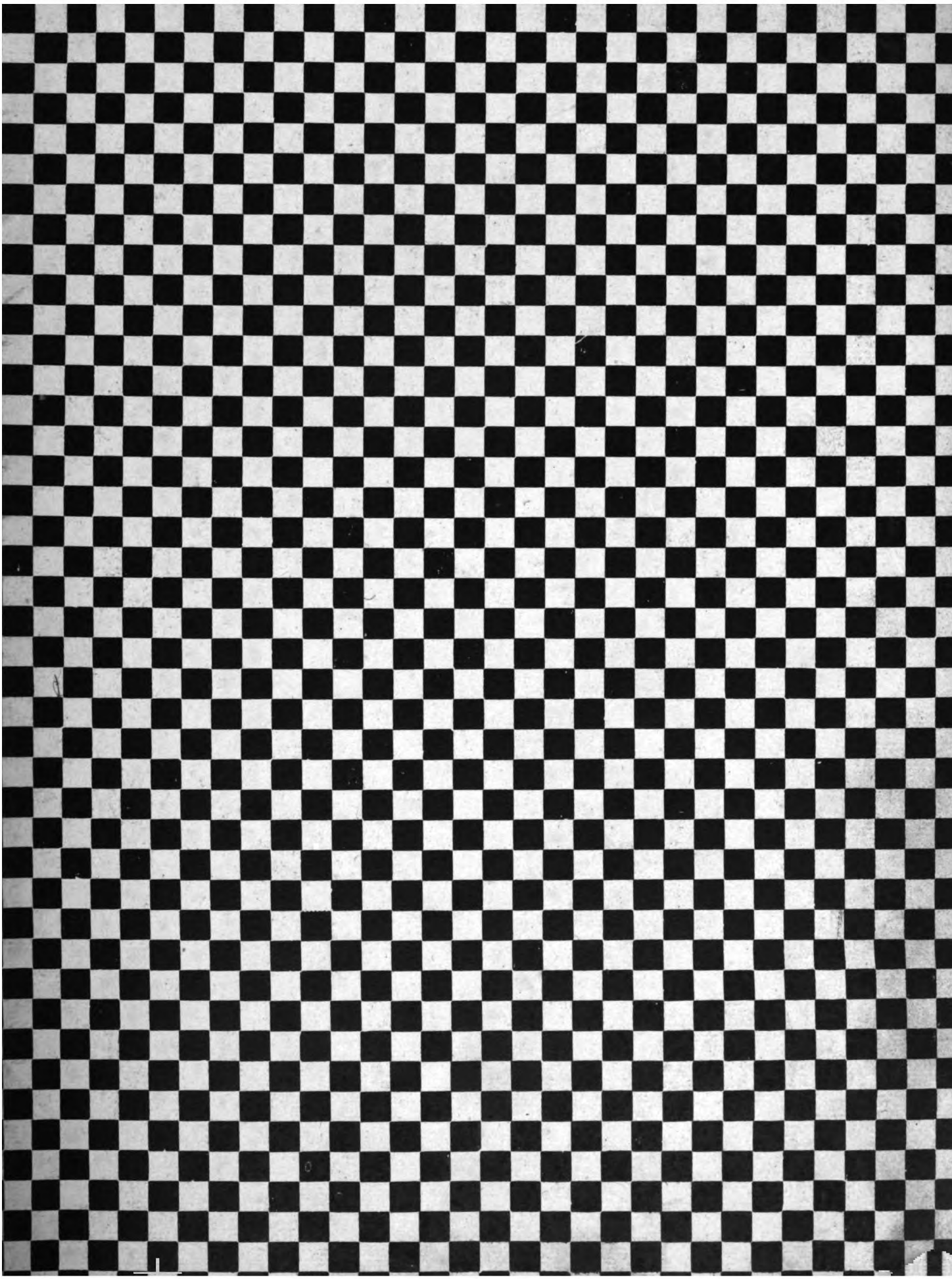
The Game of the Chess.



The Game of the Chesse,

by

William Caxton.

The original by Caxton has no Title page, or Date.

The holy apostle and doctour of the peple saynt
t Poule sayth in his epystle. Alle that is Wryten
is Wryten Vnto our doctryne and for our lerynyng. Wherfore many noble clerkes haue endeuoyred them to Wryte and compyle many notable Werkes and historyes to the ende that it mygbt come to the knoWlege and Vnderstondyng of suche as ben ygnoraunt. Of Which the nombre is infenyte/And acordyng to the same saith Salamon. that the nombre of foles. is infenyte, And emong alle other good Werkys. It is a Werke of rygbt special recomendacion to enforme and to late Vnderstonde Wysedom and Vertue Vnto them that be not leznyd ne can not dyscerne Wysedom fro folye. Thene emonge Whom there Was an excellent doctour of dyuynyte in the royame of fraunce of the ordre of thospytal of Saynt Johns of Jherusalem Whiche entended the same and hath made a book of the chesse moralysed. 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 englisshe/ And in eschewyng of ydlenes And to thende that some Which haue not seen it/ne Vnderstonde frensh ne latyn. I delibered in myself to translate it in to our maternal tonge/ And Whan I so had achyeued the sayd translacion, I dyde doo sette in enprynte a certeyn nombre of theym, Whiche anone Were depesshed and solde. Wherfore by cause thys sayd book is ful of holsom Wysedom and requysyte Vnto euery 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 comprysed / besechyng al them that this litel Werke shal see / here / or rede to haue me for excused for the rude & symple makyng and reducyn in to our englysshe / And Where as is defaute to correcte and amende / and in so doyng they shal deserue merite and thanke / and I shal pray for them / that god of his grete mercy shal reWarde them in his euerlastyng blysse in heuen / to the Whiche he bryngе Vs / that Wyth his precious blood redemed Vs Amen

This book is deuyded and departed in to four traytyes and partyes.

The first traytye

The second traytye

The third traytye

The fourth traytye

This first chapitre of the first tractate sheweth vnder what kyng the playe of the chesse was founden and maade. Capitulo primo

Monge alle the euyl condicions & signes that may be in a man the first and the grettest is. Whan he feareth not ne dredeth to displese & make wroth god by synne & the peple by lyuyng disordonatly / Whan he retcheth not nor taketh hede vnto them that repreue hym and his vyces / But sleeth them. In suche wyse as did the emperour nero. Whiche did do slee his mayster seneque / for as moche as he myght not suffre to be repreuyd & taught of hym. in like wise was sotyme a kyng in babilon that was named

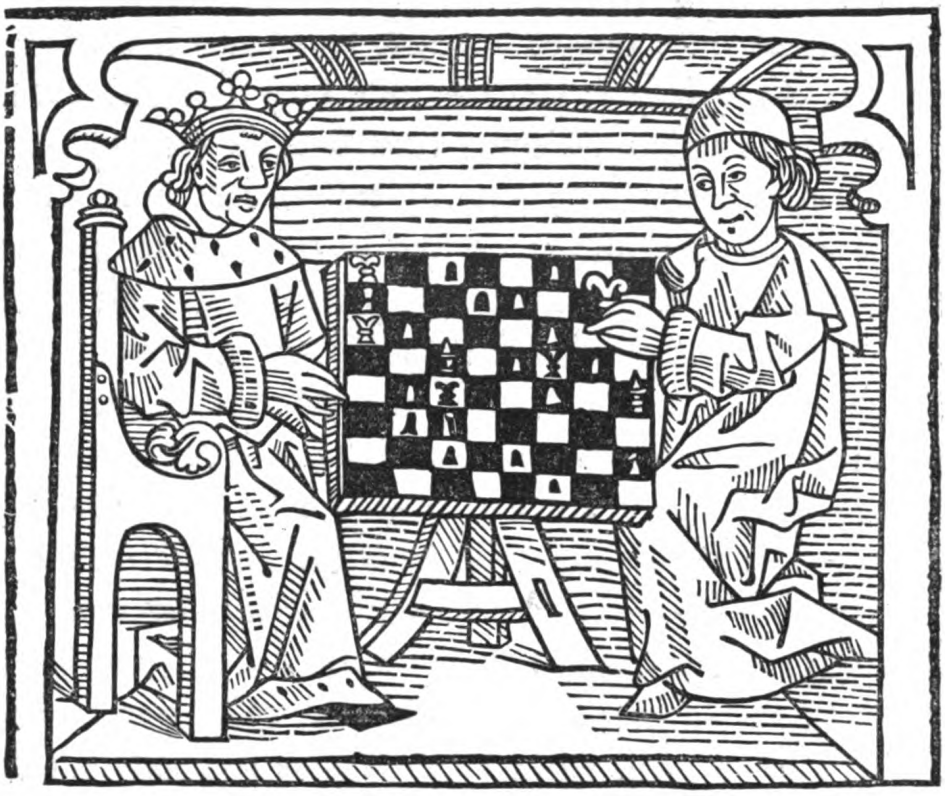
Enylmerodach a Jolye man Without Justyse and so cru:
el that he did do hewe his faders body in thre hondred pieces
and gaf hit to ete and deuoure to thre hondred byrdes that
men calle Voultres / And Was of suche condicion as Was
Nerw / And right Wel resemblid and Was lyke Vnto his
fader Nabugodonosor · Whiche on a tyme Wold do slee all
the sage and Wise men of babilone · For as moche as they
coude not telle hym his dreme that he hadn dremydn on a
nyght and had forgoten hit like as hit is Wreton in the
byble in the book of danyel· Under this kyng thene Enyl
merodach Was this game and playe of the chesse founden ·
Trewe it is that some men Wene/that this play Was foū
den in the tyme of the bataylles 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 renomedn playe a
monge al other playes · And after that cam this playe
in the tyme of alixandre the grete in to egypt and so Vnto
alle the parties toward the south · And the cause Wherfore
this playe Was so renomed shal be sayd in the iij chepitre/

This chappytre of the first tractate sheWyth Who fondy first the playe of the Chesse. Capitulo ij

His playe fonde a phylosopher of thozyent Whyche t Was named in caldee Eyerses or in greke philemetoz Which is as moche to say in englisshe as he that louyth Justyce and mesure / And this philosopher Was renomed gretly among the grekes andy them of Athenes Whyche Were good clerkys and phylosophers also renomed of theiz connyng / This philosopher Was so Just and treWe that he had leuer dye / than to lyue longy and he a fals flatezer With the saydy kyng / Foz Whan he beheld the foul & synful lyf of the kyng · And that no may 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 & chees rather to dye than lenger to lyue. The euyl lyf and diffamed of a kyng is the lyf of a cruel beste. and ought not longe to be sustenyned, for he destroyeth hym that disple sith him. And therfore reherceth Valerius. that there Was a Wyse man named theodore erem 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 counceyllours and theym that ben clad in thy clothyng and robys Were more reson that this torment shold come, for as moche as they dar not say to the the trouth for to do Justyse right Wyslye, of my self I make no force Whether I dye on the lond or on the Water or otherWyse, As Who sayth he retched 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 and Vicious peple Wyth out right, And also deforres the philosophre as he Went toWard his deth. His Wyf that foloWed after hym sayd that he Was dampned to deth Wrongfully. thene he answerd and sayd to her. holde thy pees and be stylle, hit is better and more meritorye to dye by a Wrong & Unrightful Ju: gement, than that I had deserued to dye.

The thyrd chapitre of the first tractate treteth Wherfore the playe Was founden and maad Capitulo iij



He causes Wherfore this playe Was founden ley iij

t. The first Was for to correcte and zepreue the kyng for Whan this kyng enylmewdach saWe this playe / And the lawns · knyghtes and gentilmen of his court playe Wyth the phylosopher / he merueylled gretly of the beaulte and noueltee of the playe . And desired to playe agaynst the philosopher / The philosopher 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 / Than the phylosopher began to

teche hym/ and 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 theyr offyces and hoW they shold be touchyd & drawen, And hoW he shold amende hym self and become vertuous, and When this kyng herde that he repreuyd hym he demaunded hym Vpon payn of deth to telle hym Wherefore 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 endoctrined and Wel manerdy and that had.so mayst thou be belouyd of thy peple. Thus than I desire that thou haue other gouernement thene thou hast hadyn .& that thou haue Vpon thy self fizst seignourie & maistrie suche as thou hast Vpon other by force and not by right, Certeynly hit is not right that a man be maister ouer other & comaundour Whe he can not rewle nor may rewle hym self and that his vertues domyne aboue his Vyces, for seignourie by force and Wylle 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 correcciouzs or correctours and her correccions to holde and kepe in mynde. In like Wyse as Valerius reherceth that the kyng alixandre hadyn a noble and renomed knyght that sayd in repreuyngh 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 Worldy coude not holde the. for thou holdest in thy right honde al the orye ent, and in thy lifte honde the occident. sith than hit is so or thou art a god or a man or nought. 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 shalt dye. and than thou shalt doo noon euyl, yf thou be nought forgete thy self. There is no thyng so stronge and ferme. but that sumtyme a feble thyng casteth doun and ouerthrowe hit. How Wel that the lyon be the strengest beest, yet somtyme a lityl byrde eteth hym. The second cause Wherfore this playe Was founden and maad. Was for to kepe hym from ydlenesse. Whereof seneque sayth Vnto lucylle ydlenes Without ony occupacion is sepulture of a man lyuyng. and Varro 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 philosopher fond this playe for to kepe the peple from ydlenes. for there is moche peple Whan so is that they be fortunat in Worldly goodes that they drawe them to ease & ydlenes Whereof comyth ofte tymes many euylls and grete synnes. and by this ydlenes the herte is quenchyd Whereof comyth good desperacion. The thyrd cause is that euery man naturelly desireth to knowe and here noueltees and tydynges. for this cause they of Athenes studyed as We rede, and for as the corporal or bodelye sight expesseth and letteth other Whyle the knowleche of subtyl thynges. Therfore We rede that democrite the

philosopher put out his owen eyen, For as moche as he myght haue the better entendement and vnderstondyng. many haue ben made blynde that were grete clerkis in like wyse as was didimus bysshop of alixandrie. that how wel that he sawe not. yet he was so grete a clerke/that gregore nazaz and saynt Jerome 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 & sawe not. and he answerd, that he was gretly abasshyd for that he suposid not that he was not displeasidy in that he hady lost his sight, and saynt anthonye answerd to hym I merualle moche that hit displesith the that thou hast lost that thyng which is comyn betwene the and bestes. and thou knowest wel that thou hast not lost that thyng that is comyn betwene the and the aungellis, And for thise causes forsayd the phylosopher entended to put away al pensifnes andy thoughtes. and to thynke onely on this playe as shal be sayd and appere in this/book after.

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

The kynge must be thus maad .for he must sytte t in a chayer clothyd in purpure/crowned on his heed in his right hond a septre and in the lift honde an apple of golde/ for he is the most grettest and hyest in dygnyte aboue al other and most worthy, And that is signyfyed by the crowne .for the glorie of the peple is the dygnyte of the kyng /and aboue al other the kyng ought to be re-plenyssed with vertues and of grace .and this signyfieth the purpure, For in like wyse as the robes of purpure maketh fayr and enbelissheth the body. the same wyse vertues

makyth the soWle / he ought alWey thynk on the gouerne
ment of the wyame & Who hath thadmynystracion of Jus=
tyce / and this shold he by hym self prynápally / This sig=
nefyeth the apel of golde that he holdeth in his lift honde/
and for as moche as it apertyneth Vnto hym to punysshe
the rebelles hath he the septre in his right hond . And for
as moche as myserícorde and trouth consezue and kepe the
kyng in his trone / Therfore ought a kyng to be merciful
and debonayr · for Whey a kyng or prynce desireth or Wyl
be beloyd of his peple lete hym be gouerned by debonayrte
And Valerius saith that deboneyrte percyth the hertes of
straungers / and amolisshetb and makyth softe the hertes
of his enemyes. Whewf he rehezáth that phylostratus that
Was duc of athenes had a doughter . Whom a man louyd
so ardantly / that on a tyme as he saWe her With her moder
sodaynly he cam and kyssed her . Whewf the moder Was so
angry and sorouful that she Went and requyred of her lord
the duc / that his heed myght be smyten of . The prynce
answerd to her and sayd .yf We sholdn slee 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 Vylonye doon to his doughter & to hym
self yet more · This prynce had also a frende that Was na
med arispe that sayd on a tyme as moche Vylonye Vnto
the prynce as ony man myght saye. And that myght not
suffyse hym .but he cratchid hym in the Vysage. the prynce
suffryd hym paciently in suche Wyse as though he had doon
to hym no Vylonye but curtesye . And Whan his sones
Wold haue auengyd this Vylonye . he comaunded them

that they shold not be so hardy so to woo / The neyt day
foloWyng Arispe remembrid of the right grete Bylonye
that he had woy to his frende andy lordy Without cause /
He fyl in dyspayr andy Wold haue slayn hym self / Whan
the duc kneWe andy Bnderstood that . he cam to hym and
said ne doubte the no thyng . and sWore to hym by hys
faith that also Wel he Was and shold be his frend fro thâ
forthoy as euer he had ben tofore yf he Wold / and thus he
zespited hym of his deth by his debonayzte / and in lyke
Wise zede We of the kyng pirre to Whom Was reported that
they of tarente had sayd grete Bylonye of hym . for Which
cause he maad al them to come tofore hym & demaundedy
of them yf they had so said . than one of them answerdy &
said yf the Wyn & the candellis had not fayled thys langa
ge had ben a Jape . in regarde of that We had thought
to haue woy / Than the kyng began to laWhe . For they
hady confessyd that suche langage as Was said and spoken
Was by dwnkenshyp / And for this cause of debonayzte
the peple of tarente tooke for a custome that the dwnken
men shold be punysshid / and the sobre men preysed / The
kyng thenne thus ought to loue humplite andy hate
falsyte after the holy scripture that speketh of euezy may
generally . For the kyng in his wyame zepresenteth god
& god is Verite . and therfore hym ought to say no thyngy
but yf hit Weze Verzytable and stable / Valerius zehezceth
that Alyyandze Wyth alle his oofte rood foz to destroye
a cyte Whiche Was namedy lapsaze / Whan than a phy-
losophze Whyche had to name anaxymenes Whych had ben
tofore maistze & goueznour of alixādze hezd & Bnderstood

of his comyng, cam agayn alixandre to desire and requyre of hym. And Whan he saWe alixandre he supposid to haue ayyd his request / Alixandre brake his demaunde tofore and sWore to hym to fore he ayid ony thyng by his goodde that suche thyngh as he ayyd or requyred of hym. he Wolde in no Wyse doon. Thenne the phylosopher requyrede 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 lorde sholde not sWere. But Where as is grete nede /and that the symple parole 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 othes her seals and Brytynges and signes of theyr propre handes / alle faylleth god amende hit,

A kyngh 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 namedh theule a Werkman in metalle, that maad a boole of coppre and a lityl Wyket on the syde Wherby men myght put in them that sholde be brent therin And hit Was maad in suche manere. that they that shold be put and enclosyde therin sholde crye no thynge lyke to the Voys of a man but of an oxe.

And thys maadh he by cause men sholde haue the lasse pyte of them / Whan he had maadh thys boole of coppez. he presentyd hit Vnto a kyngh Whiche Was called philarde

that Was so cruel a tyraunt that he delited in no thynge but in cruelte ·And he tolde hym the condicion of the hole Whan philezde herde and Vnderstood thys . he alowed and praisid moche the Wezke/and after sayd to hym/thou that art more cruel than I am /shalt assay and prowe first thy presente and yefte /and so maad hym to go in to the hole and dye an euyl deth / Therfore sayth ouyde there is no thyng moze resonable thenne that a man dye of suche deth as he purchaseth Vnto other .Also the kyng ought souerayn ly kepe Justyce/Who maketh or kepeth a wyame With out Justyce . of Lezzy force theze must be grete wobbezye & theefte . Therfore reheeth Saynt Augustyn in a book Whyche is intituled the cyte of god/that theze Was a theef of the see named diomedes that Was a grete wuaz & dyd so moche hazme that the complayntes cam tofore alyander Whiche dyd hym to be taken and brought afore hym / And he demaunded hym Whezfore he Was so noyous and cruel in the see / And he answerd to hym agayn / For as moche as thou art oon a londe in the Wozlde . so am I another in the see / But for as moche as the euyl that I doo is in oon galey or tWeyn therfore I am callyd a theef But for as moche as thou doost in many shyppys and Wyth grete puyssaunce and power . Therfoze arte thou callyd an Emperour . But yf fortune Were for me in suche Wyse / I Wold become a good man and better thenne I now am /But thou the moze rycher and fortunat that thou art / The moze Wozse art thou / alyxaundez said to hym I shal chaunge thy fortune in suche Wise as thou ne say that thou shalt do it by pouerte

but for euyl and mauayste.and so he made hym zyche /and
this was he that afterward was a good prynce & a good
Justiciar/ The kyng ought to be souerynly 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-
dicions that his children shal followe 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 partye whan a man taketh other thêne
his propre wyf / and that see we by byrdes .of whom the
male and female haue to gyder the charge in keepyng and
norisshyng of their yonge fowles and byrdes. For somme
maner of fowles kepen them to their females oonly / As
hit appereth by storkes dowues and turtils .But tho fow
les that norisshetb not their birdes haue many wyues and
femels / As the cok that no thyng norisshetb his chekens
And therfore amonge al the bestes that been / man and
woman putteth moste their entente and haue most care &
charge in norisshyng of their chyldren & therfore don they
agaynst nature in partye whan they leue theyr wyues for
other women /of this chastete rehercetb Valerius an exâple
& saith that ther was a man of rome whyche was namedy
sapio affricâ for as moche as he had cõquerd affrique how
wel that he was of rome bory.whan he was of xxxiiij yere
of age he conquerdy cartage & toke moche people in ostage
among whom he was presented with a right fayr mayde
for his solas & plaisir which was assured & handfast vnto
a noble yonge gentilman of cartage whiche was namedy

Indiuiable, and anon as this gentil sapio knewe that not withstondyng that he was a prynce noble & lusty/dyd do calle anon the parents & kynnesmen of them & delyuerd to them their doughter with out doyng of ony pylonye to her. And the raunson or goldy that they had ordeynedy for their doughter. gaf hit euery deel in dowaire to her. and the yonge may that was her husbond sawe the fraunchise & gentilnes of hym, tozned hym self and the hertes of the noble peple vnto the loue & alliaunce of the womaynes, & this suffisith as touchyng the kyngh

