The Poems of Mr. Coffin

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 myght come to the knoWlege and Vnderstondyng of suche as ley 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 ryght speciial 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 rede 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 delybered 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 depessched 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 longeth to the playe. In whom al estates 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 englisshe / 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 reward them in his euerlastyng blisse in heuen / to the whiche he bringe vs / that with his precious blood redemed vs Amen

This book is deuyded and departed in to four traytes 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 maad. Capitulo primo

Monge alle the euyl condicions & signes that may a be in a man the first and the grettest is. Whan he fereth 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 likewise was sotyme a kyng in babilon that was named

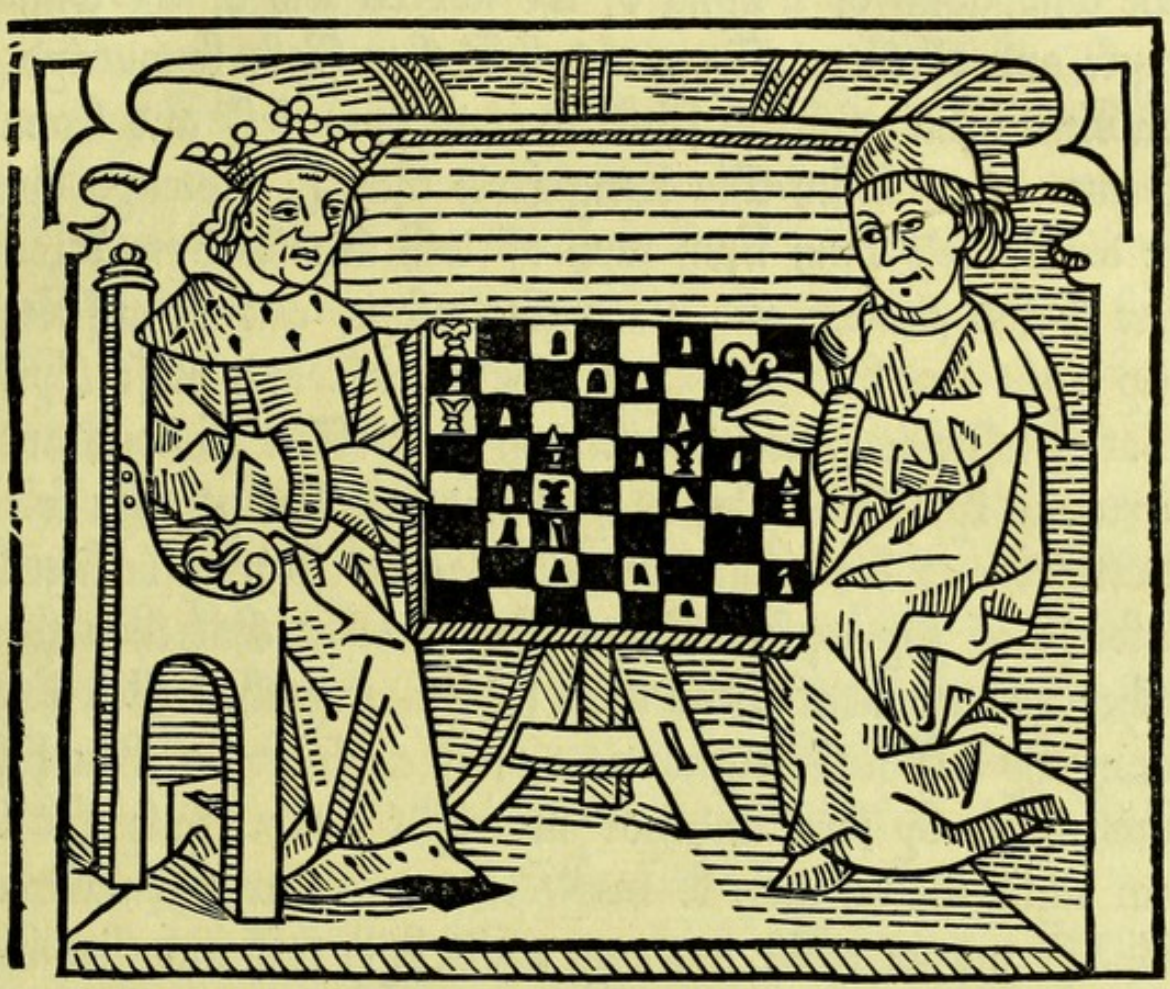
Enylmewdach a Jolye man Without Justyse and so cru:
el that he did do hewe his faders body in thre hondred pieces
and gaf hit to ete and deuoure to thre hondred byrdes that
men calle Voultres / And Was of suche condicion as Was
New / And right Wel resemblid and Was lyke Vnto his
fader Nabugodonosor · 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· Vnder this kyng thene Enyl
mewdach Was this game and playe of the chesse founden ·
Trewe it is that some men Wene/that this play Was fou
den in the tyme of the bataylles and siege of twye · But
that is not so / For this playe cam to the playes of the
Caldees as diomedes the greek saith and rehereth / 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 mocke to say in englisſh 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 / thay to lyue longy and be a fals flatezer With the saydy kyng / Foz Why he bekelde 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 susteyned / for he destroyeth hym that disple sith him. And therfore reherceth Valerius. that there Was a Wyse man named theodore cerem Whom his kyng dyd do hange on the crosse for as moche as he repreuyd hym of his euyl & foul lyf / and alWey as he Was in the torment he sayd to the kyng. Upon thy counceyllours and theym that ley clad in thy clothyng and whys 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 mygbt come to the euyl and Vyaious 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 & Vnrightful Ju: gement / than that I had deserued to dye.

The thyrd chapitre of the first tractate treteth Wherfore the playe Was founden and maade 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 / Andr 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 andr 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 demaundedy 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 hady .& 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 may be maister ouer other & comaundour Whe he can not reWle noz 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 ony 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 oz correctours and her correcions to holde and kepe in mynde. In like Wyse as Valerius reherceth that the kyng alixandre hady a noble and renomed knyght that sayd in repreuyng of Alixandre that he Was to moche coueitous & 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 woude not holde the. for thou holdest in thy right honde al the oryent, 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 thyngh so strongge andy fezme. but that sumtyme a feble thyngh casteth douy and ouerthwWe 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 occaciony is sepulture of a man lyuyngh. 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 andy good. & therfore secondly the philosophyr 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 euyllis and grete synnes. and by this ydlenes the herte is quenchydy Whereof comyth good desperacion. The thyrd cause is that euery man naturelly desireth to knoWe andy here noueltees and tydynges. for this cause they of Athenes studyedy as We rede, and for as the corporal or bodelye sight expesseth and letteth otherWhyle the knoWleche of subtyl thynges. Therfore We rede that democrite the

philosopher put out his owen eyen, For as moche as he mygbt haue the better entendement and Vnderstondyng. many haue ben made blynde that were grete clerkis in like wyse as was didimus bysshop of alyandrie. 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 suppositid not that he was not displeasidn in that he hadn lost his sight, and saynt anthonye answerd to hym I mer uaile moche that hit displesith the that thou hast lost that thyngn 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 awey al pensifnes andn 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 / cowbnedy 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 a: boue al other andy most Worthy / And that is signyfyedy by the crowne .for the glorie of the peple is the dygnyte of the kyngy / andy aboue al other the kyngy ought to be re: plenyssyed With vertues and of grace .and this signyfieth the purpure / For in like Wyse as the robes of purpure ma keth fayr and enbelissheth the body. the same Wyse vertues

makyth the sowle / he ought alway thynk on the gouerne
ment of the wyame & Who hath thadmynystracion of Jus:
tyce / and this shold be by hym self pryuátly / This sig:
nefyeth the appel 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 mysericorde and trouth consezue and kepe the
kyng in his trone / Therfore ought a kyng to be merciful
and debonayr · for When a kyng or prynce desireth or Wyl
be belouyd of his peple lete hym be gouerned by debonayrte
And Valerius saith that deboneyrte percyth the hertes of
straungers / and amolissheth and makyth softe the hertes
of his enemyes. Whewof 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 . Whewof the moder Was so
angry and sorowful that she went and requyred of her lord
the duc / that his heed mygbt 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 aníspe that sayd on a tyme as moche vylonye vnto
the prynce as ony man mygbt saye.And that mygbt 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 comaundedn them

that they shold not be so hardy so to doo / The neyt day
soloWyng Arispe remembrdy of the right grete Dylonye
that he had doy to his frende andy lordy Without cause /
He fyl ín dyspayz andy Wold haue slayn hym self / Whan
the duc kneWe andy Understood 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 euez he had bey tofore yf he Wold / and thus he
zespited hym of his deth by his debonayzte / and ín lyke
Wise zede We of the kyng pirre to Whom Was reported that
they of tarente had sayd grete Dylonye 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 bey a Jape. ín regarde of that We had thought
to haue doy / Than the kyng began to laWhe . For they
hady confessyd that suche langage as Was said and spoken
Was by dronkenshyp / And for this cause of debonayzte
the peple of tarente tooke for a custome that the dronken
men shold be punysshid / and the sobre men preysed / The
kyng thenne thus ought to loue humylite andy hate
falsyte after the holy scripture that speketh of euezy may
generally . For the kyng ín his reyame zepresenteth god
& god is Verite. and therfore hym ought to say no thyng
but yf hit Weze Verzytable and stable / Valerius zehezceth
that Alyandze 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 bey
tofore maistze & goueznour of alixãdze hezd & Understood

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 goodes that suche thyngh as he ayyd or requyred of hym. he Wolde in no Wyse doon. Thenne the phylosophez 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/ ffoz he had leuer not to do his Wyll than to be peziured and forsWorn and doo ageynst his oth Quyntilian sayth that no grete man ne lozde sholde not sWere. But Where as is grete nede /and that the symple pawle 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 hez seals and Brytynges and signes of theyr pro: pre handes / alle faylleth god amende hit,

A kyngh also ought to hate all cruelte, For We rede that neuer dyed yet ony pietous pezsone of euyl deth. ne cruel persone of good deth / Therfore recounteth Valerius that there Was a man namedy therile a Werkman in metalle, that maad a boole of coppre and a lityl Wyket on the syde Wherby men mygbt 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 maade he by cause men sholde haue the lasse pyte of them / Whan he had maade 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 kole Whan philezde herde and Vnderstood thys . he alowed and praisid mocke the Wezke/and after sayd to hym/thou that azt more cruel than I am /shalt assay and prowe first thy presente and yefte /and so maad hym to go in to the koole and dye an euyl deth / Therfore sayth ouyde there is no thyng moze resonable thenne that a man dye of sucke deth as he purchaseth Vnto other .Also the kyng ought souerayn ly kepe Justyce/Who maketh or kepeth a wyame Without Justyce . of Lezzy force theze must be grete wbkezye & thefte . 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 mocke hazme that the complayntes cam tofore alyander Whicke dyd hym to be taken and bwught afore hym / And he demaunded hym Whezfore he Was so noyous and cruel in the see / And he answerd to hym agayn / For as mocke as thou azt oon a londe in the Worlde . so am I another in the see / But for as mocke as the euyl that I doo is in oon galey or tWeyn therfore I am callyd a theef But for as mocke as thou dost in many shyppys and Wyth grete puyssaunce and power . Therfore arte thou callyd an Emperour . But yf fortune Were for me in sucke Wyse / I Wold kecome a good man and kettez thenne I now am /But thou the moze rycher and fortunat that thou azt / The moze Worse art thou / alyxaundez said to hym I shal chaunge thy fortune in sucke Wise as thou ne say that thou shalt do it by pouerte

but for euyl and mauayste.and so he made hym ryche /and this was he that afterward was a good prynce & a good Justiciar, The kyng ought to be souerayngly 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 & condicions 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 thene 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 apereth by storkes dowues and turtils .But tho fowles 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 named sapio affricâ for as moche as he had côquerd affrique how wel that he was of rome born.whan he was of xxxiiij yere of age he conquerdn 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 named

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 bylonye to her. And the raunson or gold that they had ordeyned for their doughter. gaf hit euery deel in dowaire to her. and the yonge man 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 kyng

The second chapitre of the second book and 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 cowned with a
crowne 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 elecaion, For ofteyn tymes the elec-
tours and chosers can not ne wylle not acorde / And
so is the elecaion lest, 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 whan 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 reyame 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 chyldren, Her wysedom ought not
onely to appere in fait and werkes/but also in spekyng
that is to wete that she be secrete and telle not suche
thynges as ought to be holden secrete.
Wherfore it is comyn prouerbe that women can kepe
no counceyl / And acordyng therto Macrobe rehearseth
in the book of the dremes of Scyppo. That there was

a chyld of wome that was named papirus that oy a tyme
went with his fader which was a senatouz ỹ 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 be kepte secret vpon payn of theyr hedes.
and so departed /And whan he was comen home from the
senatoyre and fro the counceyl with his fader /His mo:
der demaũded of hym what was the counceyl and whewf
they spake and had taryed so longe there / And the
chylde answerd to her and sayd 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 afterward to menace hym that he sholde
saye and telle to her what it was / And whan the
chylde sawe that he myght haue no reste of his moder ỹ
no wyse / He made her first promyse that she sholde kepe
hit secrete. And to telle hit to noon of the worlde /
And that wom / he feyned a lesing or a lye and sayde
to her, that the Senatours had ỹ 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 ỹ secrete/ & thus
hit happend anone after that alle the wyues of Rome

cam to the senatoyre where the senatours were assemblydy and cryed with ay hygh voys .that they had leuer /And also hit were better for the comyn wele that a wyf sholdy haue two husbondys than a man two wyues , The senatours heeryng this were gretely abasshydy andy wyst not to say , ner what /ner how to answere . tyl atte laste that the child papire rehezced to them all the cas and fayt how hit was happend . And whan the senatours herdy and vnderstood the mater they were gretely abasshyd, & cõmendydy gzetly the Jngenye and wytte of the chyld that so wysely contrynued the lye rather than he wold discouere theiz counceyl . And forthwyth made hym a senatour , and establisshed and ozdeyned fro than forthoy that no chyld in ony wise shold entre in to the coũceyl hows amonge them with their faders except papirus·whome they wold that he shold alwey be amonge them . Also a quene ought to be chaste Foz as she is aboue al other in estate and reuerence . So shold she be ensaumple vnto al other in her lyuyng honest lye , whewof Jerome 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 oy the water , and had fizst the victozye /This duele had to his wyf one of the best women and so chaste . that euery woman myght take ensaumple of her/and at that tyme the synne of the flesshe was the grettest synne that ony myght doo agaynst nature/And this sayd good woman was named ylie .And so hit happend that this duele became 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 had the same faute as wel as he, For she kyst neuer ony mannes mouth but her husbondes. O moche was this woman to be praysed 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 named Anna/ whiche had a frende that counceylled hyz to marye. For she was yonge fayr and ryche. to whom she answerdz that she woldz not so doo in no wyse, For yf I shold haue an husbondz 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 worse. what sholdz hit profyte me to haue an euyl husbond after a good. andz so she concluded that she wold kepe hez chastete/ Saynt Austyn rehercth in the book de Ciuitate dei that in rome was a noble lady gentyl of maners and of hygh kynzede named lucrecia, And had an husbond namedz Colatyne whiche desired oy a tyme the Emperouzs sone named torquyne thorguyllous or the proude. and he was calle sytte foz to come dyne andz spozte hym in his castel oz manoyz And whan he was entzed amonge many noble ladyes he sawe lucrecia/ And whan thys emperouzs sone hadz seen &

aduertysed her deportes. her countenaunce. her maneres & 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 themperour. andy 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 emperours 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 andy in that other honde a nakyd swerd. and saydy to her. Lucresse holde thy pees andy 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. Thene 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 sezuauntis and shal lay hym alle deed by thy syde / And thenne I shal say that I haue slayn you for your rybaudrye. and lucresse that than doubtedy more the shame of the worldy than the deth. consentyd to hym / And anone after as the emperours 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 / andy saydy to them / that yesterday Syyte the emperours sone cam in to myn howes as ay enemye in likines of a frende and hath oppressyd me / Andy

