THE
PLAYE
OF
CHESSE

Milton,

Peterborough.

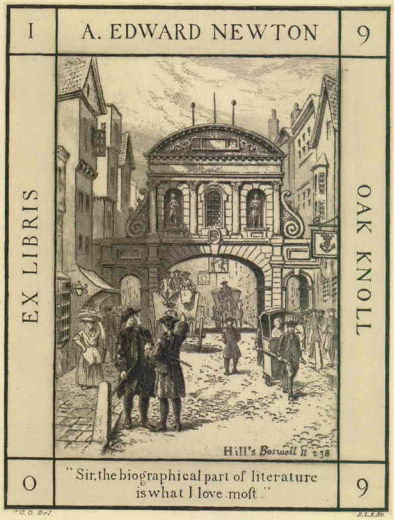
* * *

The sale of fifty early printed books and manuscripts collected by Mr. William C. Van Antwerp, of San Francisco, California, brought again into the auction room the copy of the illuminated manuscript of Froissart's *Chronicles* which figured in the Lord Mostyn sale at Sotheby's in 1920. This French manuscript on vellum, one of the earliest known of this classic work, and the first bearing the arms of the City of Paris, has been found to have been made for the Seigneur Pierre de Fontenay, and not for Holland, Earl of Kent, as the Mostyn catalogue conjectured. At the Lord Mostyn sale it went for £2,950, and now has again changed hands for $12,900.

No less than five Caxtons were in this sale. A fragment of sixty-five leaves of *The Canterbury Tales* (De Ricci, 22 under No. 22, page 27) brought $950; Higden's *Polychronicon,* 1482 (303 of 450 leaves), the copy which brought $2,700 in the Wallace sale of 1920, fetched only $1,900; Gower's *Confessio Amantis,* 1483, lacking the blank leaves, 4 in " Prologus " and with fifteen leaves in facsimile, but the tallest copy known, brought $3,200; the same price was paid for *The Game and Playe of the Chesse,* 1483, with one leaf in facsimile and lacking only one blank; Virgil's *Eneydos,* 1490, lacking two blanks and with five leaves in facsimile, fetched $1,000. Wynkyn de Worde's *St. Albans Chronicle* of 1502 brought $1,300, and Josephus's *De La Battaile Judaique,* printed by Antoine Verard, Paris, 1492, on vellum, went for $2,800. The famous Dent-Benson-Perkins-Lord Amherst-Wallace copy of the Coverdale Bible, 1535, which has title, two leaves in facsimile, and two blanks missing, brought $2,300. In the Wallace sale this went for $3,700, but in the Perkins sale in 1878 it fetched only £400.

* * *

950



WILLIAM CAXTON

WESTMINSTER, *Circa* 1483

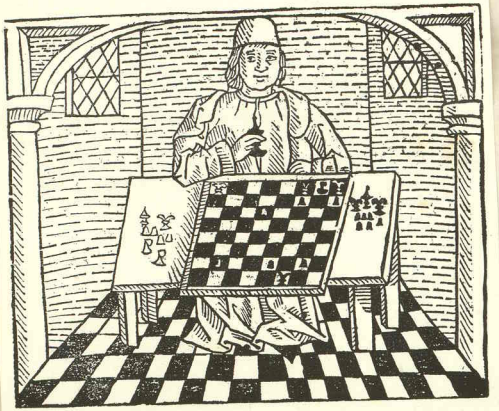
4. CESSOLIS (JACOBUS DE). THE GAME AND PLAYE OF THE CHESSE. [A².] The holy appostle and doctour of the peple saynt |Poule sayth in his epystle. Alle that is wryten |is wryten unto our doctryne and for our ler- |nyng . . . [84ª.] . . . Thenne late euery man of what |condycion he be that redyth or herith this litel book reede. |take therby ensaumple to amende hym. |Explicit per Caxton.

Small folio, full old calf, neatly and skilfully rebacked and repaired at corners. In full brown crushed French levant morocco solander case, lettered on back, BY RIVIÈRE.

[See Illustration on opposite page]

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

The first chapitre of the fourth tractate of the chesse how in generr how it is maad capitulo primo



E haue redyed aboue the thynges that apartayne vnto the formes of the chesse men and of their officers. that is to wete as wel of noble men as of the comyn peple / Than hit apertayneth that we sholdy redyse shortly how they yssue and goody out of the places wherto they be sette / And first we ought to spekie of the forme and of the facion of the chequer after that hit representeth and

WILLIAM CAXTON—PRINTER, WESTMINSTER, 1483

CESSOLIS—THE GAME OF CHESSE

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The holy apostle and doctour of the peple saynt
t Poule sayth in his epystle. Alle that is Wrytten
is Wrytten vnto our doctryne, and for our ler-
nyng. Wherfore many noble clerkes haue endeuoyred
them to Wryte and compyle many notable Werkys 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 goody Werkys. It is a Werke of ryght
special recomendacion to enforme and to late vnderstonde
Wysedom and vertue vnto them that be not lernyd 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 Which entended the same and hath made a
book of the chesse moralysed. Which at suche tyme as I
was resident in brudgys in the counte of Flaundres cam
in to my handes, Which Whan I had rede and ouersey/
me semed ful necessarye for to be had in englysshe/ And
in eschewyng of ydlenes. And to thende that some Which
haue not seen it /ne vnderstonde frensh ne latyn. I dely-
bered in my self to translate it in to our maternal tonge.
And Whan I so had achyeued the sayd translacion. I
dyde do sette in enpryntc a certeyn nombre of theym.
Which anone were dresshed and solde. Wherfore by cause
thys sayd book is ful of holsom Wysedom and requysyte
vnto euery astate and degree, I haue purposed to
enpryntc it/ shewyng therin the figures of suche persones

a ij

as longen to the playe. In whom al astates and degrees ben comprysed / besechyng al them that this litel werke shal see / here / or rede to haue me for excused for the rude & symple makyng and reducyng in to our englysshe / And where ae is defaute to correcte and amende / and in so doyng they shal deserue merytte and thanke / and I shal pray for them / that god of his grete mercy shal rewarde them in his euerlastyng blisse in heuen / to the whiche he bryngeus / that wyth his precous bloody redemed vs Amen

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

The first traytye

The second traytye

The thyrd traytye

The fourth traytye

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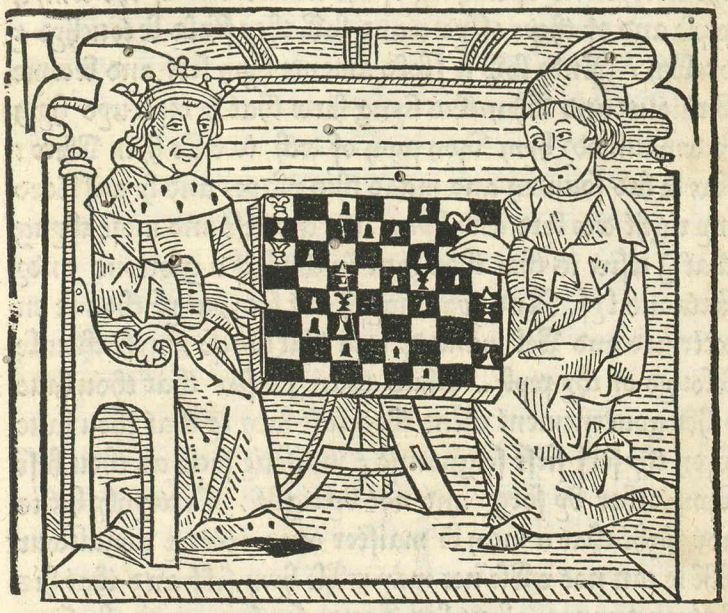
This first chappitre of the first tractate sheweth vn-
der what kyng the playe of the Chesse was founden and
maade. Capitulo primo

Monge alle the euyl condicions & signes that may
a be in a man the first and the grettest is. Whan he fe
reth not ne dreedeth to displese & make wroth god by synne
& the peple by lyuyng disordonatly / Whan he reteheth not.
nor taketh hede vnto them that reprcue hym and his vyc
ces / But sleeth them. In suche wyse as did the emperour
nero. Which did to slee his maysster seneque / for as moche
as he myght not suffre to be reprcuyd & taught of hym. in
like wise was sotyme a kyng in babiloy that was named

For by his grete cruelte he put them al to deth that displesid hym. He put hym self in parel of deth, and louyd & chees rather to dye than lenger to lyue. The euyl lyf and disfamed of a kyng is the lyf of a cruel beste. and ought not longe to be susteyned, for he destroyeth hym that displesith hym. And therfore rehercth Valerius, that there was a wyse man named theodore cerem whom his kyng dyd to hange on the crosse for as moche as he repreuyd hym of hys euyl & foul lyf, and alwey as he was in the torment he sayd to the kyng, Upon thy counceyllours and theym that ben clady in thy clothyng aud wbyo were more reson that this torment sholdy come, for as moche as they dar not say to the the trouth for to do Justyse rightwyslye, of my self I make no force whether I dye on the londy or on the water or otherwyse. As who sayth he recked not to dye for Justyce. In like wyse as democreon the philosopher put out his owne eyen by cause he woldy not see that no good myght come to the euyl andy vycious peple wyth out right, And also deportes the philosophre as he went toward his deth. His wyf that folowed after hym saydy that he was dãpned to deth wrongfully. thẽne he answardy and saydy to her. holde thy pees andy be stylle, hit is better and more meritorye to dye by a wrong & vnrightful Jugement, than that I had deseruedy to dye.

The thyrd chapitre of the first tractate treteth wherfore the playe was founden and maad Capitulo iij



The causes wherfore this playe was founden ley iij

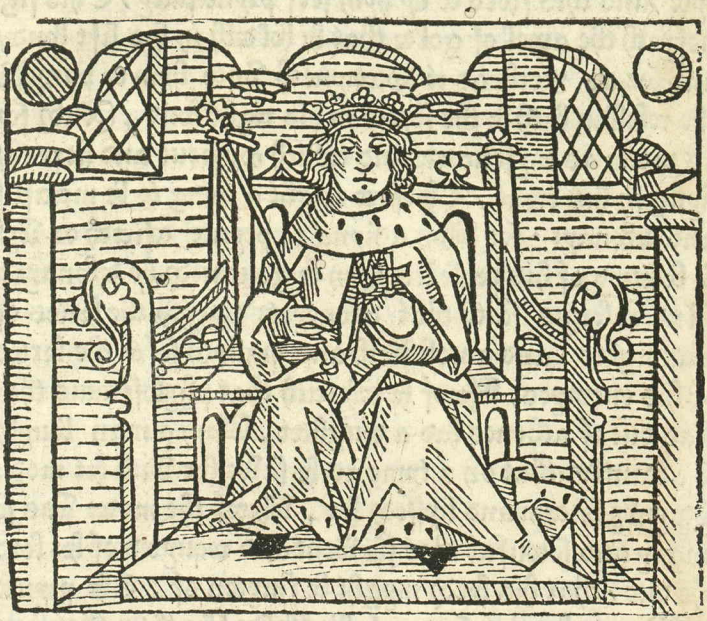
t The first was for to correcte and repreue the kyng for whan this kyng enylmewdach salbe this playe / And the lawns knyghtes and gentilmen of his court playe with the phylosopher, he metueylled greely of the beaulte and noueltee of the playe. And desired to playe agaynst the philosopher / The philosopher answerd and sayd to hym that hit myght not be doon / but yf he first lernyd the play The kyng sayd hit was reson and that he wold put hym to the payn to lerne hit / Than the phylosopher began to

teche hym and to shewe hym the maner of the table of the chesse borde and the chesse meyne. And also the maners & the condycions of a kyng of the nobles and of the comyn peple and of theyr offyces and how they shold be touchyd & drawen, And how he shold amende hym self and become vertuous, and when this kyng herde that he repreuyd hym he demaundedy hym vpon payn of deth to telle hym where fore he had founden and maad this playe, and he answerd my right dere lord and kyng. the grettest and most thyng that I desire is that thou haue in thy self a glorious and vertuous lyf. And that may I not see, but yf thou be endoctrined and wel manerdy and that had. so mayst thou be beloyd of thy peple. Thus than I desire that thou haue other gouernement thene thou hast hady. & that thou haue vpon thy self first 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 nor may rewle hym self and that his vertues domyne aboue his vyces, for seignourie by force and wylle may not longe endure/ Thenne thus may thou see 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 correcteurs or 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 couetous & in especial of the honours of the world, And sayd to hym yf the godes had maade

thy body as grete as is thy herte. Alle the worldy coude
not holde the. for thou holdest in thy right hond al the orp
ent, and in thy lifte honde the occident. sith than hit is so
or thou art a god or a man or nought. yf thou be god.
do 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 do noon euyl, yf thou be nought forgete thy
self. There is no thyng so strongе and ferme. but
that sumtyme a feble thyng casteth doun and ouerthrowe
hit. How wel that the lyon be the strengest beest, yet
somtyme a lityl byrde eteth hym. The second cause wher
fore this playe was founden and maad. was for to kepe
hym from ydlenesse; whereof seneque sayth vnto lucylle
ydlenes wythout ony occupacion is sepulture of a man ly
uyng, and varro saith in his sentences that in lykie wyse
as men goo not for to goo, the same wyse the lyf is not
gyuen for to lyue but for to do wel and good. & therfore
secondly the philosopher fond this playe for to kepe the pe
ple 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 quen
chyd whereof comyth good desperacion. The thyrd cause is
that euery man naturelly desireth to knowe and here no
uelteeces 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 thyuges. Therfore we rede that democrite the

philosopher put out his owen eyen, For as moche as he
myght haue the better entendement and vnderstondyng.
many haue ben made blynde that were grete clerkis in like
wyse as was didimus bysshop of alexandrie. that how wel
that he sawe not, yet he was so grete a clerke/that gregore
nazãz and saynt Jerome that were clerkes and maystres
to other cam for to be his scolers and lernyd of hym. And
saynt anthonye the grete hermyte cam for to see hym on a
tyme, and emonge alle other thynges, he demaunded hym
yf he were not gretly dysplesid that he was blynde & sawe
not. and he answerd, that he was gretly abasshyd for that
he suposid not that he was not displeasidy in that he hady
lost his sight, and saynt anthonye answerd to hym I me
uaile moche that hit displesith the that thou hast lost that
thyng which is comyn betwene the and bestes. and thou
knowest wel that thou hast not lost that thyng that is co
myn betwene the and the aungellis. And for thise causes
forsayd the phylosopher entended to put awey al pensifnes
andy thoughtes, and to thynke onely on this playe as
shal be sayd and appere in this/book after.

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



The kynge must be thus maad. for he must sytte in a chayr clothyd in purpure/crowned on his heed in his right hond a septre and in the lift hond an apple of golde/ for he is the most gretest and hyest in dygnyte aboue al other and most worthy. And that is signyfyed by the crowne. for the glorie of the ryple is the dygnyte of the kyngh/and aboue al other the kyngh ought to be re: plenyssyd with vertues and of grace. and this signyfieth the purpure. For in like wyse as the roles of purpure maketh fayr and enbelissheth the body. the same wyse vertues

maketh the sowle, he ought alwey thynk on the gouerne
ment of the reame & who hath thadmynystracion of Jus-
tyce, and this shold he by hym self prynapally, This sig-
nefyeth the appel of golde that he holdeth in his lift honde/
and for as moche as it apartyneth vnto hym to punysshe
the rebelles hath he the septre in his right hond. And for
as moche as mysericorde and trouth conserue and kepe the
kyng in his trone, Therfore ought a kyng to be merciful
and reconayr. for when a kyng or prynce desireth or wyll
be beloued of his peple lete hym be gouerned by reconayre
And Valerius saith that reconeyre percyth the hertes of
straungers, and amolissheth and maketh soft the hertes
of his enemyes. Whereof he reherseth 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. Whereof the moder was so
angry and sorowful that she went and requyred of her lord
the duc, that his heed myght be smyten of. The prynce
answerd to her and sayd. yf we sholdy slee them that loue
vs. What shal we do to our enemyes that hate vs. Cer-
teynly this was the answer of a noble & reconayr prynce
that suffred that vylonye wony to his doughter & to hym
self yet more. This prynce had also a frende that was na
med arispe that sayd on a tyme as moche vylonye vnto
the prynce as ony man myght saye. And that myght not
suffyse hym. but he cratchid hym in the vysage. the prynce
suffryd hym paciently in suche wyse as though he had won
to hym no vylonye but curtesye. And whan his sones
wold haue auengyd this vylonye, he comaundedy them

that they shold not be so hardy so to woo / The neyt day
folowyng Aristpe remembrid of the right grete vylonye
that he had won to his frende and lordy without cause,
He fyl in dyspayr and wold haue slayn hym self / Whan
the duc kinewe and vnderstood 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 thā
forthon as euer he had ben tofore yf he wold, and thus he
respited hym of his deth by his delonayrte / and in lyke
wise rede we of the kyng pirre to whom was reported that
they of tarente had sayd grete vilonye of hym, for which
cause he maad al them to come tofore hym & demaundy
of them yf they had so said. than one of them answerdy &
said, yf the wyn & the candellis had not fayled, thys langa
ge had ben but a Jape, in regarde of that we had thought
to haue won / Than the kyng began to lawhe. For they
hady confessyd that suche langage as was said and spoken
was by drunkenshyp, And for this cause of delonayrte
the peple of tarente tooke for a custome that the drunken
men shold be punysshid, and the sobre men preysed / The
kyng thenne thus ought to loue humylite and hate
falsyte after the holy scripture that speketh of euery man
generally. For the kyng in his wyame representeth god
& god is verite. and therfore hym ought to say no thyng
but yf hit were verytable and stable, Valerius rehrceth
that Alyxandre with alle his oostē wod for to destroye
a cyte which was namedy lapsare / Whan than a phy
losophre whyche had to name anaxymenes whych had ben
tofore maistre & gouernour of alixādre herd & vnderstood

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 godes that suche thyng as he ayyd or requyred of hym. he wolde in no wyse wody. Thenne the phylosopher requyrede hym to destroye the cyte whan Alixandre vnderstood his desyre & the oth that he hath maad. he suffrid the cyte to stonde and not to be destroyed, ffor he had leuer not to do his wyll than to be periured and forswory and do agenst his oth Quyntilian sayth that no grete may ne lorde sholde not swere. But where as is grete nede /andy that the symple pawle or worde of a prynce ought to be more stable thenne the oth of a marchaunt. [redacted]

A kyng also ought hate alle cruelte. For we rede that neuer dyed yet ony pietous persone of euyl deth. ne cruel persone of good deth / Therfore recounteth Valerius that there was a man namedy therile a workman in metalle, that maad a boole of copre and a lityl wyket on the syde wherby men myght put in them that sholdy be brent therin And hit was maad in suche manere. that they that sholdy be put andy enclosydy therin sholdy crye no thynge lyke to the voys of a man but of an ore.

Andy thys maady he by cause men sholdy haue tha lasse pyte of them / Whan he hady maady thys boole of copper. he presentyd hit vnto a kyng which was called philarde

that was so cruel a tyraunt that he delitedy in no thynge
but in cruelte + And he tolde hym the condicion of the hole
whay philerde herde and vnderstood thys . he alowedy and
praised moche the werke/and after sayd to hym/thou that
art more cruel than I am /shalt assay and prove first thy
presente and yefte /and so maad hym to go in to the hole
andy dye an euyl deth / Therfore sayth ouyde there is no
thyng more resonable thenne that a may dye of suche deth
as he purchaseth vnto other . Also the kyng ought souer
raynly kepe Justyce/who maketh or kepeth a wyame with
out Justyce . of lerry force there must be grete robbery &
theftes . Therfore reherceth Saynt Augustyn in a book
whyche is intituled the cyte of god/that there was a theef
of the see named diomedes that was a grete wuar & dydy
so moche harme that the complayntes cam tofore alixander
whiche dyd hym to be taken andy brought a fore hym /
Andy he demaunded hym wherfore he was so noyous and
cruel in the see / Andy he answedy to hym agayn , For
as moche as thou art ony a londe in the worlde . so am I
another in the see / But for as moche as the euyl that I
do is in ony galey or tweyn therfore I am callyd a theef
But for as moche as thou dost in many shyppys andy
with grete puyssaunce andy power . Therfore arte thou
callydy an Emperour . But yf fortune were for
me in suche wyse / I woldy become a goody man andy
better thenne I now am /But thou the more rycher andy
fortunat that thou art / The more worse art thou /
alyxaunder saidy to hym I shal chaunge thy fortune in
suche wise as thou ne say that thou shalt do it by pouere

but for euyl and mauayste. and so he made hym ryche, and this was he that afterward was a good prynce & a good Justicier, The kyng ought to be souerayny chaste, and this signefyeth a quene that is oonly on his right side. For it is to be beleuyd and redyble that whan the kyng is a good man, Juste trewe and of good maners & condicions that his children shal folowe gladly the same. for a good sone and a trewe ought not to forsake and goo fro the good condicions of his fader/ for certes it is agayust god and nature in 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 foowles and byrdes. For somme maner of foowles keepen them to their females oonly, As hir apereth by storkes wowues and turtils. But tho foowles that norisshith not their birdes haue many wyues and femels/ As the cok that no thyng norisshith his chekens And therfore amonge al the bestes that been, man and woman putteth most their entente and haue most cure & charge in norisshyng of their chyldren. & therfore on they agaynst nature in partye whan they leue theyr wyues for other women, of this chastete reherceth Valerius an exāple & saith that ther was a man of rome whyche was namedy Scipio affricā for as moche as he had cōquerd affrique hoo wel that he was of rome born. whan he was of xxxiiij yere of age he conquerdy cartage & toke moche people in ostage among whom he was presented with a right fayr mayde for his solas & plaisir which was assured & handfast vnto a noble yonge gentilman of cartage whiche was namedy

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

The second chapitre of the second book andy treteth of the forme and maners of the quene capitulo secundo

