestes . And
that they doo fyille them byth some olde thynges of no va
lue , & that they fayne & say that they be ful of golde siluer
and other Jewels . and of moche grete tresour & thenne
that they brynge them to thys sayd marchaunt , & to say to
hym that he wold kepe the . for as moche as they had grete
trust in hym / & also that they haue herd of his grete trouth
& good renome , & also they wold go in to fer contre / and
shold be longe er they returned agayn / & whilis they speke
to hym of this mater , thou shalt come vpon them & requyre
hym that he doo delyuer to the + that thou wokest to hym . &
I trowe by cause of tho good men that than shal proffre to
hym the sayd tresour , and for the couetise to haue hit , he
shal delyuer to the thy good agayn / but beware late hym
not knowe they ben thy good frendes ner of thy knowleche

This Was a grete and good councyl of a Womay / andy
Verly it cometh of nature often tymes to Womay to geue
councyl shortly and Braduyfledy to thynges that ben in
doubte or perilous and nedeth hasty remedye . andy as ye
haue herd , this good man dyd , and didy after her coun-
cyl , and came vpon them whan they spack of the mater to
the marchaunt for to delyuer to hym the sayd cofres to
kepe Whiche his frendes hady fayned and requyred of hym
that he had taken to hym to kepe / and than anone the sayd
marchaunt sayd to hym I knowe the noþe Wel , for I haue
aduyfed me that thou art such a man / and camest to me
suche a tyme / andy delyuered to me suche a thyng Whiche
I haue Wel kept , andy thenne callyd his clerke + and bad
hym goo fetche suche a thyng in suche a place and delyuer
hit to that good man / for he delyuerd hit to me / and than
the good man receyuyd his good , and Went his Waye
right Joyously and glad . andy this marchaunt trichour &
deceyvour Was defrauded from his euyl malice . andy he ne
had neyther that one ne that other ony thyng that Was
of value . and therfore hit is sayd in prouerbe to defraude
the begilez is no fraude / and he that doth Wel foloweth our
Lordy / and senekay sayth that charite enseigneth and techeþ
that men shold paye Wel / for good payement is somtyme
good confessyon . Andy this marchaunt trichour andy de-
ceyvour resembliþ and is lyke to an hound that bereth
a chese in his mouth Whan he symmeth ouer a Water ,
for Whan he is on the Water , he seyth the shadowe of the
chese in the Water / and than he Beneth hit be another chese
& for couetyse to haue that . he openyth his mouth to catche

that, & than the chese that he bare falleth douyn in to the Wa
tre . and thus he loseth bothe tWo , & in the same Wyse Was
serypd thys marchant deceyuour / for for to haue the cofres
Whiche he had seen / he delyuered agayn that he boldy
haue holden wrongfullly . and thus by his couetise & propre
makyng he Was deceyued . and therfore hit apperteyneth
to euery goody andy Wyse man to knowe and consider in
hym self how mocke he hath receyued of other men . & upon
What cōdyāon hit Was delyuered to hym / and it is to wete
that thys thyng apperteyneth to receyours and to chaun
geours . and to alle trewe marchauntis and other What
that someuer they be / and ought to kepe theyr bookes of
resaytes and of payementes of whom and to whom & What
tyme and day / and yf ye demaunde What thyng makyth
them to forgette suche thynges as ben taken to them to kepe
I ansWer and say that it is grete couetise for to haue tho
thynges to them self and never to departe from them , and
hit is alle her thought & desire to assemble alle the goodes
that they may gete . for they beleue on none other god .
But on her richesses theyr hertes ben so obstynat and this
suffyseth of the marchauntis .

The fiftthe chappitre of the thyrd book treteth of physi-
ciens medecynes spycers and apotiquaries capitulo 8



He pavy that is sette wofore the quene signefyeth
the physicien/spicer apotquare and is formed in the
fygure of a man /and he is sette in a chayre as a maistre
and holdeth in his right hand a book and an ample or a
boye With oynementis in his lyft hand /and at his gurdel
his instrumentis of yron and of siluez for to make Inci-
sions and to serche Woundes and hurtes, and to cutte apos-
tumes . And by thyse thynges ben knownen the surgycens
By the book ben Understonden the phisiensiens and all gra-
mariensiens . logyaciens / maysters of lasse /of geometrye ,

arsmetrique + musique andy of astrowomye / and by the am
pole ben signefyed the makers of pygmentaries spicers &
apothiquaries / andy they that make confeccions and confi
tes andy medecynes maad byt precious spyce / And by
the fferremens andy Instrumentis that hangen on the
gurdel ben signefyed the Surgyens andy the maysters
andy knowBe ye forcerteyn that a maystre andy physicien
ought to knowBe the proportions of lettres of gramayre +
the monemens the conclusions andy the sophyms of logi
que / the gracious speche andy Btterwunce of rethonique ,
the mesures of the houzes andy dayes + and of the cours of
astrowomye . the nombre of arsmetrique andy the ioyous
songes of musique + andy of al thyse tofore namedy / the
maysters of rethonique ben the chyef maysters in specula
tyf . andy the two last that ben practiciens and Werkes ben
callyd physiciens and surgysens , hoW Wel they ben sage
andy curios in thyse sciencies andy hoW Wel that manys
lyf is otherwhyle put in thordonaunce of the physician or
surgyen yf he haue not sagesse and Wysdom in hym self
of dyuerse Wrytynges andy is not expert , andy medlyth
hym in the craft of physique / he ought better be callyd a
sleer of peple than a physician or surgyen . For he may
not be a maystre but yf he be swere and expert in the craft
of phisiike that he slee not moo than he cureth and maketh
hoole / andy therfore sayth auycenne in anforysme , yf
thou curest the seek man . Andy knowest not the cause .
Wherof the maladye ought to be cured . hit ought to be
saydy that thou hast cured hym by fortune and happe more
than by ony kunning . And in al thyse maner of people

ther ought to be meurte of good maners / curtosie of Wordes / chastite of the body promyssse of helthe + and as to them that been seek contynuel bysitacion of them + & they ought to enquire the cause of theyr sekenessys and the sygnes and tokens of theyr maladyses as is rehercad in the bookes of the auctours by right grete dyligence, and specially in the bookes of ypocras galene and of auycene, and than many maysters and phisiciens ben assemblid tofore the pacient or seke man. They ought not thereto to argue and dispute one agaynst another, but they ought to make good and syngle colacion to geder in such Wyse as they be not seen in theyr dysputyngh one agaynst another, for to encroche and gete more glory of the Worlde to them self than to trete the salute and helthe of the pacient and seek man. I meruaylle why that than they see and knowe that than the seek man hath grete nede of helthe. Wherefore than they make gretter obiection of contrarioussnes for as moche as the lyf of man is demened and put amonge them but hit is by cause that he is reputed most sage and Wyse that argueth and bryngeth in most subtilties. And alle this maner is amonge doctours of lawe that tretith no thyng of mannes lyf, but of temporel thynges that he is holden most Wyse and best lerned, that by hys councelyl can best accorde the contentions and dysfencions of men / and therfore ought the phisiciens and surgyens leue than they be tofore the seek men al disfencions and contrarioussnes of Wordes + in such Wyse that hit appere that they studye more for to cure the seek men than for to despote. And therfore is the phisicien duly sette tofore

the quene . so that it is figured that he ought to haue in
hym self chastyte and contynence of body / For hit apper-
teyneth som tyme unto the phisicien to bysite and cure
quenes duchesses countesses and alle other lades &
see and beholde some secrete sekenessis that falle and come
otherwhile in the secretis of nature . And therfore hit a-
perteyneth to them that they be chaste and folowe honeste
and chastyte / and that they be ensaumyle to other of good
contynence . For Valerian rehercith that ypoem Was of
meruayllous contynence of his body . For Whan he Was
in the scoles of athenes , he had by hym a right fayr Wom-
man Whiche Was comyn , and the yongh scolers and the
Joly felawes that Were students promysegd to the Woman
a besaunte yf she myght or coude torne the corage of ypo-
em for to haue to don Wyth her , and she came to hym by
nyght and dydt so moche by her craft that she laye Wyth
hym in his bedde / But she coude never do so moche that
she myght corumpe his chaste lyuyng ne defoule the crowne
of his conscience . and Whan the yongh men knewe that
she had ben Wyth hym al the nyght , & coude not chaunge
his contynence . they began to mocque her , and to axe &
demaunde of her the besaunt that they had geuen to her .
And she ansWerden that hit Was holden and gaged hym
an ymage , for as moche as she myght not chaunge hys
contynence she callyd hym an ymage , and in semblable
Wyse rehercith Valeryan of Sænocrates phylosopher that
therre lay Wyth hym a Woman alle nyght and tempted hym
dysordonatly / but that right chaste man made ne-
uer semblaunt to her , ner he neuer remeuyd from hys

ferme purpos/ in such Wyse as she departedn from hym al
confused and shamed / Cornelius capion that was sent
by the womayns for to governe Spayn, as sone as he entred
in to the castellys and in to the townes of that londe . he
began to take abyte al tho thynges that myght sterte or
meue his men to lecherye . therfore men sayd that he drof
and chased out of the boost moo than two thousand bouz
dellys . and he that was Wyse knew wel that deylte of le-
cherye corrupted and apayred the corages of tho men that
ben abandoned to the same deylte . And by hewf it is sayd
in the fables of the poetis in the first book of the truphes
of the philosophres by figure , that they that entred in to
the fonteyne of the Sirenes or mermaydens / were corum-
pedn and they took them abyte with hem / And also ye
ought to knowe that they ought to entend dylygently to
the cures of the infirmytees in cyrurgerye , they ought to
make theyr plaisters accordyng to the woundes of soores
yf the wounde be wunde the enplastre must be wunde , and
yf hit be longe + hit must be longe / And otherwhyle hit
must be cured by his contrarie , lyke as it apperteyneth to
phisiqe , for the hete is cured by colde , and the colde by hete
and Joye by sowde . and sowde by Joye + and hit happeneth
ofte tymes that moche peple be in grete parolle in takyngh
to moche Joye and lese her membris . and become half beno-
men in the sodeyn Joye , and ioye is a replecion of thyng
that is delectable sprad a brode in alle the membres with
right grete gladnes . and al men entende and desyre to
haue the sayd right grate Joye naturelly / but they knowe
not what may ensue & come therof / and this Joye cometh

otherwhile of vertue of conscience / And the wise man is
not byth out this ioye / and thys ioye is neuer interrupt
ne in defaulte at no tyme / for hit cometh of nature / and
fortune may not take abyey that nature geueth / & marcial
sayth that Joyes fugetyues abyde not long / but fle abyey
anone / and Valerian rehercith that he that hath force and
strengthe resonable / hath hit of vertuy matier of cōpleccōn
and that cometh of loue / and this ioye hath as moche
power to deparre the soule fro the body / as hath the thondre
Wherof hit happend that therre was a woman named lyna
Whiche had her husband in the warze in the shypys of
the wmayns / and she supposid hit verayly that he was dead
but hit happend that he came agayn home / and as he en
trid in to his yate / his wyf mette byth hym sodaynly not
warned of his coming / Whiche was so gladde and joyous
that in embracyng hym she fyl doun deedly also of ano
ther woman to whom was reported by a fals messenger
that her sone was deedly / Whiche went hoom sorrowfully to
her hōus / and afterward when her sone came to her / as sone
as she sawe hym she was so esmoued byth ioye that she
dyped tofore hym / but this is not so grete meruayle of
women as is of the men / For the women ben lykened
Unto softe wāye or softe ayer / and therfore she is callyd
mulier whiche is as moche to saye in latyn as mollis aer
and in englyssh softe ayer / and hit happeneth ofte tymes that
the nature of them that ben softe and mole taketh sōner
impreſſion than the nature of men that be rude & stronge
Valerian rehercith that a knyght of wme named istaſus
that had newly conquerid & subdued the yle of corsika

and as he sacrefyed his goodes / he receyuyd lettres from
the senate of Rome in Whiche ther were conteyned dyuerse
supplications / the whiche whan he understood he was so
glad and so enterprised byth joye , that he knewe not
what to do / and than a grete fume or smoke yssued out of
the fire in whiche he dispaynid and fyl in to the fyre . ther
he was anone ded . And also it is sayd that phylomenus
laughed so sore & distempishly that he dyed al laughyng .
And we rede that ypermis the phisicien sondy remedye for
thys joye , For whan he had longe dwellyd out of hys
contrey for to lerne knyngh andys wisedom + andys sholdys
retorne vnto his parentis and frendes . whan he approachyd
nygh them . he sent a messenger tofore for to telle them
his comyng / and comauinded hym to saye that he cam / for
they had not longe tofore seen hym / and that they sholdy
attempre them in that joye or they sholdy see hym . And
also we rede that titus sone of vaspasian whan he had
conquerid Iherusalem and abode in the contrees by / he herde
that his fader vaspasian was chosen by al the senate for to
gouerne the empyre of ryme . therfore he had so right grete
joye that sodeynly he lost the strength of al his membris
and became al Inpotent . And whan Josephus that made
the historye of the rmayns ayest the Jewys . whiche was
a right Wyse phisicien saue and knewe the cause of this se
kenes of the sayd titus . he enquyred of his folke yf he had
in hate ony man gretely so mocke that he myght not here
speke of hym ne wel se hym . and one of the seruauntes
of tytus sayd that he had one persone in hate so mocke , that
ther was no man in his courte so hardy that durst name

him in hys presence & than Josephus assigned a day whā
this man shold come, & ordeyned a table to be sette in the
sight of titus, & did hit to be repleysshed plētously Wyth al
dayntees, & ordeyned men to be armed to kepe hym in suchē
Wyse that no man shold hurt hym by the cōmaudement of
titus, & ordeyned boutelers, cokes, & other officers for to ser
ue hym Worshifullly like an emperour and whā al this
was redy, Josephus brought in this man that titus hated
& sette hym at the table tofore his eyen and was seruyd of
yong men Wyth grete reuerence right curtoisly, & whān ti
tus behelde his enemye sette tofore hym Wyth so grete ho
nour, he began to chauffe hym self by grete felonye / and
cōmaūded his men that this man shold be slayn, & whān he
saw / that none wold obeye hym / but that they al way ser
uyd hym reuerently / he waye so ardant and embracid Wyth
so grete yre, that he that had lost al the force & strengthe
of his body and was al Impotent in alle his membrys,
recouerdy the helth agayn and strengthe of hys membris
by the herte that entrydy in to the saynes and synewes,
And Josephus dyd so moche that he was recoueryd
and hole / And that he helde that man no more for hys
enemye / But helde hym for a very trewe frende / And
afterward maad hym his loyal felowe & companyoun,
And the espycers and apotaries ought to make trewly
suchē thynges as is cōmaunded to them by the phisiens
& they ought to accomplisse their billes & charge curiosly
Wyth grete diligence, that for none other cause they shold
be occupied but in makyng medecynes or confeccōns trewly
& that they ought vpon paryl of their swble not to forgete

by neglygence ne recklesnes to gyue one medecyne for an other / in suche Wyse that they be not slears of men . Andi that they doo put no false thynges in her spices for to en payre or encryng the Weyght for yf they so do they may better be calyd theuys than espicers or apoticanies . Andi they that ben accustomed to make oynementis they ought to make it proprely of trewe stiffe andi of good odoure after the receptes of the auncient doctours . and after the forme that the phisiciens and surgiens deuyse vnto them also they ought to be Ware that for none auayle ne gyfte that they ought haue / that they put in their medecynes no thyngi venemous ne dyng hurte or scathe to ony persone of whom they haue no good ne veray knowleche / to thende that they to whom the medecynes shold be geuen / torne not to them hurt ne damage / ne in destruccōns of their neygh bours / & also that they that haue mynystrid tho thynges to them . been not taken for parteners of the blame andi of the synne of them . The surgyens ought also to be de bonayz / amyable / and to haue pyte of theyr pacients + and also they ought not be hasty to launce & cutte apostumes & soores . ne open the heedes + ner to arrache bones broken . but yf the cause be apparant . For they myght ellys lose theyr goodi renomee . Andi myght better be calyd bouchers thenne helars or quarysshours of Boundes andi sores . Andi also hit behoueth that alle thys maner of peple a fore sayd that haue the charge for to make hoole andi guarissh alle maner of maladyes and Infirmytees that they first haue the cure of them self + and they ought to purge them self from alle apostumes andi alle byces

in such Wyse that they be net and honeste & enformed in
al good maners, and that they shewe hem hole and pure &
redy for to helpe other, and therof sayth Boetius de consolaci-
one in his first booke that the sterres that ben hyd vnder
the clowdes may gyue no light. And therfore yf ony man
wyl beholde clereky the verite, late hym withdrawe hym
fro the obscurite and dearknes of the clowdes of ygnorance
for whan the engyne of a man sheweth in ioye or in sowle
the pensee or thought is enuoluped in obscurite and vnder
the clowdes.