The second chapitze of the second book andy treteth 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 cwWned With a
cwne on her heed and cladde With a cloth of gold and a
mantel aboue furrid With ermynes. and she shold sitte on
the lift side of the kyng for the amplexions and enbrasyn
ges of her husbond like as it is sayd in Scripture in the
Canticles. her lifte arme shal be Vnder my heed and her
right arme shal beclyppe and enbrace me. In that she is
sette on his lifte side is by grace geuyn to the kynge by
nature and of right. For better is to haue a kyng by
successyon thenne by elecaon, For oftey tymes the elec-
tours and chosers cay not ne Wylle not acorde / And
so is the elecaon best, And otherWhyle they chese not the
beste and most able and conuenyent / But hym that they
best loue, or is for them most profytable,
But Whay the kyng is by lignage and by treWe succes-
sion. He is taught enseygned and norisshyd in his
yougth all good and Vertuous tatches and maners of his
fader. And also the prynces of the wyame dar not so
hardyly meue Warre agaynst a kyng hauyng a sone for
to reigne after hym / and so a quene ought to be chaste
Wyse. of honest lyf. Wel manerdy and not Curious in
norysshyng of her chyldrey, Her Wysedom ought not
onely to appere in fait and Werkes/but also in spekyng
that is to Wete that she be secrete and tekke not suche
thynges as ought to be holdey secrete.
Wherfore it is comyn prouerbe that Women cay kepe
no counayl / And acordyng therto Macrobe reherceth
in the book of the dremes of Scyppo. That there Was

a chyld of wme that Was named papirus that on a tyme
Went With his fader Which Was a senatour in to the cham
bre Where as they helde theyr counceyl. And that tyme
they spake of suche maters as Was comaunded and a=
greed sholde he kepte secret Vpon payn of theyr hedes.
and so departed /And Whan he Was comen home from the
senatoyre and fro the counceyl Wyth his fader /His mo=
der demaūded of hym What Was the counceyl and Whewf
they spake and hade taryed so longe there / And the
chylde answered to her and sayde he durst not/ telle 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 / And began to flatere hym one
tyme / And afterwarde to menace hym that he sholde
saye and telle to her What it Was / And Whan the
chylde sawe that he mygbt haue no reste of his moder in
no Wyse / He made her first promyse that she sholde kepe
hit secrete. And to telle hit to noon of the World /
And that wom / he feynede a lesing or a lye and sayde
to her, that the Senatours had in counceyl a grete questi
on and dyfference Whiche Was thys / Whether hit Were
better and more for the comyn Wele of Rome. that a man
sholde haue two Wyues / Or a Wyf to haue two hus=
bondys / And Whan she had Vnderstonde thys / He
defended hyr that she sholde telle hit to none other body/
And after thys she Went to her gossyb and tolde to her
thys counceyll secretely. 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 voys .that they had leuer /And also hit were better for the comyn wele that a wyf sholde haue two husbondys than a man two wyues , The senatours heeryng this were gretely abasshyd and wyst not to say , ner what /ner how to answere . tyl atte laste that the child papire rehercæd to them all the caas and sayt how hit was happend . And whan the senatours herdy and vnderstood the mater they were gretely abasshyd, & cõmendyd gretly the Ingenye and wytte of the chyld that so wysely contryued the lye rather than he wold discouere theiz counceyl . And forthwyth made hym a senatour , and establisshed and ordeyned fro than forthon that no chyld in ony wise shold entre in to the coũceyl howse amonge them with their faders except papirus·whome they wold that he shold alwey 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 vnto al other in her lyuyng honest lye , whewf Jewome reherceth agaynst Jonynyan . that there was a gentyl man of rome named duele· and this man was he that fizst fond the manez to fight on the water /and had fizst the victozye /This duele had to his wyf one of the best women and so chaste . that euery woman mygbt take ensaumple of her/and at that tyme the synne of the flesshe was the grettest synne that ony mygbt 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 aduersayres repreuyd & repwchyd hym sayeng that he hadn

a stynkyng breeth. And forthwyth he went home to hys wyf al angry and abasshyd/ and ayed 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 hadn the same faute as wel as he, For she kyst neuer ony mannes mouth but her husbondes. O moche was this woman to be praysedn and haue a syngulez lawde wenyng that this defaute had not ben onely in hez husbond, wherfore she suffryd hit paciently/ in suche wise that hez husbond kneWe his defaute sonner by other thenne by her. Also we rede that there was a wedowe namedn Anna/ whiche had a frende that counceylled hyz to marye. For she was yonge fayr and ryche. to whom she answerdn that she woldn not so doo in no wyse, For yf I shold haue an husbondn as I haue had & that he weze as good as he was. I shold euer ben aferd to lose hym, lyke as I lost that othez. & thenne shold I lyue alwey in fere and drede. whiche I wyl not. And yf hit happend me to haue a wozse. what sholdn hit proffyte me to haue an euyl husbond after a good. andn so she concluded that she wold kepe hez chastete. Saynt Austyn reherceth in the book de Ciuitate dei that in rome was a noble ladyn gentyl of maners and of hygh kynzede named lucrecia, And had an husbond namedn Colatyne whiche desired on a tyme the emperouzs sone named torquyne thorguyllous or the proude. and he was calle sixte foz to come dyne andn spozte hym in his castel oz manoyz And whan he was entzed amonge many noble ladyes he sawe lucrecia/ And whan thys emperouzs sone hadn seen &

aduertysed her deportes. her countenaunce. her manere / & her beaulte. he was alle rauysshed and espryised wyth her loue forthwyth / And espyed a tyme whan her husbondy Collatyn wente vnto the oost of thempewur. 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 rially for hym as hit apperteyned to the empewurs sone. And this sixtus espyed where lucrecia laye. and whan he supposid & knewe that euery body was in his first sleep. he cam vnto the bedde of lucresse and that one hand sette on her breste and in that other honde a nakyd swerd. and sayd to her. Lucresse holde thy pees and crye not. For I am sixte tarquynus sone. for yf thou speke ony word thou shalt be dede / and for fere she helde her pees. Thêne he began to praye and promyse many thynges / and after he menaced and thretened her that she shold enclyne to hym to doo his wylle / and whan he sawe he coude nor myght haue his entente he sayd to her / yf thou do not my wylle / I shal slee 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 ryhaudrye. and lucresse that than doubted more the shame of the worldy than the deth. consentyd to hym / And anone after as the empewurs sone was departedy. the lady sent lettres to her husbondy her fader her brethery and to her frendes and to a may callyd brute counceyllour and neuewe to tarquyn / and sayd to them / that yesterday Syxte the empewurs sone cam in to myn howse as an enemye in likenes 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 / Wherfore I beseche the of pardon forgyefnes and absolucion of the trespas but not of the payne . And he that hath wony thys synne to me hit shal ben to his myschaunce yf ye wo your deuoyr . and bycause no woman take ensaumple of lucresse and lyue after the trespas .but that she in lyke wyse take ensaumple also of the payne . And forthwyth with a swerde that she helde vnder her gowne or wste / she wos her self vnto the herte And deyed forthwyth to fore them . and thenne brute the counceyller and her husbond collatyn and alle her other frendes swore by the blood of lucresse that they wold ne=uer reste vnto the tyme that they had put out of rome tar quyn and al his lygne / And that neuer after none of them sholdy come to dygnyte . and al this was wony / For they bare the deed corps thrugh the cyte and meuydy the peple in suche wyse . That tarquyn was put in eyple . and Syste his sone was slayn . A quene ought to be wel manerd and amonge alle she ought to be tumerous and shamefast / For whan a woman hath lost shamefastnes she may nez can not weel be chaste . Wherfore 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 fayr in her persone . is to be shamefast . Seneque reherceth that there was one named archezylle which was so shamefast that she put in a peloWe of fethers a certeyn somme of money . and put hit vnder the heed of a pouze frende of

kerys/ Whiche dissymyled his pouerte andy Wolde not noz durst not be a knowey of his pouerte. foz shame she durst not gyue it openly. but had leuer that he sholdy fynde hyt than that she had gyuey hit hym. Wherfore otherWhile mey shold gyue & helpe hez frendes so secretly. that they knowe not whens it come, for Whay we kepe it secret andy make no.koste thewf. our dedes and Werkes shal please god and them also. A Quene ought to be chosey Whay she shal be Weddyd of the moste honest kynrede and peple/foz oftey tymes the doughtezs foloWey the tatches & manezs of theym that they bey dyscended from /Whewf Valerius maximus sayth that there Was one that Wold mazye. Whiche cam to a philosopher and axyd counceyl What Wyf he myght best take. he answerd that he shold take hez that thou knowest certeynly that her moder & hez graunddame haue bey chaste and Wel condyconed. foz suche modez /suche doughtez co: munely / Also a quene ought to teche hez chyldrey to bey contynent and kepe chastite entierly. as hit is Wzytey in ecclesiastes. yf thou haue sones enseigne andy teche them and yf thou haue doughtezs kepe Wel them in chastyte. For helemonde reherceth that euezy kynge & prynce ought to be a clerke foz to comaunde to othez to studye andy rede the laWe of ouz lozdy god / and therfore Wrote themperouz to the kyng of fraunce that he shold do lerne his childrey sones the seuey saencez liberal /and saydy amonge othez thynges that a kyng not lettrid resembleth an asse cow: ned / Themperouz octouyan maad his sones to be taught and lerne to swymme /to spzynge andy lepe/ to Juste / to playe Wyth the aye and sWerde /and al manez thyng that

apperteyneth to a knyght / and his doughters 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 women, And whan his frendes demaunded wherfore he dyd so . he answerd how wel that he was lordy and syre of alle the world . yet wyste he not what shold befalle of his children and whether they sholdy falle or come to pouerte or noo / and therfore yf they conne a good crafte they may alway lyue honestly . The Quene ought to kepe her doughters in alle chastyte . For we rede of many maydens that for their virgynyte haue ben maad quenes / For Poule the historiagraph of the lombardes rehearseth that ther was a duchesse named remonde which had thre sones & ij doughters And hit happend that the kynge of hongrye cantauus assayled a castel where she and her chyldrzen were Inne / And on a day she behelde her enemyes / and amonge alle other she sawe the kyng that he was a wel faryng and a goodly man . Anone she was espryseddy and taken wyth his loue . and that so sore that forthwyth she sent to hym that she wold delyuer ouer the castel to hym yf he woldy take her to his wyf andy wedde her / And he agreed therto and swaze that he wold haue her to his wyf on that condicion . Whan than the kyngy was in the castel / his peple took men and women and alle that they fonde / her soones fledde from her / of whome one was namedy Ezmoaldus & was yongest / and after was duc of boneuentan & sithen kyng of the lumbardis / andy the two susters toke chykens and put hem vndez her armes neyt the flesh andy bytwene her pappes / that of the hete and chauffyng the

flesſſh of the chikyns ſtanke, and Whan ſo Was that they of hongrye Wold haue enforced andr deſoWled anone they felte the ſtenche and fledde aWey and ſo lefte hem ſayeng fy hoW theſe lombardes ſtynke. and ſo they kepte theyr Vizgynyte. Wherfore that one of hem afterWardr Was quene of fraunce, andr that other quene of almayn, and hit happend thenne that the kyng catanus toke acordyng to his promyſe the ducheſſe, andr lay Wyth her one nyght for to ſaue his ooth. & on the morne he made her comune Vnto al the hungres. And the thyrd day after he dyd doo put a ſtaf of tree fro the nether parte of her. thrugh her body Vnto her throte or mouthe, for by cauſe of the luſte of her flesſſh ſhe betrayedr her cyte andr ſayd ſuche huſbondr ſuche Wyf. and this ſuffyſeth of the quene

The thyrd chappytre of the seconde traytye treteth of the Alphyns her offyces and maners capitulo tercio

He alphyns ought to be maad and formed in manere of Juges sittynge in a chayer With a book open tofore theyr eyen, and that is by cause that sôme causes ben crymynel, And sôme ben cyuyle as about possessions and other temporel thynges and trespaces / and therfore ought to be two Juges in the wyame / one in the black for the first cause, And that other in Whyt as for the seconde. Theyr offyce is for to counceylle the kyng. And to make by his cômaûdementis good lawes & to enforme

alle the wyame in good and vertuous maners / And to
Juge and gyue sentence Wel and trewly after the caas is
had. and to counceyl Wel and Justely alle them that aye
counceyl of hem / Wyth out hauyng of ony eye opene to
ony persone / And to estudye diligently in suche Wyse and
to ordeigne alle that, that ought to be kept be obseruyd be
faste and stable / So that they be not founde corupt. for
yefte for fauour ne for lignage ne for enuye variable.
And as touchyng the first poynt Seneque saith in the
book of benefets that the pouz diogenes Was moze strong
than alixandze / Foz Alixandze coude not gyue so muche
as diogenes Wold zefuse. Mazaus aursus a womayn 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
reseyue hit and leue his assault and siege / and Whan they
came With the present to hym they fond hym sittyng on
the erthe and ete his mete out of platezs and dysshes of
tree and of Wode. and did than her message / to Whom he
answerd and said that they shold goo home and saye to
them that sente them that Mazaus aursus loueth better
to be lord and Wynne richesses than richesse shold Wynne
hym. Foz by batayle he shal not be ouercome and vayn-
quysshed / noz by gold ne siluer he shal not be cozrupt ne
corompid. Oftentymes that thyng taketh an euyll ende
that is Entrewe foz gold and siluer. and that a man is
subget Into money may not be lozd thewf / Helymond
reherceth that demostene demaūded of aristodone how mocke

he had wonne for pletyng of a cause for hys client. And he answerd a mark of golde. Demostenes answerd to hym agayn/ that he had wonne as moche for to holde hys pees and speke not/ thus the tunges of aduocates & men of lawe ben perilous & domegeable. yet they must be hadd yf thou wolt wynne thy cause. for with money and yefte thou shalt wynne. & oftentymes they selle as wel theyr silence/ as their ettewunce. Valerius reherath that the senatours of rome took counceil to gedder of two persones that one was poure & that other riche and couetous, whiche of hem bothe were most apte for to sende to gouerne and Juge the contre of spayn, And sappon of affrique said that none of hem bothe were good ne proffytable to be sent theder. For that one hath no thyng. And to that other may no thyng suffyse. And despysed in hys sayeng alle pouerte and auarice in a Juge. For a couetous man hath nede of an halpeny. for he is seruaunt and bonde vnto money/ and not lorde therof/ but pouerte of herte and of wylle 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 worldd, For many there were that exposed al theyr goodes for the comyn wele. and for that was most proffitable for the comynalte that they were so poure that whan they were dede they were buryed and brought to erthe with the comyn good. And theyr doughters were maryed by the comaundement of the senatours. but sithen that they despised pouerte/ & begonne to gadre richesses. & haue made grete bataylles. they haue vsed many synnes/ and so the

comyn Wele perissheb/for ther is no synne but that it reig
neth there/theze is none that is so blissful as he that hath
al the World in despite / Foz he is in pees that dredith no
man / & he is riche that coueiteth no thyng/Valere rehezceth
that he is not riche that moche hath/but he is riche that hath
lityl & coueyteth no thyng/than thus late the Juges take
hede that they enclyne not foz loue oz foz hate in ony Ju:
gement /for theofrast saith that all loue is blynde ·there
loue is ·there can not right Jugement be gyuen . foz all
loue is blynde ·and therfoze loue is none euyn Juge·for
ofte tymes loue Jugeth a foWle and lothly Woman to be
fayz / And so reherceth quinte curse in his first book that
the grete godaches saith the same to Alyxandre / Men
may saye in this caas that nature is euyl / Foz euery
man is lasse aduysedy and Worse in his oWne feet and
cause than in another mannys·And therfoze the Juges
ought to kepe hem Wel from Ire in Jugement, Tullyus
sayth that an angry and ywus pezsone Weneth that foz
to doo euyl is goody counceyl/and socrates saith that tWo
thynges ben contrarious to counceyl / & they ben hastynes
and Wrath · and galeren sayth in Alexandzye / yf yze oz
Wrath ouercome the Wban thou sholdest geue Jugement /
Weye all thyng in the balaunce so that thy Jugement be
not enclyned by loue ne by yeft ·ne fauor of persone toz
ne not thy corage ·Helemondy zeherceth that cambyses
kyng of pere Wbiche Was a right Wis kyng had an Vn:
rightWis Juge /Wbiche for enuye & euyl Wyll had dãpned
a may Wrongfully and agaynst right / Wherfore he dydy
hym to be flayn al quyk and made the chayez oz siege of

Jugement to be couerid wyth 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 ryghtwysly, & abhorre the Jugement & payne of his fadez. Juges ought to punysshe the defaultes egally/& fulfille the lawe that they ordeyne. Caton saith accomplisshe and do the lawe in suche wyse as thou hast ordeigned & geuen, Valerius rehezceth that calen gius a consul had a sone whiche was taken in aduoultzye & therfore aftez the lawe at that tyme he was dampned to lose bothe his eyen. the fader wold that the lawe sholdy be accomplisshed in his sone wyth out fauouz. but al the cite was meuyd herewyth andy wold not suffre hit/but in the ende his fader was vaynquysshed by theyz prayers. And ordeyned that his sone sholdy lese one eye whyche was put out. Andy he hym self lost ay other eye. Andy thus was the lawe obseruydy and kept. Andy the prayer of the peple was accomplisshedy. We rede that there was a counceylour of rome that hady gyuen counceylle to make a statute that who some euez that entrydy in to the se: natoyr and a sWerde gyrt aboute hym shold be deed/Thay hit happend on a tyme that he came from without & entrid in to the senatoiz & his sWerd gyrt about hym. whewf he toke none hede/& one of the senatours told hym of hit, & whan he kneWe hit & remêbrid the statute he dreWe out his sWerde & sleWe hym self tofore them. rather to dye than to breke the lawe/for whos dethe alle the senatouzs maady gzete sowWe/But alas we fynde not many in thyse day es that so do/But they do lyke as anastasyus saith that the lawes of some ley like vnto the nettis of spynowpis

that take no grete bestes and fowles but let goo andr flee
thrugh/but they take flyes & gnattes & suche smale thyn-
ges / In like wise the lawes now adayes ben not execu-
ted but vpon the pouze peple + the grete & riche breke hit &
goo thrugh with al /and for this cause sourden batailles &
discordes & make the grete & riche men to take by force &
strengthe lordshippis & seignories vpon the smale & poure
peple /& this don they speciallly that ben gentil of lignage
& poure of goodes /& causeth them to robbe & 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-
dyng to the lawe/and punysshe the transgressouzs sharp-
ly/The comyn peple absteyne & withdrawe hem fro doyng
of euyl and chastiseth hem self by theyr example / And
the Juges ought to entende for to studye. For yf the
smythes the carpentiers the vignours andr other crafty-
men say that it is not necessarye to studye for the comyn
proffit/ And glozefye them in theiz cōnyng and say that
they ben proffitable + than shold the Juges studye and con
templaire moche more than they in that that sholdr be for
the comyn wele. Wherfore saith seneke beleue me that they
seme that they do no thyng /they do more than they that
labour for they do spirituel & also corporal werkis. And
therfore amōge artificers there is no plesaūt rest/ but that
reson of the Juges hath maad & ordeyned hit. & therfore
anglius saith in/li/ atticorz de socrate/that socrates was
on a tyme so pensif that in an hole naturel day/he held one

estate that he ne meued mouth ne eye ne foot ne hand but
Was as he had ben deed or mayssshed/ and Whan one demaū
ded hym Wherfore he Was so pensif.he answerd in al World
ly thynges and labours of the same and helde hym bour:
geys and Cytezeyn of the World /and Valerius rehezáth
that carnardes a knyght Was so sage Wyse and labowus
in pensifnes of the comyn Wele / that Whan he Was sette
atte table for to ete, he forgate to put his hondr Vnto the
mete to fede hym self /and therfore his Wyf that Was na
medr Mellyse Whom he had taken more to haue her compa:
nye and felaWshyp than for ony other thynge / 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
World for to dWelle and abyde alWey therin .but for to
goo and 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
consciencē.And so may We goo lightly and apertly the
Way that We hope and purpose to goo.Thys suffyseth as
for the Alphyns /

The fourth chapitre of the second book treteth of the ordre of cheualrye and knyghthode and of her offyces and maners capitulo quarto

He knyght ought to be maad al armed vpon 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 sword & a mace on his lyft syde. clad with an hawberk & plates tofore his breste. legge harnoys on his legges. spores on his heelis, on hys handes hys gauntelettes. hys hors wel broken & taught and apte to batayllе & coueryd with his armes. Whan the knyhtes hey maad they hey hayned or bathed. That is the signe that they sholdy lede

a newe lyf and newe maners. also they wake alle the nyght in prayers and oráisons vnto god that he wil geue hem grace that they may gete that thyngh that they may not gete by nature, The kyng or prynce gyrdeth a knyte them a sWerde in signe, that they shold abyde and kepen hym of whom they taken theiz dispences and dignyte.
Also a knyght ought to be wyse likewalle /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 honour is no thyng elles but to do reuerence to another persone for the good & vertuous disposiaon that is in hym, A noble knyghte ought to be wyse and prouyd tofore he be maad knyght, hit behoued hym that he had long tyme vsidy the warre & armes. that he may be expert and wyse for to gouezne the other / For sithen that a knyght is capitayn of a batayle. the lyf of them that shal be vnder hym lyeth in his honde /and therfore behoueth hym to be wyse & wel aduysed, For somtyme art craft and engyne is more worthe than strengthe or hardynes of a may that is not proued in armes/ for other while it happeth that whan the prynce of the batayl affyeth and trusteth in his hardynes and strengthe, and wol not vse wisedom and engyne for to renne vpon his enemyes /he is vanquysshedy & his people slayn. therfore saith the philosopher that no may sholdy chese yôg peple to be captayns & gouezneurs, for as moche as ther is no certeynte in her wisdom/alyândre of macedone vanquysshed & conquerd Egipte, Jude, caldee Affrique

and assyné Vnto the marches of bragmans more by the counceyl of olde men than by the strengthe of the yongh men. We rede in the historye of rome that there Was a knyght Whiche had to name malechete that Was so Wyse & treWe that Whan the emperour Theodosius Was dede. He made mortal Warre ayēst his broder germayn Which Was named Gyldo or Guye. for as moche as this sayd guye Wold be lord of affrique With out leue and Wylle of the senatours / and thys sayd Guy 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 capyre and ladde Wyth hym al the cristen men, that had ben sent theder in exyle. And maad hem alle to praye With hym by the space of thre dayes and thre nyghtes. For he hadde grete affyaunce and truste in the prayers and orisons of good folke and specially that no man myght counceyl ne helpe but god / And thre dayes tofore he shold fight saynt Ambrose Whiche Was deedy a litil tofore apperyd to hym & sheWed hym by reuelacōn the tyme and howre that he shold haue Victorye. And for so moche as he had ben iij dayes and thre nyghtes in orysons & prayers and that he Was assuryd for to haue Victorye, he faught Wyth fyue thousand men ayenst his broder that had in his companye fouz score thousand men. and by goddes helpe he had Victorye And Whan the barbazyans that Were comen to helpe guyon saWe the discomfiture they fledde aWey And guyon fledde also in to affryque by shyppe. And Whan he Was there a zyued he Was sone after strangled. These tWo knyghtes

of Whom I speke were two brethern germayns . Whyche were sent in to affuque for to deffende the comyn wele .
In lyke wyse Judas machabeus/Jonathas/and Symon his brethern put them self in the mercy and garde of our lord god, And ageyn the enemyes of the lawe of godi with litil people in regarde of the multitude that were a ; gayn them, And had also victorye / The knyghtes ought to ley trewe to theyr prynces, For he that is not trewe leseth the name of a knyght. Unto a prynce trouth is the grettest preaious stone whan hit is medlid wyth Justyce . Paule the historiagraph of the lombardes reher eth that there was a knyght named Enulphus & was of the cyte of pappye that was so trewe and faythful to his lord and kyngi namedi patharche that he put hym in parylle of deth for hym, For hit happendi that Grymald duc of buneuentayns of Whom we haue touchedi tofore in the chappytre of the quene . dydi do slee Godelert Whiche was kyngi of the lombardes by the hande of gorilezt duc of tarente / Whiche was descendedi of the crowne of lom ; bardes . Andi this grymalde was maad kyng of lombar dye in his place andi after this put and banyssyed out of the contraye this patharich Whiche was brodez unto the kyngi Godelezt . that for fere andi drede fledde in to hon; grye . Andi thenne this knyght enulphus dydi so moche that he gate the pees agayn of his lord patharich agaynst the kyngi grymalde . And that he hadi licence to come out of hongrye where he was alwey in parell . andi so he came andi cryedi hym mezcy / And the kyng Grymalde gaf hym leue to dwelle and to lyue honestly in his contre

alWey forseen that he took not vpon hym & namedy hym
self kyng. How Wel he Was kyng by right / This wony
a lityl Whyle after / the kyng that releuyd euyl tongues /
thought in hym self how he myght bryng this pathanche
vnto the deth. and al thys kneWe Wel the knyght Enul
phus / Whiche came the same nyght With his squyer for to
vysite his lord. and maad hys squyer to vnclothe hym &
to lye in the bedde of his lord / and maad his lorde to rise
and clothe hym With the clothes of his squyer / And in
this Wyse brought hym out. braWlyng and retyng hym
as his seruaunt by them that Were asigned to kepe the
howes of pathanch that he shold not escape / Which supposid
that hit had been his squyer that he entreted so outragy-
ously / and so he brought hym vnto his howes Which Joy-
ned Wyth the Walles of the toun. And at mydnyght
When al men Were a slepe. he lete a doun his maistre by a
corde. Whiche took an hors out of the pasture and fledde
vnto the cyte of aast & there cam to the kyng of fraunce
And Whan it cam vnto the morne / hit Was founden that
enulphus and his squyer had deceyued the kyng and the
Watchemen / Whom the kyng cõmaunded shold be brought
tofore hym / and demaunded of them the maner how he
Was escapyd / and they tolde hym the trouthe / Thenne
the kyng demaunded his counceyl of What deth they had de
seruyd to dye that had so wony and Wrought agayn the
Wylle of hym / Somme said that they shold ben hongedy
& sõme said they shold be flayn / and other said that they
shold be beheded. Than said the kyng by that lordy that
maad me. they ben not Worthy to dye. but for to haue

moche Worshyp and honour, For they haue ley trewe to
theyr lord + Wherfore the kyng gaf hem a grete lawde and
honour for theyr feet. And after hit happend that the pw
pre squyer and seruaunt of Godefrey slewe the traytre
Gorykalde that by treson had slayn his lorde at a feste
of Saynt John in his cyte of tarente whewof he was lord
and duc, Thus ought the knyghtes to loue to gyder + &
eche to put his lyf in auenture for other. ffor so keen they
the strenger and the more doubtedy. lyke as were the no
ble knyghtes Joab andy abysay that fought ageynst the
syryens and amonytes and were so trewe that one to that
other that they vaynquysshed theyr enemyes, Andy were
so ioyned to gyder that yf the sirens were strenger thene
that one of them. that other helpe hym, We rede that
damoy andy phisias were so right parfight frendes to gy
der that whan dionysius whiche was kyng of zeálle hady
Jugged one to deth for his trespaas in the cyte of Siracu
sane whom he wold haue executedy. he desired grace & leue
to goo in to his contre for to dispose & ordeyne his testa
ment, And his felawe pledgyd hym andy was sewrte for
hym vpon his heed that he shold come agayn/whewof they
that herde and sawe this, helde hym for a fool & blamedy
hym. And he sayd alwey that he repentyd hym no thyng
at all. For he knewe wel the trouth of his felawe, and
whan the day cam and the howre that execucion sholdy be
doy. his felowe cam and presentedy hym self tofore the
Juge. and dischargid his felowe that was pledge for hym
whewof the kyngy was gretely abasshyd. and for the grete
trouthe that was foundey in hym, he pardenyd hym andy

prayed hem bothe that they wold receyue hym as theyr
grete frende and felowe + lo here the vertues of loue/that
a man ought not to doubte the deth for his frende / Lo
What it is to doo for a frende .and to lede a lyf deshonayr /
and to be wyth out cruelte + to loue & not to hate /Whyche
causeth to doo good ayenst euyl .and to torne payne in to
benefete and to quenche cruelte . Anthonyus sayth that
Julius cesar lefte not lightly frendshyp and amytye /
But Whan he had hit . he reteyned hit faste & mayntened
hit alwey . Sapion of affrique saith that there is no
thyng so stronge as for to mayntayne loue vnto the deth
The loue of concupissence and of lecherye is sone dissol:
uyd and broken . but the verray trewe loue of the compy
wele and proffyt now a dayes is selde founden / Where shal
thou fynde a man in thyse dayes that wyl expose hym self
for the worshyp & honour of his frende /or for the compy
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 prouffyt by his couetyse + he dys
poyleth his peple / For Whan the souldyours se that they
put hem in parel . and their mayster wyl not pay hem
theyr wages liberally / but entendeth to his owne propre
gayn 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
victorye that his auarice is ofte tymes cause of his con
fusion / Thenne lete euery knyght take hede to be lyberalle
in suche wyse that he wene not ne suppose that his scarcete
be to hym a grete wynnyng or gayn /And for thys cause

he be the lasse louyd of his peple .and that his aduersa-
ye wythdrawe 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 goten 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 borowe not ne make no tayllage
For no man may be riche that leuyth his owne /hopyng
to gete and take of other / Than alwey al her gayn and
wynnyng ought to be comyn emongh eyept theyr armes
For in like wyse as the victorye 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 chappytre 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 kyngh of Ynde
for to espye thastate of the kyng and of the knyghtes of
the court , And the kyng receyuyd hym right worshyp-
fully .And demaunded of hym many thynges of Alix-
ander and of his constance and strengthe. nothyng we
nyngh that he had ben alixander / but antygone one of
his knyghtes ,and after he had hym to dinez .and whan
they had seruyd alixander in vessayl of golde and syluer
with diuerse metes ,After that he had eten suche as plesid
hym he voyded the mete & toke the vessayl and helde hit to

hym self and put hit in his bosom or sleuys . Whewof he
was acusid vnto the kyng/After dyner thene the kyng
callyd hym and demanded hym wherfore he had taken hys
vassayl /and he answerdy . sir kyng my lordy I pray the
to understonde and take hede 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 dis
pencis than is Alixaundez.and therfore I am come to the
a pouze knyght whiche am named Antygone for to serue
the + Than hit is the custome in the couzte of Alixander
that what thyng a knyght is serudy with / alle is hys
mete and vaissel andy cuppe . and therfore I had supposidy
that this custome had bey kept in thy court /for thou art
richez than he / When the knyghtes herde this /anone they
lefte porus .and went to serue Alixaunder / andy thus he
dreWe to hym the hertes of hem by yeftes / Whiche after ;
ward sleWe porus that was kyng of ynde. and they maad
Alixandre kyngy thewof . Therfore remembre knyght
alWey that with a closid and shette purse shalt thou neuer
haue victorye / Ouyde saith that he that taketh yeftes / he
is glad therWith / For they wynne with yeftes the hez;
tes of the goddes andy of meny / For yf Juppytez weze an
gud . With yeftes he wold be plesid . the knyghtes ought
to be stronge not onely of body but also in corage . theze
bey many stronge andy grete of body /that bey faynt andy
feble in the hezte / he is stronge that may not be vaynquy
shed andy ouercome . how wel that he suffrith moche other ;
whyle / Andy so we beleue that they that be not ouergrete
ne ouer litel bey most corageous andy beste in batayllle /