Thus ought the quene be maad / She ought to be
t a fayr lady sittyng in a chayer and crowned 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 eleccion, For oftyn tymes the elec;
tours and chosers can not ne wylle not accorde / And
so is the eleccion left, And otherwhyle they chese not the
beste and most able and conuenyent / But hym that they
best loue, or is for them most proffytable.
But whan the kyng is by liguage and by trewe success;
sion. He is taught enseygned and norisshyd in hys
yougth all good and vertuous tatches and maners of his
fader. And also the prynces of the wyame dar not so
hardyly meue warre agaynst a kyng hauyng a sone for
to reigne after hym / and so a quene ought to be chaste
wyse. of honest lyf. Wel manerdy and not Curious in
norysshyng of her chyldren, Her wysedom ought not
onely to appere in fait and werkes / but also in speklyng
that is to wete that she be secrete and telle not suche
thynges as ought to be holden secrete.
Wherfore it is a comyn prouerbe that women can kepe
no counceyl / And accordyngly therto Macrobe reherceth
in the book of the dremes of Scyppo. That there was

a chyld of rome that was named papirus that on a tyme
went with his fader whych was a senatour in to the cham
bre where as they held theyr counceyl. And that tyme
they spake of suche maters as was comaunded and a
greed shold be kept 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 demanded of hym what was the counceyl and whewf
they spake and had tarried so longe there, And the
chylde answered 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 shold
saye and telle to her what it was / And whan the
chylde sawe that he myght haue no reste of hys moder in
no wyse, He made her first promyse that she shold kepe
hit secrete. And to telle hit to noon of the world,
And that doon, he feyned a lesing or a lye and sayde
to her, that the Senatours had in counceyl a grete questi
on and dyffrence whiche was thys, whether hit were
better and more for the comyn wele of Rome, that a man
shold haue two wyues / Or a wyf to haue two hus
bondys / And whan she had understonde thys, He
defended hyr that she shold telle hit to none other body /
And after thys she went to her gossyb and tolde to her
thys counceyll secretely. And she tolde to another.
And thus euery wyf tolde hit to other in secrete, & thus
hit happend anone after that alle the wyues of Rome

cam to the senatoyre where the senatours were assemblyd
and cryed with 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 sena;
tours hearyng this were gretely abasshyd and wyst not
to say / ner what / ner how to answere. tyl atte laste that
the child papire rehersed to them all the caas and sayt how
hit was happend. And whan the senatours herdy and vn
derstood the mater they were gretely abasshyd, & cõmendyd
gretly the Ingenye and wytte of the chyld that so wysely
contrynued the lye rather than he wold discouere their coun
cyl. And forthwyth made hym a senatour / and estabblis
shed and ordeyned fro than forthoy that no chyld in ony
wise shold entre in to the cõceyl 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
For as she is aboue al other in estate and reuerence. So
shold she be ensaumple vnto al other in her lyuyng honest
lye / wherof Jerome reherceth agaynst Jonynyan. that
there was a gentyl man of rome named duele+ and this
man was he that first fond the maner to fight on the wa;
ter / and had first the victorye / 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 do
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 hady

a stynkyng breeth. And forthwyth he went home to hys
wyf al angry and abasshyd' and aked her why & wherfore
she had not tolde his defaute to hym that he myght haue
founden remedye to haue ben purgyd therof, & she answerd
that as for as moche as she supposyd that euery man hadyn
the same faute as wel as he, For she kyst neuer ony man
nes mouth but her husbondes. O moche was this woman
to be praysedy and haue a synguler lawde wenyng that
this defaute had not ben onely in her husbond, wherfore she
suffryd hit paciently, in suche wise that her husbond knewe
his defaute sonner by other thenne by her. Also we rede
that there was a wedowe namedy Anna, whiche had a
frende that counceylled hyr to marye. For she was yonge
fayr and ryche. to whom she answerdy that she woldy not
so do in no wyse, For yf I shold haue an husbondy as I
haue had & that he were as goody as he was. I sholdy euer
ben aferd to lose hym, lyke as I lost that other. & thenne
shold I lyue alwey in feré and drede. Whiche I wyl not.
And yf hit happend me to haue a worse. What sholdy hit
proffyte me to haue an enyl husbond after a good, andy
so she concluded that she wold kepe her chastete, Sayné
Austyn reherceth in the book de Ciuitate dei that in rome
was a noble lady gentyl of maners and of hygh kynrede
named lucrecia, And had an husbond namedy Colatyne
whiché desired on a tyme the Emperours sone named tor-
quyne thorguykkous or the proude. and he was calle sipre
for to come dyné andy sporte hym in his castel or manoyr
And whan he was entred amonge many noble ladyes he
sawe lucrecia. And whan thys emperours sone hadyn seen &

aduertysed her aportes. her countenauuce. her manere. & her beaulte. he was alle rauysshedy and esprysed 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 appartyned to the emperours sone. And this sixtus espyed where lucrecia laye. and whan he suposid & 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 sayd to her. Lucresse holde thy pees andy crye not. For I am sixte tarquynus sone. for yf thou spekie 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 do his wylle, and whan he sawe he coude nor myght haue his entente he sayd to her / yf thou do not my wylle / I shal slee the and one of thy seruauntis and shal lay hym alle dede by thy syde. And thenne I shal say that I haue slayn you for your ryaudrye. 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 brethern and to her frendes and to a many callyd brute counceyllour and neuewe to tarquyn / andy sayd to them that yesterday Syxte the emperours sone cam in to myn howse as an enemye in likenes of a frende. and hath oppressyd me, Andy

knowe thou Colatyn that he hath dishonoured thy lede,
And how wel that he hath folled and dishonoured my bo;
dy. yet myn herte is not. Wherfore I besche the of pardon
forgefnes and absolucion of the trespas but not of the
payne. And he that hath don thys synne to me hit shal
ley to his myschaunce yf ye do your deuoyr. and by cause
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 wole, she woof her self vnto the herte
And deyed forthwyth tofore 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 ded corps thrugh the cyte and meuydy the
peple in suche wyse. That tarquyn was put in eyple. andy
Syete his sone was slayn. A quene ought to be wel
manerd and amonge alle she ought to be tumcwus andy
Shamefast. For whan a woman hath lost shamefastnes
she may nez can not weel be chaste. Wherfore sayth Sy;
machus that they that ben not shamefast haue no consci;
ence of luxurye. Andy saynt ambrose sayth that one of
the best parementes and maketh a womman most fayr in
her persone. is to be shamefast. Seneque reherceth that
there was one named archezylle whiche was so shamefast
that she put in a pelowe of fethers a certeyn somme of
money. and put hit vnder the heed of a poure frende of

hers / Whiche dissymyled his puerte andy wolde not nor durst not be a knowey of his puerte. for shame she durst not gyue it openly. but had leuer that he sholdy fynde hyt than that she had gyuey hit hym. Wherfore otherwhile mey shold gyue & helpe her frendes so secretly. that they knowe not whens it come / for whan we kepe it secret andy make no. boste thewf. our deds and werkes shal please god and them also. A Quene ought to be chosey whan she shal be weddyd of the moste honest kynrede and peple/for often tymes the doughters folowey the tatches & mgners of theym that they bey dyscended from / Whewf Valeryus 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 grauntdame haue bey chaste and wel condycioned. for suche moder / suche doughter co / munely / Also a quene ought to teche her chyldrey to bey contynent and kepe chasttie entierly. as hit is wryten in ecclesiastes. yf thou haue sones enseigne andy 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 andy rede the lawe of our lordy god / and therfore wrote themperour to the kyng of fraunce that he shold do lerne his childrey sones the seuey sciences liberal / and saydy amonge other thynges that a kyng not lettrid resembleth an asse cow / ned / Themperour octouyan maad his sones to be taught and lerne to swymme / to spryngc andy leape / to Juste / to playe wyth the axe and swerde / and al maner thyng that

apperteyneth to a knyght / and his doughters he made hem
to lerne to sewe . 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 poueryte or noo /
and therfore yf they conne a good crafte they may alway
lyue honestly . The quene ought to kepe her doughters in
alle chastyte . For we rede of many maydens that for their
virgynyte haue ben maad quenes / For poule the histo
riagraph of the lombardes rehercth that ther was a du:
chesse named remonde which had thre sones & ii doughters
And hit happend that the kynge of hongrye cantauus as
sayled a castel where she and her chyldren were Inne /
And on a day she behelde her enemyes / and amonge alle
other she sawe the kyng that he was a wel faryng and a
goodly man . Anone she was esprysedy and taken wyth
his loue . and that so sore that forthwyth she sent to hym
that she wold delyuer ouer the castel to hym yf he woldy
take her to his wyf andy wedde her / And he agreed thereto
and ware that he wold haue her to his wyf on that con:
dicion . Whan than the kyngy was in the castel / his peple
took men and women and alle that they fonde / her sonnes
fledde from her / of whome one was namedy Ermoaldus &
was yongest / and after was duc of boneuentan & fithen
kyng of the lumbardis / andy the two susters tokie chy:
liens and put hem vnder her armes neyt the flessh andy
bytwene her pappes / that of the hete and chauffyng the

flesh of the chikyns stanke, and whan so was that they of hongrye wold haue enforced andy defowled anone they felte the stenche and fledde awey and so lefte hem sayeng fy how these lombardes stynke. and so they kepte theyr virgynyte. Wherfore that one of hem afterwardy was quene of fraunce /andy that other quene of almayn/and hit happend thenne that the kyng catanus toke acordyng to his promyse the duchesse /andy 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 wo put a staf of tree fro the nether parte of her. thrugh her body vnto her throte or mouthe, for by cause of the luste of her flesh she betrayedy her eyte andy sayd suche husbondy suche wyf. and this suffyseth of the quene

The thyrd chappytre of the seconds trayte treteth of the Alphyns her offyces and maners capitulo tercio

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

alle the wyame in good and vertuous maners / And to
Juge and gyue sentence wel and trewly after the cuas 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 pynt Seneque saith in the
book of benefets that the pur diogenes was more strong
than alixandre / For Alixandre coude not gyue so moche
as diogenes wold refuse. Marcus cursus a romayn of
grete renomee saith thus. that whan he had besieged and
assayled them of Samente / and beneuentane which herde
that he was pure / 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 platers 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 Marcus cursus loueth better
to be lord and wynne richesses than richesse shold wynne
hym. For by batayle he shal not be ouercome and vayn;
quysshed / nor by gold ne siluer he shal not be corupt ne
corompid. Oftentymes that thyng taketh an euyll ende
that is vntrewe for gold and siluer. and that a man is
subget vnto money may not be lordy therof / Helymondy
rehercth that demostene demanded of aristodone how moche

he had wonne for pletyng of a cause for hys client. And he answerdy a marki of golde. Demostenes answerdy 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 be y perilous & domegeable. yet they must be hady yf thou wolt wynne thy cause. for with money and yefte thou shalt wynne. & oftentymes they selle as wel theyr silence /as their vtterauncē. Valerius reherceth that the senatours of rome took counceil to gedr of two persones that one was pure & that other riche and couetous, whiche of hem bothe were most apte for to sende to gouerne andy Juge the contre of spayn, And scippyon of affrique saidy that none of hem bothe were goody ne proffytable to be sent thedr. For that one hath no thyng. Andy to that other may no thyng suffyse, Andy dispysedy in hys sayengy alle pouerte andy auarice in a Juge. For a couetous may hath nede of an halpeny. for he is seruaunt and bonde vnto money/ and not lorde therof/ but pouerte of herte andy of wylle ought to be greely alowedy in a Juge, Therfore we rede that as longe as the Romayns louydy pouerte they were lordys of alle the worldy, For many there were that exposedy al theyr goodes for the comyn wele. audy for that was most proffitable for the comynalte that they were so pure that whan they were dedy they were burydy andy brought to erthe wyth the comyn goody, Andy theyr doughters were maryedy by the comaundement of the senatours. but sithen that they dispised pouerte /& begonne to gadre richesses. & haue made grete batylles. they haue vsed many synnes/ andy so the

comyn wele perisshed/for ther is no synne but that it reig
neth there/there is none that is so blissful 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 reherceth
that he is not riche that moche hath/but he is riche that hath
litel & coueyteth no thyng/than thus late the Juges take
here 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 reherceth quinte curse in his first book that
the grete godaches sayth 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 fect andy
cause than in anothe mannys ⁺Andy therfore the Juges
ought to kepe hem wel from Ire in Jugement, Tullyus
sayth that an angry andy yrous 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 whan thou sholdest geue Jugement ,
weye all thyng in the balaunce so that thy Jugement be
not enclyned by loue ne by yeft . ne fauour of persone for
ne not thy corage ⁺Helemondy reherceth that cambyses
kyng of perse which was a rightwis kyng had an vn/
rightwis Juge ,which for enuye & euyl wyll had dãpned
a man wrongfully andy agaynst right / wherfore he dydy
hym to be flayn al quyk andy made the chayer or siege of

Jugement to be couerid With 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 righteWisly, & 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 reherseth that valen
gius 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 sholdy be
accomplisshed in his sone Wyth out fauour, but al the cite
Was meuyd herewyth andy Wold not suffre hit /but in the
ende his fader Was vaynquysshed by theyr prayers. And
ordeyned that his sone sholdy lese one eye Whyche Was put
out. Andy he hym self lost an other eye. Andy thus
Was the lawe obseruydy and kept. Andy the prayer of
the people Was accomplisshedy, We rede that there Was
a counceylour of rome that hady gyuen counceylle to ma/
ke a statute that Who some euer that entrydy in to the se /
natoyr andy a sWerde gyrt aboute hym shold be ded/ Than
hit happend on a tyme that he came from Without & entrid
in to the senatoir & his sWerd gyrt about hym. Whereof he
toke none hede/& one of the senatours told hym of hit, &
Whan 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 ake the senatours maady
grete sorowe / But alas We fynde not many in thyse dayes
that so do / But they do lyke as anastasyus saith that
the lawes of some ben like vnto the nettis of spyncopis

that take no grete bestes and foules 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 poure peple + the grete & riche breke hit &
goo thrugh with al /and for this cause sourden batailles &
discordes & make the grete & riche men to take by force &
strengthe lordshippis & seignories vpon the smale & poure
peple/& this don they specially that ben gentil of lignage
& poure of goodes /& causeth them to wolde & reue/ and yet
constreyne them by force to serue them. & thyo is no mer/
uayle/ for they that drede not to angre god, nor 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 transgressours sharp/
ly/ The comyn peple absteyne & withdrawe hem fro doyng
of euyl and chastiseth hem self by theyr example / And
the Juges ought to entende for to studye. For yf the
smythes the carpentiers the vignours andy other crafty/
men say that it is not necessarye to studye for the comyn
proffit/ And glorefye them in their cōnyng and say that
they ben proffitable + than shold the Juges studye and con
templaire moche more than they in that that sholdy be for
the comyn wele. Wherfore saith seneke beleue me that they
seme that they do no thyng /they do more than they that
laboure for they do spirituel & also corporal werkis. And
therfore amōge artificers ther is no plesaūt rest/ but that
reson of the Juges hath maad & ordeyned hit. & therfore
angelius saith in/li/ atticor de socrate/that socrates was
on a tyme so pensif that in an hole naturel day/he held one

estate that he ne meued mouth ne eye ne foot ne hand but
was as he had ben deed or mayssted, and whan one demaū
ded hym wherfore he was so pensif. he answerd in al world
ly thynges and labours of the same and held hym bour;
geys and Cytezeyn of the world, and Valerius reherceth
that carnardes a knyght was so sage wyse andy labowus
in pensifnes of the compyn 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 denseyns
in the world but straungers, nor we ben not born in the
world for to dwelle andy abyde allwey therin, but for to
goo andy passe thaugh hit. we haue woy noon euyl dede,
but that it is worthy, to be punysshed & we to suffre payne
therfore, and thenne we may goon with open face & good
conscience. And so may we goo lighely and apertly the
way that we hope andy purpose to goo. Thys suffyseth as
for the Alphyns /

The fourth chapitre of the second book treteth of the ordre of chevalrye and knyghthode 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 hed and a spere in his right hond / & couerid with his shelde, a swerd & a mace on his lyft syde, clad with an hawberk & plates tofore his breste. legge harnoys on his legges. spures on his heelis. on hys handes hys gauntelettes. hys hors wel broken & taught and apte to batylle & coueryd with hys armes. Whan the knyghtes ben maad they ben bayned or bathed. That is the signe that they sholdy lede

a newe lyf and newe maners. also they make alle the nyght in prayers and orisons vnto god that he wil geue hym grace that they may gete that thyng that they may not gete by nature, The kyng or prynce gyrdeth a knyte them a swerde in signe, that they shold abyde and kepe hym of whom they taken their dispences and dignyte.
Also a knyght ought to be wyse lyberalle /trewe. strong and ful of mercy and pyte and kepar of the peple and of the lawe /and right as cheualrye passeth other in vertue in dignyte in honour and in reuerence, right so ought he to surmounte alle other in vertue. for honour is no thyng ellys but to do reuerence to another persone for the good & vertuous dispsicion 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 gouerne the other! For sithen that a knyght is capitayn of a bataylle. 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 man that is not proued in armes/ for otherwhile 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 man sholdy chese yong peple to be captayns & gouernours, for as moche as ther is no certeynte in her wisdom/ alexādre of macedone vaynquysshed & conquard Egipte, Jude, caldee Affrique

and assyrie vnto the marches of bragmans more by the
counceyl of olde men than by the strengthe of the yongy
men. We rede in the historye of rome that there was a
knyght which had to name malechete that was so wyse &
trewe that whan the emperour Theodosius was dede. He
made mortal warre ayēst his broder germayn which was
named Gyldo or Guye. for as moche as this sayd guye
wold be lord of affrique with out leue and wylle of the se-
natours / and thys sayd Guy had slayn the two sones of
his broder malechete, And dyd moche torment vnto the
cristen peple, and afore that he shold come in to the felde
ayenst his broder Guyon. he went in to an yle of carayre
and ladde with hym al the cristen men, that had ben sent
theder in exyle. And maad hem alle to praye with hym
by the space of thre dayes and thre nyghtes. For he hadde
grete affyaunce and truste in the prayers and orisons of
good folke and specially that no man myght counceyl ne
helpe but god / And thre dayes tofore he shold fight sayne
Ambrose which was redy a litil tofore apeyred to hym &
shewed hym by reuelacōn the tyme and howre that he shold
haue victorye. And for so moche as he had ben iij dayes
and thre nyghtes in orysons & prayers and that he was
assuryd for to haue victorye, he faught with fyue thou-
sand men ayenst his broder that had in his companye four
score thousand men. and by godes helpe he had victorye
And whan the barbaryns 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 stranglidy. These two knyghtes

of whom I speke were two brethern germayns. whyche were sent in to affrique for to deffende the comyn wele.
In lyke wyse Judas machabeus, Jonathas, and Symon his brethern put them self in the mercy and garde of our lord god, And agayn the enemyes of the lawe of godd with litil people in regarde of the multitude that were agayn them, And had also victorye. The knyghtes ought to ley trewe to theyr prynces. For he that is not trewe leseth the name of a knyght. Unto a prynce trouth is the grettest precious stone whan hit is medled wyth Justyce. Paule the historiagraph of the lombardes rehercth that there was a knyght named Enulphus & was of the cyte of pappe that was so trewe and faythful to his lord and kyng namedy patharich that he put hym in parylle 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 whyche was kyng of the lombardes by the hande of goribert duc of tarente. Which was descendedy of the crowne of lombardes. And this grymalde was maad kyng of lombardye in his place and after this put and kanyssed out of the contraye this patharich which was broder unto the kyng Godebert. that for fere and drede fledde in to hongrye. And thenne this knyght enulphus dydy so moche that he gate the pes agayn of his lord patharich agayns the kyng grymalde. And that he hady licence to come out of hongrye where he was alwey in parell. and so he came and cryedy hym mercy. And the kyng Grymalde gaf hym leue to dwelle and to lyue honestly in his contre

alwey forseen that he took not vpon hym & namedy hym
self kyng. How wel he was kyng by right / This wony
a lityl whyle after / the kyng that leeuyd euyl tonges /
thought in hym self how he myght bryngc this patharicke
vnto the deth, and al thys knewe wel the knyght Enul
phus, which came the same nyght wyth his squyer for to
vysite his lord, and maad hys squyer to vnclothe hym &
to lye in the lede of his lord, and maad his lorde to rise
and clothe hym wyth the clothes of his squyer / And in
this wyse brought hym out, braklyng and letyng hym
as his seruaunt by them that were asigned to kepe the
hows of patharich that he shold not escape, which suposid
that hit had been his squyer that he entreed so outrage;
ously, and so he brought hym vnto his hows which Joy
ned wyth the walles of the toun. And at mydnyght
when al men were a slepe, he lete a wony his maistre by a
corde, which took an hors out of the pasture and fledc
vnto the cyte of aast & there cam to the kyng of fraunce
And whan it cam vnto the morne, hit was founden that
enulphus and his squyer had deceyued the kyng and the
watchemen, whom the kyng cõmaunded shold be brought
tofore hym / and demaunded of them the maner how he
was escapyd, and they tolde hym the trouthe / Thenne
the kyng demaunded his counceyl of what deth they had de
seruyd to dye that had so wony and wrought agayn the
wylle of hym, Somme said that they shold ben hongedy
& sõme said they shold be flayn, and other saidy that they
shold be beheed. Than said the kyng by that lordy that
maad me, they ben not worthy to dye. but for to haue

moche worshyp and honour, For they haue ben trewe to theyr lord. Wherfore the kyng gaf hem a grete lawde and honour for theyr feet. And after hit happend that the pro pre 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 wherof he was lord and duc. Thus ought the knyghtes to loue to gyder. & eche to put his lyf in auenture for other. ffor so been they the stronger and the more doubtedy. lyke as were the no ble knyghtes Joab andy abysay that fought ageynst the syryens and amonytes and were so trewe that one to that other that they vaynquysshed theyr enémyes. Andy were so ioyned to gyder that yf the siriens were stronger thene that one of them. that other helpe hym. We rede that damon andy phisias were so right parfight frendes to gy der that whan dionysius whiche was kyng of zecille hady Jugged one to deth for his trespaas in the cyte of siracu & sane whom he wold haue executedy. he desiredy grace & leue to goo in to his contre for to dispose and ordeyne his testa ment. And his felawe pledgyd hym andy was sewrte for hym vpon his heed that he sholdy come agayn/wherof 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 lineve 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 wherof the kyngy was gretely abusshyd. and for the grete trouthe that was foundey in hym. he pardonyd hym andy

prayed hem bothe that they wold receyue hym as theyr
grete frende and felowe · lo here the vertues of loue, that
a man ought not to doubte the deth for his frende / Lo
What it is to doo for a frende, and to lede a lyf vertuoyr /
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 retayned hit faste & mayntened
hit alwey, Scipion of affrique saith that there is no
thyng so strongue 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 vnto his synguler prouffyt by his couetyse · he dys-
pyleth his peple / For whan the souldyours se that they
put hem in parel, and their mayster wyl not paye hem
theyr wages lyberally / 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
vyctorye that his auarye is ofte tymes cause of his con-
fusion / Thenne lete euery knyght take hede to be lyberalle
in suche wyse that he wene not ne suppose that his scarcete
be to hym a grete wynnyng or gayn / And for thys cause

he be the lasse louyd of his peple, and that his aduersa;
rye withdrawe to hym them by large geuyng. For ofte
tyme bataylle 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 achyeued by force of
nature they gotten and achyeued by force of money. And
for so moche it behoueth to see wel to that whan the tyme
of bataille cometh that he 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 boty be comune vnto them. And therfore
auyd that gentyl knyght in the first book of kynges in
the last chappytre made a lawe. that he that abode behynde
by maladye or sekenes in the tentes shold haue as moche
parte of the butyn as he that had ben in the bataylle. And
for the loue of this lawe he was maady afterward kyng
of Israel. Alixandre of macedone cam on a tyme lyke
a symple knyght vnto the court of porus kyng 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 demaundedy of hym many thynges of Alix-
ander and of his constance and strengthe. nothyng we
nyng that he hady ben alixander. but antygone one of
his knyghtes, and after he had hym to dyner. and whan
they had seruyd alixander in tessayl of goldy and syluer
with dyuerse metes. After that he had eten suche as plesid
hym he boyed the mete & tokie the tessayl and holde hit to

hym self and put hit in his besom or sleuys. Wherof he was accusid vnto the kyng. After dyner thene the kyng callyd hym and demaunded hym wherfore he had taken hys vayssayl, and he answerdy. sir kyng my lordy I pray the to vnderstonde and take heed thy self & also thy knyghtes I haue herd mochc of thy grete hyghnes, and that thou art more myghty and puyssaunt in chevalrye and in dispencis than is Alixaunder. and therfore I am come to the a poure knyght which am named Antygone for to serue the. Than hit is the custome in the courte of Alixander that what thyng a knyght is seruydy with, alle is hys mete and vaissel andy cupe. and therfore I had supposidy that this custome had bey kept in thy court, for thou art richer than he / Than the knyghtes herde this, anone they lefte prus, and went to serue Alixaunder, andy thus he drewe to hym the hertes of hem by yeftes, which after; ward slewe prus that was kyng of ynde. and they maad Alixandre kyngy therof. Therfore remembre knyght allwey that with a closid and shette purse shalt thou neuer haue victorye, Ouyde saith that he that taketh yeftes, he is glady therwith, For they wynne with yeftes the hertes of the goddes andy of mey, For yf Juppyter were angrid, with yeftes he woldy be plesid. the knyghtes ought to be stronge not onely of body but also in corage. there bey many stronge andy grete of body, that bey faynt andy feble in the herte / he is stronge that may not be vaynquyssed andy ouercome, how wel that he suffrith mochc other; while, Andy so we beleue that they that be not ouergrete ne ouer litel bey most corageous andy beste in batayllc,