The sixte chappitre of the thyrd booke treth of the sixte
pawn whiche is likenyd to tauerners hostelers and by-
taylors capitulo

Bj



B

He sypte paſon Whiche ſtondeth tofore the alþbyn
t on the lyfte syde is made in this forme / For hit is
a man that hath the right hand ſtratched out as for to
calle men / and holdeth in his left hand a loof of breed
and a cupe of Wyn , and on his gurdel hangyng a bondel
of keyes / and this reſemblith the tauerners · hostellers / &
ſellars of Bytayl , and thys ought properly to be ſette to
fore the alþbyn , as tofore a Juge / For there ſourdeth oft
tymes amonge hem contencion noyse and ſtryf . Whiche
behoueth to be determyned & trayted by the alþbyn . Whiche
is Juge of the kyng , and hit apperteyneth to them for to
ſeke and enquerre for good Wynes good Bytayl for to
gyue and ſelle to the byars + and to them that they herbe :
wolle . And hit apperteyneth to them Wel to kepe theyz
herberwbes and Innes / And alle tho thynges that they
brynge in to theyr lodgyngh , and for to putte in ſeu :
re and ſauſ Warde and kepyng . And the firſt of them
is ſigneſyed by the lyfte hand in Whiche he bereth breed
and Wyn . And the ſecond is ſigneſyed by the right
hand Whiche is ſtratched out to calle men / and the thyrd
is repreſentyd by the keyes hangyng in the gurdel , and
thys maner of peple ought to eſchewe the synne of glo :
tonye / For moche peple come in to theyz hoſſes for to
drynke and for to ete / for Whiche cauſe they ought reſo :
nably to rewle them ſelf and refrayn them from to
moche mete and drynke . to thende that they myght the
more honeſtly deluyer thynges nedeful vnto the peple that
come vnto them / & no thyng by outrage that myght noye
the body . For hit happeneth oft tymes that there cometh of

glotonye, tentacons, stryfes, riottes, wronges & molestacouns
by Whiche man lese other Whyle their handes, theyz eyen and
other of theyz membris / and somtyme ben slayn or hurt
Unto the deth as it is Breton in Bisas patrum. as on a
tyme an hermyte Went for to Bisite his gossibis. & the de-
uyl append to hym on the Wey in likenes of another her-
myte for to tempte hym. & said thou hast left thyn hermy-
tage / & goest to Bisite thy gossibis / he behoueth by force to
do one of the in thynges that I shal say to the / thou shalt
chesse Whether thou wolt be dronke, or ellis haue to do flessh
lye With thy gossyb, or ellis thou shalt flee her husbond
Whiche is thy gossib also. & the hermyte that thought for
to chese the leste euyl chace for to be dronke, and whan he
cam Unto them he drank so mocke that he was veray dronke
and whan he was dronke and eschauffyd With the Wyn. he
wold haue a doo With his gossyb / & her husbond Withstood
hym, & than the hermyte slewe hym. & after that laye by
his gossyb & knewe her flesshly. & thus by this synne of
dronkenshyp he accomplished the two other synnes, By
Whiche thyng ye may understande and knowe that whan
the deuyl Wyll take one of the castellys of Ihesu Crist.
that is to bete the body of a man or of a Woman / he doth
as a prynce that setteth a siege tofore a castel that he
wold Wynne. Whiche entendeth to Wynne the gate. For
he knoweth wel whan he hath wonne the gate. he may
sone doo his Wyll With the castel / And in lyke Wyse
doth the deuyl With euery man and woman. For whan
he hath wonne the gate / that is to bete the gate of the
mouthe by glotonye or by ony other synne.

he may do Byth the offyres of the body al his Wyllē as ye
haue herd tofore , & therfore ought euery man etc & drynke
sobrelly in such Wyse as he may lyue , & not lyue to etc glo-
tously & for to drynke dronk / ye se comunely that a grete
bole is suffisid With right a litil pasture . & that one Wode
suffiseth to many olephantes . hit behoueth a man to be
fedde by the erthe or by the see / neuertheles it is no grete
thyng to fede the bely . no thyng grete as is the desire
of many metes Wherof Quytilian saith / that hit happeneth
ofte tymes in grete festes & dyners . that We be fylded
With the sight of the noble and lichorous metis & When We
Wold etc We ben faciat and fylded / & therfore it is sayd in
prouerbe . hit is better to fille the belye than the eye . & luc-
can saith that glotony is the moder of al byces / & especial
of lecherye / & also is destroyar of al goodes / & may not haue
suffisaunce of lytil thyngē . A couetous honger What se-
kest thou mete and bytayllis on the lande and in the see .
& thy ioye is no thyng ellis but to haue playntuous dys-
ches & Wel filled at thy table lerne how men may demene
theyz lyf Byth litil thyngē . andi cathon saith in no Wyse
obeye to glotonye Whiche is frende to lecherye / & the holy
doctorz saynt augustyn sayth . the Wyn eschauffith the bely
that falleth anone to lecherye / the bely andi the membris
ben neighbours to lecherye . & thus the vice of glotonye pro-
uoketh lecherye . Wherof cometh forgetenes of his mynde
and destrucion of alle quyck and sharpe reason . And is
cause of distemperaunce of his Wyttes . What synne is
fowler than this synne & more stynkyng ne more doma-
geous , for this synne hadz taken away the vertu of man

his proffesse languyssheth: his vertue is torned to diffame
the strengthe of body and of corage is torned by the, and
therfore saith Basilly la graunt, late Bs take hede hōwe we
serue the bely and the throte by glotonye like as we were
domke bestys, and we studye for to be lyke unto felues of
the see, to whom nature hath gyuen to be alway enclyned
towardn the exthe. & thereto loke for to serue theyr blyves: &
herof sayth Boecius de consolacione in his fourth book
that a man that lyueth and doth not the condicions of a
man: may never be in good condicion: than must hit ne-
des be that he be transported in nature of a beste or of a be-
lue of the see, hōw wel that right grete men and women
ful of meruayllous sciencies and noble cunceyl in thyse
dayes in the World be norisshed in this glotonye of bynes
and metes / & ofte tymes ben ouer seen: hōw suppose ye, is
hit not right a perilous thyng that a lord or gouernour
of the peple and comyn Wel hōw wel that he be wyse / yf he
eschauffe hym sone so that the Wyn or other drynke sur-
prise hym & ouercome his brayn / his wisedom is lost. for
as athon sayth, I re enpessbeth the corage in suche as he
may not kepe vertue and trouth, & anone as he is chauffid
lecherye is meuyd in hym in suche wyse that the lecherye
makyth hym to meddle in dyuerse bylays dedes, for than
his wisedom is a slepe and goon. & therfore sayth ouyde
in his book de remedio amoris yf thou take many and dy-
uerce bynes. they appayle and enforce the corages to le-
cherye. And Thobye Wytnessyth in his book that luxurie
destroyeth the body and mynyssheth rychesys. She loseth
the swble. She febleth the strengthe she blyndeth the syght

and maketh the boors andi walle ha a right euyl &
foule synne of dwonkenshyp / by the penissith virgynyte
Whiche is suster of aungellis possedyng al goodnes andi
seurte of al Joyes pardurable . Noe Was one tyme so
chauffyd Wyth Wyn that he discouerd andi shewid to his
sones his preuy membris in such Wyse as one of his so-
nes mocqued hym / andi that other ouerd hem / and loth
Whiche Was a man right chaste . Was so assoted by moche
drynkyng of Wyn . that on a mounteyn he knewe hys
doughters carnelly / and had to doo Wyth them as they had
ben his propre Wyues / and Crete rehercith that Boece
Whiche Was flour of the men , tresour of richesses / syngulerz
hous of lavynce / myrrouz of the Worlde , odour of good
renomee / and glorie of his subgettis lost al thise thynges
by his luxurie . We haue seen that dyuerce that Were Joy-
ned by grete amytie to geder Whiles they Were sobre / that
that one Bold put his body in parell of deth for that other
and whan they Were eschauffid Wyth Wyn and dwonke / they
haue wonne ech spyon other for to slee hem / and some haue
ben that haue slayn so his frende / Herodes Antipas hadi
not doon saynt John baptist to ben beheded / ne hadi the
dynez ben ful of glotonye and dwonkship . Balthazar kyng
of babylone hadi not been chaced out of his kyngdom ne
be slayn yf he hadi be sobre emonge hys peple whom tyrus
and dares fonde dwonken andi slewe hym . The hostelerz
ought to be Wel bespoken and curtoys of Wordes to them
that they receyue in to theyr lodgyng / For sayr speche &
Joyous chiere andi debonayr cause men to gyue the hoste-
lez a goodi name / Andi therfore hit is sayd in a comyn

þwuerke curtoysē langage & Wel sayengh is moche Worth
and coste lytyl / And in another place it is sayd that
curtoysē passeth beaulte + also for as moche as many pa-
rellys , and aduentures may happen on the Wayes & passa-
ges to hem that been herberwyed byth in theyr Innes .
therfore they ought to accompanye them whan they departe
and enseigne them the Wayes and telle to them the pa-
rilles / to thende that they may surely goo theyr byage &
Journey . And also they ought to kepe theyr bodies /
theyr goodes , & the good fame and renomee of theyr Innes
We rede that Both whan he had receyuyd the aungellys
in to his hōws right debonayrly . Whiche he had supposid had
ben mortal men and straungerz / to thende that they shold
eskape the disordynate and unnatuzel synne of lecherye
of the sodomites , by the vertu of good fayth . he sette apart
the naturel loue of a fader . & proferdy to them his dough-
ters . Whiche were byrgyns , to thende that they shold kepe
them and defende them fro that vileny & horrible synne
And knowe ye for certeyn that al tho thynges that been
taken & delyuerd to kepe to the hoste or hostessis they ought
to be sauf and ylden ageyn without appayryng for the
hoste ought to knowe who that entriþ in to his hous for
to be herberwyed takith hit for his habitacion for the tyme
he hym self / and alle suche thynges as he bryngeth byth
hym ben comysed of right in the Warde and kepyng of
the hoste or hosteler / and ought to be as sauf as they were
put in his owne propre hōws . and also suche hostes ought
to holde seruauntes in theyr hōws Whiche shold be trewe &
with out auarice , in suche wyse that they coueyte not to

haue the goodes of theyz ghestes / and that they take not
away the prouender fro theyr horses Whan hit is gyuen to
them / that by thoccasion therof their horses perisse not ne
faylle theyz maister Whan they haue nede / and myght falle
in the handes of theyz enemyes . For than shold the ser-
uauntes be cause of that euyl . Wherefore their masters
sholdi see to , for With out doute this thyng is Worse than
theeste / hit happend on a tyme in the parties of lombardye
in the cyte of Jene that a noble man Was lodgyng in an
hostelrye Byth moche compayne . and Whan they had gyuen
prouendor to theyr horses . in the first oure of the nyght
the seruaunt of the hōs came secretly tofore the horses
for to stele away theyz prouender / and Whan he came to the
lordes hors / the hors caught With his teth his arme and
helde hit fast that he myght not escape / and Whan the theef
saw he that he Was so strongly holden / he began to crye for
the grete payn that he suffrid and felte / in suchweyse that
the noble manrys meyne cam Byth the hoste / But in no
maner / ner for ought they coude doo . they coude not take
the theef out of the horses mouth Unto the tyme that the
neyghbours Whiche Were noyed Byth the noyse came and
saw hit , and the theef Was knowen and taken & brought
to fore the Iuge , and confessyd the fact and by sentence
difynytif Was hanged and lost his lyf . and in the same
weyse Was another that dyd so / and the hors smote hym in
the bysage / that the prynce of the hors shoo & nayles abode
euer in his bysage / another caas right cruel & bilaynous
fyl at tholouse / hit happend a yong man and his fader
Went a pylgremage to Saynt James in galice and Were

lodgyd in an hostelrye of an euyl hoost and ful of right
grete couetyse in so moche that he desired and coueyted the
goodes of the two pylgrymes . and here spon aduyseed
hym and put a cuppe of siluer secretly in the male that
the yong man bare . and whan they departed out of theyr
lodgyngh / he folowed after hem and sayd tofore the peple
of the court that they had stolen and borne away his cuppe
and the yong man excused hym self and his fader . and
sayd they were Innocent of that caas / And thenne they
serched hem and the cuppe was founden in the male of the
yonge man , and forthwith he was dampned to deth and
hanged as a theef . and thys fait doon . al the goodes that
longed to the pylgrym were delyuerd to the hoste as con-
fisqued / And than the fader went forth for to do his pyl-
gremage . and whan he came ageyn he must nedes come &
passe by the place where his sone hynge on the gybet / and
as he came he complayned to god and to Saynt James
how they myght suffre this aduenture to come unto hys
sone . anone his sone that hyngh spake to his fader & said
how that saynt James had kept hym with out harme /
and had his fader goo to the Juge and shewe to hym the
myracle / and how he was Innocent of that fait / and whan
this thyngh was knowen the sone of the pylgrym was ta-
ken doun fro the gybet . and the cause was brought tofore
the Juge / and the hoost was accused of the trayson . and
he confessyd his trespass / and sayd he dyd hit for cou-
tyse to haue his good . and than the Juge dampned hym
for to be hanged on the same gybet where as the yonge
pylgrym was hanged / And that I haue sayd of the

seruauntes beyng men / the same I say of the Womyn as
chaumberers and tapsters / for semblable was fyl in spayn
at saynt donne of a chaumberer . that put a cuppe in lyke
Wyse in the scrippe of a pylgryme / by cause he woldyn not
haue a do Wyth her in the synne of lecherye / wherfore he was
hanged / and his fader and moder that were therre Wyth
 hym went and dyd her pylgremage and whan they came
 agayn they fonde her sone kyuyng / and than they went &
 tolde the Iuge / Whiche Iuge sayd that he woldyn not beleue
 hit til a cok and an henne whiche rostyd on the fyre were
 a lyue and the cok crewe / and anone they began to weye
 a lyue and the cok crewe and began to crowe & to pasture.
 and whan the iuge sawe this myracle , he went & tolde down
 the sone , and made the chaumberer to be taken and hanged . wherfore I say that the hostes ought to holde no
 tapsters ne chaumberers , but yf they were good & meure &
 honeste / For many harmes may be falle and come by the
 disorderde reble of seruauntes .