We rede that codrus duc of athenes shold haue a bataylle agayn them of polipe / And he was warned and had a re-uelacion of the godes / that they shold haue the victorye of whom the prynce sholdy be slayn in the bataylle. 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 thynge to expose hym self to the deth for to deffende 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 soules gloriously 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 renomedy as is whan he sauyth the lyf of them that he may slee / For to shede and spylle blood is the condicion of a wylde beste and not the condycion of a good knyght Therfore we rede that sylla that was duc of the romayns with out had many faire victories agaynst the romayns & within that were contrarye to hym in so moche that in the bataylle of puylle he slewe xviij thousandy men. And in champayne lyx thousandy / and after in the cyte he slewe thre thousand men vnarmedy. & whan one of his knyghtes that was named Quyntus catulus sawe this cruelte sayd to hym / Sesse now and suffre them to lyue andy be merciful to them wyth whome we haue ben victorious. & wyth 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 sowned a trompette that his peple sholdy nomore renne andy slee theyr aduersaries, For there were slayn about xx thousandy of them. And in like wyse dyd he whan he faught ayenst Abnez, and abner was vaynquysshed and fledde. For where that he went in the chaas he cõmaundedy to spare the people. The knyghtes ought to kepe the peple, for whan the peple ley in their tentis or castellis. the knyghtes ought to kepe the watche, For this cause the romayns callydy them legyons, and they were made of dyuerse prouynces andy of dyuerse nacions to thentente to kepe the peple, Andy the peple shold entende to theyr worke, For no crafty man may lothe entende to his crafte and to fight/How may a crafty may entende to his werke sewrely in tyme of warre but yf he be kept. and right in suche wyse as the knyghtes shold kepe the peple in tyme of pees in like wyse the peple ought to purueye for theyr dispenas. how shold a plow may be sewre in the felde, but yf the knyghtes made dayly watche to kepe them. For like as the glorye of a kyngy is vpon his knyghtes, So it is necessarye to the knyghtes that the marchauntes crafty meny andy comyn peple be defendedy and kepte, Therfore late the knyghtes kepe the peple in suche wyse that they may enioye pees and gete and gadre the costis and expenas of them lothe. We rede that athis saydy 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 magestie

Ryal ought not onely to be garnysshed wyth armes but also wyth good lawes. And therfore shold they labour that they shold be wel kepte, Tuzgeus pompeus reherath of a noble knyght named ligurgyus that had made auncient lawes the whiche the peple wold not kepe ne obsezue fo they semed hard fo them to kepe, and wold constreyne hym to repelle & sette hem aparte. Whan the noble knyght sawe that, he dyd the peple to vndezstonde that he had not made them, but a god that was named apollo delphynus had made them, & had cõmaunded hym that he shold do the peple kepe them, thyse wordes auayled not, they wolden in no wyse kepe them. And than he sayd to them that it were goodn that or the sayd lawes shold be broken that he hadn gyuen to them, that he shold goo and speke wyth the god Apollo. For to gete of hym a dispensacion to breke hem and that the peple shold kepe and obserue them tyl that he retorned agayn. the peple accorded therto and swore that they shold kepe them vnto the tyme he retornedn than the knyght went in to grece in exyle andn dwellydn theze alle his lyf. And whan he shold dye he cõmaundedn that hys bodyn sholdn be cast in the see, for as moche as yf his bodyn shold be borne thedez, the peple sholdn wene to be quyt of theyr othe, and shold kepe no lengez his lawes that weze so good & resonable, that the knyght had leuer to forsake his owne contre & to dye so than to repele his lawes, and his lawes weze suche. The fizst lawe was that the peple sholdn obeye andn sezue the prynces. And the prynces sholdn kepe the peple andn do Justyce on the malefactouzs. the second lawe that they shold be al sobre. For

he wyst wel that the labour of cheualrye is most strynge
whan they lyue sobrely/the thyrd was that no may shold
bye ony thyng for money but they shold chaunge ware for
ware / and one marchaundyse for anothez/ the fouzth was
that men sholdz sette nomore by money ner kepe hit more
than they wold dunge oz filthe /the fifthe he ordeyned foz
the comyn wele alle thynge by ordre / that the prynces
myght meue and make batayllé by her power . to the mais
ters counceilours he cõmysedz the Jugementis /and the
annuel rentes /to the senatours the keppyng of the lawe .
and to the comyn peple he gaf power to chese suche Juges
as they wold haue /the sixte he ordeynedz that alle thynge
shold be departed egally & al thyng shold be comyn . & none
richez thã other in patrimony/ the vij that euezy may shold
eete 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 childrey to la
boure in the felde to thende that they shold not enploye
theyr yongthe in playes andz folye but in laboure . The
tenthe that the maydens shold be maried wythout dowaire
in suche wyse that no may shold take a wyf foz money .
The xj that men shold rathez take a wyf for her goodz ma
ners andz vertues than foz hez richesses /the xij that men
shold worshyp the olde and auncient men foz theyz age andz
more foz theyz wysedom than foz hez riches/This knyght
made none of thyse lawes but he fizst kepte hem/

The fyfthe chappytze of the ſecond book of the forme and maners of the Rookes capitulo quinto

The wokes Whiche been Vycayzs and legates of the t kynge / ought to be maad a knyght Vpon an hors & a mantel and hood furrid 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 repzeſente the kyng . & for as moche as a wyame is grete and lazge / and that zebellyon or noueltees myght ſouzde and azyſe in one partye or other / therfoze thez been two wokes one on the right ſyde and that other on the lift ſyde / They ought to haue in hem pyte Juſtice / humylite . Wylful pouezte / and lybewalyte /

first Justyce for it is most fayr of the vertues / For hit happeth ofte tyme that the mynystres by theyr pryde and orgueyl subuerte Justyce and doo no right / Wherfore the kynges otherwhyle lose theyr wyames wyth out theyr culpe or gylte / For ay vntrewe Juge or offycer maketh his lord to be named vniuste and euyl / & contrarye wyse a trewe mynystre of the lawe and rightwys / causeth the kyng to be reputed Just & trewe / The romayns therfore maad good lawes and wold that they shold be Juste and trewe / and they that establisshid them for to gouerne the peple. Wold 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 ordeygne that lawe that is not Just + Whewf Valerius rehercth that there was a man that was named Themystydes whiche came to the counceyllours of athenes and sayd that he knewe a counceyl whiche was right proffytable for them But he wold telle hit but to one of them whom that they wold. And they assygned to hym a wyse man named aristydes. And whan he had vnderstonde hym he cam agayn to the other of the counceyl / and sayd that the counceyl of themystides was wel proffytable / but hit was not Just / how be hit ye may reuolue hit in your mynde / and the counceyl 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 cōceyl herde hym that sayd / that hit was not Juste nor right / they left hem al in pees & wold not haue a doo with al. the vicair or iuge of the kyng ought to be so iust

that he shold enploye al his entente to saue the comyn We
le · and yf hit were nede to put his lyf and lose hit ther ;
fore / We haue ay ensaumple of mazaus regulus whewf
Tullyus zeherceth in the book of offyces . And Saynt
Augustyn also de Ciuitate dei. how he faught agayn them
of carthage by see in shyppes and was vaynquysshed and
taken · Than hit happend that they of carthage sent him in
her message to rome for to haue theyr prysoners 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 rome / and made proposicion tofore the senate
And demaunded them of carthage of the senatours to be
chaunged as afore is sayd / and than the Senatours de
maunded hym what counceyl he gaf . certeyn sayd he I
counceyll yow that ye do hit not in no wyse . For as
moche as the peple of rome that they of carthage holde in
pryson of yours / Bey olde men and brusid in the warre
as I am my self / But they that ye holde in pryson of
theyr peple is alle the flouze of alle theyr folke whyche
counceyl they took. & than his frendes wold haue holden
hym & counceilled them to abyde theze & not retorne agayn
prisonez in to carthage / but he wold neuer do so / nez abyde
but wold goo agayn & kepe his oth / how wel that he kne
we that he went toward his deth / for he had leuer dye than
to breke his oth / Valerius rehercith in the vj book of one
emelie duc of the romayns . that in the tyme whan he hadr
assiegid the philistes . the scole maistre of the childzen de;
ceyuyd the childzen of the gentilmen that he drewe hym a
litil & a litil vnto the tentis of the romayns by fayr speche

And ſayd to the duc emelye + that by the moyan of the
chyldren that he had brought to hym . He ſholdy haue the
cyte . For theyr fadezs were lordes and gouernours /
Whan emelye hady 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 nez
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 othez places / And we wol obſezue
and kepe them vnto euezy may as they ought to be kept
and we ben azmedy ayenſt our enemyes that wol defende
them . andy not ayenſt them that can not ſaue theiz lyf
whan theiz contre is taken . as thiſe litil children , Thou
haſt vaynquyſſhed them as moche as is in the by thy newe
deceyuable falſnes & by ſubtilnes & not by armes, But I
that am a womayn ſhal vaynquyſſhe thē by craft & ſtrength
of azmes /And anone he cōmaunded to take the saydy
ſcole maiſtez andy to bynde his handes behynde hym as a
traytouz and lede hym vnto the parentis of the chyldren/
And whan the faders and parentes ſawe the grete curtoy-
ſye that he hady doon to them ,They opened the yates and
yeldedy them vnto hym . We rede that Hanybal had ta-
ken a pryncē of rome whyche vpon his othe & promyſe ſuf
fred hym to goo home ,& to ſende hym his raunſoy . 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/And why the ſenatours knewe thewof /they
conſtrayned hym to returne agayn vnto hanybal /
Amos florus telleth that the phiſicien of kyng pirrus cam

on a nyght to fabrice his aduersarye/ and promysed hym
yf he wold geue hym for his labour that he wold enpoy-
sone pirrus his maystez. Whan fabricius vnderstood this
he dyd to take hym and bynde hym handz and foot/andz
sent hym to his maistre & dyd do say to hym word foz word
like as the phisicien had said and promysed hym to do / &
Whan pirrus vnderstood this he was gretly admeruaylid
of the loyalte and trouth of fabrice his enemye · and said
certeynly that the sonne mygbt lightlyer & sonner be en-
pesshid of his cours . thenne fabrice shold be letted to holde
loyalte andz trouthe . yf they than that weze not cystez
were so Juste and tzewe and louyd theyz contzey & theyz
good zenomee · What shold we now doy than that been
Cristen . andz that ouz lawe is sette al vpon loue andz
charite / but now a dayes theze is no thynge ellis in the
world but/barate tresō/deceit falsenes & tzechezye mē kepe
not their couenauntes 'promyses . othes ,britynges , ne
trouth/the subgettis zebelle agayn theiz lozd . ther is now
no lawe kepte , noz fydelyte ,ne othe holdey . The people
muzmuze andz ryse agayn theyz lozd andz wol not be
subget , they ought to be pietous in hezte / Whiche is a-
uaylable to alle thyngz / There is pyte in effect by com-
passyon / andz in wozde by zemyssyon andz pardon / By
almesse . for to enclyne hym self vnto the pouze , For
pyte is no thyng ellis but a right gzete wylle of a delo-
nazy hezte foz to helpe alle men / Valerius zeherceth that
there was a Juge named sangis Whiche dampned a wo-
may that hadz desezuydz the deth foz to haue hez heed smy-
ten of or ellys that she sholdz 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 doughter Whiche came for to see and comforte her moder / But alWey or she entrid in to the prison the Jayler sez : chyd hyr that she shold here no mete ne drynke to her mo : der . but that she shold dye for hongez . than hit happend after thys that he mezuayled moche Why this Woman dy: ed not/ and began to espye the cause Why she leuyd so long And fonde atte laste hoW her doughter gaf soWke to her moder . and fedde her With her mylke/Whan the Jalez saWe thys mezueyle /he Went and tolde the Juge / And Whan the Juge saWe this grete pyte of the doughter to the mo: der he pardoned hez and made her to be delyuerd out of her pryson /What is that /that pite ne amolisseth /moche peple Wene that it is agaynst nature and Wondre that the doughtre shold gyue the moder to souke . hit Were agaynst nature but the children 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 Vnto pryn ces that they shold be of the same condycion • Valerius re: heraith in his fifthe book of Marchus mazellus that Whan he had taken the cyte of Syracusane / & 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 sorWful / 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 delonaiz prynce/ also he recoūteth When pompeo

had conquerdy the kyngy of germanye that oftey tymes
had foughtey ayenst the romayns / & that he was brought
to fore hym bounden / He was so pyetous that he wold not
suffre hym to be longe on his knees tofore hym . but he
receyued hym curtoysly . and sette the crowne agayn on
his heed and put hym in thestate that he was tofore .
For he hadn oppynyon that it was as worshypful and
fittyngy to a kyng to pardone / as to punysshe / Also he re
hercetb of a counceyllour that was named poule that dydn
do brynge tofore hym a man that was prysoner / And or
he knelid tofore hym he toke hym vp fro the grounde and
made hym to sitte besyde hym for to geue hym good espe:
rance and hope / and sayd to the other stondyngy by / in
thys wyse / yf hit be grete noblesse that we shewe our self
contrarye to our enemyes. than this fete ought to be alo:
wed that we shewe our self debonayr to our caytyfs and
prisonezs / Cesar whan he hard the deth of cathon whiche
was his aduersarye saydn that he had grete enuye of hys
glorye . and no thyngy of his patrymonye / and therfore
he lefte to his chyldren frely al hys patrymonye / Thus
taught virgyle and enseygneth the glorious prynces to
rewle and gouerne the peple of rome . and saynt Austyn
de ciuitate dei sayth thus / Thou emperour gouerne the pe
ple pyetously / and make pees overall / deporte and forbere
thy subgettis . reprene and correcte the prowde / For so
enseyne and teche the the lawes / Andn hit was wryten
vnto alexaunder . that euery prynce ought to be pyetous
in punysshyng / and redy for to rewarde / ther is no thyng
that causeth a prynce to be so belouyd of his peple . as whan

he spekyth to hem swetely . and conczuyth wyth hem sym
ply . and al this cometh of the wte of pyte.
We rede of the empewur traian that his frendes repre;
uyd hym of that he was to moche pryue and famulier
wyth the comyn peple more than an empewur ought to be
And he answerd that he wold be suche an empewur as
euery man desyred to haue hym, also we rede of alisaūder
that on a tyme he ladde his hoost forth hastely / & in that
haste he behelde where 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 louyd better theyr helthe
than his dignyte . The wokes ought also to be humble &
meke + after the holy scripture whiche sayth, the gretter or
in the hyer astate that thou art / so moche more oughtest
thou be meker and more humble . Valerius rehezcth in his
vij book that ther was an empewur named Publius ce;
saz . that dyd do bete down his howse whiche was in the
mydes of the mazket place for as moche as hit was hy;
er than other howses / For as moche as he was more
gloryous in estate than other + therfore wold he haue a
lasse howse than other, and sapion of affrique that was
so poure of valuntarye pouerte that whan he was dede + He
was buryed at the dispenas 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 gouezne hit whan he wyl. Valerius rehez
cith in his iij book that fabyan the grete had ben maystre

counceyllour of his fader his graunt sire, And of his graunt sirs fader and of alle his antecessours, And yet dyd he al his payn and labour/that his sone shold neuer haue that offyce after hym. But for no thynge that he mystrusted his sone for he was noble and wyse and more attempered than other, but he wold that the offyce shold not alwey reste in the famylye and howse of the fabyans Also he rehercth in his seuenth book that they wold make the sayd fabyan emperour / But he excusyd hym & sayde that he was blynde and mygbt not see for age. But that excusacion mygbt not helpe hym, Than sayd he to hem / seke ye and gete you anothez, For yf ye make me your emperour/I may not suffre your manezs/nor ye may not suffze myn. Thezе was a kyng of so subtyl engyne that whan men brought hym the cowne tofore that he to ke hit · he remembrd hym a litil and sayd · O thou cowne that art more noble thenne happy, For yf a kyng knewe wel and parfaytly how that thou art ful of parylles of thoughte and of charge / yf thou were on the grounde / he wold neuer lyfte nor take the vp/Remembre the that whan thou art most glorious · thenne haue some men moste enuye on the. And whan thou hast most seignorye and lordshyps / than shalt thou haue most care, thought and anguysshes, Vaspasian was so humble that whan Nero was slayn alle the peple cryed for to haue hym emperour And many of his frendes came and prayedz hym that he wold take hit vpon hym. So at the last he was con streyned to take hit vpon hym. and sayd to hys frendys hit is better and more to prayse and alowe for a man to

take themppre agaynst hys Wylle 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 Warre of the kyng dauyd / Whan he cam to take and
Wynne a cyte . he sente to dauyd and desyred hym to come
to the Wazze /that the victorye shold be geuen to Dauyd
and not to hym self . also they ought to be Ware that
they chaunge not ofte tymes her offycers / Josephus re-
herzáth that the frendes of Tyberius meruaylled mocke
Why he held his officers so longe in theyr offyces Wyth
out chaunchyng . And they demaûded of hym the cause
to Whom he answerd I Wolde chaunge them gladly .yf I
Wyst that hit shold be good for the peple /But I saWe on
a tyme a may that Was wyneous and ful of sores . and
many flyes satte vpon the sores and souked his blood
that hit Was mezuayle to see .Wherfore I smote & chased
them aWay/ and he than sayd to me Why chasest & smytest
thou aWay thyse flyes that been ful of my blood / & noW
shalt thou lete come other that be hongrye Which shal doon
to me double payne more than the other dyd .for the prick
of the hongry is more poygnaunt the half . thenne of the
fulle /And therfore sayde he I leue the offycers in theyr
offyces . For they ben al riche /and do not so mocke euyll
& harme /as the neWe shold do and Were pouze yf I shold
sette hem in her places. They ought also to be patient in
herynge of Wordes and in suffryng payne on her bodyes .as
to the first /one sayd to alisaunder that he Was not Wor-
thy to reigne/speciallly Whan he suffred that lecherye and

delyte to haue seignorye in hym /he suffrid hit paiently /
And answerdy none otherwyse but that he wold correcte
hym self/And take better maners and more honeste, also
hit is rehezad that Julyus Cesaz was callydy wherof he
had displasir so grete that he kempt hys heris that laye
oy the aftez parte of his heedy forwardy foz to hyde the
bare tofore . Than sayd a knyght to hym Cezar hit is
lightlier and soner to be maad that thou be not callydy /
than that I haue vsid ony cowazdyse in the wazre of Ro
me /oz here aftez shal doo ony cowazdyse . He suffrydy hyt
paiently andy saydy not one word . another repwchydy
hym by his lignage .and called hym baker , he answerd
that hit is bettez that noblesse begynne in me . than hit
shold faylle in me / another callydy hym tyraunt / he an
swerd yf I weze one thou woldest not say so .A knyght
callyd oy a tyme sappyoy of Affrique fowle & olde knyght
in armes .And that he knewe lytyl good . And he an
swerdy I was bozne of my modez a lytyl chylde and feble
and not a may of armes . And yet he was at alle tymes
one of the best and most wozthyest in azmes that lyuydy
Anothez sayd to Vaspasioy/ & a wolf shold sonez chaunge
his skyn andy heez . than thou sholdest chaunge thy lyf .
Foz the lengez thou lyuest the more thou couetest /and
he answerd of thyse wozdes we ought to laughe / But we
ought to amende our self / and punysshe the trespaces /
Seneke zeherceth that the kyng antygonus herde certeyn
peple speke and say euyl of hym .andy theze was betwene
hem nomore but a couztyne /and than he saydy make ay
ende of your euyl langage lest the kyngy heze you . for

the courtyne kerzyth you Wel y nough. than as touchyngz to the paynes that they ought to suffre paiently/Valerius reherceth that a tyraunt dyd to torment Anamaxymenes and thretenyd hym for to cutte of his tunge. to Whom he sayd hit is not in thy power to do so, andz forthWith he bote of his oWne tongue, andz cheWid hit Wyth his tethe and caste hit in the Visage of the tyraunt. hit is a grete Vertu in a man that he forgete not to be paient in correc: cions of Wronges. hit is better to leue a gylty man Vn: punysshed. than to punysshe hym in a Wrath or yre, Valerius reherceth that archyta of tarente that Was mayst tez to plato saWe that his feldes and landes Were destroy: edz and lost by the necligence of his seruaunt, to Whom he sayd yf I Were not angzy With the I Wolde take Venge ance and tuzmente the. lo there ye may see that he hadz leuer to leue to punysshe, than to punysshe more by yre & Wrath than by right. And therfore sayth seneque, do not thyngz that thou oughtest to doo Whan thou arte angzye For Whan thou art angry thou Woldest do alle thynges aftez thy playsir/and yf thou canst not vaynquysshe thyn yre. than must thyn yre ouercome the. After thys ought they to haue Wylful pouerte /lyke as hit Was in the aun: cient pzynces. For they coueyted more to be riche in Wytte and good maners thenne in money /Andz that reherceth Valerius in his Viij book that Scypyon of affryque Was acused Vnto the senate that he shold haue grete tresour. And he answerd certes Whan I submysed Affrique in to your poeste. I helde no thyng to my self that I mygbt say this is myn saue onely the surname of affrique. Nex

the affiquans haue not founden in me ner in my bwder
ony auaryce / ner that We were so couetouse that We hadn
ne had grettez enuye to be riche of name than of richesses
Andn therfore sayth Seneque that the kyngn altagone
Vsyd gladly in his howse vessels of erthe / Andn somme
sayd he dyd hit for couetyse / but he sayd that hit was bet;
tez and more noble thynge to shyne in good maners than
in vasseyll / And whan some men demaunded hym why e
for what cause he dydn so / he answerd I am now kyngn of
Secylle . and was sone of a pottez/andn for as moche as
I doubte fortune / for whan I yssued out of the howse of my
fadez and modez . I was sodaynly maad riche / wherfore I
beholde the natyuyte of me and of my lignage / whiche is
humble andn meke. and al these thynges cometh of wyl
ful pouerte / For he entendedn more to the comyn proffyt
than to his owen . Andn of this pouerte speketh Saynt
Augustyn in the book of the cyte of godn that they that
entende to the comyn proffyt . sowe more that wylful
pouerte is lost in rome . than the richesses of rome / for by
the wylful pouerte was the renomee of good manezs
kepte entierly / thus by this richesse pouezte is not onely
corrupt in thyse dayes ner the cyte ner the manezs / But
also the thoughtes of the men ben corrupt by this couetise
and by felonye that is worse than ony other enemye / and
of the cruelte of the peple of rome speketh the good man
of noble memorye John the monke late cardynal of rome
in the decretal the sixte in the chappytze gens scâ where he
sayth / that they ben felons ayenst god / contrarye to holy
thynges / trayters one to that other . Enuyous . to her

neyghbours. proud vnto straungers. rebell and vntrewe vnto theiz souerayns, not suffzyng to them that keep of lower degzee than they & no thyng shamefast to demaude thynges discouenable and not to leue tyl they haue that they demaunde, and not plesyd but disagreable When they haue receyued the yefte. they haue theyr tongues redy for to make grete boost. and do lityl, they ben lazge in promy syng and smale gyuers, they ben right fals deceyouzs, and right mordent and bytyng detractouzs. For Whiche thingh hit is a grete sorowe to see the humylite the pacy: ence. and the good Wysdom that Was wonte to be in this cyte of rome Whiche is chyef of al the Wozld & is peruer ted and tozned in to malebeuzte & thyse euylles. And me thynketh that in other parties of cristente they haue taken ensaumple of them to do euyl, They may say that this is aftez the decretale of seygnorye and dysobeysance, that sayth. that suche thynges that the souerayns do. is lightly and sone taken in ensaumple of theyr subjettis. also thyse Bycayres shold be lazge and liberall. in so moche that suche peple as serue them ben duly payd and guerdoned of hez la bour. For euery man doth his labouz the better & light: lyer When he seeth that he shal be Wel payed and reWazded And We rede that titus the sone of Vaspasian Was so large and so lyberal that he gaf & promysed sumWhat to euery man. and When his most preuy frendes demaundedz of hym Why he promysed moze thenne he mygbt gyue, He answerdz foz as moche as it aperteyneth not to a prynce that ony man sholdz depazte sorowful or tryste fro hym, Than hit happend oy a day that he gaf ner promysedz no

thyng to ony man / and Whan it Was euen and aduysed hym self he sayd to his frendes. O ye my frendes thys day haue I lost for this day haue I doy no good. and also We rede of Julius cesar that he neuer sayd in alle hys lyf to hys knyghtes goo on + but alWey he sayd come come. For I loue alWey to be in youz companye / And he kneWe Wel that it Was lasse payne and trauayllc to the knyghtes Whan the pryncc is in her companye that loueth hem & comforteth hem. and also We rede of the same Julyus cesar in the book of trupbes of philosophezs / that there Was an auncient knyght of his that Was in parelle of a caas hangyng tofore the Juges of rome so he callyd cesar on a tyme and sayd to hym tofore al men that he shold be his aduocate. And cesar delyuezyd and assygned to hym a right good aduocate + and the knyght sayd to hym / O cesaz I put no Bycayr in my place Whey thou Were in paryl in the batayl of assise / but I faught for the. & than he sheWyd to hym the places of his Woundes that he hady receyued in the batayllc. and than cam cesaz in his propre persone for to be his aduocate and to plete his cause foz hym. he Wold not haue the name of Vnkyndenes. But doubted that men shold say that he Weze proude + and that he Wold not doo foz them that had seruyd hym / they that cay not do so mocke as foz to be beloyd of hez knyghtes. cay not loue the knyghtes. & this suffiseth of the wokes