We rede that cadrus duc of athenes shold haue a bataylle agayn them of pliye / And he was warned and had a re: uelacion of the godes / that they shold haue the victorye of whom the prynce sholdy be slayn in the bataylle. And the prynce whiche was of a grete corage and trewe herte took other armes of a pure man / and put hym self in the fronte of the bataylle to thende that he myght be slayn and so he was / For the right trewe prynce hady 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 hoppy to haue a better thyng therfore / Therfore the lawe sayth that they lyue in her soules gloriously that ben slayn in the warre for the comyn wele. A knyght ought also to be merciful & pietous / For there is no thyng that maketh a knyght so renomedy as is whan he sauyth the lyf of them that he may slee / For to shede and spylle blood is the condycion of a wylde beste and not the condycion of a good knyght Therfore we rede that scilla that was duc of the romayns which out had many fair victories agaynst the romayns & within that were contrarye to hym in so moche that in the bataylle of puylle he slewe xviij thousandy men. And in champayne lxx thousandy / and after in the cyte he slewe thre thousand men vnarmedy. & whan one of his knyghtes that was named Quyntus catulus sawe this cruelte sayd to hym / Sesse now and suffre them to lyue andy be merciful to them wyth whome we haue ben victorious. & wyth whom we ought to lyue / For it is the most hyest

and fair rengeaunce 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 Abner, and abner was raynquyssched and fledde. For where that he went in the chase he comaundedy 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 werkie, For no crafty man may lothe entende to his crafte and to fight/How may a crafty may entende to his werkie 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 dispencis. how sholdy a plow may be sewre in the felde but yf the knyghtes made daylye 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 mey 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 expencis of them lothe. We rede that athis saydy to dauyd which was a knyght. I make the my kepar & defendar al dey. thus shold the knyghtes haue grete zele that the lawe be kept. For the magestie

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, Turgeus pompeus reherith
of a noble knyght named ligurgyus that had made auni
cient lawes the whiche the peple wold not kepe ne obserue
for they semed hard for them to kepe, and wold constreyne
hym to rapelle & sette hem a parte. Whan the noble knyght
sawe that, he dyd the peple to vnderstonde 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 wolde ỳ
no wyse kepe them. And than he sayd to them that it were
goody that or the sayd lawes shold be broken that he hady
gyuen to them, that he shold goo and speke wyth the god
Apollo, For to gete of hym a dispensacion to breke hem
and that the peple shold kepe and obserue them tyl that he
retorned agayn, the peple accorded thato and swore that
they shold kepe them vnto the tyme he retornedy than the
knyght went ỳ to grece ỳ exyle andy dwellydy there alle
his lyf. And whan he shold dye he cõmaundedy that hys
body sholdy be cast ỳ the see, for as moche as yf his body
shold be borne theder, the peple sholdy wene to be quyt of
theyr othe. and shold kepe no lenger his lawes that were
so good & resonable. that the knyght had leuer to forsake
his owne contre & to dye so than to repele his lawes.
and his lawes were suche. The first lawe was that the pe
ple sholdy obeye andy serue the prynces. And the pryn:
ces sholdy kepe the people andy do Justyce on the malefac
tours, the second lawe that they shold be al sobre. For

he wyst wel that the labour of chevalrye is most stronge
whan they lyue sobrely/the thyrd was that no man shold
bye ony thyng for money but they shold chaunge ware for
ware /and one marchandyse for another/the fourth was
that men sholdy sette nomore by money ner kepe hit more
than they wold dunge or filthe /the fifthe he ordeyned for
the comyn wele alle thynge by ordre / that the prynces
myght meue and make batayllle by her power . to the mais
ters counceylloure he comysedy 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
richer thã other in patrimony/ the vij that euery man shold
eete lyke wel in comyn oppynly . that richesse sholdy not be
cause of luxurye whan they eete secretly · the viij that the
yonge peple shold not haue but one gowne or garment in
the yere /The ix that men shold sette poure childrey to la /
boure in the felde to thende that they sholdy not enploye
theyr yongthe in playes andy folye but in labourc . The
tenthe that the maydens shold be maried wythout wwaire
in suche wyse that no man shold take a wyf for money .
The xj that men shold rather take a wyf for her goody ma
ners andy vertures than for her richesses ,the xij that men
shold worshyp the olde & auncient men for theyr age andy
more for theyr wysedom than for her riches/ This knyght
made none of thyse lawes but he first kepte hem /.

The wokes which bey vycayrs andy legates of the
kynge, ought to be maad a knyght vpon ay hors &
a mantel and hood furrid with meneuier holdyng a staf in
his hand / & for as moche as a kyng may not be in al pla
ces of his wyame, therfore the auctorite of hym is gyuen
to the wokes. which represente the kyng. & for as moche
as a wyame is grete andy large, andy that rebelkyon or
noueltees myght sourde and aryse in one partye or other,
therfore, ther bey two wokes one on the right syde andy
that other on the lift syde. They ought to haue in hem pyte
Justice, humylite, wylful puerte / andy lyberalyte,

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 do no right, Wherfore the kynges otherwhyle lose theyr reames wyth out theyr culpe or gylte / For an vntrewe Juge or offycer maketh his lord to be named vniuste and euyl / & contrarye wyse a trewe mynystre of the lawe and rightwys / causeth the kyng to be reputed Just & trewe, The romayns ther / forr maad good lawes and wold that they shold be Juste and trewe, and they that establisshid them for to gouerne the people. 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 Themystyces which came to the counceyll ouers of athenes and sayd that he knewe a counceyl which was right proffytable for them But he wold telle hit but to one of them whom that they wold. And they assygned to hym a wyse man named aristydes. And whan he had vnderstonde hym he cam agayn to the other of the counceyl, and sayd that the counceyl of themystides was wel proffytable but hit was not Just / how be hit ye may reuolue hit in your mynde / and the counceyl that he sayd was thys. that there were comen two grete shippes fro lacedome and were arryued in theyr londe, & that hit were good to take them / & whan the cōuceyl herde hym that sayd, that hit was not Justenes right, they left hym al in pees & wold not haue a do 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 the;
fore / We haue an ensaumple of marcus regulus Whewof
Tullyus reherceth 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 vaynquysshed and
taken · Than hit happend that they of cartage sent hym in
her message to rome for to haue theyr prysoners there / for
them that Were taken. and so to chaunge one for another /
And made hym sWere and promyse to come ageyn. And
so he came to rome / and made proposicion tofore the senate
And demaunded them of cartage of the senatours to be
chaunged as afore is sayd / and than the Senatours de
maunded hym What counceyl he gaf. certeyn sayd he I
counuceyll yow that ye wo hyt not in no Wyse. For as
moche as the peple of rome that they of cartage holde in
pryson of yours / Bey olde men and brusid in the Warre
as I am my self / But they that ye holde in pryson of
theyr peple is alle the flowre of alle theyr folke Whyche
couunceyl they took. & than his frendes Wold haue holden
hym & counceilled them to abyde there & not returne agayn
prisoner in to cartage / but he Wold neuer do so / ner 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 reherceth in the vj book of one
emelie duc of the romayns. that in the tyme Whan he hady
assiegid the phalistes. the scole maistre of the children de;
ceyuyd the children of the gentilmen that he dreWe hym a
litil & a litil vnto the tentis of the romayns by fayr speche

And sayd to the duc emelye + that by the moyan of the
chyldren that he had brought to hym . He sholdy haue the
cyte . For theyr faders were lordes and gouernours /
Whan emelye hady herde hym he said thus to hym / Thou
that art euyl and cruel . And thou that woldest gyue a
gyfte of grete felonye andy of mauastye , thou shalt ner
hast not founden here / duc ne peple that resembleth the .
We haue also wel lawes to kepe in batayle and warre / as
in our contrees and other places / And we wol obserue
and kepe them vnto euery may as they ought to be kept
and we bey armedy ayenst our enemyes that wol defende
them . andy not ayenst them that can not saue their lyf
whay their contre is takey . as thise litil childrey , Thou
hast vaynquyssed them as mochc as is in the by thy newe
decepuable falsnes & by subtilnes & not by armes / But I
that am a womayn shal vaynquysse the by craft & strength
of armes / Andy anone he comaunded to take the saydy
sole maister andy to bynde his handes behynde hym as a
traytour and lede hym vnto the parentis of the chyldrey /
And whan the faders and parentes sawe the grete curtoy /
sye that he hady don to them / They opened the yates and
yeldedy them vnto hym . We rede that Hanybal had ta:
key a prynce of rome whyche vpon his othe & promyse suf
fred hym to goo home / & to sende hym hys raunson . or he
shold come agayn within a certeyn tyme / & whan he was
at home in his place / he said that he had decepued hym by a
false oth / Andy whay the senatours knewe therof / they
constraynedy 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 labour that he wold enpoy-
sone pirrus his mayster. Whan fabricius vnderstood this
he dydy to take hym andy bynde hym handy and foot/andy
sent hym to his maistre & dyd to sayto hym word for word
like as the phisicien had said and promysed hym to do, &
Whan pirrus vnderstood this he was gretly admeuaylid
of the loyalte and trouth of fabrice his enemye. and said
certeynly that the sonne mynght lightlyer & sonner be en-
pesshid of his cours. thenne fabrice shold be letted to holde
loyalte andy trouthe. yf they than that were not crysten
were so Justé and trewe and louyd theyr contrey & theyr
good renomee. What shold we now doy than that been
Cristen. andy that our lawe is sette al vpon loue andy
charite/ but now a dayes there is no thynge ellis in the
world but/ barate tresō/ deceit falsenes & trecherye mē kepe
not their couenaunces/ promyses. othes/ writyngis/ ne
trouth/ the subgettis rebelle agayn their lord. ther is now
no lawe kepte. nor fydelyte/ ne othe holdey. The people
murmure andy ryse agayn theyr lord andy wol not be
subget/ they ought to be pietous in herte/ whiche is a-
uaylable to alle thyngy/ There is pyte in effect by com-
passyon/ andy in worde by remyssyon andy pardon/ By
almesse. for to enclyne hym self vnto the poure/ For
pyte is no thyng ellis but a right grete wylle of a deb-
nayr herte for to helpe alle meny/ Valerius rehercith that
there was a Juge named sangis whiche dampned a wo-
man that hady deseruydy the deth for to haue her heed smy-
ten of or ellys that she sholdy dye in pryson.

The Jayler that had pyte on the Woman put not her anon
to deth but put her in the prysou ⁺and this Woman hady a
doughter Whiche came for to see andy comforte her moder /
But alWey or she entrid in to the prison the Jayler ser /
chyd hyr that she shold here no mete ne drynke to her mo /
der .but that she shold dye for honger . than hit happendy
after thys that he merueyled moche Why this Woman dy;
ed not/and began to espye the cause Why she lyuyd so long
And fonde atte laste how her doughter gaf sowke to her
moder.and fede her with her mylke /Whan the Jayler sawe
thys merueyle /he Went and tolde the Juge / And Whan
the Juge sawe this grete pyte of the doughter to the mo /
der he pardonedy her andy made her to be delyuerd out of her
pryson /What is that ⁺that pite ne amolissheth/moche peple
Wene that it is agaynst nature andy Wondre that the
doughtre shold gyue the moder to souke . hit Were agaynst
nature but the childrey shold be kynde to fader andy 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 sorowful / for so moche as thou Woldest haue no pyte
of thy self/But enioye the for thou art falley in the hande
of a right debonair prynce/ also he recoūteth When pompee

had conquerdy the kyngy of germanye that oftey tymes had foughtey ayenst the romayns, & that he was brought to fore hym bounden, He was so pyetous that he wold not suffre hym to be longe on his knees tofore hym. but he receyued hym curtoysly. andy sette the crowné agayn on his heed and put hym in the state that he was tofore.

For he hady oppynyon that it was as worshypful andy sittyngy to a kyng to pardone, as to punysshe, Also he re herceth of a counceyllour that was named poule that dydy do bryngé tofore hym a man that was prysoner / And or he kneliid tofore hym he toke hym vp fro the grounde andy made hym to sitte besyde hym for to geue hym good espe; raunce and hope, andy sayd to the other stondyngy by, in thys wyse /yf hit be grete noblesse that we shewe our self contrarye to our enemyes. than this fete ought to be alo; wed that we shewe our self debonayr to our captyfs andy prisoners, Cesar whan he hard the deth of cathon whiche was his aduersarye saydy that he had grete enuye of hys glorye. and no thyngy of his patrymonye; andy therfore he lefte to his chyldren frely al hys patrymonye, Thus taught virgyle andy enseygneth the glorious prynces to rewle and gouerné the peple of rome. and sayné Austyn de ciuitate dei sayth thus, Thou emperour gouerne the pe ple pyetously /and make pees oueralle /deprte and forbere thy subgettis, repreue andy correcte the prowde, For so enseyne and teche the the lawes. Andy hyt was wryten vnto alexaunder. that euery prynce ought to be pyetous in punysshyng, and redy for to reward, ther is no thyng that causeth a prynce to be so beloyd of his peple. as whan

he spekyth to hem swetely, and conceruyth wyth hem sym
ply, and al this cometh of the wete of pyte.
We rede of the emperour traian that his frendes repre
uyd hym of that he was to moche prye and familiet
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 allsander
that on a tyme he lade his host forth hastely, & in that
haste he behelde where satte an olde kinyght that was sore
acolde, whom he dyd to aryse and sette hym in his owne
sete or siege. What wondre was hit though the kinyghtes
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 which sayth, the greter or
in the hyer astate that thou art, so moche more oughtest
thou be meker and more humble. Valerius reherceth in his
viij book that ther was an emperour named Publius ce-
sar, that dyd wo bete down his howse whyche was in the
mydes of the market place for as moche as hit was hy-
er than other howses, For as moche as he was more
glorious in estate than other, therfore wold he haue a
lasse howse than other, and scipion of affrique that was
so pure of valuntarye pouere that whan he was dede. He
was buryed at the dyspenais and costes of the comyn
goody, They shold be so humble that they shold leue theyr
offyces, and suffre other to take hem whan her tyme co-
meth, and wo honour to other. For he gouerneth wel the
wyame that may gouerne hit whan he wyl. Valerius reher
cith in his iij book that fabyan the grete had ben mayster

counceyllour of his fader his graunfire, And of his
graunfirs fader and of alle his antecessours, And yet
dyd he al his payn and labour/ that his sone shold neuer
haue that offyce after hym. But for no thynge that he
mystrusted his sone for he was noble and wyse and more
attempered than other, but he wold that the offyce shold
not alwey reste in the famylye and howse of the fabyans
Also he rehercth in his seuenth book that they wold ma
ke 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 kyng of so subtyl engyne
that whan men brought hym the crowne tofore that he to/
ke 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 paryllees 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. thēne haue sōme 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 con/
streyned to take hit vpon hym, and sayd to hys frendys
hit is better and more to prayse and alowe for a man to

take thempyre agaynst his 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 warre, 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-
herseth that the frendes of Tyberius meruaylled moche
why he held his officers so longe in theyr offyces wyth
out chaunchyng. And they demanded of hym the cause
to whom he answerd I wolde chaunge them gladly. yf I
wyst that hit shold be good for the peple / But I sawe on
a tyme a man that was wyneous and ful of sores. and
many flyes satte vpon the sores and soukedy hys bloody
that hit was meruayle to see. wherfore I smote & chased
them away / and he than sayd to me why chasest & smytest
thou away thyse flyes that ben ful of my blood / & now
shalt thou lete come other that be hongrye which shal won
to me double payne more than the other dyd. for the prick
of the hongry is more poygnaunt the half. thenne of the
fulle / And therfore sayde he I leue the offycers in theyr
offyces. For they ben al riche / and do not so moche euyll
& harme / as the newe shold do and were poure yf I shold
sette hem in her places. They ought also to be paciente in
herynge of wordes and in suffryng payne on her bodyes. as
to the first / one sayd to alisaunder that he was not wor-
thy to reigne / specially when he suffred that lecherye and

velyte 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 kallydy wherof he
had displasir so grete that he kempt hys heeris that laye
on 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 kallydy /
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 reprochydy
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 /
swerdy yf I were one thou woldest not say so. A knyghte
callyd on a tyme scipyon 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 sōner chauuge
his skyn andy heer. than thou sholdest chaunge thy lyf.
For the lenger thou lyuest the more thou coueytest / and
he answerd of thyse wordes we ought to laughe / But we
ought to amende our self / and punysshe the trespaces /
Senecie rehercith that the kyng antygonus herde certeyn
peple speke and say euyl of hym. andy there was betwene
hym nomore but a courtyne / and than he saydy make an
ende of your euyl langage lest the kyngy here you. for

the courtyne herryth you wel y nough. than as touchyng
to the paynes that they ought to suffre paciently/ Valerius
reherceth that a tyraunt dyd to torment Anamaxymenes
and thretenyd hym for to cutte of his tunge. to whom he
sayd hit is not in thy power to do so. and forthwith he
bote of his owne tongue, and chewid hit with his tethe
and caste hit in the vysage of the tyraunt. hit is a grete
vertu in a man that he forgete not to be pacient in correc/
cions of wronges. hit is better to leue a gylty man vn/
punysshed. than to punysshe hym in a wrath or yre.
Valerius reherceth that archytas of tarente that was mayst
er to plato sawe that his feldes and landes were destroy/
ed and lost by the necligence of his seruaunt, to whom
he sayd yf I were not angry with the I wolde take venge
aunce and turmente the. lo there ye may see that he hadd
leuer to leue to punysshe, than to punysshe more by yre &
wrath than by right. And therfore sayth seneque, do not
thyng that thou oughtest to do whan thou arte angrye
For whan thou art angry thou woldest do alle thynges
after thy playsir/ and yf thou canst not vaynquysshe thyn
yre. than must thyn yre ouercome the. After thys ought
they to haue wylful puerte/ lyke as hit was in the aun/
cient prynces. For they coueyted more to be riche in wytte
and good maners thenne in money. And that reherceth
Valerius in his viij book that Scyppon of affryque was
accused vnto the senate that he shold haue grete tresour.
And he answerdy certes whan I submysed affrique in to
your peste. I helde no thyng to my self that I myght
say this is myn saue onely the surname of affrique. Ne

the affriquans haue not founden in me ner in my broder
ony auarice / ner that we were so couetouse that we hadyn
ne had greter enuye to be riche of name than of richesses
Andy therfore sayth Seneque that the kyng altagone
lyed gladly in his holes vessels of erthe / Andy somme
sayd he dyd hit for couetyse / but he sayd that hit was bet
ter and more noble thynge to shyne in good maners than
in vasseylle / And whan some men demaunded hym why
for what cause he dydy so / he answerd I am now kyng of
Secylle . and was sone of a potter / andy for as moche as
I doubte fortune / for whan I yssued out of the holes of my
fader and moder . I was sodaynly made riche / wherfore I
beholde the natyuyte of me and of my lignage / whyche is
humble andy meke . and al these thynges cometh of wyl
ful pouerte / For he entendedy more to the comyn proffyt
than to his owen . Andy of this pouerte speketh Sayne
Augustyn in the book of the cyte of gody that they that
entende to the comyn proffyt . sowlde more that wylful
pouerte is lost in rome . than the richesses of rome / for by
the wylful pouerte was the renomee of good maners
kepte entierly / thus by this richesse pouerte is not onely
corrupt in thyse dayes ner the cyte ner the maners / But
also the thoughtes of the men ley corrupt by this couetise
and by felonye that is worse than ony other enemye / and
of the cruelte of the peple of rome speketh the good man
of noble memorye John the monke late cardynal of rome
in the secretal the sixte in the chappytre gens scā where he
sayth / that they ley felons ayenst god / contrarye to holy
thynges / trayters one to that other . Enuyous to her

neyghbours. proud vnto straungers. rekk and vntrowe vnto their souerayns, not suffryng to them that keep of lower degree than they & no thyng shamefast to demande 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 ley large in promysyng and smale gyuers, thyy ley right fals receyuours, and right mordent and bytyng detractours. For whiche thyng hit is a grete sorowe to see the humylite the pacyence. and the good wysdom that was wonte to be in this cyte of rome whiche is chyef of al the world & is peruerted and torned in to malebeurte & 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 after the decretale of seygnorye and dysobeysaunce, that sayth. that suche thynges that the souerayns do. is lightly and sone taken in ensaumple of theyr subgettis. also thyse bycayres shold be large and liberall. in so moche that suche peple as serue them ley duly payd and guerdoned of her labour. For euery man doth his labour the better & lightlyer when he seeth that he shal be wel payed and rewarded And we rede that titus thesone 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 more thenne he myght gyue, He answardy for as moche as it apertayneth not to a prynce that ony man sholdy departe sorowful or tryste fro hym, Than hit happend on 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 won no good + and also
we rede of Julius cesar that he neuer sayd in alle hys lyf
to his knyghtes goo on. but alway he sayd come come.
For I loue alway to be in your companye / And he knewe
wel that it was lasse payne and trauayle to the knyghtes
when the prynce is in her companye that loueth hem & comforteth hem. and also we rede of the same Julyus cesar in the book of trupes 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 calleyd cesar on a tyme and sayd to hym tofore al men that he sholdy be his aduocate. And cesar delyuerydy and assygned to hym a right good aduocate. and the knyght sayd to hym, O cesar I put no vycayr in my place when thou were in pe; ryl in the batayl of assise / but I faught for the. & than he shewyd to hym the places of his wounde that he hady receyued in the batayle. 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 do for them that had seruyd hym / they that can not do so moche as for to be beloyd 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 labourers & werkmen &c

