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Henry Taylor  
1919



The Game of the Chess,

by

William Caxton.

LONDON: 1477.

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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

The forme of a kyng of his maners and estate ca	j
The fourme & maners of a quene ca .	ij
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The ordre of chyualrye or knyghthode her offyces and maners capitulo	iiij
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### The thirde traytē

The offices & maners of labourers Capitulo	j
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#### The fourth traytynge

Of the chesse borde in genere how it is made capitulo	j
The draught of the kyng and how he meueth hym in the eschequer capitulo	ii
Of the moeuyng of the quene and how she yssueth out of her place capitulo	iii
Of the yssue of the Alphyns capitulo	iv
Of the meuuyng of the knyghtes capitulo	5
Of thyssue of the wokis & of her progresse capitulo	v
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

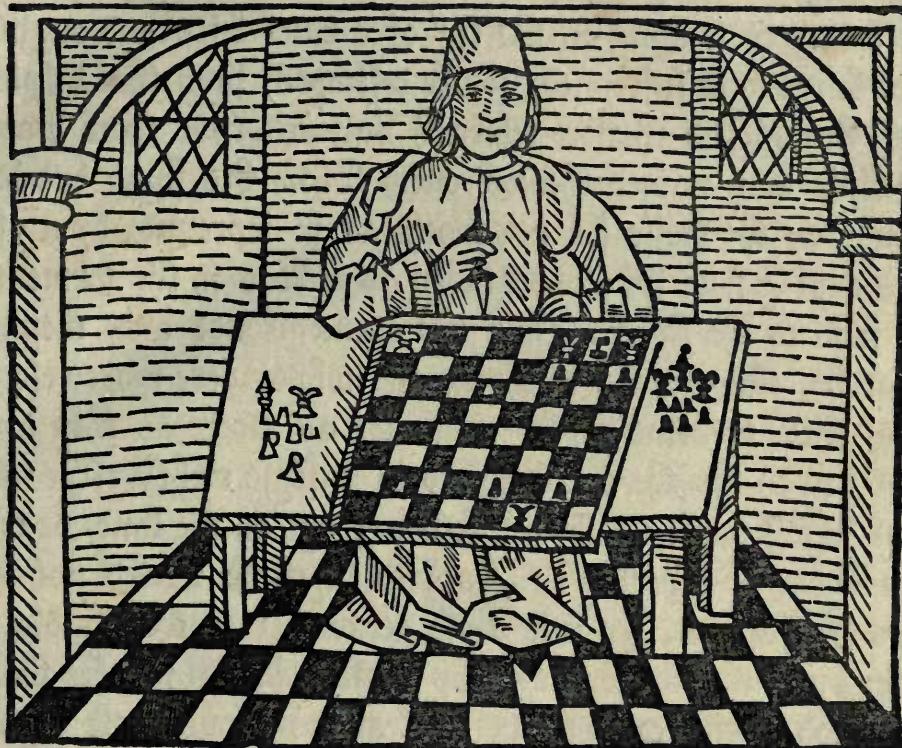


Monge alle the euyl condicions & signes that may  
a be in a man the first and the grettest is. Whan he fe-  
reth not ne dredeth to displesē & make wroth god by synne  
& the peple by kyngyn disordonatly / Whan he retcheth not.  
nor taketh hede vnto them that repreue hym and his by-  
ces, But sleeth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