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

Or so moche as noble persones can not reWle ne go f uerne Without the serwyse and Werke of the people Than hit behoueth to deuyse the oultrages and the offyces 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 thenne We Wyl begynne at the pawn Whyche standeth tofore the woke on the right syde of the kyng. For as moche as thys pawne appertayneth to serue the Bycayre or lyeutenaunt of the kyng and other officers, Under hym of necessaries

of vytaylle / and this maner of peple is figured & ought
be maad in the forme and shape of a man holdyng in his
right hande a spade or shouel. and a wode in the lyft hand
the spade or shouel is for to delue and labouz therwyth the
erthe. and the wode is for to dryue and conduyte wyth al
the bestys vnto her pasture / also he ought to haue on his
gyrdel a sarpe or crokyd hachet for to cutte of the superflu-
ytees of the vignes and trees / And we zede in the bible
that the first labouzer that euer was. was caym the first
sone of adã that was so euyl that he slewe his broder abel
For as moche as the smoke of his tithes went strayt vn
to heuen / and the smoke and fume of the tithes of caym
went doun ward vpon the erthe. and how wel that thys
cause was trewe. yet was theze anothez cause of enuye
that he had vnto his broder / Foz when Adam theyr fadez
maryed them foz to multeplye the ezthe of his ligne / he
wold not mazye ner Joyne to gydez the two that were
bozne attones. but gaf vnto caym hez that was bozn with
abel. and to abel her that was bozne wyth 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 wyth the chekebone of a beste / And at that tyme
was neuer no maner of ywn blody of mannes blood.
And Abel was the fyzst martir in the olde testament.
and thys sayd caym dyd many othez euyl thynges whiche
I leue, for it appezteyneth not to my mater. but it behoueth
foz necessyte that some shold labouze the ezthe / after the
synne of adam / foz tofore or adam synned / therthe brought
forth fruyt without labour of handes but sithe he synned

hit must nedes be labouzed With the handes of men / & for as mocke as the erthe is moder of al thynges /and that We Weze first fozmedz & took ouz begynnyng of the ezthe/ the same Wyse at the last/ the shal be the ende Vnto al Vs & to al thynges. & god that formed Vs of the erthe. hath ozdeyned that by the labour of men the shold gyue nouzyssyng Vnto al that lyueth /& first the labourer of thezth ought to knoWe his god that formed & made heuen & ezthe of nought/and ought to haue loyalte & trouth in hym self and despise deth foz to entende to his labour +and he ought to geue thankynges to hym that made hym & of Whom he zeceyueth al his goodes temporal/ Wherof his lyf is sustey ned. and also he is bounden to paye the dismes & tythes of al his thynges. and not as cayn dyd. but as abel dydz of the beste that he chese out alWey for to gyue to god and to plese hym /for they that grutche andz 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 / Andz that they mygbt be despoylydz oz robbydz by Warze or by tempest that mygbt falle oz happen in the contray / And hit is no merueylle though hyt so happen/ For that man that is disagreable Vnto god/and Weneth that the multeplyengz of his goodes temporel cometh by the vertu of his oWne counceyl and his Witte /the Whiche is made by the only ordenaunce of hym that made al /and by the same ordenaũce is sone taken aWey fro hym that is disagreable. & hit is reson that Whan a man habundeth by fortune in goodes / & knoWith not god by Whõ it cometh. that to hym come sõme other fortune by the Whiche he may

requyre grace and pardon & to knowe his god & we rede of the kyng dauyd that was first simple & one of the comyn peple that whey fortune had enhaunad & sette him in grete estate. he left & forgate his god/& fyl to aduoultrie & homyade & other synnes/than anone his owne sone absalon assaillid & began to persecute hym/& than whan he sawe that fortune was contrarye to hym/he began to take agepn his vertuous werkis and requyred pardon & so retorned to god agayn. we rede also of the children of ysrael that were nygh enfamyned in desert & sore hungry & thrusty that they prayed & requyred of god for remedye. anone he chaunged his wille & sent to hem mãna & flessh. & whan they were replenyssyed & fatte of the flessh of bestes & of the manna they made a calf of gold & worshipped hit. whiche was a grete synne & inpquyte. for whan they were hongry they knewe god. & whan theyr belies were filled & fatted. they forgid ydolles & were ydolatreres. after this euery labou rer ought to be faithful and trewe/that whan his maistre delyuereth to hym his lande to be labourred/that he take no thyng to hym self but that he ought to haue & is his. but laboure truly and take cure & charge in the name of hys maystre/ and do more diligenly hys maysters labours than his owen/ for the lyf of the most grete & noble men neyt god lieth in the handes of the labourers/and thus al craftes and occupacions ben ordeyned not only to suffise to thē only. but to ỳ comyn. & so it happeth oft tyme that the labourer of the erth vseth grete & boistrous metis/ & bryn geth to his maistre more subtile & more deyntyous metes. And Valerius reherath in his sixt book that ther was a

Wyse and noble maistre that was named anthonius that was acusid of a cas of auoultry. & as the cause henge tofore the Juges / his acusers or denonciatours brought a labourer that closid his lande for so moche as they sayd when his maystre went to do the aduoultrye / this same seruaunt bare the lanterne/wherof Anthonius was sore abasshid. & douted that he shold depose agaynst hym / But the labourer that was named papirion said to his maister that he shold denye his cause hardily vnto the Juges /for to be tormentid /his cause shold neuer be enpeyred by hym ner no thyng shold yssue out of his mouth wherof he shold be noyed or greuyd /& than was the labourer beten & tormentid & brent in many places of his body. but he sayd neuer thyng wherof his maister was hurt or noyed / but the other that acused his maistre were punysshed / & papirion was delyuerd of his paynes. & also tellith Valerius that there was another labourer that was named penapion/ that seruyd a maistre whos name was themes which was of merueillous faith to his maister. for hit befel that ere tryn knyghtes cam to his maistres howse for to sle hym / & anone as penapion knewe hit. he went in to his maisters chambre/& wold not be knowen/for he did on his maysters gowne & his ryngre on his fingre/& lay in his bedde /and thus put hym self in parelle of deth for to respyte hys maysters lyf. But we see now a dayes many fooks that daigne not to vse grose metis of labourers. and flee the cours clothyng and maneres of a seruaunt / Euery wyse may a seruaunt that trewly seruyth his maister is free and not bonde. but a fool that is ouer proud is bonde.

For the debylite and feblenes of corage that is broken in conscience by pryde. Enuye. or by couetyse is right sezuy tude yet they ought not to doubte to laboure. for fere and drede of deth no man ought to loue to mocke 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 strongе man ought not to fle for his lyf. but to yssue. for there is no man that lyueth. but he must nedes dye/ & of this speketh claudyan and saith that al tho thynges that the ayer goth about & enuyronneth & alle thyng that the erthe laboureth Al thynges that ben conteyned Within the see/al thynges that the flodes bryngе forth /alle thynges that ben norisshed. & al the bestes that ben Vndez the heuen shal deporte alle from the World. and al shal goo at his cõmaũdement as Wel kynges prynces and al that the World enuyronneth and goeth about. alle shal goo this Way / Than he ought not to doubte for fere of deth. for as Wel shal dye the ryche as the poure. deth maketh alle thynge lyke and putteth al to an ende. and therof made a noble Versefyer tWo Verses Whiche foloWe/ Forma genus mores, sapiencia res et honores. Morte ruant subita sola manent merita. Wherof the englisshe is /beaute, lignage maners. Wysedom. thynges and honoures /shal ben defetid by sodeyn deth. no thyng shal abyde but the meritis. & herof fynde We in Vitas patrum that ther Was an erle a riche & noble man that had a sone onely /And Whan thys sone Was of age to haue knoWleche of the laWe. he herde in a sermone that deth spareth none /& as Wel dyeth the yonge as the olde.

And that the deth ought speciallly 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 neuer whether he shal goo / therfore eche
man shold dispyse and flee the world and lyue wel and
holde hym toward god . and whan this yonge man herde
this thyng / he went out of his contray and fledde vnto
a wyldernesse vnto an hermytage . and whan his fader had
loste hym he made grete sowwe and dyd do enquere & seke
hym so moche that atte last he was founden in the hermy-
tage / And thenne his fader cam theder to hym and sayd .
Dere sone come from thens / thou shalt be after my dethe
erle and chyef of my lignage / I shal be lost yf thou come
not out from thens / & he than that wyst 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 plese 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 wolde telle hym he promysed hym to take
hit awey and hit shold be leste and sette a parte / Than he
sayd dere fader there dyen as wel the yonge folke as the
olde in your contray . do that awey I praye you / Whan his
fader herde that . he sayd dere sone that may not be ner no
man may put that awey but god onely / than answerd
the sone to the fader . than wyl I serue hym and dwelle
here wyth hym that may do that / And so abode the childe
in the hermytage and lyued there in good werkis . after
this hit appertayneth to a labourer to entende to his labour

and flee ydelnes/ and thou oughtest to knowe that dauyd preyseth moche in the salter the treWe labourers & sayth thou shalt ete the labour of thyn 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 reayel and gadre to gydre the fruyt of his labour and also he ought to reste on the holy day. lothe he & hys bestys / and a good labourer ought to nourisshe and kepe his bestys. And this is signyfyed by the wode that he hath / Whiche is for to lede and dryue them to the pasture. The first pastour that euer Was Was Abel Whyche Was Juste and treWe / and offrid to god the bestis Vnto hys sacrefise. and hym ought he to foloWe in craft and maners but no man that Vseth the malyce of cayn maye ensue & foloWe abel / and thus hit apertyneth to the labourer to sette and graffe trees and Vignes. and also to plante & autte them / and so dyd Noe Whyche Was the first that planted the Vygne after the deluge and flood / For as Josephus rehearseth in the book of naturel thynges / Noe Was he that fonde first the Vigne. and he fonde hym byt: ter and Wylde/and therfore he took four maners of blood that is to Wete the blood of a lyon / the blood of a lamb the blood of a swyne. and the blood of an ape & medlid them al to geder Wyth the erthe / And than he cutte the Vigne and put thys about the wtes thewof / to thende that the bytiznes shold be put aWey / & that hit shold be swete And Whan he had dronken of the fruyt of thys Vygne. hit Was so good & mygthy that he became so dronke that he despoyled hym in suche Wyse that his pryuy membres

myght be seen / and his yongest sone cham mocquedy and
skorned hym + and whan noe was awaked and was sobre
and fastyng / he assemblid his sones and shewedy 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 wte of the bigne and that they shold knowe wel that
otherwhile by the strengthe of the wyn men be maady as
hardy as the lyon and ywus + and otherwhile they be made
symple and shamefast as a lambe / & lechewous as a swyne
and curious and ful of play as an ape / for the ape is of
suche nature that whan he seeth one do a thyng he enforc-
eth hym to do the same / and so dy many whan they been
dwnke / they wyl meddle them with al offycers and ma-
ters that apertayne no thyng to them / and whan they ben
fastyng & sobre they can scarcely accomplisshe theyr owne
thynges / and therfore valerian rehercyth that of auncient
and in olde tyme women dwanke no wyn for as moche as
by dwnkenshyp they myght falle in ony filthe or bylony
and as ouyde saith. that the wynes otherwhyle apparaylle
the corages in suche maneze that they ben couenable to al
synnes whyche take awey the hertes to do wel · they make
the poure + riche as longe as the wyn is in his heedy / and
shortly dwnkenshyp is the begynnyng of alle euylles. &
corrupteth the body / and destroyeth the sowle & mynysheth
the goodes temporels / & this suffiseth for the labourers /

The second chappytre of the thyrdy tractate treteth of the forme andy manez of the secondy pawne andy of the manez of a smyth capitulo secundo

He second pawy that stondeth tofore the knyght oy t the right syde of the kyng hath the forme & fygure of a may as a smyth and that is reson/ for hit appertey-neth to the knyghtes to haue bridllys sadellis spores and many other thynges maad by the handes of smythes and ought to holde ay hamer iy his right hond /and iy his lift hande a squyer . and he ought to haue oy his gyrdel a two Wel / For by this is signefyedy alle maner of Werkmey . as goldsmythes . marchallis . Smythes of alle forges/

forgers and makers of money and al maner of smythes
ley signefyedy by the maztel oz hamer. The carpenters
ley signefyedy by the dolabre or squyez/and by the twWel
We Vndezstonde al masons and kezuezs of stones .tylers
and al those that make hoWses castels and toWzes/And
Vnto al thyse crafty men /hit apezteyneth that they be tze
We. Wyse and stwonge /And hit is nede that they haue in
hem self fayth and loyaulte / Foz Vnto the goldsmythes
behoueth golde and syluez and alle othez metallys. yzen
and steel to othez. and Vnto the carpentiezs and ma;
sons ley put to theyr edefyces the bodyes and goodes of
the peple /and also men put in the handes of the mawners
body and goodes of the peple. and in the gazde and seWerte
of them men put body and soWle in the paulles of the see
And thezfore ought they to be treWe Vnto Whom men com
mytte suche grete charge and so grete thynges Vpon her
fayth and truste. and therfoze sayth the phylosopher. He
that leseth his fayth and beleue, may lose no gretter ne
more thynge/and fayth is a souerayn goody and cometh
of the good Wylle of the hezte and of his mynde. and for
no necessyte Wyl deceyue no may. and is not corrupt foz
no mede. Valerius reherath that fabius hady receyuedy of
hanybal certeyn pzysonezs that he helde of the romayns
foz a certeyn sōme of money Whiche he promysedy to paye
to the sayd hanybal. and Whan he cam Vnto the senatouzs
of rome and desyredy to haue the money lente for hem.
they answerdy that they Wold not paye nor lene/and than
ffabius sent his sone to rome and made hym to selle hys
heritage and patzymonye. and sent the money that he

receyuyd thewf vnto hanybal. and hadr leuer and louydr kettez to be pouze in his contrey of heritage, than of beleue and fayth. But in thyse dayes it Weze grete folye to haue suche affyaunce in moche peple but yf they had ben preuyd afoze. for oftentymes men truste in them by Whom they ben deceyuydr at theyz nede. and it is to Wete that these crafty men and Werkmen ben souerynly profytable vnto the World. and Wythout artificers and Werkmen the World myght not be gouerned. and knowe thou verily that alle the thynges that ben engendrid on the erthe and on the see. ben maad and formed for to do profyt vnto the lignage of man. For man Was formedr for to haue generacion, that the men myght helpe and profyt eche other. And here in ought We to folowe nature. For she sheweth to vs that We shold do comyn profyt 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 profyt For men say in repwche. that I see of thyn. I hope it shal be myn. but Who is he in thyse dayes that entendeth more to the comyn profyt than to his owne. certeynly none but alWey a man ought to haue drede and fere of his owne hows. Whan he seeth his neyhbouzs hows a fyre. And therfore ought men gladly helpe the comyn prouffyt. for men otherWhyle sette not by a lytyl fyre & myght quenche hit in the begynnyng. that afterWard maketh a grete blasyng fire & fortune hath of no thyng so grete plesure as for to torne & Werke alWey. & nature is so noble a thyng that Wheze as she is she Wyl sustayne and kepe. but thyszeWle of nature hath faylled longe tyme. How Wel that

the decree saith that alle the thynges that been ayenst the
lawe of nature ought to be taken awey and put a parte /
And he sayth tofore in the viij distincaion that the ryght
lawe of nature deffeerenceth ofte tymes fro custom & statu
tes establisshyd / For by lawe of nature al thyng ought
to be comyn to euery man / and thys lawe was of olde ty:
me. and men wene yet specially that the twians kept this
lawe . and we rede that the multitude of the twians was
one herte & one soule · and verayly we fynde that in tyme
passid the philosophres dide the same. And also it is to be
supposid that suche as haue theyr goodes comune and not
propre is most acceptable to god. ffor ellis wold not thyse
religyous men as monkes freres chanons obseruantes
and al other auowe hem and kepe the wylful poverte that
they ben professyd to · For in trouth I haue my self ben
conuersaunt in a religious howse of whyt freres at gaunt
whiche haue al thyngs in comyn among them . and not
one richer than another in so muche that yf a man gaf to
a frere iij d or iiij d to praye for hym in his masse / as
sone as the masse is don he delyuereth hit to his ouerest
or prouaiour in whiche howse ben many vertuous and de
uout frers / and yf that lyf were not the best & the most
holyest · holy chirche wold neuer suffre hit in religyon /
And acordyng therto we rede in plato whiche sayth that
the cyte is wel and justly gouerned and ordeyned in the
which no man may say by right, by custome ne by ordenaū
ce . thys is myn . But I say to the certeynly that sythen
this custome came forth to say this is myn . and this is
thyn . no man thought to preferre the comyn prouffyt so

moche as his owne . and al werkmen ought to be wyse &
wel aduysed so that they haue none enuye ne none euyll
suspecion one to another / For god wyl that our humayn
nature be couetous of two 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
keray and trewe wyth out other + for it apertayneth not
to a wyse man to do ony thyng that he may repente hym
of hit /and he ought to do no thyng ayenst his wylle'
But to do al thyng 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 sowe of corage that
cometh of this ordenaũce of the prouffyt of another man
and knowe thou verily that he that is ful of bounte shal
neuer haue enuye of another . but thenuyous man seeth
and thynketh alwey that euery man is more noble .and
more fortunat than hym self /and saith alwey to hym self
that man wynneth more than I /and myn neyghbours
haue more plente of bestes / and her thynges multeplye
more than myn /and therfore thou oughtest knowe that
enuye is the most grettest dedely synne that is / For she
tormenteth hym that hath her within hym /wythout tor:
mentyng or doyng ony harme to hym . on whom he hath
enuye /And an enuyous man hath no vertu in hym self
For he corrumpeth hym self for as moche as he hateth

alWey the Welthe and vertues of other/And thus ought they to kepe them that they take none euyl suspeion. for a man naturelly Whan his affecion hath suspeion in ony man that he Weneth that he doth. hit semeth to hym very ly that it is don. And it is an euyl thyng for a man to haue suspeion on hym self/For We zede that dyonyse of zecyle a tyraunt. Was so suspeious that he had so grete fere and drede. for as moche as he Was hated of alle men/ that he put his frendes out theyr offyces that they hadn and put other straungers in their places for to kepe his body/and chese suche as Were right cruel and felons/ and for fere & doubte of the harbours. he made his doughters to lerne shaue and kemke/ and Whan they Were grete/ he Wold not they shold Vse ony ywn to be ocuppedn by them but to brenne and senge his heers/and menacedn them and durst not truste in them. And in like Wyse they hadn none affyaunce in hym. and also he did do enuywnne the place Where he lay Wyth grete dyches and brode lyke a castel. and he entridn by a drawe bridge Whiche closidn after hym. and his knyghtes laye Wythout Wyth his gardes Whiche Watched and kept straytly thys forteresse/ & Whan plato sawe thy said dionyse kyngn of zeille thus enuywned and sette about Wyth gardes and Watchemen for the cause of his suspesaon/saydn to hym openly tofore alle men kynge Why hast thou don so moche euyl andn harme/ that the behoueth to be kept Wyth so moche peple/& therfore I say that it apertyneth not to ony man that Wylle truly behaue hym self in his Werkes to be suspeious/ & also they ought to be strونge and seure in theyr Werkys/andn

ſpeciallye they that bey maysters and mawnners on the
ſee, ffor yf they be tumerous and ferdful they ſhold make
aferde them that bey in theyr ſhippis /that knowe not the
parilles. and ſo hit myght happen that by that drede and
fere al men ſhold leue theyr labour /and ſo they myght be
perisſhed and dispeyrid in theyr wages. For a ſhyppe is
ſoon perisſhed and loſt by a litil tempeſt /Whan the gouer-
nour faylleth to gouerne his ſhyppe for drede / and can
geue no counceyl to other /thenne it is no meruaylle.
though they be afezde that bey in his gouernaunce. And
therfore ought to be in them ſtrengthe. force and corage
and ought to conſidere the parylls that myght falle. and
the gouernour ſpeciallye ought not to doubte /and yf hyt
happyn that ony parril falle /he ought to promyſe to the o-
ther good hoop. and hit apertayneth 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 parylles
that oft tymes happen in the ſee. and Wyth this ought the
mawnners haue good and ferme creaunce and beleue in
gody. and to be of good recomforte and of fayr langage
Vnto them that he gouerneth in ſuche parellys /And thys
ſuffyſeth to you as touchyng the labourers.

The thyrd chappytre of the thyrd book treteth of the office of notaries aduocates skryuenars and drapers or cloth makers capitulo terciio

The third pawn which is sette tofore the alphyn on t the right syde ought to be fygured as a clerke/ and hit is reson that he sholde so be /for as moche as emonge the comune peple of whom we speke in this boke they plete the differences contencions and causes otherwhyle the whiche behoueth the alphyns to geue sentence and Juge as Juges /and hit is reson that the alphyn or Juge haue his notarye / by whom the pwcesse may be wreton. And this pawn ought to be maad and figured in this manere

He must be made like a man that holdeth in his right hand a paꝛ of sheꝛis / or forcettis /and in the lyfte handꝛ a grete knyf and on his guꝛdel a pennez an ynk hoꝛn. and on his eere a penne to Wꝛyte With 'andꝛ that been the Instrumentis and the offyces that been maad and putte in Wꝛytyng autentique ·andꝛ ought to haue passydꝛ tofore the Juges as libelles Writes condempnacions & sentences and that is signefied by the scripture andꝛ the penne/and on that other parte hit apertteyneth to them to cutte clothe sheze .dyght and dye ·and that is signefyed by the for: cettis or sheris ,and the other ought to shaue berdis andꝛ kembe the heeris .and the other ben coupers · coꝛyers 'ta: Wyers /skynnezs bouchers ,and koꝛdWannezs ·and these ben signefyed by the knyf that he holdeth in hys handꝛ . & sōme of thyse forsaydꝛ crafty men been named dꝛapezs oꝛ clothmakezs foꝛ so moche as they Werke With Wolle .and the notaries skynnars Coꝛyouzs and coꝛdWaners Werke by skynnes and hydes .as pezchymyn Velume ,peltrie and coꝛdeWan ,and the taylloꝛs cutters of cloth /Weuazs · fullazs ' dyezs .andꝛ many othez craftes oauppe and Vse Wulle .and al thyse crafty men & many othez that I haue not named ought to do theyꝛ czaft and mestiez.Where as they ben duly ordeynyd auiously andꝛ treWly 'Also there ought to be amonge thyse crafty men amyable companye andꝛ treWe honest countenaunce / Andꝛ trouthe in theyꝛ Wordes / Andꝛ hit is to Wete that the notaryes been ryght prouffytable andꝛ ought to be good and treWe foꝛ the co: myn . And they ought to kepe them fꝛom appꝛoꝛzyng to them self that thyngꝛ that apertteyneth to the comyn '

f ij

And yf they be good to them self, they ben good to other
and yf they be euyl for them self, they ben euyl for other
And the processes that ben maad tofore the Juges ought
to ben Writen and passyd by them. And it is to Wete that
by their Writyng in the processes may come moche prouffit
And also yf they Wrote otherWyse than they ought to do
may enseWe moche harme and domage to the comyn.
Therfore ought they to take good hede that they chaunge
not ne corrumpe 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 knoWe the sta
tutes, ordenaunces & the laWes of the citees of the contre
Where they dWelle and enhabite. 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 admoneste & Warne them that gouerne. that suche thyn
ges may be chaunged in to better estate, for custume esta-
blisshed ayenst good maners and 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 ayenst
right ought to be holden for nought. Alas Who is noW
that aduocate or notarye that hath charge to Wrote and
kepe sentence that putteth his entente to kepe more the co
myn prouffyt or as moche as his oWen. but alle drede of
god is put aback. And they deceyue the symple men.
& drawen them to the courtes disordenatly & constrayne
them to sWere and make othes not couenable. and in as
semblyng the peple thus to gyder they make mo traysons

in the cytees thenne they make good alyaunces.
And otherwhile they deceyue theyr souerayns / Whan they
may do hit ouertly / For there is no thyng at this day
that so moche greueth rome and Italie as doth the college
of notaryes and aduocates publique / for they ley not of
one acorde. Alas and in Engelond What hurte doon the
aduocates men of lawe and attorneyes of court to the co-
myn peple of the reame as wel in the spirituel lawe as
in the temporalle. how torne they the lawe and statutes
at theiz plesure / how ete they the peple / how enpoueze they
the comynte / I suppose that in alle cristendom are not so
many pletazs attorneys and men of the lawe as ley in
englond onely. for yf they weze nombrid alle that longe
to the courtes of the chaunserye. kynges lenche. comyn
place. chekez / ressayt / and helle / and the lagge lewazs of
the same / hit shold amounte to a grete multitude. And
how al thyse lyue and of whom / yf hit shold be vttrid and
tolde / hit shold not be leleuyd for they entende to theyr syn
guler wele and prouffyt and not to the comyn / how wel
they ought to be of good wyl to gydez. And admoneste ꝛ
warne the cytees eche in his right in suche wyse that they
mygbt haue pees and loue one wyth anothez. ꝛ Tullyus
saith that frendshyp and good wylle that one ought to
haue ayenst another for the wele of hym that he loueth.
Wyth the semblable wylle of hym / ought to be put forth
tofore al othez thynges. ꝛ ther is no thyng so resēblyng
and lyke to the bees that makeyn hony so couenable in
prosperite and in aduezsite as is loue. For by loue
gladly the bees holdeyn them to gydez.