Or so moche as noble persones can not rewle ne go f uerné without the seruyse and werke of the people Than hit behoueth to deuyse the oultrages and the offyces of the werkmen. than I shal begynne first at the first pawn that is in the play of the chesse, & signefieth a man of the comyn peple on fote. for they be al named pietons that is as moche to say as footmen, And thenne we wyl begynne at the pawn whyche standeth tofore the woste on the right syde of the kyng. For as moche as thys pawne apertyneth to serue the bycayre or lyeuetenaunt of the kyng and other officers. Under 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 wode in the lyft hand
the spade or shouel is for to delue and labour therwyth the
erthe. and the wode is for to dryue and conduyte wyth al
the bestys vnto her pasture / also he ought to haue on hys
gyrdel a sarpe or cwkyd hachet for to cutte of the superflu-
ytees of the vignes and trees / And we rede in the bible
that the first labourer that euer was. was cayn the first
sone of adā that was so euyl that he slewe his broder abel
For as moche as the smoke of his aches went strayt vn
to heuen, and the smoke and fume of the tythes of cayn
went doun ward vpon the erthe. and holb wel that thys
cause was trewe. yet was there another cause of enuye
that he had vnto his broder / For when Adam theyr fader
maryed them for to multeplye the erthe of his lygne / he
wold not marye ner Joyne to gyder the two that were
borne attonce. but gaf vnto cayn her that was born with
abel. and to abel her that was borne wyth cayn. & thus
he gan thenuye that cayn had ayenst abel / For hys wyf
was fayrer than cayns wyf / and for this cause he slewe
abel wyth the cheketbone of a beste / And at that tyme
was neuer no maner of yron blody of mannes blody.
And Abel was the fyrst martir in the olde testament.
and thys sayd cayn dyd many other euyl thynges whiche
I leue, for it apertayneth not to my mater. but it behoueth
for necessyte that some shold labourc the erthe, after the
synne of adam / for to fore or adam synned / therthe brought
forth fruyt without labour of handes but sithe he synned

hit must neds be labured With the handes of men / & for as moche as the erthe is moder of al thynges / and that We were first formedy & took our begynnyng of the erthe / the same Wyse at the last / she shal be the ende vnto al vs & to al thynges. & god that formed vs of the erthe. hath ordeyned that by the labour of men she shold gyue nourysshyng vnto al that lyueth / & first the labourer of therth ought to knowe his god that formed & made heuen & erthe of nought / and ought to haue loyalte & trouth in hym self and despise deth for to entende to his labour. and he ought to geue thankynges to hym that made hym & of whom he receyueth al his goodes temporal / Wherof his lyf is sustey ned. and also he is bounden to paye the dismes & tythes of al his thynges. and not as cayn dyd. but as abel dyd of the beste that he chose out al wey for to gyue to god and to plese hym / for they that grutche and be greued in that they rendre & geue to god the tienthes of her goodes / they ought to be aferd and haue drede that they shal falle in necessyte / And that they myght be despoylyd or robbyd by warre or by tempest that myght falle or happen in the contray / And hit is no merueylle though hyt so happen / For that may 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 habounderh 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 symple & one of the comyn peple that whan fortune had enhaunced & sette hym in grete estate. he left & forgate his god/& fyll to adyoultrie & homycide & other synnes/than anone his owne sone absalon assaillid & began to persecute hym/& than when he sawe that fortune was contrarye to hym/he began to take agayn 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 māna & flesh. & when they were replenyssyd & fatte of the flesh of bestes & of the manna they made a calf of gold & worshipped hit. which was a grete synne & inyquyte. for when they were hongry they knewe god. & when theyr bellies were fillied & fatted. they forgid ydolles & were ydolatreres. after this euery labourer ought to be faithful and trewe/that when his maister delyuereth to hym his lande to be laboured/that he take no thyng to hym self but that he ought to haue & is his. but laboure truly and take cure & charge in the name of hys maystre/and do more diligently 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 crafts and occupacons ben ordeyned not only to suffise to the only. but to ỳ comyn. & so it happeth oft tyme that the labourer of the erth vseth grete & boistous metis/& bryngeth to his maister more subtile & more deyntyous metes. And valerius rehraith in his fyst book that there was a

Wyse and noble maistre that was named anthonius that
was accusid of a cas of auoultry. & as the cause hengé
tofore the Juges / his acusers or denonciatours brought
a labourer that closed his lande for so moche as they sayd
whan his maister went to do the adoulterye / this same
seruaunt bare the lanterne / wherof Anthonius was sore
abasshid. & doted that he shold depose agaynst hym. But
the labourer that was named papirion said to his maister
that he shold denye his cause hardily vnto the Juges / for
to be tormentid / his cause shold neuer be enpeyred by hym
ne no thyng shold yssue out of his mouth wherof 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 wherof his maister was hurt or noyed / but the
other that acused his maister were punysshed / & papirion
was delyuerd of his paynes. & also telleth Valerius that
there was another labourer that was named penapion /
that seruyd a maister whos name was themes which was
of meruaillous faith to his maister. for hit befel that cer
teyn knyghtes cam to his maisters hows 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 ryngé on his fyngre, & 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 fooles that
daigne not to vse grose metis of labourers. and flee the
cours clothyng and maners of a seruaunt / Euery wyse
may a seruaunt that trewly seruyth his maister is free
and not bonde. but a fool that is ouer proud is bonde.

For the debylite and feblenes of corage that is bwlien in conscience by pryde. Enuye. or by couetyse is right seruy tude yet they ought not to doubte to labourc. for fere and drede of deth no man ought to loue to moche his lyf/ For hit is a foul thyng for a man to renne to the deth for the enuye of his lyf / and a Wyse man and a strongc man ought not to fle for his lyf. but to ysſue. for there is no man that lyueth. but he must neces dye/ & of this speketh claudyan and saith that al tho thynges that the ayre goth about & enuywnneth & alle thyng that the erthe labourcth Al thynges that ben contayned Within the see, al thynges that the flodes bryngc forth / alle thynges that ben norisshed. & al the lustes that ben Vnder the heuen shal departe alle from the World. and al shal goo at his cõmaudement as Wel kynges prynces and al that the World enuywn / neth and goeth about. alle shal goo this Way / Than he ought not to doubte for fere of deth. for as Wel shal dye the ryche as the pure. deth maketh alle thynge lyke and putteth al to an ende. and therof made a noble versefyer tWo versis Whiche folowe. Forma genus mores, sapiencia res et honores. Morte mant subita sola manent merita. Wherof the englisſh is / beaute, lignage maners. Wysedom. thynges and honoures / shal ben deffetidy by sodeyn deth. no thyng shal abyde but the meritis. & herof fynde We in Vitas patrum that ther Was an erle a riche & noble man that had a sone onely / And Whan thys sone Was of age to haue knoWleche of the laWe. he herde in a sermone that deth spareth none / & as Wel dyeth the yonge as the olde.

And that the deth ought specially to be doubted for thre causes /one was that no man knoweth whan he comyth / and the second nor in what state he taketh a man. And the thyrd he wote neuer whether he shal goo / therfore eche man shold dispyse and flee the world and lyue wel and holde hym toward god. and whan this yonge man herde this thyng / he went out of his contray and fledde vnto a wylderness vnto an hermytage. and whan his fader had loste hym he made grete sorowe / and dyd do enquere & seke hym so moche that atte last he was founden in the hermytage / And thenne his fader cam thider 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 otherwyse 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 moche in the salter the trewe labourers & sayth
thou shalt ete the labour of thyn handes and thou art
blessyd/and he shal wo to the good. And hit behoueth
that the labourer endende to his labour on the werkedayes
for to trauyel and gadre to gydre the fruyt of hys labourc
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 dryue them to the pasture.
The first pastour that euer was, was Abel whyche was
Juste and trewe, and offrid to gody 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 apertayneth to the labourer to
sette and graffe trees and vygnes. and also to plante &
cutte them /and so dyd Noe whyche was the first that
plantedy the vygne after the deluge and floody / For as
Josephus rehercth in the book of naturel thynges, Noe
was he that fonde first the vygne. and he fonde hym byt/
ter and wylde, and therfore he took four maners of blood
that is to wete the bloody of a lyon /the bloody of a lamb
the bloody of a swyne. and the blood of an ape & medlidy
them al to geder with the erthe, And than he cutte the
vigne and put thys about the wete therof, to thende that
the bytterness sholdy be put alley, & that hit sholdy be swete
And whan he hady dronkey of the fruyt of thys vygne.
hit was so goody & myghty that he became so dronke that
he despyledy hym in suche wyse that his pryuy membres

myght he seen ' and his yongest sone cham mocquedy and
skorned hym ' and when noe was awaked and was sobre
and fastyng, he assemblid his sones and shewedy to them
the nature of the vygne and of the wyn ' & tolde to them
the cause why that he had put the blood of the bestes about
the wte of the vigne 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 lamb/ & lecherous as a swyne
and curious and ful of play as an ape, for the ape is of
suche nature that when he seeth one do a thyng he enforc-
eth hym to do the same ' and so dy many when they ben
dronke, they wyl meddle them with al offycers and ma-
ters that appertyne no thyng to them/ and when they ben
fastyng & sobre they can scarcely accomplisse theyr owne
thynges, and therfore Valerian wherreth that of auncient
and in olde tyme women dranke no wyn for as moche as
by dronkenshyp they myght falle in ony filthe or vylony
and as ouyde saith, that the wynes otherwhyle apparayle
the corages in suche manere that they ben couenable to al
synnes which take awey the hertes to do wel ' they make
the pure ' riche as long 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 temprels / & this suffiseth for the labourers '

The second chappytre of the thyrdy tractate treteth of the forme andy manez of the seconds palyne andy of the maner of a smyth capitulo secundo

The second palyn that stondeth tofore the knyght on t the right syde of the kyng hath the forme z fygure of a man as a smyth and that is reson/ for hit apperteyneth to the knyghtes to hane bridellys saddlis spures and many other thynges maad by the handes of smythes and ought to holde an hamer in his right hond/ and in his lift hande a squyer. and he ought to haue on his gyrdel a twel / For by this is signefyedy alle maner of werkmen. as goldsmythes, marchallis. Smythes of alle forges/

forgers and makers of money and al maner of smythes
ley signefyed by the martel or hamer. The carpenters
ley signefyed by the dolabre or squyer, and by the twel
we vnderstonde al masons and kerueers of stones. tylers
and al those that make howses castels and towres/And
vnto al thyse crafty men, hit apertayneth that they be tre
we. wyse and stronge/And hit is nede that they haue in
hem self fayth and loyaulte, For vnto the goldsmythes
behoueth golde and syluer and alle other metallys. yren
and steel to other. and vnto the carpentiers and ma
sons ley put to theyr edefyces the bodyes and goodes of
the peple, and also men put in the handes of the marroners
body and goodes of the peple. and in the garde and sewerte
of them men put body and sowle in the parilles of the see
And therfore ought they to be trewe vnto whom men com
mytte suche grete charge and so grete thynges vpon her
fayth and truste. and therfore sayth the phylosopher. The
that leseth his fayth and leeue, may lose no greter ne
more thynge/and fayth is a soueraryn good and cometh
of the good wylle of the herte and of his mynde. and for
no necessyte wyl deceyue no man. and is not corrupt for
no mede. Valerius rehercith that fabius hadi receyued of
hanybal certeyn prysoners that he holde of the romayns
for a certeyn sōme of money which he promysedi to paye
to the sayd hanybal. and when he cam vnto the senatours
of rome and desyredi to haue the money lente for hem.
they answerdi that they woldi not paye nor lene/and than
ffabius sent his sone to rome and made hym to selle hys
heritage and patrymonye. and sent the money that he

receyuyd therof vnto hanybal, and hady leue andy louydy
lette: to be pure in his contrey of heritage, than of beleue
and fayth. But in thyse dayes it were grete folye to haue
suche affyaunce in moche peple but yf they had bey preuyd
afore / for oftentymes men truste in them by whom they
bey deceyuydy at theyr nede / andy it is to were that these
crafty men and werkmen bey souerayny profytable vnto
the world / and wythout artificers and workmen the world
myght not be gouerned, and kinowe thou verily that alle
tho thynges that bey engendridy on the erthe and on the
see · bey maad andy formed for to do profyt vnto the lig
nage of man. For man was formedy for to haue gene /
racion, that the men myght helpe and profyt ech other /
And here in ought we to folowe nature / For she sheweth
to vs that we shold do comyn profyt one to anothe, and
the first fondement of Justyce is that no man shold noye
ne greue other · but that they ought do the comen profyt
For men say in reproche. that I fee of thyn. I hope it shal
be myn / but who is he in thyse dayes that entendeth more
to the comyn profyt than to his owne / certeynly none but
alwey a man ought to haue drede andy fere of his owne
howse / when he seeth his neyghbours howse a fyre. And
therfore ought men gladly helpe the comyn prouffyt, for
men otherwhyle sette not by a lytyl fyre & myght quenche
hit in the begynnyng / that afterward maketh a grete bla
syng fire & fortune hath of no thyng so grete plesure as
for to torne & werke alwey / & nature is so noble a thyngy
that where as she is she wyl susteyne andy kepe. but thys
reule of nature hath faylledy longe tyme. How wel that

the wree saith that alle the thynges that been ayenst the
lawe of nature ought to be taken awey and put a parte.
And he sayth tofore in the iiij distincion that the ryght
lawe of nature differenceth ofte tymes fro custom & statu
tes establisshyd / For by lawe of nature al thyng ought
to be comyn to euery man, and thys lawe was of olde ty-
me. and men wene yet specially that the twians kept this
lawe. and we rede that the multitude of the twians was
one herte & one sowle. 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 obseruaunces
and al other auowe hem and kepe the wylful poure that
they ben professyd to. For in trouth I haue my self ben
conuersaunt in a religious howse of whyt freres at gaunt
whiche haue al thyng in comyn among them. and not
one richer than another in so mocke 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 delyuerych hit to his ouerest
or procuratour in whiche howse ben many vertuous and de
uout freres / and yf that lyf were not the best & the most
holyest. holy chirche wold neuer suffre hit in religyon.
And accordyng therto we rede in plato whiche sayth that
the cyte is well aud Justly gouerned and ordyned in the
which no man may say by right, by custome ne by ordenaun
ce. thys is myn. But I say to the certeynly that sythen
this custome came forth to say this is myn. and this is
thyn. no man thought to preferre the comyn prouffyt so

moche as his owne. and al Werkuen ought to be Wyse & Wel aduysed so that they haue none enuye ne none euyll suspecion one to another/ For god wyl that our humayn nature be couetous of two thynges /that is of religyon & of Wysedom ,but in this mas ten some often tymes decey / ued ,For they take often tymes religyon & leue Wysedom & they take Wysedom & refuse religion /And none may be kemy and treWe Wyth out other + for it apertayneth not to a Wyse may 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 sorowe of corage that cometh of this ordenaūce of the prouffyt of another man and knowe thou verily that he that is ful of bounte shal neuer haue enuye of another + but thenuyous man seeth and thynketh alWey that euery man is more noble .and more fortunat than hym self/and saith alWey to hym self that man Wynneth more than I /and myn neyghbours haue more plente of bestes / and her thynges multeplye more than myn ,and therfore thou oughtest knowe that enuye is the most grettest deely synne that is ; For she tormenteth hym that hath her Within 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 andy lerture of other, And thus ought
they to kepe them that they take none euyl suspecion. for
a man naturelly whan his affeccion hath suspecion 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 suspecion on hym self / For we rede that dyonyse of
zecyle a tyraunt. was so suspecious that he had so grete
fere and drede. for as moche as he was hated of alle men,
that he put his frendes out of theyr offyces that they hady
andy put other straungers in their places for to kepe his
body, andy chese suche as were right cruel and felons, andy
for fere & doubte of the harbours. he made his doughters
to lerne shaue andy kemb, andy whan they were grete, he
wold not they shold vse ony ryen to be occuppedy by them
but to brenne andy senge his heris / and menacedy them
and durst not truste in them. And in like wyse they hady
none affyaunce in hym. and also he did to enuywnne the
place where he lay with grete dyches and brode lyke a ca/
tel. and he entridy by a drawe bridge whiche closidy after
hym. and his knyghtes laye without with his gardes
whiche watched and kept straytly thys forterresse, & whan
plato sawe thys said dionyse kyngy of zecille thus enuy/
toned and sette about with gardes and watchemen for the
cause of his suspecion / saydy to hym openly tofore alle
men kynge why hast thou don so moche euyl andy harme,
that the behoueth to be kept with so moche peple, & therfore
I say that it apertyneth not to ony man that wylle tru
ly behaue hym self in his werkes to be suspecious, & also
they ought to be strynge and seure in theyr werkys / andy

specially they that ben maysters and mawnners on the see, for yf they be timewus and fordful they shold make aferde them that ben in theyr shippis / that knowe not the perilles. and so hit myght happen that by that drede and fere al men shold leue theyr labour / and so they myght be perissed and dispeyrdy in theyr wrages. For a shyppe is soon perissed and lost by a litil tempest / When the gouernour faylleth to gouerne his shyppe for drede / and an geue no counceyl to other / thenne it is no merusylle. though they be aferde that ben in his gouernaunce. And therfore ought to be in them strengthe. force and wrage and ought to considere the perylls that myght falle. and the gouernour specially ought not to doubte / and yf hyt happyn that ony peril falle / he ought to promyse to the other good hoop. and hit apertyneth wel / that a man of good and hardy wrage be sette in that office. in suche wyse that he haue ferme and seure mynde ayenst the perylles that oft tymes happen in the see. and wyth this ought the mawnners haue good and ferme creaunce and beleue in godd. and to be of good recomforte and of fayr langage vnto them that he gouerneth in suche perellys / And thys suffyseth to you as touchyng the labourers.