The seuenth chappitre of the thyrd tractate treteþ of ke-
pars of townes, customers & tolle gaderers capitulo viij



He gardes andy keparis of citees ben signefyed by
t the seuenth paþn Whiche stondeth in the lyft side to
fore the knyght and is formedy in the semblaunce of a
man holdyngh in his lyft hond grete keyes andy in hys
right hand a potte and an elle for to mesure Wyth & ought
to haue on his gurdel a purse open . and by the keyes ben
signefied the keparis of the citees and townes and comyn
offyces and by the potte and elle ben signefyed them that
haue the charge to Weye and mete and mesure treþely ,
andy by the purse been signefyed them that receyue the

costumes / tolles / scabage / peages / and duetees of the cyttes
and townes / and thysse peple ben sett by night tofore
the knyght and hit behoueth that the gardes / & offycares
of the townes be taught and enseigned by the knyghtes
and that they knowe and enquyre how the cittes / & townes
ben gouerned Whiche aperteyneth to be kept and defendyd
by the knyghtes / and first hit aperteyneth that the ke
pars of the cyte be dyligent / besy / clere sayeng / and louers
of the comyn prouffyt and Wele . as Wel in the tyme of
pes as in the tyme of Barre / they ought alway to goo in
the cyte and enquyre of al thynges andy ought reporte to
the gouernours of the cyte sucht thyng as they fynde and
knowe / and sucht thyng as aperteyneth and to the seurte
of the same . and to denounce and tell the defaulteres and
parellys that there be / and yf hit be in tyme of Barre they
ought not to open the gates by nyght to no man . Andy
sucht men as ben put in this offyce / ought to be of reno
me and fame / trewe / and of good conscience / in sucht ma
nere that they loue them of the cyte or towne / And that
they put to no man ony blame or Dylanye With out cause
by enuye couetyse ne by hate / but they ought to be sory and
heuy whan they see that ony man sholdy be compleyned on
for ony cause / For hit happeneth ofte tymes that dyuerce
offycares accuse the good peple fraudulently / to thende that
they myght haue a thanke and ben praysed andy to abyde
styffe in theyr offyces / and trewly hit is a grete andy hys
maner of malice to be in Wykle to doo euyl and dyffame
other Wyth out cause to grete gloriye to hym self / also the
keparcs and offycares of cyttes ought to be sucht that they

suffre no Wronegs ne Sylonyes tofore the Juges and go
uernours of citees Wythout cause to be doon to them that
ben Innocentes but they ought to haue theyr eyen and re
garde unto hym /that knoweth the hertes and thoughtes
of al men / and they ought to dredre and doubt hym .With
out Whos grace theyr Watche and kepyng is nougnt . &
that promyseth to them that doubt hym shal be ewrous
and happy and by hym ben al thynges accomplished in
good . hit is founden in the histories of wome that them
perour ffrederik the secondy dyd doo make a gate of marble
of meruaylous Werk and enteyle in the cyte of capnane
Spon the Ware that renneth about the same / Andr Spon
this yate he made an ymage lyke hym self sittynge in his
magesie and two Judges Whiche Were sette . one on the
right side and that other on the left side . and Spon the ser
cle aboue the hede of the Juge on the right side Was Breton
al they entre seurely that Wyl lyue purely . and Spon the
sercle of the Juge on the left side Was Breton /the Bntze
We man ought to doubt to doo thyng that he be put to
pryson fore , and on the sercle aboue the empewur Was
Breton . I make them lyue in misery /that I see lyue dis
mesurably , and therfore hit aperteyneth to a Juge to
sheve to the peple for to dredre and doubt to do euyl . and
hyt aperteyneth to the gardes and offykers to doubt the
Juges and to doo trewly theyr seruyces and offyces , &
hit aperteyneth to a prynce to menace the traytors and
the malefactours of right greuous paynes . and herof We
fynde in the auncient histories of cealle that the kyng
denys had a broder whom he louyd soze Wel / But alwey

Where he went, he made hem ande taste semblaunt / & thus
as they went bothe to gyder on a tyme in a chare / ther cam
agan hem two poure men with glad bysage but in foule
habyte / and the kyng anone as he sawe them sprange out
of his chare and receyden them worshipfullly with grete
reuerence / wherfore his barons were not onely ameruayled
but also angry in their corages / not with stondyngh
fere ande drede letted hem to demaunde hym the cause /
But they made his brother to demaunde the cause ande to
knowe the certeynte / and whan he had herde his brother say
to hym the demaunde / that he was blesyd and also a kyng
whiche was riche and ful of delytes ande worshypes / he
demaunded hym yf he wold assaye and knowe the grace
ande beneurte of a kyng / and his brother answeyd ye /
and that he desired and requyred hit of hym / And than
the kyng comaundered unto alle hys subgetis that they
shold obey in al thynges onely unto his brother / & than
whan the oure of dynar cam / and al thyng was redy /
the brother was sette at the table of the kyng / And whan
he sawe that he was seruyd with ryght noble hotelers and
other offyceors / and he herde the sownes of musique ryght
melodious / The kyng demaunded hym than / yf he sup-
posid that he were beuerous and blesyd / and he answeyd
I Bene Wel that I am ryght blesyd and fortunat / and
that I haue Wel proued and fele and am expert therof /
And than the kyng secretly made to be hanged over hys
bed a sharpe cuttyng / Werde hangyng by an hors here or
a sylken thred so smale that no man myght see hit where
by hit heng. And whan he sawe his brother put no more

his hand to the table . ne had no more regarde unto his seruauntes / he sayd to hym Why ete ye not . ar ye not bles-
sid / say ys ye sele ony thyng otherwyse than blessed and
Wel , and he ansWerd for as moche as I see thys sharpe
sWerde hangyngh so subtilly & pariously ouer myn hede I
fele Wel that I am not blesseyd / for I drede that hit shold
falle on my hede + & thenne dyscouerd the kyng unto hem
al wherfore he was alwey so heuy chend & triste . For
where he was he thought alwey on the sWerde of the secrete
lengauice of god . Whiche he behelde alwey in his herte .
Wherfore he had alwey in hym self grate drede , and ther-
fore he woshyppyd gladly the poure peple with glady by
sage and goodi consciencie / And by this sheweth the kyng
Wel . that what man that is alwey in drede is not alwey
mery or blesseyd / And herof sayth quynsilian that thys
drede surmounteth alle other maleurtees and euyllies , for
it is maleurte of drede nyght and day . And it is verite
that to hym that is doubted of moche peple . so muste he
doubte moche / And that lorde is lasse thenne his seruaun-
tes that dredeth his seruauntes . and truly hit is a right
sure thyng to drede no thyng but god & somtyme right har-
dy men ben cōstrayned to lyue in drede . drede causith a man
to be besy to kepe the thynges that he comysed to hym that
they perisse not / but to be to moche hardy & to moche fer-
ful . both two ben vices . the comyn officers ought to be
wyse & Wel aduysed in suche wise that they take not of the
peple ne requyre no more tha they ought to haue by reson
ne that they take of the sellars ne of the byars no more
tha the right custume . for they bere the name of a persone

And therfore ought they to shewe them comune to alle
men/and for as moche as the byars and sellars haue som
tyme moche langage . they ought to haue Wyth them these
vertues .that is to wete pacience + and goodi corage Wyth
honeste / for they that ben despitous to the comune / been
otherwhile bad in bplayns despite + therfore beware that
thou haue no despyte vnto the poure mendycants / yf thou
wylt come and atteyne to thynges souerayn / for the Iniu
rye that is doon Wyth out cause / torneth to diffame hym
that doth hit . a Jogheler on a tyme behelde Socrates + sayd
to hym thou hast the eyen of corumpour of childdren and
art as a traytre , and whan his dysciples herde hym , they
wold auengyd theyr maister / but he repreuyd hem by suche
sentence sayeng / suffre my felawes . for I am he and
suche one as he sayth . by the sight of my bysage , But I
refrayne and kepe me wel from suche thyng / this same so
cates hym self was chidde + right foulē spoken to of hys
wyf . + the Imposid to hym many grete Inurries Wyth out
nombre , and she was in a place aboue ouer his heed / and
whan she had brabbled y nouḡ she made her Water + poured
hit on his heed / and he answerd to her no thyng agayn
sauf whan he had dryed and wyped his heed . he said he kne
we wel that after suche wynde and thondre shold̄ come
wyne and water . And the philosophes blamed̄ hym
that he coude not gouerne two women / that was his wyf
and his chaumberer / and shewyd hym that one cokke go
uerned wel x b hennes . he answerd to them that he was so
ased + acustomed Wyth theyr chidynge that the chidyngeis
of them ne of straungers dyd hym no gref ne harme /

gyue thou place to hym that brableth or chideth . And in suffryng hym thou shalt se his Baynquysshour and couthon saith Whan thou lyuest rightfull / retche the not of the wordes of euyl peple / and therfore hit is sayd in a comyn pwoerke . he that Wel doth retcheth not Who seeth hit . and hit is not in our power to lette men to speke . and prosper sayth that to good men lacketh no goodness / ner to euyl men tencions stryues & blames . & pacience is a right noble vertu . as a noble versefier saith , that pacience is a right noble maner to Baynquyssh . for he that suffreth ouercometh / and yf thou Wylt Baynquyssh and ouercome lerne to suffre . the peagers ner they that kepe passages ought not to take other peage ne passage money but suche as the prynce or the laBe haue establisshed / so that they be not more wbbours of money than receyuours of peage and passage . And hit aperteyneth to them to goo out of the perelous Deyes andy douteuous for to kepe theyz offyce andy they ought to requyre theyz passage of them that owe to paye hit Wyth out noyengh andy contention . andy they ought not to loue the comyn prouffyt so moche . that they falle in the hurtyng of theyr conscience . For that shold be a maner of robberye , and herof sayth ysaye / Woo to the that wbbest . for thou thy self shalt be wbbyd . The gardes or porters of the gates of citees and of the comyn good ought to be good and honeste / and al trouth ought to be in them & they ought not to take ne Wythdraue the goodes of the comyn that they haue in kepyng more than aperteyneth to them for their pension or fee / so that they that ben made tresorers & kepars ben not named thewys /

For whō that taketh more than his / he shal neuer bryue
With al ner shal not enioye hit longe . for of euyl gotten
good the thrid bryze shal neuer reioyse / & thyſ suffyſeth .

This eyght chappytre of the thrid book treteth of rīauldes . players of dyſe & of messagers and currours at viij



He rīauldes players at dyſe & the messagers & currours ought to be ſette before the wok , for hit apperteyneth to the wok whiche is bicayz of the kyng to haue men couenable for to renne here & there for tenquyze & espye the places & citees that myght be contrarie to the kyng

And thys w^mbⁿ that representeth this peple ought to be
formyd in this maner . he must haue the forme of a man
that hath longi heiris and black and holdeth in his ryght
hand a litil money and in his lfft hand thre dyse . & aboute
hym a corde in stede of a gurdel . and ought to haue a boye
ful of lettres . & by the first Whiche is money is bnder :
stonde they that be sole large & wastours of heyr goodes
and by the second Whiche is the dyse / ben represented the
playes at dyse / rbauldes & butters / & by the thyrd Whiche
is the boye ful of lettres . ben represented the messagers /
curours / and kerars of lettres / & ye shal bnderstonde that
the woke Whiche is bycapre of the kyngh whan he seeth to
fore hym suche peple as ben sole large and wastours / he is
bounden to constitute and ordeyne upon them tutours &
curatours to see that they ete not ne waste in suche maner
their goodes ne their heritages . that pouerte constraine
hem not to stele for he that of custume hath had habun :
daunce of money & goeth & dispendeth hit folky & wasteth
hit abyey whan he cometh to pouerte & hath noug^t . he must
nedes begge and axe his breed / or ellis he must be a theef
For suche maner of peple / yf they haue been delycious they
wyl not laboure / for they haue not lernyd hit ,
And yf they be noble and comen of gentylmen , they
be a shamyd to axe and begge . And thus must they
by force whan they haue wasted heyr owne propre goo :
des yf they wyl syue they must stele and wbble the goodes
of other . And ye shalle bnderstonde that sole large
is a ryght euyl byce . For hōw wel that shē doeth good
andi prouffyt somtyme to other .

yet she doth harme and dōmage to hym that so wasteth.
Cassiodore admonesteth the sole largets to kepe their thyn-
ges that by no necessite they falle in pouerte / and that they
be not constrainyd to begge ne to stele of other men. For
he sayth that hit is gretter subtilte to kepe wel his owne
goodes than to fynde straunge thynges. & that it is gret-
ter vertue to kepe that is gotten than to gete andyn Wynne
more, & claudyan saith in like Wyse in his book that hyt
is a gretter thyng & better to kepe that is gotten. than to
gete more / and therfore hit is sayd that the poure demau-
deth & beggeth or he felith, & also hit is said that he that
dispendeth more than he hath. With out stroke he is smyten
to the deth. There was a noble man named John de gana-
zath whiche was right riche + and this man had but two
daughters whom he maried to two noble men, and when he
had maried them, he loued so wel his sones in lawe theyz
husbondes that in space and successyon of tyme, he departed
to them al his goodes temporel / and as longe as he gaf
to them they obeyed hym and were right diligent to plesse
and serue hym / So hit befel that on a tyme that he had
alle gyuen in so mocke that he had right nougnt / Then
hit happend that they to whom he had gyuen his goodes.
Whiche were wont to be amyable and okeyfaunt to hym
as longe as he gaf, when the tyme came that he was
poure and knewe that he had nougnt, they became un-
kynde / Dysagreable and dysobeyfaunt. And when
the fader sawe that he was deceyuyd by his debonayrte
and loue of his daughters / He desyred and coueyted
soze to eschewe hys pouerte.