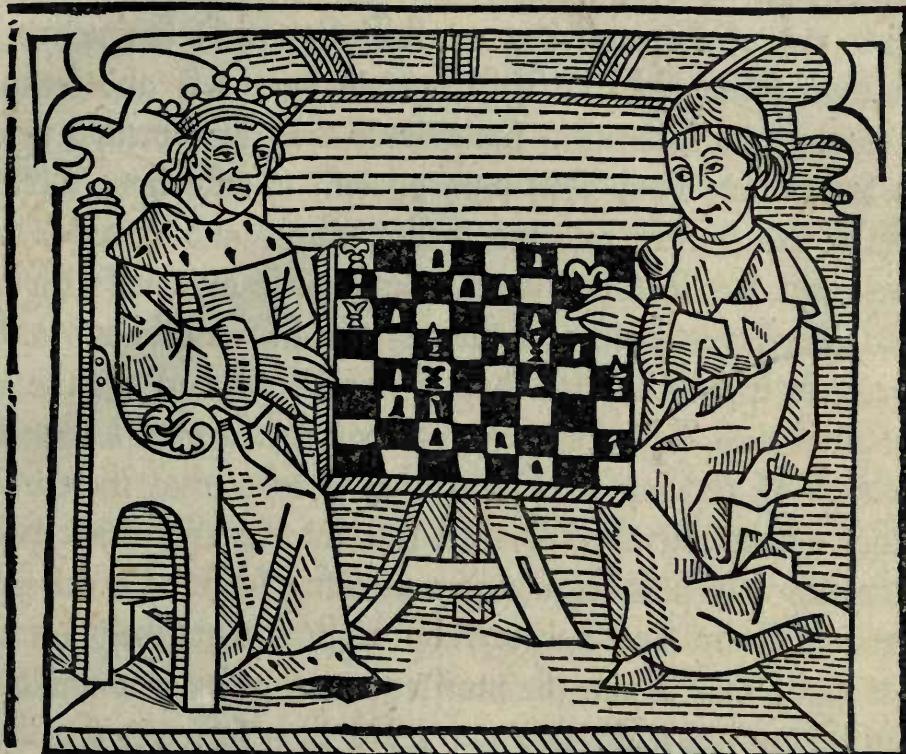
Capitulo ii



His playe fonde a phylosopher of thoygent Whiche  
Was named in caldee Eyerces or in greke phileme-  
tor whiche 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 otherWyse / 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 . And 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 and  
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 firſt 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 other & 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 and 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  
somtyme a litel 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 bodesye  
sight enpesseth and letteth otherwhyle the knowbleche of  
subtyl thynges . Therfore We rede that democrite the

philosopher put out his o<sup>W</sup>en 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<sup>o</sup>W Bel  
that he sa<sup>W</sup>e 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<sup>W</sup>e  
not . and he ans<sup>W</sup>erd , 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<sup>W</sup>erd 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 answarden &  
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 therinne 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  
appd 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 appd or requyred of hym . he holdyn  
in no Wyse doon . Thenne the phylosopher requyred hym  
to destroye the cyte whan Alixandre Understood his desyre  
& 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 lordy sholdy not  
swere . But whare as is grete nede / andy 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 namedy therile a Werkman in metalle ,  
that maad a boole of copprie and a lityl Wyket on the syde  
therby men myght put in them that sholdy be brent therin  
And hit was maad in suche manere . that they that  
sholdy be put andy enclosyd therin sholdy crye no thyng  
lyke to the boys of a man but of an oxe .

Andy thys maad he by cause men sholdy 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 chaste reherceth Valerius an exâple  
& saith that ther Was a man of ryme Whiche Was named  
Scipio affrica for as moche as he had conquerid affrique hoo  
Wel that he Was of ryme born. Whan he Was of xxxijij yere  
of age he conquerid 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 when he was entred amonge many noble ladys he  
saw Lucrecia . And when 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 beseche the of pardon  
foryefnes 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 Iuste / 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 sonnes & 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 & sithen  
kyng of the Lombardis / and the two sisters toke chy  
kens and put hem under her armes neyt the flessh and  
bytwene her pappes / that of the herte and chauffyng the