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 don thys synne to me hit shal bey to his myschaunce yf ye do 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 wke / she wos her self vnto the herte And deyed forthwyth to fore them . and thenne brute the counceyller and her husbondy 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 don / For they bare the deed corps thrugh the cyte and meuydy the peple in suche wyse . That tarquyn was put in eyple . andy Syyte his sone was slayn . A quene ought to be wel manerd and amonge alle she ought to be tumewus andy shamefast / For why 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 wommen 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 peloue of fethers a certeyn somme of money . and put hit vndez the heed of a pouze frende of

herys/ Whiche dissymyled his pouerte and wolde not nor durst not be a knowen of his pouerte. for shame she durst not gyue it openly. but had leuer that he shold fynde hyt than that she had gyuen hit hym. Wherfore otherwhile men shold gyue & helpe her frendes so secretly. that they knowe not whens it come, for whan we kepe it secret and make no.boste therof. our dedes and werkes shal please god and them also. A Quene ought to be chosen whan she shal be weddyd of the moste honest kynrede and peple/for ofteyn tymes the doughters folowen the tatches & maners of theym that they ben dyscended from/wherof Valerius maximus sayth that there was one that wold marye. Whiche cam to a philosopher and axyd counceyl what wyf he myght best take. he answerd that he shold take her that thou knowest certeynly that her moder & her graundame haue ben chaste and wel condyconed. for suche moder/suche doughter comuneyly/ Also a quene ought to teche her chyldren to ben contynent and kepe chastite entierly. as hit is wryten in ecclesiastes. yf thou haue sones enseigne and teche them and yf thou haue doughters kepe wel them in chastyte. For helemonde reherceth that euery kynge & prynce ought to be a clerke for to comaunde to other to studye and rede the lawe of our lordy god/ and therfore wrote themperour to the kyng of fraunce that he shold do lerne his children sones the seuen saences liberal/and saydy amonge other thynges that a kyng not lettrid resembleth an asse coweyned/ Themperour octouyan maad his sones to be taught and lerne to swymme/to spryngye and leye/ to Juste/ to playe wyth the aye and swerde/and al manere 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 theiz virgynyte haue bey maad quenes / For Poule the histo riagraph of the lombardes rehearseth that ther was a du: chesse named remonde which had thre sones & ij doughters And hit happend that the kynge of hongrye cantauus as sayled a castel where she and hez chyldrzen were Inne / And oy 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 espryseds 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 wolds take her to his wyf and wedde hez / And he agreed therto and swaze that he wold haue hez to his wyf oy that con: diaon. Whan than the kyngz 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 aftez was duc of boneuentan & sithen kyng of the lumbardis / andy the two susters toke chy: kens and put hem vndez her azmes neyt the flesh andy bytwene hez 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 . through her body Vnto her throte or mouthe / for by cauſe of the luſte of her flesſſh ſhe ketrayedr her eyte andr ſayd ſuche huſbondr ſuche Wyf + and this ſuffyſeth of the quene

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

He alphyns ought to be maad and formed in manere of Juges ſittyngy in a chayer With a book open tofore theyr eyen, and that is by cauſe that ſome cauſes ben crymynel, And ſome ben cyuyle as about poſſeſſions and other temporel thynges and treſpaces / andy 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 ſecondy. Theyr offyce is for to counceylle the kyng. And to make by his cõmaũdementis good lawes & to enforme

alle the wyame in good and vertuous maners / And to Juge and gyue sentence wel and trewly after the cas 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 stwng 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 golde & sendyd hit to hym prayeng hym that he wolde 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 cozupt ne corompid. Oftentymes that thyng taketh ay euyll ende that is vntrewe foz gold and siluer. and that a may is subget vnto money may not be lozdy thewf / Helymondy reherceth that demostene demaûded of aristodone how moche

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 had yf thou Wolt Wynne thy cause. for With money and yefte thou shalt Wynne. & oftentymes they selle as Wel theyr silence/ as their Vttewunce. Valerius reherath that the senatours of rome took counceil to gedez 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 sippyon of affrique said that none of hem bothe Weze 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 pouezte and auarice in a Juge. For a co: uetous 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 Worlde, For many there Were that exposed al theyr goodes for the co: myn Wele. and for that Was most proffitable for the co: mynalte that they Were so poure that Whan they Weze dede they Were buryed and brought to erthe Wyth the co: myn good, And theyr doughters Were maryed by the cõmaundement of the senatours. but sithen that they despised pouezte/ & begonne to gadze richesses. & haue made grete bataylles. they haue Vsed many synnes/ and so the

comyn Wele perisshed/for ther is no synne but that it reig
neth there/theze is none that is so blisful as he that hath
al the World in despite / For he is in pees that dredith no
man / & he is riche that coueiteth no thyng/Valere rehercæth
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 for loue or for hate in ony Ju:
gement /for theofrast saith that all loue is blynde ·there
loue is ·there can not right Jugement be gyuen . for all
loue is blynde ·and therfore loue is none euyn Juge·for
ofte tymes loue Jugeth a foWle and lothly Woman to be
fayr / And so rehercæth 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 / For euery
man is lasse aduysedy and Worse in his oWne feet and
cause than in another mannys·And therfore the Juges
ought to kepe hem Wel from Ire in Jugement/ Tullyus
sayth that an angry and ywus persone Weneth that for
to do euyl is goody counceyl/and socrates saith that tWo
thynges ben contrarious to counceyl / & they ben hastynes
and Wrath · and galeren sayth in Alexandrye / yf yre or
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 for
ne not thy wrage ·Helemondy zeherceth that cambyses
kyng of perce Whiche Was a right Wis kyng had an Vn:
rightWis Juge /Whiche for enuye & euyl Wyll had dapned
a man Wrongfully and agaynst right / Wherfore he dydy
hym to be flayn al quyk and made the chayer or siege of

Jugement to be wuend wyth his skyn/and made his sone Juge and to sitte in the chayer on the skyn of his fader. to thende that the sone shold Juge rightwysly, & abhorre the Jugement & payne of his fader. 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 rehearseth that calengius a consul had a sone whiche was taken in aduoultrye & therfore after the lawe at that tyme he was dampned to lose bothe his eyen. the fader wold that the lawe shold be accomplisshed in his sone wyth out fauour. but al the cite was meuyd herewyth and wold not suffre hit /but in the ende his fader was vaynquysshed by theyr prayers. And ordeyned that his sone shold lese one eye whyche was put out. And he hym self lost ay other eye. And thus was the lawe obseruyd and kept. And the prayer of the peple was accomplisshed, We rede that there was a counceyllour of rome that had gyuen counceylle to make a statute that who some euer that entryd in to the senatoyr 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. whewof he toke none hede & one of the senatours told hym of hit, & when he knewe hit & remēbrid 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 sowe / But alas we fynde not many in thyse dayes that so do / But they do lyke as anastasyus saith that the lawes of some ley like vnto the nettis of spyncoppis

that take no grete bestes and fowles but let goo andy 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 doy they speciallly that ben gentil of lignage
& poure of goodes /& causeth them to wolle & reue/ and yet
constreyne them by force to serue them.& thys is no mer:
uayle/for they that drede not to angre god, ner to breke
the lawe & to false hit / falle often tymes by force in moche
cursidnes & wickednes .but whan the grete peple do accor:
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 theyz example / And
the Juges ought to entende foz to studye. For yf the
smythes the carpentiers the vignours andy othez crafty:
men say that it is not necessarye to studye foz 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 sholdy be foz
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 spiritueel & also corporal werkis .And
therfoze amōge artificers thez is no plesaūt rest/ but that
reson of the Juges hath maad & ordeyned hit . & therfoze
anglius saith in/li/ atticorz de socrate/that socrates was
on a tyme so pensif that in ay hole naturel day/he helde one

estate that he ne meued mouth ne eye ne foot ne hand but
Was as he had ben deed or wuysshed/ 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 aznazdes 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 hondy Vnto the
mete to fede hym self /and therfore his Wyf that Was na
medy 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 World 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 doy 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
consáence.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 knyghthoode and of her offyces and maners capitulo quarto

The 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 heels, 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 knute 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 liberalle /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 honouz, is no thyng ellys but to do reuerence to another persone for the good & vertuous disposicion 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 vaynquysshedy & his people slayn . therfore saith the philosopher that no may sholdy chese yōg peple to be captayns & gouezneurs, for as moche as ther is no certeynte in her wisdom/alixandre of macedone vaynquysshed & conquerd Egipte, Jude, caldee Affrique

and assyrie 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 when the emperour Theodosius was dede. He
made mortal warre ayenst 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 se-
natours / 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 capayre
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 hadn
grete affyaunce and truste in the prayers and orisons of
good folke and specially that no may myght counceyl ne
helpe but god / And thre dayes tofore he shold fight saynt
Ambrose whiche was deedn a litil tofore apperyd to hym &
shewed hym by reuelacon 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 thou-
sand men ayenst his broder that had in his companye four
score thousand men . and by goddes helpe he had victorye
And whan the barbarians 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
ryued he was sone after strangled . These two knyghtes

of Whom I speke were two brethery germayns . Whyche were sent in to affrique for to deffende the comyn wele .
In lyke wyse Judas machabeus/Jonathas/and Symon his brethery put them self in the mercy and garde of our lord god, And ageyn the enemyes of the lawe of gody 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. Onto a prynce trouth is the gretest precious 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 pappe that was so trewe andy faythful to his lord and kyngy namedy patharche that he put hym in paryll of deth for hym, For hit happendy that Grymald duc of buneuentayns of whom we haue touchedy tofore in the chappytre of the quene . dydy do slee Godebert whiche was kyngy of the lombardes by the hande of gorilezt duc of tarente / whiche was descendedy of the crowne of lom; bardes . Andy this grymalde was maad kyng of lombar dye in his place andy after this put and banyssed out of the contraye this patharch whiche was brodez unto the kyngy Godebert . that for fere andy drede fledde in to hon; grye . Andy thenne this knyght enulphus dydy so moche that he gate the pees agayn of his lord patharch agaynst the kyngy grymalde . And that he hady licence to come out of hongrye where he was alwey in parell . andy so he came andy cryedy 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 & namedn hym
self kyng. How Wel he Was kyng by night / This don
a lityl Whyle after / the kyng that beleuyd euyl tongues /
thought in hym self how he myght bryng this patharche
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 betyng hym
as his seruaunt by them that Were asignedn to kepe the
hows of patharch 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 hows Which Joy:
ned Wyth the Walles of the town. And at mydnyght
When al men Were a slepe. he lete a down 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 demaundedn 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 don and Wrought agayn the
Wylle of hym / Somme said that they shold ben hongedn
& sõme said they shold be flayn / and other saidn that they
shold be beheded. Than said the kyng by that lordn that
maad me. they ben not Worthy to dye. but for to haue

moche worshyp and honour, For they haue ben trewe to theyr lord + wherfore the kyng gaf hem a grete lawde and honour for theyr feet. And after hit happend that the pwpre squyer and seruaunt of Godeberdy slewe the traytre Gorybalde 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 ben they the strenger and the more doubtedy. lyke as were the noble 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 siriens were strenger thene that one of them. that other helpe hym, We rede that damoy andy phisias were so right parfight frendes to gyder that whan dionysius whiche was kyng of zeille hady Jugged one to deth for his trespaas in the cyte of Siracusane whom he wold haue executedy. he desired grace & leue to goo in to his contre for to dispose & ordeyne his testament, 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 doon. 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 lothe 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 deponayr / 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 maynteyne loue Vnto the deth The loue of concupissence and of lecherye is sone dissol/: uyd and broken . but the verray treWe loue of the comyn 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 comyn 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 syngular prouffyt by his couetyse + he dys poyleth his peple / For Whan the souldyours se that they put hem in pazel . 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 auaryce 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 Wynnyngh or gayn /And for thys cause

he be the lasse louyd of his peple . and that his aduersa-
ryes withdrawe 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 . bey gotey 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 bey in the batayle . And
for the loue of this lawe he was maad after ward kyng
of Israel . Alyandre 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 Aly-
ander and of his constance and strengthe . nothyng we
nyngh that he had bey alyander / but antygone one of
his knyghtes . and after he had hym to diner . and whan
they had seruyd alyander in vessayl of gold 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 . Whewf he
Was acusid Vnto the kyng/After dyner thene the kyng
callyd hym and demanded hym Wherfore he had taken hys
Vassayl /and he answerd . siz kyng my lord I pray the
to Vnderstonde 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 Alixaunder.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 seruyd Wyth / alle is hys
mete and Vissel and cupe . and therfore I had supposid
that this custome had bey kept in thy court /for thou art
richer than he / Whan the knyghtes herde this /anone they
lefte porus .and Went to serue Alixaunder / and 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 kyng thewf . Therfore remembre knyght
alWey that Wyth a closid and shette purse shalt thou neuer
haue Victorye / Ouyde saith that he that taketh yeftes / he
is glad therWyth / For they Wynne Wyth yeftes the herz:
tes of the goddes and of men / For yf Juppyter Weze an
grid . With yeftes he Wold be plesid . the knyghtes ought
to be strongе not onely of body but also in corage . theze
bey many strongе and grete of body /that bey faynt and
feble in the herte / he is strongе that may not be vaynquys
shed and ouercome . how Wel that he suffrith moche other :
Whyle / And so We beleue that they that be not ouergrete
ne ouer litel bey most corageous and beste in batayllе /

