

# Game and Playe of the Chesse

## A Verbatim Reprint Of The First Edition, 1474

Caxton

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CAXTON'S

GAME AND PLAYE OF THE CHESSE.

1474.

A VERBATIM REPRINT OF THE FIRST EDITION.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

WILLIAM E.A. AXON, M.R.S.L.

"And ther was founde by clerkes full prudent Of the chesse the play most glorious."

JOHN LYDGATE.

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LONDON: ELLIOT STOCK,  
62, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.  
1883.

[Transcribers Note: This is a reprint of Caxton's 1474 original. "Engliffh" long s's which look very similar to f's have been transposed to s's for readability; yogh (looks like a mutated 3) has been rendered as a 3; thorn, þ, has been left as such and macrons over letters are given as e.g. [=o]. Otherwise the text has been left as is.

The original punctutation has been preseved. Virgula suspensiva, shown here as / was in common use from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. Often used for short pauses (such as the caesura in the middle of a line of poetry), but sometimes was used as equivalent to the punctus. "'9" represents a superscripted 9 and is an ancestor to the modern apostrophe. It usually indicates the omission of a terminal -us.

A small amount of text in this edition is in Blackletter, which was used in the Caxton original, and these sections have been marked up as such.

The book contains many attractive illustrations copied from the Caxton original and an HTML version exists to give a better representation of this.]

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#### THE GAME OF THE CHESSE.

Dedication to the Duke of Clarence

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The .vi. is of tauerners and hostelers.

The .vii. is of y'e gardes of the citees & tollers & customers.

The .viii. is of ribauldes disepleyars and currours.

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The sixty chapitre of the yssue of the rooks.

The seuenth is of the meuyng & yssue of the comyn peple.

And the eyght and laste chapitre is of the epilegacion and of the recapitulacion of all these forsaied chapitres.

### GLOSSARY

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### INTRODUCTION

The readers of the "Antiquary" will remember the anecdote told with so

much effusion by Jonathan Oldbuck. "Davy Wilson," he said, "commonly called Snuffy Davy, from his inveterate addiction to black rappee, was the very prince of scouts for searching blind alleys, cellars, and stalls, for rare volumes. He had the scent of a slow-hound, sir, and the snap of a bull-dog. He would detect you an old black-letter ballad among the leaves of a law-paper, and find an *\_editio princeps\_* under the mask of a school Corderius. Snuffy Davy bought the 'Game of Chess, 1474,' the first book ever printed in England, from a stall in Holland for about two groschen, or two-pence of our money. He sold it to Osborne for twenty pounds, and as many books as came to twenty pounds more. Osborne re-sold this inimitable windfall to Dr. Askew for sixty guineas. At Dr. Askew's sale," continued the old gentleman, kindling as he spoke, "this inestimable treasure blazed forth in its full value and was purchased by Royalty itself for one hundred and seventy pounds! Could a copy now occur, Lord only knows," he ejaculated with a deep sigh and lifted-up hands, "Lord only knows what would be its ransom; and yet it was originally secured, by skill and research, for the easy equivalent of two-pence sterling."

Sir Walter Scott in a footnote adds:--"This bibliomaniacal anecdote is literally true; and David Wilson, the author need not tell his brethren of the Roxburghe and Bannatyne Clubs, was a real personage." Mr. Blades, whose iconoclastic temper is not moved to mercy even by this good story, says that although it "looks like a true bibliographical anecdote," its appearance is deceptive, and that "not a single statement is founded on fact." [1]

Jonathan Oldbuck did not venture to estimate the sum that would ransom a copy of the "Game of Chesse," and the world of the bibliomania has moved even since his days, so that prices which seemed fabulous, and were recounted with a sort of awe-struck wonder, have been surpassed in these latter days, and the chances of any successor of "Snuffy Davy" buying a Caxton for two groschen have been greatly reduced.

According to Mr. William Blades, our latest and best authority on the subject, there are but ten copies known of the first edition of the "Chesse" book. [2] There is a perfect copy in the King's Library in the British Museum. This is what ought to be Snuffy Davy's copy. A previous owner--R. Boys--has noted that it cost him 3\_s\_. The copy in the Grenville Library has the table and last leaf supplied in facsimile. The copy in the Public Library at Cambridge is defective to the extent of five leaves. The Bodleian copy wants the last leaf. The Duke of Devonshire's copy formerly belonged to Roger Wilbraham, and the first and eighth leaves are supplied in facsimile. The exemplar belonging to the Earl of Pembroke is perfect, "but on weak and stained paper." Earl Spencer's copy is perfect, clean, and unusually large. Mr. H. Cunliffe's copy came from the Alchorne and Inglis Libraries, and wants the first two printed leaves, two near the end, and the last two. Mr. J. Holford's copy is perfect and in its original binding. It was once in the library of Sir Henry Mainwaring of Peover Hall, as his bookplate shows. On a fly-leaf is written, "Ex dono Thomae Delves, Baronett 1682." The copy belonging to the Rev. Edward Bankes is imperfect, and wants the dedicatory leaf and is slightly wormed.

The book, when complete, consists of eight quaternions or eight leaves folded together and one quinternion or section of five sheets folded together, making in all seventy-four leaves, of which the first and last are blank. The only type used throughout is that styled No. 1 by Mr. Blades. The lines are not spaced out; the longest measure five inches; a

full page has thirty-one lines. Without title-page, signatures, numerals, or catch-words. The volume, as already mentioned, begins with a blank leaf, and on the second recto is Caxton's prologue, space being left for a two-line initial, without director. The text begins with a dedication:--"(T)o the right noble/ right excellent & vertuous prince George duc of Clarence Erl of Warwyk and of Salisburie/ grete chamberlayn of Englund & leutenant of Ireland oldest broder of kynge Edward by the grace of god kynge of England and of France/ your most humble servant william Caxton amonge other of your servantes sendes unto yow peas. helthe. Joye and victorie upon your Enemyes/ Right highe puyssant and." The text ends on the seventy-third recto, thus:--"And sende yow thaccomplishment of your hye noble. Joyous and vertuous desirs Amen:/: Fynysshid the lastday of Marche the yer of our lord god. a. thousand foure honderd and LXXIIII. \*. \*. \*. \*." The seventy-fourth leaf is blank.

It is unnecessary to say that this book seldom comes into the market. The recorded sales are very few. In 1682 R. Smith sold a perfect copy for 13s. 2d. In 1773 J. West's copy was bought by George III. for L32 0s. 6d. Alchorne's imperfect copy was bought by Inglis for L54 12s., and at the sale of his books found a purchaser in Lord Audley for L31 10s., and was again transferred, in 1855, to the possession of Mr. J. Cunliffe for L60 10s. 0d.[3] Mr. J. Holford's copy was bought at the Mainwaring sale for L101.

The last copy offered for sale was described in one of Mr. Bernard Quaritch's catalogues issued in 1872, and the account given by that veteran bibliopole is well worth reproduction.

CAXTON'S GAME AND PLAY OF CHESS MORALIZED, (translated 1474) FIRST EDITION, folio, 65 LEAVES (of the 72), bound in old ruffia gilt, L400.

[Blackletter: Fynyshid the last day of Marche the yer of our Lord God, a thousand foure hondred and lxxiiii....]

An extremely large, though somewhat imperfect copy of

THE FIRST BOOK PRINTED IN ENGLAND, from Caxton's press.

Mr. Blades quotes 9 copies (4 perfect, 5 imperfect), the present is the 10th known copy, and is TALLER than even the Grenville--hitherto the tallest known copy; my copy measures 11-1/8 inch in height by 8 in width, whilst the Grenville copy (also imperfect) is only 11 inches high.

COLLATION of \_my copy\_:

[Blackletter: This Booke conteyneth iiii traytees] 1 \_leaf\_.

[Blackletter: This first chapter of the first tractate] 1 \_leaf\_.

[Blackletter: The trouthe for to do Justice right wysly,]  
etc. to the end 62 \_leaves\_.

\_The last leaf with the date:\_

[Blackletter: In conquerynge his rightful inheritance,]  
\_ending:\_ [Blackletter: fynyshed], \_etc.\_ 1474 1 \_leaf\_.

-----  
65 leaves.

My copy wants therefore 7 leaves, the two blank ones being out of

question. The imperfections include the first leaf, and two leaves in the second chapitre of the fourth tractate, the end is all right. I should be glad to hear of any IMPERFECT COPY of this work, which would supply me with what I want. In the mean time this precious relic of the Infancy of Printing in England can be feen by BUYERS of Rare books.

\_See\_ Dibdin's Bibl. Spenc. IV. p. 189.

No copy of this edition has been sold for years; in 1813, Alchorne's copy, wanting first two leaves, the last two leaves and two leaves in the second chapter of the fourth tractate, fetched at Evans', L54. 12\_s\_. The value of this class of books has much risen since then, and may now be considered, as ten times greater.

In comparing the first edition of "Caxton's Game of Chess" with the second, one perceives many variations in the spelling. I confider the \_first edition\_ to be the more interesting, for a variety of reasons:

1. It is the first book printed in England.
2. It is the \_Editio princeps\_ of the English version.
3. It shows the Art of Printing in its crudest form.
4. It has a Post-script not in the second edition.

Both editions run on together to the passage on the last page of the second edition:

[Blackletter:

And a mon that lyvyth in thys world without vertues lyveth not as a man but as a beste.]

The first edition ends thus:

[Blackletter: And therefore my right redoubted Lord I pray almighty god to save the Kyng our soverain lord to gyve him grace to yssue as a Kynge tabounde in all vertues/ to be assisted with all other his lordes in such wyse yn his noble royame of England may prospere/ habounde in vertues and yn synne may be eschewid justice kepte/ the royame defended good men rewarded malefactours punyshid the ydle peple to be put to laboure that he wyth the nobles of the royame may regne gloriously.

In conquerynge his rightfull inheritaunce / that verraypeas and charitie may endure in both his royames and that marchandise may have his cours in suche wise that every man eschewe synne/ and encrease in vertuous occupacions / Praynge your good grace to resseyve this lityll and symple book made under the hope and shadow of your noble protection by hym that is your most humble servant in gree and thanke. And I shall praye almighty god for your long lyf & welfare / which he preserve And sende now thaccomplishment of your hye noble joyous and vertuous desirs Amen:]

Fynysshid the last day of marche the yer of our lord god a. thousand four hondred and lxxiiii. \*....\*.]

The second edition ends thus:

[Blackletter: Thenne late every man of what condycion he be that redyth or herith this litel book redde. take therby ensauple to amend hym. Explicit per Caxton.]