The thyrd chappytre of the thyrd book treteth of the office of notaries aduocates skryueners andy dyapers or cloth makers capitulo tercio

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

He must be made like a may that holdeth in his right
handy a payr of sheris / or forcettis / and in the lyfte handy
a grete knyf and on his gurdel a penner & ay ynkhorn .
and on his eere a penne to wryte with / andy that been the
Instrumentis and the offyces that been maad and putte
in wrytyng autentique . andy ought to haue passyd tofore
the Juges as libelles writes condempnacions & sentences
and that is signefied by the scripture andy the penne / and
on that other parte hit apertenyeth to them to cutte clothe
shere . dyght and dye . and that is signefyed by the for ;
cettis or sheris / and the other ought to shaue berdis andy
kembe the heeris . and the other ben couperes . coryers . ta;
wyers / skynners boucheres / and kordwanners . and these
ben signefyed by the knyf that he holdeth in hys handy . &
some of thyse forsaydy crafty men been named drapers or
clothmakers for so moche as they werke with wolle . and
the notaries skynnars Coryours and cordwaners werke
by skynnes and hydes . as perchymyn velume / peltrie and
cordewan / and the taylloures cutters of cloth / weuars .
fullars / dyers . andy many other crafters dauyd and vse
wulle . and al thyse crafty men & many other that I haue
not named ought to do theyr craft and mestier . where as
they ben duly ordeynyd curiously andy trewly / Also there
ought to be amonge thyse crafty men amyable companye
andy trewe honest countenaunce / Andy trouthe in theyr
wordes / Andy hit is to wete that the notaryes been tyght
prouffytable andy ought to be good and trewe for the co ;
myn . And they ought to kepe them from appropryyng to
them self that thyngy that apertenyeth to the comyn /

And yf they be goody 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 processis may come moche prouffit
And also yf they Wryte otherwyse than they ought to do
may enselue moche harme and domage to the comyn /
Therfore ought they to take good hede that they chaunge
not ne corumpe in no wise the content of the sentence / for
than ben they first forsworne, and ben bounden to make a;
mendis to them that by their trecherye they haue endoma;
ged / and also ought they to rede visite & to knowe the sta
tutes / ordenaunces & the lawes of the citees of the contre
where they dwelle and enhabite. and they ought to consi;
dere yf there be ony thyng therin conteyned ayenst right &
reson. and yf they fynde ony thynge contrarie. they ought
to admoneste & warne them that gouerne. that suche thyn
ges may be chaunged in to better estate, for custume esta;
blisshedy ayenst goody maners and ageynst the fayth.
ought not to be holden by ryght. For as hit is sayd in the
decree in the chappytre tofore / all ordenaunce maady 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 co
myn prouffyt or as moche as his owen. but alle drede of
goody is put aback. And they deceyue the symple men /
& drawen them to the courtes disordenatly & constrayne
them to swere and make others not couenable / and in as
semblyng the peple thus to gyder they make mo traysons

in the cytees thenne they make goody alyaunces.
And otherwhile they deceyue theyr souerayns / whan they
may do hit courtly / For there is no thyng at this day
that so mocke greueth rome and Italie as doth the college
of notaryes and aduocates publique / for they kep not of
one accorde. Alas and in Engelond what hurte don the
aduocates men of lawe and attorneyes of court to the co/
myn peple of the reyame as wel in the spirituel lawe as
in the temporalle. how torne they the lawe and statutes
at their plesure / how eete they the peple / how enpouere they
the comynte / I suppose that in alle cristendom are not so
many pletars attorneys and men of the lawe as keep in
englond onely. for yf they were nombrid alle that longe
to the courtes of the chaunserye + kynges kenche + comyn
place + chekier / ressayt / and helle / and the lagge kerars 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 gyder. And admoneste &
warne the cytees eche in his right in suche wyse that they
myght haue pees and loue one wyth another + & Tullyus
saith that frendshyp and goody wylle that one ought to
haue ayenst another for the wele of hym that he loueth.
With the semblable wylle of hym / ought to be put forth
tofore al other thynges. & ther is no thyng so resemblyng
and lyke to the bees that makeyn hony ne so couenable in
prosperite. and in aduersite as is loue. For by loue
gladly the bees holden them to gyder.

and yf ony trespace to that other anone they renne vpon
the malefactour for to punysshe hym. and verray true loue
faylleth neuer for wele ne for euyl, and the most swete &
the most comfortyng thyng is for to haue a frend to who
a may may say his secret as wel as to hym self, but ve-
rayly amytye and frendshyp is somtyme founded vpon
some thyng delectable, and this amytie cometh of yongthe
in the which dwellith a disordynate hete/& otherwhile amy
tie is founded vpon honeste/and this amytie is vertuous/
of the whiche tullyus saith that there is an amytie vertu-
ous by the whiche a may ought to do to his frende al that
he requyreth by reason, for for to do to hym a thyng disho-
nest it is ayenst the nature of verray frendshyp & amytye
And thus for frendshyp ne for fauour a may ought
not to do ony thyngy vnreasonable ayenst the comyn
prouffyt ne ageynst his fayth ne ageynst his othe. For
yf alle tho thynges that the frendes desyre and requyre
were acomplysshedy and don/ hyt sholdy seme that they
sholdy be dyshoneste coniuracions. And they myght o-
therwhyle more greue and hurte than proffyte and ayde.
And herof sayth Seneque that Amytye is of suche wylle
as the frende wylle. And to refuse that ought to be re-
fused by reason. And yet he saith more that a may ought
to alowe & prise 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 ne do to be don to hys
frende no vylayns thyngy that ought to be kept secrete
And Valerian sayth that it is a foule thynge and an
euyl excusasion. yf a may confesse that he hath don ony

euyl for his frende ayenst right and reason. And sayth that there was a good man namedy tassyle which here 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 & amyte when thou wilt not do that thyng that I requyre of the. & tassile answerd to hym. What nede haue I of the fredship & 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 herof men say a comyn prouerbe in englond / that loue lasteth as longe as the money endurith / & when the money faillyth than there is no loue. & varro reherzith in his sōmes / that the riche men ben al loued by this loue. for their frendes ben like as the huske which is about the grayn. and no man may proue his frende so wel as in adueristie / or when he is poure. for the verray 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 prouddy hady a neuewe of his suster which was named brutus. and this neuewe had banysshed tarquyn out of rome and had sent hym in exyle. And than sayd he fyrst that he perceyued and knewe his frendes whych were trewe and vntrewe. & that he neuer perceyued afore tyme when he was puyssaunt for to do theyr wylle / & sayd wel that the loue that they hady to hym / endured not but as longe as hit was to them prouffytable.

and therfore ought al the riche men of the World take here
be they kynges prynces or ducked to What people they wo
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 terseffie thyse two versis · Tempore fe-
lici multi numerantur amici / Cum fortuna perit nullus
amicus erit · Whiche is to say in englysh that as longe
as a man is eWrous and fortunat he hath many frendes
but Whan fortune torneth and perisshyth there abydeth not
to hym one frende. and of thys loue ben loued the mede/
Wes / feldes / trees & the bestys for the prouffyt that men
take of them / but the loue of the men ought to be charite
terray gracious and pure by goody fayth / And the terray
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 demaundedy 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 terely that it is no
lytyl thyng for to haue a frende / and hit is Wel greter &
more a man to haue many / and hit apperteyneth and beho
ueth a man to assaye and preue his frende or he haue nede

and thenne cõmaunded the philosopher his sone ·that he
shold goo and slee a swyne /and put hit in a sacke· and
sayne that it were a man were that he hady slayn and bere
hit to his frendes for to burye hit secrely /And when the
sone had dyn 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 hady 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 when he hady re;
quyred hym ·Anone he put out al his mayne out of hys
howse ·and when they were out of the waye or a slepe · he
dyd to make secrely a pyte in the grounde /and when hit
was redy and wold have 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 verray trewe frende of his fader
And preuyd that his frendes were fals frendes of fortu;
ne · And yet reherceth the sayd piers Alphons ·that there
were two marchaundes one of landach and that other of
Egypt whiche were so ioyned to gedr 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 honuurably ·
And this marchaunt of Egypt hady in his howse a fayre
yonge meyden whom he shold have hady in mariage to
hym self · Of the whiche mayde thys marchaunt of

kandach was espriseḋ with her loue so ardantly that he was right seek, and that men supposid hym to dye. Andy than the other dyd to come the phisisiens which 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 holds that he loued and maad al the women of his holds 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 hady leuer to suffre to be wyth out wyf than to lese the body of his frende, And than he of kandach wedded the mayde. And went with his wyf and with his richesse ageyn in to his contre And after this anone after hit happend that the marchaunt of Egypt became so pure by euyl fortune. that he was constreyned to seche and begge his breed, by the contray in so moche that he cam to kandach, and whan he entrid in to the toun hit was derk nyght that he coude not fynde the holds of his frende, But went and lay thys nyght in an olde temple. And on the morne whan he sholdy yssue out of the temple / the offyceers of the toun arestyd hym and saydy that he was an homycide andy had slayn a man which lay there dede. And anone he confessid hyt wyth a good wylle. and had leuer to ben hangydy. than to dye in that myserable and pur lyf that he suffryd. And thus whan he was brought to Jugement. and sentence sholdy haue ben gyuen ayenst hym as an homycide. His frend of kandach cam and salue hym andy anone kneWe that thys

was his good frende of egypte · And forthwyth stepte
in and sayd that he hym self was culpable of the deth of
this man + and not that other/ and enforced hym in alle
maners for to delyuer and excuse that other / And than
whan that he that had won 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 mater and also the causes he considered the ferme
and trewe loue that was betwene the two frendes / and
vnderstood the cause why that one wold saue that other
and the trouth of the sayte of the homycide . And than he
pardoned al the feet hooly and entierly . And after the
marchaunt of bandach brought hym of egipt wyth hym in
to his hows / And gaf to hym his sister in mariage / and
departed to hym half his goodes . and so bothe of hem were
riche / and thus were they bothe verray faythful and trewe
frendes . Furthermore notaries / men of lawe & crafty
men shold and ought to loue eche other and also ought to
be contynent chaste and honeste / For by theyr craftes they
ought so to be by necessyte . For they conuerse and ac/
companye them ofte tyme wyth women / And therfore hit
apertayneth to them to be chaste and honeste / And that
they meue not the women nor entyse them to lawghe and
Jape by ony dysordynate ensignes or tokenes / Titus li/
uius reherceth that the philosopher democreon dyd wo put
out his eyen for as moche as he myght not beholde the wo
men wyth out flesshly desyre, And how wel it is sayd

before that he dyd hit for other certeyn cause yet was this one of the pryncipal causes · And Valerian tellyth that there was a yong man of rome of right excellent beaulte And how wel that he was right chaste . for as moche as his beaulte meuyd many women to desire hym, in so moche that he understood that the parentes and frendes of them hadyn suspecion in hym , he dyd his visage to be kutte with a knyf and lancettis endlongy and euerthwart for to deforme his visage . and had leuer haue a foolle visage and disformed , than the beaute of his visage sholdy meue other to synne / And also we rede that there was a Nonne a virgyne dyd to put out bothe her eyen + For as moche as the beaute of her eyen meuyd a kyngy to loue her , whyche eyen she sente to the kyngy 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 achadompe a toun , which was not onely destroyedy but also was ful of pestelence , so that by the cure andy charge and customauce of sowle that he there suffrid , myght eschewe the hetes andy occasions of lecherye / Andy many of hys dyscyples dydy in lyke wyse / helemand rehereth that demostenes the philosopher laye ones by a noble woman for his dysprete , and playengy with her , he demaundedy of her what he shold geue to haue to do with her / and she answard to hym a thousand pens . & he saydy ageyn to her I sholdy repente me to bye hit so dere . and whan he aduysedy hym that he was so sore chauffyd to spekke to her for to accomplisshe his flesshly desyre . he despyled hym al nakyd and wente and put hym in the mydes of the snowe / Andy

Ouyde rehercith that thys thynge is the leste that maye helpe and most greue the louers /and therfore sayne augustyn rehercith in his book de ciuitate dei that there was a right noble womayn named Marcellay that wan andy took the noble cite of Siracuse ,And tofore e he dydy wo assayle hit or lefight hit ,e or he had to lesheede ony bloody he wepte and shedde many teeris tofore the cite ,andy that was for the cause that he doubted that his peple sholdy de ; foule and corrumpe to moche dishonestly the chastyte of the couy .and ordeyned vpoy payn of deth that no man sholdy be so hardy to take and defoyle ony woman by force what that euer she were .After thys the crafty men ought to vnderstonde for to be treewe.and to haue trouth in her mouthes ,And that theyr dedes folowe theyr wordes . For he that sayth one thyngy andy doth anothey ,he condempneth hym self by his word , also they oughe to see wel to that they be of one accorde in goody /by entente /by word,audy by dede.so that they be not discordaunt in no caas / But that euery man haue pure leite and trouth in hym self . For god hym self is pure leite / andy men say comynly that trouth seketh none hernes ne cornerz .andy trouth is a lerth by the which alle drede and fraude is put aWey / Men saye trewly when they saye that they knowe .Andy they that knowe not trouthe.ought to knowe hyt, Andy alWey vse trouthe .for saynt austyn sayth that they that wene to knowe trouth . and lyueth euyl andy vyciously it is folye yf he knoweth hit not/andy also he sayth in another place that it is better to suffre payn for trouth, than for to haue a benefete by falsnes or by flaterye.And man

that is callyd a leste resonable and doth not his werkys
after reson and trouthe. is more lestyal than ony leste
brute ⁺and knowe ye that for to come to the trouthe, hit
cometh of a resonable forsight in his mynde ⁺And lyeng
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
dettryne 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 pardurable, and made hem to be cast out of para;
dyse terrestre. For he maady them to beleue that gody had
not forboden them the fruyt/ but onely by cause they shold
not knowe that her mayster knewe. but how wel that the
deuyl sayd thyse wordes/ yet had he double entente to hem
bothe/ For they knewe anone as they had tastyd of the
fruyt that they were dampnedy to th deth pardurable ⁺
And god knewe hit wel tofore ⁺but they supposidy wel to
haue knowey many other thynges, and to be lyke unto
his knowlech 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 rehercith that there
was a good woman of siracusane that wolde not lye vn
to the kyng of Seaille whych was namedy dyonyse ⁺and

this kyng was so ful of tyrannye and so cruel that alle the world desired his deth and cursid hym. Sauf this wo man onely which was so olde that she had seen iij or four kynges reignyng in the contre. and euery mornyng as sone as she was rysen she prayed to god that he wold gyue vnto the tyraunt good lyf and longe, and that she myght neuer see his deth / And whan the kyng dyonyse kneWe this he sent for her, and merueylled moche herof / for he kneWe Wel that he was sore hated / and demaūded her. What cause meuyd hyr to praye for hym / & she answerd and sayd to hym. sir Whan I was a mayde We had a right euyl tyraunt to our kyng of whom We coueyted sore the deth / and Whan he was dede there came after hym a werse / of whom We coueyted also the deth. and Whan We were de/ lyuerd of hym, thou camest to be our lord which art worst of al other. and now I doube yf We haue one after the he shal be worse than thou art / and therfore I shal praye for the, and Whan dyonyse vnderstood that she was so hardy in sayeng the trouth / he durst not do torment her for shame by cause she was so olde.

The fourth chapitre of the third book treth of the manꝛ of the fourth pallꝶ & of the marchaultis or chaũgers a iiij

The fourth pallꝶ is sette tofore the lynch. andꝶ is formed in the forme of a man holdyng in his right hand a balaunce and the weyght in the lyft hand, and tofore hym a table/and at his gurdel a purse ful of money redy for to geue to them that requyredꝶ hit, andꝶ by thys peple ley signefyed the marchauntes of cloth lynnen andꝶ wollen/and of al other marchaundyses, and by the table that is tofore hym is signefyedꝶ the chaungers. and they that lene money/& they that bye andꝶ selle by the weyghe ley signefyed by the balaunces/andꝶ weyghtes/And the

customers/tollars/and receyuours of rentes & of money
ben signefyed by the purse. and knowe ye that alle they
that ben signefied by this peple ought to flee auarice and
couetyse/and eschewe brekyng of the dayes of payment &
ought to holde and kepe theyr promyses. & ought also to
rendre and restore that, that is gyuen to them to kepe/ &
therfore hit is reson that this peple be set tofore the kyng
for as moche as they signefye the receyuours of the tre/
sours ryal that ought alway to be redy tofore the kyng. &
to answer for hym to the knyghtes and to other persones
for theyr wages and souldyes/& therfore haue I said that
they ought to flee auarice. For auarice is as moche to
say as an aduurer or as worshypar of fals ymages/and
hewof sayth tullyus that auarice is a couetise to gete that
thyng that is aboue necessite/and it is a loue disordynate
to haue ony thyng/& it is one of the warst 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/&
hewof 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 whewof this cometh
ne wherfore hit may be/ And hit is a folle thyng and
contrarye to reson. that whan a man is at the ende of his
Journey for to lengthe his viage and to ordeyne more vi
tayl than hym behoueth/& this may wel be likned to the
auaricious wolf. for the wolf doth neuer good tyl he be
dede/and thus it is sayd in the prouerbys of the wyse men

that thauaricious man doth no good tyl that he be dedy.
and he desireth no thynge but to lyue long in thys synne,
for the couetous man certeynly is not good for ony thyng
for he is cuyl to hym self & to the riche & to the pure and
fyndeth cause to gaynsay theyr desire, & herof wherraith se ;
neque & sayth that antigonus was a couetous prynce, &
whan tynque which was his frende requyred of hym a be
saunt / he answerd to hym that he demanded more than hyt
apertenyedy to hym / & than tynque constrayned by grete
necessite avid & 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 besaunt as a kynge to his
frende, and the peny as to a pure man. & ther is no thyng
so litil / but that the humanyte of a kyng may geue hyt /
auarice ful of couetise is a manere of al vices of luxurye
& Josephus wherraith in the book of auicient histories, that
ther was in rome a right noble lady named paulyne / and
was of the most noble of rome. right honest for the no ;
blesse of chastite / which was maryedy in the tyme that
the rommen glorefyedy them in theyr chastyte vnto a
yonge man / fayr. noble. andy riche aboue al other. & was
lyke and semblable to his wyf in al caasis. Andy thys
paulyne was beloyd of a knyght namyd enymerancian
andy was so ardantly cspriseed 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 oy her syde also colde andy harde, as marbyll. But
she hady leuer to refuse his yeftes andy hys promyses.

Than to entende to couetyse and to lose her chastyte / & We rede also in the histories of rome that there was a noble lady of rome which lyued a solytarys lyf & was chaste & honeste . & had gadrid to gedr a grete sōme of golde . and had hyd hit in the erthe in a pytte wyth in her holes / & Than she was ded / the bisshop dyd to burye her in the chirche wel and honestly / and anone after this gold was foūden and bory to the bysshop / and the bisshop had to caste hit in to the pytte where she was buryed . & thre dayes men herd her crye & make grete noyse / & say that she brenned in grete payn and they herd her ofte tymes thus tormentid in the chirche . the neyghbours went vnto the bysshop & tolde hym thewof / & the bisshop gaf hem leue to open the sepulcre . & Than they had openyd hit . they fonde al the golde molten with fire ful of sulphre . & was poured & put in her mouth & they herd one say . thou desiredest this gold by couetyse . take hyt and drynke hit / And thenne they took the body out of the tombe / And hit was cast out in a preuy place . Seneque rehercith in the booke of the crpes of women that auarice is foundement of alle vyces / And Valerian rehercith that auarice is a ferdful garde or kepar of richessis . for he that hath on hym or in his kepyng moche money or other richessis . is alway a ferd to lose hit or to be robbid or to be slayn therfore . & he is not enuous ner happy that by couetise getith hit / & al the euyls of this vice of auarice had a may of rome 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 through the cite of rome. and he boyled the brayn out therof & filled hyt ful of leedy for to weye the heuyar, this was a right horrible & cruel auarice Ptolome kyng of egipciens purseued auarice in another manere. for when anthonie emperour of rome sawe that he was right riche of gold & siluer/ he had hym in grete hate & tormentid hym right cruelly/ and when he shold perisshe by cause of his richessis. he toke al his hauoir & put hyt in a shippe/ & went with alle in to the hye see to thence for to drowne & perisshe there the shippe and his richesses by cause anthonye his enemye sholdy not haue hit, & when he was there he durst not perisshe hit nor myght not fynde in hys herte to departe from hit. but cam & brought hit agayn in to his hows where he receyuyd the reward of deth therfore & with out doubte he was not lord of the richesse but the richesse was lady ouer hym, & therfore hit is said in prouer be that a man ought to seignorie ouer the riches, & not for to serue hit. & yf thou canst rewly vse thy richesse than she is thy chamberer. & yf thou can not departe from hit & vse hit honestly at thy plesure. know be verily that she is thy lady /for the riches neuer satisfyeth the couetous, but the more he hath the more he desireth/ & saluste saith that auarice destroubleth fayth/ peste/ honeste & al thise other goody vertues / And taketh for thyse vertues / pryde /cruelte and to forgete god. and sayth that al thynges be vendable And after this they ought to be ware that they lene not to moche ner make so grete creances by which they may

sake in pouerte, for sayne 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 bowest. & thynke how thou mayst paye & rendre agayn yf thou be riche thou hast no nede to bowe & aye. & it is said in the prouerbis that hit is fraude to take that thou wylt not ner mayst rendre & paye agayn. & also hit is sayd in reproche when I lene I am thy frende / & when I aye I am thyn enemye. as who saith, god at the lenyng / & the deuyll atte rendryng. & seneke saith in his auctorites, that they that gladly bowe, ought gladly to paye. & ought to sur / mounte in corage to loue hem the better by cause they lene hem & ayde hem in her nede. for benefetes & good tornes don to a man, ought to gyue hym thankynges therfore, and moche more ought a man to repaye that is lent hym in his nede. but now in these dayes many men by lenyng of their money haue made of their frendes enemyes. & herof speketh tomas the philosopher & saith that my frende bowed money of me, & I haue lost my frende & my money / there was a marchaunt of gene & also a chaungeour whos name was albert ganor, & this albert was a man of grete trouth and loyalte. for on a tyme there was a man cam to hym and sayd and affermyd that he had delyuerydn in to his hanke v hondred floryns 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. cryé & deffame the said albert / & than this albert callyd to hym this marchaunt and sayd

dre frende take here v hondred florens which thou affer;
mest & sayest that thou hast delyuerd to me. & forthwyth
tolde hem andy tolie hem to hym. & lo this good man hady
leuer to lose his good than his good name and renome.
and this other marchaunt tolie these florens that he hady
wrongfully receyuyd. and enployed them in dyuerse mar
chaundyse in so moche that he gate andy encresid and wan
with them xv thousaud florens / and whan he sawe that
he appwched toward his deth. and that he had no childrey,
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 deyne purueaunce he that had be a theef fraudulent, was
maad afterward a trewe prouwur & atorney of the sayd
albert / but now in thyse dayes there be marchaūtis that do
marchaundise with other mennys money which is takey
to hem to kepe. & whan they hey requyred to repaye hyt,
they haue no shame to denye hit apertly / whewf hit happed
that ther was a marchaūt which had a good & a grete na
me and renome of keppyng wel suche thynges as was de
lyuerdy to hym to kepe. but whan he sawe place & tyme, he
reteynyd hit lyke a theef. so hit befel that a marchaūt of
without forth herd the good reporte & fame of this may,
cam to hym & delyuerd hym grete tresour to kepe / & thys
tresour abode iij yere in his keppyng / & after this thre yere
thys marchaunt came andy requyred to haue his good de
lyuerd to hym agayn. And thys man knewe wel that he
had no record ne witnes to preue on hym this dueté / nor
he hady no obligacion ne wrytyngy of hym thewf.

In suche wyse that he denyed al entierly / and sayd playn
ly he knewe hym not . and whan this good man herd and
vnderstood this . he went sowrfully . and wepyng from
hym so ferre and longe that an olde woman mete with
hym . and demaunded of hym the cause of his wepyng +
and he sayd to her woman hit apertayneth no thyng to the
goo thy waye / And she prayed hym that he wold telle her
the cause of his sowre / 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 which 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 fayné & say that they be ful of golde siluer
and other Jewels . and of moche grete tresour / & thenne
that they bryngé 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 ser 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 thé 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 ne of thy knowleche

This was a grete and good counceyl of a woman / and
verily it cometh of nature often tymes to women to geue
counceyl shortly and vnadvysedly to thynges that ley in
doubte or perilous and nedeth hasty remedye. and as ye
haue herd. this good man dydy. and didy after her coun;
ceyl. and came vpon them when they spack of the mater to
the marchaunt for to delyuer to hym the saydy cofres to
kepe which his frendes hady fayned and requyred of hym
that he had taken to hym to kepe / and than anone the sayd
marchaunt sayd to hym I knowe the nowe wel. for I haue
advysed me that thou art suche a man / and camest to me
suche a tyme / and delyuered to me suche a thynge whyche
I haue wel kept / and thenne callyd his clerk / and bad
hym goo fetche suche a thyngy in suche a place and delyuer
hit to that good man / for he delyuerd hit to me / and than
the good man receyuydy his goody / and went his waye
right joyously and glad. and this marchaunt trichour &
deceyuour was defrauded from his euyl malice. and he ne
had neyther that one ne that other ony thyngy that was
of value. and therfore hit is saydy in prouerbe to defraude
the begiler is no fraude / and he that doth wel foloweth our
lordy / and seneke sayth that charite enseigneth and teycheth
that men shold paye wel / for good payement is somtyme
good confessyon / And this marchaunt trichour and de;
ceyuour resembleth and is lyke to an houndy that bereth
a chese in his mouth when he swymmeth ouer a water,
for when he is on the watre. he seeth the shadowe of the
chese in the watre / and than he weneth hit be andther chese
& for couetyse to haue that. he openyth his mouth to catche

that & than the chese that he bare fallith down in to the Wa
tre · and thus he loseth bothe tho & in the same Wyse Was
seruyd thys marchant receyuour/ for for to haue the cofres
Whiche he had not seen he delyuerdy agayn· that he Woldy
haue holdyn Wrongfully, and thus by his couetise & propre
malyce he Was receyuydy, andy therfore hit appertayneth
to euery goody andy Wyse may to knowe and considere in
hym self how mochy he hath receyued of other men, & Vpon
What cōdycion hit Was delyuerd to hym/ and it is to Wete
that thys thyngy appertayneth to receyuours and to chaun
geours · andy to alle trewe marchauntis andy other What
that someuer they be / and ought to kepe theyr bookes of
resaytes and of payementes of Whom and to Whon, & What
tyme and day / and yf ye demaunde What thyngy 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 leleue on none other gody /
But on her richesses theyr herres ben so obstynat· and this
suffyseth of the marchauntes.