Atte laste he went to a marchaunt that he knewe of olde
tyme . and requynd him to lene to hym v thousand pound
for to paye and rendre agayn Wyth in thre dayes / And
he lente hit hym / and whan he had brought hit in to hys
hous / hit happend that hit was a day of a solempne feste
on Whiche day he gaf to his daughters and her husbandz
a right noble dynner / & after dynner he entred in to his chau
bre secretly Wyth them / and drew out of a coffre that he
had do make al new shittyngh Wyth thre lockes the mo
ney that the marchaunt had lente hym . and poured hit out
Upon a capite that his daughters & their husbandes myght
see hit / and whan he had shewyd hit unto them he put hit
Up ageyn & put hit in to the cheste faynyng that hit had
been al his . & whan they were departed he bare the money
home to the marchaunt that he had borrowed hit of · and the
next day after his daughters & their husbandes ayyd of
hym how moche money was in the cheste that was shette
Wyth thre lockis / and than he fayned & sayd that he had
therm xxv thousandz pounde . Whiche he kept for to make
his testament and for to leue to his daughters & hem yf
they wold bere hem as wel to hym afterward as they did
Whan they were maried , and than whan they herde that ,
they were right ioyous and glad / & they thought & con
cluded to serue hym honourably as wel in clothyng as in
mete and dynke and of alle other thynges necessarye
to hym unto hys ende , And after this whan the ende of
hym began to appocke , he callyd his daughters and their
husbandes & sayd to hem in this manere ye shalle under
stonde that the money that is in the cheste shette under

thre lockes I Wyl leue to you/sauyng I Wyl that ye geue
in my presence ex I dye Whiles I lyue to the frere pre-
chours an hondred pounde / and to the frere menours an
hondred pounde / and to the heremytes of saynt austyn fifty
poundz to thende that Whan I am buryed and put in the
erthe ye may demaunde of them the keyes of the chest Wher
my tresourz is Inne / Whiche keyes they kepe / and I haue
put on eche keye a bysse and Writyngh in Witnessyng of
the thynges aboue sayd / And also ye shal Understonde
that he dyd to be gyuen Whyles he lay in his deth bedde to
eche churche andy recluse + and to pouer peple a certeyn quan-
tite of money by the handes of his daughters husbondes
Whiche they dyd gladly in hope to haue shortly the money
that they supposid in the cheste . and Whan hit came to the
last day tha' he dyed . he Was borne to churche and his eye
quye doon andy Was buried solemnly . And the seventh
day the seruyse Worshypfullly accomplishled . They Went
for to demaunde the keyes of the religyous men that they
had kept . Whiche Were delyuerd to them & than they Went
and openedy the coffre Wher they supposid the money had
ben Inne / and therre they fondy no thyng but a grete
clubbe . and on the handlyng Was Breton / I John of ca-
nazath make this testament + that he be slayn Wyth thys
clubbe , that leueth his owne prouffyt / andy gyeueth hit to
other / as Who sayth hit is no Wyse dom for a man to gyue
his good to his chyldren andy kepe none for hym self /
And ye shal Understonde that hit is a grete folye to dys-
pende and Waste his good / in hope for to recouer hit of other
he hit of sone of daughter or right nygh kynne / for a man

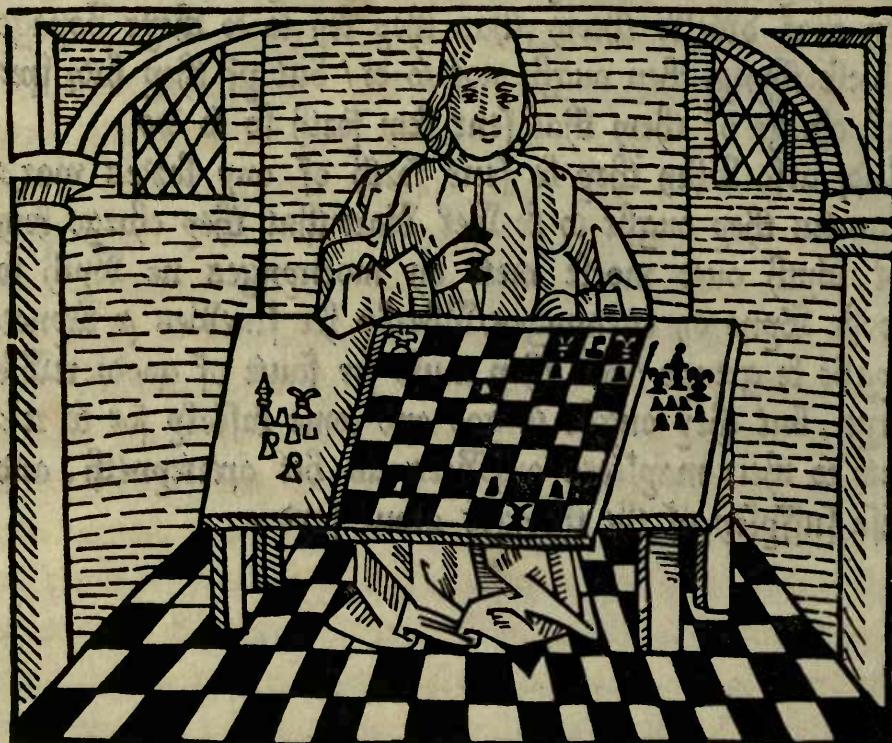
ought to kepe in his hand in dispendyng his oþne goodes
tofore he see that he dispende other mennys / and he ought
not to be holden for a good man .that hath litil renomee
andþ spendeth many thynges , and I twowe that suche per-
sones woldy gladly make noueltees as for to noye andþ
greue seignories and meue Barres and tencions ageynst
them that haboude in richessis and goodes / andþ also make
extorciouns clamours and tribulacōns ayenst theyr lordes
to thende to waste the goodes of the peple .lyke as they
haue wasted theyres / and suche a wastour of goodes may
neuer be good for the comyn pruffyt / and ye shal under-
stonde that after these wastours of goodes we saye that
the players of dyse and they that þse bordellys ben wort
of al other . for whan the hete of playeng at the dyse + &
the couetise of theyr stynkyng lecherye hath wrought hem
to pouerte . hit folloþeth by force that they must be theuys
and robours / and also dwonkenshyp glotonye andþ alle
maner of euyls folowþe them and myschyef / andþ they
folowþe gladly the compaynes of knyghtes and of noble
men whan they goon unto the Barre or batayfles . And
they coueyte not moche the victorey as they doo the rob-
bery / andþ they doo moche harme as they goo , Andþ they
brynge lityl gagn or wynnyng . wherof hit appendi on a
tyme that saynt bernard wroþe on an hors about the contrey
andþ mette byþ an hazardour or dyse player . which sayd
to hym thou goddes man Wylt thou playe at dyse with me
thy hors ayenst my sowle . to whom saint bernard answere
yf thou Wylt oblyge thy sowle to me ayenst my hors / I
Wyl a lyght doun and playe byþ the / and yf thou haue

mo poyntes than I on thre dyse I promyse the thou shalt
haue myn hors, and thenne he was glad, and anone caste
thre dyse / and on ech dyse was a sise, Whiche made y viij
poyntes, and anone he took the hors by the brydel / as he
that was seure that he had wonne / and sayd that the
hors was his . and than saynt bernard sayd abyde my
sone + for therre be mo poyntes on the dyse than y viij and
than he cast the dyse / in such Wyse that one of the ij dyse
clefte a sondre in the myddes / and on that one parte was
vj , and on that other side an aas / and ech of that other
was a sise . And than saynt bernard sayd that he had
wonne his swble for as mocke as he cast on thre dyse
vix poyntes , and than whan this player sawe & apercey-
uyd thys myracle . he gaf his swble to saynt bernard and
became a monke and fynsshed his lyf in good werkys .
The curwurs and bewars of lettres ought hastely and spe-
dely doo her byage that is comauanded hem . With out ta-
ryeng , for theyr taryeng myght noye and greue them
that sende hem forth + or ellis them to whom they be sent to
And tornen hem to right grete domage or bylonye , For
Whiche cause euery noble man ought wel to take hede to
whom he deluyer his lettres and his maundementis . and
otherwhiles such peple ben Jogheleris and dwonklewe . and
goon out of their weye for to see abbayes and noble men
for to haue avauntage , and hit happeneth ofte tymes , that
whan such messageris or curwurs ben enpeſhid by ony ta-
rieng , that other curwurs here letters contrarie to hys .
and come tofore hym / of Whiche thynges ofte tymes co-
meth many thynges discouenable of losse of frendes of

castellys · and of lande andy many other thynges as in
the feit of marchaundyses · and oþerwhiile hit happeneth
that a prynce for the faulke of such messangers lefeth to
haue victorye upon his enemyes / and also therre be some
that whan they come in a cite wherre they haue not ben to
fore . they ben more besy to bisite the cyte and the noble
men that dwelle therin . than they ben to do theyz voyage
Whiche thyng they ought not to do / but yf they had spe
ciall charge of them that sent hem forth so to doo ,
And also whan they be sent forth of ony lordes mar
chauntes they ought to be wel ware that they charge hem
not byth ouer moche mete on mornynge ne byth to
moche wyne on euenynges / wherby her sine wes & wynes
myght be greuyd / that they must for faute of good reble
tarye . but they ought to goo and come hasted for to re
porte to their maysters answers as hit aperteyneth . and
wile suffisen of the thynges aboue sayd ,

The fourth tractate and the last of the progressyon and
draughtes of the forsayd playe of the chesse

The first chappitre of the fourth tractate of the chesse borde
in generre how it is maađ capitulo primo



E haue deuyſed aboue the thynges that apperteyne
vnto the formes of the chesse men and of their offi-
ces, that is to ſete as wel of noble men as of the comyn
peple / Then hit aperteyneth that we holden deuyſe shortly
how they yſſue and goon out of the places where they be
ſette, And firſt we ought to ſpeke of the forme and of
the facion of the chequer after that hit repreſenteth and

Was made after / for hit Was made after the forme of the
cyte of babylonyne / in the Whiche this same playe Was fou-
den as hit is sayd afore + andy ye shal understande that ye
ought to considere here in foure thynges. The first is ther-
fore that liiiij poyntes been sette in the eschequer Whiche
ben al square / The second is therfore the bordeur about
is hyghe than the squarenes of the poyntes . The thyrd
is therfore the comyn peple ben sette tofore the nobles ,
The fourth is therfore the nobles and the peple been sette
in theyz propre places / Ther ben as many poyntes in the
eschequer boyde as fulle . andy ye shal first understande
therfore that there ben liiiij poyntes in the eschequier / for
as the blesyd saynt Iherome sayth , the cite of babylone
Was right grete and Was maad al square , andy in every
quarter Was y yj myle by nombre and mesure / the Whiche
nombre four tymes tolde Was liiiij myles . after the ma-
ner of lombardye they be callyd myles . and in fraunce leu-
kes / and in englond they be callyd myles also . Andy for
to represente the mesure of this cyte / In Whiche this playe
or game Was founden , the philosopher that fond hit first
ordeyned a tablier conteynyng liiiij poyntes square , the
Whiche ben comprised Wyth in the bordeur of the tablyer /
there ben xxij on that one side and xxij on that other
side Whiche ben ordeyned for the baulte of the playe . and
for to shewe the maner andy drawyng of the chesse as hit
shal appere in the chappytres folowingyn . Andy as to the
second . therfore the bordeur of the eschequier is hyghe
than the table Wyth in . hit is to be understande that the
bordeur about representeth the Walle of the cyte Whiche is

ight hygh / and therfore made the philosopher the bordeur
more hygh than the tablier , and as the blesyd Saynt
Iherome sayth vpon the prophesie of ysaye / that is to vete
vpon a mounteyn of obsurete . Whiche wordes were sayd
of babylone Whiche standeth in caldee / & no thyng of that
babylone that standeth in egypt . for it is so that babylone
Whiche standeth in caldee was sette in a right grate playn
And had so hygh walles that by the heyght of them was
contynuel derkenes enuyronned and obsurete . that none
earthly man myght beholde and see the ende of the hignes
of the walles . and therfore ysaye callyd hit the montaigne
obsure / And saynt Iherome saith that the mesure of the
heyght of this walles was thre thousand pas . Whiche ex
tendeth vnto the lengthe of thre myle lombardes , hit is
to vete that lombarde mylis and engliss^h myles ben of
one lengthe / and in one of the corners of thys cyte was
made a tour treangle as a shelde , wherof the heyght exten
ded vnto the lengthe of viij thousand pas / which is seuen
myle engliss^h / and thys tour was cakked the tour of babel
the walles about the tour made a Woman whos name
was semiramis as sayth Virgilius . As to the thyrds
therfore the comyn peple ben sette tofore the nobles in the
felde of the batayl in one renge , first for as moche as they
ben necessarye to al nobles / For the wok whiche standeth
on the right side and is bycayr of the kyng what may he
doo yf the labourer were not sette to fore hym & laboured
to mynystre to hym such temporel thynges as he necessa
rie for hym / And what may the knyght doo yf he ne had
tofore hym the smyth for to forge his armours + sadellys

appes and speres & such thynges as aperteyneth to hym .
And what is a knyght Worth Bythout hors and armes /
certeynly no thyng more than one of the peple or lasse
perauenture . and in what maner sholdyn the nobles lyue
ys no man made cloth and bought and solde marchandyse
And what sholdyn kynges and quenes and the other lordes
do yf they hadyn no physiciens ne surgyens , Then I say
that the peple ben the glorie of the crowne and susteyne
the lyf of the nobles . And therfore thou that art lord
or a noble man or knyght /despyse not the comyn peple
for as moche as they ben sette before the in the playe .

The second cause is why the peple ben sette before the no-
bles and haue the table boyde before them /is be cause they
begynne the bataylle /they ought to take hede and entende
to do theyz offyces and theyz craftes ' in such Wyse that
they suffre the noble men to governe the cytees and to
councille & make ordenaunces of the peple & of the ba-
taylle . how shold a labourer a plow man or a crafty man
council and make ordenaunce of such thynges as he
neuer lerned . and Wote ne knoweth the mater Bpon
what thyng the councill ought to be taken / Certes the
comyn peple ought not to entende to none other thyng but
for to do their seruice and the offyce whiche is couenable
Unto hem / and hit apperteyneth not to hem to be of coun-
cyls ne at the aduocacions 'ne to menace ne to threte no
man , for ofte tymes by menaces and by force good coun-
cyl is destroubled / and whare good councyl faylketh .
there ofte tymes the cytees ben betrayed and destroyed ,
And plato sayth that the comyn thynges and the cytees

ben blesyd whan they ben gouerned by Wyse men / or whan
the gouernours studye in Wysedom, and so hit aperteyneth
to the comyn to lerne to bettre the maters, and the maner
of procuracion wofore they be cuncyflours / For hyt hap-
peth often tymes that he that makyth hym Wyser than he
Understandeth is made more foole than he is · and the iiii
cause wherfore that therer ben in y tabler as many poyntes
Boyde as been fulle / hit is to wete for that they what euer
they be that haue peple to gouerne , ought tenforce to haue
cites & castellys & possessyons for to sette his peple therin
and for to laboure and do their occupation / For for to haue
the name of a kyng Wythout a wyame is a name Boyde.
and honour Wythout prouffyt / and al noblesse Wyth out
good maners / and Wyth out suche thynges as noblesse
may be maynteyned, ought better be callyd folye than no
blesse / and shameful pouerte is the more greuous whan
hyt cometh by nature of an hygh and noble byrth or hous
For no man gladly wyl repreue a poure man of the co-
myn peple , but every man hath in despyste a noble man
that is poure , yf he haue not in hym good maners and
vertuous · by whiche his pouertie is forgoten / And truly
a wyame Wyth out habundaunce of goodes by whiche hyt
may be gouerned and prosper , may better be callyd a la-
trocynye or a nest of theuys than a wyame . Alas what
habundaunce was somme tymes in the wyames , & what
prosperite in whiche was Justyce , and every man in his
offyce contente , how stood the cytes that tyme in Worshyp
& renome , how was renomed the noble wyame of englond
alle the Worlde driadde hit and spake Worshyp of hit . How

hit now standeth and in what habundance I reporte me
to them that know hit . yf there ben theuys Wyth in the
wyame or on the see . they know hit laboure in the wy-
ame and sayle on the see / I Wote Wel the fame is grete
therof / I pray god sau that noble wyame & sende good
trewe and polletique councellours to the gouernours of
the same and noblesse of lignage Wyth out puyssance &
myght is but vnyte and dyspyte . And hit is so as we
haue sayd tofore that the schequer Whiche the phylosopher
ordyned representyd and figured the sayd cite of laby-
lone . and in like Wyse may hit figure a wyame and sig-
nfy alle the Worlde & and yf men regarde and take heed
Unto the poyntes Unto the myddes of every quadrant &
so to double euery quadrant to other the myles of this cite
alwhey doubllyng Unto the nombre of liiiij . The nombre
of the same shold surmounte al the Worlde and not onely
the Worlde but many Worldes by the doubllyng of myles .
Whiche doubllyng so as afore is sayd shold surmounte all
thynges & thus endeth the first chappitre of the iiiij book

k j

The second chappitre of the fourth tractate treteth of the draught of the kyng & how he meuyth in the chequer ca ij



E ought to knowþe that in thys Worlde the kynges
W seygnourie and reygne eche in his wþame / And
in this play We ought to knowþe by the nature of hit how
the kyng meuyth hym and yssueth out of his place / for
ye shal understande that he is sette in the iij quadrant or
þynt of the chequer / and whan he is black, he standeth in
the Whyt, and the knyght on his right side in Whyt / & the
alphyn and the rok in black / and on the left side the iij
holdeyn the places apposite / and the reason may be such/