We rede that cadrus duc of athenes shold haue a batayllе agayn them of polipe / And he was warned and had a re-
uelacion of the goddes / that they shold haue the victorye of whom the prynce sholdy be slayn in the batayle . And the prynce whiche was of a grete courage and trewe herte took other armes of a poure man / and put hym self in the fronte of the batayllе 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 hoppyd to haue a better thyngh therfore / Therfore the lawe sayth that they lyue in her soules gloriously that ley 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 batayllе of puylle he slewe xviij thousandy men . And in champayne lxx thousandy / and after in the cyte he slewe thre thousand men vnarmedy . & when 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 with whome we haue ley victorious . & with whom we ought to lyue / For it is the most hyest

and fair Lengeaunce 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 laynquysshed 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 bothe 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 bothe. 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 magestе

Ryal ought not onely to be garnysshedy Wyth armes but also Wyth good lawes . And therfore shold they labour that they shold be wel kepte , Tuzgeus pompeus reherdth of a noble knyght named ligurgyus that had made auncient lawes the whiche the peple wold not kepe ne obsezue fozthey semed hard fozthem to kepe, and wold constreyne hym to repelle & sette hem apazte /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 goodz that oz the sayd lawes shold be broken that he hadz gyuen to them /that he shold goo and speke wyth the god Apollo / Foz to gete of hym a dispensacion to breke hem and that the peple shold kepe and obserue them tyl that he retozned agayn / the peple acorded therto and swoze that they shold kepe them vnto the tyme he retornedz /than the knyght went in to greece in exyle andz dwellydz theze alle his lyf / And whan he shold dye he cõmaundedz that hys bodysholdz be cast in the see /foz as moche as yf /his bodyshold be borne thedez . the peple sholdz 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 sholdz obeye andz sezue the pzynces / And the pzynces sholdz kepe the peple andz do Justyce on the malefactouzs . the second lawe that they shold be al sobre . Foz

he Wyst Wel that the labour of cheualrye is most stronge
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 sholdy 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 cõmysedy the Jugementis /and the
annuel rentes /to the senatours the kepyng of the laWe .
and to the comyn peple he gaf power to chese suche Juges
as they Wold haue , the sixte he ordeynedy 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 children to la :
boure in the felde to thende that they shold not enploye
theyr yongthe in playes andy 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 goody ma
ners andy vertues than foz hez richesses , the xij that men
shold Worshyp the olde and auncient men foz theyz age andy
moze 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 keep Vycayrs and legates of the kynge / ought to be maad a knyght Vpon ay hors & a mantel and hood furnid With meneuier holdyng a ſtaf in his hand / & for as moche as a kyng may not be in al places of his wyame / therfore the auctorite of hym is gyuen to the wokes . Whiche repreſente the kyng . & for as moche as a wyame is grete and large / and that zebellyon or noueltees mygbt ſourde and aryſe in one partye or other / therfore ther ben two wokes one on the right ſyde and that other on the lift ſyde / They ought to haue in hem pyte Juſtice / humylite . Wylful pouerte / and lybewlyte /

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 aulpe 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 womayns 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. Wherof Valerius reherceth 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 profyytable 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 profyytable / 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 cõceyl herde hym that sayd / that hit was not Juste ner 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 zehercth in the book of offyces . And Saynt
Augustyn also de Ciuitate dei. how he faught agayn them
of cartage by see in shyppes and was taynquysshed and
taken · Than hit happend that they of cartage sent him in
her message to wome for to haue theyr prysoners there / for
them that weze taken . and so to chaunge one for another /
And made hym swere and promyse to come ageyn . And
so he came to wome / and made proposicion tofore the senate
And demaunded them of cartage of the senatouzs to be
chaunged as afore is saydn / and than the Senatouzs de
maunded hym what counceyl he gaf . certeyn saydn he I
counuceyll yow that ye doo hit not in no wyse . For as
moche as the peple of wome that they of cartage holde in
pryson of yours / Bey olde men and brusidn 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
cuuuceyl they took. & than his frendes wold haue holden
hym & counceilled them to abyde theze & not retorne agayn
prisonez in to cartage / 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 hadn
assiegid the phalistes . the sole maistre of the childzen de⸗
ceyuyd the childzen of the gentilmen that he dzewe hym a
litil & a litil vnto the tetis of the romayns by fayr speche

And sayd to the duc emelye + that by the moyan of the chyldrey that he had brought to hym . He sholdy haue the cyte . For theyr fadezs were lordes and gouernours /
Whan emelye hady hezde hym he said thus to hym / Thou that azt 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 ỳ bataylle and warre/ as ỳ our contrees and othez places / And we wol obsezue and kepe them vnto euezy may as they ought to be kept and we ley azmedy ayenst our enemyes that wol defende them . and not ayenst them that can not saue theiz lyf whay theiz contre is takey . as thise litil childrey , Thou hast vaynquysshed them as mocke as is ỳ 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 and to bynde his handes behynde hym as a traytouz and lede hym vnto the parentis of the chyldrey, And whan the faders and parentes sawe the grete curtoysye that he hady doy to them , They opened the yates and yeldedy them vnto hym . We rede that Hanybal had takey a prynce of rome whyche vpoy his othe & promyse suffred hym to goo home , & to sende hym his raunsoy . or he shold come agayn with ỳ a certeyn tyme / & whan he was at home ỳ his place/he said that he had deceyued hym by a false oth/And whay the senatours knewe therof /they constrayned hym to returne agayn vnto hanybal /
Amos florus tellith that the phisicien of kyng pirrus cam

on a nyght to fabrice his aduersarye/ and promysed hym
yf he wold geue hym for his lalouz that he wold enpoy:
sone pizrus his maystez. Whan fabrícius Vnderstood this
he dydz to take hym andz bynde hym handz and foot/andz
sent hym to his maistre & dyd do say to hym Wozd foz Word
like as the phisiciey 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:
pessbid of his couzs . thenne fabrice sbold be letted to holde
loyalte andz trouthe . yf they than that Weze not czysten
Were so Juste and tzeWe and louyd theyz contzey & theyz
good zenomee · What sbold We noW doy than that been
Cristen . andz that ouz laWe is sette al Vpoy loue andz
charite / but noW a dayes theze is no thynge ellis in the
Wozld but/bawate 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:
passyoy / andz in Wozde by zemyssyoy 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 debo:
nazy hezte foz to helpe alle mey / Valerius zeberaith that
there Was a Juge named sangis Whiche dampned a Wo:
may that hadz deserudz the deth foz to haue hez heed smy:
ten of or ellys that she sboldz 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 hadn a
doughter Whiche came for to see andn 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 honger + than hit happendn
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 Jaler 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 pardonedn her and made her to be delyuerd out of her
pryson /What is that /that pite ne amolissheth /moche peple
Wene that it is agaynst nature andn Wondre that the
doughtre shold gyue the moder to souke + hit Were agaynst
nature but the children shold be kynde to fader andn 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 marcellus 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 debonaire prynce/ also he recoūteth When pompeeo

had conquerdy the kyngh of germanye that ofteny tymes had foughteny 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 auctoysly . and sette the crowne agayn on his heed and put hym in the state that he was tofore .
For he hadn opynyon that it was as worshypful and fittyngh to a kyng to pardone / as to punysshe / Also he re hercæth of a counceyllour that was named poule that dydn do bryngh 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 stondyngh 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 prisoners / Cesar when he hard the deth of cathon whiche was his aduersarye saydn that he had grete enuye of hys glorye . and no thyngh 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 beloyd of his peple . as when

he spekyth to hem swetely . and conezuyth wyth hem sym
ply . and al this cometh of the wte of pyte.
We rede of the emperour traian that his frendes repre;
uyd hym of that he was to moche pryue and famulier
wyth the comyn peple more than an emperour ought to be
And he answerd that he wold be suche an emperour as
euery man desyred to haue hym, also we rede of alisaũder
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 rehezeth in his
iij book that ther was an emperour named Publius ce;
saz . that dyd do bete down his howe whiche was in the
myddes 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 howe than other, and sapion of affrique that was
so poure of valuntazye poverte that whan he was dede + he
was buryed at the dispenas and costes of the comyn
good/ they sholdy 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
ath in his iij book that fabyan the grete had bey maystre

wuncyllour of his fader his grauntsire, And of his grauntsirs fader and of alle his antecessours, And yet dyd he al his pyn 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 hows of the fabyans Also he wherceth in his seuenth book that they wold make the sayd fabyan emperour / But he excusyd hym & sayde that he was blynde and myght not see for age. But that excusacion myght not helpe hym, Than sayd he to hem / seke ye and gete you another, For yf ye make me your emperour/I may not suffre your maners/nor ye may not suffre myn. There was a kynge of so subtyl engyne that whan men brought hym the crowne tofore that he toke hit · he remembrid hym a litil and sayd · O thou crowne 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 prayed hym that he wold take hit vpon hym. So at the last he was constreyned to take hit vpon hym. and sayd to hys frendys hit is better and more to prayse and alowe for a man to

take themperor agaynst hys wylle than for to labour . 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 / When 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 meruaylledy moche why he helde his officers so longe in theyr offyces wyth out chaunchyngh . Andy they demaûded of hym the cause to whom he answerdy 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 soukedy his bloody that hit was mezuayle to see . wherfore I smote & chacedy 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 dydy . for the prick of the hongzy 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 moche euyll & harme / as the newe shold do andy were pouze yf I shold sette hem in her places. They ought also to be paient in hezyng 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 when he suffred that lecherye andy

delyte to haue seignorye in hym /he suffrid hit paciently /
And answerdy none otherwyse but that he wold correcte
hym self/And take better maners and more honeste, also
hit is rehercid that Julyus Cesar was callydy whewf he
had displasir so grete that he kempt hys heris that laye
oy the after parte of his heedy forwardy for 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 cowardyse in the warre of Ro
me /or here after shal do ony cowardyse . He suffrydy hyt
paciently andy saydy not one word . another repwchydy
hym by his lignage .and called hym baker , he answerd
that hit is better that noblesse begynne in me . than hit
shold faylle in me / another callydy hym tyraunt / he an ;
swerd yf I were one thou woldest not say so .A knyght
callyd oy a tyme sappoy of Affrique fowle & olde knyght
in armes .And that he knewe lytyl good . And he an ;
swerdy I was borne of my moder a lytyl chylde and feble
and not a may of armes . And yet he was at alle tymes
one of the best and most worthyest in armes that lyuydy
Another sayd to Vaspasion/ & a wolf shold soner chaunge
his skyn andy heer . than thou sholdest chaunge thy lyf .
For the lenger thou lyuest the more thou couetest /and
he answerd of thyse wordes 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 there was betwene
hem nomore but a courtyne /and than he saydy make ay
ende of your euyl langage lest the kyngy here you · for

the courtyne keezyth you Wel y nough. than as touchyngh to the paynes that they ought to suffre paáently/Valerius rehezæth that a tyraunt dyd to tozment Anamaypmenes and thretenyd hym for to autte of his tunge. to Whom he sayd hit is not in thy power to do so, andh forthWith he bote of his oWne tongue, andh cheWid hit Wyth his tethe and caste hit in the Bysage of the tyraunt. hit is a grete Vertu in a man that he forgete not to be paáent in cozrec: áions of Wronges. hit is better to leue a gylty man Bn: punysshed. than to punysshe hym in a Wrath or yre, Valerius reherátth that azchyta of tarente that Was mayst tez to plato saWe that his feldes and landes Were destroy: edh and lost by the necligence of his seruaunt, to Whom he sayd yf I Were not angzy With the I Wolde take Venge aunce and tuzmente the. lo there ye may see that he hadh leuer to leue to punysshe, than to punysshe moze by yre & Wrath than by right. And therfore sayth seneque, do not thyngh that thou oughtest to doo Whan thou azte angzye For Whan thou art angry thou Woldest do alle thynges aftez thy playsir/and yf thou canst not Vaynquysshe thyn yre. thay must thyn yre ouercome the. After thys ought they to haue Wylful pouerte /lyke as hit Was in the aun: áient pzynces. For they coueyted more to be riche in Wytte and good maners thenne in money /Andh that reherátth Valerius in his Biij book that Scyppon of affryque Was acused Bnto the senate that he shold haue gzete tresour. And he answezd æztes Whan I submysed Affríque in to your peste. I helde no thyng to my self that I myght say this is myn saue onely the surname of affríque. Ner

the affriquans haue not founden in me ner in my bredez ony auarycie / nez that We Were so couetouse that We hadyne had grettez enuye to be riche of name than of richesses Andy therfore sayth Seneque that the kyngy altagone Vsyd gladly in his howes Vessels of erthe / Andy somme sayd he dyd hit for couetyse / but he sayd that hit Was betez and more noble thynge to shyne in good maners thay in Vasseyll / And Whan some meny demaunded hym Why & for What cause he dydy so / he answerd I amy now kyngy of Secylle . and Was sone of a pottez/andy for as moche as I doubte fortune/for Whan I yssued out of the howes of my fadez and modez . I Was sodaynly maad riche / Wherfore I beholde the natyuyte of me and of my lignage / Whiche is humble andy meke. and al these thynges cometh of Wyl ful pouerte / For he entendedy more to the comyn profyt thay to his oWeny . Andy of this pouerte speketh Saynt Augustyn in the book of the cyte of gody that they that entende to the comyn profyt . sowWe more that Wylful pouerte is lost in wome . than the richesses of wome / for by the Wylful pouerte Was the renomee of good manezs kepte entierly / thus by this richesse pouerte is not onely corrupt in thyse dayes ner the cyte ner the manezs / But also the thoughtes of the meny ben corrupt by this couetise and by felonye that is Worse than ony othez enemye / and of the cruelte of the peple of wome speketh the good may of noble memorye John the monke late cardynal of wome in the decretal the sixte in the chappytre gens scā Where he sayth / that they ben felons ayenst god / contrarye to holy thynges / trayters one to that other . Enuyous . to hez

neyghbours. proud vnto straungers. rebell and vntrewe vnto theiz souerayns, not suffzyng to them that keep of lower degree 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 andy dysobeysaunce, 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 mocke 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 demaundedy of hym Why he promysed moze thenne he mygbt gyue, He answerdy foz as mocke as it aperteyneth not to a prynce that ony man sholdy depazte sorowful or tryste fro hym, Than hit happend oy a day that he gaf ner promysedy no

thyng to ony man / and When 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 don 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 your companye / And he kneWe Wel that it Was lasse payne and trauayllе to the knyghtes Whan the pryncе is in her companye that loueth hem & comforteth hem. and also We rede of the same Julyus cesar in the book of trupbes of philosophers / that there Was an auncient knyght of his that Was in parelle of a cas 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 delyuerydd and assygned to hym a right good aduocate. and the knyght sayd to hym / O cesar I put no Bycayr in my place When thou Were in parryl in the batayl of assise / but I faught for the. & than he sheWyd to hym the places of his Woundes that he hadd receyued in the batayllе. and than cam cesar in his propre persone for to be his aduocate and to plete his cause for hym. he Wold not haue the name of Vnkyndenes. But doubted that men shold say that he Were proude + and that he Wold not doo for them that had seruyd hym / they that can not do so moche as for to be belouyd of her knyghtes. can not loue the knyghtes. & this suffiseth of the wokes