The fifthe chapitre of the thyrd book treteth of physi:
aens medecynes spycers and apotiquaries capitulo B

The pawn that is sette tofore the quene signefyeth
t the physicien/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 Incai;
sions and to serche wounds and hurtes, and to cutte apos
tumes. And by thyse thynges ley knowen the surgyens
By the book ley understonden the phisiciens and all gra
matiens. logyciens / maysters of lawe of geometrye,

arsmetrique, musique and of astronomye / and by the ampole ben signefyed the makers of pygmentaries spicers & apotiquaries / and they that make confeccions and confites and medcynes maad with precious spyce / And by the ffaremens and Instrumentis that hangen on the gurdel ben signefyed the Surgyens and the maysters and knowe ye forcertayn that a maystre and physicyen onght to knowe the proporcions of lettres of gramayre, the monemens the conclucions and the sophyms of logique / the gracious speche and veteraunce 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 speculatyf. and the two last that ben practiciens and workes ben callyd physiciens and surgyens / how wel they ben sage and curious in thyse sciences. and how wel that mãnys lyf is otherwhyle put in thordonaunce of the physicien or surgyen / yf he haue not sagesse and wysedom in hym self of dyuerse wrytynges and is not expert / and medlyth hym in the craft of physique / he ought better be callyd a slear of peple than a phisicien or surgyen. For he may not be a maystre but yf he be sewre and expert in the craft of phisike that he slee not moo than he cureth and maketh hole / and therfore sayth auycenne in an anforysme, yf thou cureste the seek man. And knowest not the cause. wherof the maladye ought to be cured. hit ought to be sayd that thou hast cured hym by fortune and hape more than by ony kunnyng. And in al thyse maner of people

ther ought to be meurte of good maners / curtosie of Wor-
des / chastite of the body prompysse of helthe. and as to them
that ben seek contynuel visitacion of them. & they ought
to enquere the cause of theyr sekenessys and the sygnes
and tokens of theyr maladyes as is reherced in the bokes
of the auctours by right grete dyligence, and speciallye in
the bookes of ypocras galiene and of auycene, and When
many maysters and phisicens 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 another. for
to encreche 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 phisicens 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
dispute, And therfore is the phisicien duly sette tofore

the quene . so that it is figured that he ought to haue in
hym self chastyte and contynence of body / For hit apper-
teyneth som tyme vnto the phisicien to vysite and cure
quenes duchesses and countesses and alle other ladyes &
see and beholde some secrete seltenessis that falle and come
other while in the secretis of nature . And therfore hit ap-
perteyneth to them that they be chaste and folowe honeste
and chastyte / and that they be ensaumple to other of good
contynence . For Valerian reherceth 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 compy / and the yongh scolers and the
Joly felawes that were students promysed to the woman
a besaunte yf she myght or coude torne the corage of yp-
cras for to haue to don with her / 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 myght corumpe his chaste lyuyng ne defoule the crowne
of his conscience . and whan the yonge men knewe that
she had ley with hym al the nyght . & coude not chaunge
his contynence . they began to mocque her / and to aye &
demaunde of her the besaunt that they had geuen to her .
And she answerd that hit was holden and gaged vpon
an ymage / for as moche as she myght not chaunge hys
contynence she called hym an ymage / and in semblable
wyse reherceth Valeryan of Scenocrates phylosopher that
there laye with hym a woman alle nyght and tempted
hym dysordonatly / but that right chaste man . made ne /
uer semblaunt to her / ner he neuer remeuyd from hys

ferme purpos/in suche wyse as she departed from hym al
confused and shamed / Cornelius scipion 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 lecherye. wherfore men sayd that he drof
and chased out of the hoost moo than two thousand kour
tellys. and he that was wyse knewe wel that delyte of le/
cherye corupted and apayred the corages of tho men that
ben abandoned to the same delyte / And herof it is sayd
in the fables of the poetes in the first book of the truphes
of the philosophres by figure / that they that entrid in to
the fonteyne of the Sirenes or mermaydens / were corum/
ped and they took them aweye with hem / And also ye
ought to knowe that they ought to entende dylygently to
the cures of the infirmytees in cyrurgerye / they ought to
make theyr plaisters accordyng to the wounde 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 appertyneth to
phisique. for the hete is cured by colde. and the colde by hete
and Joye by sorowe. and sorowe by Joye. and hit happeth
ofte tymes that moche peple be in grete paille in takyng
to mocke Joye and lese her membris. and become half beno/
men in the sodeyn Joye. and ioye is a repleccion of thynge
that is delectable sprad a brode in alle the membres with
right grete gladnes. and al men entende and desyre to
haue the sayd right grete Joye naturelly / but they knowe
not what may ensue & come therof/ and this Joye cometh

otherwhile of vertue of conscience / And the wise man is
not wyth out this ioye / and thys Joye is neuer interupt
ne in defaulte at no tyme . for hit cometh of nature . and
fortune may not take awey that nature geueth / & marcial
sayth that Joyes sugetyues abyde not longe / but fle awey
anone . and Valerian reherceth that he that hath force and
strengthe resonable . hath hit of verray matier of cōplecciōn
and that cometh of loue / and this Joye hath as moche
power to departe the sowle fro the body . as hath the thonder
whereof hit happend that there was a woman named lyna
whiche lady her husbondy in the warre in the shyppys of
the romayns . and she supposid verayly that he was deedy
but hit happendy that he came agayn home . and as he en
trid in to his yate / his wyf mete wyth hym sodaynly not
warned of his comyng / whiche was so glade and Joyous
that in enbracyngy hym she fyl down deedy / Also of ano
ther woman to whom was reportedy by a fals messanger
that her sone was deedy . whiche went home sorowfully to
her howse . and afterward when her sone came to her / as sone
as she sawe hym she was so esmoued wyth Joye that she
deyed tofore hym . but this is not so grete mernayle of
women as is of the men . For the women ben lykenedy
vnto softe wax or softe ayer / and therfore she is callyd
Mulier whiche is as moche to saye in latyn as mollis aer
and in englisch softe ayer / and hit happeth ofte tymes that
the nature of them that ben softe andy mole . taketh sōner
Inpressyon than the nature of men that be rude & strynge
Valerie reherceth that a knyght of rome named instaulo
sus that had newly cōquerid & subdued the yle of corsika

and as he sacrefyed his godes / he receyuyd letres from
the seuate of Rome in which were conteyned dyuerse
supplicacions / the which whan he vnderstood he was so
glad and so enterprised with Joye, that he knewe not
what to do / and than a grete fume or smoke yssued out of
the fire in which he dispayrid and fyl in to the fyre / where
he was anone ded / And also it is sayd that phylomenus
lawghed so sore & distemperatly that he dyed al lawhyng
And we rede that ypocras the phisicien fondy remedye for
thys Joye, For whan he had longe dwelled out of hys
contrey for to lerne kunnyng and wysedom and sholdy
retorne vnto his parentis and frendes / whan he approchyd
nygh them he sent a messanger tofore for to telle to them
his comyng / and comaunded 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 the sone of vaspasian whan he hady
conquerd Jherusalem and abode in the contrees by / he herde
that his fader vaspasian was chosen by al the senate for to
gouerne the empyre of rome / wherfore he had so right grete
ioye that sodenly he lost the strength of al his membris
and became al Inpotent. And whan Josephus that made
the historye of the romayns ayest the Jewys. which was
a right wyse phisicien salve and knewe the cause of this se
kenes of the sayd titus. he enquyred of his folke yf he had
in hate ony man gretely so moche that he myght not here
spekie of hym ne wel se hym, and one of the seruaunte
of tytus sayd that he had one persone in hate so moche, that
ther was no man in his courte so hardy that durst name

hym in his presence. & than Josephus assigned a day wha this man shold come, & ordyned a table to be sette in the sight of titus, & did hit to be replenysshed pletously with al dayntees, & ordyned men to be armed to kepe hym in suche wise that no man shold hurt hym by the comaudement of titus, & ordyned boutelers, cokes, & other officers for to seue 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. & when titus behelde his enemye sette tofore hym with so grete honour, he began to chauffe hym self by grete felonye, and comauded his men that this man shold be slayn, & when he sawe, that none wold obeye hym, but that they alwey seruyd hym reuerently, he wax so ardant. and enbraced 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 vaynes and synewes, And Josephus dyd so moche that he was recouerydy and hole, And that he helde that man no more for hys enemye, But helde hym for a true trewe frende. And afterward maad hym his loyal felowe & companyoun. And the espycers and apticaries ought to make trewly suche thynges as is comaunded to them by the phisicens & they ought tacomplisshe their billes & charge curiously with grete diligence, that for none other cause they sholdy be occupied but in makyng medecynes or confeccons trewly & that they ought vpon paryl of their sowle not to forgete

by neglygence ne rechelesnes to gyue one medecyne for an
other /in suche wyse that they be not sleers of men · And
that they wo put no false thynges in her spices for to en
payre or encrecyng the weyght, for yf they so do they may
better be callyd theuys than esppcers or apticaries, And
they that ben acustumed to make oynementis they ought
to make it properly of trewe stuffe and of good oeure
after the receptes of the auncient actours. and after the
forme that the phisiciens and surgiens deuyse vnto them
also they ought to be ware that for none auayle ne gyfte
that they ought haue /that they put in their medecynes no
thyng venemous ne doyng hurte or scathe to ony persone
of whom they haue no good ne veray knowleche, to thende
that they to whom the medecynes shold be geuen, torne not
to them hurt ne domage/ne in destruccons of their neygh
bours/ & also that they that haue mynystrid tho thynges
to them. ben not taken for parteners of the blame and
of the synne of them. The surgyens ought also to be a;
bonayr /amyable / and to haue pyte of theyr paciente and
also they ought not be hasty to launce & cutte apostumes &
soores. ne open the heedes · ne to atrache bones broken.
but yf the cause be apparant. For they myght ellys lose
theyr goody renomee · And myght better be callyd bou;
chers thenne helars or guarysshours of wounds and so;
res, And also hit behoueth that alle thys manr of pe;
ple a fore sayd that haue the charge for to make hole
and guarisshe alle maner of maladyes and Infirmytees
that they first haue the cure of them self · and they ought
to purge them self from alle apostumes 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 herof sayth boecius de consolacione in his first book that the sterres that ley hyd vnder the clowdes may gyue no light. And therfore yf ony man wyl behold clerely the verite, late hym withdrawe hym fro the obscurete and derknes 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 obscurete and vnder the clowdes.

The sixte chapitre of the thyrd book treteth of the sixte palm which is lykenyd to tauernes hostelers and vytaylers 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 bredy
and a cuppe of wyn .and on his gurdel hangyng a bondel
of keyes /and this resembleth the tauerners hostelers /&
sellers of vytayl .and thyse ought properly to be sette to
fore the alphyn ,as tofore a Juge / For there sourdeth oft
tymes amonge hem contencion noyse and stryf . Whyche
behoueth to be determyned & trayted by the alphyn. Which
is Juge of the lyng / and hit appertyneth to them for to
seke and enquere for good wynes and good vytayl for to
gyue and selle to the byers and to them that they hete /
wele . And hit appertyneth to them wel to kepe theyr
herberwes and Innes /And alle tho thynges that they
bryngе in to theyr lodgyng .and for to putte hit in seu/
re and sauf warde and kepyng. And the first of them
is signefyed by the lyfte hand in whyche he berth bredy
and wyn . And the seconde is signefyed by the right
hand which is stratched out to calle men /and the thyrd
is representyd by the keyes hangyng on the gurdel , and
thyse maner of peple ought to eschewe the synne of glo /
tonye / For moche people come in to theyr howses for to
drynke and for to ete/for whyche cause they ought reso /
nably to rewle them self and to refrayne them from to
moche mete and drynke . to thende that they myght the
more honestly delyuer thynges nedeful vnto the peple that
come vnto them/& no thyng by outrage that myght noye
the body . For hit happeth oft tymes that there cometh of

glotonye. tencions/strypfs/riottes. wronges & mokestacons by whiche men lese otherwhyle their handes, theyr eyen and other of theyr membris / and somtyme ben slayn or hurte vnto the deth as it is wreton in Vitas patrum. as on a tyme an hermyte went for to visite his gossibs. & the deuyl apeared 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. or elles haue to do flesshlye with thy gossyb/or elles thou shalt slee her husbondy whiche is thy gossib also. & the hermyte that thought for to chese the leste euyl chase for to be dronke. and whan he cam vnto them he drank so moche that he was ferray dronk and whan he was dronke and eschauffyd with the wyn. he wold haue a do with his gossyb / & her husbond withstood hym / & than the hermyte slewe hym. & after that laye by his gossyb & knewe her flesshly. & thus by this synne of dronkenshyp he accomplisshed the two other synnes / By whiche thyng ye may vnderstonde and knowe that whan the deuyl wyl take one of the castellys of Jhesu Cryst. that is to wete the body of a man or of a woman/he doth as a prynce that setteth a siege tofore a castel that he wolde wynne. whyche entendeth to wynne the gate. For he knoweth wel whan he hath wonne the gate. he may sone do his wyll with the castel / And in lyke wyse doth the deuyl with euery man and womman/ For whan he hath wonne the gate / that is to wete the gate of the mouthe by glotonye or 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 olephantes & hit behoueth a man to be
fede by the erthe or by the see / neuertheles it is no grete
thynge to fede the bely, no thyng so grete as is the desire
of many metes whereof Quyntilian saith/ that hit happeth
ofte tymes in grete festes and dyners, that we be fylled
with the sight of the noble and lichorous metis & whan we
wold ete we ben saciat and fylled /& therfore it is sayd in
prouerbe, hit is better to fille the eye than the eye. & lu/
can saith that glotony is the moder of al vices/& 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 playnteuous dys
shes & wel filled at thy table lerne how men may demene
theyr lyf with litil thynge, and cathon saith in no wyse
obeye to glotonye which is frende to lecherye / & the holy
doctour saynt augustyn saith, 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, whereof cometh forgetenes of his mynde
and destruccion of alle quyck and sharpe reason, And is
cause of distemperaunce of his wyttes, what synne is
fowler than this synne & more stynkyng ne more doma/
geous, for this synne hath taken away the vertu of man

his prowesse languysheth· his vertue is torned to diffame
the strengthe of body and of corage is torned by the, and
therfore saith basilly le graunt, late vs take here how we
serue the bely and the throte by glotonye like as we were
dumbe bestys, and we studye for to be lyke vnto belues of
the see, to whom nature hath gyuen to be alway enclyned
towardy the athe· & thato loke for to serue their belyes· &
herof 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 ne/
des be that he be transported in nature of a beste or of a be
lue of the see, how wel that right grete men and women
ful of 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 & comyn wele how wel that he be wyse / yf he
eschauffe hym sone so-that the wyn or other drynke sur/
prise hym & ouercome his brayn / his wisedom is lost· for
as cathon sayth, Ire enpesshyth the corage in suche as he
may not kepe verite and trouth, & anone as he is chauffid
lecherye is meuyd in hym in suche wyse that the lecherye
makyth hym to meddle in dyuerse vylayns dedes, for than
his wysedom is a slepe and goon. & therfore saith ouyde
in his book de remedio amoris yf thou take many and dy
uerse wynes· they apparayle and enforce the corages to le
cherye. And Thobye wytnesseth in his book that luxurie
destroyeth the body and myny sheth rychessys. she loseth
the sowle. she febleth the strengthe she blyndeth the syght

and maketh the boys hoors andy rabe+ ha a right euyl &
foule synne of dronkenshyp / by the prisshith virgynyte
whiche is suster of aungellis possedyngy al goodnes andy
seurte of al joyes pardurable. Noe was one tyme so
chauffyd wyth wyn that he discouerd andy shewid to hys
sones his preuy membris in suche wyse as one of his so;
nes mocqued hym /andy that other couerd hem +and loth
whiche was a man right chaste. was so assoted by moche
drynkyngy of wyn. that on a mouuteyn he kinewe hys
doughters carnelly / and had to do wyth them as they had
ley his propre wyuys / and crete rehraith that Noece
whiche was flour of the mey, tresour of richesses /synguler
hous of sapyence / myrrour of the worldy, odour 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 gedr whiles they were sobre. that
that one wold put his body in parell of deth for that other
and whan they were eschauffid with wyn and dronkie / they
haue ronne eche vpon other for to slee hem /and some haue
ley that haue slayn so his frende / Herodes Antipas hady
not dedy sayne John baptist to ley behedy / ne hady the
dynerlen ful of glotonye and dronkship. balthazar kyng
of babylone hady not been chacedy out of his kyngdom ne
be slayn yf he hady be sobre emonge hys peple whom tyrus
and dares fondy dronkey andy sleWe hym. The hostelers
ought to be wel bespoken and curtoys of wordes to them
that they receyue in to theyr lodgyngy / For fayr speche &
joyous chieze andy debonayr cause mey to gyue the hoste;
lez a goody name +Andy therfore hit is sayd in a comyn

prouerbe curtoyse langage & wel sayenge is moche worth
and coste lytyl / And in another place it is sayd that
curtoysye passeth beaulte also for as moche as many pa;
rellys, and aduentures may happen on the wayes & passa
ges to hem that been herbewed with 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 &
Journey. And also they ought to kepe theyr bodyes /
theyr goodes. & the good fame & renomee of theyr Innes
We rede that Loth whan he hadde receyuyd the aungellys
in to his hows right deuonayrly. Whiche he had supposid had
ben mortal men and straungers, to thende that they shold
eschape the disordynate and vnnaturel synne of lecherye
of the sodomytes, by the vertu of good fayth. he sette a part
the naturel loue of a fader. & proferdy to them his dough;
ters. 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 been
taken & delyuerd to kepe to the hoste or hostessis they ought
to be sauf and yelden ageyn with out appayrynge. for the
hoste ought to knowe who that entrith in to hys hous for
to be herbewed takith hit for his habitacion for the tyme
he hym self, and alle suche thynges as he bryngeth with
hym ben cõmysedy of right in the warde and kepynge of
the hoste or hosteler / 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 /andy that they take not
awey the prouender fro theyr horſes When hit is gyuen to
them /that by thocaſion therof their horſes perſſhe not ne
faylle theyr maiſter When they haue nede/and myght fallle
in the handes of theyr enemyes + For than ſhold the ſer/
uauntes be cauſe of that euyl · Wherfore their mayſters
ſholdy ſee to/for With out doubte this thyng is Worſe than
theſte /hit happendy on a tyme in the parties of lombardye
in the cyte of Jene that a noble may Was lodgydy in an
hoſtelrye Wyth moche companye .and When they had gyuen
prouendour to theyr horſes .in the firſt oure of the nyght
the ſeruaunt of the hoſts came ſecretly tofore the horſes
for to ſtele awey theyr prouender /and When he came to the
lordes hors /the hors caught With his teth his arme andy
helde hit faſt that he myght not eſcape/and When the theef
ſawe that he Was ſo ſtrongly holden / he began to crye for
the grete pay that he ſuffrid and felte /in ſuche Wyſe that
the noble mannys meyne cam Wyth the hoſte / But in no
maner /ner for ought they coude do . they coude not take
the theef out of the horſes mouth Vnto the tyme that the
neyghbours Whiche Were noyedy Wyth the noyſe came andy
ſawe hit /and the theef Was knowey and taken & brought
tofore the Juge /andy confeſſydy the feet andy by ſentence
diffynytyf Was hanged and loſt his lyf .and in the ſame
Wyſe Was another that dyd ſo/and the hors ſmote hym in
the Vyſage /that the prynte of the hors ſhoo & nayles abode
euer in his Vyſage/another cam right cruel & Vilaynous
fyl at tholouſe /hit happend a yongy man andy 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 aduysedy
hym and put a cuppe of siluer secretly in the male that
the yonge man bare. 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 awey his cuppe
and the yongy man excused hym self and his fader. and
sayd they were Innocent of that caas/ Andy 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 woy al the goodes that
longed to the pylgrym were delyuerd to the hosté as con-
fisquedy/Andy than the fader went forth for to do his pyl
gremage. and whan he came ageyn he must nedes come &
passe by the place where his sone hynge on the gybet/ and
as he came he complaynedy to god and to saynt James
how they myght suffre this aduenture to come vnto hys
sone. anone his sone that hyngy spake to his fader & said
how that saynt James had kept hym wyth out harme/
and bad his fader goo to the Juge and shewe to hym the
myracle/and how he was Innocent of that fait/and whan
this thyngy was knowen the sone of the pylgrym was ta
key doun fro the gybet. and the cause was brought tofore
the Juge /and the hoost was accusedy of the trayson. andy
he confessydy his trespass /andy saydy he dyd hit for coue-
tyse to haue his goody. and than the Juge dampned hym
for to be hangedy on the same gybet where as the yonge
pylgrym was hangedy/ Andy that I haue saydy of the

seruauntes keyngy men / the same I say of the women as chaumberers and tapsters / for semblable caas fyl in spayn at sayne wonne of a chaumberer . that put a cupe in lyke wyse in the scrippe of a pylgryme ; by cause he wolde not haue a do wyth her in the synne of lecherye / wherfore he was hangedy / and his fader and moder that were there wyth hym went and dydy her pylgremage . and whan they came agayn they fonde her sone lyuyngy / and than they went & tolde the Juge / which Juge sayd that he wolde not leue hit til a cok andy an henne which wosted oy the fyre were a lyue and the cok crewe / and anone they begay to weye a lyue and the cok crewe and begay to crowe & to pasture . and whan the iuge sawe this myracle / he went & toke wuy the sone / and made the chaumberer to be takey andy to be hangedy . 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 andy come by the disordenate rewle of seruauntes .