fless<sup>B</sup> 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<sup>B</sup> she betrayed her cyte and sayd suche husbondy  
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 Byth a book 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 lasses & 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 poure diogenes Was more strong  
than alixandre / For Alixandre 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 poure / 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 therof / 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 cweiteþ no thyng/Balere refereþ  
that he is not riche that moche hath/but he is riche that hath  
kyl & cweyterþ 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 Juge·for  
ofte tymes loue Jugeth a fowle and lothly Woman to be  
sayz / And so refereþ 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 goodi councyl/and socrates saith that two  
thynges ben contrarious to councyl / & 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 yef .ne fauor of persone to  
ne not thy corage ·Helemondi refereþ 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 bold that the lawe shold be  
accomplished in his sone Byth out fauour . but al the cite  
Was meuyd hereByth andy bold 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 accomplished , We rede that there Was  
a cuncyflour of wome that hady gauen 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 mady  
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 hauberk &  
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 / alixandre 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 abyssay that fought ageynst the  
syryens and amonytes and were so trewe that one to that  
other that they synquysshed theyr enemys . 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 maynteyne 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 diner . 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 condicyon  
of a Wyldre beste and not the condicyon of a good knyght  
Therfore we rede that salla that was duc of the romayns  
With out had many fair victories agaynst the romayns &  
Withyn that were contrarye to hym in so moche that in the  
bataylle of pupille he slewe yviii thousand men . And in  
champayne lxx thousand / and after in the cyte he slewe  
thre thousand men bnaomed & whan one of his knyghtes  
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 propoſicion 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 there & 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 teuis 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  
stynge 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 conquerd the kyng 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 wrothypful and  
fittyng to a kyng to pardon as to punyſſe / Also he re  
herceth of a coundeyllour that was named poule that dyd  
do brynge tofore hym a man that was pryloner / And or  
he knelid tofore hym he tolke 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 ſtondyng by , in  
thyſ wyſe / yf hit be grete nobelleſſe that we ſhewe our ſelf  
contrarye to our enemys . than this ſete ought to be alo  
wed that we ſhewe our ſelf debonayr to our captiſſes and  
prylones / Cesar whan he had the deth of caſton whiche  
was his aduersarie ſayd that he had grete enuye of hys  
glorye , and no thyng of his patrymonye , and therfore  
he leſte to his chylđren frely al hys patrymonye / Thus  
taught Virgyle and enſeygneth the gloriouſ 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 proſe / For ſo  
enſeyne and teche the the laſtes , 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 thyng 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 houſe of the fabrians  
Also he reherceth in his ſeuenth booke 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 how that thou art ful of paryles of  
thoughte and of charge / yf thou were on the grounde /  
he woldy neuer lyfte nor take the þy / Remembre the that  
whan thou art moſt gloriouſ / thenne haue ſome men moſte  
enuye on the . And whan thou haſt moſt ſeignorye and  
lordshyp / 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 Victorye 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 tyrant 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 tyrant . 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/and i 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  
answred 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 gwose 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 otherwhyle 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 where as she is she wyl 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<sup>we</sup> of nature ought to be taken awa<sup>y</sup> and put a parte /  
And he sayth tofore in the viij distincion that the ryght  
la<sup>we</sup> of nature defferenceth ofte tyme fro custom & statu-  
tes establisshyd / For by la<sup>we</sup> of nature al thyng ought  
to be comyn to euery man / and thys la<sup>we</sup> was of olde ty-  
me, and men Bene yet specially that the twians kept this  
la<sup>we</sup> .and<sup>r</sup> 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<sup>w</sup>e hem and kepe the Wyful pouerte that  
they ben professyd to + For in trouth I haue my self ben  
conuersaunt in a religiouse ho<sup>us</sup>e of Whyt freres at gaunt  
Whiche haue al thyng in comyn amongh them .and<sup>r</sup> not  
one richer than another in so muche that yf a man gaf to  
a frere ij d<sup>r</sup> or iij d<sup>r</sup> to praye for hym in his masse / as  
sonc as the masse is don he deluyereth hit to his ouerest  
or procuratour in Whiche ho<sup>us</sup>e ben many vertuous and<sup>r</sup> de-  
uout freres / and<sup>r</sup> yf that lyf were not the best & the most  
holiest . holy chirche Wold never suffre hit in religion /  
And<sup>r</sup> 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 ordenaunce .Thys is myn . But I say to the certeynly that sythen  
this custome came forth to say this is myn . and<sup>r</sup> this is  
thyng . no man thought to preferre the comyn prouifft so