and yf ony trespace to that other anone they renne vpon the malefactour for to punysshe hym. and verray true loue faylleth neuer for wele ne for euyl, and the most swete & the most comfortyng thyng is for to haue a frend to whō a may may say his secret as wel as to hym self, but verayly amytye and frendshyp is sometyme founded vpon sōme thyng delectable. and this amytie cometh of yongthe in the which dwelleth a disordynate hete / & otherwhile amytie is founded vpon honeste / and this amytie is vertuous / of the whiche tullyus saith that there is an amytie vertuous by the whiche a may ought to do to his frende al that he requyreth by reason, for to do to hym a thyng dishonest it is ayenst the nature of verray frendshyp & amytye And thus for frendshyp ne for fauour a may ought not to doo ony thyngh vnreasonable ayenst the comyn prouffyt ner ageynst his fayth ne ageynst his othe. For yf alle tho thynges that the frendes desyre and requyre were accomplysshed and doyn / hyt sholdh seme that they sholdh be dyshoneste coniuracions. And they myght otherwhyle more greue and hurte than proffyte and ayde. And herof sayth Seneque that Amytye is of suche wylle as the frende wylle. And to refuse that ought to be refused by reason. And yet he saith more that a may ought to alowe & preise his frend tofore the peple / & to correcte & to chastyse hym pryuely / for the lawe of amytie is suche. for a man ought not to demaunde ner do to be doyn to his frende no vylayns thyngh that ought to be kept secrete And Valerian sayth that it is a foulee thynge and an euyl excusasion. yf a may confesse that he hath doyn ony

euyl for his frende ayenst right and reason / And sayth that there was a good man named tassyle which herde one his frende requyre of hym a thynge dishoneste which he denyed & wold not do / & than his frende said to hym in grete despyte / What nede haue I of thy frendship & amytee when thou wilt not do that thyng that I zequyre of the. & tassile answerd to hym. What nede haue I of the frēdship & of the amyte of the. yf I shold do for the thyng dishonest and thus loue is founded otherwhile. vpon good prouffytable / & this loue enduzeth as longe as he seeth his prouffyt. and hewf men say a comyn prouerbe in englond / that loue lasteth as longe as the money endurith / & when the money faillyth than theze is no loue / & Varro rehezaith in his sōmes / that the riche men ley al louyd by this loue. for their frendes ben like as the huske which is about the grayn. and no man may prowe his frende so wel as in adueersite / or when he is poure. for the Veray trewe frende fayleth at no nede / & seneque saith that sōme folowe the emperour for riches / & so don the flies the hony for the swetenes & the wolf the carayn. And thyse companye folowe the praye / and not the man. And Tullyus sayth that tarquyn the prowdy hady a neuewe of his suster which was named brutus and this neuewe had banysshed tarquin out of rome and had sent hym in eyple. And than sayd he fyrst that he paraeyued and knewe his frendes whyche were trewe and vntrewe. & that he neuer peraeyued afore tyme when he was puyssaunt for to do theyr wylle / & sayd wel that the loue that they hady to hym / endured not but as longe as hit was to them prouffytable.

and therfore ought al the riche men of the World take hede
be they kynges prynces or duckes to What peple they doo
prouffyt and how they may and ought be louyd of theyr
peple. For cathon sayth in his book / see to Whom thou
geuest. & thys loue Whiche is founded Vpon 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 / And
therfore sayth the Versefier thyse two Versis · Tempore fe-
lici multi numerantur amici / Cum fortuna perit nullus
amicus erit · Whiche is to say in englisch that as longe
as a man is eWrous and fortunat he hath many frendes
but Whan fortune torneth and perisheth / there abydeth not
to hym one frende. and of thys loue ben loued the medo-
Wes / feldes / trees & the bestys for the prouffyt that men
take of them / but the loue of the men ought to be charite
Verray gracious and pure by goody fayth / And the Verray
treWe frendes ben knoWen in pure aduersite. And piers
alphons sayth in his book of Moralite that there Was a
phylosophre in Arabye that had an onely sone / of Whom
he demaunded What frendes he hady goten hym in his lyf
And he answerd that he had many / and his fader sayd to
hym · I am an olde man and yet woude I neuer fynde but
one frende in al my lyf, and I twWe 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 cõmaunded the philosopher his sone ·that he
shold goo and slee a swyne /and put hit in a sacke/ and
sayne that it were a man dede that he hadi slayn and bere
hit to his frendes for to burye hit secretly /And whan the
sone had doy as his fader cõmaundedi hym and had requy:
red his frendes one after another as afore is saydi /
they denyed hym andi answerd to hym that he was a by:
layne to requyre and desire of them thyng that was so pe:
rilous ·And than he came agayn to his fader andi saydi
to hym how he hadi zequyred al his frendes .And that he
had not foundey one that wold helpe hym in his nede /
And than his fader sayd to hym that he shold goo andi
zequyre his frende whyche had but one + and zequyre hym
that he shold helpe hym in his nede .and whan he hadi 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 gwunde /and whan hit
was zedy and woldi haue buryed the body /he founde hit
ay hogge or a swyne and not a man /and thus this sone
preuyd this man to be a verray trewe frende of his fader
And preuyd that his frendes were fals frendes of fortu:
ne / And yet zehercth the sayd piers Alphons + that there
were two marchauntes one of bandach and that other of
Egypt whiche were so ioyned to geder by so grete frend:
shyp that he of bandache cam on a tyme for to se his frende
in Egypt of whom he was receyuyd right honurably/
And this marchaunt of Egypt hadi in his hows a fayre
yonge mayden whom he shold haue hadi in mariage to
hym self / Of the whiche mayde thys marchaunt of

kandach Was espriſedy With her loue ſo ardantly that he Was right ſeek / and that men ſuposid hym to dye. And than the other dyd do come the phiſiſiens Whiche ſayd that in hym Was no ſekenes ſauf paſſyon of loue / Thenne he ayyd of the ſeek may yf there Were ony Woman in hys hoWs that he loued and maad al the Women of his hoWs to come tofore hym / And than he chees her that ſholdy haue ben that others Wyf and ſaydy that he Was ſeek for her. Than his frende ſayd to hym. frende comforte 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 kandach Wedded the mayde. And Went With his Wyf and With his richeſſe ageyn in to his contre And after this anone after hit happend that the mar: chaunt of Egypt became ſo poure by euyl fortune. that he Was conſtreyned to ſeche and begge his breed / by the con: tray in ſo moche that he cam to kandach / and Whan he entrid in to the toun hit Was derk nyght that he coude not fynde the hoWs 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 areſtyd hym and ſaydy that he Was an homycide andy had ſlayn a man Whiche lay theze dede / And anone he confeſſid hyt Wyth a good Wylle. and had leuer to ben hangydy. than to dye in that myſerable and pouz lyf that he ſuffzyd. And thus Whan he Was brought to Jugement. and ſentence ſholdy haue ben gyuen ayenſt hym as an homycide. His frend of kandach cam and ſaWe hym andy anone kneWe that thys

Was his good frende of egypte · And forthwyth stepte
in and sayd that he hym self was culpable of the deth of
this man . and not that other/ and enforced hym in alle
maners for to delyuer and excuse that other /And than
whan that he that had doon the feet and had slayne the
man sawe this thyng/he considered in hym self that these
two men were innocent / of thys feet . And doubtyng the
dyuyne Jugement . he came tofore the Juge & confessyd
al the feet by ordre /And whan the Juge sawe and herde
al thys matter and also the causes he considered the ferme
and trewe loue that was betwene the two frendes /and
vnderstood the cause why that one wold saue that other
and the trouth of the fayte of the homycide . And than he
pardoned al the feet hooly and entierly . And after the
marchaunt of bandach brought hym of egipt wyth hym in
to his hows /And gaf to hym his sister in maiage /and
departed to hym half his goodes . and so bothe of hem were
riche / and thus were they bothe verray faythful and trewe
frendes . Furthermore notaries / men of lawe & crafty
men shold and ought to loue eche 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 ac-
companye them ofte tyme wyth women / And therfore hit
appertyneth 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 might not beholde the wo
men wyth out flesshly desyre / And how wel it is sayd

before that he dyd hit for other certeyn cause yet was this one of the prynápal causes · And Valerian tellyth that there was a yong man of rome of right excellent beaulte And how wel that he was right chaste .for as moche as his beaulte meuyd many women to desire hym, in so moche that he vnderstood that the parentes and frendes of them hadn suspecion in hym, he dyd his visage to be kutte with a knyf and lancettis endlongn andn euerthwart for to deforme his visage .and had leuer haue a fowle visage and disformed .than the beaute of his visage sholdn meue other to synne /And also we rede that there was a Nonne a virgyne dyd to put out bothe her eyen· For as moche as the beaute of her eyen meuyd a kyngn to loue her, whyche eyen she sente to the kyngn in a present .And also we rede that plato the right ryche phylosophez lefte his owne lande and contre .and chase his mansion and dwellyng in achadomye a town, which was not onely destroyedn but also was ful of pestelence, so that by the aire andn charge and austomaúce of sowe that he there suffrid .mygbt eschewe the hetes andn occasions of lecherye /Andn many of hys dysáples dydn in lyke wyse / helemand reherceth that demostenes the philosopher laye ones by a noble woman for his dysporte, and playengn with hez, he demaundedn of hez what he shold geue to haue to doo with hez / and she answerd to hym a thousand pens .& he saydn ageyn to her I sholdn repente me to bye hit so dere .and whan he aduysed hym that he was so soze chauffyd to speke to hez for to accomplisshe his flesshly desyre . he despoyled hym al nakyd and bente and put hym in the mydes of the snowe / Andn

Ouyde zeherath that thys thynge is the leste that maye helpe and most greue the louers /and therfore saynt au-
gustyn reherath in his book de ciuitate dei that there was a right noble womayn named Maraulian that wan and
took the noble cite of Simause /And tofore er he dyd wo assayle hit or refight hit /& or he had do reshedde ony bloody he wepte and shedde many teris 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 vpon payn of deth that no man sholdy be so hardy to take and defoyle ony woman by force what that euer she were . After thys the crafty men ought to vnderstonde for to be trewe + and to haue trouth in her mou
thes / And that theyr dedes folowe theyr wordes + For he that sayth one thyngh and doth another /he condempneth hym self by his word / also they ought to see wel to that they be of one acorde in goody / by entente / by word, and by dede . so that they be not discordaunt in no caas / But that euery man haue pure verite and trouth in hym self . For god hym self is pure verite / and men say comynly that trouth seketh none heznes ne orneres + and trouth is a vertu by the whiche alle drede and fraude is put awey / Men saye trewly whan they say that they knowe . And they that knowe not trouthe . ought to knowe hyt, And alwey vse trouthe + for saynt austyn sayth that they that wene to knowe trouth . and lyueth euyl and vyciously 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 flatezye . 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 forsight in his mynde. And lyenge
cometh of an oultrageous and contrarie thought in hys
mynde, for he that lyeth wittyngly, knoweth wel that hit
is ageynst the trouthe that he thynketh, and hewf speketh
saynt bernard and sayth. that the mouth that lyeth des:
troyeth the sowle. and yet sayth saynt austyn in another
place. for to say one thynge and do the contrarye, maketh
doctryne suspeious. And knowe ye verily that for to lye
is a right perilous thynge 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 lignage
to the deth perdurable / and made hem to be cast out of para:
dyse terrestre / For he maadr them to beleue that godr 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 dampnedr to the deth perdurable.
And god knewe hit wel tofore. but they supposidr wel to
haue knowen many other thynges / and to be lyke vnto
his knowleche and science. And therfore saith saynt poule
in a pistyl. hit ne appertyneth to sauer or knowe more
than behoueth to sauer or knowe / but to sauer or knowe
by mesure or sobrenes / And valerian reherseth that there
was a good woman of siracusane that woldr not lye vn
to the kyngr of Sicile whyche was namedr dyonyse. and

this kyng was so ful of tyrannye and so cruel that alle the world desired his deth and cursid hym. Sauf this wo
man onely which was so olde that she had seen iij or four kynges reignyng in the contre. and euery mornyng as sone as she was rysen she prayed to god that he wold gyue vnto the tyraunt good lyf and longe / and that she myght neuer see his deth / And whan the kyng dyonyse knewe this he sent for her / and mezuayled moche hewf / for he knewe wel that he was sore hated / and demaûded her. What cause meuyd 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 there came after hym a verse / of whom we coueyted also the deth. and whan we were delyuerd of hym. thou camest to be our lord which art worst of al other. and now I doubte yf we haue one after the he shal be worse than thou art / and therfore I shal praye for the / and whan dyonyse vnderstood 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 chapitre of the third book treüth of the maner of the fourth pawn & of the marchaütis or chaüngers ca iiij

The fourth pawn is sette tofore the kyng .and is t formed in the forme of a man holdyng in his right hand a balance 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 marchantes of cloth lynnen and Wollen /and of al other marchandyses , and by the table that is tofore hym is sygnefyed the chaungers +and they that lene money/ & they that bye and selle by the Weyght ben signefyed by the balances /and Weyghtes/And the

customers/tollars /and receyuours of rentes & of money
ben signefyed by the purse ·and knowe ye that alle they
that ben signefied by this peple ought to flee auarice and
couetyse /and eschewe brekyng of the dayes of payment &
ought to holde and kepe theyr promyses .& ought also to
zendre and zetore that. that is gyuen to them to kepe / &
therfore hit is reson that this peple be set tofore the kyng
for as moche as they signefye the receyuours of the tre ;
sours ryal that ought alway to be redy tofore the kyng.&
to answer for hym to the knyghtes and to other persones
for theyr wages and souldyes / & therfore haue I said that
they ought to flee auarice . For auarice is as moche to
say as an adourer or as worshypar of fals ymages / and
hewof 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 vyce causeth a man to do euyll
and thys doyng euyl is whan hit reygneth in olde men /&
hewof sayth Seneque ·that all worldly thynges ben mor-
tefyed and appetissed in olde men reseruyd auarice onely
whyche alway abydeth with hym and dyeth with hym /
But I vnderstonde not wel the cause whewof this cometh
ne wherfore hit may be , And hit is a fowle thyng and
contrarye to reson ·that whan a man is at the ende of his
Journey for to lengthe his viage and to ordeyne more vi
tayl 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 prouerbys of the wyse men

that thauaricious may doth no good tyl that he be deedy.
and he desireth no thynge but to lyue long in thys synne/
for the couetous may certeynly is not good for ony thyng
for he is euyl to hym self & to the riche & to the poure. and
fyndeth cause to gaynsay theyr desire, & hewf reherath se:
neque & sayth that antigonus was a couetous prynce, &
whan tynque whiche was his frende requyred of hym a le
saunt / he answerd to hym that he demaûded more than hyt
appertyneth to hym/ & than tynque constrayned by grete
necesite avid & requyreth of hym a peny/ & he answerdy to
hym that it was no yefte couenable for a kyng. and so he
was alwey redy to fynde a cause nought to geue. For he
myght haue gyuen to hym a lesaunt as a kynge to his
frende, and the peny as to a poure may. & ther is no thyng
so litil /but that the humanyte of a kyng may geue hyt/
auarice ful of couetise is a maner of al vices of luxurye
& Josephus reherath in the book of aûcient histories, that
ther was in rome a right noble lady named paulyne /and
was of the most noble of rome. right honest for the no:
blesse of chastite / which was maryedy in the tyme that
the rommen glorefyedy them in theyr chastyte vnto a
yonge may /fayr. noble. andy riche aboue al other. & was
lyke and semblable to his wyf in al casis. Andy thys
paulyne was lelouyd of a knyght namyd enymerancian
andy 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 neuer torne the herte of her which
was on her syde also colde andy harde / as marbyll, But
she hady leuer to refuse his yeftes andy hys promyses.

Thay to entende to couetyse and to lose her chastyte / & We
rede also in the histories of wome that there was a noble
lady of wome which lyued a solitarye lyf & was chaste &
honeste . & had gadrid to gedez a grete some of golde . and
had hyd hit in the erthe in a pytte with in her hows / & When
she was deed / the bisshop dyd do burye her in the chirche wel
and honestly / and anone after this gold was foudey and
bory 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 vnto the bysshop & tolde hym
therof / & the bisshop gaf hem leue to open the sepulcre . &
When they had openyd hit · they fonde al the golde molten
with fire ful of sulphre · & was pouzed & put in her mouth
& they herd one say . thou desizedest this gold by couetyse .
take hyt and drynke hyt / And thenne they took the
body out of the tombe / And hit was cast out in a preuy
place · Seneque rehezath in the boook of the cryes of
women that auarye is foundement of alle vyces / And
Valerian reherath that auarice is a ferdful garde or kepar
of richessis . for he that hath oy hym or in his keppyng
moche money or othez richessis · is alway aferd to lose hit
or to be robbid or to be slayn therfore · & he is not eurous
nez happy that by couetise getith hit / & al the euyls of this
vice of auarice had a may of wome named septenulle / for
he was a frend of one named tarchus / & this septenulle
brent so soze & so cruelly in this synne of couetise . that he
had no shame to smyte of the hede of hys frend by trayson

For as moche as one framosian had promysed to hym as moche weyght of pure gold as the heed wayed. & he bare the said heed vpon a staf thrugh the ate of rome + and he voyded the brayn out therof & filled hyt ful of leedy for to weye the heuyar, this was a right horible & cruel auarice Ptolome kyng of egipaiens pourseWed auarice in another manere. for Whan anthonie empewur of rome saWe that he was right riche of gold & siluer/ he had hym in grete hate & tormentid hym right cruelly/ and Whan he shold perisshe by cause of his richessis. he toke al his hauoir & put hyt in a shippe/ & went with alle in to the hye see to thende for to dwWne & perisshe there the shippe and his richesses by cause anthonye his enemye sholdy not haue hit, & Whan he was there he durst not perisshe hit ner myght not fynde in hys herte to departe from hit. but cam & brought hit agayn in to his hows Wheze he receyuyd the reWarde of deth therfore & with out doubte he was not lord of the richesse but the richesse was lady ouer hym, & therfore hit is sayd in prouer be that a man ought to seignorie ouer the riches, & not for to serue hit. yf thou canst deWly vse thy richesse than she is thy chamberer. & yf thou cay not departe from hit & vse hit honestly at thy plesure. knoWe verily that she is thy lady /for the riches neuer satisfyeth the couetous /but the more he hath the more he desireth / & salustie saith that auarice destroubleth fayth/ peste/ honeste & al thise other goody vertues / And taketh for thyse vertues / pryde /cruelte and to forgete god. and sayth that al thynges be vendable And after this they ought to be Ware that they lene not. to moche ner make so grete creaũces by Whiche they may

falle in pouerte, for saynt ambrose saith Vpon thoby. pouerte hath no lawe / for to owe hit is a shame/ & to owe and not paye is a more shame. yf thou be poure be waze how thou lo wwest. & thynke how thou mayst paye & zendze agayn yf thou be riche thou hast no nede to lowwe & aye. & it is said in the prouerbis that hit is fraude to take that thou wylt not nez mayst zendze & paye agayn. & also hit is sayd in repwche when I lene I am thy frende/ & when I aye I am thyn enemye. as who saith/ god at the lenyng/ & the deuyll atte rendryng. & seneke saith in his auctorites/ that they that gladly lowwe/ ought gladly to paye. & ought to surmoute in corage 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 thankynges therfore, and moche more ought a man to zepaye that is lent hym in his nede. but now in these dayes many men by lenyng of theiz money haue made of their frendes enemyes. & hewf speketh domas the philosophez & saith that my frende lowwed money of me/ & I haue lost my frende & my money/ theze was a marchaut of gene & also a chaungeouz whos name was albezt ganor/ & this albezt was a man of gzete trouth and loyalte. foz on a tyme theze was a man cam to hym and sayd and affermyd that he had delyuezyd in to his hanke v hondred flozyns of gold to kepe/ whiche was not trouth foz he lyed. whiche v C floryns the sayd albert knewe not of, nez coude fynde in al his bookes ony suche money to hym due, & this lyaz coude brynge no wytnes. but began to braye. czye & deffame the said albert / & than this albert callyd to hym this mazchaunt and sayd

dere frende take here V hondred florens Whiche thou affer=
mest & sayest that thou hast delyuerd to me. & forthWyth
tolde hem andr toke hem to hym. & lo this good man hadr
leuer to lose his good than his good name and renome.
and this other marchaunt toke these florens that he hadr
Wrongfully receyuyd. and enployed them in dyuerse mar
chaundyse in so moche that he gate andr encresid and Wan
With them y V thousaud florens /and Whan he saWe that
he approched toWard his deth. and that he had no children,
he establisshed albert his heyr in al thynges. & saydr that
With the V hondred florens that he had receyuyd of albert
falsely, he had goten alle that he had in the World /& thus
by deuyne purueaunce he that had be a theef fraudelent, Was
maad afterWard a treWe procurour & atorney of the saydr
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 requyred to repaye hyt,
they haue no shame to denye hit apertly/ Wherof hit happed
that there Was a marchaunt Which had a good & a grete na
me & renome of keppyng Wel suche thynges as Was de=
lyuerdr to hym to kepe. but Whan he saWe place & tyme, he
retayned hit lyke a theef. so hit befel 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 iij yere in his keppyng / & after this thre yere
thys marchaunt came andr requyred to haue his good de=
lyuerd to hym agayn. And thys man kneWe Wel that he
had no recorde ne Witnes, to preue on hym this duete / nor
he hadr no obligacion ne Wrytyngr of hym therof.

In suche wyse that he denyed al entiezly / and sayd playn ly he knewe hym not. and whan this good man herd and vndezstood this. he went sowfully and wepyng from hym so ferre and longe that an olde woman mette with hym · and demaunded of hym the cause of his wepyng + and he sayd to her woman hit apertenyeth no thyng to the goo thy waye / And she prayed hym that he wold telle her the cause of his sowwe / For parauenture she myght geue hym counseyl good and profytable / and thenne this man tolde to her by ordre the cas 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 faythful 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 ordeyne and bye dyuerse cofres and chestes. And that they doo fylle them with sōme 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 thē. 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 ferre contre / and shold be longe er they retorned agayn / & whilis they speke to hym of this mater, thou shalt come vpon them & requyre hym that he doo delyuer to the + that thou tokest 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 keware late hym not knowe they ben thy good frendes ner of thy knowleche

This was a grete and good counceyl of a woman /and verily it cometh of nature oftey tymes to women to geue counceyl shortly and vnadvysedly to thynges that ley in doubte or perilous and nedeth hasty remedye . and as ye haue herd . this good man dyd . and didy after her coun= ceyl . and came vpon them whan they spack of the matter to the marchaunt for to delyuer to hym the saydy 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 nowe wel . for I haue advysed me that thou art suche a man /and camest to me suche a tyme / and delyuered to me suche a thynge whiche I haue wel kept ,and thenne callyd his clerk +and bad hym goo fetche suche a thyngy in suche a place and delyuer hit to that good man/ for he delyuerd hit to me / and than the good man receyuyd his goody ,and went his waye right joyously and glad.and this marchaunt truchour & deceyuour was defrauded from his euyl malice. and he ne had neyther that one ne that other ony thyngy that was of value . and therfore hit is sayd in prouerbe to defraude the begiler is no fraude/and he that doth wel folowetb our lordy /and seneke sayth that charite enseigneth and techeth that men shold paye wel /for good payement is somtyme good confessyon /And this marchaunt truchour and de= ceyuour resemblith and is lyke to an hound that bereth a chese in his mouth whan he swymmeth ouer a water , for whan he is on the watre . he seeth the shadowe of the chese in the watre/and than he weneth hit be another chese & for couetyse to haue that.he openyth his mouth to catche

that / & than the chese that he bare fallith doun in to the Wa
tre · and thus he loseth bothe two / & in the same wyse was
seruyd thys marchaũt deceyuour/for for to haue the coffres
which he had seen / he delyuerd agayn that he wold
haue holden wrongfully . and thus by his couetise & propre
malyce he was deceyued . and therfore hit appertyneth
to euery good and wyse man to knowe and considere in
hym self how moche he hath receyued of other men . & vpon
what cõdycion hit was delyuerd to hym/and it is to wete
that thys thyng appertyneth to receyuours 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 forgete suche thynges as ley taken to them to kepe
I answer and say that it is grete couetise for to haue tho
thynges to them self and neuer 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 marchauntes .