This copy came from the library of Mr. L.M. Petit.[4]

It will be noticed that Mr. Quaritch calls the *editio princeps* of Caxton's "Game and Play of the Chesse" the first book printed in England. This was the general opinion of bibliographers before the investigations of Mr. Blades. Dibdin, although he seems to have had some doubt, pronounced in favour of that view. Yet it is clearly erroneous. The only materials for judgment are those afforded by the colophon and the prologue to the second edition, with the silent but eloquent testimony of typography. Caxton ends the first edition with the words:--"Fynysshid the last day of Marche the yer of our lord god a thousand four hondred and LXXIII." The word "fynysshid," as Mr. Blades observes, "has doubtless the same signification here as in the epilogue to the second book of Caxton's translation of the Histories of Troy, 'Begonne in Brugis, contynued in Gaunt and finysshed in Coleyn,' which evidently refers to the translation only. The date, 1475-6, has been affixed, because in the Low Countries at that time the year commenced on Easter-day; this in 1474 fell on April 10th, thus giving, as the day of the conclusion of the translation, 31 March 1475, the same year being the earliest possible period of its appearance as a printed book." Then there is Caxton's own racy account of the circumstances under which the book first appeared:--

"And among alle other good werkys It is a werke of ryght special recomandacion to enforme and to late vnderstonde wysedom and vertue vnto them that be not lernyd ne can not dyscerne wysedom fro folye Th[=e]ne emonge whom there was an excellent doctour of dyuynyte in the royaume of fraunce of the ordre of thospital of Saynt Johns of Jherusalem which entended the same and hath made a book of the chesse moralysed whiche at suche tyme as I was resident in brudgys in the counte of Flaundres cam into my handes/ whiche whan I had redde and ouerseen/ me semed ful necessarye for to be had in englishe/ And in eschewyng of ydlenes And to thende that s[=o]me which haue not seen it/ ne [=v]nderstonde frenssh ne latyn J delybered in my self to translate it in to our maternal tonge/ And whan I so had achyeued the sayd translacion/ J dyde doo sette in enprynte a certeyn nombre of theym/ Whiche anone were depesshed and solde wherfore by cause thys sayd book is ful of holsom wysedom and requysyte vnto euery astate and degree/ J haue purposed to enprynte it/ shewyng therin the figures of suche persons as longen to the playe."

It is clear from this that both the translation and printing belong to the period of Caxton's residence in Bruges. From the use of the instrumental form "dyde doo sette en enprynte" it might be thought that Caxton employed the services of some printer, but although commonly so employed, there are instances which will not bear this interpretation of its intention.[5] He either employed a printer or made some partnership with one, and there are various indications that confirm Mr. Blades' theory that the book came from the press of Colard Mansion.

The second edition is undoubtedly the work of our first English printer. "Explicit per Caxton" is the unambiguous statement of the colophon. It is a much more advanced specimen of typography than the first edition. It has signatures, of which *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *j* are quaternions, *k* and *l* are ternions, making in all eighty-four leaves, of which the first is blank. There is no title-page, and the type used is that which Mr. Blades reckons as No. 2\*. The lines are spaced out to an even length. There are twenty-nine lines to a full page, and the full line measures 4-7/8 inches. The prologue begins on *a ij*., and the table of chapters begins on the next page. The text begins

on the recto of \_a iii\_. The text ends on the recto of \_l\_ 6, the last page being blank. There are sixteen woodcuts in the volume, which are used twenty-four times. There has been some diversity of opinion as to the year in which this "Game of the Chesse" came from the press of Caxton. The book is not dated. Dibdin thought it one of the printer's earliest efforts. Figgins regarded it as the earliest issue of the Westminster press, and further believed that it was printed from cut metal types. This is not the view of Mr. Blades, who says: "An examination of the work, however, with a typographical eye does not afford a single evidence of very early workmanship. All Caxton's early books were uneven in the length of their lines--this is quite even. Not one of the early works had any signatures--this is signed throughout. These two features alone are quite sufficient to fix its date of impression at least as late as 1480, when Caxton first began the use of signatures; but when we find that every known copy of this edition of the 'Chess-Book' presents a thicker and more worn appearance than any one copy of any other book, there is good reason for supposing that this may have followed the 'Tulli' of 1481, and have been the last book for which Type No. 2\* was used." [6]

Mr. Blades describes nine known copies, so that even fewer exemplars remain of the second edition than of its predecessor. The copy in the King's Library in the British Museum is imperfect, wanting several leaves, and is mended in many places. The copy in the Pepysian Collection at Cambridge wants one-half of the last leaf. Trinity College, Cambridge, has a perfect copy, "but a bad impression." The Bodleian copy is defective in not having the last leaf. St. John's College, Oxford, has a copy, from which one-half of \_d iii\_. has been torn away. The Imperial Library at Vienna has an imperfect copy. The Duke of Devonshire's copy is perfect, but it is "a poor impression, and slightly stained." The Earl of Pembroke's copy is very imperfect. Earl Spencer's is only slightly imperfect. The prices fetched by the second edition have a sufficiently wide range. In 1698, at Dr. Bernard's sale, a copy fold for 1s. 6d. Farmer's copy in 1798 fetched L4 4s. Ratcliffe's copy was bought at his sale for L16 by Willett; and when his books came to the hammer in 1813, it was purchased by the Duke of Devonshire for L173 5s. [7] It is interesting to know that the copy of the second edition in the Bibliotheca Spenceriana formerly belonged to Laurence Sterne, who bought it for a few shillings at York! [8]

In the present reprint, the text followed is that of the first edition, transcribed from the copy in the British Museum; but the variations, alterations, and additions made in the second issue are all recorded in footnotes. The reader has, therefore, before him the work in all its fulness. The same reasons that have led to the adoption of this course have also decided the publisher to include facsimiles of the curious woodcuts which appeared in the second edition. These, although necessarily reductions in size, reproduce the quaint vigour of the originals.

Caxton, we have seen, translated the "Game of the Chesse" from the French. There were in effect two, if not three, from which he may have taken his version. One of these is by Jean Faron, Perron, or Feron (as the name is variously spelled), a monk of the order of St. Dominic, of whom the notices are exceedingly scanty. [9] La Croix du Maine styles him "de l'Ordre des Freres Prescheurs ou Jacobins du Paris." La Monnaye says that the translation was made from the Latin of Cessoles, and was begun in the year 1347. It has not been printed. [10] The translation is

considered a literal version of the Latin of Cessoles.

The prologue of Perron's version is as follows:--"Chy ensuit le geu des Eschas moralise, ouquel a plusieurs exemples bien a noter. A noblehomme, Bertrand de Tarascon, frere Jehan Perron, de l'ordre des Freres precheurs de Paris, son petil et humble chappelain soy tout. Le Sainte Escripiture dit que Dieux a fait a chascun commandement de pourchassier a tous nos prochains leur sauvement. Or est-il ainsi que nos prochains ne sont pas tout un, ains sont de diverses condicions, estas et manieres, sy comme il appert. Car les uns sont nobles; les aultres non: les aultres sont de cler engin; les aultres, non: les aultres sont enclins a devocion; les aultres, non. Et pour ce, affin que le commandement de Dieu soit mis a execution bien convenablement, il convient avoir plusieurs voyes et baillier a chascun ce qui lui est plus convenable; et ainsi pourroit il le commandement de Dieu accomplir; .... Pour tant je, vostre petit chappelain, a vostre requeste, que je tieng pour commendement, vous ai volu translata de latin en francais le Gieu des Eschas moralise, que fist l'un de nos freres, appele frere Jaques de Cossoles, maistre en divinite, si que vous l'entendes plus legierement; et a exemple des nobles hystoires qui y sont nottees, veuilles maintenir, quant a vous, honnestement, et quant aux autres justement.... Or prenes done ce petit present, comencie le 4'e jour de May, l'an 1347."[11]

That Caxton made use of Perron's version is clear. Thus Mr. Blades mentions the description of Evilmerodach as "un homme joly sans justice" as peculiar to Ferron, whose version he regards as the basis of the first and third chapters of Caxton's work.

Dr. Van der Linde mentions a number of MSS.; in some the date is given as 1357, and in one as 1317. This version remains unprinted, but there are MSS. of it in the Bibliotheque Nationale, at Aosta, Cambrai, at Brussels, in the British Museum, Chartres, at Bern, and at Stockholm.[12]

Dr. Van der Linde also describes a MS. on parchment of the fifteenth century, forming part of the national library at Paris, which contains the Game of Chess in verse.

"Mes si d'esbat te prent tallant,  
Pren ton esbat deuement;  
Mes si a jouer vieulx attendre,  
Un noble jou te faulte attendre,  
C'est des echecs qui est licite  
Et a touz bien les gens incite."

The author has concealed his name with an ingenuity that has so far defied penetration.

"Nommez mon nom et mon surnom,  
Je ey escript tout environ,  
A vingt et dous lettres sans plus,  
Sera trouve cy au dessus  
En escript, et sans plus ne moins."

On this it is only necesiary to quote the remarks of a French critic:--"Ou ne nous dit pas si c'est dans la suite meme de la phrase, ou seulement en acrosticke, que se trouvent les vingt-deux lettres de ces nom mysterieux. Nous ne saurions former aucun nom avec les initiales des trente vers qui precedent ceux que nous venons de citer; et le

merite de l'ouvrage ne nous encourage pas a faire des longues recherches pour decouvrir un nom que l'auteur a pris plaisir a nous cacher."[13]

The bulk of Caxton's work is undoubtedly from the French translation of Jehan de Vignay, whose dedication to Prince John of France has simply been transformed into a similar address to the Duke of Clarence. He styles De Vignay "an excellent doctor of the order of the Hospital of St. John's of Jerusalem." This is the only authority we have for supposing De Vignay to be connected with that order. He styles himself "hospitaller de l'ordre de haut pas," which was situated in the Faubourg St. Jacques of Paris. It is curious that two members of the same order--for Ferron was also a Jacobin--should independently have occupied themselves with the same work. The version by De Vignay was probably the later of the two, and it was also the most popular, for whilst Ferron's is still unprinted, that of De Vignay has been frequently re-issued from the press. The work is dedicated to Jean de France, Duc de Normandie, who became king in 1350. It will be seen from this that these two French versions were practically contemporaneous.