The seuenth chapitre of the thyrd tractate treteth of the
pars of townes, customers & tolle gaderers capitulo Vij

The gardes and kepers of citees ben signefyed by
the seuenth pawn which stondeth in the lyft side to
fore the knyght, and is formed in the semblaunce of a
man holdyng in his lyft hond grete keyes and in hys
right hand a pote and an elle for to mesure wyth & oughe
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 pote and elle ben signefyed them that
haue the charge to weye and mete and mesure trewly,
and by the purse ben signefyed them that receyue the

costumes /tolles/ sauage/ prages. and duetees of the cy;
tees and townes /and thyse peple ben sette by right tofore
the knyght and hit behoueth that the gardes & offyceers
of the townes be taught and ensignedy by the knyghtes
and that they knowe and enquyre how the citees & townes
ben gouerned which apertayneth to be kept and defendedy
by the knyghtes. and first hit apertayneth that the be;
parts of the cyte be dyligent /besy/ clere sayency and louers
of the comyn prouffyt and wele. as wel in the tyme of
pes as in the tyme of warre/ they ought alwey to goo in
the cyte and enquyre of al thynges and ought reprte to
the gouernours of the cyte suche thyng as they fynde and
knowe /and suche thynge as apertayneth and to the seurte
of the same. and to denounce and telle the defaultes and
partlys 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/ trowe /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
offyceers acuse the good peple fraudulently/ to thende that
they myght haue a thanke and ben prayseed and to abyde
stylle in theyr offyces, and trwly hit is a grete and hye
manere 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 offyceers of cytees ought to be suche that they

suffre no wronges ne bylonyes tofore the Juges and go
uernours of citees wythout cause to be wop 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 elbrous
and happy and by hym ben al thynges accomplisshed in
good .hit is founden in the histories of rome that them ;
prour ffrederik the seconde dyd wo 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 gate he made an ymage lyke hym self sittyng in his
magestie and two Juges which were sette . one on the
right side and that other on the lift side .and vpon the sez
cle 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 vntrea
the man ought to doubte ' to do thyngs that he be put to
pryson fore ,and on the sercle aboue the emperour was
wreton .I make them lyue in mysery/that I see lyue dys
mesurably ,and therfore hit apertayneth to a Juge to
shewe to the peple for to drede and doubte to do euyl .and
hyt apertayneth to the gardes and offycers to doubte the
Juges and to do trewly theyr seruyces and offyces , ¶
hit apertayneth to a prynce to menace the traytours and
the malefactours of right greuous paynes .and hewf we
fynde in the auncient histories of cealle that the kyng
denys hady a broder whom he loudy fore wel / But alwey

Where he went he made heuy and triste semblaunt / & thus as they went bothe to gyder on a tyme in a chare / ther cam agayn hem two poure men with glad visage but in foule habyte / and the kyng anone as he sawe them sprange out of his chare and receyuyd them worshipfully with grete reuerence / wherfore his barons were not onely amerauyll/ led . but also angry in their corages + not withstondyng fere and drede letted them to demaunde hym the cause , But they made his bruder to demaunde the cause and to knowe the certeynte / and whan he had herde his bruder say to hym the demaunde / that he was blessyd and also a kyng which was riche and ful of delytes and worshypes . he demaundyd hym yf he wold assaye and knowe the grace and beneuole of a kyng . and his bruder answerdy ye . and that he desired and requyredy hit of hym / And than the kyng cõmaunded vnto alle hys subgettis that they shold obeye in al thynges onely vnto his bruder . & than whan the ouze of dyne cam + and al thynge was redy / the bruder was sette at the table of the kyng . And whan he sawe that he was seruyd with right noble knyghtes and other offyceers / and he herde the sownes of musique right melodyous . The kyng demaunded hym than . yf he sup / posid that he were beuewus and blessyd . and he answerdy I wene wel that I am right blessydy and fortunat / and that I haue wel proued and fele and am expert therof . And than the kyng secretly made to be hangedy ouer hys hed a sharpe cuttyng swerde hangyng by an hors here or a sylkey threde so smale that no man myght see hit where by hit henge . And whan he sawe his bruder put no more

his handy to the table, he had no more regarde vnto his
seruaunteis / he sayd to hym Why ete ye not · ar ye not bles/
sidy / say yf ye fele ony thyngy otherwyse than blessid and
wel, and he answerd for as moche as I see thys sharpe
swerde hangyngy so subtilly & parilously ouer myn hede I
fele wel that I am not blessyd / for I drede that hit sholdy
falle oy my hede & thenne dyscouerd the kyngy vnto hem
al wherfore he was alwey so heuy cheridy & tryste · For
where he was he thought alwey on the swerde of the secrete
lengaunce of god, whyche he beheld alwey in his herte ·
wherfore he had alwey in hym self grete drede, andy ther/
fore he worshyppydy gladly the pure peple with glady vy
sage and goody conscience / And by this sheweth the kyng
wel, that what man that is alwey in drede is not alwey
mery or blessydy / And hewf sayth quyntilian that thys
drede surmounteth alle other malheurtees and euylles, for
it is maleurte of drede nyght andy 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 dredyth his seruauntes, and truly hit is a right
sure thyng to drede no thyng but god & somtyme right har
dy mey ben cõstrayned to lyue in drede, drede causith a man
to be besy to kepe the thynges that be cõmysed to hym that
they perisshe not / but to be to moche hardy & to moche ferd
ful. bothe 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 thã they ought to haue by reson
ne that they take of the sellars ne of the byers no more
thã the right custume, for they bere the name of a persone

And therfore ought they to shewe them comune to alle
men/and for as moche as the bryers and sellars haue som
tyme moche langage. they ought to haue wyth them these
vertues. that is to wete pacience. and goody corage wyth
honeste / for they that ben despytous to the comune. ben
other while had in vylayns despite. therfore be ware that
thou haue no despyte vnto the poure mendycants. yf thou
wylt come and attayne to thynges souerayn/ for the Iniu
rye that is won wyth out cause / torneth to diffame hym
that doth hit. a Jogheler on a tyme beheld socrates & sayd
to hym thou hast the eyen of corumpur of children and
art as a traytre, and whan his dysciples herde hym, they
wold auengyd theyr maister. but he repreuyd hym by suche
sentence sayengy / suffre my felawes. for I am he and
suche one as he sayth. by the sight of my vysage, But I
refrayne and kepe me wel from suche thyngy, this same so
crates hym selfe was chidd & right foul spoken to of hys
wyf. & she Imposid to hym many grete Iniuries wyth out
nombre, and she was in a place aboue ouer his hed. and
whan she had brawled y nough she made her water & pourely
hit on his hed. and he answerd to her no thyngy agayn
sauf whan he had dryed and wyped his hed. he said. he kne
we wel that after suche wynde and thondre sholdy come
rayne and water. And the philosophers blamedy hym
that he oude not gouerne two women. that was his wyf
and his chaumbrer. and shewyd hym that one wokke go/
uerned wel xv 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 catho
saith Whan thou lyuest rightfully / reche the not of the
Wordes of euyl peple / and therfore hit is sayd in a comyn
prouerbe · he that wel doth reccheth 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 / nor to euyl
men tencions stryues & blames. & pacience is a right no
ble vertu. as a noble versefier saith, that pacience is a right
noble maner to vaynquysshe. for he that suffreth ouerco
meth / and yf thou wylt vaynquysshe and ouercome. lerne
to suffre. the pageers ner they that kepe passages ought
not to take other page ne passage money but suche as the
prynce or the lawe hath estabblysshed / so that they be not
more wobbours of money than receyuours of page and
passage · And hit apertayneth to them to goo out of the
perelous weyes and doubteuous for to kepe theyr offyce
and they ought to requyre theyr passage of them that
owe to paye hit wyth out noyeng and contencion · and
they ought not to loue the comyn prouffyt so moche · that
they falle in the hurtyng of theyr conscience. For that
shold be a manor of wobberye / and hewf saith ysaye / Woo
to the that wobbest. for thou thy self shalt be wobbyd. The
gardes or preters of the gates of citees and of the comyn
good ought to be good and honeste / and al trouth ought
to be in them & they ought not to take ne withdrawe the
goodes of the comyn that they haue in kepyng more than
apertayneth to them for their pencion or fee / so that they
that ben made tresorers & kepers ben not named theuys /

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

This eyght chappytre of the third book treteth of ribaul /
des . players of dyse & of messagers and auxwurs a viij

The ribaulds players at dyse & the messagers & aux
wurs ought to be sette tofore the wok. for hit appar
teyneth to the wok which is vicayr of the kyng to haue
men couenable for to renne here & there for tenquyre & es /
pye the places & aires that myght be contrarie to the kyng

And thys pawn that representeth this peple ought to be formyd in this maner, he must haue the forme of a man that hath longe heeris and black and holdeth in his ryght 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 bope 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 representedy the playes at dyse, ribaulides & butters, & by the thyrd Whyche is the bope ful of lettris, ben represented the messageers, curiours, and berars of lettres, & ye shal vnderstonde that the woke Whiche is bycayre of the kyngy Whan 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 pueete constrayne ben not to stele for he that of custume hath had habun; daunce of money & goeth & dispendeth hit folily & Wasteth hit alwey Whan he cometh to pueete & hath nought. he must nedes begge and ape his breed, or ellis he must be a theef For suche maner of peple, yf they haue ben delycious they Wyl not laboure, for they haue not lernydy hit, And yf they be noble and comen of gentylmen, they be a shamydy to ape and begge, And thus must they by force Whan they haue Wastedy theyr olbne propre goodes yf they Wyl lyue they must stele and robbe the goodes of other. And ye shalke vnderstonde that fole large is a ryght euyl bycc. For bolb Wel that she weth goody and prouffyt somtyme to other.

yet she doth harme and dõmage to hym that so wasteth. Cassiodore admonesteth the fole larges to kepe their thynges that by no necessite they falle in poucrte/and that they be not constraynedy 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 gretter vertue to kepe that is goten 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 goten. than to gete more, and therfore hit is sayd that the pure demall/deth & beggith or he felith/& also hit is said that he that dispendeth more than he hath/with out stroke he is smyton to the deth/There was a noble man named John de ganazath which was right riche and this man had but two doughters whom he maried to two noble men, and whan he hadde 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 hadde alle gyuen in so moche that he hadde right nought/ Than hit happendy that they to whom he hadde gyuen his goodes which were wont to be amyable and obeysaunt to hym as longe as he gaf, whan the tyme came that he was pure and lineWe that he hadde nought. they became vnkynde/ Dysagreable and dysobeysaunt. And whan the fader sawe that he was decayuedy by his debonayre and loue of his doughters/ He dsyredy and coueytedy sore to eschewe hys poucrte.

Atte laste he went to a marchaunt that he knewe of olde
tyme. and requyrid hym to lene to hym v thousand pund
for to paye andy rendre agayn wyth in thre dayes / Andy
he lente hit hym / and whan he hady brought hit in to hys
hous / hit happend that hit was a day of a solempne feste /
on which day he gaf to his doughters andy her husbondy
a right noble dyner / & after dyner he entridy in to his chall
bre secretly wyth them / andy drewe out of a coffre that he
hady do make al newe shittyngy wyth thre lockes the mo
ney that the marchaunt had lente hym / and poured hit out
vpon a tapite that his doughters & their husbondes myghe
see hit / and whan he had shewyd hit vnto them he put hit
vp agayn & put hit in to the cheste fayneyng that hit hady
been al his. & whan they were departed he bare the money
home to the marchaunt that he had borowed hit of / and the
neyt day after his doughters & their husbondes apyd of
hym how moche money was in the cheste that was shette
wyth thre lockis / and than he fayned & sayd that he hady
than xx v thousandy pundes. whiche he kept for to make
his testament and for to leue to his doughters & hem / yf
they wold bere hem as wel to hym afterward as they did
whan they were maried. and than whan they herde that.
they were right ioyous and glad / & they thought & con-
cluded to serue hym honourably as wel in clothyng as in
mete andy drynke andy of alle other thynges necessarye
to hym vnto hys ende / And after thys whan the ende of
hym began to aproche. 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/ sayyng I wyl that ye geue
in my presence & I dye whiles I lyue to the frere pre-
chours an hondred pounde, and to the frere menours an
hondred pounde/ and to the hermytes of saynt austyn fifty
pundy 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/ which keyes they kepe/ and I haue
put on eche keye a bylle and writyng in witnessyng of
the thynges above sayd/ And also ye shal vnderstonde
that he dyd to be gyuen whiles he lay in his deth bede to
eche chirche and recluse + and to pur peple a certeyn quan
tite of money by the handes of his doughters husbondes
which they dyd gladly in hope to haue shortly the money
that they supposid in the cheste. and whan hit came to the
last day that he dyed. he was borne to chirche and his eye
quye wyn and was buried solempnly. And the seuenth
day the seruyse worshypfully accomplisshedy. They went
for to demaunde the keyes of the religyous men that they
had kept. which were delyuerd to them/ & than they went
and opendy the coffre where they supposid the money hady
ley Inne/ and there they fondy no thyng but a grete
clubbe. and on the handlyng was written/ 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 per-
sones wolde gladly make noueltees as for to nope and
greue seignories and meue warres and tencions ageynst
them that haboude in richesses and goodes and also make
extorcions clamours and tribulacons ayenst their 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 vnder-
stonde that after these wastours of goodes we saye that
the players of dyse and they that vse bordellys be worst
of al other · for whan the hete of playeng at the dyse · &
the couetise of theyr stynkyng lecherye hath brought hem
to pouerte · hit followeth by force that they must be theuys
and robbours / and also dronkenshyp glotenye and alle
maner of euyls followe them and mysehyef / and they
followe gladly the companyes of knyghtes and of noble
men whan they goon vnto the warre or batayles · And
they coueyte not so moche the victorye as they do the rob-
berye · and they do moche harme as they goo / And they
bringe litel gayn or wynnyng / whereof hit happendy on a
tyme that saynt bernard rode on an hors about the contrey
and mete with an hasardour or dyse player. which sayd
to hym thou goodes 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 coun and playe with the / and yf thou haue

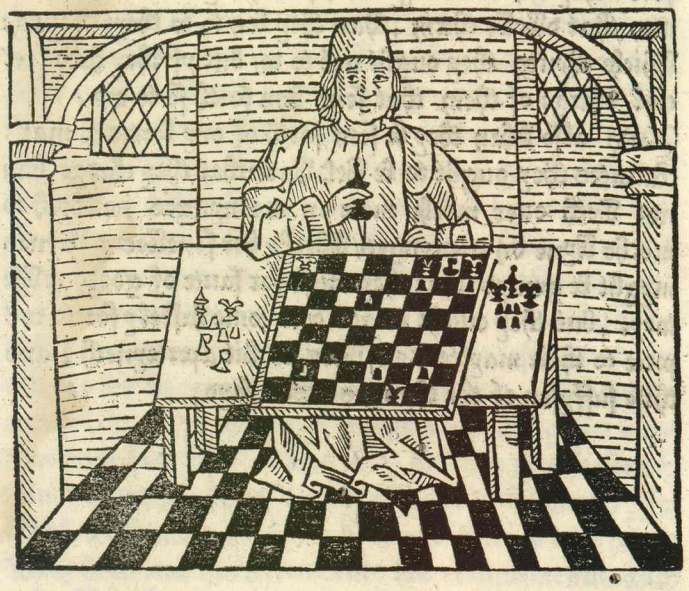
mo poynte than J on thre dyse J promyse the thou shalt
haue myn hors, and thenne he was glad, and anone caste
thre dyse/ and on eche dyse was a sise, whiche made ye viij
poynte, and anone he took the hors by the bryde/ as he
that was seure that he hadde wonne, and sayde that the
hors was his. and than saynt bernarde sayd abyde my
sone. for there be mo poynte 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 mydde/ 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 bernarde sayd that he hadde
wonne his soule for as moche as he had cast on thre dyse
xix poynte, and than whan this player salue & apeered/
uyde thys myracle. he gaf his soule to saynt bernard and
became a monke and finysshed his lyf in goode werkys.
The auwurs and berars of lettre ought hastely and spe
dely do her vyage that is cõmaunded hem. Without ta/
ryeng, for theyr taryeng 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 lettre and his maundementis. and
otherwhiles suche peple ben Jogheleres and dronkilewe. and
goon out of their weye for to see abbayes and noble men
for to haue a vauntage. and hit happeth ofte tymes, that
whan suche messageres or auwurs ben enpesshid by ony ta/
rieng, that other auwurs bere lettere contrarye to hys.
and come tofore hym/ of whiche thynges ofte tymes co/
meth many thynges discouenable of losse of frendes of

castellys · and of lande andy many other thynges as in the feet of marchaundyses · and other while 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 ley to fore · they ley more lesy to visite the cyte and the noble men that dwelle therin · than they ley to do theyr voyage which thyngs they ought not to do/ but yf they hady special charge of them that sent hem forth so to do ·

Andy also than they be sent forth of ony lordes or marchaunters they ought to be wel ware · that they charge hem not wyth ouer moche mete oy mornynges ne wyth to moche wyne oy euenynges/ wherby her sinewes & varynes myght be greuyd · that they must for faute of goody reble tarye · but they ought to god and come hastely for to reporte to their maysters answers as hit apertayneth · and thise suffysey of the thynges above sayd ·

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

The first chapitre of the fourth tractate of the chesse lord in genere how it is maad capitulo primo



E haue deuised aboue the thynges that apertayne vnto the formes of the chesse men and of their offices. that is to wete as wel of noble men as of the comyn peple / Than hit apertayneth that we sholdy deuise shortly how they yssue and gody out of the places where they be sette, And first we ought to speke of the forme and of the facion of the chequer after that hit representeth and

was made after / for hit was made after the forme of the
cyte of babyloyne / in the which this same playe was fol
den as hit is sayd afore + and ye shal understonde that ye
ought to considere here in foure thynges. The first is wher
fore that lxiiij poyntes been sette in the escheqier which
ben al square / The seconde is wherfore the bordure about
is hygher than the squarenes of the poyntes + The thyrde
is wherfore the comyn peple ben sette tofore the nobles ,
The fourth is wherfore the nobles and the peple been sette
in theyr propre places / Ther ben as many poyntes in the
escheqier boyde as fulle , and ye shal first understonde
wherfore that there ben lxiiij poyntes in the escheqyer / for
as the blessyd saynt Jherome sayth , the cite of babylone
was right grete and was maad al square , and in euery
quarter was xij myle by nombre and mesure / the which
nombre four tymes tolde was lxiiij myles . after the ma /
ner of lombardye they be callyd myles . and in fraunce leu
kes , and in englond they be callyd myles also , And for
to represente the mesure of this cyte / In which this playe
or game was founden , the philosopher that fonde hit first
ordeyned a tablier conteynyng lxiiij poyntes square , the
which ben comprised with in the bordeur of the tablyer /
there ben xxij on that one side and xxij on that other
side which ben ordeygned for the beaulte of the playe . and
for to shewe the maner and drawyng of the chesse as hit
shal appere in the chappytres folowyng , And as to the
second + wherfore the bordeure of the escheqyer is hygher
than the table with in . hit is to be understonde that the
bordeur about representeth the walle of the cyte which is

right hygh /and therfore made the philosopher the bordeur
more hygh than the tablier, and as the blessyd Saynt
Jherome sayth vpon the prophesie of ysaye /that is to sete
vpon a mountayn of obsaurte. Whiche wordes were sayd
of babylone Whiche standeth in caldee / & no thyng of that
babylone that stondeth in egypt for it is so that babilone
Whiche stondeth in caldee was sette in a right grete playn
And had so hygh walles that by the heyght of them was
contynuel derknes enuyronned and obsaurte. that none
erthly may myght behold and see the ende of the highnes
of the walle, and therfore ysaye callyd hit the montaigne
obsaurte / And saynt Jherome saith that the mesure of the
heyght of this walle was thre thousand paas, Whiche ex
tendeth vnto the lengthe of thre myle lombardes / hit is
to sete that lombarde mylis and englisch myles ley of
one lengthe / and in one of the corners of thys cyte was
made a tour trangle as a shelde, Wherof the heyght exten
ded vnto the lengthe of vij thousand paas/Which is seuen
myle englisch/and thys toure was called the tour of babel
the walles about the toure made a woman whos name
was semyramis as sayth virgilius / As to the thyrdy
Wherfore the comyn peple ley sette tofore the nobles in the
felde of the batayl in one renge, first for as moche as they
ley necessarye to al nobles / For the work Whiche stondeth
on the right side and is vpcayr of the kyng What may he
do yf the labourer were not sette tofore hym & labouredy
to mynystre to hym suche temporel thynges as be necessa:
rio for hym /And what may the knyght do yf he ne hady
tofore hym the smyth for to forge his armoures + sadelys

arys and speres & suche thynges as apertayneth to hym •
And what is a knyght worth wythout hors and armes /
certaynly no thyng more than one of the peple or lasse
prauenture / and in what maner sholdy the nobles lyue
yf no man made cloth and bought and solde marchandyse
And what shold kynges and quenes and the other lordes
do yf they hady no physicens ne surgyens / Than I say
that the peple ben the glorye of the crowne and sustayne
the lyf of the nobles. And therfore thou that art a lordy
or a noble man or knyght / despyse not the comyn people
for as moche as they ben sette tofore the in the playe •
The seconds cause is why the peple ben sette tofore the no/
bles and haue the table voyde tofore them / is be cause they
begynne the batayllle / they ought to take hede and entende
to do theyr offyces and theyr crafters / in suche wyse that
they suffre the noble men to gouerne the cytees and to
counceylle & make ordenaunces of the peple & of the ba/
taylle. 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 matter upon
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 which is couenable
unto hem / and hit apertayneth not to hem to be of coun
ceyls ne at the aduocacions / ne to menace ne to threte no
man / for ofte tymes by menaces and by force good coun
ceyl is destroubledy / and where good counceyl faylleth •
there ofte tymes the cytees ben betrayedy and destroyedy /
And plato sayth that the comyn thynges and the cytees

ley blessyd Whan they ley gouerned by Wyse men / or Whan
the gouernours studye in Wysedom, and so hit apertayneth
to the comyn to lerne to Vttre the maters, and the maner
of prouiracion tofore they be counceyllours, / For hyt hap
peth oftey tymes that he that makyth hym Wyser than he
Vnderstandeth is made more fool than he is · and the in
cause Wherfore that there ley in ý tablier as many pynnes
Boyde as ley fulle / hit is to Wete for that they What euer
they be that haue peple to gouerne / ought tenforce to haue
citees & castelkys & possessyons for to sette his peple therin
and for to laboure and do their oupacion / For for to haue
the name of a kyng Wythout a wyame is a name Voyde.
and honour With out prouffyt / and al noblesse With out
good maners / and Wyth out suche thynges as noblesse
may be maynteyned, ought better be callyd folye than no
blesse / and shameful puerte is the more greuous Whan
hyt cometh by nature of an hygh and noble byrth or hous
For no man gladly Wyl reprene a pure man of the co /
myn peple, but euery man hath in despyte a noble man
that is pure, yf he haue not in hym good maners and
vertuous · by Whiche his puerte is forgoten / And truly
a wyame With out habundaunce of goodes by Whyche hyt
may be gouerned and prosperr. may better be callyd a la /
trocynye or a nest of theuys than a wyame. Alas. What
habundaunce Was somme tymes in the wyames / & What
prosperite in Whiche Was Justyce. and euery man in his
offyce contente / how stood the cytees that tyme in Worship
& renome, how Was renomed the noble wyame of englond
alle the World drade hit and spake Worshyp of hit. How

hit now standeth and in what habundaunce I reporte me to them that knowe hit. yf there ben theuys wyth in the wyame or on the see. they knowe that labour in the wy; ame. and sayle on the see. I wote wel the fame is grete therof. I praye god saue that noble wyame. & sende good trewe and polletique counceylloures to the gouernours of the same. and noblesse of lignage wyth out puyssaunce & myght is but vanyte and dyspyte. And hit is so as we haue sayd tofore that the schequer which the phylosophyr ordeyned represented and figured the said 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 hedy 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 lviiij. The nombre of the same shold surmounte al the world. and not onely the worldy but many worldes by the doublyng of myles. which 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