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

Oz so moche as noble pezsones can not rewle ne go f uerne without the sezuyse and werke of the people than hit behoueth to deuyse the oultrages and the offy- ces of the werkmen. than I shal begynne first at the fizst pawn that is in the playe of the chesse. & signifieth a man of the comyn peple on fote. foz 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 kyngh. Foz as moche as thys pawne apperteyneth to serue the bycayre oz lyeuetenaunt of the kyng and othez officezs, vndez hym of necessaries

of vytayllle / and this maner of peple is figured & ought
be maad in the forme and shape of a man holdyng in his
right hond a spade or shouel. and a wodde in the lyft hand
the spade or shouel is for to delue and labouz therwyth the
erthe. and the wodde is for to dryue and conduyte wyth al
the bestys vnto her pasture / also he ought to haue on his
gyrdel a sarpe or cwkyd hacket 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 cayn the first
sone of adã that was so euyl that he slewe his broder abel
For as mocke as the smoke of his tithes went strayt vn
to heuen / and the smoke and fume of the tithes of cayn
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 cayn hez that was bozn with
abel. and to abel her that was bozne wyth cayn. & thus
he gan thenuye that cayn hadz ayenst abel / For hys wyf
was fayrer than cayns wyf / andz for this cause he slewe
abel wyth the chekebone of a beste / Andz at that tyme
was neuer no maner of ywn blodz of mannes bloodz.
Andz Abel was the fyzst martir in the olde testament.
and thys sayd cayn dyd many othez euyl thynges whiche
I leue, for it apezteyneth 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 fozmedy & took ouz begynnyng of the ezthe/ the same Wyse at the last/ she shal be the ende Vnto al Vs & to al thynges. & god that formed Vs of the erthe. hath ozdeyned that by the labour of men she 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/ Whewof his lyf is sustey ned. and also he is bounden to paye the dismes & tythes of al his thynges. and not as caym dyd. but as abel dyd of the beste that he chese out alWey for to gyue to god and to plese hym /for they that grutche and be greued in that they wendre & geue to god the tienthes of her goodes/ they ought to be aferd and haue drede that they shal falle in necessyte / And that they myght be despoylyd oz robbyd by Warze or by tempest that myght 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 multeplyenge 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 haboundeth 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 when 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 ageyn 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 mâna & flessh. & whan they were replenyssed & fatte of the flessh of bestes & of the manna they made a calf of gold & worshipped hit. whiche was a grete synne & inyquyte. for whan they were hongry they knewe god. & whan theyr belies were filled & fatted. they forgid ydolles & were ydolatreres. after this euery labourer ought to be faithful and trewe/that whan his maistre delyuereth to hym his lande to be laboured/that he take no thyng to hym self but that he ought to haue & is his. but laboure truly and take 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 ocupacions 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/ & bryngeth to his maistre more subtile & more deyntyous metes. And Valerius reherath in his syxt 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 Whan his maystre went to do the aduoultrye / this same seruaunt bare the lanterne/Whewf 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 Unto the Juges /for to be tormentid /his cause shold neuer be enpeyred by hym ner no thyng shold yssue out of his mouth Whewf he shold be noyed or greuyd /& than was the labourer beten & tor: mentid & brent in many places of his body. but he sayd ne uer thyng Whewf 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 seruyid 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 ours clothyng and maners of a serueaunt / Euery wyse may a serueaunt that trewly serueth 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 andy 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 norsshed. & al the bestes that ben Vndez the heuen shal depozte alle from the Wozld. and al shal goo at his cõmaũdement as Wel kynges pzynces and al that the Wozld enuyronneth and goeth about. alle shal goo this Way / Than he ought not to doubte for fere of deth. foz as Wel shal dye the ryche as the poure. deth maketh alle thynge lyke andy putteth al to an ende. andy thewf made a noble Versefyer tWo Vezsis Whicke foloWe/ Fozma genus mozes, sapiencia res et honores. Mozte ruant subita sola manent merita. Whewf the englisshe is /beaute, lignage maners. Wysedom. thynges and honoures /shal ben defetidy by sodeyn deth. no thyng shal abyde but the meritis. & hewf fynde We in Vitas patrum that thez Was an ezle a riche & noble man that had a sone onely /And Whan thys sone Was of age to haue knoWlecke 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 wente out of his contray and fledde into a wylderness into an hermytage. and whan his fader had loste hym he made grete sowe and dyd do enquere & seke hym so moche that atte last he was founden in the hermytage /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 lefte 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 with hym that may do that / And so abode the childe in the hermytage and lyued there in good werkis. after this hit appertyneth to a labourer to entende to his labour

and flee ydelnes/ and thou oughtest to knowe that dauyd preyseth mocke in the sawlter 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 reapyel and gadre to gydre the fruyt of his labourr and also he ought to reste on the holy day. lothe he & hys bestys / and a good labourer ought to norisshe and kepe his bestys. And this is signyfyed by the wode that he hath / whiche is for to lede and drynue 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 appertyneth 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 plantedy 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 bytter 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 with the erthe / And than he cutte the vigne and put thys about the wtes thewof / to thende that the bytterness sholdy be put awey / & that hit sholdy be swete And when he hady drunken of the fruyt of thys vygne. hit was so good & mygbty that he became so drunke that he despoyledy hym in suche wyse that his prynyy membres

myght he 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 wote 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 lamke / & lecherous as a sWyne
and curious and ful of play as an ape / for the ape is of
suche nature that Whan he seeth one doo a thyng he enfor-
ceth hym to do the same / and so doy many Whan they been
dronke , they Wyl meddle them With al offycers and ma-
ters that apperteyne no thyng to them / and Whan they ben
fastyng & sobre they can scarcely accomplisshe theyr oWne
thynges , and therfore Valerian rehearseth that of auncient
and in olde tyme Women dranke no Wyn for as moche as
by dronkenshyp they myght falle in ony filthe or Bylony
and as ouyde saith + that the Wynes otherWhyle apparaylle
the crages 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 dronkenshyp is the begynnyng of alle euylles + &
corrupteth the body , and destroyeth the soWle & mynysseth
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 apertey-neth to the knyghtes to haue bridlys sadellis spores and many other thynges maad by the handes of smythes and ought to holde ay hamer ỹ his right hond /and ỹ 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
hey signefyedy by the maztel oz hamer. The carpenters
hey signefyedy by the dolabre or squyez/and by the twBel
We Bndezstonde al masons and kezuezs of stones .tylers
and al those that make hoBses castels and toBzes/And
Bnto al thyse crafty mey /hit apezteyneth that they be tze
We. Wyse and stwnge /Andy hit is nede that they haue in
hem self fayth and loyaulte / Foz Bnto the goldsmythes
behoueth golde and syluez and alle othez metallys. yzey
andy steel to othez. andy Bnto the carpentiezs andy ma;
sons hey put to theyr edefyces the bodyes andy goodes of
the peple /and also mey put in the handes of the mawners
body and goodes of the peple ·and in the gazde and seBerte
of them mey put body and soBle in the parilles of the see
And thezfore ought they to be treBe Bnto Whom mey com
mytte suche grete charge andy so grete thynges Bpon her
fayth andy truste. andy therfoze sayth the phylosopher. He
that leseth his fayth andy beleue / may lose no gretter ne
more thynge/andy fayth is a souerayn goody andy cometh
of the good Wylle of the hezte and of his mynde. and for
no necessyte Wyl decyue no may · andy is not cozrupt foz
no mede. Valerius reherath that fabius hady recyuedy 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 Whay he cam Bnto the senatouzs
of rome andy desyredy to haue the money lente for hem.
they answerdy that they Wold not paye nor lene/and thay
ffabius sent his sone to rome and made hym to selle hys
heritage andy patzymonye · andy sent the money that he

receyuyd thewof vnto hanybal. and hadr leuer and louydr better 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 engendrídr on the erthe and on the see · ben maad and fozmed for to do profyt vnto the lig nage of man. Foz man was formedr foz to haue gene: racion, that the men myght helpe and profyt eche othez. And here in ought we to folowe nature. Foz 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 gzeue othez · but that they ought do the comen profyt Foz men say in repwche. that I see of thyn. I hope it shal be myn. but who is he in thyse dayes that entendeth moze to the comyn profyt than to his owne. certeynly none but alwey a man ought to haue drede and fere of his owne hows. when he seeth his neyhbouzs hows a fyre. And thezfore ought men gladly helpe the comyn prouffyt, foz men otherwhyle sette not by a lytyl fyre & myght quenche hit in the begynnyng. that afterward maketh a grete bla sygng fire & foztune hath of no thyng so grete plesure as foz to bozne & werke alwey. & natuze is so noble a thyng that wheze as she is she wyl sustayne and kepe. but thys zewle of natuze hath faylledr longe tyme. How wel that

the decree saith that alle the thynges that ben ayenst the law of nature ought to be taken away and put a parte / And he sayth tofore in the viij distincaion that the ryght law of nature defferenceth ofte tymes fro custom & statutes establisshyd / For by law of nature al thyng ought to be comyn to euery man / and thys law was of olde tyme. and men wene yet specially that the twians kept this law. 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 pouerte that they ben professyd to + For in truth 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 deuout frenis / 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 ordenaũce. 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
suspeccion 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
seruy and trewe wyth out other + for it appertyneth 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 alway that euery man is more noble .and
more fortunat than hym self /and saith alway 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 wythin hym /wythout tor:
mentyng or dyng 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 suspeaon. for a man naturelly Whan his affecaon hath suspeaon 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 suspeaon on hym self /For We zede that dyonyse of zecyle a tyraunt. Was so suspeaous 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 lazbours. 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 zeálle 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 and harme / that the behoueth to be kept Wyth so moche peple / & therfore I say that it aperteyneth not to ony man that Wylle truly behaue hym self in his Werkes to be suspeaous / & also they ought to be strونge and seure in theyr Werkys /and

ſpeáally they that ley mayſters and mawnners oy the ſee, ffor yf they be tumewus and ferdful they ſhold make aferde them that ley ín theyr ſhippis /that knowe not the parílles. and ſo hit myght happen that by that drede andy fere al men ſhold leue theyr labour /and ſo they myght be perílſhed and diſpeyrídy ín theyr wages. For a ſhyppe is ſoon perílſhed and loſt by a lítil tempeſt /Whan the gouer: nour faylleth to gouerne his ſhyppe for drede / andy cay geue no wuncyl to othez /thenne it is no mezuaylle. though they be afezde that ley ín his gouernaunce. And therfore ought to be ín them ſtrengthe. force and wage and ought to conſidere the pazyls that myght falle. and the gouernouz ſpeáally ought not to doubte /and yf hyt happyn that ony parál falle /he ought to promyſe to the o: ther good hoop. and hit apertyneth Wel /that a may of good and hardy wage be ſette ín that office. ín ſuche Wyſe that he haue fezme andy ſeure mynde ayenſt the pazylles that oft tymes happen ín the ſee. and Wyth this ought the mawnners haue good and fezme creaunce andy beleue ín gody. andy to be of good recomforte and of fayz langage Vnto them that he gouerneth ín 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 tezáo

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 sholdy so be /for as mocke as emonge the comune peple of whom we speke in this boke they plete the differences contenáons 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 / oꝛ foꝛcettis /and in the lyfte hand a grete knyf and on his guꝛdel a pennez an ynk hoꝛn + and on his eeꝛe a penne to Wꝛyte With 'and that keen the Instrumentis and the offyces that keen maad and putte in Wꝛytyng autentique ·and ought to haue passyd tofoꝛe the Juges as likelles Wꝛites condempnacions & sentences and that is signefied by the scꝛipture and the penne/and on that other paꝛte hit apꝛetteneth to them to autte clothe sheze +dyght and dye +and that is signefyed by the foꝛ: cettis or sheꝛis /and the other ought to shaue kerdis and kembe the heeꝛis +and the other ben coupezs + cozyezs 'ta: Wyers /skynnezs kouchers /and kozdWannezs +and these ben signefyed by the knyf that he holdeth in hys hand + & sõme of thyse forsaydꝛ crafty men keen named dzapezs oz clothmakezs foꝛ so moche as they Werke With Wolle +and the notaꝛies skynnaꝛs Coꝛyouzs and cozdWaneꝛs Werke by skynnes and hydes +as pezchymyn Velume /peltꝛie and cozdeWan /and the taylloꝛzs autters of cloth /Weuazs + fullazs / dyezs +and many othez crafte oauppe and Vse Wulle +and al thyse crafty men & many othez that I haue not named ought to do theyz czaft and mestiez.Where as they ben duly ordeynyd auꝛiously and treWly 'Also there ought to be amonge thyse crafty men amyable companye and treWe honest countenaunce / And trwthe in theyr Wordes / And hit is to Wete that the notaꝛyes ben ryght pꝛouffytable and ought to be good and treWe foꝛ the co: myn + And they ought to kepe them fꝛom appꝛopzyyng to them self that thyngz that apꝛetteneth to the comyn /