For by cause that the knyghtes been the glorie and the
crownē of the kyng they ensiue in semblable residence that
they do whā they be sette semblably on the right side of the
kyng & on the left side of the quene & for as moche as the
wock on the right side is bicayz of the kyng he accompany
eth the quene in semblable siege that the alphyne doth whā
eche is Juge of the kyng / And in like Wyse the left wock &
the left alphyne accompanye the kyng in semblable siege .
In such Wyse as they ben sette about the kyng in bothe si-
des with the quene in maner of a crownē that they may
seurely kepe the wyame that reluyseth and shyneth in the
kyng & in the quene , in such Wyse as they may conferme
& diffende hym in their sieges & in theyz places , and the
more hastely renne vpon his enemyes , for as moche as
the Juge the knyght and the bicayz kepe & garnysshē the
kyng on that one side / they that been sette on the other side
kepe the quene & thus kepe they al the strength & fermete
of the wyame & semblably otherwhile for to ordeigne the
thynges that aperteyne to the councayl & to the besoyngue
of the wyame / for yf eche man shold entende to his owne
proper thynges . And that they dessendyd not ner toke
hede vnto the thynges that apperteynen to the kyng . to
the comyn & and to the wyame . the wyame sholdy anone
be deuyded in parties . And thus myght the Juge
reygne , And the name of the dygnyte ryall sholdy
be loste . And trewly for as moche as the kyng holdeth
the dygnyte aboue alle other and the seignorye wyall .
therfore hit apperteyneth not that he absente hym long
ne bythdraue hym ferre by space of tyme from the maister

siege of his wyame/ for Whan he Wyk meue hym, he ought
not to passe at the first draught the nombre of ij poyntes
& Whan he begynneth thus to meue from his Whyt poynt,
he hath the nature of the wokes of the right side & of the
lift for to goo black or Whyt, & also he may goo unto the
Whyt poynt Where the gardes of the cyte ben sette / & in this
poynt he hath the nature of a knyght, & thise two maners
of meuyng aperteyneth otherwhile to the quene / & for as
muche as the kyng & the quene that he conioyned to geder
by mariage ben one thyng as one fleshe & blood / therfore
may the kyng meue on the lift side of his propre poynt al
so Wel as he Were sette in the place of the quene Whiche is
black, & Whan he goeth right in maner of the wok onely &
hit happen that the aduersary be not couerd in ony poynte in
the second ligne / the kyng may not passe from his black
poynt unto the thyrd ligne / & thus he sortiseth the nature
of the wok on the right side and lift side unto the place of
the knyghtes , And for to goo right tofore in to the Whyt
poynt tofore the marchaunt & the kyng also sortiseth the
nature of the knyghtes Whan he goeth on the right side in
two maners , for he may put hym in the boyde space tofore
the phisicien / & in the black space tofore the tauerner . & on
the other side he goeth in to other two places in like Wyse
that is tofore the smyth / and the notarype / & thus as in
goyng out first in to four poyntes he sorteth the nature
of knyghtes , And also the kyng sortiseth the nature
of the alphyns at hys fyrst yssue in to two places , and
he may goo on bothe sides unto the Whyte place boyde /
that one tofore the smyth on that one side / and that other

tofore the tauerner on that other side, al these yssues hath
the kyng out of his propre place of his oþne vertu whan
he begynneth to meue. but whan he is ones meuyd fro his
propre place. he may not meue but in to one space or poynt
and so from one to another / And than he sortiseth the na-
ture of the comyn peple / And thus by good right he hath
in hym self the nature of al . For al the vertue that is
in the membris comyng of the hede / And al meuyng of
the body . The begynnyngh and lyf cometh from the herte
And al the dygnyte that the subgettis haue by execusyon
and continual apparence of theyz meuyng and yssue +
the kyng deteyneth hit and is attribued to hym . the vic-
torye of the knyghtes . the prudencie of the Juges . the
auctorite of the bycayrs or legates . the contynence of the
quene / the concorde and bnyte of the people , so ben alle
thise thynges ascribed unto the honour & Worshyp of the
kyng . in his yssue wher he meuyth first / the iij signe tofore
the peple he never exedyth . for in the thrid nombre alle
maner of states begynne to meue . For the trynary nom-
bre conteyneth thre parties . Whiche make a perfect nom-
bre . For a trynarye nombre hath iij iij / Whiche ioyned
to gider maketh vij / Which is the first parfit nombre + and
signefieth in this place vij persones named that constitu-
te the perfecion of a wylame + that is to wete the kyng the
quene Juges knyghtes bicairs or legates . & the comyn
peple / & therfore the kyng ought to begynne in his first me-
uyng of iij poyntes / that he shewe perfecion of lyf as wel
in hym self as in other / after the kyng begynneth to meue
he may lede with hym the quene / after y maner of his issue

For Whi the quene foloweth Unto two angularye places
after the maner of the alþynd / and to a place Indirecte
in the maner of a wok in to the blacke poynt tofore the
phisiere / herin is signefyed that the Womyn may not me-
ue nether make wodes of pilgrimage ner of Biage With-
out the Wyllie of theyz husbondes . For yf a Woman had
auowed ony thyngh her husbond kyuyng / and agayn say-
engh . She may not yelde ner accomplitte her wode / yf the
husbond Wyll goo ony whare / he may wel goo without her
And yf so be that the husbond Wyll haue her Wyth hym she
is bounden to folowe hym , And by reson . for a man is
the heid of a Woman , & not econuerso , For as to such
thynges as longe to patrimonye . they ben like / but the
man hath power ouer her body / and so hath not the Woman
ouer his / and therfore whan the kyng begynneth to meue
the quene may folowe . and not alwyg whan she meueth
it is no nede the kyng to meue . for Whi four the first sig-
nes he Wyth in the lymytes and space of the wyame ,
and Unto the thyrde poynt the kyng may meue at his
first meuyng out of his propre place . and whan he passyth
the fourth signe he goeth out of his wyame / And yf he
passe one poynt lete hym bewaar , For the persone of a
kyng is accounted more than a thousand of other . For
whan he expositth hym Unto the parilles of bataylle . hit is
necessarie that he goo attemporally and shily / for yf he be
taken or deed or ellys Inclusid and shette byp . alle the
strengthes of al other faylle and al is fynsshedy and lost
And therfore he hath nede to goo and meue byself . and
also therfore he may not meue but one poynt after hys

first meuyng but where that euer he goo foreward or bac
ward or on that one side or on that other or ellis cornerz :
Wyse + he may neuer approche his aduersarye the kyng ner
ver than in the thyrd poynt / And therfore the kynges in
bataille ought neuer to proche one nygh that other , And
also whan the kyng hath goon so ferre that al hys men
be lost / than he is sole, and than he may not endure long
Whan he is brought to that extremyte / and also he ought
to take heide that he stonde not so that a knyght or another
sayth chek wok . than the kyng loseth the wok / That
kyngis not wel fortunat that lesith hym to whom his
auctorite delegate aperteyneth / Who may do the nedes of the
wyame yf he be pruydy taken or dedy Was prouysour
of al the wyame , he shal bere a sacke on his heidz that
is shette in a cite , And al they that were therin ben ta
ken in captyuite and shette by .

The second chappitre of the fourth book of the quene
& how she yssueth out of her place capitulo tercio



Han the quene Whiche is accompanied unto the
kyng begynneth to meue from her propre place / she
goeth in double manere / that is to bete as an alphyn
Whan she is black / she may goo on the right side & come
in to the wynt tofore the notarye , & on the lft side in the
black wynt and come tofore the gardes of the cyte . and
hit is to bete that she sortiseth in her self the nature in in
maners first on the right side tofore the alphyn . secondly
on the lft side wher the knyght is . & thridly Indirectly
unto the black wynt tofore the phisicien . And the reason

Whyn / is for as moche as she hath in her self by grace / the
auctorite that the wokes haue by comyscion / for she may
gyue and graunte many thynges to her subgettis graci-
ously / and thus also ought she to haue parfyt Wysdom
as the alþyngs haue Whiche ben Juges / as hit is sayd
aboue in the chappitre of the quene / and she hath not the
nature of knyghtes / and hit is not fittyng ne couenable
thyng for a Woman to goo to bataylle for the fragylite / &
feblenes of her / and therfore holdeth she not the Waye in
her drught as the knyghtes doon / & whan she is meuyd
ones out of her place she may not goo but fro one poynte
to another / and yet couertly whether hit be for Warde or fac-
Ward / takyng / or to be taken / and here may be ayyd Whyn
the quene goeth to the bataylle Wyth the kyngh / certeynly
it is for the solace of hym / and ostencion of loue / And
also the peple desire to haue successyon of the kyngh / and
therfore the tartars haue their Wyues in to the felde Wyth
hem yet hit is not good that men haue theyr Wyues Wyth
hem / but that they abyde in the cyttes or Wythm them theyr
owne termys / For whan they been out of theyr cyttes / &
lymytes they ben not sure / but holden suspecte / they shold
be shamefast and hold al men suspect / For dyna Jacobs
doughter as longe as she was in the hōws of her brethern
she kept her byrgynyte / but assone as she wente for to see
the straunge regyons / anone she was corrupt / & defowbled
of the sone of sichem / Seneka sayth that the Women that
haue euyl bysages ben gladly not chaste / but theyr corage
desyreteth gladly the compayne of men / and solinus sayth
that no bestys femeles desire to be touched of their males

Whan they haue conceyuyd / except Woman Whiche ought to
be a beste resonable . and in this caas she lesith her rayson /
& Sidne Witnessthe same . & therfore in the olde lawe.
the faders had dyuerse Wyues and ancellis to thende Whan
one Was childe . they myght take another . they ought
to haue the Bysage enclyned for to schewe the sight of the
men . that by the sight they be not meuyd With Incontyn-
ence & dyffame of other , and ouyde sayth that there ben
some that holl Wel that they eschewe the dede . yet haue
they grete ioye Whan they be prayed / & therfore ought the
good Women fle the curiosites & places Where they myght
falle in blame & noyse of the peple ,

The fourth chappytre of the fourth booke of the issuyng
of the alphyn capitulon



The manere and nature of the draught of the al-
t phyn is such that he that is black in his propre sie-
ge is sette on the right side of the kyng / and he that is
Whyt is sette on the left side / and ben callyd andy namedy
black and Whyt / but for no cause that they be so in sub-
staunce of her propre colour, but for the colour of the pla-
ces in Whiche they ben sette / andy alway be they black or
Whyt whan they ben sette in theyz places + the alphyn on
the right side . goyngh out of his place to the right syde
ward cometh tofore the labourerz / and hit is reason that
the Juge ought to defende and kepe the labourerz and pos-
sessyonis Whiche ben in his Jurisdycyon by al right andy
lawe / And also he may goo on the left side to the Boyde
place tofore the phisierten / for like as the physiciens haue
the charge to hele the Infirmytes of a man + In like wise
haue the Juges charge to appese all stryues & contencions
and reduse vnto vnyte . and to punysshe and correcte cau-
ses crymynels . the left alphyn hath also two Wayes fro
his owne place one toward the right side vnto the black
space boyde tofore the marchaunt . For the marchauntes
nede ofte tymes cuncyyl and ben in debate of questyonis
Whiche must nedes be determinedy by the Juges / and that
other yssue is vnto the place tofore the rybauldes & that
is by cause that ofte tymes amonge them falle noyses ,
dyfencionis thefte & manslaughter , wherfore they ought
to be punysshed by the Juges / & ye shal vndestonde that
the alphyn goeth alway cornerwyse fro the thyrdy poyn特 to
the thyrd poyn特 , kepyng alway his owne siege / for yf he
be black / he goeth alway black / and yf he be Whyt he goeth

alwhey Whyle / the yssue or goyngh cornerly or angularly
sygnefyeth cautel or subtilyte / Whiche Juges ought to
haue . The thre poyntes betoken thre thynges that the Ju-
ge ought to attende . a iuge ought to further rightful and
trewe causes . secondly he ought to geue trewe cuncyyl / &
thyrdrykly he ought to geue & Judge rightful sentences after
the alegaunces . & neuer to goo fro the ryghtwysnes of
the lawe / and it is to wete that the alþwynn goeth in by
draughtes al the tablier wunde about / and that he cometh
agayn in to his owne place . and how he hit that al reason
and good perfecion shold be in a kyng / yet ought hit al
so specially he in them that ben cuncyallours of the kyng
and the quene . and the kyng ought not to do ony thyng
doubtouse til he haue aydyd cuncyyl of his Juges and of
the sages of the wyame / and therfore ought the Juge to
be parfaytly Wyse and sage as wel in science as in goodly
maners . and that is signefyed whan they meue from thre
poyntes in to thre / for the sixte nombre by whiche they goo
al the scheker . and brynge hem agayn in to her propre
place in suche Wyse that thende of her moeuyng is conioy-
ned agayn to the begynnyng of the place fro whens they
departed / & therfore hit is callyd a parfayt moeuyng .

The fiftre chappitre of the fourth tractate of the meuyng
of the knyghtes capitulo quinto



After the issue of the alþynns We shal deuyse to you
a the yssue and the moeuyng of the knyghtes / and
We say that the knyght on the right side is Whyt . and on
the left side black . & the yssue & moeuyng of hem boþe is
in one maner þan so is that the knyght on the right side
is Whyt / the left knyght is black / the moeuyng of hem is
suche . that the Whyt may goo in to the space of the alþynn
as hit apperyth of the knyght on the ryght syde that
is Whyt / And hath thre yssues from his propre place
one on his right side in the place tofore the labourer .

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and hit is Wel reson that Whan the labourer and husbond
man hath laboured the feldes . the knyghtes ought to
kepe them . to the entente that they haue batailles for them
self & theyz horses / The second yssue is that he may meue
hym vnto the black space tofore the notarye or draper for
he is bounden to defende and kepe them that make hys
vestementes & couertours necessarie vnto hys body . The
thyrd yssue is that he may goo on the lift syde in to the
place tofore the marchaunt Whiche is sette tofore the kyng
the Whiche is black . and the reson is for as moche as he
ought and is holden to defende the kyng as Wel as his
owne persone / Whan he passyth the first draught . he may
goo four Beynes / and Whan he is in the myddes of the ta -
bler he may goo in to bin places sondry / to Whiche he may
renne , and in like Wyse may the lift knyght goo Whiche
is black and goeth out of his place in to Whyt / And in
that maner goeth the knyght fightyngh by his myght &
groweth and multeþlyeth in his poyntes / and ofte tymes
by them the felde is Bonne or lost / a knyghtes vertue and
myght is not knowen but by his fightyngh / And in his
fightyngh he doeth moche harme for as moche as his myght
extendeth in to so many poyntes / they ben in many parellis
in theyr fightyngh . and Whan they escape they haue the ho
nour of the game . & thus is hit of euery man the more
saylliant / & the more honoured / and he that meketh hym
self ofte tymes shyneth clearest .

The sixte chapptrye of the fourth tractate treteth of the
yssue of the wokes and of her progressyon capitulo viij



He moeuyng & yssue of the wokes Whiche ben By:
tayrs of the kyngis is suche / that the right wok is
black & the left wok is Whyt / and Whan the chesse ben sette
as Wel the nobles as the comyn peple first in theyz propre
places .the wokes by theyr propre vertu haue no Waye to
yssue but yf hit be maad to them by the nobles or comyn
peple / For they been enclosid in theyr propre sieges +
Andi the reson Why is suche . that for as moche as they
ben Bycayrs lieuetenauntes or cōmyssyoners of the kyng
theyr auctorite is of none effect tofore they yssue out .