muche as his o<sup>n</sup>ne . 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 parvle 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 ordeynyd 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 appropryng 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 ouerly / 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 pletars 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 he wſ 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 piers 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  
alwayes be trouth . for saynt austyn sayth that they that  
vane 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 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 therere 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 foudene 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  
therewf , & 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 rehererath in the booke of the cryes of  
Women that auaryce is foundement of alle vices , And  
Valerian rehererath 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 Septenuille , for  
he Was a frenid of one named tarchus , & this Septenuille  
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 rome . and he  
bayed 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 rome 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 prover  
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 ordyne 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 senekayt 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 surgypens  
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 Wo-  
man Whiche Was comyn , and the yongh scolers and the  
Joly felawes that Were students promysegd to the Weman  
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 wmayns 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 waye 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 soner  
impreyson than the nature of men that be rude & stronge  
Valerian rehercith that a knyght of wme named istauros  
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 enquiered 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 spiccs for to en payre or encrcyng the Weyght for yf they so do they may better be calld 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 theiz 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 domage / ne in destruccrons 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 calld 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 hooke andi guanshe 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 Womman / 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 Womman. 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 enpesseth 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 mountayn 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 fonda drunken 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 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 unnaturel 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 byþ  
hym ben comyzed 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 therowf /  
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 coudē not gouerne two women / that was his wyf  
and his chaumberer / and shewyd hym that one wikkē go  
uerned wel x 3 hennes . he answerd to them that he was so  
ased + acustomed with 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 thīrd bryze shal neuer reioyse / & thyſ suffyſeth .

This eyght chappytre of the thīrd book treteth of rīaul-  
des . players of dyſe & of messagers and currours at viij



He rīauldes players at dyſe & the messagers & cur-  
tours ought to be ſette before the wok , for hit apper-  
teyneth to the wok whiche is bicayz of the kyng to haue  
men couenable for to renne here & there for tenquyze & es-  
pye the places & citees that myght be contrarie to the kyng

And thys w<sup>m</sup>b<sup>n</sup> 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<sup>t</sup> . 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

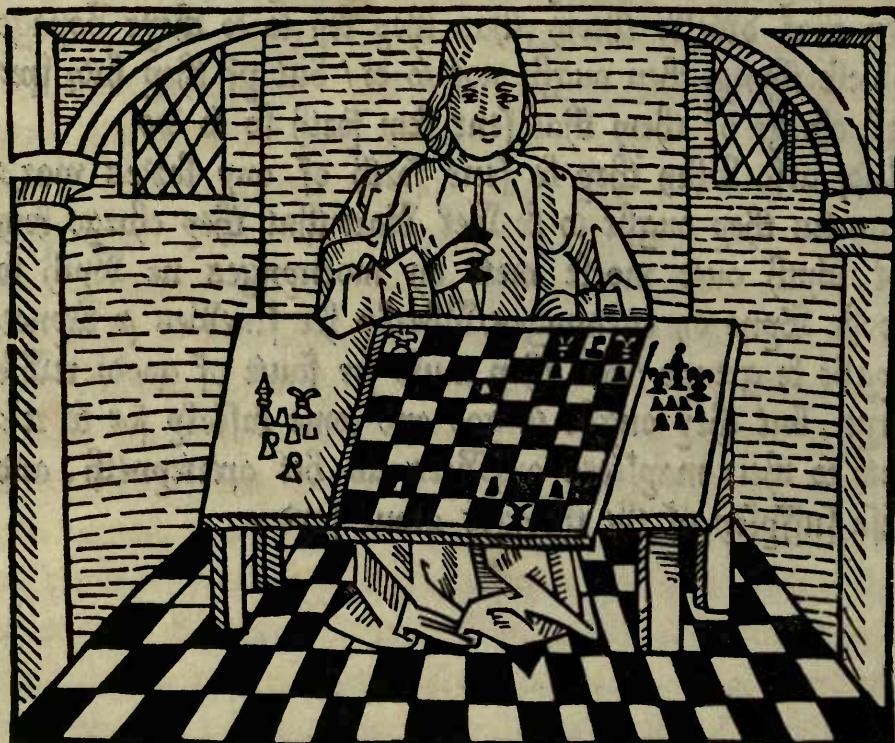
ought to kepe in his hand in dispendyng his oþne goodes  
tofore he see that he dispende other mennys / and he ought  
not to be holden for a good man .that hath litil renomee  
andþ spendeth many thynges , and I twowe that suche per-  
sones woldy gladly make noueltees as for to noye andþ  
greue seignories 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  
Wyld a lyght down 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 folowingynge . 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 Upon the prophesie of ysaye / that is to Wete  
Upon a mounteyn of obsurete . Whiche Wordes Were sayd  
of babylone Whiche standeth in caldee / & no thyng of that  
babylone that stondeth in egypt . for it is so that babilone  
Whiche stondeth 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 Wete that lombarde mylis and engliss<sup>h</sup> 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<sup>h</sup> / 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 thyrd  
Wherfore 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 stondeth  
on the right side and is bycayr of the kyng What may he  
doo yf the labourerz 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 wherre 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 theiur 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 rook in black / and on the left side the iij  
harden 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 alphynts 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 i n iij . Whiche ioyned  
to gider maketh vj / Which is the first parfit nombre + and  
signefieth in this place vj 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 ellis 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 iij  
maners first on the right side tofore the alphyn . secondly  
on the lft side wher the knyght is . & thirdey 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 tartaris 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 shē 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 Inconty-  
nence & dyffame of other , and ouyde sayth that there ben  
some that hōl̄ 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 book of the issuyng  
of the alphyn capitulō