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

For by cause that the knyghtes kepe the glorie andy the
cowne of the kyng they ensiewe in semblable residence · that
they w whã they be sette semblaby 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 accompany
eth the quene in semblable siege that the alphyn with whi
che 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 kep sette about the kyng in bothe si/
des with the quene in maner 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 their sieges & in theyr places. andy the
more hastely renne vpon his enemyes / & for as moche as
the Juge the knyght and the vicayr / kepe & garnysshe the
kyng on that one side / they that kep sette on the other side
kepe the quene / & thus kepe they al the strength & fermete
of the wyame. & semblably otherwhile for to ordeigne the
thynges that apertayne to the counceyl / & to the kesoyngue
of the wyame / for yf eche may shold entende to his owne
proper thynges. And that they deffendydy not ner toke
kede vnto the thynges that apertayney to the kynge · to
the comyn. andy to the wyame · the wyame sholdy anone
be duydedy in parties. Andy thus myght the Juge
reygne / Andy the name of the dygnyte ryall sholdy
be loste. Andy trewly for as moche as the kynge holdeth
the dygnyte aboue alle other andy the seignorye wyall ·
therfore hit apertayneth not that he absente hym longy /
ne wythdrawe hym ferre by space of tyme from the maister

siege of his wyame/for Whan he wyl meue hym, he ought
not to passe at the first draught the nombre of iij pyntes
& Whan he begynneth thus to meue from his Whyt pynt,
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 pynt Where the gardes of the cyte ley sette /& in this
pynt he hath the nature of a knyght, & thise two manes
of meuyng apertayneth otherWhile to the quene /& for as
moche as the kyng & the quene that be conioyned to geder
by mariage ley one thyng as one flesshe & blood /therfore
may the kyng meue on the lift side of his propre pynt 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 pynte in
the second ligne /the kyng may not passe from his black
pynt vnto the thyrd ligne / & thus he sortiseth the nature
of the wok on the right side and lift side vnto the place of
the knyghtes, And for to goo right tofore in to the Whyt
pynt tofore the marchaunt and the kyng also sortist the
nature of the knyghtes Whan he goeth on the right side in
two manes, for he may put hym in the voyde space tofore
the phisicien/& in the black space tofore the tauerner. & on
the other side he goeth in to other two places in like wyse
that is tofore the smyth / and the notarye /& thus as in
goyng out first in to four pyntes he sorteth the nature
of knyghtes, And also the kyng sortyseth the nature
of the alphyns at hys fyrst yssue in to two places, and
he may goo on boothe sydes vnto 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 na
ture of the comyn peple / And thus by good right he hath
in hym ſelf the nature of al / For al the vertue that is
in the membris comyth of the hed / 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 deryneth hit and is attribuedy to hym. the vic
torye of the kinyghtes. the prudence of the Juges / the
auctorite of the vycayrs 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 toforo
the peple he neuer exceedyth. for in the third nombre alle
maner of ſtates begynne to meue + For the trynary nom
bre conteyneth thre parties. Whyche make a perfect nom /
bre / For a trynarye nombre hath j ij iij / Whiche ioynedy
to gider maketh vj / Which is the firſt parfit nombre + and
ſignefieth in this place / vj perſones named that conſtitu
te the perfecion of a royame + that is to Wete the kyng the
quene Juges kiryghtes vicairs or legates. & the comyn
peple / & therfore the kyng ought to begynne in his firſt me
uyng of iij poyntes / that he ſhewe perfecion of lyf as Wel
in hym ſelf as in other / after the kyng begynneth to meue
he may lede With hym the quene / after ỳ maner of his iſſue

For why the quene folowyeth vnto two angularye places
after the maner of the alphyn/ and to a place Indyrecte
in the maner of a wok in to the blacke pynt tofore the
phisicien /herin is signefyed that the women may not me
ue nether make vowes of pylgrymage ner of viage with
out the wylle of theyr husbondes. For yf a woman hady
auowed ony thyng. her husbond lyuyng/ and agayn say
eng. 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 hedy 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 meuyth
it is no nede the kyng to meue. for why four the first lig
nes be wyth in the lymytes and space of the wyame/
and vnto the thyrdy pynt 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 pynt lete hym be waar/ For the persone of a
kyng is acounted more than a thousandy of other. For
whan he eyposith hym vnto the parilles of bataylle. hit is
necessarye that he goo attemprately and skly/ for yf he be
taken or red or elys Inclusid and shette vp. alle the
strengthes of al other faylle and al is finysshedy and lost
And therfore he hath nede to goo and meue wyselye. and
also therfore he may not meue but one pynt after hys

first meuyng but where that euer he goo forewarde or bac
ward or on that one side or on that other or ellis corner/
wyse + he may neuer apprehe his aduersarye the kyng ner/
rer than in the thyrd poynt /And therfore the kynges in
batayllle ought neuer taprwche one nygh that other ,And
also whan the kyngh hath goon so ferre that al hys men
be lost /than he is sole, and than he may not endure longh
whan he is brought to that extremyte /and also he oughte
to take hede that he stonde not so that a knyghte 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 dedy/ that was prouysour
of al the wyame , he shal bere a sacke on his heedy that
is shette in a cite , And y al they that were therin ben ta/
kien 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
vi kyng begynneth to meue from her proper place / she
goeth in double manere / that is to wete as an alphyn
Than she is black / she may goo on the right side & come
in to the pynt tofore the notarye / & on the lift side in the
black pynt and come tofore the gardes of the eyte . and
hit is to wete that she fortifeth 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 pynt tofore the phisicin . And the reason

Why / is for as moche as she hath in her self by grace the auctorite that the wokes haue by cōmyssion . for she may gyue and graunte many thynges to her subgettis graci / ously /andy 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 sittyng ne couenable thyng for a Woman to goo to batayllke for the fragylite & feblenes of her / andy 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 pynte to another . and yet couetly Whether hit be forWarde or bac Wardy takyng or to be taken and here may be ayyd Why the quene goeth to the batayllke Wyth the kyng / certeynly it is for the solace of hym / andy ostencion of loue / And also the peple desire to haue successyon of the kyng / andy therfore the tartaris haue their Wyues in to the felde With hem yet hit is not goody that men haue theyr Wyues Wyth hem /but that they abyde in the cytees or Wythin theyr oWne termys . For Whan they ben out of theyr cytees & lymytes they ben not sure /but holden suspecte / they shold be shamefast andy holde al men suspect . For dyna Jacobs doughter as longe as she Was in the hoWs of her bretheren she kept her Vyrgynyte, but assone as she Wente for to see the straunge regyons /anone she Was corupt & deflowledy of the sone of sichem / Seneka sayth that the Women that haue euyl bysages ben gladly not chaste/but theyr corage desyreth gladly the companye of men / and solinus sayth that no bestys femeles desire to be touchedy of their males

Whan they haue conceyuyd /exept Woman Whiche ought to be a beste resonable, and in this caas she lesith her rayson/ & sidrac Witnessith the same, & therfore in the olde lawe · the faders had dyuerse Wyues and ancellis to thende Whan one was With childe, they myght take another · they ought to haue the visage enclyned for eschewe the sight of the men. that by the sight they be not meuyd With Incontynence & dyffame of other, andy ouyde sayth that there ben some that how wel that they eschewe the dede · yet haue they grete ioye Whan they be prayed /& therfore · ought the good Women fle the curiositees & places Where they myght falle in blame & noyse of the peple.

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

The manere and nature of the draught of the al;
t phyn is suche that he that is black in his propre sie:
ge is sette on the right side of the kyng / and he that is
Whyt is sette on the lift side / and ken callyd andy namedy
black and Whyt / but for no cause that they be so in sub;
staunce of her propre colour, but for the colour of the pla
ces in Whiche they ken sette / andy alWey be they black or
Whyt Whan they ken sette in theyr places + the alphyn on
the right side . goyngy out of his place to the right syde
Ward cometh tofore the labourer / andy hit is reason that
the Juge ought to deffende and kepe the labourers and pos
sessyons Whiche ken in his Jurisdycion by al right andy
laWe / And also he may goo on the lift side to the Voyde
place tofore the phisicien / for like as the physiciens haue
the charge to hele the Infirmytees of a man + In like Wise
haue the Juges charge to appese all strynes & contencions
and reduse Vnto Vnyte . and to punysshe and correcte cau
ses crymynels . the lift alphyn hath also two Wayes fro
his oWne place one toWard the right side Vnto the black
space Voyde tofore the marchaunt . For the marchauntes
nede ofte tymes counceyl and keep in debate of questyons
Whiche must nedes be determynedy by the Juges / and that
other yssue is Vnto the place tofore the rytaulde & that
is by cause that ofte tymes amongy them fallé noyses,
dyscencions thefte & manslaughter, Wherfore they ought
to be punysshed by the Juges . & ye shal Understonde that
the alphyn goeth alWey cornerWyse fro the thyrdy pynt to
the thyrd pynt, keppyngy 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 signefyeth cautele or subtilyte / whiche Juges ought to haue . The thre poynte betokeyn thre thynges that the Juge ought to attende . a iuge ought to further rightful and trewe causes . secondly he ought to geue trewe counceyl / & thyrdly he ought to geue & Juge rightful sentences after the alegeaunces . & neuer to goo fro the rightwysnes of the lawe / and it is to wete that the alphyn goeth in vij draughtes al the tablie rounde about / and that he cometh agayn in to his owne place . and how he hit that al reason and good perfecion shold be in a kyng / yet ought hit al so specially be in them that ben counceyllours of the kyng and the quene . and the kyng ought not to do ony thyng doubtouse til he haue ayyd counceyl of his Juges and of the sages of the reyame / and therfore ought the Juge to be parfaytly wyse and sage as wel in science as in goody maners . and that is signefyed whan they meue from thre poynte in to thre / for the sixte nombre by whiche they goo al the schequer . and bryngeh hem agayn in to her propre place in suche wyse that thende of her moeuyng is conioyned agayn to the begynnyng of the place fro whens they departed / & therfore hit is call'd 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 reuyse to you a the yssue and the mocuyng of the knyghtes / and We say that the knyght on the right side is Whyt . and on the lift side black . & the yssue & mocuyng of hem bothe is in one maner Whan so is that the knyght on the right side is Whyt . the lift knyght is black / the mocuyng of hem is suche . that the Whyt may goo in to the space of the alphyn as hyt apezyth of the knyght on the zyght syde that is Whyt . And hath thre yssues from his propre place . one on his right side in the place tofore the labourer .

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 ysse is that he may meue
hym vnto the black space tofore the notarye or draper/for
he is bounden to deffende andy kepe them that make hys
testementes & couertours necessarye vnto hys body. The
thyrd ysse is that he may goo on the lift side 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 kyngy as Wel as his
owne persone. Whan he passyth the first draught. he may
goo four Reyes/and Whan he is in the mydes of the ta;
blier 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/ Andy in
that maner goeth the knyght fightyngy by his myght, &
groweth and multeplyeth in his pyntes/and ofte tymes
by them the felde is Wonne or lost. a knyghtes vertue and
myght is not knowen but by his fightyngy/ Andy in his
fightyng he doeth moche harme for as moche as his myght
extendeth in to so many pyntes/ they ley in many parcelis
in theyr fightyngy. and Whan they escape they haue the ho
nour of the game. & thus is hit of euery may the more
Rayllyant/& the more honourdy/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 which ley by/ t cayrs of the kynge is such / that the right wok is black & the lift wok is whyt/ and whan the chesse ley sette as wel the nobles as the comyn peple first in theyr propre places · the wokes by theyr propre lertu haue no waye to yssue but yf hit be maad to them by the nobles or comyn peple / For they ley enclosid in theyr propre sieges · Andy the reson why is such · that for as moche as they ley bycayrs lieuetenauntes or cōmyssyoners of the kyng theyr auctorite is of none effect tofore they yssue out /

And that they haue begonne to euhaunce their offyce/for as longe as they be wythin the palays of the kyng. so longe may they not vse ne execute theyr compyssyon. but anone as they yssue they may vse theyr auctorite/and ye shal understonde 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 wyame/and they may goo as wel wyht as black as wel on the right side and afte as foreward and backward/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 ornerwyse/but alwey right forth goyng and comyng as afore is sayd. wherfore al the subgettis of the kyng as wel good as euyl ought to knowe by theyr mocuyng that the auctorite of the vy/cayrs and compyssyoners ought to be verray trewe rightwys and juste/and ye shal understande that they ben strwnge and vertuous in batayle. for the two wokes onely may vaynquysshe a kyng theyr aduersarye and take hym. and take from hym his lyf and his wyame/and this was don whan Cirus kyng of perse and Darius kyng of medes slewe balthazar and took his wyame from hym. whiche was neuewe to enylmoradach under whom thys game was founden.

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

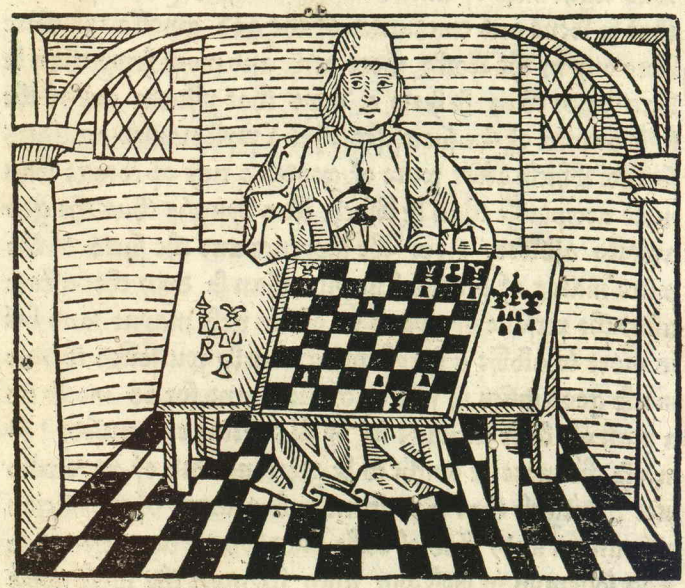
Ne yssue and one moeuyng appertayneth vnto all o the comyn peple/for they may goo fro the poynt they stande in at the first meuyng vnto the third poynt ryght forth tofore them /and whan they haue so doy they may afterward meue nomore but fro one poynt right forth in to another. And they may neuer retorne backward. and thus goyng forth fro poynt to poynt they may gete by vertue and strength. that thynge that the other nobles fynde by dygnyte /and yf the knyghtes and other no / bles helpe hem that they come to the fertheest ligne tofore them where theyr aduersaryes were sette they acquyre the dignyte that the quene hath graunted to her by grace /

For yf ony of them may come to thys sayd ligne yf he be
Whyt as labourer draper, phisicien, or kepar of the cite been
they retayne 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 taueraer, & tibaulde may come without domage
in to the same vtterest ligne he shal gete by his vertu the
dygnyte 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 pynt on ony side tofore hym/ In that corner pynte
he may take his aduersarye whether hit be on the right side
or on the lift '& the cause is that the aduersaries ben sus/
peciouse that the comyn peple lye in a wayte to robbe her
goodes or to take her persones wha 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 goyng forward or retornyng fro black to whyt , or
whyt to black the pawne must alwey goo in his right lig
ne & alwey take in the corner that he fyndeth in his waye
but he may not goo on neyther side til he hath been in the
farrest ligne of thes chequer & 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 pynt to pynt
onely as the quene doth fightyng & takyng whom he fyn
deth in his waye . And whan he is thus comen vnto the
place where the nobles his aduersaries were sette he shal

he made whit fiers and blacke fiers / after the poynte that
he is in / & there taketh he the dygnyte of the quene, & ake
these thynges may appere to them that beholden the playe
of the chesse. and ye shal understonde that no noble man
ought to haue despyte of the comyn peple. for hit hath been
ofte tymes seen that by their vertu and wyte / dyuerse of
them haue comen to right hygh & grete astate as popes.
bysshops / emperours and kynges / as we haue in the histo
rye of dauyd that was made kyng of a sherpherdy 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 which
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 / and than he herde a voys that yssuedy out of the
fosse or pitte of the sacrefises / that a peple named agalans
sophide which were pure of goodes & riche of courage was
more acceptable than he which was kyng / & thus the god
apollo alowedy more the sappence and the surete of the
pure 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 purseweed thenne
mochy good takey in fere andy drede / and for as mochy as
a man of lowe lignage is by his vertue enhauusedy + so
mochy 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 saience & the most noble

of al the pynter. of whom the renomee was / is and shal be durynge the world. so hit happend that another pete appyd and demaunded of hym wherfore he sette not the ter 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
ry of the peple is not retentyf but right forgetefull
Whan some here longe talis and historyes whiche they can
not al retayne in her mynde or reorde · Therfore I haue
put in thys present chappytre al the thynges aboue sayd as
shortly as I haue cõne /first this playe or game was fou
den in the tyme of enylmerodach kyng of babylone /And
excases the philosopher otherwyse named philometer foude
hit /and the cause why was for the correcaon of the kyng
lyke as hit apperith in thre the first chappytres + For the
sayd kyng was so tyrãnous & felouny that he myght suffre
no correcaon / 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 kyng sorowful and right
euyl plesidy of this euyl lyf of the kyng prayed and re/
quyred the phylosopher · that he wold reprise and telle the
kyng of his folye /and than the philosopher answerd that
he shold be dede yf he so dyde · and the peple saydy to hym,
certes thou oughtest sõner wylle to dye to thende that thy
renome myght come to the pẽple, than the lyf of the kyng
shold cõtynue in euyl for lacke of thy cõceil, or by faulte
of reprehension of the, or thou durist not do & shewe/ that
thou sayest, & Whan the philosopher herde thys he promysid
to the peple that he wold put hym in deuoyr to correct hym
And thenne he began to thynke hym in what maner he
myght escape the deth andy kepe to the people his promesse
Andy thenne thus he maady in thys maner andy ordeyg/
nedy the eschequer of lxiiij poyntes as is afore sayde /
And dyd do make the forme of chequers of gold & siluer

in humayn figure after the facions & formes as we haue
dyuyſid & ſhewid to you toſore in theyr chappytres / & ordey
ned the moeuyng & the eſtate after that, it is ſaydy in the
chappitres of the eſchekſſys / & whan the pyhloſophre had thus
ordeyned the playe or game, & that hit pleſid alle them
that ſawe hit, on a tyme as the philoſopher played on hit
the kyngy came andy ſawe hit andy deſiredy to playe at
this game / And thenne the phyloſopher began enſigne
and teche the kyngy the ſcience of the playe andy the
draughtes / Sayengy to hym firſt how the kyngy ought
to haue in hym ſelf pyte debonayrte andy rightwyſnes,
as hit is ſaydy toſore in the chappytre of the kyngy / And
he enſeygnedy to hym the eſtate of the quene andy what
maners ſhe ought to haue / Andy thenne of the alphyns
as counceyllours and Juges of the wyame /
Andy after the nature of the knyghtes / how they ought
to be wyſe. trewe andy curtoys and al the ordre of knyght
hode / And than after the nature of the bycayrs andy
Rookes as hit aperyth in theyr chappytre / Andy after
thys how the comyn people ought to goo eche in his offyce
Andy how they ought to ſerue the nobles. Andy whan
the phyloſopher hady thus taught andy enſeygnedy the
kynge andy his nobles by the maner of the playe andy
had reprehendydy hym of his euyl maners. The kyngy
demaunded hym vpon payn of deth to telle hym the cauſe
why andy wherfore he hady made and founden thys playe /
and game. And what thyng meuyd hym therto / and than
the phyloſopher conſtraynedy by fere & drede anſwad. that
he hady promyſedy to the people whyche hady requyredy hym

that he shold correcte and reprise the kyng of his euyl vi
ces / but for as moche as he doubted the deth and hadyseen
that the kyng dyd to slee the sages & wyse men that were
so hardy to blame hym of his vyces. he was in grete an/
guysshe and sorowe / how he myght fynde a maner to cor/
recte and reprehende the kyng. and to saue his owen lyf
and thus he thought longe and studyed that he fond this
game or playe. which he hath to sette forth for to amende
and correcte the lyf of the kyng and to chaunge his ma/
ners. and he adioustyd with al that he had founden thys
game for so moche as the lordes and nobles habundyng
in delices and richessis. and enioyeng temporel res shold
esheweb ydelnes by playeng of thys game. and for to gyue
hem cause to leue her pensifnes and sorowes. in auysyng
and studyeng this game / and whan the kyng had herde al
thyse causes. he thought that the philosopher had founde a
good maner of correccion. & than he thankyd hym gretely
and thus by thensignement and lernyng of the philoso/
pher. he chaunged his lyf his maners and alle his euyll
condicions / and by this manr hit happendy that the kyng
that tofore tyme hadyley vycious and disordynate in hys
lyuyng was made Juste and vertuous / debonayr / grace
ous and ful of vertues vnto al peple. And a man that
lyuyth in thys world without vertues lyueth not as a
man but as a beste. Thenne late euery man of what
condycion he be that redyth or herith this litel book rede.
take therby ensaumple to amende hym.

Explicit per Caxton