The fifthe chapitre of the thyrd book treteth of physi-
cíens medecynes spyers and apotíquaries capitulo 8

The man that is sette tofore the quene signefyeth
t the physicien/spicer apotíquaire+and is formed in the
fygure of a man /and he is sette in a chayer 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 ywn and of siluer for to make Jnci-
sions and to sezche Woundes and hurtes.and to cutte apos
tumes. And by thyse thynges ley knowen the surgyens
By the book ley Understonden the phisicíens and all gra
mariens. logyciens / maysters of lawe 'of geometrye,

arsmetrique. musique and of astronomye /and by the am
pole ley signefyed the makers of pygmentaries spicers &
apotiquaries / and they that make confecions .and confi
tes and medecynes maad wyth precious spyce /And by
the ffeeremens and Instrumentis that hangen on the
gurdel ley signefyed the Surgyens and the maysters
and knowe ye forezeyn that a maystre and physicyen
ought to knowe the proporcions of lettres of gramayre.
the monemens the conclucions and the sophyms of logi
que /the gracious speche and Ytterauncē of rethorique,
the mesures of the houres and dayes. and of the cours of
astronomye. the nombre of arsmetrique.and the ioyous
songes of musique. and of al thyse tofore named / the
maysters of rethorique ley the chyef maysters in speula
tyf. and the two last that ley practicien and Werkes ben
callyd physicien and surgyens, how Wel they ben sage
and curious in thyse sciences. and how Wel that mānys
lyf is otherWhyle put in thordonaunce of the physicien or
surgyen /yf he haue not sagesse and Wysedom in hym self
of dyuerse Wrytynges and is not expert, and medlyth
hym in the craft of physique /he ought ketter be callyd a
slear of peple than a phisicien or surgyen. For he may
not be a maystre but yf he be sewre and expert in the craft
of phisike that he slee not moo than he cureth and maketh
hole /and therfore sayth auycenne in anforysme, yf
thou cureſt the seek man. And knoweſt not the cause.
Whewf the maladye ought to be cured. hit ought to be
sayd that thou hast cured hym by fortune and hape more
than by ony kunnyng. And in al thyse manez of people

ther ought to be meurte of good maners / auctosie of Wor-
des /chastite of the body promysse of helthe + and as to them
that been seek contynuel visitacion of them + & they ought
to enquere the cause of theyr sekenessys and the sygnes
and tokens of theyr maladyes as is rehersid in the bookes
of the auctouzs by right grete dyligence, and speciallly in
the bookes of ypocras galiene and of auycene, and When
many maysters and phisicians ben assemblid tofore the
paient or seke man. They ought not there to argue and
dispute one agaynst another / but they ought to make
good and symple colacion to gedez in suche Wyse as they
be not seen in theyr dysputyngh one agaynst anothez. for
to encroche and gete more glory of the World to them self
than to trete the salute and helthe of the paient and seek
man. I meruaylle Why that When they see and knoWe
that Wan the seek man hath grete nede of helthe. Wherfore
than they make gretter obiecion of contrariousnes 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 subtiltees /
And alle this maner is amonge doctouzs of laWe that
tretith no thyng of mannes lyf / but of temporel thynges
that he is holden most Wyse and best lezned / that by hys
counceyl can best acorde the contencions and dyssencions
of men / and therfore ought the phisicians and suzgyens
leue When they be tofore the seek men al discencions and
contrariousnes of Wordes + in suche Wyse that hit appere
that they studye more for to cure the seek men than for to
desputé / 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 aper-
teyneth som tyme vnto the phisicien to visite and cure
quenes duchesses countesses and alle other ladyes &
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 ensaumple to other of good
contynence. For valerian zeherath that ypocras 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 weze students promysedh to the woman
a besaunte yf she myght or coude torne the corage of ypo-
cras for to haue to doon with hez / and she came to hym by
nyght and dydh so moche by her craft that she laye with
hym in his bedde / But she coude neuer do so moche that
she myght corumpe his chaste lyuyng ne defoule the crowne
of his consience. and whan the yonge men knewe that
she hadh ben with hym al the nyght. & coude not chaunge
his contynence. they began to mocque her / and to aye &
demaunde of hez the besaunt that they hadh geuen to hez.
And she answezdh that hit was holden and gagedh vpon
an ymage / for as moche as she myght not chaunge hys
contynence she callydh hym an ymage / and in semblable
wyse rehezath valeryan of Sænocrates phylosophez that
theze lay with hym a woman alle nyght and temptedh
hym dysordonatly / but that right chaste man. made ne-
uez semblaunt to hez / nez he neuez remeuydh from hys

ferme purpos/ in suche wyse as she departed from hym al confused and shamed / Cornelius sapion that was sent by the romayns for to gouerne spayn, as sone as he entrid in to the castellys and in to the townes of that londe. he began to take aweye al tho thynges that myght stere or meue his men to lechezye. wherfore men sayd that he dwf and chased out of the hoost moo than two thousand hour dellys. and he that was wyse knewe wel that delyte of lechezye corupted and apayred the corages of tho men that ben abandoned to the same delyte / And hewf it is sayd in the fables of the poetes in the first book of the trupbes of the philosophres by figure / that they that entrid in to the fonteyne of the Sirenes or mermaydens / were corumped and they took them aweye wyth hem / And also ye ought to knowe that they ought to entende dylygently to the cures of the infirmytees in cyrurgerye / they ought to make theyr plaisters acordyng 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 contrarye. lyke as it apperteyneth to phisique. for the hete is cured by colde, and the colde by hete and Joye by sorowe. and sorowe by Joye. and hit happeth ofte tymes that mocke peple be in grete paille in takyng to mocke Joye and lese her membris. and become half benomen in the sodeyn Joye, and ioye is a replecaion of thynge that is delectable spread a brode in alle the membres wyth right grete gladnes. and al men entende and desyre to haue the sayd right grete Joye naturelly / but they knowe not what may ensue or come thewf/ and this Joye cometh

otherWhile of vertue of conſcience /And the Wiſe man is
not Wyth out this ioye /and thys Joye is neuer interupt
ne in defaulte at no tyme . for hit cometh of nature . and
fortune may not take aWey that nature geueth/ & marcial
ſayth that Joyes fugetyues abyde not longe / but fle aWey
anone ·and Valerian zeherath that he that hath force and
ſtrengthe reſonable. hath hit of verray matier of cõpleccõn
and that cometh of loue / and this Joye hath as moche
poWer to departe the ſoWle fro the body · as hath the thondre
Wherof hit happendy that there Was a Woman named lyna
Whiche hady her huſbondy in the Warre in the ſhyppys of
the romayns ·and ſhe ſuppoſidy verayly that he Was deedy
but hit happendy that he came agayn home . andy as he en
trid in to his yate / his Wyf mette Wyth hym ſodaynly not
Warned of his comyng/Whiche Was ſo gladde and Joyous
that in enbracyngy hym ſhe fyl doun deedy / alſo of ano-
ther Woman to Whom Was reportedy by a fals meſſanger
that her ſone Was deedy .Whiche Went hoom ſorowfully to
her hoWs·and afterWard Wheny her ſone came to her/as ſone
as ſhe ſaWe hym ſhe Was ſo eſmoued Wyth Joye that ſhe
deyed tofore hym ·but this is not ſo grete meruayle of
Women as is of the men . For the Women ben lykenedy
Vnto ſofte Waye or ſofte ayer/and therfore ſhe is callyd
Mulier Whiche is as moche to ſaye in latyn as mollis aer
and in engliſſh ſofte ayer/and hit happeth ofte tymes that
the nature of them that ben ſofte andy mole.taketh ſõner
Inpreſſyon than the nature of men that be rude & ſtronge
Valerie zeherath that a knyght of rome named inſtaulo-
ſus that had neWly cõquerid & ſubdued the yle of corſika

and as he sacrefyed his goodes / he receyuyd lettres from the senate of Rome in which were conteyned dyuerse supplicacions / the which when he vnderstood he was so glad and so enterprised with Joye . that he knewe not what to do / and than a grete fume or smoke yssued out of the fire in which he dispayrid and fyl in to the fyre / where he was anone deed / And also it is sayd that phylomenus laughed so sore & distemperatly that he dyed al laughyng And we rede that ypocras the phisicien fond remedye for thys Joye , For when he had long dwelled out of hys contrey for to lerne kunnyng and wysedom . and shold retorne vnto his parentis and frendes / when he approchyd nygh them . he sent a messanger tofore for to telle them his comyng / and cõmaunded hym to saye that he cam / for they had not longe tofore seen hym / and that they shold attempre them in that Joye or they shold see hym , And also we rede that titus sone of vaspasian when he had conquerd Jherusalem and abode in the contrees by / he herde that his fader vaspasian was chosen by al the senate for to gouerne the empyre of rome / wherfore he had so right grete ioye that sodeynly he lost the strength of al his membris and became al Inpotent . And when Josephus that made the historye of the romayns ayẽst the Jewys . which was a right wyse phisicien sawe and knewe the cause of this sekenes of the sayd titus . he enquired of his folke yf he had in hate ony man gretely so moche 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 moche , that ther was no man in his court so hardy that durst name

hym in hys presence. & than Josephus assigned a day Whã this may shold come, & ordeyned a table to be sette in the sight of titus, & did hit to be replenysshed plẽtously With al dayntees, & ordeyned men to be armed to kepe hym in suche Wyse that no man shold hurt hym by the cõmaũdement of titus, & ordeyned boutelers, cokes, & other officers for to serue hym Worshipfully like an emperour. and Whan 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 With grete reuerence right curtoisly. & Whan titus behelde his enemye sette tofore hym With so grete honour. he began to chauffe hym self by grete felonye / and cõmaũded his men that this man shold be slayn, & Whan he saWe / that none Wold obeye hym / but that they alWey seruyd hym reuerently / he Waye so ardant. and enbraid Wyth so grete yre. that he that had lost al the force & strengthe of his body and Was al Impotent in alle his membrys. recouerd the helth agayn and strengthe of hys membris by the hete that entryd in to the Raynes and syneWes, And Josephus dyd so mocke that he Was recouerd and hoole / And that he helde that man no more for hys enemye / But helde hym for a Reray treWe frende. And afterWard maad hym his loyal feloWe & companyoun. And the espycers and apotícaries ought to make treWly suche thynges as is cõmaunded to them by the phisiciens & they ought tacomplisse their billes & charge curiously With grete diligence. that for none other cause they shold be ocupied but in makyng medecynes or confeccõns treWly & that they ought Vpon paryl of their soWle not to forgete

by neglygence ne wcheleſnes to gyue one medecyne for an
other /in ſuche wyſe that they be not ſleazs of men · And
that they doo put no falſe thynges in her ſpices for to en
payze or encrecyng the weyght for yf they ſo do they may
better be callyd theuys than eſpicers or apticaries / And
they that ben acuſtumed to make oynementis they ought
to make it properly of trewe ſtuffe and of good odoure
after the receptes of the auncient doctours . and after the
forme that the phiſicians 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
thyng venemous ne doyng 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 deſtruccons of theiz neygh
bours / & alſo that they that haue mynyſtrid tho thynges
to them . been not taken for parteners of the blame and
of the ſynne of them , The ſurgyens ought alſo to be de ;
bonayz / amyable / and to haue pyte of theyz paients · and
alſo they ought not be haſty to launce & cutte apoſtumes &
ſoores . ne open the heedes · ner to aztache bones broken .
but yf the cauſe be apparant . For they mygbt ellys loſe
theyr good renomee · And mygbt better be callyd bou;
chers thenne belars or guazyſſhours of wounder and ſo ;
res , And alſo hit behoueth that alle thys maner of pe ;
ple a fore ſayd that haue the charge for to make hoole
and guariſſhe alle manez of maladyes and Infizmytees
that they firſt haue the cure of them ſelf · and they ought
to purge them ſelf from alle apoſtumes and alle vyces

in suche wyse that they be net and honeste & enformed in al good maners. and that they shewe hem hole and pure & redy for to hele other. and hewf sayth boeius de consolaci-one in his first book that the stezres that ben hyd vnder the clowdes may gyue no light. And therfore yf ony man wyl behold clerely the verite, late hym withdrawe hym fro the obsaurete and dezknes of the cloudes of ygnorauce for whan the engyne of a man shewetb in ioye or in sowf the pensee or thought is enuoluped in obsauzete and vnder the clowdes.

The sixte chapitre of the thyrd book treteth of the sixte pawn whiche is likenyd to tauerners hostelers and vy-tayllers capitulo

The sixte pawn which stondeth tofore the alphyn
t on the lyfte syde is made in this forme / For hit is
a man that hath the right hond stratched out as for to
calle men / and holdeth in his lift honde a loof of breed
and a cuppe of wyn . and on his gurdel hangyng a bondel
of keyes / and this resembleth the tauerners · hostelers / &
sellers of vytayl . and thyse ought properly to be sette to
fore the alphyn / as tofore a Juge / For there sourdeth oft
tymes amonge hem contenaon noyse and strif . whyche
behoueth to be determyned & trayted by the alphyn . which
is Juge of the kyng / and hit appertyneth to them for to
seke and enquere for good wynes good vytayl for to
gyue and selle to the byers · and to them that they herbe ;
we . And hit apertyneth to them wel to kepe theyr
herbewes and Innes / And alle tho thynges that they
brynge in to theyr lodgyng . and for to putte in seu:
re and sauf warde and kepyng . And the first of them
is signefyed by the lyfte hand in whyche he bereth breed
and wyn . And the second is signefyed by the right
hand which is stratched out to calle men / and the thyrd
is representyd by the keyes hangyng in the gurdel / and
thyse maner of peple ought to eschewe the synne of glo ;
tonye / For moche peple come in to theyr howses for to
drynke and for to ete / for whyche cause they ought reso ;
nably to rewle them self and refrayn them from to
moche mete and drynke · to thende that they mygbt the
more honestly delyuer thynges nedeful vnto the peple that
come vnto them / & no thyng by outrage that mygbt noye
the body · For hit happeth oft tymes that there cometh of

glotonye. tencions/stryfs/rottes. Wronges & molestacons by whiche men lese otherwhyle theiz handes, theyz eyen and othez of theyz membris / and somtyme hey slayn oz hurte vnto the deth as it is Wreton in Vitas patrum. as on a tyme an hezmyte went for to visite his gossibs. & the deuyl apeuid to hym on the wey in likenes of another hezmyte for to tempte hym. & said thou hast left thyn hermytage / & goest to visite thy gossibs/the behoueth by fozce to do one of the iij thynges that I shal say to the/thou shalt chese whether thou wolt be dronk. oz elles haue to do flesshlye with thy gossyb, oz elles thou shalt slee her husbond which is thy gossib also. & the hezmyte that thought foz to chese the leste euyl chase foz to be dronke, and whan he cam vnto them he drank so moche that he was veray dronk and whan he was dronke and eschauffyd with the wyn. he wold haue a do with his gossyb / & hez husbond withstood hym, & than the hezmyte sleWe hym. & aftez that laye by his gossyb & kneWe her flesshly. & thus by this synne of dronkenshpp he accomplisshed the tWo other synnes, By whiche thyng ye may vnderstonde and knoWe that whan the deuyl wyl take one of the castellys of Jhesu Cryst. that is to Wete the body of a man oz of a Woman/he doth as a prynce that setteth a siege tofore a castel that he wolds wynne. whyche entendeth to wynne the gate. Foz he knoWeth Wel whan he hath wonne the gate. he may sone do his wylle with the castel / And in lyke wyse doth the deuyl with euezy man and womman/ Foz whan he hath wonne the gate / that is to Wete the gate of the mouthe by glotonye oz by ony other synne.

he may do Wyth the offyces of the body al his Wylle as ye haue herd tofore, & therfore ought euery man ete & drynke sobrely in suche Wyse as he may lyue, & not lyue to ete glo tonsly & for to drynke dronk/ye se comunely that a grete hole is suffisid With right a litil pasture. & that one Wode suffiseth to many olephauntes. hit behoueth a man to be fede 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 Whewf Quytilian saith/that hit happeth ofte tymes in grete festes & dyners. that We be fylled With the sight of the noble and lichowus metis & Whan We Wold ete We bey saciat and fylled / & therfore it is sayd in prouerbe. hit is better to fille the belye than the eye. & lu: can saith that glotony is the moder of al Vyces / & especial of lecherye/ & also is destroyar of al goodes / & may not haue suffysaunce of lytil thynge. A couetous honger What se: kest thou mete and Vytayllis on the lande and in the see. & thy ioye is no thyng ellis but to haue playnteous dys shes & Wel filled at thy table lerne how men may demene theyr lyf Wyth litil thynge. and cathon saith in no Wyse obeye to glotonye Whiche is frende to lecherye / & the holy doctour saynt augustyn sayth. the Wyn eschauffith the bely that falleth anone to lecherye/the bely and the membris ben neighbours to lecherie. & thus the Vice of glotonye pro uoketh lecherye. Whewf cometh forgetenes of his mynde and destrucaon 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 dōma: geous, for this synne hath taken aWey the Vertu of man

his prowesse languysseth · his vertue is torned to diffame
the strengthe of body and of corage is torned by the, and
therfore saith Vasilly la grauut, late vs take hede howe we
serue the bely and the throte by glotonye like as we were
dymbe bestys, and we studye for to be lyke vnto belues of
the see, to whom nature hath gyuen to be alwey enclynedy
towardy the erthe · & therto loke for to serue theyr belyes · &
hewf sayth / Boecius de consolacione · in his fourth book /
that a may that lyueth and doth not the condicions of a
may · may neuer 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, how wel that right grete men and women
ful of meruaylous sciences and noble counceyl in thyse
dayes in the world be norisshed in this glotonye of wynes
and metes / & ofte tymes ben ouer seen · how suppose ye, is
hit not right a perilous thyng that a lord or gouernour
of the peple and comyn wele how 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 cathon sayth, Jre enpesseth the corage in suche as he
may not kepe verite and trouth, & anone as he is chauffid
lecherye is meuyd in hym in suche wyse that the lecherye
makyth hym to meddle in dyuerse vylayns dedes, for than
his wysedom is a slepe and goon. & therfore sayth ouyde
in his book de remedio amoris yf thou take many and dy
uerse wynes · they apparayle and enforce the corages to be
cherye · And Thobye wytnessyth in his book that luxurie
destroyeth the body and mynysseth rychessys. she loseth
the sowle. she febleth the strengthe she blyndeth the syght

and maketh the boys hoors and wawe+ ha a right euyl & foule synne of dwnkenshyp / by the pruysshith virgynyte whiche is sustez of aungellis possedyng al goodnes and seurte of al joyes pardurable. Noe was one tyme so chauffyd with wyn that he discouerd and shewid to his sones his preuy membris in suche wyse as one of his sones mocqued hym / and that other couerd 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 do with them as they had ley his propre wyues / and crete reherath that boece whiche was flour of the men, tresour of richesses / syngulez hous of sapyence / myrrour of the worlde / odour of goody renomee / and glorie of his subgetis lost al thise thynges by his luxurie. We haue seen that dyuerse that were joyned by grete amytie to geder whiles they were sobre + that that one wold put his body in parell of deth for that other and whan they weze eschauffid with wyn and dwnke / they haue wonne eche vpon other for to slee hem / and some haue ley that haue slayn so his frende / Hewdes Antipas hady not doon saynt John baptist to ley beheded / ne hady the dynez ben ful of glotonye and dwnkship. balthazar kyng of babylone hady not been chaced out of his kyngdom ne be slayn yf he hady be sobre emonge hys peple whom tyrus and dares fondy dwnken and slewe hym. The hostelers ought to be wel bespoken and auztoys of wordes to them that they receyue in to theyr lodgyng / For fayr speche & joyous chieze and debonayr cause men to gyue the hostelez a goody name + And therfore hit is sayd in a comyn

prouerbe auctoyse langage & Bel sayengh is mochе Worth and costе lytyl /And in anothez plaee it is sayd that curtosye passeth beaulte + also for as mochе as many pa=rellys /and aduentures may happen on the Wayes & passa ges to hem that been hezbewBed Wyth in theyr Innes + thezfore they ought to accompanye them Whan they departe and enseigne them the Weyes and telle to them the pa=rilles / to thende that they may surely goo theyr Vyage & Jouzney + And also they ought to kepe theyr bodyes / theyr goodes + & the good fame and renomee of theyr Innes We rede that Loth Whan he had receyuyd the aungellys in to his hous right debonayzly + Whiche he had suposid had ben mortal men and straungezs / to thende that they shold eskape the disozdynate and Vnnatuzel synne of lecherye of the sodomytes / by the vertu of good fayth + he sette apart the naturel loue of a fader . & proferd to them his dough=tezs · Whiche Were Vyzgyns + to thende that they shold kepe them and defende them fro that Villayn & horible synne And knowe ye foz certeyn that al tho thynges that been taken & delyuezd to kepe to the hoste or hostessis they ought to be sauf and yelden ageyn Without appayryngh · foz the hoste ought to knowe Who that entrith in to his hous foz to be hezbewBed takith hit for his habitacion for the tyme he hym self / and alle suche thynges as he bzyngeth Wyth hym ben cõmysed of right in the Warde and kepyngh of the hoste or hostelez / and ought to be as sauf as they Were put in his owne propre hous. and also suche hostes ought to holde seruauntes in theyz hous Whiche shold be treWe & With out auarice / in suche Wyse that they coueyte not to

haue the goodes of theyr gheſtes /and that they take not
aWey the prouendez fro theyr horſes Whan hit is gyuen to
them /that by thoccaſion therof their horſes perſſhe not ne
faylle theyr maiſter Whan they haue nede/and myght falle
in the handes of theyr enemyes . For than ſhold the ſer-
uauntes be cauſe of that euyl · Wherfore their mayſters
ſholdy ſee to, for With out doubte this thyng is Worſe than
theefte/ hit happendy on a tyme in the parties of lombardye
in the cyte of Jene that a noble man Was lodgyng in an
hoſtelrye Wyth moche companye .and Whan they had gyuen
prouendour to theyr horſes . in the firſt oure of the nyght
the ſeruaunt of the hoWs came ſecretly tofore the horſes
for to ſtele aWey theyr prouendez /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
ſaWe that he Was ſo ſtrongly holden / he began to crye for
the grete payn that he ſuffrid and felte / in ſuche Wyſe that
the noble mannys meyne cam Wyth the hoſte / But in no
manez /ner for ought they coude doo . they coude not take
the theef out of the horſes mouth Vnto the tyme that the
neyghbours Whiche Were noyedy Wyth the noyſe came and
ſaWe hit /and the theef Was knoWen and taken & brought
to fore the Juge /and confeſſyd the feet and by ſentence
diffynytif Was hanged and loſt his lyf.and in the ſame
Wyſe Was another that dyd ſo /and the hors ſmote hym in
the Vyſage / that the prynte of the hors ſhoo & nayles abode
euer in his Vyſage/another caas right cruel & Vilaynous
fyl at tholouſe /hit happend a yongy 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 vpon aduysed
hym and put a cupe of siluer secretly in the male that
the yong man laze. and whan they departed out of theyr
lodgyng /he followed after hem and sayd tofore the peple
of the court that they had stolen and borne away his cupe
and the yongh man excused hym self and his fader. and
sayd they were Innocent of that cas/ And thenne they
serchyd hem/and the cupe was founden in the male of the
yonge man, and forthwyth he was dampned to deth and
hanged as a theef. and thys feet 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 vnto hys
sone. anone his sone that hyngh spake to his fader & said
how that saynt James had kept hym wyth out harme.
and bad 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 acused of the trayson. and
he confessyd his trespas /and sayd he dyd hit for coue-
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 keyngꝛ men / the ſame I ſay of the Women as chaumberers and tapſters/ foꝛ 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 Wold not haue a do Wyth her in the ſynne of lecherye /Wherfore he Was hanged 'and his fader and moder that Were there Wyth hym Went and dyd her pylgrymage·and Whan they came agayn they fonde her ſone lyuyngꝛ / and than they Went & tolde the Juge 'Whiche Juge ſayd that he Wold not releue hit til a cok and an henne Whiche roſted 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 & toke doun the ſone /and made the chaumberer to be taken and to be 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 diſordenate reWle of ſeruauntes.