The prologue to the book is as follows:--"A Tres noble & excellent prince Jehan de france duc de normendie & ausne filz de philipe par le grace de dieu Roy de france. Frere Jehan de vignay vostre petit Religieux entre les autres de vostre seignorie/ paix sante Joie & victoire sur vos ennemis. Treschier & redoubte seign'r/ pour ce que Jay entendu et scay que vous veez & ouez volentiers choses proffitables & honestes et qui tendent alinformacion de bonne meur ay Je mis vn petit liuret de latin en francois le quel mest venuz a la main nouvellement/ ou quel plussieurs auctoritez et dis de docteurs & de philosophes & de poetes & des anciens sages/ sont Racontez & sont appliquez a la moralite des nobles hommes et des gens de peuple selon le gieu des eschez le quel liure Tres puissant et tres redoubte seigneur jay fait ou nom & soubz vmbre de vous pour laquelle chose treschr seign'r Je vous suppli & requier de bonne volente de cuer que il vo daigne plaire a recevoir ce liure en gre aussi bien que de vn greign'r maistre de moy/ car la tres bonne volente que Jay de mielx faire se je pouoie me doit estre reputee pour le fait/ Et po'r plus clerement proceder en ceste ouure/ Jay ordene que les chappitres du liure soient escrips & mis au commencement afin de veoir plus plainement la matiere de quoy le dit liure pole."[14]

It will be seen that this is the foundation of Caxton's dedication of the Chess-book to the Earl of Warwick. The "Golden Legend," printed by Caxton in 1484, was in effect a translation from "La Legende Doree," made before the year 1380 by Jehan de Vignay, who in his prologue mentions that he had previously translated into French "Le miroir des hystoires du monde," at the request of "Ma dame Jehanne de Borgoigne, royne de France." [15] This preface Caxton, as usual, adopted with some changes of name and other alterations, amongst which is a reference to "the book of the chesse" as one of his works. The "Legenda Aurea" of Jacobus de Voragine is, of course, the original source of De Vignay's "Legende Doree," and Caxton's "Golden Legend."

Ferron and de Vignay were avowedly translators. Their original was Jacques de Cessoles. The name of this author has been tortured into so many fantastic forms that one may almost despair of recovering the original. Caesolis, Cassalis, Castulis, Casulis, Cesolis, Cessole, Cessulis, Cesulis, Cezoli, de Cezolis, de Cossoles, de Courcelles, Sesselis, Tessalis, Tessellis, de Thessolus, de Thessolonia, and de Thessolonica are different manners of spelling his surname, and the two

last are certainly masterpieces of transformation. Prosper Marchand has amused himself by collecting some vain speculations of previous writers as to the age, country, and personality of Jacques de Cessoles. Some counted him a Lombard, some an Italian, whilst others again boldly asserted that he was a Greek!

He lived towards the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, and having joined the Dominican order, was a "Maitre en Theologie" of that brotherhood at Reims. Various works are attributed to him, and his learning and piety had many eulogists.

It is more than probable that his name would have been much less widely known but for the happy accident that turned his attention to the game of chess. It was a popular diversion, and in the moralizing spirit of the age he saw in it an allegory of the various components of the commonwealth. The men who were merely killing time were perhaps flattered at the thought that they were at the same time learning the modes of statecraft. Then, as now, the teachers of morality felt that a song might reach him who a sermon flies, and they did not scruple to use in the pulpit whatever aids came handy. The popular stories, wise saws, and modern instances, were common enough on the lips of the preachers, and such collections as the "Gesta Romanorum" show what a pitch of ingenuity in unnatural interpretation they had reached. An appropriate instance is furnished by it in the following quaint fashion of moralizing the chess play:--

"Antonius was a wys emp\_er\_our regnyng in the cite of Rome, the which vsid moche to pley with houndis; and aftir at pley, all e day aftir he wolde vse e chesse. So yn a day, as he pleide at e chesse, & byheld the kyng fette yn the pley, som tyme hy and som tyme lowe, among aufyns and pownys, he thought \_er\_with\_a\_t hit wold be so with hi\_m\_, for he shuld dey, and be hid vndir erth. And \_er\_fore he devided his Reame in thre p\_ar\_ties; and he yaf oo part to e kyng of ler\_usa\_l\_e\_m; e secunde p\_ar\_t vnto e lordis of his Reame or his empire; and the thrid p\_ar\_tie vnto the pore people; & yede him self vnto the holy londe, and ther he endid his lyf in peas.

#### MORALITE.

Seth now, good sirs; this emp\_er\_our, at lovith so wele play, may be called eche worldly man at occupieth him in vanytes of the world; but he moste take kepe of the pley of the chesse, as did the emp\_er\_oure. the chekir or e chesse hath viij. poyntes in eche p\_ar\_tie. In eu\_er\_y pley beth viij. kyndes of men, s\_cil\_. man, woman, wedewer, wedowis, lewid men, clerk\_es\_, riche men, and pou\_er\_e men. at this pley pleieth vj. men. the first man, at goth afore, hath not but oo poynt, but whenne he goth aside, he takith ano\_er\_; so by a pou\_er\_e man; he hath not, but when he comyth to e deth with pacience, en shall he be a kyng in heuen, w\_i\_t\_h\_e kyng of pore men. But if he grucche ayenst his neighbour of his stat, and be a thef, and ravissch at wher he may, en he is ytake, and put in to the p\_re\_son of helle. The secund, f\_cil\_. alphyn, renneth iij. poyntes both vphward and douneward; [he] betokenyth wise men, the whiche by deceyuable eloquence & takyng of money deceyueth, & so he is made oonly. The iij. \_scil\_. e kny3t, hath iij. poyntes, & goth \_er\_with; [he] betokenyth gentilmen at rennyth aboute, & ravisschith, and ioyeth for her kynrede, & for habundaunce of riches. The fourth, s\_cil\_. e rook, he

holdith length & brede, and takith vp what so is in his way; he betokenyth okerers and false m\_er\_chaunt<sup>3</sup>, at rennyth aboute ouer all, for wynnyng & lucre, & rechith not how thei geten, so that thei haue hit. The fifthe is e quene, that goth fro blak to blak, or fro white to white, and is yset befide e kyng, and is ytake fro the kyng. This quene bytokenyth virgyns and damesels, at goth fro chastite to synne, and beth ytake by the devill, for glovis or such man\_e\_r yiftis. The vj. is to whom all owe to obey and mynystre; and he goth forth, and bakward ayen, & in either side, & takith ouer all; so sone discendith in to e world, and ascendith to god by praiers; But when he takith [no] kepe of god, and hath no meyne, an is hit to e man chekmate. And \_er\_fore let vs not charge of oure estatis, no more an is w\_i\_t\_h\_e men, when ei be put vp in e poket; then hit is no charge who be above or who be byneth; and so by the Spirit of loulynesse we may come to e ioy of heven. And at graunt vs, \_qui viuit\_ &c."

It is not, therefore, surprising to learn that Jacques de Cessoles found texts for sundry sermons on the game that formed so favourite a diversion of clergy and laity. The favour with which these discourses were received no doubt gratified the worthy Dominican father. At the request of some of those who heard them he began to write down the substance of his sermons. The result was the "Liber de moribus Hominum et officiis Nobilium ac Popularium super ludo scachorum," which immediately attained great popularity. This is shown by the bibliography of Dr. A. Van der Linde in a striking manner, for he has described two hundred codices to be found in the various public libraries of Europe.[16]

The difficulties in the way of forming any clear conception as to the life and personality of Cessoles, Ferron, and De Vignay are well shown in an article by M.C. Leber.[17] Dr. Ernst Koepke, who has reexamined the evidences as to Cessoles, holds that he was a Lombard.[18]

The chief source from which Cessoles took his material was the treatise "De Regimine Principum" of Egidius Romanus.

He was of the great Neapolitan family of the Colonna, and his Christian name appears to have been Guido, but his designations have undergone some curious transformations. Born at Rome, 22nd Sept., 1216, Guido Colonna went at an early age to Paris, where, from the name of his birthplace, he became known as AEgidius Romanus, with the French form of Gilles de Rome. He was an ardent and enthusiastic disciple of St. Thomas Aquinas, and his familiarity with that great doctor of the Church led him to desire admission to the Dominican order, but a difficulty intervened from the circumstance that he had already contracted ties which bound him to the order of St. Augustine. To this untoward accident may probably be attributed no little of the extension of the philosophical doctrine of Aquinas; for Colonna, unable or unwilling to be relieved of the vows that bound him to the Augustinians, preached eagerly amongst them the Thomist speculations of his friend and master. In the controversy with the Franciscans, those whom he had indoctrinated were valuable allies to the Thomists, for their aid, coming from an independent organization, appeared to carry the weight of impartiality, and to be unassailable on the plea of partisan interest. In the year 1287 there was a general convocation of the order of St. Augustine at Florence, and at this assembly it was decreed that the doctors of the order should teach in conformity with the decisions arrived at by Colonna. To him is largely due the success of the Thomist scheme, of

which he was an able, persistent, and vigorous exponent. Many tracts by him remain in print and MS. on these subjects. The fame he had thus acquired gained him the name of *\_doctor fundamentarius\_* and *\_doctor fundatissimus\_*. His lectures at Paris attracted to him the attention of Philippe le Hardi, who thought him a fitting person to be entrusted with the education of his son, who was afterwards known to history as Philippe le Bel. It was whilst occupied with this royal youth that the thought of composing or compiling--and the terms were in practice interchangeable in those days--occurred, and the result was the treatise "*De regimine Principum libri iii.*" Philippe le Hardi, if not an educated man himself--and there are doubts as to whether he could write his own name--was laudably anxious that his heir should have the best instruction that could be obtained. It cannot well be claimed that the able, handsome, and unscrupulous Philippe was any great credit to his preceptor. The despotic and perfidious character of the king probably owed more to the influence of Nogaret and other defenders of the "right divine of kings to govern wrong," than to the soberer precepts of Colonna. That Philippe had some tincture of literary feeling may be inferred from his employment of Jehan de Meung to translate the military treatise of Vegetius Flavius Renatus, a compilation of the second century of the present era, which was so popular in the middle ages that it was translated by Caxton into English. Still better evidence is the translation made for the king by the same poet of Boethius, whose stoical philosophy must have had a special appropriateness for those times of political storm and stress, when the fickleness of fortune must have been a matter of only too common repute. Guido Colonna was elected by his admiring brethren the general of the order in 1292, and took up his residence at Bourges, its metropolitan seat.