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 phisiacion / 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 thyrde poynct to  
the thyrde poynct , 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 / &  
thyrdly 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 fift he chappytre of the fourth tractate of the meuyng  
of the knyghtes capitulo quinto



After the issue of the alþyns We shal deuyse to you  
a the yssue and the moeuyng of the knyghtes / and  
We say that the knyght on the ryght syde is Whyt . and on  
the lfft syde black . & the yssue & moeuyng of hem bothe is  
in one maner Whan so is that the knyght on the ryght syde  
is Whyt / the lfft knyght is black / the moeuyng of hem is  
suche . that the Whyt may goo in to the space of the alþyn  
as hit apperyth of the knyght on the ryght syde that  
is Whyt . And hath thre yssues from his propre place /  
one on his ryght syde in the place wofore the labouzer .

l j

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:  
t caprs 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 Bycaprs 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 ,

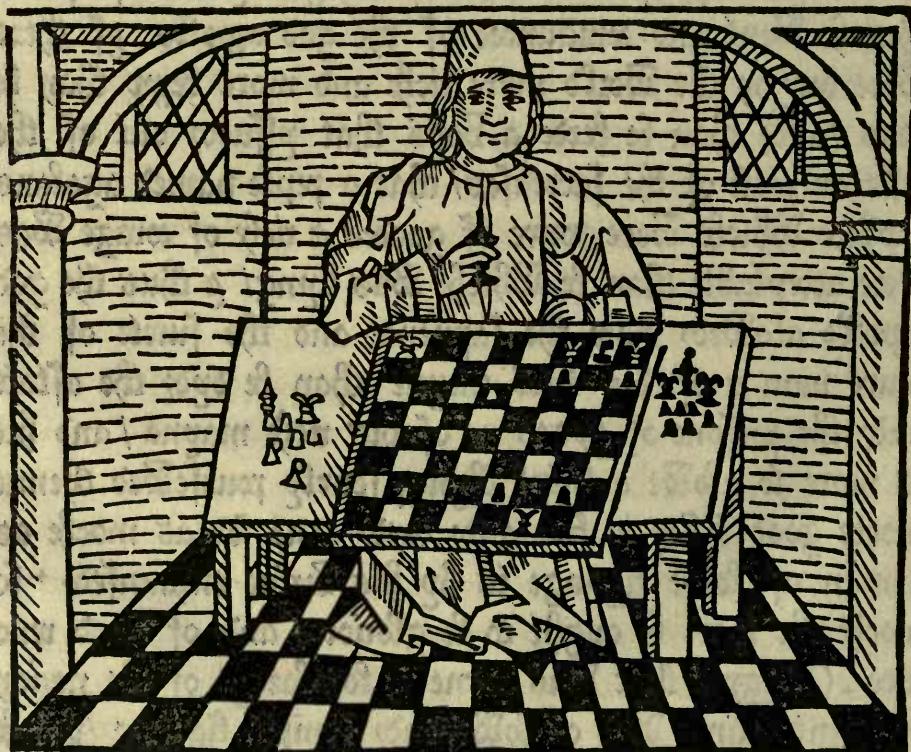
l ij

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 pauntyne 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 & felonyn 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 sauе 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.

119  
and the first stage can dominate in the  
initial period. In addition to the initial  
stage, there is a second stage of the model which  
is characterized by a long-term or static of  
the system. This second stage is reached when  
the system has enough time to adjust to the new  
environment. In this stage, the system's behavior  
will be determined by the new environment. This  
second stage is also known as the steady state.  
The steady state is reached when the system's  
behavior no longer changes significantly over  
time. This means that the system has adapted  
to its new environment and is no longer  
subject to external influences. The steady state  
is often reached after a period of time, during  
which the system undergoes significant changes  
in its behavior. These changes may be gradual  
or sudden, depending on the nature of the  
environmental change. Once the system reaches  
the steady state, it will continue to function  
in a stable manner, without significant  
changes in its behavior. The steady state is  
an important concept in systems theory, as it  
provides a way to understand how systems  
adapt to their environment and maintain  
their stability over time.