And that they haue begonne to enhauue their offyce / for
as longe as they be Wythin the palays of the kyng / so
longe may they not bse ne execute theyr cōmyssyon / but
anone as they yssue they may bse theyr auctorite / and ye
shal understande that theyr auctorite is grete / For they re
presente the persone of the kyng / and therfore wher the
tablier is boyde they may renne alle the tablier / in lyke
wyse as they goon thrugh the rogame / and they may goo
as wel whyt as black as wel on the right side and lufe
as foreward and bacward / and as fer may they renne as
they fynde the tablier boyde / whether hit be of his aduer-
saries as of his oþen felawþyp / and whan the wok is
in the myddel of the tablier / he may goo whiche way he wyl
in to four right lignes on euery syde / and it is to wete
that he may in no wyse goo cornerwyse / but alway right
forth goyngh and comyng as afore is said / therfore al
the subgatis of the kyng as wel good as euyl ought to
knowe by theyr moeyng that the auctorite of the by-
cayrs and cōmyssyoners ought to be very trewe rightwys
and Juste / and ye shal understande that they ben stonge
and vertuous in bataylle / for the two wokes onely may
aynquysshe a kyng theyr aduersarye and take hym / and
take from hym his lyf and his rogame / and this was
don whan Cirus kyngh of perse and Darius kyngh of
medes slewe balthazar and took his rogame from hym /
whiche was newel to enylmonidach under whom thys
game was founden .



The viij chappitre of the fourth book of the yssue of
the comyn peple capitulo

septimo

Me yssue and one moeuyng apperteyneth vnto all

o the comyn peple /for they may goo fro the poynt they
stande in at the first meuyng unto the thrid poynt right
forth tofore them /and whan they haue so doon they may
afterward meue nomore but fro one poynt right forth in
to another . And they may neuer returne bacward . and
thus goyng forth fro poynt to poynt they may gete by
Vertue and strengthe . that thyng that the other nobles
fynde by dygnyte /and yf the knyghtes and other no-
bles helpe hem that they come to the ferthest ligne tofore
them whare theyz aduersaries Bere sette they requyre the
dignyte that the quene hath graunted to her by grace ,

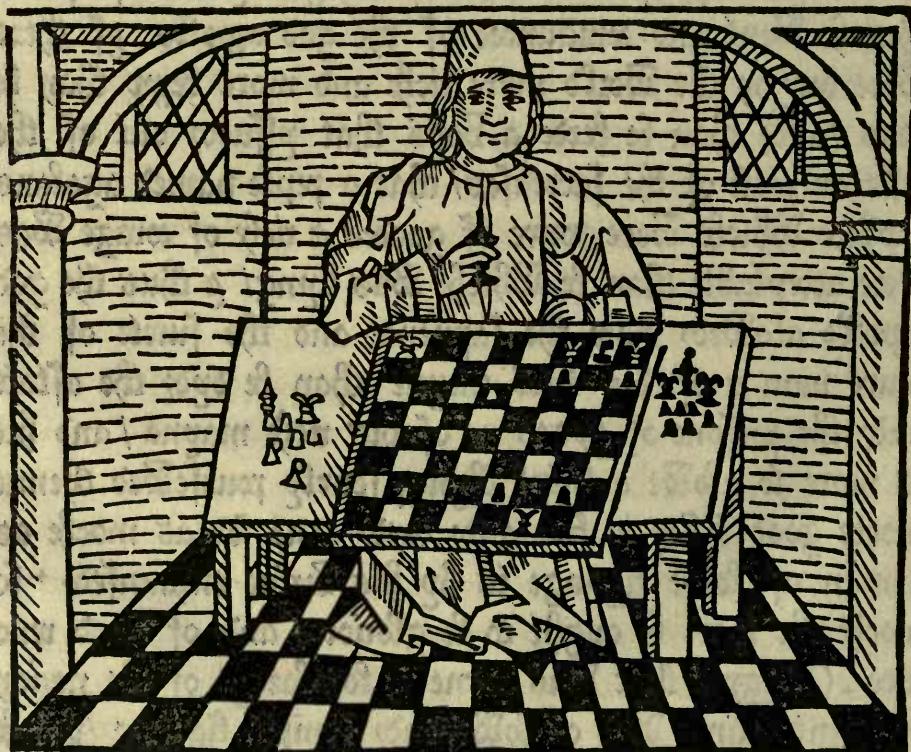
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For yf ony of them may come to thys sayd lignyng he be
Whyt as labourer draper, phisicien, or kepar of the cite been
they retayne suche dignyte as the quene hath / for they haue
gotten hit, & than returning agayn homward / they may
go like as it is sayd in the chappitre of the quene / andy yf
ony of the pauntes that be black ·as the smythe + the mar-
chaunt / the tauerner, & vaulde may come without domage
in to the same sterrest lignyng he shal gete by his vertu the
dignyte of the black quene / & ye shal understande / Whan
thyse comune peple meue right forth in her lignyng / & fynde
ony noble persone or of the peple of their aduersaries sette
in the poynt on ony side tofore hym / In that corner poynte
he may take his aduersarye Whether hit be on the right side
or on the left / & the cause is that the aduersaries ben sus-
picous that the comyn peple lye in a wayte to robbe her
goodes or to take her persones Wha they go byward right
forth, and therfore he may take in the right angle tofore
hym one of his aduersaries / as he had espied his persone
and in the right angle as robber of his goodes ·& Whether
hit be goyngh forward or returning fro black to Whyt, or
Whyt to black the paunton must alway goo in his right lignyng / & alway take in the corner that he fyndeth in his waye
but he may not goo on neyther side til he hath been in the
fardest lignyng of the schafer / & that he hath taken the nature
of the draughtes of the quene / & than he is a fiers ·andy
than he may goo on al sides cornerwyse fro poynt to poynt
only as the quene both fightyngh & takyng whom he fyndeth
in his waye. And whan he is thus comen unto the
place where the nobles his aduersaries were sette he shal

be made Whit fiers and black fiers / after the poynte that
he is in / & therer taketh he the dygnyte of the qnene, & alle
these thynges may appere to them that beholden the playe
of the chesse . and ye shal Understonde that no noble man
ought to haue desperte of the comyn peple · for hit hath been
ofte tymes seen · that by their vertu and Wytte / dyuerce of
them haue comen to right hygh & grete astate as poopes ·
bysshops / emperours andy kynges / as we haue in the histo
rye of dauid that Was made kyng of a shepeherd / and one
of the comyn peple & of many other / and in lyke wise we
rede of the contrarie / that many noble men haue been
brought to myserye by theyr defaulte / as of gyges whiche
Was right riche of landes and of richessis / & Was so proud
that he went and demaunded of the god appollo + yf there
were ony in the Worlde more riche and more happy than he
Was / andy than he herde a boys that yssuedy out of the
fosse or pitte of the sacrefises / that a peple named agalans
sophide whiche were poure of goodes & riche of corage Was
more acceptable than he whiche Was kyng / & thus the god
appollo alowedy more the sappence and the surete of the
poure man & of his litel meyne / than he dydy the astate
andy the persone of gyges ne of his riche mayne / and hit
is more to alowe a lytyl thyng seurly purselfed thenne
muche good taken in feare andy drede / and for as muche as
a man of lowe signage is by his vertue enhaunedy + so
muche the more he ought to be glorious and of good reno
mee . Virgyle that Was borne in lombardye of the nacion
of mantua andy Was of lowe andy symple signage / yet he
Was souerayn in Wysesdom andy science & the most noble

of al the poyntes . of whom the renomee was / is and shal
be duryng the Worlde . so hit happend that another poete
ayyd and demaunded of hym wherfore he sette not the ver-
sis of homere in his book . and he answerd that he shold be
of right grete strengthe and force that shold plucke the
clubbe out of hercules handes / and thys suffiseth the state
and draughtis of the comyn peple /

The viij chappitre and the last of the fourth book of the
epylogacion and recapytulacion of thys book capitulo viij.



Or as moche as we see and knowe that the memo
f rye of the peple is not retentyf but right forgeteful
Whan some here longe taks and historyes whiche they can
not al reteyne in her mynde or recorde . Therfore I haue
put in thys present chappytre al the thynges abouesayd as
shortly as I haue cone / first this playe or game Was foun
den in the tyme of enylmerodach kyng of babilone . And
excesses the philosopher otherwyse named philometer fonde
hit / and the cause why Was for the correacion of the kyng
lyke as hit apperith in thre the first chappytres . For the
sayd kyng Was so tyranous & feloun that he myght suffre
no correacion / but slewe them and dyd do put hem to deth
that correctid hym / and had than doo put to deth many
right Wyse men , than the peple keyng sorowful and right
euyl plesid of this euyl lyf of the kyng prayed and re
quyzed the phylosopher . that he Wold reprise and tellle the
kyng of his folye / and than the philosopher answerd that
he shold be dede yf he so dyde . and the peple sayd to hym ,
certes thou oughtest soner Wyllie to dye to thende that thy
renome myght come to the peple . than the lyf of the kyng
shold cotynue in euyl for lacke of thy coucil . or by faulte
of reprehension of the . or thou darist not do & shewel that
thou sayest . & Whan the philosopher herde thys he promysid
to the peple that he Wold put him in deuoyz to correct hym
Andi thenne he began to thynke hym in what maner he
myght escape the deth andi kepe to the peple his promesse
Andi thenne thus he maad in thys maner andi orderyg
ned the eschequer of lyiij poyntes as is afore sayde /
And dyd do make the forme of chequers of gold & siluer

in humayn figure after the facions & formes as we haue
dyuyssid & shewid to you tofore in theyr chappytres & ordeyned
the moeuyng & thestate after that, it is said in the
chappitres of the schessys & than the phylosophre had thus
ordeyned the playe or game & that hit plesid alle them
that sawe hit, on a tyme as the philosopher played on hit
the kyng came and sawe hit and desired to playe at
this game / And thenne the phylosopher began to signe
and teche the kyng the science of the playe and the
draughtes / Sayeng to hym first how the kyng ought
to haue in hym self perte de bonayrte and rightwysnes,
as hit is sayd tofore in the chappitre of the kyng / And
he enseyned to hym the astate of the quene and what
maners he ought to haue / And thenne of the alþyns
as councyllours and Juges of the wame /
And after the nature of the knyghtes / how they ought
to be wise. true and artoys and al the ordre of knyght
hode / And than after the nature of the bycayrs and
Rookes as hit apperyth in theyz chappytre / And after
þys how the comyn people ought to goo ech in his offyce
And how they ought to serue the nobles / And than
the philosopher had thus taught and enseyned the
kyng and his nobles by the maner of the playe and
had reprehendyd hym of his euyl maners / The kyng
demaunded hym upon payn of dett to telle hym the cause
why and wherfore he had made and founden þys playe /
and game / And what thyng meydyd hym thereto / and than
the phylosopher constrainyd by feare & drede answerd / that
he had promyseto the people whyche had requyryd hym

that he shold correcte and reprise the kyng of his euyl bi
ces ,but for as moche as he doubted the deth and haden seen
that the kyng dyd do flee the sages & Wyse men that were
so hardy to blame hym of his byces . he was in grete an-
gryesse and sowthe , how he myght fynde a maner to cor-
recte and reprehende the kyng . and to sauie his oþren lyf
and thus he thought longe and studyed that he sond this
game or playe . Whiche he hath do sette forth for to amende
and correcte the lyf of the kyng and to chaunge his ma-
ners . and he adioustryd Wyth al that he had founden thys
game for so moche as the lordes and nobles haboundyngh
in delices and richessis . and enioyeng temporel pess shold
eschew þyelnes by playeng of thys game . and for to gyue
hem cause to leue her pensifnes and sowthes . in auysyngh
and studyeng this game ' and than the kyng had herde al
þyse causes . he thought that the philosopher had founde a
good maner of correccion . & than he thankyd hym gretely
and thus by thensignement and lernyng of the philoso-
pher . he chaunged his lyf his maners and alle his euyl
condicions ' and by this maner hit happend that the kyng
that tofore tyme haden ben bycious and disordynate in hys
lyuyng Was made Juste and vertuous / debonayr / graci-
ous and ful of vertues unto al peple . And a man that
lyuyth in thys Worlde Without vertues lyueth not as a
man but as a beste . Thenne late euery man of what
condycion he be that redyþ or herith this litel booke redde +
take therby ensaumple to amende hym +

Explicit per Capton.

REMARKS.

EVERY circumstance connected with the history of the Art of Printing, its invention and progress, possesses an interest which time only enlarges and heightens, as the experience of the world's history shows more and more forcibly the value of the benefit it has conferred on mankind. It is natural, therefore, that the honoured names of the Founders of our Art should be held in reverence, and all the circumstances connected with their early efforts for its promotion should be regarded with a deep and enduring interest. Schœffer, Faust, and Guttemberg, Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde, and Pynson, are familiar to us all, whilst the literary student and antiquary retrace their histories and discuss their respective claims. The Art was in its early stage regarded as a mystery, the very character of which invested it with a peculiar attraction and importance in the eyes of the uninitiated ; and it was natural that those who first produced and promoted such an important invention, should desire to retain their secret, and receive the just reward of their ingenuity and skill. To this we may probably ascribe the fact, that such scanty particulars connected with the introduction of the Art have been handed down to us ; and the remarkable circumstance that, when the general principles became known, and Printers multiplied with astonishing rapidity, the peculiar secrets, by which the inventors of the Art had attained the excellence observable in their works, should have followed them to the grave, and been lost to posterity.

So long as the only known method of printing from a raised surface was confined to the cutting each page on a block of wood, the labour of preparing to print was so tedious and slow, that this, the most skilful part of the whole operation, required the largest amount of the labour employed, and consequently that the whole of the process, and the power of practising it,

were of necessity entrusted and taught to the whole of the persons employed ; and it is too consistent with the selfishness of human nature for us to be surprised that these men (probably mere labourers originally) should, when in possession of this valuable secret, and notwithstanding the oaths of secrecy administered to them, desire to practise it in a greater degree for their own benefit than by working for others. Nor did the introduction of moveable types, cut singly or in words on separate blocks, very greatly facilitate the process, or render the skilled labour required much less.

But when Schœffer conceived the possibility of producing the whole of the type required for his work from the execution of one cut alphabet, he had in his own possession the knowledge of all the skill. He might in a separate apartment produce his types, and carry them to labourers of inferior skill, to put them together and take off the impressions. Such labourers would have but little power of carrying away and communicating his type-producing process to others. And we thus find, that although the Art of Printing spread with extraordinary rapidity,—the invention being ascribed to Guttemberg about the year 1442, and at the time of its introduction into England (1474) being practised in fifty different towns in Germany, France, and Italy,—our countryman was totally ignorant, at the time of its introduction, and apparently for some years after, of the process of casting types.*

* The mystery thrown over the operations of a Type-foundry, within my own recollection (thirty-four years), and the still greater secrecy which had existed in my father's experience, testifies that the Art had been perpetuated by a kind of Druidical or Masonic induction from the first. An anecdote of my father's early struggles may illustrate this. At the death of Mr. Joseph Jackson, whom my father had served ten years as apprentice and foreman, there was in progress, for the University Press of Oxford, a new fount of Double-Pica Greek, which had progressed under my father's entire management. The then Delegates of that press—the Rev. Dr. Randolph and Rev. W. Jackson—suggested that Mr. Figgins should finish the fount himself. This, with other offers of support from those who had previously known him, was the germ of his prosperity (which he always gratefully acknowledged). But when he had undertaken this work, the difficulty presented itself, that he did not know where to find the punch-cutter. No one knew his address ; but he was supposed to be a tall man, who came in a mysterious way occasionally, whose name no one knew, but he went by the *sobriquet* of "the Black Man." This old gentleman, a very clever mechanic, lived to be a pensioner on my father's bounty,—gratitude is perhaps a better word. I knew him, and could never understand the origin of his *sobriquet*, unless Black was meant for dark, mysterious, from the manner of his coming and going from Mr. Jackson's foundry.

The celebrated Bible by Guttemberg—known as the Mazarin Bible, a copy of which is in the British Museum—and the splendid production of the Psalmorum Codex by Schœffer, printed from cast metal types, not excelled by anything modern, had appeared at Mentz ten years before. The city of Mentz had been sacked, all its printers dispersed, and their types probably melted into bullets; the type-foundry was destroyed, and the dispersed printers were left once more to forage out the new method of producing their materials.