In this honourable office he continued his literary labours, and to this period are assigned the greater part of his numerous works. He died at Avignon in 1316. His body was translated to Paris, where his effigy in black marble, with his epitaph, remained until the French revolution.[19] It would be superfluous to enumerate his philosophical writings, for they would have no interest in the present day. His commentary on Aristotle "*De Anima*," it may be observed, was dedicated to Edward I. His name is now chiefly remembered because his work on the rule of princes formed the basis of the treatise in which Jacques de Cessoles moralized the fashionable game of the chess.

One interesting instance of the popularity of Colonna's work is the translation of it made into English verse by Thomas Occleve.[20] He wrote it in 1411 or 1412, and its object was to obtain the payment of an annuity from the exchequer which had been granted to him, but the payment of which was very irregular. The book was dedicated to the Prince of Wales. After mentioning his purpose to translate from the (apocryphal) letter of Aristotle to Alexander and "*Gyles of Regement of Prynces*," he proceeds:--

"There is a booke, Jacob de Cessoles,  
Of the ordre of Prechours, made, a worthy man,

That the Chesse moralisede clepede is,  
In whiche I purpose eke to labour ywis  
And here and there, as that my litelle witte  
Afforthe may, I thynke translate it.

And al be it that in that place square  
Of the lystes, I meane the eschekere,

A man may learn to be wise and ware;  
I that have avanturede many a yere,  
My witte therein is but litelle the nere,  
Save that somewhat I know a Kynges draught,  
Of other draughts lernede have I naught."--(p. 77.)

"In those days," says Warton, "ecclesiastics and schoolmen presumed to dictate to kings and to give rules for administering states, drawn from the narrow circle of speculation, and conceived amid the pedantries of a cloister. It was probably recommended to Occleve's notice by having been translated into English by John Trevisa, a celebrated translator about the year 1390.[21]

Having thus traced the stream back to its fountain, we return to Caxton. The story of his life has been told by Mr. Blades, and only the most essential facts of his busy and useful career need be recapitulated here. He was born in the Weald of Kent, and it has been conjectured that the manor of Caustons, near Hadlow, was the original home of the family. He was apprenticed to Alderman Robert Large, a mercer, who was afterwards Lord Mayor. The entry in the books of the Mercers' Company leads to the inference that Caxton was born about 1422. Probably on the death of Large, in 1441, Caxton went abroad, for he tells us that in 1471 he had been resident outside England for thirty years. About 1462 or 1463 he was Governor of the English Nation or Merchant Adventurers at Bruges. This was a position of great influence, and it is thought to have enabled the loyal mercer to give good service to Edward IV., who was an exile in 1470. Caxton's marriage was not much later than 1469, and it is conjectured that this led him to enter the service of the Duchess of Burgundy. She had literary tastes, and at her request he translated the "Recuyell des Histoires de Troyes" of Raoul Le Fevre. It was the demand for copies of this that exhausted Caxton's calligraphic patience, and led to his employment of a printer. The incident may have been casual, but it led to great results. It has been said that he learned the printers' art at Cologne, but Mr. Blades supposes that he entered its mystery at Bruges under Colard Mansion, with whom he appears to have had some partnership. Probably towards the end of 1476 Caxton returned to England. He had the favour of Edward IV. and of his sister, Duchess of Burgundy, and the friendship of the King's brother-in-law, Earl Rivers. Ninety-nine distinct productions issued from Caxton's press, he was printer, publisher, translator, and something of author as well. He set in good earnest about the work that is still going on--of making the best accessible literature widely and commonly known. This useful career was only ended by his death. The exact date is not known, but it was probably late in 1491. He left a married daughter. Caxton was a good business man. He was also a sincere lover of literature, and he was at his favourite work of translation only a few hours before the final summons came.

The quality of Caxton as a translator is not a matter of much doubt. It may be that the archaic forms give an additional flavour to his style, since they present few difficulties to the modern reader, and yet sound like echoes from the earlier periods of the language. Generally he is content to follow his author with almost plodding fidelity, but occasionally he makes additions which are eminently characteristic. His author having remarked:--"Il nest an Jour Duy nulle chose qui tant grieve Rome ne ytalie com~e fait le college Des notaires publiques Car ilz ne sont mie en accort ensemble"--Caxton improves the passage thus:--

"For ther is no thyng at this day that so moche greueth rome and



Italye as doth the college of notaries and aduocates publicque. For they ben not of oon a corde/ Alas and in Engeland what hurte doon the aduocats. men of law. And attorneyes of court to the comyn peple of y'e royame as well in the spirituell lawe as in the temporall/ how torne they the lawe and statutes at their pleasir/ how ete they the peple/ how enpouere they the comynte/ I suppose that in alle Cristendom ar not so many pletars attorneys and men of the lawe as ben in england onely/ for yf they were nombrid all that lange to the courtes of the channcery kinges benche. comyn place. cheker. ressayt and helle And the bagge berars of the same/ hit shold amounte to a grete multitude And how alle thyse lyue & of whome. yf hit shold be vttrid & told/ hit shold not be beleuyd. For they entende to theyr synguler wele and prouffyt and not to the comyn/"

Another addition is the brief passage in the first chapter of the fourth tract in which the "good old times" are lamented and contrasted with the decadence of the then present--now the four centuries past.

"Alas what haboundance was some tymes in the royames. And what prosite/ In whiche was lustice/ And euery man in his office contente/ how stood the cytees that tyme in worship and renome/ how was renommed the noble royame of Englund Alle the world dredde hit And spack worship of hit/ how hit now standeth and in what haboundance I reporte me to them that knowe hit yf ther ben theeuis wyth in the royame or on the see/ they knowe that laboure in the royame And sayle on the see I wote well the same is grete therof I pray god saue that noble royame And sende good true and politicque counceyllours to the gouernours of the same &c./"

The concluding paragraph of the book is also due to Caxton.

"And therefore my ryght redoubted lord I pray almighty god to saue the kyng our souerain lord & to gyue hym grace to yssue as a kynge & tabounde in all vertues/ & to be assisted with all other his lordes in such wyse y't his noble royame of Englund may prospere & habounde in vertues/ and y't synne may be eschewid iuftice kepte/ the royame defended good men rewarded malefactours punysshid & the ydle peple to be put to laboure that he wyth the nobles of the royame may regne gloriously In conquerynge his rightfull enheritaunce/ that verray peas and charite may endure in bothe his royames/ and that marchandise may haue his cours in suche wise that euery man eschewe synne/ and encrece in vertuous occupacions/ Praynge your good grace to resseyue this lityll and symple book made vnder the hope and shadowe of your noble protection by hym that is your most humble seruant/ in gree and thanke And I shall praye almighty god for your longe lyf & welfare/ whiche he preferue And sende yow thaccomplisshement of your hye noble. loyous and vertuous desirs Amen:/ Fynysshid the last day of marche the yer of our lord god. a. thousand foure honderd and lxxiiii"

This was struck out in the second edition, and the following briefer farewell substituted:--

"Thenne late euery man of what condycion he be that redyth or herith this litel book redde take therby ensauple to amend hym.

Explicit per Caxton."

The alteration may perhaps be received as an evidence of our first

English printer's fastidiousness as an author.

The bibliography of the editions, translations, and imitations of Cessoles is long and intricate. Details of MSS. have not been thought necessary. They have been amply described by Dr. Van der Linde. The treatise on the rule of princes of Colonna has been taken as furnishing the matter which Jacques de Cessoles afterwards re-arranged under the attractive form of a description of the game of chess. The editions of the Latin text are followed by particulars of the translations into French, English, Spanish, Italian, and other languages. Each title has appended the name of the bibliographer on whose authority it is given.

These are as follows:--

\_Hain.\_--Repertorium Bibliographicum ... opera Ludovici Hain. Stuttgart, 1826.

\_Ebert.\_--A General Bibliographical Dictionary, from the German of Frederic Adolphus Ebert. Oxford, 1837. 4 vols.

\_Graesse.\_--Trésor de Livres rares et précieux: par Jean George Theodore Graesse. Dresde, 1859-67. 6 vols.

\_Brunet.\_--Manuel du Libraire par Jacques-Charles Brunei. Paris, 1860.

\_Linde.\_--Geschichte und Literatur des Schachspiels von Antonius van der Linde. Berlin, 1874.

Das erste Jartausend der Schachliteratur (850-1880) zusammengestellt von Dr. A.v.d. Linde. Berlin, 1881.

Dr. van der Linde's work is so complete that, for the most part, it has been thought sufficient to give his name, even when older authorities have been consulted.

COLONNA.

(See \_ante\_, p. xxviii.)

AEgidius Romanus de regimine principum L. III. s. I. 1473. Folio.

This Ebert and Graesse conjecture to have been printed by G. Zainer. They describe it as the first edition of a work frequently reprinted, and say that the last edition appeared at Lugd. Batav. in 1643, and had on the title-page the name of St. Thomas Aquinas as author. Hain mentions editions at Rome--Stephanum Plannck, 1482, folio; Venetiis, 1498.

\* \* \* \* \*

(\_French translation.\_)

Miroir exemplaire, selon la compilation du Gilles de Rome du regime et gouvernement des rois etc. (by Henri de Gauchy or de Gauchay) et avec est compris le secret de Aristote appelle le secret des secrets, et les noms des rois de France com bien de temps ils out regne. Paris, 1517. Folio.

( \_Graesse.\_ )

This was printed by Guillaum Eustace: "On les v=et au palais au Tiers pillier Et a la me neufue nostre dame a lenseigne de Lagnus dei" ( \_Brunef\_ ). Ebert mentions a French translation as having been printed at Paris, in 1497; but Brunet, in the article on Aristotle, gives a somewhat minute account of the book, to show that it is not that of Colonna.

\* \* \* \* \*

( \_Spanish translation.\_ )

Regimi[=e]to de los principes sechs y ordenado par Don fray Gil de Roma de la orden de s[=a]t Augustin. E fizolo trasladar de latin en rom[=a]ce do Bernardo obispo de osma etc. Suilla--a espenses de Maestre Conrado aleman. & Melchior gurrizo, mercadores de libros, fue impresso per Meynardo Ungut alememo: & Stanislas Polono companeros. Acabaron se a veynte dias del mes de octubre Ano del senor de Mill & quarto cientos & nouenta & quarto [1494] folio.

( \_Hain, Brunet, Graeffe\_ )

Ebert notes that there was an edition under the name of Th. Aquino at Madrid, 1625, 4to.

( \_Catalan translation\_ )

Regiment des Princeps. Barcelona per Mestre Nicolau Spindaler emprentador. 1480. Folio.

( \_Graeffe\_ )

Regiment del Princeps. Barcelona per Johan Luchner. 1498. Fol.