# REMARKS.

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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 sh<sup>1</sup>; 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.<sup>2</sup> 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 y<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>4</sup> 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 h<sup>5</sup> 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,<sup>6</sup> which I do not find in any other place in the book.

The ll<sup>7</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup>    <sup>2</sup>    <sup>3</sup>    <sup>4</sup>    <sup>5</sup>    <sup>6</sup>     <sup>7</sup> 

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.	1481	
K. L.	C. 21. d.		
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.\**

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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>Spirre</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 Tribute TO THE MEMORY OF WILLIAM CAXTON.

JUST PUBLISHED,

*Price Two Guineas, suitably bound in calf; bound in morocco, with silver clasps and bosses, in the style of the period, Three Guineas.*

A REPRODUCTION OF THE FIRST WORK PRINTED IN ENGLAND,

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FREQUENTLY as we read of the works of Caxton, and the early English Printers, and of their Black Letter Books, very few persons have ever had the opportunity of seeing any of these productions, and forming a proper estimate of the ingenuity and skill of those who first practiced the "Noble Art of Printing."

This reproduction of the first work printed by Caxton at Westminster, containing 23 woodcuts, is intended, in some measure, to supply this deficiency, and bring the present age into somewhat greater intimacy with the *Father of English Printers*. And as the profit which may be realised is to be devoted to the endowment of THE PRINTERS' ALMSHOUSES, at Wood Green, Tottenham, it is hoped that the perpetuation of Caxton's Work may be made the means of raising a tribute to his memory, by providing for the maintenance and comfort of a few of his disciples in the decline of life.

The Type has been carefully imitated, and the cuts traced from the copy in the British Museum. The Paper has also been made expressly, as near as possible like the original; and the Book will be accompanied by a few remarks of a practical nature, which have been suggested during the progress of the fount, and the necessary study and comparison of Caxton's Works with those of his contemporaries in Germany, by Mr. VINCENT FIGGINS.

PUBLISHED BY VINCENT & JAMES FIGGINS, TYPE FOUNDERS, 17 & 18, WEST STREET, SMITHFIELD, LONDON.

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\* \* \* The punches and matrices, and the fount of type—cut and cast expressly for this work—and all personal attention for its production, being supplied gratuitously by V. & J. Figgins, they think they may with confidence ask the Booksellers to relinquish the usual trade allowance upon the limited sale expected for a work of this character, so that the full benefit of the public patronage may be available for the Printers' Almshouses.

LARGER SUBSCRIPTIONS THAN THE PRICE OF THE BOOK WILL BE CARRIED TO THE CREDIT OF THE CHARITY  
IN FULL AS LIFE SUBSCRIPTIONS.



# The Printers' Almshouses, AT WOOD GREEN, TOTTENHAM.

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THE Subscriptions for raising these Almshouses were commenced in the year 1841, and the foundation stone was laid under the auspices of the present Earl Stanhope, on the 11th of June, 1849.

The first two Rules of the Charity sufficiently express its objects and intentions :—

- “I. The object of this Fund is to raise by Subscriptions and Donations a sufficient sum of money to insure the erection and endowment of an Asylum, and the Society shall be entitled ‘The Printers’ Almshouse Fund.’
- “II. All persons who have been employed in a Printing Office, either as Compositors or Pressmen (having served seven years’ apprenticeship, or entitled by patrimony), and Warehousemen, Machinists, Stereotype Founders, and Pickers (having worked seven years in one Printing Office or entitled by apprenticeship or patrimony as aforesaid), who have been subscribers, or their widows, shall be eligible to receive the benefits of this Society.”

This charity, emanating from the body of the working printers, and brought to its present position almost entirely by their own contributions, is now retarded in its usefulness by the want of immediate funds for its completion.