That Caxton used *separate* types for the productions of his Press, from the first, is undoubted; as also is the fact that they were of metal, and that the metal was cast in blocks ready to receive the letter from the hand of the engraver; but that each letter was so cut separately, is easily established by observing that throughout any book printed with these types, no two letters can be found exactly alike; whereas, if cast from a matrix, each perfect type must have been a facsimile of all the others, instead of having a mere family likeness. Now I find so much difference in the earlier works of Caxton, that I am disposed to think each work had, if not altogether new type, at least a very large proportion recut.

The first work attributed to Caxton's press in London, is 'The Game of the Chesse'; not this edition which I have reproduced, with woodcuts, but the edition which has the date 1474. Now this book bears such a strong likeness to the 'History of Troy,' which is known to have been printed at Cologne, that I have no hesitation in ascribing its production to that city. Apart from the similarity of the type,—which, considering its difference from any used in subsequent works, is sufficient evidence to satisfy my mind,—I find an exact similarity in the paper; the water-mark in the paper of the 'Game of Chesse' being the same as that in the paper of the 'History of Troy,' towards the end of the book (a bull's head pendent from part of a Catholic cross). The type has more of the secretary character in it, is much more regularly cut, and the press-work is so much better, (more even than in Caxton's subsequent works,) as to indicate clearly that, commencing with the second edition of the 'Game of Chesse,' the printer, *if the same*, was working under different circumstances, with different materials, and with somewhat less skill.

The date of Caxton's return to England, after his thirty years' absence, does not appear to be certainly known. Mr. Herbert, in his edition of

Ames's 'Typographical Antiquities,' 1785, says, quoting some anonymous authority:—"1471. King Edward IV. returns home; and *probably* Caxton attended him." To which he adds his own remark:—"This hypothesis, how ingenious soever, has yet this difficulty to get over,—the utter silence of Caxton concerning this affair, even when as fair an opportunity offered as could be, to have given at least some intimation thereof." Mr. Ames also says, speaking of the first edition of the 'Game of Chesse,' "This book has been compared with 'Recueil des Histoires de Troyes,' 1464, as well as with the translation thereof by Caxton, printed at Cologne, 1471, and a perfect resemblance found between them in the manner of printing; not only the page itself, but the number of lines in a page, the length, breadth, and the intervals between the lines, are alike."

Supported by this evidence, I look upon the second edition, the one of which I here present a copy, as the first known work produced from Caxton's press at Westminster.

The early works of Caxton, dating from the illustrated 'Game of Chesse,' show evidences of the frequent renewal of the types; and, although produced in succession, some variation in the appearance of the letter is perceptible; nor is this surprising, as they are evidently cut upon very soft metal (probably pewter), and the presses of those days had no means, so far as we know, of regulating the force with which the pressure was brought down upon the face of the type.

Mr. Knight, in his biography of Caxton, says:—"The earliest printing-press was nothing more than a common screw-press,—such as a cheese-press or a napkin-press,—with a contrivance for running the *form* of type under the screw after the form was inked." "As the screw must have come down upon the types with a dead pull; that is, as the table upon which the types were placed was solid and unyielding, great care must have been required to prevent the pressure being so hard as to injure the face of the letters."

In the copy of the 'Game of Chesse' which I have here attempted to reproduce, there are many pages which evidence the want of a regulating adaptation, showing that, if the pressman's arm was invigorated occasionally somewhat beyond propriety, the power of his muscle was the only limit to his pull; at any rate they are almost illegible, and if used until the number of the work required was completed, the types would scarcely be thought worth distributing for recomposition.

It may not be out of place to remark here, that I have heard it maintained that of some of his works Caxton produced more than one or two editions with the same date, the only argument for such a supposition being, that some pages in different copies are not precisely alike ; but I think, if my suggestion that the types were of pewter be correct, the fact of a page or two of a work being battered and requiring to be reset during its progress, will sufficiently account for these small differences in the same edition.

Pewter, being an alloy of lead and tin, was probably the hardest known alloy fusible at a moderate temperature, and cast with facility in an iron or brass mould, until the process of freeing antimony from its native impurities (sulphur, arsenic, etc.) had been discovered, and its fusibility with lead and tin proved possible. If there is no certain record of the date at which this took place, it is a curious fact, that until a very recent date, when it was introduced into the manufacture of Britannia metal, the Regulus of Antimony, as the pure metal is called, had no application in the Arts, except as an alloy with tin and lead for the manufacture of printing-types.

Zinc, with tin and lead, is a hard alloy, but, from the volatile nature of the zinc, it becomes oxidized soon after attaining the point of fusion, and the mass becomes thick, pudding-like, and unworkable. An addition of arsenic might render the alloy of lead and tin harder ; but from the recent date at which Chemistry became a science, it may be doubted whether in the time of Caxton it was known as a metal.

Perhaps a more practical argument in favour of pewter having been the metal on which Caxton's types were cut, is the appearance of the letters themselves in print. This however is an argument scarcely appreciable but to those who have handled the graver upon different kinds of metal. The softer metals, such as that we have under consideration, do not clear themselves from the tool as do the harder ; nor does the tool clear what it cuts from the mass with the same freedom as if it were brass or steel ; and occasionally the tool, when losing its keen edge, will drive the soft metal before it rather than cut it out clean. Now these appearances are very frequent in the types of the early works of Caxton printed at Westminster.

In going through the book, as I have been obliged to do, word by word and letter by letter, I have found several stray characters which induce me to think there must have been some intervening works for which other characters were required. For instance, at page 21, line 3 from bottom of

the page, occurs sh¹; this is not to be found again in the volume, and being here used in the pronoun *she*, can have no particular signification in this place.

At page 34, line 2 from the bottom of the page, in the word *atticorum*, the last syllable is contracted.² The contraction of the termination *um* is common in Latin works of the period, but does not occur elsewhere in this book.

At page 67, line 4 from the bottom, is the old contraction y³ for *the*, which is only used two or three other times throughout the book; but at the beginning of the same line occurs the contracted e,⁴ properly used as indicating that m should follow, although it is frequently used in the book without any such meaning.

At page 77, line 21 from top, as in many other places, the h⁵ with a stroke through the top will be found in the word *hymself*, equally without meaning.

At page 82, line 17, page 83, line 20, and page 85, line 16, is used a peculiar combination of the letters ad,⁶ which I do not find in any other place in the book.

The ll⁷ with a stroke through the top also frequently occurs, without any apparent motive for its presence. The anomalous presence of these characters raises the question of their original intent, and makes us doubt whether they were cut for their present places.

It will be seen, by the synopsis of the characters which follow these remarks, and by the book itself, that Caxton used combinations of letters, such as be, bo, he, ho, etc. Caxton was, therefore, the first to print from logotypes, an idea just now resuscitated by Major Beniowski and Mr. Greene, from the tomb to which it was condemned nearly four hundred years ago.

It will be observed that the sloping stroke which is generally used in place of the modern comma is of varied length, sometimes reaching through the body of the letter, sometimes but a fourth of the length, and when thus shortened, scarcely twice in the same position, above, below, or in the middle of the line: this I have endeavoured to imitate, although I believe it to be without meaning—merely the accidental breaking or battering of the type. (These strokes are generally perfect in what I may call the Cologne edition.) It may be observed that the stroke is very frequently used in places where a

¹  ²  ³  ⁴  ⁵  ⁶   ⁷ 

full-point is evidently wanted, and sometimes where, in modern punctuation, no pause at all would be indicated.

There are errors sufficient throughout the original work to make it doubtful whether revise-proofs were pulled in those days. I have closely followed the copy in these matters, except so far as "turned letters" were concerned.

Having thus given publicity to some ideas which have suggested themselves during the progress of my work, I have only now to make a few observations upon the book here offered to the literary and antiquarian public, and my motive for undertaking its reproduction.

The copy of Caxton's book which I have taken for my guide is in the King's Library at the British Museum. The fact that the original is printed from *cut* metal types, and is a mixture of black letter and the character called secretary, with all the shades of modification and approximation to each other of which the two styles are capable, makes the work of reproducing by means of cast types from a single cut punch somewhat difficult; but as I found the black letter and its approximations predominate, I have endeavoured, while keeping between the two styles, to adhere more closely to the black letter. Could I have had a copy of the original beside me during my progress, I should have succeeded more to my own satisfaction, and completed my work in one-fourth of the time. As it is, I hope it will not be esteemed a bad imitation of Caxton's book; and as few persons, except those who have decidedly antiquarian tastes, and the curious who take the trouble to seek for these old works in their present solitude, have any idea of their appearance, or even of any black-letter book, this may not be without use in conveying a knowledge of these things into quarters which the originals can never reach.

The paper upon which this book is printed has been made expressly for its publication, with the reed and water-marks imitated from the original,—that is to say, two of the water-marks; for the second or English edition, from which I have been copying, has five distinct water-marks, neither of which is like that used throughout the first edition. For the readiness with which this troublesome work was undertaken, after I had failed to obtain it in several other quarters, and the pains and care used to assimilate it to the original,—as I think, with much success,—I owe my acknowledgments to Mr. Wilmot, of Shoreham Mills, near Sevenoaks.

My motive in producing this book has been partly to enable my contemporaries better to appreciate the industry of our worthy countryman William Caxton, but more especially to assist in raising funds for the completion and endowment of a benevolent institution for decayed Printers. Should the Public feel as much interest in the Charity as I do, and the Learned think well of this publication, we shall have rendered a not unworthy tribute to the memory of William Caxton, in the completion and endowment of the Printers' Almshouses at Wood Green, Tottenham.

VINCENT FIGGINS.

West-street, West Smithfield, London,
May 1st, 1855.

A LIST
OF
THE WORKS ASCRIBED TO CAXTON,

As printed by MR. KNIGHT in his 'Biography of Caxton,' and furnished to him for the 'Penny Cyclopædia' by SIR HENRY ELLIS, Principal Librarian of the British Museum; with date of production, where known, and Catalogue and Press Mark, for finding such as are in the Library of the British Museum.

K. L. means King's Library.

G. L. " Grenville Library.

The King " retained by his Majesty George III., when he presented his Library to the Museum.

What Catalogue.	Press Mark.	Date.	
The King.	—	1464	1. Le recueil des Histoires de Troyes, compose par raoule le feure, Chapellein de Monseigneur le Duc Philippe de Bourgoingne en l'an de grace milcccclxviiii. Fol. 2. Propositio clarissimi Oratoris Magistri Johannis Russell, decretorum doctoris ac adtunc Ambassiatoris Edwardi Regis Anglie et Francie ad illustr. Principem Karolum ducem Burgundie super susceptione ordinis garterij, etc. 4to.
B. M.	C. 21. d.		3. Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye, composed and drawnen out of diverse bookes of latyn into Frensshe by Raoul le ffeure in the yere 1464, and drawen out of frensshe in to Englisse by William Caxton at the commaundement of Margarete Duchess of Bourgoyne, &c., whyche sayd translacion and werke was begonne in Brugis in 1468 and ended in the holy cye of Colen 19 Sept. 1471. Fol.
K. L.	C. 11. c. 1.	1471	4. The Game and Playe of the Chesse, translated out of the French, fynysshid the last day of Marche, 1474. Fol. 5. A second edition of the same. Fol., with woodcuts. 6. A boke of the hoole lyf of Jason. Fol. 7. The Dictes and notable wyse Sayenges of the Philosophers, transl. out of Frenshe by lord Antoine Wydeville Erle Ryuyeres, empr. at Westmestre. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 23.	1474	8. The Morale Prouerbes of Cristyne of Pisa. Fol. 9. The Book named Cordyale, or Memorare Novissima, which treateth of The foure last things. Begun 1478, finished 1480. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 1.	1475	10. The Chronicles of Englund. Westm., fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 3.	1477	11. Descripcion of Britayne. Fol.
K. L.	167. c. 1.	1477	12. The Mirrour of the World or thymage of the same. Fol.
? K. L.	C. 11. c. 2.	1478	13. The Hystorye of Reynart the Foxe. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 4.	1480	
K. L.	C. 10. b. 24.	1480	
K. L.	{ C. 10. b. 5. C. 21. d.	1481	
K. L.	C. 11. c. 3.	1481	

What Catalogue.	Press Mark.	Date.	
K. L. {	C. 10. b. 6. C. 21. d.	1481	14. The Boke of Tullius de Senectute, with Tullius de Amicitia, and the Declamacyon, which laboureth to shew wherein honour sholde rest. Fol.
K. L.	C. 11. c. 4.	1481	15. Godefroy of Boloyn; or the laste siege and conqueste of Jherusalem. Westm., fol.
K. L. {	C. 10. b. 7. 598. i.	1482	16. The Polyclonycon, 1482. Fol.
B. M.	C. 21. d.	1483	17. The Pylgremage of the Sowle. Translated from the French. Westm., fol.
K. L. {	C. 11. c. 5. 1-2	1483	18. Liber Festivalis, or Directions for keaping Feasts all the Yere. Westm., fol.
? K. L. {	C. 11. c. 5. 1-2		19. Quatuor Sermones. Fol., no date.
B. M.	C. 21. d.	1483	20. Confessio Amantis, that is to saye in Englisse, 'The confessyon of the Louer,' maad and compyed by Johan Gower, squyer. Westm., fol.
K. L.	C. 11. d. 8.	1483	21. The Golden Legende. Westm., fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 8.	1483	22. Another edition of The Legende. Sm. fol.
K. L.	C. 11. c. 6. C. 21. d.	1484	23. A third, fin. at Westmr., 20 May, 1483, fol.
The King.	C. 11. c. 17.	1484	24. The booke callid Cathon (Magnus). Transl. from the French. Fol.
	C. 21. c. 1.		25. Parvus Chato. Fol., no name or date.
K. L.	C. 11. d. 19.	1484	26. The Knyght of the Toure. From the French. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 22.	1484	27. The Subtyl Historyes and Fables of Esope. Translated from the French. Fol.
B. M.	C. 10. b. 9.	1485	28. The book of the Ordre of Chyvalry, or Knyghthode. From the French. Assigned to 1484. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 10.	1485	29. The Book Ryal; or the Book for a Kyng. Fol.
		1485	30. A book of the noble Hystoryes of Kynge Arthur and of certen of his Knyghtes, which book was reduced in to Englysshe by syr Thomas Malory Knight. Fol.
K. L.	The King.	1489	31. The Lyf of Charles the Grete Kyng of Fraunce and Emperour of Rome. Fol.
K. L.	C. 21. d.	1489	32. Another edition of the same. Fol.
K. L.	C. 11. c. 8.	1490	33. Thystorye of the noble ryght valyaunt and worthy Knyght Parys and of the fayr Vyenne the doulphyns daughter of Vyemoys. Transl. from French. 1485, fol.
K. L. {	C. 10. b. 12. C. 21. d. 9723.	1490	34. The Book of Good Maners. Fol. [Ames says, 1487.]
G. L. {	167. c. 9.		35. The Doctrinal of Sapience. Transl. from the French. Fol.
K. L.			36. The Book of Fayttes of Armes and Chyvalrye. Translation from the first part of Vegetius de Re Militari. Fol.
K. L.			37. The Arte and Crafte to knowe well to dye. From the French. Fol.
G. L. {			38. The Boke of Eneydos, compyed by Vyrgeyle. Transl. from French. Fol.
K. L.			39. The Tales of Cauntryburye. Fol., no date.
G. L.			40. Another edition. No date or place.
			41. Infancia Salvatoris. 4to.