The seuenth chapitre of the thyrd tractate treteth of ke:
pers of townes, austomers & tolle gaderers capitulo vij

The gardes and kepers of citees ben signefyed by
the seuenth pawn which stondeth in the lyft side to
fore the knyght, and is formed in the semblaunce of a
man holdyng in his lyft hond grete keyes and in hys
right hand a pottle and an elle for to mesure wyth & ought
to haue on his gurdel a purse open. and by the keyes ben
signefied the kepers of the citees and townes and comyn
offyces, and by the pottle and elle ben signefyed them that
haue the charge to weye and mete and mesure trewely,
and by the purse ben signefyed them that zeryue the

costumes / tolles / scawage, peages. and duetes of the cy-
tees and townes / and thyse peple ben sette by right tofore
the knyght and hit behoueth that the gardes & offycers
of the townes be taught and enseigned by the knyghtes
and that they knowe and enquyre how the citees & townes
ben gouezned which apertyneth to be kept and defended
by the knyghtes. and first hit apertyneth that the be-
pars of the cyte be dyligent / besy / clere sayengh and louers
of the comyn prouffyt and wele. as wel in the tyme of
pees as in the tyme of warre / they ought alwey to goo in
the cyte and enquyre of al thynges and ought reporte to
the gouernours of the cyte suche thyng as they fynde and
knowe / and suche thynge as apertyneth and to the seurte
of the same. and to denounce and telle the defaultes and
parellys that there be. and yf hit be in tyme of warre they
ought not to open the yates by nyght to no man. And
suche men as ben put in this offyce. ought to be of reno-
me and fame / trewe / and of good conscience / in suche ma-
nere that they loue them of the cyte or towne / And that
they put to no man ony blame or vylanye 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 happeth ofte tymes that dyuerce
offycers acause the good peple fraudulently / to thende that
they myght haue a thanke and ben prayseed and to abyde
stylle in theyr offyces / and trewly hit is a grete and hye
maner of malice to be in wylle to doo euyl and dyffame
other wyth out cause to grete glorye to hym self / also the
keparz and offycers of cytees ought to be suche that they

suffre no wronegs ne vylonyes 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 vnto hym /that knoweth the hertes and thoughtes of al men / and they ought to drede and doubte hym, with out whos grace theyr watche and keppyng is nought. & that promyseth to them that doubte hym shal be eWrous and happy and by hym ben al thynges accomplisshed in good. hit is founden in the histories of rome that them: perour ffrederik the second dyd doo make a gate of marble of meruaylous werk and entyle in the cyte of capnane vpon the watre that renneth about the same /And vpon this yate he made an ymage lyke hym self sittyng in his magestie and two Juges whiche were sette, one on the right side and that other on the lift side. and vpon the sercle aboue the hede of the Juge on the right side was wreton al they entre seurely that wyl lyue purely. and vpon the sercle of the Juge on the lift side was wreton /the vntre: we man ought to doubte ' to doo thyngs that he be put to prysoy fore, and on the sercle aboue the emperour was wreton. I make them lyue in misery 'that I see lyue dis mesurably, and therfore hit apertyneth to a Juge to shewe to the peple for to drede and doubte to do euyl. and hyt apertyneth to the gardes and offycers to doubte the Juges and to doo trewly theyr seruyces and offyces, & hit apertyneth to a prynce to menace the traytours and the malefactours of right greuous paynes. and hewf we fynde in the auncient histories of cralle that the kyng denys had a broder whom he louyd fore wel, But alwey

Where he went, he made heuy and triste semblaunt / & thus as they went bothe to ryder on a tyme in a chare / ther cam agayn hem two poure men with glad visage but in foule habyte / and the kyng anone as he sawe them sprange out of his chare and receuyd them worshipfully with grete zeuezence / Wherfore his lawns were not onely ameruayl: led .but also angry in their corages *not withstondyng fere and drede lettedy them to demaunde hym the cause / But they made his broder to demaunde the cause and to knowe the certeynte /and whan he had herde his broder say to hym the demaunde/ that he was blessyd and also a kyng whiche was riche and ful of delytes and worshypes . he demaundedy hym yf he wold assaye and knowe the grace and keneurte of a kyng . and his broder answerdy ye . and that he desired and requyredy hit of hym /And than the kyngy cõmaunded vnto alle hys subgettis that they shold obey in al thynges onely vnto his broder . & than whan the ouze of dyner cam * and al thynge was redy / the broder was sette at the table of the kyngy * And whan he sawe that he was seruyd with right noble kotelers and other offycers /and he herde the sownes of musique right melodyous . The kyng demaunded hym than . yf he sup: posid that he were keuewus and blessyd . and he answerdy I wene wel that I am right blessydy and fortunat / and that I haue wel proued and fele and am expert therof . And than the kyng secretly made to be hangedy ouer hys heed a sharpe cuttyngy swerde hangyng by an hors here or a sylken threde so smale that no may myght see hit where by hit henge .And whan he sawe his broder put no more

his handy to the table / ne had no more zegarde vnto his
sezuauntes / he sayd to hym Why ete ye not · ar ye not bles-
sidy / say yf ye fele ony thyngy othezwyse than blessid and
wel . and he answerd for as moche as I see thys sharpe
swerde hangyngy so subtilly & parilously ouez myn hede I
fele wel that I am not blessyd / foz I drede that hit sholdy
falle oy my hede · & thenne dyscouerd the kyngy vnto hem
al wherfoze he was alwey so heuy cheridy & tryste · For
wheze he was he thought alwey on the swerde of the secrete
vengaunce of god . whyche he kehelde alwey iy his hezte /
wherfoze he had alwey iy hym self grete drede / andy ther-
fore he worshyppydy gladly the poure peple with glady vy
sage and goody consaence / And by this sheweth the kyng
wel . that what man that is alwey iy dzede is not alwey
mezy oz blessydy / And hewf sayth quyntilian that thys
dzede surmounteth alle othez maleurtees and euylles / for
it is maleurte of drede nyght and day . Andy it is verite
that to hym that is doubtedy of moche peple . so muste he
doubte moche / And that lorde is lasse thenne his seruaū-
tes that dredeth his sezuauntes / and truly hit is a right
sure thyng to dzede no thyng but god & somtyme right har
dy meny ben cōstrayned to lyue iy dzede / drede causith a man
to be besy to kepe the thynges that be cōmysed to hym that
they perisshe not / but to be to moche hardy & to moche fezd-
ful . both two ben vices . the comyn officezs ought to be
wyse & wel aduysed iy suche wise that they take not of the
peple ne requyre no more thā they ought to haue by zeson
ne that they take of the sellazs ne of the byazs no more
thā the right custume . for they beze the name of a pezsone

And therfore ought they to shewe them comune to alle men/and for as moche as the byers and sellers haue som tyme moche langage. they ought to haue with them these vertues. that is to wete patience. and good corage with honeste / for they that ben despytous to the comune / ben otherwhile had in vylayns despite. therfore ke ware that thou haue no despyte vnto the poure mendycants / yf thou wylt come and atteyne to thynges souerayn/ for the Iniurye that is don with out cause / torneth to diffame hym that doth hit. a Jogheler on a tyme kekelde socrates & sayd to hym thou hast the eyen of crumpour of children and art as a traytre / and whan his dysciples herde hym / they wold auengyd theyr maister / but he repreuyd hem by suche sentence sayenge / suffre my felawes. for I am he and suche one as he sayth. by the sight of my vysage / But I refrayne and kepe me wel from suche thynge / this same socrates hym self was chidde & right foule spoken to of hys wyf. & she Imposid to hym many grete Iniuries with out nombre / and she was in a place aboue ouer his heed / and whan she had brawled y nough she made her water & poured hit on his heed / and he answerd to her no thynge agayn sauf whan he had dryed and wyped his heed. he said he kne we wel that after suche wynde and thondre shold come rayne and watre. And the philosophers blamedy hym that he oude not gouerne two women / that was his wyf and his chaumberer / and shewyd hym that one okke gouerned wel x v hennes. he answerd to them that he was so vsed & acustumed with theyr chidyng that the chidyngis of them ne of straungers dyd hym no greef ne harme /

gyue thou place to hym that brawleth or chideth / And in suffryng hym thou shalt be his vaynquysshour and cathon saith Whan thou lyuest rightfully / retche the not of the Wordes of euyl peple / and therfore hit is sayd in a comyn prouerbe · 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 goodnes / ner to euyl men tenaions strynes & blames . & patience is a right noble vertu. as a noble versefier saith, that patience is a right noble maner to vaynquysshe . for he that suffreth ouercometh / and yf thou wylt vaynquysshe 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 lawe haue establisshed / so that they be not more wbkours of money than zeceyuours of peage and passage · And hit apertayneth to them to goo out of the perelous weyes and doubteuous for to kepe theyr offyce and they ought to zequyre theyr passage of them that owe to paye hit wyth out noyenge and contenaion · and they ought not to loue the comyn prouffyt so moche · that they falle in the hurtynge of theyr consience . For that shold be a maner of wbkerye / and hewf sayth ysaye / Woo to the that wbkest . 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 wythdrawe the goodes of the comyn that they haue in kepyng more than apertayneth to them for their penaion or fee / so that they that ben made tresorers & kepers ben not named theuys /

For who that taketh more than his / he shal neuer thryue
With al / nez shal not enioye hit longe. for of euyl goten
good the third heyre shal neuer zeioyse / & thys suffyseth /

This eyght chappytre of the third book tzeteth of ribaul /
des. players of dyse & of messagezs andr aurwurs ca Biij

He ribaulides playezs at dyse & the messagezs & aur
t wurs ought to be sette tofore the wok. for hit apper
teyneth to the wok Whiche is Bicayr of the kyngr to haue
men couenable for to renne here & there for tenquyre & es/
pye the places & aires that myght be contrarie to the kyng

And thys pawy that representeth this peple ought to be formyd in this maner. he must haue the forme of a man that hath longe heers and black and holdeth in his zyght hand a litil money and in his lift 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 vnder-stonde they that be fole large & wastours of theyr goodes and by the second whiche is the dyse / ben represented the playes at dyse / ribaulides & butters / & by the thyrd whyche is the boye ful of lettris. ben represented the messagers / curiours / and berers of lettres / & ye shal vnderstonde that the woke whiche is vycayre of the kynge when he seeth to fore hym suche peple as ben fole large and wastours / he is bounden to constitute and ordeygne vpon them tutours & curatours to see that they ete not ne waste in suche maner their goodes ne their heritages. that pouerte constrayne hem not to stele for he that of custume hath had habun-daunce of money & goeth & dispendeth hit folily & wasteth hit away when he cometh to pouerte & hath nought. he must nedes begge and aye his breed / or ellis he must be a theef For suche maner of peple / yf they haue been delycaious 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 when they haue wasted theyr owne propre goo-des yf they wyl lyue they must stele and robbe the goodes of other. And ye shalle vnderstonde that fole large is a zyght euyl vyce. For how wel that she doeth good and prouffyt somtyme to other.

yet ſhe doth harme and dõmage to hym that ſo Waſteth. Caſſiodore admoneſteth the fole lardes to kepe theiz thyn ges that by no neceſſite they falle in pouerte / and that they be not conſtrayned to begge ne to ſtele of other men. For he ſayth that hit is greter ſubtilte to kepe Wel his owne goodes than to fynde ſtraunge thynges. & that it is gret ter Vertue to kepe that is goten than to gete and Wynne more, & claudyan ſaith in like Wyſe in his book that hyt is a greter thynge & better to kepe that is goten. than to gete more / and therfore hit is ſayd that the poure demaũ/ deth & beggeth or he feliith, & 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 doughters Whom he maried to two noble men, and Whan he hadr maried them, he loued ſo Wel his ſones in law Were theyr 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 dyligent to pleſe and ſerue hym / So hit befel that on a tyme that he hadr alle gyuen in ſo moche that he hadr right nought / Than hit happendr that they to Whom he hadr gyuen his goodes. Whiche Were Wont to be amyable and obeyſaunt to hym as longe as he gaf, Whan the tyme came that he Was pouze and knewe that he hadr nought. they became Vn: kynde / Dyſagreable and dyſobeyſaunt. And Whan the fader ſawe that he Was deceyuyd by his debonayrte and loue of his doughters / He deſyred and coueyted ſore to eſchewe hys pouerte.

Atte laste he went to a marcheunt that he knewe of olde
tyme. and zequyrid him to lene to hym y thousand pound
for to paye andr rendre agayn wyth in thre dayes / Andr
he lente hit hym 'and whan he hadr brought hit in to hys
hous / hit happend that hit was a day of a solempne feste
on whiche day he gaf to his doughters andr her husbondr
a right noble dynerr' & after dyner he entridr in to his chaū
bre secretly wyth them / andr drewe out of a coffre that he
hadr do make al new shittyngr wyth thre lockes the mo
ney that the marchaunt had lente hym · and poured hit out
vpon a tapite that his doughters & their husbondes myght
see hit / and whan he had shewyd hit vnto them he put hit
vp ageyn & put hit in to the cheste faynyng that hit hadr
been al his. & whan they were departed he bare the money
home to the marchaunt that he had lowwed hit of · and the
neyt day after his doughters & their husbondes ayyd of
hym how mocke money was in the cheste that was shette
wyth thre lockis 'and than he fayned & sayd that he hadr
therin xxv thousandr pounde. whiche he kept for to make
his testament and for to leue to his doughters & hem · yf
they wold here hem as wel to hym afterward as they did
whan they weze 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 andr drynke andr of alle other thynges necessarye
to hym vnto hys ende / And after this whan the ende of
hym began to aprocke. he callyd his doughters and their
husbondes & sayd to hem in this manere ye shalle vnder-
stonde that the money that is in the cheste shette vnder

thre lockes I Wyl leue to you/sauyng I Wyl that ye geue
in my presence er I dye Whiles I lyue to the frere pre=
chours an hondred pounde, and to the frere menouzs an
hondzed pounde/ and to the heremytes of saynt austyn fifty
poundz to thende that Whan I am buryed and put in the
erthe ye may demaude of them the keyes of the chest Where
my tresouz is Inne /Whiche keyes they kepe / and I haue
put on eche keye a bylle and Writyngz in Witnessyngz of
the thynges aboue saydz / Andz also ye shal Vndezstonde
that he dyd to be gyuen Whyles he lay in his deth bedde to
eche chirche andz reclose + and to pouz peple a certeyn quan
tite of money by the handes of his doughters 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 that he dyed + he Was bozne to chirche and his eye
quye dooy andz Was buried solempnly + And the seuenth
day the sezuyse Wozshypfully accomplisshedz + They Went
foz to demaunde the keyes of the religyous men that they
had kept + Whiche Were delyuezd to them / & than they Went
and openedz the coffre Where they supposid the money hadz
ben Inne /and theze they fondz no thyng but a grete
clubbe + and on the handlyng Was Wreton / I John of ca=
nazath make this testament + that he be slayn Wyth thys
clubbe / that leueth his oWne prouffyt /andz gyueth hit to
other /as Who sayth hit is no Wysedom for a man to gyue
his good to his chyldren andz kepe none foz hym self /
And ye shal Vndezstonde that hit is a grete folye to dys=
pende and Waste his good, in hope foz to zecouer hit of other
be hit of sone of doughtez oz right nygh kynne /for a man

ought to kepe in his hand in dispendyng his owne goodes
tofore he see that he dispende other mennys ' and he ought
not to be holden for a good man ·that hath litil renomee
and spendeth many thynges , and I trowe that suche per-
sones wold gladly make noueltees as for to noye and
greue seignories and meue wares and tenaions ageynst
them that haboude in richessis and goodes, and also make
eytoraions clamours and tribulacons 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 prouffyt, and ye shal vnder
stonde that after these wastours of goodes we saye that
the players of dyse and they that vse lordellys ben worst
of al other · for whan the hete of playeng at the dyse . &
the couetise of theyr stynkyng lecherye hath brought hem
to pouerte ·hit followeth by force that they must be theuys
and robbours /and also dronkenshyp glotenye and alle
maner of euyls followe them and myschyef /and they
followe gladly the companyes of knyghtes and of noble
men whan they goon vnto the warre or batayllles . And
they coueyte not moche the victorye as they doo the wo
berye 'and they doo moche harme as they goo , And they
bryngе lityl gayn or wynnyng ,whewof hit happendy on a
tyme that saynt bernard rode on an hors about the contrey
and mette with ay hasardour or dyse player. which sayd
to hym thou godes man wylt thou playe at dyse with me
thyn hors ayenst my sowle.to whom saint bernard answerd
yf thou wylt oblyge thy sowle to me ayenst my hors / I
wyl a lyght doun and playe with 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 eche 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 hadi wonne / and saydi that the
hors was his · and than saynt reznardi sayd abyde my
sone + for theze be mo poyntes on the dyse than y viij and
than he cast the dyse / in suche wyse that one of the iij dyse
clefte a sondre in the mydes / and on that one parte was
vj. and on that other side an aas / and eche of that other
was a sise. And than saynt reznardi sayd that he hadi
wonne his sowle for as moche as he cast on thre dyse
vix poyntes. and than whan this player sawe & apercey-
uydi thys mywacle. he gaf his sowle to saynt reznard and
became a monke andi finysshed his lyf in good werkys.
The curwurs and rewars of lettres ought hastely andi spe
dely doo her vyage that is cõmaundedi hem. with out ta-
ryeng. for theyr taryengi myght noye and greue them
that sende hem forth + or ellis them to whom they be sent to
Andi torne hem to right grete dõmage or vylonye, For
whiche cause euery noble may ought wel to take hede to
whom he delyuer his lettres andi his maundementis. andi
otherwhiles suche peple ben Joghelers and drunkelwe. and
goon out of their weye for to see abbayes andi noble men
for to haue auantage. and hit happeth ofte tymes, that
whan suche messagers or curwurs ben enpesshid by ony ta-
riengi, that other curwurs bere letters contrarye 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 and many other thynges as in the feet of marchaundyses / and otheywhile hit happeth that a prynce for the faulte of suche messangers leseth to haue victorye vpon his enemyes 'and also theze be some that whan they come in a cite where they haue not ben to fore .they ben more besy to visite the cyte and the noble men that dwelle therin .than they ben to do theyr voyage whiche thyngs they ought not to do / but yf they hadn special charge of them that sent hem forth so to doo /

And also whan they be sent forth of ony lordes marchauntes they ought to be wel ware·that they charge hem not with ouer moche mete on mornynges ne with to moche wyne on euenynges/wherby her sinewes & wynes mygbt be greuyd 'that they must for faute of goodn rewbletarye . but they ought to goo and come hastely for to rewrite to theiz maysters answers as hit apertyneth . and thise suffysen 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 chapitre of the fourth tractate of the chesse lorde in genere how it is maad capitulo primo

E haue deuysed aboue the thynges that apertayne
W Vnto the formes of the chesse men and of their offi
ces. that is to wete as wel of noble men as of the comyn
peple / Than hit apertayneth that we sholde 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 chequez after that hit representeth and

Was made after / for hit Was made after the forme of the cyte of babyloyne / in the Whiche this same playe Was foũ den as hit is sayd afore + and ye shal Vnderstonde that ye ought to considere here in fouze thynges. The fizst is Wher fore that lxiiij poyntes been sette in the eschequer Whyche ben al square / The seconds is Wherfore the bordeure about is hyghez than the squarenes of the poyntes . The thyrdy is Wherfore the comyn peple ben sette tofore the nobles , The fourth is Wherfore the nobles and the peple been sette in theyr propre places / Ther ben as many poyntes in the eschequer Voyde as fulle , and ye shal fizst Vnderstonde Wherfore that theze ben lxiiij poyntes in the eschequyer / for as the blessyd saynt Jherome sayth , the cite of babylone Was right grete and Was maad al square , and in euery quartez Was x xj myle by nombre and mesure' the Whiche nombre fouz tymes tolde Was lxiiij myles . aftez the ma ; ner of lombardye they be callyd myles . and in fraunce leu kes , and in englond they be callyd myles also , And foz to represente the mesuze of this cyte' In Whiche this playe or game Was founden , the philosophez that fond hit first ordeyned a tablier conteynyng lxiiij poyntes square , the Whiche ben compused Wyth in the bordeuz of the tablyez / theze ben xxxij on that one side and xxxij on that other side Whiche ben ordeygned for the beaulte of the playe. and foz to sheWe the maner and drawyng of the chesse as hit shal appere in the chappytres foloWyng , And as to the second + Wherfoze the bordeure of the eschequyer is hyghez than the table Wyth in + hit is to be Vnderstonde that the bordeuz about zepresenteth the Walle of the cyte Whyche is

right hygh /and therfore made the philosopher the lordeuz
moze hygh than the tabliez. and as the blessyd Saynt
Jhewme sayth Vpon the prophesie of ysaye /that is to Wete
Vpon a mountayn of obsaurete. 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 grete playn
And had so hygh Walles that by the heyght of them Was
contynuel derkenes enuywonned and obsaurete. that none
erthly may myght behold and see the ende of the highnes
of the Walle. and therfore ysaye callyd hit the montaigne
obsaure / And saynt Jhewme saith that the mesuze of the
heyght of this Walle Was thre thousand pas. Whiche ey
tendeth Vnto the lengthe of thre myle lombardes / hit is
to Wete that lombarde mylis and englisch myles ben of
one lengthe / and in one of the cornezs of thys cyte Was
made a tour treangle as a shelde, Whewf the heyght eyten
ded Vnto the lengthe of Vij thousand pas /Which is seuen
myle englisch/and thys toure Was called the touz of babel
the Walles about the touze made a Woman Whos name
Was semyramis as sayth Vizgilius / As to the thyrdy
Whezfore the comyn peple ben sette tofoze the nobles in the
felde of the batayl in one renge, fizst foz as moche as they
ben necessazye to al nobles / For the wok Whiche stondeth
on the right side and is Vycayr of the kyng What may he
doo yf the labourez Weze not sette to foze hym & labouredy
to mynystre to hym suche temporel thynges as he necessa-
rie for hym / And What may the knyght doo yf he ne hady
tofoze hym the smyth for to forge his armouzs + sadellys

ayys and spures & suche thynges as aperteyneth to hym.
And What is a knyght Worth Wythout hors and armes /
certeynly no thyng more than one of the peple or lasse
peauenture, and in What maner sholde the nobles lyue
yf no man made cloth and bought and solde marchandyse
And What sholde kynges and quenes and the other lordes
do yf they had no physiciens ne surgyens, Than I say
that the peple ben the glorye of the cowne and sustayne
the lyf of the nobles. And therfore thou that art lorde
or a noble man or knyght /despyse not the comyn peple
for as moche as they ben sette tofore the in the playe.
The seconde cause is Why the peple ben sette tofore the no-
bles and haue the table Voyde tofore them /is be cause they
begynne the batayllle /they ought to take hede and entende
to do theyr offyces and theyr crafftes 'in suche Wyse that
they suffre the noble men to gouerne the cytees and to
counceylle & make ordenaunces of the peple & of the ba-
tayllle. how shold a labourer a plow man or a crafty man
counceyl and make ordenaunce of suche thynges as he
neuer lernede. and Wote ne knoweth the mater Vpon
What thyng the counceyl ought to be taken / Certes the
comyn peple ought not to entende to none other thyng but
for to do their seruyce and the offyce Whiche is couenable
Vnto hem / and hit aperteyneth not to hem to be of coun
ceyls ne at the aduocacions 'ne to menace ne to threte no
man, for ofte tymes by menaces and by force good coun
ceyl is destroubled 'and Where good counceyl fayllleth.
there ofte tymes the cytees ben betrayed and destroyed,
And plato sayth that the comyn thynges and the cytees

ley blessyd Whan they ben gouerned by Wyse men / or Whan the gouernours studye in Wysedom. and so hit apertyneth to the comyn to lerne to Vttre the matters. and the maner of prouacion tofore they be counceyllours / For hyt happeth often tymes that he that makyth hym Wyser than he Vnderstandeth is made more foole than he is · and the iiij cause Wherfore that there ben in ÿ tablier as many poyntes Voyde as been fulle / hit is to Wete for that they What euer they be that haue peple to gouerne / ought tenforce to haue citees & castelkys & possessyons for to sette his peple therin and for to labouze and do theiz occupacion / For for to haue the name of a kyng Wythout a wyame is a name Voyde. and honour Wythout prouffyt / and al noblesse Wyth out good maners / and Wyth out suche thynges as noblesse may be mayntynedy. 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 may gladly Wyl repreue a poure may of the co: myn peple. but euery may hath in despyte a noble may 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 Whyche hyt may be gouerned and prosperre. 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 euery may in his offyce contente / how stood the cytees that tyme in Worship & zenome. how Was renomed the noble wyame of englond alle the World drade hit and spake Worshyp of hit. How

hit now standeth and in what habundaunce I reporte me to them that knowe hit. yf there ben theuys wyth in the wyame or on the see. they knowe that laboure in the wy; ame /and sayle on the see /I wote wel the fame is grete thewof /I pray god saue that noble wyame · & sende good trewe and politique counceilours to the gouernours of the same · and noblesse of lignage wyth out puyssaunce & myght is but vanyte and dyspyte. And hit is so as we haue sayd tofore that the schequer whiche the phylosopher ordeyned represented and figured the sayd cite of babylone. and in like wyse may hit figure a wyame and signefye alle the world · and yf men regarde and take heed vnto the poyntes vnto the mydes of euery quadrante & so to double euery quadrant to other the myles of this cite alwey doublyng vnto the nombre of lxiiij. The nombre of the same shold surmounte al the world · and not onely the world but many worldes by the doublyng of myles. Whiche doublyng so as afore is sayd shold surmounte all thynges. & thus endeth the first chappytre of the iiij book

The second chapitre of the fourth tractate treteth of the draught of the kyng & how he meuyth in the chequer on ñ

E ought to knowe that in thys World the kynges
W seygnourie and reygne eche in his wyame / And in this play we ought to knowe by the nature of hit how the kyng meueth hym and yssueth out of his place / for ye shal Vnderstonde that he is sette in the iiij quadrante or poynt of the chequer .and when he is black, he standeth in the Whyt , and the knyght on his right side in Whyt / & the alphyn and the wok in black 'and on the lift side the iiij holden the places apposite / and the reason may be suche/

For by cause that the knyghtes keep the glorie and the cowne of the kyng they ensiewe in semblable residence · that they do whā they be sette semblably on the right side of the kyng & on the lift side of the quene / & for as moche as the wok on the right side is vicayr of the kyng he accompanyeth the quene in semblable siege that the alphyn doth whiche is Juge of the kyng / And in like wyse the lift wok & the lift alphyn accompanye the kyng in semblable siege · In suche wyse as they ben sette about the kyng in bothe sides with the quene in manez of a cowne / that they may seurely kepe the wyame that reluyseth and shyneth in the kyng & in the quene . in suche wyse as they may conferme & diffende hym in theiz sieges & in theyz places . and the more hastely renne vpon his enemyes / for as moche as the Juge the knyght and the vicayr / kepe & garnysshe the kyng on that one side / they that ben 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 apertayne to the counceyl / & to the besoyngue of the wyame / for yf eche may shold entende to his owne proper thynges . And that they deffendyd not nez toke hede vnto the thynges that apertayney to the kynge · to the comyn . and to the wyame · the wyame sholdy anone be deuydedy in parties . And thus mygbt the Juge reygne / And the name of the dygnyte zyall sholdy be loste . And trewly for as moche as the kynge holdeth the dygnyte aboue alle other and the seignorye wyall · therfore hit apertayneth not that he absente hym longy / ne wythdrawe hym ferre by space of tyme fwm the maister

siege of his wyame/ for When he Wyl meue hym. he ought
not to passe at the first draught the nombre of iij poynte
& When 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 Vnto the
Whyt poynt Where the gardes of the cyte ley sette /& in this
poynt he hath the nature of a knyght/& thise two maners
of meuyng apertayneth otherWhile to the quene /& for as
moche as the kyng & the quene that be conioyned to gedar
by mariage ley one thyng as one flesshe & 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/& When 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 Vnto the thyrd ligne / & thus he sortiseth the nature
of the wok on the right side and lift side Vnto the place of
the knyghtes ,And for to goo right tofore in to the Whyt
poynt tofore the marchaunt + and the kyng also sortist the
nature of the knyghtes When he goeth on the right side in
two maners . for he may put hym in the Voyde 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 notarye /& thus as in
goyng out first in to four poyntes he sorteth the nature
of knyghtes , And also the kyng sortyseth the nature
of the alphyns at hys fyrst yssue in to two places . and
he may goo on boothe sides unto the Whyte place Voyde /
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 owne 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 natuze 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 comyth of the heed / And al meuyng of the body. The begynnyng and lyf cometh from the hezte And al the dygnyte that the ſubgettis haue by excauſion and continuel apparence of theyz meuyng and yſſue + the kyng deteyneth hit and is attribued to hym. the vic tozye of the knyghtes. the prudence of the Juges / the auctorite of the vicayrs oz legates. the contynence of the quene / the concorde and vnyte of the people, ſo ley alle thiſe thynges aſcribed vnto the honour & Worſhyp of the kyng / in his yſſue Whā he meuyth firſt / the iij ligne tofore the peple he neuer excedyth. for in the third nombre alle manez of ſtates begynne to meue. For the trynary nom bre conteyneth thre parties. Whyche make a perfect nom bre / For a trynazye nombre hath i ij 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 wyame + that is to Wete the kyng the quene Juges knyghtes vicaizs oz 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 ỳ maner of his iſſue

For why the quene folowyth vnto two angularye places after the maner of the alphyn/ and to a place indyrecte in the maner of a wok in to the blacke poynt tofore the phisiaen /herin is signefyed that the women may not meue nether make vowes of pilgrymage ner of viage with out the wylle of theyr husbondes + For yf a woman hadh auowed ony thyngh .her husbond lyuyng ' and agayn sayengh . she may not yelde ner accomplisshe her vowe , yf the husbond wyl goo ony where /he may wel goo wythout her And yf so be that the husbond wyl haue her wyth hym she is bounden to folowe hym ,And by reson . for a man is the heedh of a woman , & not econuerso , For as to suche thynges as longe to patrymonye . they ben like / but the man hath power ouer her body / and so hath not the woman ouer his 'and therfore whan the kyngh begynneth to meue the quene may folowe . and not alwey whan she meueth it is no nede the kyngh to meue .for why four the first lig nes be wyth in the lymytes andh space of the wyame , and vnto the thyrdh poynt the kynge may meue at his first meuyng out of his propre place .and whan he passyth the fourth ligne he goeth out of his wyame / Andh yf he passe one poynt lete hym be waar , For the persone of a kyng is acounted more than a thousandh of other . For whan he exposith hym vnto the paúlles of batayllе .hit is necessarye that he goo attemporally andh slily/ for yf he be taken or deed or ellys inclusid andh shette vp . alle the strengthes of al other faylle and al is finysshedh and lost And therfore he hath nede to goo andh meue wysely .and also therfore he may not meue but one poynt after hys

first meuyng but where that euer he goo forward or bac
ward or on that one side or on that other or ellis wrnez;
wyse + he may neuer approche his aduersaryes the kyng ner;
ner than in the thyrd poynt /And therfore the kynges in
batayllle ought neuer trapproche one nygh that other, And
also when the kyng hath goon so ferre that al hys men
be lost / than he is sole, and than he may not endure long
when he is brought to that extremyte / and also he ought
to take hede that he stonde not so that a knyght or another
sayth chek wok. than the kyng loseth the wok / That
kynge is not wel fortunat that lesith hym to whom his
auctorite delegate apertyneth /Who may do the nedes of the
wyame yf he be pryuyd taken or deed was prouysour
of al the wyame, he shal bere a sacke on his heed that
is shette in a ate, And al they that were therin ben ta;
ken in captyuyte and shette vp.