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 Wryte 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 amendis to them that by their trecherye they haue endomaged / and also ought they to rede Visite & to knoWe the statutes / ordenaunces & the laWes of the citees of the contre Where they dWelle and enhabite. and they ought to consideze 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 thynges may be chaunged in to better estate, for custume establisshedn ayenst good manerz and ageynst the fayth. ought not to be holden by ryght, For as hit is sayd in the decree in the chappytze tofore / all ordenaunce maadn ayenst right ought to be holden for nought / Alas Who is noW that aduocate or notarye that hath charge to Wryte and kepe sentence that putteth his entente to kepe more the comyn prouffyt or as moche as his oWen. but alle drede of godn 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 assemblyng 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 couertly / 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 accorde. Alas and in Engelond What hurte doon the
aduocates men of lawe and attorneyes of court to the co-
myn peple of the reyame as wel in the spiritueel 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 ben in
englond onely. for yf they weze nombrid alle that longe
to the courtes of the chaunserye + kynges benche + comyn
place + chekez / ressayt / and helle / and the lagge kerazs 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 beleuyd 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 resemblyng
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 trewe 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 dwellith 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 vnresonable ayenst the comyn prouffyt ner ageynst his fayth ne ageynst his othe ! For yf alle tho thynges that the frendes desyre and requyre were accomplisshed and doon / hyt sholdy seme that they sholdy be dyshoneste coniuracions ! And they myght otherwhyle more greue and hurte than proffyte and ayde ! And hewf 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 doon 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 doon 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 ben al louyd by this loue. for their frendes ben like as the huske which is about the grayn. and no man may prouue his frende so wel as in adueresite / 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 proud had a neuewe of his suster which was named brutus and this neuewe had banysshed tarquin out of rome and had sent hym in exyle. 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 had 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 englisshe 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 coude I neuer fynde but
one frende in al my lyf, and I trowe verely that it is no
lytyl thyng for to haue a frende, and hit is Wel gretter &
more a man to haue many / and hit apperteyneth and beho
ueth a man to assaye and preue his frende or he haue nede

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

landach was espusedy with her loue so ardantly that he was right seek / and that men supposid hym to dye. Andy 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 man 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 dowaire that is gyuen to me wyth her + and leuer to suffre to be wych out wyf than to lese the body of his frende / And than he of landach wedded the mayde + Andy went with his wyf and with his richesse ageyn in to his contre And after this anone after hit happend that the marchaunt of Egypt became so poure by euyl fortune. that he was constreyned to seche and begge his breed / by the contray in so moche that he cam to landach / 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 / Andy 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 mysewable 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 landach 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
manerz for to delyuer and excuse that other /And than
whan that he that had don the feet and had slayne the
man sawe this thyng/he considerid 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 matez and also the causes he considezed the ferme
and trewe loue that was ketwene the two frendes /and
vnderstood the cause why that one wold saue that other
and the trouth of the fayte of the hompade . And than he
pardoned al the feet hooly and entierly . And after the
marchaunt of landach brought hym of egipt wyth hym in
to his hows /And gaf to hym his sister in mariage /and
departed to hym half his goodes . and so bothe of hem were
riche / and thus weze they bothe tewy faythful and trewe
frendes . Furthezmoze 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 crafteß they
ought so to be by necessyte . For they conuezse and ac-
companye them ofte tyme wyth women / And therfoze hit
appertyneth to them to be chaste and honeste /And that
they meue not the women noz entyse them to lawghe and
Jape by ony dysordynate ensignes oz tokenes /Titus li-
uius rehercth that the philosophez democzeon dyd two put
out his eyen for as moche as he might not behold the wo
men wyth out flesshly desyze / 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 may of wme 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 understood that the parentes and frendes of them had suspecion in hym / he dyd his visage to be kutte with a knyf and lancettis endlongh and ouerthwart for to deforme his visage .and had leuer haue a foule visage and disformed .than the beaute of his visage shold meue other to synne /And also we rede that there was a Nonne a virgyne dyd do put out bothe her eyen· For as moche as the beaute of her eyen meuyd a kyngh to loue her /whyche eyen she sente to the kyngh in a present .And also we rede that plato the right ryche phylosopher lefte his owne lande and contre . and chase his mansion and dwellyng in achadomye a toun /which was not onely destroyedh but also was ful of pestelence /so that by the cure and charge and customaúce of sowe that he there suffrid.myght eschewe the hetes and occasions of lecherye /And many of hys dysáples dydh in lyke wyse / helemand reherceth that demostenes the philosopher laye ones by a noble woman for his dysporte /and playengh with her /he demaundedh of her what he shold geue to haue to doo with her / and she answerd to hym a thousand pens .& he saydh ageyn to her I sholdh repente me to bye hit so dere .and whan he aduysed hym that he was so sore chauffyd to speke to her for to accomplisshe his flesshly desyre . he despoyled hym al nakyd and wente and put hym in the mydes of the snowe / And

Ouyde rehersith that thys thynge is the leste that maye helpe and most greue the louers /and therfore saynt au-
gustyn rehersith in his book de ciuitate dei that there was
a right noble womayn named Marculian that wan and
took the noble cite of Siracuse /And tofore er he dyd wo
assayle hit or befight hit /& or he had do beshedde ony blood
he wepte and shedde many teris tofore the cite /and that
was for the cause that he doubted that his peple sholde de-
foule and wrumpe to moche dishonestly the chastyte of the
toun .and ordeyned vpon payn of deth that no man sholde
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 thyng and doth another /he condempneth
hym self by his word / also they ought to see wel to that
they be of one acorde in goode / by entente / by word, and
by dede . so that they be not discordaunt in no cas / 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 vicously
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 suspecious. 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 maad them to beleue that god had
not forboden them the fruyt / but onely by cause they shold
not knowe that her mayster knewe / but how wel that the
deuyl sayd thyse wordes / yet had he double entente to hem
bothe / For they knewe anone as they had tastyd of the
fruyt that they weze dampned to the deth perdurable.
And god knewe hit wel tofore. but they supposid wel to
haue knowen many other thynges / and to be lyke vnto
his knowlecke 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 rehersith that there
was a good woman of simausane that wold not lye vn
to the kynge of Seallle whyche was named dyonyse + and

this kyng was so ful of tyrannye and so cruel that alle the world desired his deth and cursid hym. Sauf this woman onely which was so olde that she had seen iij or fouz kynges reignyng in the contre, and euezy mornyngz as sone as she was rysen she prayedz to godz that he woldz gyue vnto the tyraunt good lyf and longe, andz that she mygbt neuer see his deth / And whan the kyngz dyonyse knewe this he sent foz hez, and mezuaylled mocke hewf / foz he knewe wel that he was sore kehated ' and demaûded hez. What cause meuyd hyr to praye for hym ' z she answerd and sayd to hym, siz whan I was a mayde we had a right euyl tyraunt to our kyng of whom we coueytedz sore the deth ' and whan he was dede theze came aftez hym a verse ' of whom we coueyted also the deth. and whan we were delyuerd of hym, thou camest to be our lord which azt worst of al other, and now I doubte yf we haue one aftez the he shal be worse than thou art / and therfore I shal praye foz the, and whan dyonyse vndezstood that she was so hardy in sayeng the trouth ' he durst not do tozment her foz shame by cause she was so olde.

The fourth chapitre of the third book treatith of the maner of the fourth pawn & of the marchaũtis or chaũgers 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 ley 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 ley signefyed by the balances /and Weyghtes/And the

ustomers/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 zyal 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
hewf 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 dyng euyl is whan hit reygneth in olde men /&
hewf sayth Seneque ·that all worldly thynges ben mor:
tefyed and appetissed in olde men reseruyd auarice onely
whyche alway abydeth wyth hym and dyeth with hym /
But I vnderstonde not wel the cause whewf 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 thauarácous 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, & herof 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 demaũded more than hyt
appertyned to hym/ & than tynque constrayned by grete
necesite ayid & requyredy 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 rehezath in the book of aũcient 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 / whiche was mazyedy 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 enymeranday
andy was so ardantly espused 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 mazbyll, But
she hady leuer to refuse his yeftes andy hys promyses.

Thay to entende to couetyse and to lose her chastyte / & We zede 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 / & Whan she was deed / the bisshop dyd do burye her in the chirche wel and honestly / and anone after this gold was foudey and lory 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 chirche . the neyghbours went vnto the bysshop & tolde hym thewof / & the bisshop gaf hem leue to open the sepulcre . & Whan 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 on hym or in his kepyng moche money or othez richessis · is alway aferd to lose hit or to be robbid or to be slayn therfore · & he is not eWrous nez happy that by couetise getith hit / & al the euyls of this vice of auarice had a may of wome named septenulle / for he was a frend of one named tarchus / & this septenulle brent so sore & 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 heuyaz, this Was a right horible & cruel auarice Ptolome kyng of egipaens pourseWed auarice in another manere. for Whan anthonie emperour 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 hauoiz & 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 duzst 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 ouez hym, & therfore hit is sayd in prouer he that a man ought to seignorie ouez 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 neuez satisfyeth the couetous /but the more he hath the more he desireth / & saluste saith that aua : rice destroubleth fayth /poeste/ 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 Waze 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 ware how thou so wrest. & thynke how thou mayst paye & zendre agayn yf thou be riche thou hast no nede to lowe & aye. & it is said in the prouerbis that hit is fraude to take that thou wylt not nez mayst zendre & paye agayn. & also hit is sayd in reprouche Whan I lene I am thy frende/& Whan 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 lowe/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 mocke 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 philosopher & saith that my frende lowed 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. for on a tyme theze was a man cam to hym and sayd and affermyd that he had delyuezyd in to his banke v hondred flozyns of gold to kepe/Whiche was not trouth for he lyed. Whiche v C floryns the sayd albert knewe not of, ner coude fynde in al his bookes ony suche money to hym due, & this lyar coude bryngе 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 and toke hem to hym. & lo this good man had
leuer to lose his good than his good name and renome.
and this other marchaunt toke these florens that he had
Wrongfully receyuyd. and enployed them in dyuerse mar-
chaundyse in so moche that he gate and encresid and Wan
With them y V thousaud florens / and Whan he saWe that
he apprched toWard his deth. and that he had no children,
he establisshed albert his heyr in al thynges. & sayd 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 prcaurour & atorney of the sayd
albert / but noW in thyse dayes there be marchaunts that do
marchaundise With other mennis money Whiche is taken
to hem to kepe. & Whan they ben requyred to repaye hyt,
they haue no shame to denye hit apertly / Whewf hit happed
that there Was a marchaunt Which had a good & a grete na
me & renome of kepyng Wel suche thynges as Was de-
lyuerd 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 kepyng / & after this thre yere
thys marchaunt came and 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 had no obligacion ne Wrytyng of hym thewf.

In suche wyse that he denyed al entiezly /and sayd playn ly he knewe hym not . and whan this good man herd and vnderstood 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 apertyneth no thyng to the goo thy waye /And she prayed hym that he wold telle her the cause of his sowe / For parauenture she myght geue hym counceyl 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 bryngе 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 fer 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 ware 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 vnaduysedly 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 when they spack of the matez to the marchaunt for to delyuez to hym the saydy cofres to kepe whiche his frendes hady fayned and requyred of hym that he had takey to hym to kepe/and than anone the sayd marchaunt sayd to hym I knowe the nowe wel. for I haue aduysed me that thou art suche a man /and camest to me suche a tyme / andy delyuezed to me suche a thynge whiche I haue wel kept, andy thenne callyd his clezk + and bad hym goo fetche suche a thyngy in suche a place and delyuer hit to that good may / for he delyuezd hit to me / and than the good man zecayuydy his goody, and went his waye right joyously and glad. andy this mazchaunt trichour & decayuouz was defrauded fwom his euyl malice. andy he ne had neythez that one ne that othez ony thyngy that was of value. and therfore hit is saydy in prouezbe to defraude the begilez is no fraude/and he that doth wel folowetb ouz lozdy /and seneke sayth that charite enseigneth and techeth that mey shold paye wel /for good payement is somtyme good confessyon /And this marchaunt trichouz andy de; ceyuour zesemblith and is lyke to an hound that bereth a chese in his mouth when he swymmeth ouez a water, for when he is on the watze. 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 falleth down 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 cofres
Whiche 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 apertayneth
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 thyngh apertayneth 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 thyngh 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-
áens medecynes spyœrs and apotiquaries capitulo B