( \_Brunei, Graeffe\_ )

( \_Italian translation\_ )

Ebert mentions an Italian version by Val. Averoni. Firenze, 1577, 8vo.

( \_Graeffe\_ )

( \_English translation\_ )

De regimine Principum, a poem by Thomas Occleve, written in the reign of Henry IV. Edited for the first time by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., &c. Printed for the Roxburghe Club. London, J.B. Nichols. 1860. 4to.

(See \_ante\_, p. xxxii., for notice of another Early English version.)

CESSOLES.

(See \_ante\_, p. xxiv.)

Incipit solati[=u] ludi schacor. Scilicz regiminis ac morum nominu= et officium viror' nobili[=u] quor' si quis formas menti impresserit bellum ipsum et ludi virtutem cordi faciliter poterit optinere. (E)Go frater iacobus de thessolonia multor' fratru= &c. Ends: Explicit folaci[=u] ludi schacor'. Folio. 40 leaves.

There is neither date, place, nor printer's name given; but it is considered to have been the work of Nic. Ketelaer and Ger. de Leempt, at Utrecht (Ultrajectus), about 1473.

(\_Linde, Graesse\_.)

Incipit libellus de ludo Scaccorum, et de dictis factisque nobilium virorum, philosophorum et antiquorum. Explicit tabula super ludum Scacchorum. Deo gratias. 4to. 29 leaves. Sign. A--H.

This is in black letter, and has neither date nor place.

(\_Linde\_.)

Incipit libelles de ludo Schaccorum.... Explicit doctrina vel morum informatio, accepta de modo et ordine Ludi Schaccorum. 4to.

(\_Linde\_.)

Incipit liber quem composuit frater. Jacobus' de cessolis ordinis frat[=u] predicatorum qui intitulatur liber de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium super ludo scacorum. Impressum Mediolani ad impensas Paulini de suardis Anno a natali christiano. MCCCCLXXviiiij. die xxiiij. Mensis augusti. Folio. 24 leaves.

(\_Linde, Graesse\_.)

Jacobi de Cessolis Ord. Praed. Informatio morum, excerpta ex modo et ratione ludi Scacchorum; sive de moribus hominum officiisque nobilium et super eo commentarius. Mediolani. 1497. Folio.

(\_Linde, Graesse\_.)

Tractatus de Scachis mystice interpretatus de moribus per singulos homin[=u] status. 4to. Anno 1505.

On leaf 31b:--

"Ad lectorum

Quum paucis rigidos possis compescere mons  
Accipe: quod offert hiberna ex arce Johannes  
Scacherii munus: sapiens Philometer et illud  
Tradidit. ut regis babilonis crimina mergat  
Hunc tibi si soties capiet te lectio frequens  
Noveris et iuste que ius moderamina vite."

No place or date, but supposed to be printed at Vienna, by Joh. Winterburg.

(\_Linde, Graesse\_.)

Jacobus de Cessoles. Von Prof. Dr. Ernft Koepke, Mittheilungen, aus den

Handschriften der Ritter. Akademie zu Brandenburg. Brandenburg a.d. Havel, 1879, 4to.

(\_Linde\_, "Jartausend.")

(\_French translation\_.)

Les jeu des Echez moralise, nouvellement imprime a Paris (ends). Cy finist le livre des Echez et l'Ordre de Chevalerie, translate de latin en francois, imprime nouvellement a Paris; et fut acheve le vendredy, VI'e jour de septembre, l'an MVC et IIII, pour Anthoine Verart, libraire jure en l'universite de Paris, demourant a Paris, a l'imaige Saint Jehan l'evangeliste, devant la rue neufve Nostre Dame, &c. Folio, 102 leaves.

(\_Linde\_.)

"On trouve an f. LX un autre traite de Morale et an f. lxxxij celui de \_Melibee et de Prudence\_. Il y a a la bibl. imp. un exempl. de cette ed. tire sur velin et orne de 4 Miniatures."

(\_Graesse\_.)

Le Jeu de Echets moralise ... Cy finist le liure des eschecz et lordre de cheualerie, translattee de latin en francoys imprime a Paris: et fut acheue le xiiii iour de nouembre mil cinq cent et cinq. Par Michel le noir libraire ... demourant deuant Saint Denys de la chartre a l'imaige nostre dame. 90 leaves.

(\_Linde\_.)

On trouve a la fin du \_Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie\_ le meme Dialogue entre Melibee et Prudence sous le titre: \_Ung petit traictie a l'enseignement et au prouffit de tous princes barons & aultres que le voudront entendre & garder lequel fut fonde & extrait d'une fiction trouuee en escript\_. Ce qui a induit \_Du Verdier\_ (vol. i. p. 556) en erreur de croire que cette traduction, publiee en 1505, differe de celle de 1504.

(\_Graesse\_.)

{\_Italian translation\_.}

Libro di Giocho di Scacchi intitulado de costumi degli huomin et degli officii de nobili. 4to.

"Ohne Angabe des Druckortes und des Jahres. Ausser dem Titelblattbildchen bringt das Buch dreizehn Abbildungen, welche die von Cessoles auf dem Schachbrett statuirten Wuerden und Gewerke darstellen."

(\_Linde\_.)

Libro di givocho di scacchi intitulado de costumi degl huomini & degli offitii de nobili. (Fol. 2a:) In comincia un tractato gentile & utile della uirtu del giuochio degli scachi cioe intitulado de costumi deglhuomini & degli ufittii denobili: composto pel Reu[=e]redo Maestro Jacopo dacciesole dellordine de fratri predicatori. Fol. 67b: Impresso in Fir[=e]ze per Maestro Antonio Miscomini Anno M.CCCCLXXXIII. Adi primo di Marzo 8vo.

(Linde.)

"Cette ed. bien incorrecte quant an texte (comme les reimpressions: f. l. 1534, in 8vo. [56 ff.] l. 1. 206, Gallarini) est recherchee pour ses belles gravures en bois, don't une partie a ete copiee par Dibdin, Aedes Althorp, vol. ii. p. 5-13. Il y a une nouvelle edition: \_Mil. tipogr. di Giulio Terrario\_, 1829, gr. in 8 deg., avec des copies de ces memes figures et des corrections du texte d'apres des de Florence. On a tire de cette derniere edition 24 exempl. \_in carte distinte\_, 1 sur peau velin d'Augsbourg et 1 \_in capretti di Roma\_."

(Graesse.)

Opera nvova nella quale se insigna il vero regimento delli huomini & delle do[=n]e di qualunqu grado, stato, e condition esser si voglia:, Composta per lo Reuerendissimo Padre Frate Giacobbo da Cesole del ordine di predicatori sopra il giuoco delli Scacchi, Intitulata Costvme delli hvomini, & vfficii delli nobeli, nuouamente Stampata. M.D. XXXVIII. Stampata in Vineggia per Fransesco di Alessandro Bin doni & Mapheo Pasini compagni: Nelli anni del Signore, 1534. del mese di Zenaro 8vo. 56 leaves.

(Linde.)

Volgarizzamento del libro de' costumi e degli officii de' nobili sopra il giuoco degli scacchi di frate Jacopo da Cessole tratto nuovamente da un codice Magliabechiano. Milano, 1829. Dalla tipografia del dottore Giulio Ferrario Contrado del Bocchetto al No. 2465 8vo. Pp. xx and 162, and 1 leaf.

(Linde.)

\_Catalan translation\_.

This does not appear to have been printed. There is a codex in the Vatican and another at Barcelona. They are described by Linde. See ante, p. xxviii.

\_Spanish translation\_.

Dechado de la vida humana. moralmento Sacado del juego del Axedrez. tradizado agora de nuevo per el licenciado Reyna Vezino della Villa de Aranda de duero. En este ano M.D.XLIX. 4to. 56 leaves.

Printed at Valladolid by Francifque Fernandes de Cordoue.

(Linde.)

\_German translation\_.

Ich bruder Jacob von Caffalis prediger ordens, bin ueberwunder worden von der bruder gebet ... (Ends.) Hie endet sich das buch menschlicher sitten vnd d'ampft der edeln. Folio. 40 leaves.

Without place or year, but printed before the year 1480.

(Linde.)

I (Ch) bruder Jacob von Cassalis prediger ordens bin vberwunden worden vo(n) der brueder gebet wegen vn(d) der weltlichen studenten vn(d) andern edlen leut die mich haben horen predigen das spil das do heysset schachzabel. Das ich davon gemacht hab ditz buch. vn(d) hab das pracht zenutz menschlichs geschlechts. Vn(d) hab es geheissen das buch menschlicher sitten vnnd der ampt der edlen ... (Ends.) Hie endet sich das buch menschlicher sitten vnd der ampt der edeln I.4.7.7. Folio. 40 leaves.

This is believed to have been printed with the type of G. Zainer at Augftmrg.

(\_Linde\_)

(I)ch bruder Jacob vo(n) Cassalis prediger ordens bin vberwunden worden von der brueder gebet ... (Ends.) Hie endet sich das Buch menschlicher sitten vnd der ampt der edlen. Gedruckt zu Augsburg in der Kayserliche(n)stat anno dni MCCCC LXXX IJ. am osterabe(n)t geent. Folio. 36 leaves.

(\_Linde\_)

Dis buchlein weiset die aufzlegung des schachzabel spils, Vnd menschlicher fitten, Auch von den ampten der edeln. (Leaf Aiiia)

(I)ch bruder Jacob vo(n) Cassalis prediger orde(n)s ... (Leaf 39b)  
Getruckt vnd volendet von henrico knoblochzern in der hochgelobten stat Strassburg vff Sant Egidius tag In dem LXXX iij Jor. &c. Folio. 39 leaves.

(\_Linde\_)

Jacobus de Cessolis, de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium ac popularium; oder, Das Schachwerk des Cessolis, von den Sitten der Menschen und den Pflichten der Vornehmen und Niedern. Von Heydebrand v. d. Lafa. (Schachzeitung, 1870.)

(\_Linde\_)

(\_German rhyming version of Conrad von Ammenhausen\_)

Ueber das Schachzabelbuch Konrads von Ammenhausen und die Zofinger Handsschrift desselben, von Wilhelm Wackernagel (Beitrage zur Geschichte und Literatur vorzuglich aus den Archiven und Bibliotheken des Kanton Aargau. Herausgegeben von Dr. Heinrich Kurz ... und Placid Weissenbach. Erster Band. Aarau 1846.)

Dr. van der Linde gives particulars of various MSS. of this rhyming version of Cessolis.