The ſecond chapitre of the fourth book of the quene & how ſhe yſſueth out of her place capitulo terćio

Han the quene Whiche is accompanyed Vnto the
W kyng begynneth to meue from her propre place / ſhe goeth in double manere / that is to Wete as an alphyn Whan ſhe is black / ſhe may goo on the right ſide & come in to the poynt tofore the notarye / & on the lift ſide in the black poynt and come tofore the gardes of the cyte . and hit is to Wete that ſhe fortiſeth in her ſelf the nature in iij maners fizſt on the right ſide tofore the alphyn . ſecondly on the lift ſide Where the knyght is · & thirdly Indirectly Vnto the black poynt tofore the phiſician . And the reaſon

Why / is for as moche as she hath in her self by grace / the auctorite that the wokes haue by cõmyssion. for she may gyue and graunte many thynges to her subgettis graciously / and thus also ought she to haue parfyt Wysedom as the alphyns haue Whiche ben Juges. as hit is sayd aboue in the chappytre 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 batayllе for the fragylite & feblenes of her / and therfore holdeth she not the Waye in her draught 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 forWarde or bacWard takyng or to be taken + and here may be ayyd Why the quene goeth to the batayllе Wyth the kyng / certeynly it is for the solace of hym + and ostencion of loue / And also the peple desire to haue successyon of the kyng / and therfore the tartans haue their Wyues in to the felde With hem yet hit is not good that men haue theyr Wyues Wyth hem / but that they abyde in the cytees or Wythin theyr oWne termys. For Whan they been out of theyr cytees & lymytes they ben not sure, but holden suspecte / they shold be shamefast and holde al men suspect. For dyna Jacobs doughter as longe as she Was in the hoWs of her brethezn she kept her Virgynyte, but assone as she Wente for to see the straunge regyons / anone she Was corupt & deforWedy of the sone of sichem / Seneka sayth that the Women that haue euyl Ysages ben gladly not chaste / but theyr corage desyreth gladly the companye of men / and solinus sayth that no bestys femeles desire to be touchedy of their males

Whan they haue conceyuyd / except Woman Whiche ought to be a beste resonable . and in this caas she lesith her rayson/ & sidrac Witnessith the 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 Visage enclyned for teschewe the sight of the men . that by the sight they be not meuyd With Incontynence & dyffame of other, and ouyde sayth that there ben sōme that how wel that they eschewe the dede · yet haue they grete ioye Whan they be prayed / & therfore ought the good Women fle the curiositees & places Where they myght falle in blame & noyse of the peple.

The fourth chappytre of the fourth book of the issuyng of the alphyy capitulo quarto

The maneze and nature of the draught of the al-
t phyn is suche 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 lift side / and ben callyd and namedy
black and Whyt / but for no cause that they be so in sub-
staunce of her propze colouz, but foz the colouz of the pla
ces in Whiche they ben sette / and alWey be they black or
Whyt Whan they ben sette in theyz places + the alphyn on
the right side. goyng out of his place to the right syde
Wazd cometh tofore the labourez / and hit is reason that
the Juge ought to deffende and kepe the labourezs and pos
sessyons Whiche ben in his Jurisdycaion by al right and
laWe / And also he may goo on the lift side to the Boyde
place tofore the phisicien / for like as the physiciens haue
the charge to hele the Infizmytees of a man + In like Wise
haue the Juges charge to appese all stryues & contencions
and zeduse Bnto Bnyte. and to punysshe and correcte cau
ses crymynels. the lift alphyn hath also tWo Wayes fro
his oWne place one toWazd the right side Bnto the black
space Boyde tofore the marchaunt + Foz the marchauntes
nede ofte tymes counceyl and been in debate of questyons
Whiche must nedes be determynedy by the Juges / and that
other yssue is Bnto the place tofore the zyhaulces & that
is by cause that ofte tymes amonge them falle noyses,
dyscencions thefte & manslaughter, Wherfore they ought
to be punysshed by the Juges / & ye shal Bndestonde that
the alphyn goeth alWey cornerWyse fro the thyrdy poynt to
the thyrd poynt, keppyng alWey his oWne siege / foz yf he
be black / he goeth alWey black / and yf he be Whyt he goeth

alWey Whyte / the yſſue or goyng cornerly or angularly ſygnefyeth cautele or ſubtílyte / Whiche Juges ought to haue . The thre poyntes betoken thre thynges that the Juge ought to attende · a iuge ought to further rightful and treWe cauſes . ſecondly he ought to geue treWe counceyl / & thyrdly he ought to geue & Juge rightful ſentences after the alegeaunces · & neuer to goo fro the rightWyſnes of the laWe / and it is to Wete that the alphyn goeth in Vj 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 be in them that ben counceyllours of the kyng and the quene · and the kyng ought not to do ony thyng doubtouſe til he haue ayyd counceyl 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 good maners · and that is ſignefyed Whan they meue from thre poyntes in to thre / for the ſixte nombre by Whiche they goo al theſchequer . and bryngе hem agayn in to her propre place in ſuche Wyſe that thende of her moeuyng is conioyned agayn to the begynnyng of the place fro Whens they departed / & therfore hit is callyd a parfayt moeuyng .

The fifthe chappytre of the fourth tractate of the meuyng of the knyghtes capitulo quinto

After the issue of the alphyns We shal deuyse to you
a the yssue and the moeuyng of the knyghtes / and
We say that the knyght on the right side is Whyt . and on
the lift side black · & the yssue & moeuyng of hem bothe is
in one maner Whan so is that the knyght on the right side
is Whyt/the lift knyght is black / the moeuyng of hem is
suche . that the Whyt may goo in to the space of the alphyn
as hit apezyth of the knyght on the zyght syde that
is Whyt / And hath thre yssues from his propre place /
one on his right side in the place tofore the labouzer .

and hit is Wel reson that Whan the labourer and husbond
may hath labourede the feldes. the knyghtes ought to
kepe them · to the entente that they haue vitaillies for them
self & theyr horses / The second yssue is that he may meue
hym vnto the black space tofore the notarye or draper for
he is bounden to deffende and kepe them that make hys
testementes & couertours necessarye 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 deffende the kyng as Wel as his
owne persone / Whan he passyth the first draught · he may
goo four Weyes / and Whan he is in the mydde of the ta ;
bliez he may goo in to viij 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 manez goeth the knyght fightyng by his myght / &
groweth and multeplyeth in his poyntes / and ofte tymes
by them the felde is wonne or lost/ a knyghtes vertue and
myght is not knowen but by his fightyng / And in his
fightyng he doeth moche harme for as moche as his myght
extendeth in to so many poyntes / they ley in many parellis
in theyr fightyng. and Whan they escape they haue the ho
nour of the game. & thus is hit of euery man the more
taylliyant / & the more honouredy/ and he that meketh hym
self ofte tymes shyneth clerest.

The sixte chappytre of the fourth tractate treteth of the yssue of the wokes and of her progressyon capitulo Vj

He moeuyng & yssue of the wokes Whiche ben Vy-
t cayrs of the kynge is suche / that the night wok is
black & the lift wok is Whyt/ and Whan the chesse ben sette
as Wel the nobles as the comyn peple first in theyr 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 ben enclosid in theyr propre sieges ·
And the reson Why is suche . that for as moche as they
ben Vycayrs lieuetenauntes or cõmyssyoners of the kyng
theyr auctorite is of none effect tofore they yssue out /

And that they haue begonne to enhaunce their offyce/for as longe as they be Wythin the palays of the kyng. so longe may they not vse ne execute theyr cõmyssyon. but anone as they yssue they may vse theyr auctorite / and ye shal vnderstonde that theyr auctorite is grete / For they re presente the persone of the kyng / and therfore Where the tablier is voyde they may renne alle the tablier. in lyke Wyse as they goon thrugh the royame / and they may goo as Wel Whyt as black as Wel on the right side and lifte as foreward and bacward / and as fer may they renne as they fynde the tablier voyde. Whether hit be of his aduer: saries as of his owen felawshyp. and Whan the wok is in the middel 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 alWey right forth goyng and comyng as afore is said. Wherfore al the subgettis of the kyng as Wel good as euyl ought to knowe by theyr moeuyng that the auctorite of the vy: cayrs and cõmyssyoners ought to be Verray treWe rightWys and Juste /and ye shal vnderstande that they ben strونge and Vertuous in bataylle. for the tWo wokes onely may vanquysshe a kyng theyr aduersarye and take hym. and take from hym his lyf and his royame / and this Was doon Whan Cirus kyng of perse and Darius kyng of medes sleWe balthazar and took his royame from hym. Whiche Was neueWe to enylmorodach vnder Whom thys game Was foundey.

The vij chappytre of the fouzth book of the yssue of the comyn peple capitulo septimo

Ne yssue and one moeuyng apperteyneth vnto all o the comyn peple /for they may goo fro the poynt they stande in at the fizst meuyng unto the thizd poynt zight 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 neuez retorne bacwazdy. and thus goyng fozth fro poynt to poynt they may gete by vezture and strengthe. that thynge that the other nobles fynde by dygnyte /and yf the knyghtes andy other no; bles helpe hem that they come to the fezthest ligne tofore them where theyz aduersazyes were sette they zequyre the dignyte that the quene hath graunted to hez by grace /

For yf ony of them may come to thys sayd ligne yf he be
Whyt as labourer drapez, phisicien. or kepar of the cite been
they reteyne suche dignyte as the quene hath / for they haue
goten hit / & than retornyng agayn homeWard / they may
go like as it is sayd in the chapitre of the quene / and yf
ony of the paWnes that be black · as the smyth + the mar-
chaunt / the tauerner, & ribaulde may come Without domage
in to the same Ttterest ligne / he shal gete by his Vertu the
dynyte of the black quene / & ye shal Vnderstonde / Whan
thyse comune peple meue right forth in her ligne / & 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 lift / & the cause is that the aduersaries ben sus-
pecious that the comyn peple lye in a Wayte to robbe her
goodes or to take her persones Whā they go VpWard right
forth. and therfore he may take in the right angle tofore
hym one of his aduersaryes / as he had espied his persone
and in the right angle as robber of his goodes · & Whether
hit be goyngh forWard or retornyng fro black to Whyt, or
Whyt to black / the paWne must alWey goo in his right lig
ne / & alWey take in the orner that he fyndeth in his Waye
but he may not goo on neyther side til he hath been in the
fardest ligne of the schequer / & that he hath taken the nature
of the draughtes of the quene / & than he is a fiers · and
than he may goo on al sides cornerWyse fro poynt to poynt
onely as the quene doth fightyngh & takyng Whom he fyn
deth in his Waye. And Whan he is thus comen Vnto the
place Where the nobles his aduersaries Were sette he shal

he made Whit fiers and black fiers / after the poynte that he is in / & there taketh he the dygnyte of the qnene, & alle these thynges may appere to them that beholdeyn the playe of the chesse. and ye shal Vnderstonde that no noble man ought to haue despyte of the comyn peple for hit hath been ofte tymes seen that by their Vertu and Wytte / dyuerse of them haue comen to right hygh & grete astate as popes. bysshops / emperours and kynges / as We haue in the histo rye of dauyd that Was made kyng of a shepherdy and one of the comyn peple & of many other / and in lyke Wise We rede of the contrarye / 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 World more riche and more heppy than he Was / and than he herde a Voys 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 sapyence and the sureté of the poure man & of his litel meyne / than he dydy the astate and the persone of gyges ne of his riche mayne / and hit is more to alowe a lytyl thyngy seurly pourseWed thenne moche good taken in fere and drede / and for as moche as a man of lowe lignage is by his Vertue enhaunsedy so moche the more he ought to be glorious and of good reno mee. Virgyle that Was borne in lombardye of the nacion of mantua and Was of lowe and symple lignage yet he Was souerayn in Wysedom and science & the most noble

of al the poynte . of whom the renomee was / is and shal be duryng the world . so hit happend that another poete ayyd and demaunded of hym wherfore he sette not the vers sis of homere in his book · and he answerd that he shold be of right grete strengthe and fore that sholdy plucke the clubbe out of heraules handes / and thys suffiseth the state and draughtis of the wmyn peple /

The viij chappytre and the last of the fourth book of the epylogacion and reappytulacion 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 forgetful
Whan some here longe talis and histoyres whiche they can
not al reteyne in her mynde or reorde · Therfore I haue
put in thys present chappytre al the thynges aboue sayd as
shortly as I haue cone / first this playe or game was foū
den in the tyme of enylmewdach kyng of babylone / And
eyceses the philosopher otherwyse named philometer foūde
hit / and the cause why was for the correccion of the kyng
lyke as hit apperith in thre the first chappytres · For the
sayd kyng was so tyrānous & felouny that he myght suffre
no correccion / 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 beyng sorowful and right
euyl plesidy of this euyl lyf of the kyng prayed and re-
quyred the phylosopher · that he wold repryse and telle the
kyng of his folye / and than the philosopher answerd that
he shold be dede yf he so dyde · and the peple saydy to hym /
certes thou oughtest soner wylle to dye to thende that thy
renome myght come to the peple . than the lyf of the kyng
shold cōtynue in euyl for lacke of thy cōcil . or by faulte
of reprehension of the . or thou dauist not doo & sheWe / that
thou sayest . & Whan the philosopher herde thys he promysid
to the peple that he wold put him in deuoyr to correct hym
And thenne he began to thynke hym in what maner he
myght escape the deth andy kepe to the peple his promesse
And thenne thus he maady in thys manez andy ordeyg-
nedy the eschequer of lyiiij poyntes as is afore sayde /
And dyd do make the forme of chequers of gold & siluez

in humayn figure after the facions & formes as We haue
dyuysid & sheWid to you tofore in theyr chappytres / & ordey
ned the moeuyng & thestate after that, it is saidy in the
chapitres of theschessys / & Whan 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 kyngy came andy saWe hit andy desiredy to playe at
this game / And thenne the phylosopher began tensigne
and teche the kyngy the saienc of the playe andy the
draughtes / Sayengy to hym first hoW the kyngy ought
to haue in hym self pyte debonayrte andy rightWysnes /
as hit is saydy tofore in the chappytre of the kyngy / And
he enseygnedy to hym the astate of the quene andy What
maners she ought to haue / Andy thenne of the alphyns
as counseyllours and Juges of the royame /
Andy after the nature of the knyghtes / hoW they ought
to be Wyse . treWe andy auxtoys and al the ordre of knyght
hode / And than after the nature of the Bycayrs andy
Rookes as hit aperyth in theyr chappytre / Andy after
thys hoW the comyn people ought to goo eche in his offyce
Andy hoW they ought to serue the nobles . Andy Whan
the philosopher hady thus taught andy enseygnedy the
kynge andy his nobles by the maner of the playe andy
had reprehendydy hym of his euyl maners . The kyngy
demaunded hym Bpon payn of deth to telle hym the cause
Why andy Wherfore he had made and foundey thys playe /
and game, And What thyng meuyd hym therto / and than
the phylosopher constraynedy by fere & drede answerd . that
he hady promysedy to the people Whyche hady requyrydy hym

that he shold correcte and repáse the kyng of his euyl vi
ces / but for as moche as he doubted the deth and had seen
that the kyng dyd do slee the sages & wyse men that were
so hardy to blame hym of his vyces. he was in grete an-
guysshe and sorowe / how he myght fynde a maner to cor-
recte and reprehende the kyng. and to saue his owen lyf
and thus he thought longe and studyed that he fond 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 adioustyd wyth al that he had founden thys
game for so moche as the lordes and nobles habundyng
in delices and richessis. and enioyeng temporel rees shold
eschewe ydelnes by playeng of thys game. and for to gyue
hem cause to leue her pensifnes and sorowes. in auysyng
and studyeng this game / and whan the kyng had herde al
thyse causes + he thought that the philosopher had founde a
good maner of correcaon + & than he thankyd hym gretely
and thus by thensignement and leznyng of the philoso-
pher. he chaunged his lyf his maners and alle his euyll
condicaons / and by this maner hit happend that the kyng
that tofore tyme had ben vyaous and disordynate in hys
lyuyng was made Juste and vertuous / debonayr / gracá
ous and ful of vertues vnto al peple. And a man that
lyuyth in thys world without vertues lyueth not as a
man but as a beste. Thenne late euery man of what
condycaon he be that redyth or herith this litel book rede +
take therby ensaumple to amende hym +

Explicit per Caxton.

REMARKS.

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

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

were of necessity entrusted and taught to the whole of the persons employed; and it is too consistent with the selfishness of human nature for us to be surprised that these men (probably mere labourers originally) should, when in possession of this valuable secret, and notwithstanding the oaths of secresy 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 secresy 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[1]; this is not to be found again in the volume, and being here used in the pronoun *she*, can have no particular signification in this place.

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

At page 67, line 4 from the bottom, is the old contraction y^{e}[3] for *the*, which is only used two or three other times throughout the book; but at the beginning of the same line occurs the contracted e,[4] properly used as indicating that m should follow, although it is frequently used in the book without any such meaning.

At page 77, line 21 from top, as in many other places, the h[5] with a stroke through the top will be found in the word *hymself*, equally without meaning.

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

The ll[7] with a stroke through the top also frequently occurs, without any apparent motive for its presence. The anomalous presence of these characters raises the question of their original intent, and makes us doubt whether they were cut for their present places.

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

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

[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7]

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

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

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

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

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

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

VINCENT FIGGINS.

West-street, West Smithfield, London,
May 1*st*, 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 raoulle le feure, Chapellein de Monseigneur le Duc Philippe de Bourgoingne en l'an de grace milcccclxxiiii. Fol.
B. M.	C. 21. d.		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.
K. L.	C. 11. c. 1.	1471	3. Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye, composed and drawen out of diverce bookes of latyn into Frensshe by Raoul le ffeure in the yere 1464, and drawen out of frensshe in to Englisshe 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 cyte of Colen 19 Sept. 1471. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 23.	1474	4. The Game and Playe of the Chesse, translated out of the French, fynysshid the last day of Marche, 1474. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 1.		5. A second edition of the same. Fol., with woodcuts.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 3.	1475	6. A boke of the hoole lyf of Jason. Fol.
K. L.	167. c. 1.	1477	7. The Dictes and notable wyse Sayenges of the Phylosophers, transl. out of Frenshe by lord Antoine Wydeville Erle Ryuyeres, empr. at Westmestre. Fol.
		1478	8. The Morale Prouerbes of Cristyne of Pisa. Fol.
? K. L.	C. 11. c. 2.	1480	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. 4.	1480	10. The Chronicles of Englond. Westm., fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 24.	1480	11. Descripcion of Britayne. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 5. C. 21. d.	1481	12. The Mirrour of the World or thymage of the same. Fol.
K. L.	C. 11. c. 3.	1481	13. The Hystorye of Reynart the Foxe. Fol.

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 Boloyne; or the laste siege and conqueste of Jherusalem. Westm., fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 7. 598. i.	1482	16. The Polycronycon, 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 Englisshe, 'The confessyon of the Louer,' maad and compyled by Johan Gower, squyer. Westm., fol.
K. L.	C. 11. d. 8.	1483	21. The Golden Legende. Westm., fol.
			22. Another edition of The Legende. Sm. fol.
		1483	23. A third, fin. at Westmr., 20 May, 1483, fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 8.	1483	24. The booke callid Cathon (Magnus). Transl. from the French. Fol.
			25. Parvus Chato. Fol., no name or date.
K. L.	C. 11. c. 6. C. 21. d.	1484	26. The Knyght of the Toure. From the French. Fol.
The King.	C. 11. c. 17.	1484	27. The Subtyl Historyes and Fables of Esope. Translated from the French. Fol.
	C. 21. c. 1. C. 11. d. 19.		28. The book of the Ordre of Chyvalry, or Knyghthode. From the French. Assigned to 1484. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 22.	1484	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.
B. M.	C. 10. b. 9.	1485	31. The Lyf of Charles the Grete Kyng of Fraunce and Emperour of Rome. Fol.
		1485	32. Another edition of the same. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 10.	1485	33. Thystorye of the noble ryght valyaunt and worthy Knyght Parys and of the fayr Vyenne the doulphyns doughter of Vyennoys. Transl. from French. 1485, fol.
		1486	34. The Book of Good Maners. Fol. [Ames says, 1487.]
K. L.	The King.	1489	35. The Doctrinal of Sapyence. Transl. from the French. Fol.
K. L.	C. 21. d.	1489	36. The Book of Fayttes of Armes and Chyvalrye. Translation from the first part of Vegetius de Re Militari. Fol.
K. L.	C. 11. c. 8.	1490	37. The Arte and Crafte to knowe well to dye. From the French. Fol.
K. L. G. L.	C. 10. b. 12. C. 21. d. 9723.	1490	38. The Boke of Eneydos, compyled by Vyrgyle. Transl. from French. Fol.
K. L. G. L.	167. c. 9.		39. The Tales of Cauntyrburye. Fol., no date. 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 Creseyde. Fol.
			46. A book for Travellers. Fol.
? G. L.	10542.		47. The Lyf of St. Katherin of Senis. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 14.		
K. L.	C. 10. b. 15.		48. Speculum Vite Christi; or the myrroure of the blessyd 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 dni Gulielmi Lyndewodi, LL.D., et epi Asaphensis constitutiones provinciales Ecclesiæ 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 invyncyble Cytee of Rhodes, by Caoursin. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 20.		59. Statuta apud Westmonasterium edita, anno primo Regis Ricardi tercii. 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 Accidence. (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 mānes soule, called the Chastysing of Goddes Chyldern. Fol.
B. M.			63. Horæ, 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. / 5.		65. The Fifteen O's and other Prayers.
B. M.	C. 21. d.		66. Meditacions sur les sept Pseaulmes penitentiaulx.
B. M.	C. 21. d. / 5.		67. Indulgence for the defence of Rhodes. 1480.

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

1457.	*Mayence*	Guttemberg, Faust, and Schœffer.
1461.	*Bamberg*	Albert Pfister.
1465.	*Subbiaco*	Con. Sweynheim and Arn. Pannartz.
1467.	*Rome*	The same printers.
1467.	*Elfield*	H. and N. Rechtermuntze and Wm. Spyes.
1467.	*Cologne*	Ulricus Zel (or Zell), of Hanau.
1468.	*Augsburg*	Giuther Zainer, of Reutlingen.
1469.	*Venice*	John and Vindeline of Spire.
1469.	*Milan*	Philippus de Lavagna.
1470.	*Nuremberg*	Joannes Sensenschmidt.
1470.	*Paris*	U. Gering, M. Crantz, and M. Friburger.
1470.	*Foligno*	Emilian de Orfinis.
1470.	*Trevi*	Joan Reynardi.
1470.	*Verona*	Joan de Verona.
1471.	*Strasburg*	J. Mentel or Mentelius, H. Eggestein.
1471.	*Spire*	Petrus Drach.
1471.	*Treviso*	Girardus de Lisa, de Flandria.
1471.	*Bologna*	Balthasar Arzoguidi.
1471.	*Ferrara*	Andreas Belfortes.
1471.	*Naples*	Sixtus Reisinger of Strazburg.
1471.	*Pavia*	Anton de Carcano.
1471.	*Florence*	Bernard Cennini and Son.
1472.	*Cremona*	D. de Paravisino and S. de Merlinis.
1472.	*Fivizano*	Jam Baptista (a priest) and Alexander.
1472.	*Padua*	B. de Valdezochio and M. de S. Arboribus.
1742.	*Mantua*	Petrus Adam de Michaelibus.
1472.	*Montreal* (*Sicily*)	Ant. Mathias and Balth. Corderius.
1472.	*Jesi*	Fridericus Veronensis.
1472.	*Munster* (*in Argua*)	Helias Heyle, or de Louffen.
1472.	*Parma*	Andreas Portiglia.

* Santander gives this List from their earliest known works.

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

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

SYNOPSIS

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

a a â ad ad A

b ba be bo B

c cc ca ce cá co cr cu C C

d da de do dy D

e ê ey er eť E

f ff fa fe fi fo fu F

g gy G

h hy ha he ho H

í ý ím ím I

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l ll ll la le lí lo lu L

m my M

n ny N

o or ô ô O

p pp pa pe po P

q Q

r z ra re rí ro ru R

s ss s s sh S

t ta te th tí to tu T

u û U

v va ve vo V

w wa we wo W

x X

y z ze e ẏ

. + . + : /

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