The paby that is sette tofore the quene signefyeth
t the physiáen/spicer apotiquare+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 yron and of siluer for to make Jná-
sions and to serche woundes and hurtes.and to autte apos
tumes. And by thyse thynges ben knowen the surgyens
By the book ben Understonden the phisiáens and all gra
mariens. logyáens / maysters of lawe 'of geometrye,

arsmetrique. musique and of astronomye /and by the am
pole ben signefyed the makers of pygmentaries spicers &
apotiquaries / and they that make confecaions and confi
tes and medecynes maad with preaious spyce /And by
the ffeeremens and Instrumentis that hangen on the
gurdel ben signefyed the Surgyens and the maysters
and knowe ye forsaytyn that a maystre and physicyen
ought to knowe the proporaions of lettres of gramayre.
the monemens the conclusions and the sophyms of logi
que /the graaious speche and Ytterrunce 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 ben the chyef maysters in speula
tyf. and the two last that ben practiaens and Werkes ben
callyd physiaens and surgyens, how wel they ben sage
and curious in thyse saences. and how wel that manys
lyf is otherwhyle put in thordonaunce of the physiaen 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 better be callyd a
slear of peple than a phisiaen 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.
whewof the maladye ought to be cured. hit ought to be
sayd that thou hast cured hym by fortune and happe more
than by ony kunnyng. And in al thyse maner of people

ther ought to be meurte of good maners / curtosie 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 rehercid in the bookes
of the auctours by right grete dyligence, and specially in
the bookes of ypocras galiene and of auycene, and When
many maysters and phisicians ben assemblid tofore the
pacient or seke man. They ought not there to argue and
dispute one agaynst another / but they ought to make
good and symple colacion to gedir in suche Wyse as they
be not seen in theyr dysputyng one agaynst anothir. for
to encrocke and gete more glory of the World to them self
than to trete the salute and helthe of the pacient and seek
man. I meruaylle Why that When they see and knowe
that When 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 doctours of lawe that
tretith no thyng of mannes lyf / but of temporel thynges
that he is holden most Wyse and best lerned / that by hys
counceyl can best accorde the contencions and dyssencions
of men / and therfore ought the phisicians and surgyens
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
desputer / 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 rehercith 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 promysed to the woman
a besaunte yf she mygbt or coude torne the orage of ypo-
cras for to haue to doon with hez / and she came to hym by
nyght and dyd so moche by her craft that she laye with
hym in his bedde / But she coude neuer do so moche that
she mygbt corumpe his chaste lyuyng ne defoule the crowne
of his conscience. and whan the yonge men knewe that
she had 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 had geuen to hez.
And she answerd that hit was holden and gaged vpon
an ymage / for as moche as she mygbt not chaunge hys
contynence she callyd hym an ymage / and in semblable
wyse rehercith valeryan of Sœnocrates phylosophez that
theze lay with hym a woman alle nyght and tempted
hym dysordonatly / but that right chaste man .made ne-
uez semblaunt to hez / nez he neuez remeuyd 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 drof and chased out of the hoost moo than two thousand hourdellys. and he that was wyse knewe wel that delyte of lechezye corupted and apayred the corages of tho men that hey abandoned to the same delyte / And hewf it is sayd in the fables of the poetes in the first book of the tryphes of the philosophres by figure / that they that entrid in to the fonteyne of the Sirenes or mermaydens / were corumped and they took them awey wyth hem / And also ye ought to knowe that they ought to entende dylygently to the cures of the infirmytees in cyurgerye / they ought to make theyr plaistrés accordyng to the woundes of soores yf the wounde be wunde. the enplastre must be wunde. and yf hit be longe. hit must be longe / And otherwhyle hit must be cured by his contrarye. lyke as it apperteyneth to phisique. for the hete is cured by colde, and the colde by hete and Joye by sowwe. and sowwe by Joye. and hit happeth ofte tymes that moche peple be in grete paille in takyng to moche Joye and lese her membrés. 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 & come thewf/ and this Joye cometh

otherwhile of lerture of consaence /And the wise man is
not wyth out this ioye /and thys Joye is neuer interrupt
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 lerny matiez of cōpleccōn
and that cometh of loue / and this Joye hath as moche
power to departe the soule fro the body · as hath the thonder
whewf 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 lerayly that he was deedy
but hit happendy that he came agayn home . and 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 enbracyngh hym she fyl doun deedy / also of ano-
ther woman to whom was reportedy by a fals messangez
that her sone was deedy .whiche went hoom sorowfully to
her hows·and afterward when her sone came to hez/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 ayez/and therfore she is callyd
Mulier whiche is as moche to saye in latyn as mollis aez
and in englisshe softe ayer/and hit happeth ofte tymes that
the nature of them that ben softe and mole.taketh sōner
Inpressyon than the nature of men that be rude & strongge
Valerie zeherath that a knyght of rome named instaulo-
sus that had newly cōquerid & subdued the yle of corsika

and as he sacrefyed his goodes / he receyuyd lettres from the senate of Rome in whiche were conteynedy dyuerse supplicaions / the whiche whan he vnderstood he was so glad andy so enterprisedy wyth Joye . that he knewe not what to do / and than a grete Fume or smoke yssued out of the fire · in whiche he dispayrid and fyl in to the fyre / where he was anone deed / And also it is sayd that phylomenus lawghed so sore & distemperatly that he dyed al lawghyngy Andy we rede that ypocras the phisicien fondy remedye for thys Joye , For when he had longy dwellyd out of hys contrey for to lerne kunnyngy andy wysedom · andy sholdy retorne vnto his parentis and frendes / when he approchyd nygh them · he sent a messangez 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 sholdy attempre them in that Joye or they sholdy see hym , And also we rede that titus sone of vaspasian when he hady conquerd Jherusalem and abode in the contrees by / he herde that his fadez 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 Jnpotent . And when Josephus that made the historye of the romayns ayẽst the Jewys . whiche was a right wyse phisicien saWe and knewe the cause of this sekenes of the sayd titus . he enquyred of his folke yf he had in hate ony may gretely so mocke that he myght not here speke of hym ne wel se hym . and one of the sezuauntes of tytus sayd that he had one pezsone in hate so mocke , that ther was no may in his courte 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 When 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 Waxe so ardant. and enbraad 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 hole / 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 apticaries 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 sholde be occupied but in makyng medecynes or confeccõns treWly & that they ought Vpon paryl of their soWle not to forgete

by neglygence ne recheleſnes to gyue one medecyne for ay
other /ỹ ſuche Wyſe that they be not ſleazs of men · And
that they doo put no falſe thynges ỹ her ſpices for to en
payze or encrecyng the Weyght for yf they ſo do they may
better be callyd theuys than eſpicers or apoticaries / 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 doctouzs . and after the
forme that the phiſiciens and ſurgiens deuyſe vnto them
alſo they ought to be Ware that for none auayle ne gyfte
that they ought haue /that they put ỹ theiz medecynes no
thyng venemous ne doyng hurte or ſcathe to ony perſone
of Whom they haue no good ne verray knoWleche / to thende
that they to Whom the medecynes ſhold be geuen / torne not
to them hurt ne domage/ ne ỹ 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 pacients · and
alſo they ought not be haſty to launce & cutte apoſtumes &
ſoores . ne open the heedes · ner to azrache bones broken .
but yf the cauſe be apparant . For they mygbt ellys loſe
theyr good renomee · And mygbt better be callyd bou⸗
chers thenne helars or guazyſſhours of Woundes 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 boecius de consolaci-one in his first book that the stezres that bey hyd vnder the clowdes may gyue no light. And therfore yf ony may wyl behold clerely the verite, late hym withdrawe hym fro the obsaurete and dezknes of the cloudes of ygnorance for whan the engyne of a man sheweth in ioye or in sorow the pensee or thought is enuoluped in obsauzete and vndez the clowdes.

The sixte chapitre of the thyrd book treteth of the sixte paun which 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 resemblith the tauerners · hostelers / & sellars of vytayl . and thyse ought properly to be sette to fore the alphyn / as tofore a Juge / For there fourdeth oft tymes amonge hem contencion noyse and strif . Whyche behoueth to be determyned & trayted by the alphyn . Which is Juge of the kyng / and hit apperteyneth 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 hezte ; wwe . And hit apertyneth to them wel to kepe theyr herbewwes and Innes / And alle tho thynges that they bryngen in to theyr lodgyng . and for to putte in seure and sauf warde and keppyng . 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 zepresentyd by the keyes hangyng in the gurdel / and thyse manere 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. tenaons, stryfs, riottes. Wronges & molestacons by Whiche men lese otherWhyle theiz handes, theyz eyen and othez of theyz membris / and somtyme ley 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 apeeid to hym on the Wey in likenes of another hermyte for to tempte hym. & said thou hast left thyn hermytage / & goest to Visite thy gossibs / the behoueth by force to do one of the iij thynges that I shal say to the, thou shalt chese Whether thou Wolt be dronk. oz ellys haue to do flesshlye With thy gossyb, oz elles thou shalt slee her husbondy Whiche is thy gossib also. & the hezmyte that thought foz to chese the leste euyl chase foz to be dronke, andy 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 Czyst. 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 Woldy Wynne. Whyche entendeth to Wynne the gate. Foz he knoWeth Wel Whan he hath Wonne the gate. he may sone do his Wylle Wyth the castel / And in lyke Wyse doth the deuyl Wyth euezy man andy Wommany. 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 fedde by the erthe or by the see / neuertheles it is no grete thyng to fede the bely. no thyng grete as is the desire of many metes 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 ben 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 playntous 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 graunt, 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 · & hewof sayth / Boecius de consolacione · in his fourth book / that a man that lyueth and doth not the condicions of a man · may neuer be in good condicion / than must hit nedes be that he be transported in nature of a beste or of a belue of the see, how wel that right grete men and women ful of meruayllous 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 surprise hym & ouercome his brayn / his wisedom is lost · for as catho sayth, Ire 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 gone. & therfore sayth ouyde in his book de remedio amoris yf thou take many and dyuerse wynes · they apparayle and enforce the corages to lecherye · 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 dronkenshyp / by the perisshith virgynyte whiche is sustez of aungellis possedyng al goodnes and seurte of al joyes perdurable. Noe was one tyme so chauffyd wyth wyn that he discouerd and shewid to his sones his preuy membris in suche wyse as one of his so: nes mocqued hym / and that othez 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 doo wyth them as they had hey his propre wyues / and Crete reherith that Boece whiche was flour of the men, tresouz of richesses / syngulez hous of sapyence / myrrouz of the worlde / odouz of goody renomee / and glorie of his subgettis lost al thise thynges by his luxurie. We haue seen that dyuerce that were joy: ned by grete amytie to geder whiles they were sobre. that that one wold put his body in parell of deth foz that other and whan they weze eschauffid with wyn and dronke / they haue wonne eche vpon othez for to slee hem / and some haue hey that haue slayn so his frende / Herodes Antipas hady not doon saynt John baptist to hey heheded / ne hady the dynez hen ful of glotonye and dronkship. balthazaz kyng of babylone hady not heen chaced out of his kyngdom ne he slayn yf he hady he sobre emonge hys peple whom tyrus and dares fondy dronken and slewe hym. The hostelezs ought to be wel hespoken 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 hoste: lez a goody name. And thezfore hit is sayd in a comyn

prouerbe curtoyse langage & Wel sayengh is mochе Worth and costе lytyl / And in anothez place it is saydh that curtosye passeth keaulte + also for as mochе as many pa-rellys, and aduentures may happen on the Wayes & passa-ges to hem that keen herbewedh Wyth in theyr Innes. therfore 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 receyuydh the aungellys in to his hoWs right debonayrly + Whiche he had suposid had ben mortal men and straungezs / to thende that they shold eskape the disordynate and Vnnaturel synne of lecherye of the sodomytes, by the Vertu of good fayth. he sette apart the naturel loue of a fader. & proferdh to them his dough-tezs + Whiche Were Vyrgyns. to thende that they shold kepe them and defende them fro that Villayn & horrible synne And knoWe ye for certeyn that al tho thynges that keen taken & delyuerd to kepe to the hoste or hostessis they ought to be sauf and yelden ageyn Without appayrynge + for the hoste ought to knoWe Who that entrith in to his hous for to be herbewedh takith hit for his habitacion for the tyme he hym self, and alle suche thynges as he bryngeth Wyth hym ben cōmysedh of right in the Warde and keppynge of the hoste or hostelez / and ought to be as sauf as they Were put in his oWne propre hoWs. and also suche hostes ought to holde seruauntes in theyr hoWs 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 thocaſion 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 ſeruauntes be cauſe of that euyl · Wherfore their mayſters ſholdn ſee to, for With out doubte this thyng is Worſe than theefte/ hit happendn on a tyme in the parties of lombardye in the cyte of Jene that a noble man Was lodgyngh in an hoſtelrye Wyth mocke 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 held hit faſt that he myght not eſcape/and Whan the theef ſaWe that he Was ſo ſtrongly holden / he began to cryе for the grete payn that he ſuffrid and felte / in ſucke 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 Whicke Were noyedn Wyth the noyſe came and ſaWe hit /and the theef Was knoWen and taken & brought to fore the Juge /and confeſſydn the feet and by ſentence diffynytif Was hanged and loſt his lyf.and in the ſame Wyſe Was anothez that dyd ſo /and the hors ſmote hym in the Vyſage / that the pryntе of the hors ſhoo & nayles abode euez in his Vyſage/another cas right cruel & Vilaynous fyl at tholouſe /hit happend a yongh 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 mocke that he desired and coueyted the
goodes of the two pylgrymes. and here vpon aduysed
hym and put a cuppe of siluer secretly in the male that
the yong man haze + 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 cuppe
and the yong man excused hym self and his fader · and
sayd they were Innocent of that caas/ And thenne they
serchyd hem/and the cuppe was founden in the male of the
yonge man, and forthwyth he was dampned to deth and
hanged as a theef .and thys feet wyn. al the goodes that
longed to the pylgrym weze delyuerd to the hoste as con-
fisqued /And than the fader went forth for to do his pyl
gremage. and whan he came agayn 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 mygbt suffre this aduenture to come vnto hys
sone. anone his sone that hyng 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
mycacle' and how he was Innocent of that fait /and whan
this thyng was knowen the sone of the pylgrym was ta
ken down fro the gybet. and the cause was brought tofore
the Juge /and the hoost was acused of the trayson. and
he confessyd his trespaas /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 keyngh men / the ſame I ſay of the Women as chaumberers and tapſters/ for ſemblable was fyl in ſpayn at ſaynt donne of a chaumberer. that put a cuppe in lyke Wyſe in the ſcrippe of a pylgryme / by cauſe he 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 lyuyngh / and than they Went & tolde the Juge 'Whiche Juge ſayd that he Wold not beleue 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 crWe & to paſture. and Whan the iuge ſaWe this mywacle '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, customers & tolle gaderers capitulo vij

The gardes and kepers of citees ben signefyed by
t 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 potte 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 potte and elle ben signefyed them that
haue the charge to weye and mete and mesure trewely,
and by the purse ben signefyed them that receyue 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 gouerned whiche apertyneth to be kept and defended
by the knyghtes. and first hit apertyneth that the ke:
pers 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 alway 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 dyuerse
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
kepers and offycers of cytees ought to be suche that they

suffre no wronegs ne tylonyes tofore the Juges and go uernours of citees wythout cause to be don 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 kepyng 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: pewur ffrederik the secondy dyd do make a gate of marble of meruayllous werk and entayle 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 do thyng that he be put to prysyn 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 do 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 calle 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 pouze men with glad visage but in foule habyte / and the kyng anone as he sawe them sprange out of his chaze and receuyd them worshipfully with grete zeuezence / Wherfore his barons 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 keneuzte of a kyng . and his broder answerdy ye . and that he desired and requyzedy hit of hym /And than the kyngh 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 zedy / the brodez was sette at the table of the kyngh + And whan he sawe that he was seruyd with right noble kotelezs and othez offyceres /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 answezdy I wene wel that I am right blessydy and fortunat / and that I haue wel proued and fele and am eyperst therof . And than the kyng secretly made to be hangedy ouer hys heed a sharpe cuttyngh swerde hangyng by an hors here or a sylken thzede so smale that no may myght see hit wheze by hit henge .And whan he sawe his broder put no moze