Since the commencement of Subscriptions the sum of £3,000 has been expended in the purchase of land and the erection of Houses to accommodate twelve inmates—and in payment of some unavoidable Law expenses—but there is still a considerable sum required to provide for past engagements, for enclosing the Premises, and supplying the houses with water. As also for endowing the inmates with small Annuities, without which the Charity would be scarcely available for the superannuated workmen it is intended to benefit.

The Promoters and Friends of the Charity are still making their best efforts to raise Funds; but without external aid, it is feared that the much desired installation of some of the proposed inmates, will not be accomplished during the approaching summer. An appeal is therefore made for assistance to all those who benefit by the Art of Printing; and as this is without doubt an appeal to mankind at large, it is confidently hoped it will not be without success.

Subscriptions will be thankfully received by the

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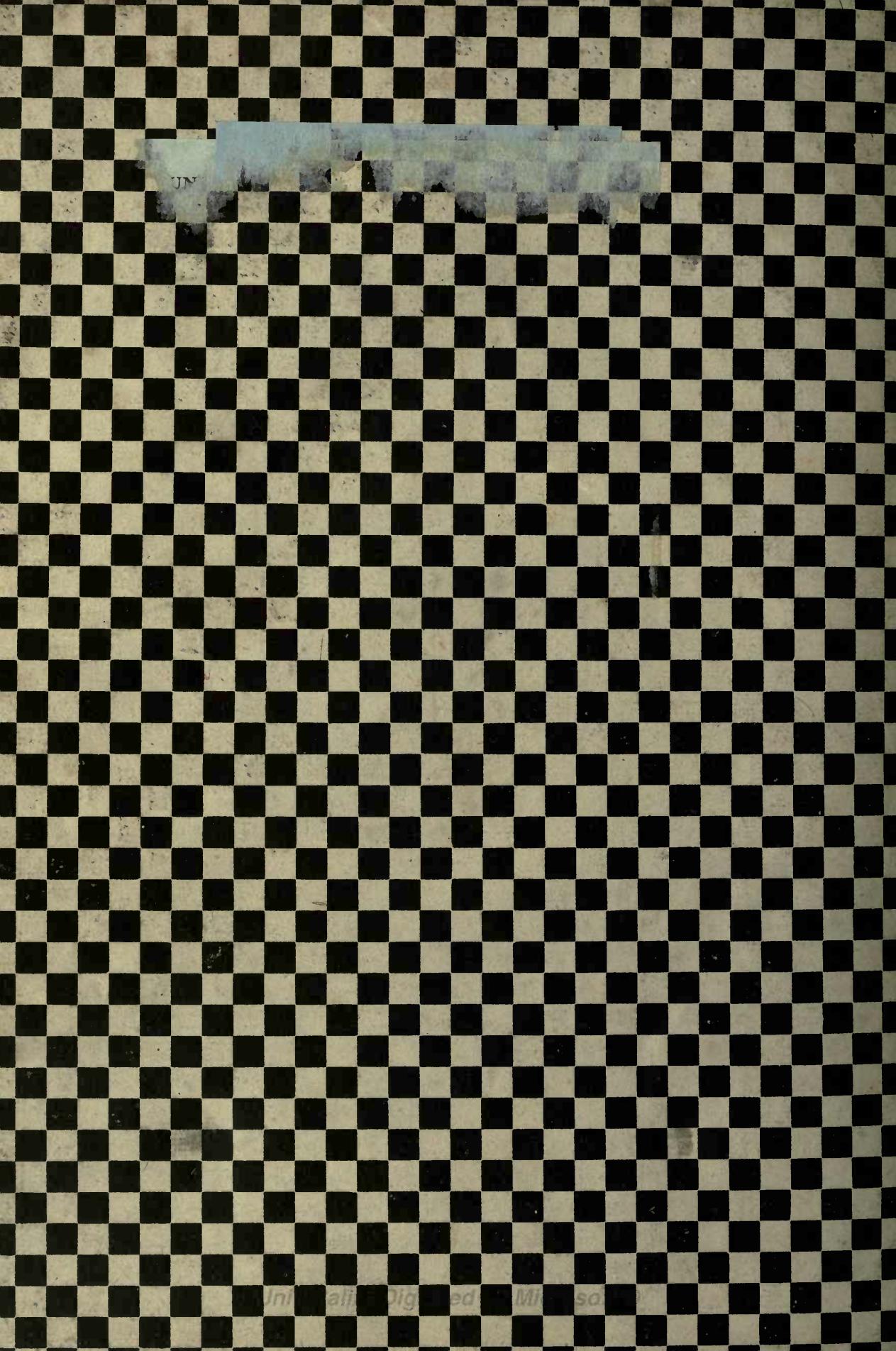
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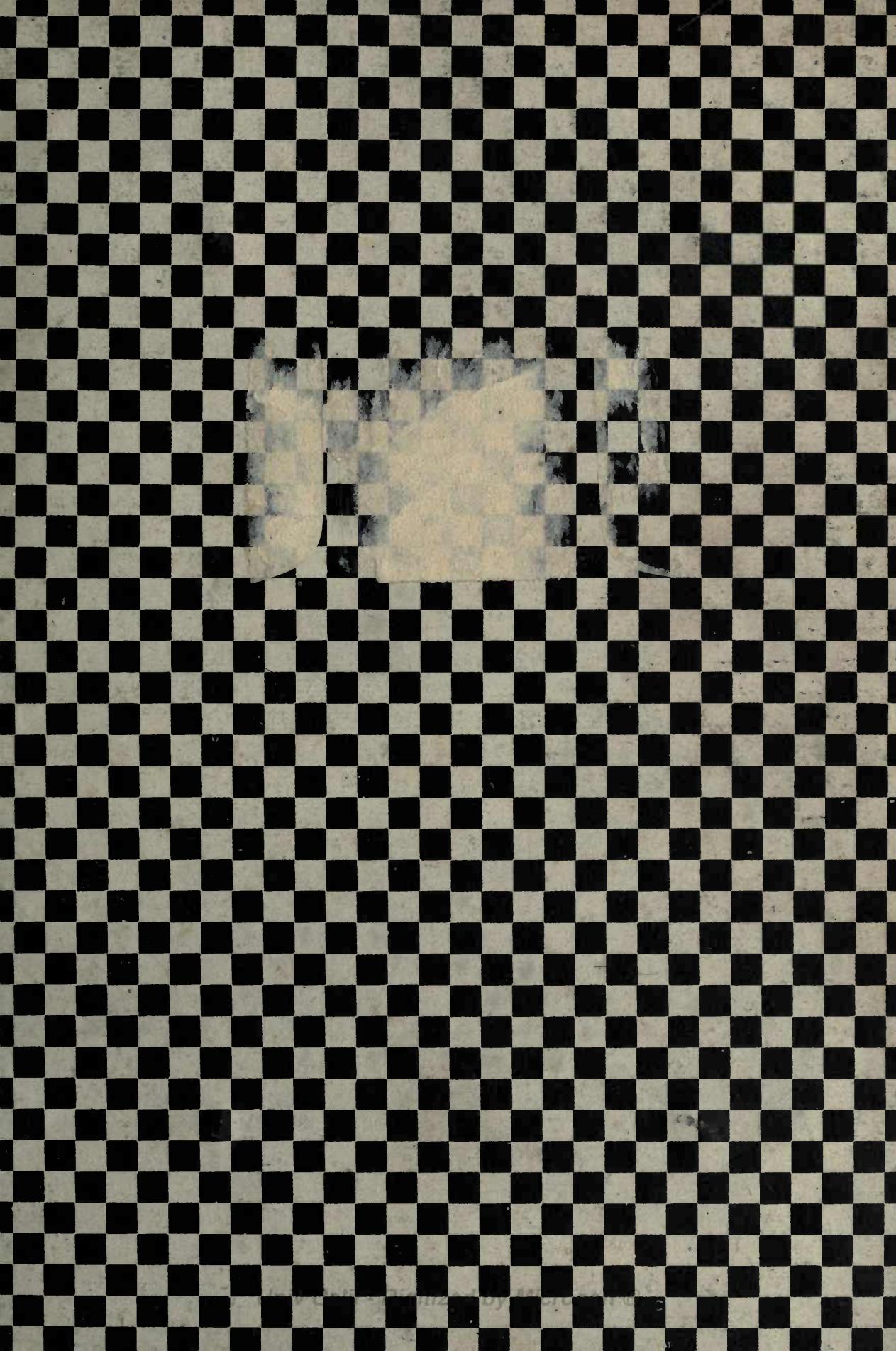












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