(\_German rhyming version of Dr. Jacob Mennel\_)

Schachzabel. (Ends.) Getruckt vund vollendet in der loblichen statt Costentz vo Hanfen schaeffeler. Vf zinttag vor sant Vits tag Anno M. cccc vn vii iar. 4to 13 leaves. Sig. a ii--c ii.

In the prologue Jacob Mennel, doctor, claims the paternity of this rhyming treatise, but he is supposed to have taken much of his material--ready made--from Ammenhausen.

Schachtzabel Spiel. D Esz Ritterlich[=e] kunst lich[=e] Schachtzabel Spiels vnderweygun, erclaerung, vn(d) verstant, wo here das kommen, were das am ersten erfunden, vund ausz was vrsach es erdacht sey, Auch wie man das kuenstlich lernen ziehen vn(d) spielen solle, sampt etlich[=e] kunstlich[=e] geteylten spielen &c. [Illustration: hand] Zu dem Schachtzieher.

"Dein Augen scherpff, nicht uberseh  
Dem wyderteyl, sleiszlich nach speh,  
Wie fich gebuert, im Feld und Heer,  
Dein volck das schich an zu der weer,  
Vnd orden das recht an dem streyt,  
Ders ueberlicht, gern vnden leyt."

Getruckt zu Oppenheim. 4to.

This second edition was issued by Jacob Koebel, who printed about 1520.

(\_Linde.\_)

Des Altenn Ritterlichenn spils des Schachzabels, gruendlich bedeutung vund klarer bericht, dasselbig kuenstlich zuziehenn vund spilen. Mit ein newenn zusatz ettlicher besonderen Meisterstueck, nach der Current, welfchen art, vn(d) von Hutten, deszgleichen ettlichener besondern Regeln des Schachziehens, vormals nie ausgangen. Franckfurt, 1536. 4to.

(\_Linde.\_)

Vnderweyfung, erklarung, vund auszlegung desz Ritterlichenn, kunstlichenn spielfz des Schachzabels, durch den Hochgelartenn Doctor Jacob Mennel... auff dem heiligen Reichsztag zu Kostentz, Anno &c. 1507 in Rheimen gedicht, vund desselbinn spiels Vrsprung vn(d) wesenn, Auch wie man das auff das aller kurtzest zu ziehenn vund spilen begreissen mag, offenbart. Frankfurt, 1536, 4to.

This is given on the authority of Massmann by Dr. van der Linde.

Das Schachzabelspiel. Des alten ritterlichen Spiels des Schachzabels' gruendlich Bedeutung... Frankf. 1536. [Reprint.]

Dr. van der Linde does not speak well of this reprint which appeared in:--Schaltjahr, welches ist der teutsch Kalendar, durch J. Scheible. Dritter Band. Stuttgart, 1847.

(\_German rhyming version of Heinrich von Beringen.\_)

There is a third rhyming version of the Chessbook by Heinrich von Beringer, of which a MS., dated 1438, is in the Stuttgart library.

(\_Linde.\_)

(\_Low German rhyming translation by Stephan.\_)

Van dogheden vnde van guden zeden fecht dyt boek wol dat valen ouer left de wert ok des schackspeles klock. (Lubeck, about 1489.) Small 4to. or large 8vo.

"Hir gheyt vth ghemaket to dude  
Dat schackspil der eddelen lude  
Des bokes dichter het stephan."



(\_Linde.\_)

(\_Dutch Translation.\_)

(D)It is die tafel van desen boeck datmen hiet dat scaecspel (Fol. 2'a)  
(H)ler beghint ee suuerlyc boec vanden tytuerdryf edelre heren ende vrouwen. als vande scaec spul. daer nochtant een ygherlyck mensche van wat staet dat hi si. vele scoenre en(de) saliger leren wt neme(n) mach. nae welcken hi syn leuen sal regieren tot profyt ende salicheyt synre sielen (Fol. 67'b), ghebruyken Amen In iaer ons heren dusent vierhondert ende neghentseuentich. opten anderden dach van october, soe is dit ghenoechlycke boeck voleynt en(de) Ghemaect ter goude in hollant. by my gheraert leeu. Lof heb god Folio.

(\_Linde.\_)

Tractat van den Tydverdryf der Edele Heeren ende Vrouwen, genoemd dat scaekspel, verciert met veele schoone historien (Ends:) Int iaer ons heren M.CCCC.LXXXIII. opten veertienden dach van februario: so is dat ghenoecklike bock volmaeckt te Delff in hollant. 4to.

(\_Linde.\_)

Hier beghint een suyuerlijck boeck vande(n) tytuerdrijf edelre heere(n) ende vrouwen, als vanden scaeck spel, daer nochtans een ieghelijck me(n)sche va wat staet dz by sy, vele scoonre en(de) saligher leerighe(n) wt nemen mach, nae welcken hy sijn leuen sal regeren tot profijt ende salicheyt synre sielen. (Ends.) Gheprint tot Louen in de Borchstrate in den Lupaert by my Anthonis Maria Bergaigne ghesworen boecprinter. Int iaer ons Heren. M.CCCC. ende LI. den VI. dach van Augustus. 8vo. 120 leaves.

(\_Linde.\_)

(\_Scandinavian rhyming translation.\_)

De ludo Scacchorum seu de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium ac popularium. Poema suecanum vetustum. e codice manuscripto biblioth. Reg. Universitatis Havn. nunc primum editum. quod consensu ampl. ord. phil. Lund. p.p. Ernestus Rietz et Augustus Ludovicus Sjoeberg, scanus in Academia Carolina die vi Decembris MDCCCXLVIII. Lundae, Typis Berlingianis. MDCCCXLVIII. 8vo.

Fourteen dissertations, of which there is a set in the Jena Library.

There is a MS. of this Scandinavian poetical version of Cessolis dated 1492, and another dated 1492 in the Copenhagen University Library.

(\_Linde.\_)

(\_English translation.\_)

The Game and Playe of the Chesse. folio. E. P.

The Game and Playe of the Chesse. Explicit per Caxton. folio.

The Game at Chesse, a metaphorical Discourse shewing the present Estate of this Kingdome. London. 1643, 4to.

This title is given by Lowndes, but examination only would show whether it is in any way an imitation of Caxton.

The Game of the Chesse by William Caxton. [Facsimile reprint of the second edition, with remarks by Vincent Figgins.] London: J. R. Smith, 1855. folio.

The Game of the Chesse by William Caxton. Reproduced in facsimile from a copy in the British Museum. With a few remarks on Caxton's Typographical Productions. By Vincent Figgins. London: John Russell Smith. 1860.

The Game of the Chesse by William Caxton. A facsimile reproduction of the first work printed in England, from the copy in the British Museum. London: Truebner and Co. 1862. fol.

Caxton and the Spelling Reform. [Signed] Isaac Pitman, Bath, 10th March, 1877. 4to. Pp. 4.

This contains an extract from the "Game of the Chess" in four columns:--1. Caxton's spelling. 2. The supposed pronunciation of the same represented by the Phonetic alphabet. 3. Modern spelling. 4. Phonetic spelling.

The Game of the Chesse: a moral treatise on the duties of life. The First Book Printed in England, by William Caxton in the year 1474. Reprinted in Phonetic spelling, with a preface and contents in Caxton's orthography, and a fac-simile page of the original work. Second edition. London, F. Pitman. Bath, Isaac Pitman, James Davies. 1872 [1879].

The printing of this book began in 1872, when the title-page and earlier sheets were worked, but it was not finished until May, 1879. This is the second time that Mr. Pitman has printed the Chess-book in his reformed orthography. The first issue was in 1855. Although the title-page repeats the old belief that "The Game of Chess" was the first book printed in England, and gives the date of 1474, it is really a reprint of the second edition of Caxton.

(\_Sloane's version\_)

The Buke of the Chesse. Auchinleck Press. 1818. 4to.

This is printed from a MS. which is believed to have been written about the beginning of the sixteenth century. The work is in verse, and ends: "Heir endis y'e buke of y'e Chess, Script per manu Jhois Sloane." Only forty copies were reprinted by Sir Alexander Boswell at the Auchinleck Press.

(\_Linde. Lowndes\_)

The "Game and Play of the Chess" is an interesting specimen of mediaeval English literature. It is so near our own time that the language presents few difficulties, in spite of its many Gallicisms, and yet it is so remote as to seem like the echo of an unknown world. The distinctly dogmatic portions of the book are but few, and their paucity is indeed a matter of some surprise, since it is in effect a detailed treatise on practical ethics, and is, in part if not wholly, systematized from the discourses of one distinguished preacher, who had borrowed much of his matter from another eminent ecclesiastic. The

author aims not at the enforcement of doctrine, but at the guidance of life, though he no doubt assumes that his hearers are all faithful and orthodox sons of the Church.[22]

The ideal of the commonwealth of the middle ages finds an interesting expression. The sharp lines of demarcation between class and class are stated with the frankness that comes of a belief that the then existing social fabric was the only one possible in the best of worlds. There is no doubt in the author's mind as to the rightful position of king and baron, of bishop and merchant. The "rights of man" had not been invented, apparently, and the maxim that the king reigns but does not govern, would have perplexed the souls of Cessoles and his translators. They had no more doubt as to the divine right of the monarch, than the Thibetan has of the divine right of the grand lama. The Buddhist thinks he has secured the continuous re-appearance of supernatural wisdom in human form, and the regular transmission of political ability in the same family was the ideal for which the devotees of mediaeval despotism had to hope. Nothing could be further from the aspirations of our author than a race of mere palace kings seeking enjoyment only in self-indulgence. The king was to be the ruler and leader of his people. The relation and interdependence of the several classes is emphatically proclaimed, and the claims of duty are urged upon each.

The book enables us to gauge the literary culture of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Poor as it may now seem, it belonged, in those days, to the "literature of power," and had great influence. The form is one which lent itself readily to poetic and historic illustration, and indeed demanded such treatment. The authors and translators were chiefly learned and distinguished ecclesiastics. Caxton, the representative of the new time when literature was to be the common heritage, was filled to overflowing with the best literature then accessible. A writer of the present century, probably borrowing his sentiment, has defined originality to be undetected imitation. Such refinements were unknown to Cessoles and his contemporaries. A writer took whatever suited his purpose from any and every source that was open to him. A quotation was always as good as an original sentiment, and sometimes much better. Why should a man take the trouble of laboriously inventing fresh phrases about usury or uncleanness when there were the very words of St. Augustine or St. Basil ready to hand? Why seek modern instances when the great storehouse of anecdotes of Valerius Maximus was ready to be rifled? Very frequently the author is given, mostly it may be imagined from a sense of the value of the authority of the names thus cited. Whatever the intention of the writer, the effect is to show us what were the authors known, studied, and quoted in the middle ages.