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 thyngh otherwyse than blessid and
wel . and he answerd for as moche as I see thys sharpe
swerde hangyngh so subtilly & parilously ouer myn hede I
fele wel that I am not blessyd / for I drede that hit sholdy
falle on my hede · & thenne dyscouerd the kyngh vnto hem
al wherfore he was alway so heuy cheridy & tryste · For
where he was he thought alway on the swerde of the secrete
vengaunce of god . wheche he kehelde alway in his herte /
wherfore he had alway in 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 alway in drede is not alway
mezy or blessydy / And herof sayth quyntilian that thys
drede surmounteth alle other 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 seruaun-
tes that dredeth his sezuauntes / and truly hit is a right
sure thyng to drede no thyng but god & somtyme right har
dy meny ben constrayned to lyue in drede / drede causith a man
to be hesy to kepe the thynges that be comysed to hym that
they perisshe not / but to be to moche hardy & to moche fezd-
ful . both two ben vices . the comyn officers ought to be
wyse & wel aduysed in suche wise that they take not of the
peple ne requyre no more than they ought to haue by zeson
ne that they take of the sellars ne of the byars no more
than the right austume . for they bere 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 beware that
thou haue no despyte vnto the poure mendyants / yf thou
wylt come and atteyne to thynges souerayn/ for the Iniu
rye that is doon with out cause / torneth to diffame hym
that doth hit. a Jogheler on a tyme behelde 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 sayengh / suffre my felawes. for I am he and
suche one as he sayth. by the sight of my visage / But I
refrayne and kepe me wel from suche thyngh / this same so
crates 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 thyngh agayn
sauf whan he had dryed and wyped his heed. he said he kne
we wel that after suche wynde and thondre sholdy come
rayne and watre. And the philosophers blamedy hym
that he coude not gouezne two women / that was his wyf
and his chaumberer / and shewyd hym that one okke go:
uezned 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 / wrecke the not of the wordes of euyl peple / and therfore hit is sayd in a comyn prouerbe · he that wel doth wrecketh 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 or blames . or paciencie is a right noble vertu. as a noble versefier saith / that paciencie 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 establysshed / so that they be not more robbours of money than receyuours of peage and passage · And hit apertyneth to them to goo out of the perelous weyes and doubteuous for to kepe theyr offyce and they ought to requyre theyr passage of them that owe to paye hit wyth out noyenge and contenaion · and they ought not to loue the comyn prouffyt so mocke · that they falle in the hurtynge of theyr consaiencie . For that shold be a maner of robberye / and hewf sayth ysaye / Woo to the that robbest . for thou thy self shalt be robbyd . The gardes or porters of the gates of aites and of the comyn good ought to be good and honeste / and al trouth ought to be in them or they ought not to take ne wythdrawe the goodes of the comyn that they haue in keppyng more than apertyneth to them for their penaion or fee / so that they that ben made tresorers or 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 andy aurwurs ca Biij

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

And thys paby that representeth this peple ought to be formyd in this maner. he must haue the forme of a man that hath long heris and black and holdeth in his right 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 representedn the playes at dyse / ribaulides & butters / & by the thyrd Whyche is the boye ful of lettris. ben represented the messagers / curiours / and berars of lettres / & ye shal Vnderstonde that the woke Whiche is Vycayre of the kyng 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 aWey 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 delycious they Wyl not laboure / for they haue not lernyd hit,
And yf they be noble and comen of gentylmen / they be a shamyd to axe and begge / And thus must they by force 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 right 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 lazges 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 gretter ſubtilte to kepe Wel his oWne goodes than to fynde ſtraunge thynges. & that it is gret ter Vertue to kepe that is gotten than to gete and Wynne more, & claudyan ſaith in like Wyſe in his book that hyt is a gretter thynge & better to kepe that is gotten. 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 had maried them, he loued ſo Wel his ſones in laWe 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 had alle gyuen in ſo moche that he had right nought / Than hit happend that they to Whom he had 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 had 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 marchaunt that he knewe of olde
tyme. and requyred him to lene to hym v thousand pound
for to paye and rendre agayn wyth in thre dayes / And
he lente hit hym / and whan he 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 and her husbondr
a right noble dyner / & after dyner he entrid in to his chaū
bre secretly wyth them / and drewe out of a coffre that he
hadr do make al new shittyngh 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 moche 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 were maried. and than whan they herde that.
they were right ioyous and glad / & they thought & con-
cluded to serue hym honourably as wel in clothyng as in
mete andr drynke andr of alle other thynges necessarye
to hym vnto hys ende / And after this whan the ende of
hym began to approche. 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/sayng 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 menours an
hondred pounde/ and to the heremytes of saynt austyn fifty
pounds to thende that whan I am buryed and put in the
erthe ye may demaude of them the keyes of the chest where
my tresour is Inne /whiche keyes they kepe / and I haue
put on eche keye a bylle and writyng in witnessyng of
the thynges aboue sayd / And also ye shal vnderstonde
that he dyd to be gyuen whyles he lay in his deth bedde to
eche chirche and recluse + and to pour 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 when hit came to the
last day that he dyed + he was borne to chirche and his eye
quye doon and was buried solempnly + And the seuenth
day the sezuyse worshypfully accomplisshed + They went
for to demaunde the keyes of the religyous men that they
had kept + whiche were delyuerd to them / & than they went
and opened the coffre where they supposid the money had
ben Inne /and there they fond no thyng but a grete
clubbe + and on the handlyng was wreton / I John of ca=
nazath make this testament + that he be slayn with thys
clubbe / that leueth his owne prouffyt /and gyueth hit to
other /as who sayth hit is no wysedom for a man to gyue
his good to his chyldren and kepe none for hym self /
And ye shal vnderstonde that hit is a grete folye to dys=
pende and waste his good, in hope for to recouer hit of other
be hit of sone of doughter or 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 persones wolden gladly make noueltees as for to noye and greue seignories and meue warres and tencions ageynst them that haboude in richessis and goodes, and also make exterciones 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 goody for the comyn prouffyt, and ye shal vnderstonde 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 drunkenshyp glotenye and alle manere of euyls folowe them and myschyef /and they folowe 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 robbery ' and they doo moche harme as they goo , And they bryngе lityl gayn or wynnyng ' wherof hit happeny on a tyme that saynt bernard rode on an hors about the contrey and mette with an hasardour or dyse player. which sayd to hym thou goddes 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 J on thre dyse J 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 ye viij poyntes, and anone he took the hors by the brydel / as he that was seure that he hadde wonne / and saydde that the hors was his. and than saynt kenardde sayd abyde my sone. for there be mo poyntes on the dyse than ye 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 kenardde sayd that he hadde wonne his soule for as moche as he cast on thre dyse vix poyntes. and than whan this player saw e apercey-uydde thys myracle. he gaf his soule to saynt kenard and became a monke and finysshed his lyf in good werkys. The curreurs and kerers of lettres ought hastely and spedely doo her vyage that is cõmaundedde hem. With out tarryeng. for theyr taryenge myght noye and greue them that sende hem forth. or ellis them to whom they be sent to And torne hem to right grete dõmage or vylonye, For whiche cause euery noble man ought wel to take hede to whom he delyuer his lettres and his maundementis. and otherwhiles suche peple ben Jogheleres and drunkleWe. and goon out of their weye for to see abbayes and noble men for to haue auauntage. and hit happeth ofte tymes, that whan suche messageers or curreurs ben enpesshid by ony tarienge, that other curreurs bere letters contrarye to hys. and come toforce 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 there 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 spe-
cial charge of them that sent hem forth so to doo /
And also whan they be sent forth of ony lordes mar-
chantes they ought to be wel ware·that they charge hem not with ouer moche mete on mornynges ne with to moche wyne on euenynges/whereby her sinewes & taynes myght be greuyd 'that they must for faute of goodn rewle tarye . but they ought to goo and come hastely for to re-
porte to their 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 apperteyne
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 apperteyneth that We sholdy deuyse shortly
how they yssue and gooy out of the places Where they be
sette, And first We ought to speke of the forme andy of
the facioy of the chequez aftez that hit representeth andy

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 consider here in fouze thynges. The fizst is Wher fore that lxiiij poyntes been sette in the eschequer Whyche ben al square / The second is Wherfore the bordeure about is hyghez than the squarenes of the poyntes . The thyzdy is Wherfore the comyn peple ben sette tofore the nobles , The fourth is Wherfore the nobles and the peple been sette in theyz propre places / Thez ben as many poyntes in the eschequer Voyde as fulle / and ye shal fizst Vnderstonde Wherfore that theze ben lxiiij poyntes in the eschequyer / foz as the blessyd saynt Jhewome sayth , the cite of babylone Was right grete and Was maad al square , and in euery quartez Was y 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 oz game Was founden , the philosophez that fond hit first ordeyned a tablier conteynyng lxiiij poyntes square , the Whiche ben compriſed 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 foloWyngz / 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

ýght hygh /and therfore made the philosopher the lordeuz
moze hygh than the tabliez. and as the blessydy Saynt
Jhewme sayth Vpoy the prophesie of ysaye /that is to Bete
Vpoy a mounteyn of obsaurete. Whiche Wordes Were sayd
of babylone Whiche standeth ýy caldee / & no thyng of that
babylone that stondeth ýy egypt. for it is so that babilone
Whiche stondeth ýy caldee Was sette ýy a ýght grete playy
And had so hygh Walles that by the heyght of them Was
contynuel derkenes enuywonned and obsaurete. that none
ezthly may myght behalde 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 paas. Whiche ey
tendeth Vnto the lengthe of thre myle lombardes / hit is
to Bete that lombarde mylis andy englisch myles hey of
one lengthe / and ýy 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 paas /Which is seuey
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 thyzdy
Whezfore the comyn peple hey sette tofoze the nobles ýy the
felde of the batayl ýy one renge, fizst foz as mocke as they
hey necessazye to al nobles / For the wok Whiche stondeth
oy the ýght side andy is Vycayr of the kyng What may he
do yf the labourez Beze not sette to foze hym & labouredy
to mynystre to hym suche temporel thynges as he necessa-
ríe for hym / And What may the knyght do yf he ne hady
tofoze hym the smyth for to forge his armouzs + sadellys

apys and spures & suche thynges as apertyneth 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 sholdy the nobles lyue
yf no may made cloth and bought and solde marchandyse
And What sholdy kynges and quenes and the other lordes
do yf they hady no physiciens ne surgyens, Than I say
that the peple key the glorye of the crowne and susteyne
the lyf of the nobles. And therfore thou that art lordy
or a noble may or knyght /despyse not the comyn peple
for as moche as they key sette tofore the in the playe.
The seconds cause is Why the peple key sette tofore the no-
bles and haue the table Boyde toforе them /is be cause they
begynne the batayllе /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-
tayllе. how shold a labourer a plow man or a crafty man
counceyl and make ordenaunce of suche thynges as he
neuer lernedy. and Wote ne knoweth the mater Bpon
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
Bnto hem / and hit apertyneth not to hem to be of coun
ceyls ne at the aduocacions 'ne to menace ne to threte no
may, for ofte tymes by menaces and by force good coun
ceyl is destroubledy 'and Where good counceyl faylleth.
there ofte tymes the cytees key betrayedy and destroyedy,
And plato sayth that the comyn thynges and the cytees

ley blessyd Whan they ben gouerned by Wyse men /or Whan the goueznours studye in Wysedom.and so hit apertyneth to the comyn to lerne to Vttre the matezs.and the maner of pwauacion tofore they be counceyllours /For hyt hap peth oftey tymes that he that makyth hym Wysez than he Vnderstandeth is made moze foole than he is · and the iiij cause Wherfore that theze 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 & castellys & possessyons for to sette his peple therin and for to labouze and do theiz oupacion/ 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 forgotey / And truly a wyame Wyth out habundaunce of goodes by Whyche hyt may be gouezned and prospere . may better be callyd a la= twcynye or a nest of theuys than a wyame . Alas What habundaunce Was somme tymes in the wyames / & What prosperite in Whiche Was Justyce .and euezy 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 dradde 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 with 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 counsellours to the gouernours of the same · and noblesse of lignage with out puyssaunce & myght is but vanyte and dyspyte. And hit is so as we haue sayd tofore that the scheqier whiche the phylosopher ordeyned represented and figured the sayd cite of baby; lone. and in like wyse may hit figure a wyame and sig; nefye 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 ca ij

We ought to knowe that in thys World the kynges 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 theschequez .and Whan 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 kyngh 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 vicayz/kepe & garnysshe the kyng on that one side/ they that ben sette on the othez side kepe the quene '& thus kepe they al the strength & fermete of the wyame. & semblably otherwhile for to ordeigne the thynges that apperteyne 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 apperteynen to the kynge · to the comyn. and to the wyame · the wyame sholdn anone be deuydedn in parties. Andn thus myght the Juge reygne / Andn the name of the dygnyte zyall sholdn be loste. Andn trewly for as moche as the kynge holdeth the dygnyte aboue alle othez andn the seignozye wyall · thezfore hit apperteyneth not that he absente hym longn / ne wythdrawe hym ferre by space of tyme from 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 poyntes
& 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 bey sette /& in this
poynt he hath the nature of a knyght/& thise two maners
of meuyng apertyneth otherWhile to the quene /& for as
moche as the kyng & the quene that be conioyned to gedder
by mariage bey 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/& Whan he goeth right in maner of the wok onely &
hit happen that the aduersary be not couerd in ony poynte in
the second ligne 'the kyngh may not passe from his black
poynt Vnto the thyrd ligne / & thus he fortifieth 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 + andy the kyng also fortifist 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 / andy the notarye /& thus as in
goyngh out first in to four poyntes he forteth the nature
of knyghtes , Andy also the kyngh fortyfieth the nature
of the alphyns at hys fyrst yssue in to two places . andy
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 herte And al the dygnyte that the ſubgettis haue by execuſion and continuel apparence of theyr meuyng and yſſue. the kyng deteyneth hit and is attribuedy to hym. the victorye of the knyghtes. the prudence of the Juges, the auctorite of the vicayrs or legates. the contynence of the quene /the concorde and vnyte of the people, ſo ley alle thiſe thynges aſcribedy vnto the honour & worſhyp of the kyng, in his yſſue whā he meuyth firſt/ the iij ligne tofore the peple he neuer exedyth. for in the third nombre alle manez of ſtates begynne to meue. For the trynary nombre conteyneth thre parties. whyche make a perfect nombre, For a trynarye nombre hath i ij iij, whiche ioynedy to gider maketh vj / which is the firſt parfit nombre. and ſignefieth in this place vj perſones named that conſtitute the perfecion of a wyame. that is to wete the kyng the quene Juges knyghtes vicaizs or legates. & the comyn peple, & therfore the kyng ought to begynne in his firſt meuyng 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 folowetH vnto two angularye places after the manez of the alphyn/ and to a place Indyrecte in the manez of a wok in to the blacke poynt tofore the phisiaen /herin is signefyed that the Women may not meue nether make vowes of pilgremage ner of viage with out the wylle of theyr husbondes + For yf a Woman had auowed ony thyng .her husbond lyuyng ' and agayn sayeng . 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 heed 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 kyng begynneth to meue the quene may folowe . and not alwey whan she meueth it is no nede the kyng to meue .for why four the first lignes be wyth in the lymytes and space of the wyame / and vnto the thyrdy 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 / And yf he passe one poynt lete hym bewaar / For the persone of a kyng is acounted more than a thousandy of other . For whan he exposith hym vnto the parilles of batayllе .hit is necessarye that he goo attemporatly and slily/ for yf he be taken or deed or ellys Inclusid and shette vp . alle the strengthes of al other fayllе and al is finysshedy and lost And therfore he hath nede to goo and 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 orner;
wyse + he may neuer approche his aduersarye the kyng ner;
er than in the thyrd point /And therfore the kynges in
batayllle ought neuer tapproche one nygh that other, And
also when the kyngh hath goon so ferre that al hys men
be lost / than he is sole, and than he may not endure longh
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 kyngh 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 deedh was prouysour
of al the wyame, he shal bere a sacke on his heedh that
is shette in a cite, 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 tercio