What Catalogue.	Press Mark.	Date.	
B. M.	C. 21. d.		42. The Boke of Consolacion of Philosophie whiche that Boecius made for his comforte and consolacion. Fol., no date or place.
B. M.	C. 11. c. 9.		43. A collection of Chaucer's and Lydgate's minor poems. 4to. [Ames says, in the Public Library at Cambridge.]
K. L.	C. 10. b. 13.		44. The book of Fame, made by Gefferey Chaucer. Fol.
K. L.	C. 11. c. 10.		45. Troylus and Cresseye. Fol.
? G. L. {	10542.		46. A book for Travellers. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 14.		47. The Lyf of St. Katherin of Senis. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 15.		48. Speculum Vite Christi; or the myrroure of the blesyd Lyf of Jhesu Criste. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 16.		49. Directorium Sacerdotum: sive Ordinale secundum Usum Sarum. Westm., fol.
B. M.			50. The Worke (or Court) of Sapience, composed by John Lydgate. Fol.
B. M.			51. A Boke of divers Ghostly Maters. Westm., fol. [A copy in the Public Library, Cambridge.]
K. L.	C. 10. b. 17.		52. The Curial made by Maystre Alain Charretier. From the French. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 18.		53. The Lyf of our Ladye, made by Dan John Lydgate, monke of Burye. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 19.		54. The Lyf of Saynt Wenefryde, reduced into Englysshe. Fol.
B. M.			55. A Lytel Tretise, intytuled or named The Lucidarye. 4to.
B. M.			56. Reverendissimi viri dui Gulielmi Lyndewodi, LL.D., et epi Asaphensis constitutiones provinciales Ecclesiae Anglicanæ. 24mo.
B. M.			57. The Historye of Kynge Blanchardyne and Queen Eglantyne his wyfe. Fol.
G. L. {	C. 21. d. 6209.		58. The Siege of the noble and invyncible Cytee of Rhodes, by Caoursin. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 20.		59. Statuta apud Westmonasterium edita, anno primo Regis Ricardi tertii. Fol.
G. L.	6002.	(1490)	60. Statutes made in the first, second, and third Parliaments of Henry VII. Fol. [The only fragment of this work known is two leaves.]
B. M.			61. The Accidente. (Mentioned in one of the Sale Catalogues of T. Martin of Palgrave, No. 71.)
K. L.	C. 10. b. 1.		62. The Prouffytable Boke of manes soule, called the Chastysing of Goddes Chyldern. Fol.
B. M.			63. Horae, etc. 12mo. A fragment of eight pages, now at Oxford, in the library bequeathed to the Bodleian by the late F. Douce, Esq.
B. M.			64. A fragment of a Ballad, preserved in a volume of scraps and ballads in the British Museum. [A part of the edition of CHAUCER.]
B. M.	C. 25 c.		65. The Fifteen O's and other Prayers.
B. M.	5.		66. Meditacions sur les sept Pseaulmes penitentiaulx.
B. M.	C. 21. d.		67. Indulgence for the defence of Rhodes. 1480.
	C. 21. d.	5.	

*The following is a List of the Places where, and the Persons by whom, the Art of Printing was practised at the time Caxton commenced it in England.**

1457.	<i>Mayence</i>	Guttemberg, Faust, and Schœffer.
1461.	<i>Bamberg</i>	Albert Pfister.
1465.	<i>Subbiaco</i>	Con. Sweynheim and Arn. Pannartz.
1467.	<i>Rome</i>	The same printers.
1467.	<i>Elffield</i>	H. and N. Rechtermuntze and Wm. Spyes.
1467.	<i>Cologne</i>	Ulricus Zel (or Zell), of Hanau.
1468.	<i>Augsburg</i>	Giuther Zainer, of Reutlingen.
1469.	<i>Venice</i>	John and Vindeline of Spire.
1469.	<i>Milan</i>	Philippus de Lavagna.
1470.	<i>Nuremberg</i>	Joannes Sensenschmidt.
1470.	<i>Paris</i>	U. Gering, M. Crantz, and M. Friburger.
1470.	<i>Foligno</i>	Emilian de Orfinis.
1470.	<i>Trevi</i>	Joan Reynardi.
1470.	<i>Verona</i>	Joan de Verona.
1471.	<i>Strasburg</i>	J. Mentel or Mentelius, H. Eggstein.
1471.	<i>Spiré</i>	Petrus Drach.
1471.	<i>Treviso</i>	Girardus de Lisa, de Flandria.
1471.	<i>Bologna</i>	Balthasar Arzoguidi.
1471.	<i>Ferrara</i>	Andreas Belfortes.
1471.	<i>Naples</i>	Sixtus Reisinger of Strazburg.
1471.	<i>Pavia</i>	Anton de Carcano.
1471.	<i>Florence</i>	Bernard Cennini and Son.
1472.	<i>Cremona</i>	D. de Paravisino and S. de Merlinis.
1472.	<i>Fivizano</i>	Jam Baptista (a priest) and Alexander.
1472.	<i>Padua</i>	B. de Valdezochio and M. de S. Arboribus.
1472.	<i>Mantua</i>	Petrus Adam de Michaelibus.
1472.	<i>Montreal (Sicily)</i>	Ant. Mathias and Balth. Corderius.
1472.	<i>Jesi</i>	Fridericus Veronensis.
1472.	<i>Munster (in Argua)</i>	Helias Heyle, or de Louffen.
1472.	<i>Parma</i>	Andreas Portiglia.

* Santander gives this List from their earliest known works.

1473.	<i>Messina</i>	Henricus Alding.
1473.	<i>Brescia</i>	Thomas Ferrandus.
1473.	<i>Ulm</i>	Joan Zainer, of Reutlingen.
1473.	<i>Buda</i>	Andreas Hess.
1473.	<i>Langingen</i>	Printer's name not known.
1473.	<i>Merseburg</i>	Lucas Brandis.
1473.	<i>Alost</i>	Theodoricus (or Thierry) Martens.
1473.	<i>Utrecht</i>	Nicholas Ketelaer and Ger. de Leempt.
1473.	<i>Lyons</i>	Bartholomeus Buyer.
1473.	<i>St. Ursio (near Vicenza)</i>	Joannes de Rheno.
1474.	<i>Vicenza</i>	Leonardus Achates of Basle.
1474.	<i>Como</i>	Ambr. de Orcho and Dion. de Paravicino.
1474.	<i>Turin</i>	John Fabri and Joanninus de Petro.
1474.	<i>Genoa</i>	Matthias Moranus and Mic. de Monacho.
1474.	<i>Savona</i>	John Bon (Bonus Johannes).
1474.	<i>Eslingen</i>	Conradus Fyner.
1474.	<i>Basle</i>	Bernardus Richel and Bertholdus Rodt.
1474.	<i>Vallis Sanctæ Mariae*</i>	Fratres Vitæ Communis.
1474.	<i>Valencia</i>	A. F. de Cordova and L. Palmart.
1474.	<i>Louvain</i>	Joannes de Westphalia.
1474.	<i>Westminster</i>	William Caxton.

* Santander conjectures this place to be Marihausen, a convent of the Brethren of Common Life, situated on the Rheingau, a territory belonging to Mayence. This Order was instituted by Gerard the Great, under the rule of St. Augustine; they were bound to transcribe the works of the Fathers and other ecclesiastical authors; but when Printing deprived them of their means of subsistence, they applied themselves to the practice of that Art.—*From Johnson's Typographia.*

SYNOPSIS

of Characters and Combinations used in 'The Game of Chesse.'

a	a	á	æ	œ	å	œ
b	ba	þe	þo			
c	ç	ca	æ	á	ø	er
d	da	de	ðø	ð		
e	ê	en	er	æ		
f	ff	fa	fe	fi	fo	fu
g	g					
h	h	ha	þe	þo		
i	ï	m	ï			
j						
k	k					
l	ll	ff	la	le	lk	lo
m						
n	ñ					
o	oz	ö	ö			
p	pp	pa	pe	po		
q						
r	z	m	re	ü	w	u
s	ff	s	s	þ		
t	ta	te	þh	ü	wo	u
u	û					
v	þa	þe	þo			
þ	þa	þe	þo			
y	x					
ý	z	æ	ç	ý		

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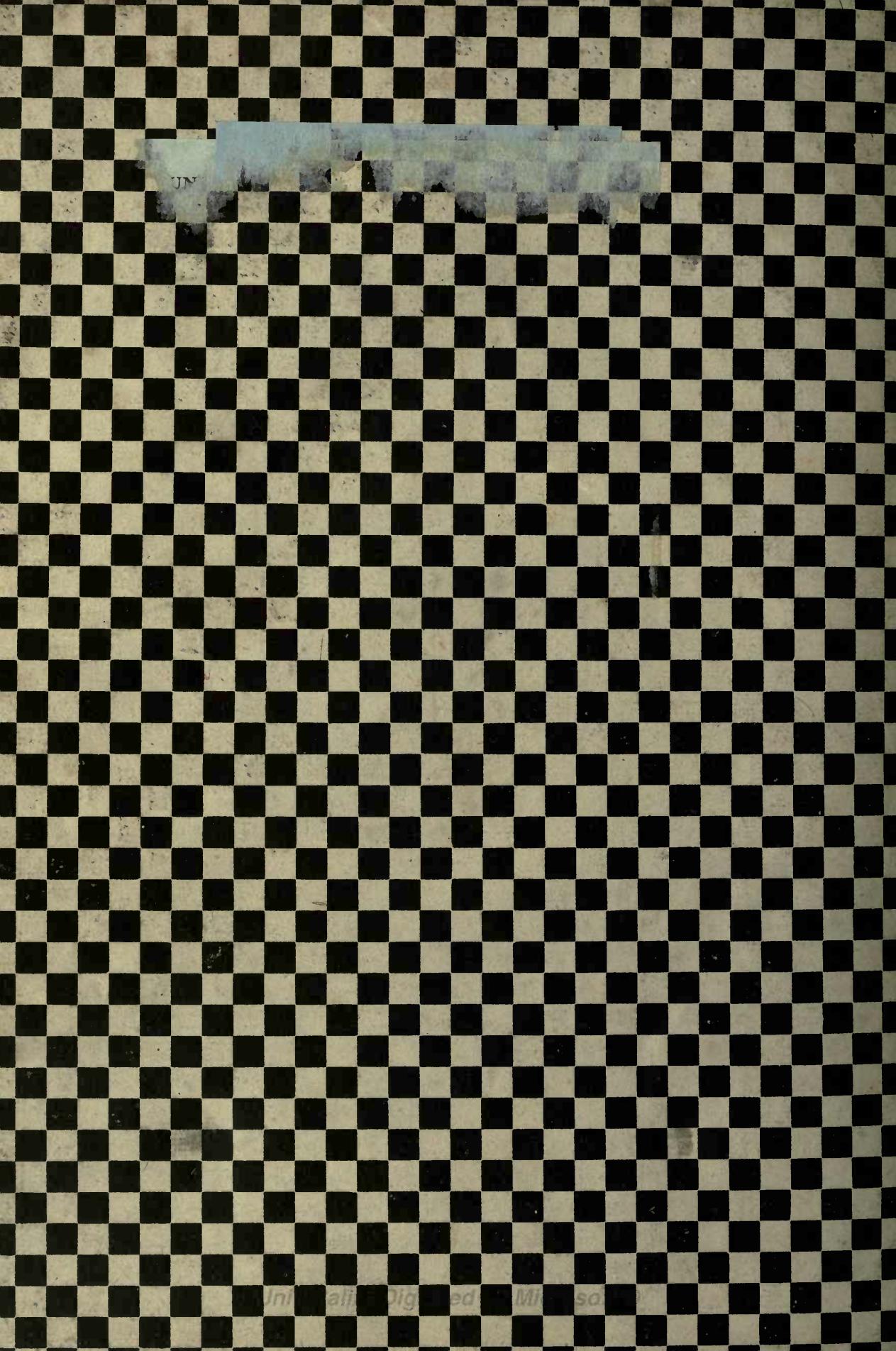
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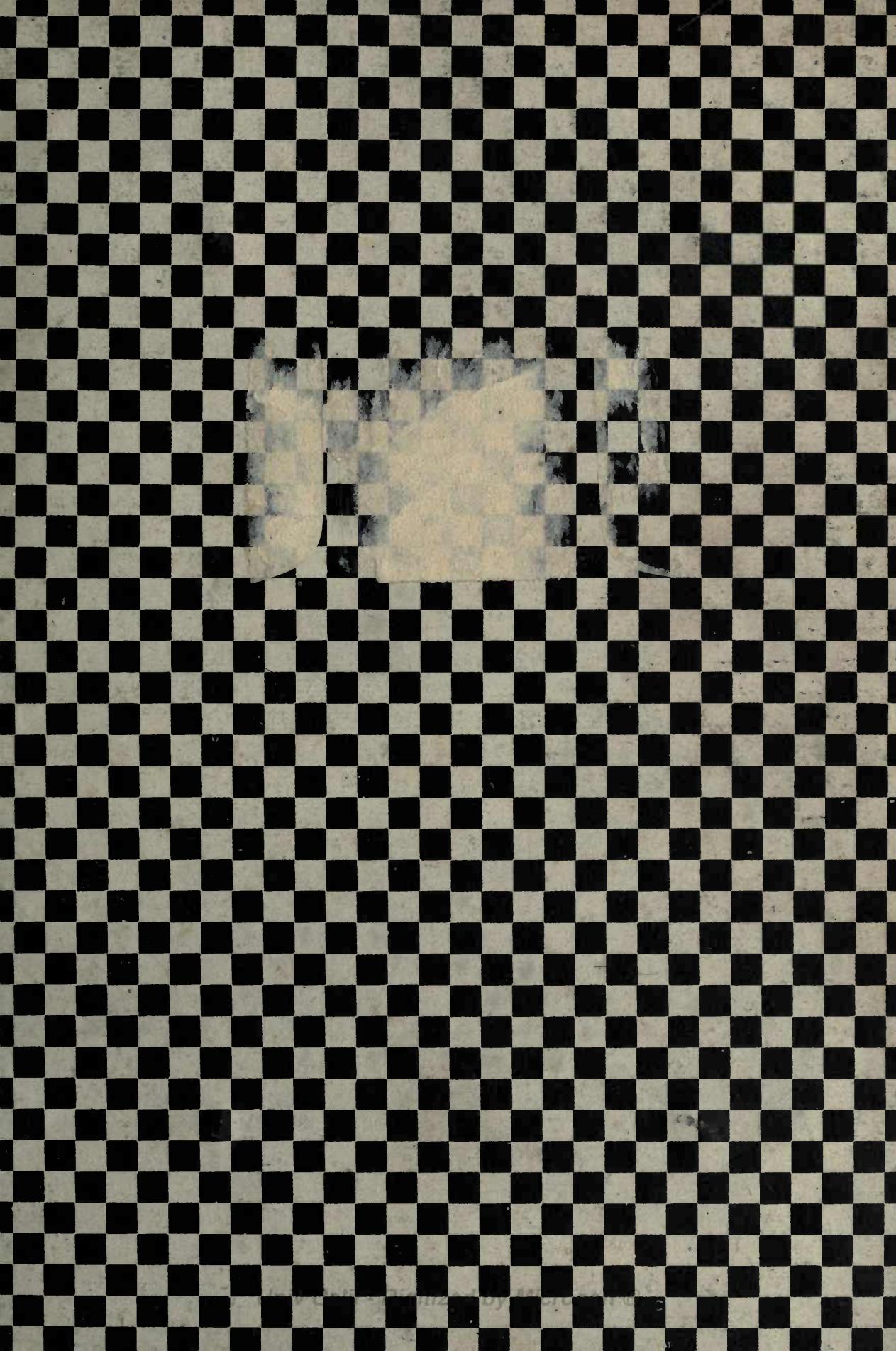
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