The authors named are:--Saint Ambrose (2 references), Anastasius (1), Avicenna (2), Saint Augustine (9), Saint Basil (1), Saint Bernard (2), Boethius (3), Cassiodorus (1), Cato (5), Cicero (6), Claudian (2), "Crete" (1), Diomedes (1), Florus (1), Galen (1), Helinand (4), Hippocrates (4), Homer (1), Saint Jerome (3), John the Monk (1), Josephus (4), Livy (2), Lucan (1), Macrobius (1), Martial (1), Ovid (6), Paulus Diaconus (1), Petrus Alphonsus (2), Plato (4), Quintilian (3), Sallust (1), Seneca (15), Sidrac (1), Solinus (1), Symmachus (1), Theophrastus (1), "Truphes of the Philosophers" (2), Turgeius Pompeius (1), Valerius Maximus (23), Valerian (7), Varro (1), Virgil (2), "Vitas Patrum" (2).

It will be seen that the great classical writers are but poorly represented, and the main dependence has been upon the later essayists,

and chiefly upon Valerius Maximus, who has pointed many of the morals enforced in this book. It may, perhaps, be doubted if the writer had more to work from than Valerius, Seneca, and St. Augustine, with occasional quotations such as memory would supply from other sources. The verification of all these quotations would not repay the labour it would involve; but in most cases where the experiment has been tried, the result has been fairly creditable to the old author.

The biblical allusions may be taken as typical. There are references to the "bible," "holy scripture," "Ecclesiastes," and "Canticles." There also occur the names of Adam, Eve, Abel, Cain, Noah, Ham, Lot, David, Abner, Joab, Abishai, Solomon, Isaiah, Evilmerodach, Belshazzar, Darius, Cyrus, Tobias, John the Baptist, and Paul. The citations are not all literally exact. Solomon had not a very good opinion of his fellow-men; but the comprehensive estimate of the number of fools with which he is credited on p. 3 is not to be found in the writings canonically attributed to him. The quotation from the Canticles on p. 25 may be compared with the translation in the Wicliffite version made by Nicholas de Hereford, A. D. 1380. This passage is rendered: "His left hond is vndur myn heed; and his ri3t hond shal biclippe me" ("Song of Solomon," ii. 6). Clip is still current in Lancashire, in the sense of embrace.

The extract from St. Paul, with which the prologue to the second edition opens, is no doubt intended for the following passage: "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness" (2 Tim. iii. 16).

In the reference to the Athenians (p. 16), we seem to hear an echo of the words: "For all the Athenians and strangers that were there spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing" (Acts xvii. 21).

The most curious reference to a biblical personage is that relating to Evilmerodach (p. 10). Cessoles seems to have been the first to associate the name of the son of Nebuchadnezzar with the invention of the game of chess. The biblical references to Evilmerodach are few; they throw no light on the reason of his selection by the mediaeval scribe for a bad pre-eminence of parricide. The epithet of *joli* applied to the king has an odd effect, followed as it is by the narrative of his most unfilial conduct. Dr. Van der Linde shows how widely the legend spread. Lydgate evidently hesitates between the divided authority of Guido--that is, Colonna, the author of the Troy book--and Cessoles, whom he quotes through Jacobus de Vitriaco.[23]

Amongst the authors not identified are "Crete" (p. 133), and Diomedes (p. 10). The account of the origin of chess attributed to the last is amplified a little further on. The legend that Palamedes invented a game of this kind at the siege of Troy is emphatically rejected by our author, who pins his fame on Xerxes, a Greek philosopher! This became the received opinion, as may be gathered from the unhesitating language of Polydore Vergil in a passage which is thus rendered by John Langley:--"The chesse were invented the year of the world 3635, by a certain Wise man called Xerxes, to declare to a Tyrant, that Majesty or Authority without strength, assistance & help of his subjects, was casual feeble & subject to many calamities of fortune; his intent was to break the fierce cruelty of his heart, by fear of such dangers as might come to passe in the life of man." [24]

The curious treatise which contains the supposed conversations of King Bocchus and the philosopher Sidrac (p. 171) was a favourite science book of the middle ages. It is probably of oriental origin, but there are editions in Latin, French, German, Flemish, Dutch, Italian, and English. By way of question and answer very decided statements are made on a wide variety of topics of which the author was profoundly ignorant. The particular part referred to by Cessoles is chap, cclxxxi: "Pourquoy sacostent les hommes charnellement aux femmes grosses et les bestes ne le font pas?"[25] John the Monk (p. 70) is the noted canonist Giovanni Andrea, who died at the plague of Bologna in 1347. His learning gained him such titles as *\_rabbi doctorum\_* and *\_normaque morum\_*. His commentaries on the decretals were frequently reprinted. He gave the name of "Novellae" to this work after the name of his mother and daughter. His code of morality contained no prohibition of literary theft, for his additions to the "Speculum Juris" of Durand are said to have been taken bodily from Oddrale. In the same magnificent manner he appropriated the treatise "De Sponsalibus et Matrimonio" of Anguissola. His daughter Novella was a learned woman, and became the wife of Giovanni Calderino, a jurist of Bologna. Their son, Gaspard Calderino, wrote a commentary on the decretals. Father, daughter, son-in-law, and grandson appear to have all been experts in the canon law.[26]

The reference to the "first book of the Truphes of the Philosophers by figure" does not convey a very definite idea as to the particular work intended. It must have been somewhat miscellaneous in character, for one extract describes the fountain of the syrens (p. 122), and the other is an anecdote, which though told here of Julius Caesar (p. 71), is really the story of the soldier who had fought at Actium with Augustus Caesar. It occurs also in the "Gesta Romanorum," where the emperor is named Agyos.

"Helmond" (p. 33, &c.) is intended for Helinand, who died some time after 1229. After a brilliant period at the court of Philip Augustus, where he is represented as reciting his heroic verses before the king and his surrounding, he became a monk of the Cistercian Abbey of Froidmont. One of his surviving poems deals with the melancholy subject of death. The "Flores Helinandi" are said to have been popular as well as his "Chronique." He is also the reputed author of some sermons, and of the life of St. Gereon, published by the Bollandists, and of other works still inedited. He is sometimes confounded with another French monk of the same name, who lived in the eleventh century, and was an inmate of the monastery at Persigne in Maine. This second Helinand was the author of commentaries or glosses on the Apocalypse and Exodus.[27] The first-named has been credited with the authorship of "Gesta Romanorum." The grounds for this are very slight. "On a longtemps ignore le nom de l'auteur de cette compilation, mais un passage du 68<sup>e</sup> dialogue du livre intitule 'Dialogus creaturarum' nous le revele par ces mots: *\_Elimandus in gestis romanorum\_*." [28] But, as Sir F. Madden and Mr. Herrtage have pointed out, the name of "Gesta Romanorum" was given to any book treating of Roman affairs. A French translation of Livy, by Robert Gaguin, has been catalogued as a version of the "Gesta." The reference cited by Brunet is to the Chroniques of Helinand.[29]

Many of the stories and anecdotes are the commonplaces of ancient history, such as the friendship of Damon and Pythias, the sword of Damocles, the chastity of Scipio, the magnanimity of Alexander, the fable of the Dog and the Shadow, &c. Others current in the middle ages had great popularity, and even in our own days occasionally renew their youth. The story of John of Ganazath (p. 48) is to be found in Occlève's

translation of Colonna. Mr. Thomas Wright remarks: "This story, under different forms, was a very common one in the middle ages. One version will be found in my 'Latin Stories,' p. 28. It will hardly be necessary to remark that the story of King Lear and his daughters is another version." [30]

The story appears also in some modern compilations. In one instance it is given as the will of Jehan Connaxa, of Antwerp, about 1530. [31] The incident is given in the following form in the popular collection known as the "Percy Anecdotes": [32]--

"An eminent trader at Lyons, who had acquired an easy fortune, had two handsome daughters, between whom, on their marriage, he divided all his property, on condition that he should pass the summer with one and the winter with the other. Before the end of the first year, he found sufficient grounds to conclude that he was not a very acceptable guest to either; of this, however, he took no notice, but hired a handsome lodging, in which he resided a few weeks; he then applied to a friend, and told him the truth of the matter, desiring the gift of two hundred livres, and the loan of fifty thousand, in ready money, for a few hours. His friend very readily complied with his request; and the next day the old gentleman made a very splendid entertainment, to which his daughters and their husbands were invited. Just as dinner was over, his friend came in a great hurry; told him of an unexpected demand upon him, and desired to know whether he could lend him fifty thousand livres. The old man told him, without any emotion, that twice as much was at his service, if he wanted it; and going into the next room, brought him the money. After this, he was not suffered to stay any longer in lodgings; his daughters were jealous if he stayed a day more in one house than the other; and after three or four years spent with them, he died; when, upon examining his cabinet, instead of livres, there was found a note containing these words: 'He who has suffered by his virtues, has a right to avail himself of the vices of those by whom he has been injured; and a father ought never to be so fond of his children as to forget what is due to himself.'"

Amongst other versions of the story is a novelle by Giovanni Brevio, published as part of his "Rime" in 1545. Piron's comedy of "Les Fils Ingrats," also known as "L'Ecole des Peres," appeared in 1728. "The story," adds Dunlop, "is also told in the 'Pieuses Recreations d'Angelin Gazee,' and is told in the 'Colloquia Mensalia' of Luther, among other examples to deter fathers from dividing their property during life among their children--a practice to which they are in general little addicted." [33]

There is yet another version of the story in John of Bromyard's "Summa Predicantium." After describing the discovery of the club it says, "in quo Anglice scriptum erat"--

"Wyht fuyle a betel be he smetyn,  
That al the werld hyt mote wyten,  
That gyfht his sone al his thing,  
And goht hym self a beggyn."

Mr. Wright gives another version, and adds that he is inclined to think that the story and verses had some connection with "a superstition not yet forgotten, which is thus told by Aubrey in his 'Remains of Gentilism'" (Thorn's "Anecdotes and Traditions," p. 84)--"The Holy Mawle, which they fancy was hung behind the church door, which when the father was

seaventie, the sonne might fetch to knock his father in the head, as effete and of no more use."[34]

Herodotus has attributed the same unfilial conduct to some Indian tribes.