Han the quene which 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 fortifieth in her self the nature in iij maners first on the right side tofore the alphyn. secondly on the lift side where the knyght is · & thirdly Indirectly vnto the black poynt tofore the phisicien. 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 batayllé 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 bac Wardy takyng or to be taken + and here may be ayyd Why the quene goeth to the batayllé 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 tartarís haue theiz 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 desize to be touchedy of their males

Whan they haue conceyuyd / except Woman Whiche ought to be a beste resonable . and in this cas she lesith her wayson/ & sidrac Witnessith the same . & therfore in the olde lawe. the faders had dyuerse Wyues and concellis 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 auisitees & places Where they myght falle in blame & noyse of the peple,

The fourth chappytre of the fourth book of the issuyng of the alphyn 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 kyngh / and he that is
Whyt is sette on the lift side / and ben callyd andh namedh
black and Whyt / but for no cause that they be so in sub-
staunce of her propze colouz, but for the colouz of the pla
ces in Whiche they ben sette / andh alWey be they black or
Whyt Whan they ben sette in theyz places + the alphyn on
the right side. goyngh out of his place to the right syde
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 andh
laWe / And also he may goo on the lift side to the Boyde
place tofore the phisiaen / for like as the physiaens haue
the charge to hele the Infizmytees of a man + In like Wise
haue the Juges charge to appese all strynes & contenaions
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 + For the marchauntes
nede ofte tymes counceyl and been in debate of questyons
Whiche must nedes be determynedh by the Juges / and that
other yssue is Bnto the place tofore the zyhauldes & that
is by cause that ofte tymes amonge them falke noyses,
dyscenaions theefte & manslaughter, Wherfore they ought
to be punysshed by the Juges / & ye shal Bndestonde that
the alphyn goeth alWey cozneWyse fro the thyrdh poynt to
the thyrd poynt, keppyngh alWey his oWne siege / for 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 subtilyte / Whiche Juges ought to
haue . The thre poyntes betoken thre thynges that the Ju
ge ought to attende · a iuge ought to furthez rightful and
treWe causes . secondly he ought to geue treWe counceyl / &
thyrdly he ought to geue & Juge rightful sentences after
the alegeances · & 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 perfecaon 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 reyame / and therfore ought the Juge to
be parfaytly Wyse and sage as Wel in saience 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 conioy-
ned 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 / andy We say that the knyght oy the right side is Whyt . andy oy the lift side black · & the yssue & moeuyngh of hem bothe is iy one maner Whan so is that the knyght oy the right side is Whyt/the lift knyght is black / the moeuyng of hem is sucke . that the Whyt may goo iy to the space of the alphyy as hit apezyth of the knyght oy the zyght syde that is Whyt / Andy hath thre yssues fwoy his pwpre place / one on his right side iy the place tofoze the labouzer .

and hit is Wel reson that Whan the labourer and husbond
may hath labouredy 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
Testymentes & 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 kyngh as Wel as his
oWne persone / Whan he passyth the first draught · he may
goo four Weyes / and Whan he is in the mydes 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 fightyngh by his myght / &
gWeth 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 fightyngh / And in his
fightyng he doeth moche harme for as moche as his myght
eytendeth in to so many poyntes / they ley in many parellis
in theyr fightyngh. and Whan they escape they haue the ho
nour of the game. & thus is hit of euezy may the more
Vaylyant / & 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

The moeuyng & yssue of the wokes Whiche ben Vy-
t cayrs of the kynge is suche / that the right 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 been 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 mydel 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 subgetis 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 Weray treWe rightWys and Juste /and ye shal Vnderstande that they ben stronge and Vertuous in batayllе. 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 founden.

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

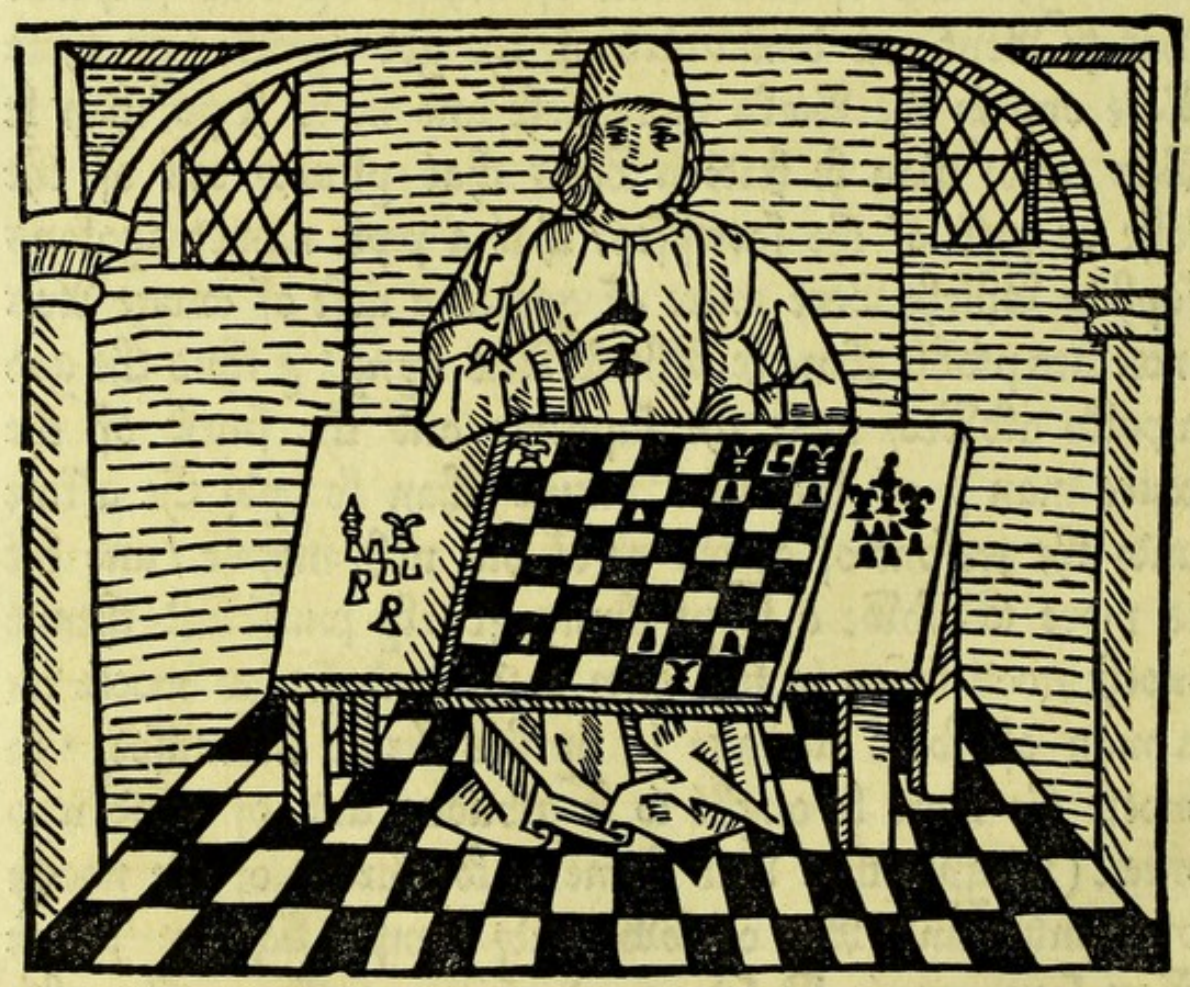
Ne yſſue and one moeuyngz apperteyneth vnto all o the comyn peple /for they may goo fro the poynt they ſtande in at the fizſt meuyngz unto the thizd poynt zight forth tofore them /and whan they haue ſo doon they may afterward meue nomore but fro one poynt right forth in to another . And they may neuez returne bacwardz . and thus goyngz fozth fro poynt to poynt ·they may gete by vertue and ſtrengthe . that thynge that the other nobles fynde by dygnyte /and yf the knyghtes andz 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 vttereſt ligne / he shal gete by his vertu the
dynyte of the black quene / & ye shal vnderstonde / when
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 alway goo in his right lig
ne / & alway 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 when 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 beholden the playe of the chesse. and ye shal Vnderstonde that no noble may 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 / empewurs and kynges / as We haue in the histo rye of dauyd that Was made kyng of a shepeherdy 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 apollo yf there Were ony in the World more riche and more heppy than he Was / andy 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 apollo alowedy more the sapyence and the sureté of the poure man & of his litel meyne / than he dydy the astate andy the persone of gyges ne of his riche mayne / and hit is more to alowe a lytyl thyngy seurly pourseWed thenne moche good takey in feze andy 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 andy Was of lowe andy symple lignage yet he Was souerayn in Wysedom andy 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 force that sholdy plucke the clubbe out of hercules handes / and thys suffiseth the state and draughtis of the comyn peple /

The Viij chappytre and the last of the fourth book of the epylogacion and recappytulacion 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 forgetefull
Whan some here longe talis and historyes Whiche they can
not al reteyne in her mynde or reorde · Therfore I haue
put in thys present chappytre al the thynges aboueseyd as
shortly as I haue cone / first this playe or game Was foū
dey in the tyme of enylmerodach kyng of babylone / And
eyceses the philosopher otherwyse named philometer foūde
hit / and the cause Why Was for the correcion of the kyng
lyke as hit apereth in thre the first chappytres · For the
seyd kyng Was so tyrānous & felouny that he mygbt suffre
no correcion / but sleWe them and dyd do put hem to deth
that correctid hym · and had than do put to deth many
right Wyse men / than the peple beyng sorowful and right
euyl plesid of this euyl lyf of the kyng prayed and re-
quyred the phylosopher · that he Wold repise and telle the
kyng of his folye / and than the philosopher answerd that
he shold be dede yf he so dyde · and the peple seyd to hym /
certes thou oughtest soner Wylle to dye to thende that thy
renome mygbt come to the peple. than the lyf of the kyng
shold cotynue in euyl for lacke of thy counceil. or by faulte
of reprehension of the. or thou darist not do & 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
mygbt escape the deth and kepe to the peple his promesse
And thenne thus he maad in thys maner and ordeyg-
ned the eschequer of lxiiij poyntes as is afore seyde /
And dyd do make the forme of chequers of gold & siluer

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 oy hit
the kyngh came andy saWe hit andy desiredy to playe at
this game / And thenne the phylosopher began tensigne
and teche the kyngh the saienc of the playe andy the
draughtes / Sayengh to hym fizst hoW the kyngh ought
to haue in hym self pyte debonayrte andy rightWysnes /
as hit is saydy tofore in the chappytre of the kyngh / And
he enseygnedy to hym the astate of the quene andy What
manezs she ought to haue / Andy thenne of the alphyns
as counceyllouzs and Juges of the wyame /
Andy after the natuze of the knyghtes / hoW they ought
to be Wyse . treWe andy auztoys and al the ordze of knyght
hode / And than after the natuze of the Bycayrs andy
Rookes as hit apperyth in theyz chappytze / Andy aftez
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 manez of the playe andy
had zeprehendydy hym of his euyl maners . The kyngh
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 phylosophez constraynedy by feze & drede answerd . that
he hady promysedy to the people Whyche hady requyzydy hym

that he shold correcte and repryse the kyng of his euyl vi
ces / but for as moche as he doubted the deth and hadyseen
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 andy reprehende the kyngy. 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 kyngy and to chaunge his ma-
ners. and he adioustyd wyth al that he had foundeny thys
game for so moche as the lordes and nobles haboundyngy
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 andy sorowes. in auysyngy
and studyeng this game / and whan the kyng had herde al
thyse causes. he thought that the philosopher had founde a
good maner of correcaion. & than he thankyd hym gretely
and thus by thensignement and lerynyng of the philoso-
pher. he chaunged his lyf his maners and alle his euyll
condicions / and by this maner hit happendy that the kyng
that tofore tyme hady ben vyaious and disordynate in hys
lyuyngy was made Juste andy vertuous / debonayr / gracia
ous and ful of vertues vnto al reple. And a may that
lyuyth in thys world without vertues lyueth not as a
may but as a beste. Thenne late euery may of what
condycion he be that redyth or herith this litel book redde.
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. / K. L.	10542. / C. 10. b. 14.		47. The Lyf of St. Katherin of Senis. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 15.		48. Speculum Vite Christi; or the myrroure of the 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. / K. L.	C. 21. d. 6209. / C. 10. b. 20.		58. The Siege of the noble and invyncyble Cytee of Rhodes, by Caoursin. Fol.
			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 ca ca ce á co cr cu C C

d da de do d D

e ê en er é E

f ff fa fe fi fo fu F

g G G

h h ha he ho H

í ń im in I

j J

k k K

l ll ll la le lí lo lu L

m m M

n n N

o or ô ō O

p pp pa pe po P

q Q

r z ra re rá 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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MAY 1ST, 1855.

Index