The incident of St. Bernard playing at dice for a soul (p. 151), is in the "Gesta Romanorum." The anecdote how a son induced his father to become a monk (p. 81) which is quoted from the "Vitas Patrum" is also in the "Gesta Romanorum," and has so much of the Buddhist flavour as to give rise to the suspicion that it comes from an Oriental source.[35] The story of two merchants quoted from Petrus Alphonsus is also in the "Gesta Romanorum." It is the foundation of Lydgate's "Two Friends," and is beyond doubt an Eastern importation. In a MS. of the "Speculum Laicorum," described by Prof. Ingram, the writer has transformed one of the merchants into an Englishman.[36]

The story quoted from "Paul, the historiograph of the Lombards" (p. 46), is also given in the "Gesta Romanorum." Mr. Herrtage says it is "evidently founded on the classical legend of Tarpeia." The narrative in the chess-book is taken from Paulus Diaconus.[37]

The stratagem by which deposited money was recovered from a dishonest trustee (p. 114) is told by Petrus Alphonsus, and is also in the "Gesta Romanorum."

The story of the danger of drunkenness (p. 129) was a favourite with our forefathers. It is given by John of Bromyard, and is the subject of a fabliau which is given by Meon.[38]

The somewhat violent remedy recorded as having been adopted by Demosthenes (p. 103) will remind some readers of a passage in the life of St. Francis of Assisi. "He had given up," says Mrs. Oliphant, "without hesitation, as would appear, all the indefinite sweetness of youthful hopes. But, nevertheless, he was still young, still a man, with human instincts and wishes, the tenderest nature, and an imagination full of all the warmth and grace of his age and his country. It does not appear that he ever put into words the musings which caught him unawares--the relics of old dreams or soft recollections which now and then would steal into his heart. But one night suddenly he rose from the earthen floor which was his bed, and rushed out into the night in an access of rage and passion and despair. A certain brother who was praying in his cell, peering, wondering, through his little window, saw him heap together seven masses of snow in the clear moonlight. 'Here is thy wife,' he said to himself; 'these four are thy sons and daughters, the other two are thy servant and thy handmaid; and for all these thou art bound to provide. Make haste, then, and provide clothing for them, lest they perish with cold. But if the care of so many trouble thee, be thou careful to serve our Lord alone.' Bonaventura, who tells the story, goes on, with the true spirit of a monkish historian, to state how, 'the tempter being vanquished, departed, and the holy man returned victorious to his cell.' The piteous human yearning that is underneath this wild tale, the sudden access of self-pity and anger, mixed with a strange attempt, not less piteous than the longing, at self-consolation--all the struggle and conflict of emotion which stilled themselves, at least for a moment, by that sudden plunge into the snow, and wild, violent, bodily exertion, are either lost upon the teller of the tale, or perhaps he fears to do his master injustice by revealing any consciousness of the possibility of such thoughts. But it is a very remarkable peculiarity of

Francis's history, that whereas every saint in the Calendar, from Antony downwards, is sometimes troubled with visions of voluptuous delight, only Francis, in his pure dreams, is tempted by the modest joys of wife and children--the most legitimate and tenderest love."[39]

The reader must not expect any historical exactitude or critical spirit from our author. For his purpose a narrative was just as useful whether true or false, but it probably never occurred to him to question the exact truth of any statement that he found written in a book. The murder of Seneca (p. 9) is certainly not the least of the many crimes which stain the memory of Nero, but the circumstances of his death are not exactly described by the mediaeval scribe. Whether the philosopher and former tutor was implicated in the conspiracy of Piso may be doubted, but some ambiguous phrases he had used were reported to the Emperor, whose messenger demanded an explanation of their meaning. The reply of Seneca was either unsatisfactory or the tyrant had decided to be rid of his former guide. As in more recent times in Japan the condemned man was expected to be his own executioner, and Seneca opened his veins and allowed the life to ooze from them with a stoicism that was certainly heroic if not untainted by theatrical display. The character of Seneca will ever remain one of the puzzles of history, for the grave moralist was accessory to the murder of Agrippina, and not unsuspected of licentiousness, and of the accumulation of an enormous fortune of three hundred million sesterii by injustice and fraud. The statements of Dion Cassius as to the misdeeds of the philosopher must be weighed against the absence of any condemnation of his proceedings in the pages of Tacitus.

The Theodore Cerem named on p. 12, is Theodorus Cyrenaicus, who was probably a native of Cyrene, and a disciple of Aristippus. He was banished from the (supposed) place of his birth, and was shielded at Athens by Demetrius Phalerus, whose exile he is assumed to have shared. Whilst in the service of Egypt he was sent as an ambassador to Lysimachus, whom he offended by the directness and plainness of his speech. The offended monarch threatened him with crucifixion, and he replied in a phrase which became famous, "Threaten thus your courtiers, for it matters not to me whether I rot on the ground or in the air."[40] The king's threat was not executed, as Theodorus was afterwards at Corinth, and is believed to have died at Cyrene. That he was condemned to drink hemlock is a statement cited from Amphicrates by Diogenes Laertius (*Aristippus*, xv.). The anecdote of his colloquy with Lysimachus would easily be perverted into a belief that he had been put to death for the freedom with which he exercised his biting wit.

The Democreon mentioned at pp. 12 and 16 is Democritus of Abdera, of whom the anecdote is told. He was a man whose knowledge and wisdom won even the respect of Timon, the universal scoffer. The tradition that he deprived himself of sight with a view to philosophic abstraction is mentioned by Cicero, Aulus Gellius, and others, but it is hardly necessary to account for a too uncommon calamity by a supposition so remarkable.

The transformations of some of the names are peculiar. At p. 12 we read of Defortes. The philosopher disguised under this strange name appears to be Socrates. The story is told in the Apology of Socrates attributed to Xenophon. The person to whom the saying was addressed was not Xanthippe, but was a disciple named Apollodorus, whose understanding was not equal to his admiration.



The statement that Didymus voluntarily blinded himself is made both by Jerome (*Ep.* 68) and in the Ecclesiastical History of Socrates (iv. 29). Didymus was born 309 or 314, and became blind at the age of four, as the result of disease. He learned the alphabet by wooden letters, and by application and force of character became learned in all the learning of his time. Is this a real anticipation of the use of raised letters for the blind? What would be the use of a knowledge of the alphabet so acquired in obtaining that skill in geometry, rhetoric, arithmetic, and music for which he was famous? He owed to Athanasius his position as head of the Catechetical School of Alexandria.

The readers of "Cymbeline" will remember the passage in the concluding scene:--

"The piece of tender air, thy virtuous daughter,  
Which we call *mollis aer*; and *mollis aer*  
We term it *mulier*; which mulier, I divine,  
Is this most constant wife: who even now,  
Answering the letter of the oracle,  
Unknown to you unsought, were clipp'd about  
With this most tender air."

This quaint piece of etymology will be found at p. 123 of the present volume.

There is an interesting personal reference in the following passage which has not, it is believed, been pointed out:--

"And also hit is to be supposyd that suche as haue theyr goodes comune & not propre is most acceptable to god/ For ellys wold not thise religious men as monkes freris chanons obseruantes & all other auowe hem & kepe the wilfull pouerte that they ben professid too/ For in trouth I haue my self ben conuersant in a religious hous of white freris at gaunt Which haue all thyng in comyn amonge them/ and not one richer than an other/ in so moche that yf a man gaf to a frere .iii.d or .iiii.d to praye for hym in his masse/ as sone as the masse is doon he deliuerith hit to his ouerest or procuratour in whyche hows ben many vertuous and deuoute freris And yf that lyf were not the beste and the most holiest/ holy church wold neuer suffre hit in religion."

This description by the busy merchant of the "best life" might serve to point anew the distinction between the real and the ideal, and perhaps not to the advantage of the latter.

Nothing has yet been said as to the place of this book in the history of chess, and, indeed, it must be confessed that it has very little practical bearing on the game. The learned dreams by which the chess of to-day was connected with the *latrunculi* and with the amusement said to have been invented by Palamedes, have been dissipated by the cool air of modern criticism. The student of the history of chess may now follow its fortunes under the safe guidance of Dr. van der Linde, who rejects unhesitatingly the claim made for it, and admitted even by Forbes, of an antiquity of 5,000 years.[41] The game of chess, which, whilst remaining an amusement, has acquired the dignity of a science, is one that Europe owes to India, where it was probably invented not earlier than five centuries before Christ; the triumphant progress of Islam aided in the extension of this oriental pastime. It was known at the courts of Nicephorus at Constantinople and his contemporary Haroun-al-Rashid at Bagdad. One would like to add that Charlemagne also was acquainted with

it, but there is no good evidence for that legend. It was known in Spain in the tenth century, since the library of the learned caliph Hakam II. of Cordova contained some Arabic MSS. on the game. By the middle of the eleventh century it was common in the western world. In 1061 a Florentine bishop is said to have been ordered by Cardinal Damiani to expiate the offence of playing chess in public by three recitations of the Psalter, by washing the feet of twelve poor persons, and by giving them liberal alms. The gradual developments of the game in Europe are illustrated in detail by Dr. van der Linde. Chess in its present form is comparatively modern, and results from the enlargement of the powers of the Queen (originally the Vizier or minister) and of the Bishop (formerly the Alfil or Elephant). The greater powers of these pieces came into play between 1450 and 1500, but the period of transition was prolonged to a much later date in some cases, and the Portuguese Damiano may be regarded as the founder of the modern school. The player of to-day on consulting the elementary directions given in this book (p. 159, *et seq.*), will see how greatly the present play exceeds in complexity and scientific interest the moves that excited the enthusiasm of Jacobus de Cessoles, and led him to the composition of the book of the chess which has had such long and widespread popularity.

Incidentally his book is a monument in the history of chess, but it was never intended to make its primary object that of teaching the game. The author's aim was almost exclusively ethical. It was to win men to a sober life and to the due performance of individual and social duties, that the preacher exhausted his stores of learning, and invoked alike the reproofs of the fathers of the Church, the history and legend of chroniclers, pagan and Christian, and the words of prophets and poets. As a memorial of the literature and learning of the middle ages, it must always possess a permanent value. From it we may learn, and always with interest, what was the literary taste and social ideal of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. There is, doubtless, ample room for dissatisfaction with that ideal, but it is not without some bright aspects. Possibly there are modern realms that are not any happier now than they would be if governed in strict accordance with the rules laid down by the earnest author of the game and play of the chess.

\* \* \* \* \*

It only remains for the editor to thank the friends who have interested themselves in his work. Mr. J.E. Bailey, F.S.A., has shown his usual scholarly courtesy and liberality in the communication of books and references. To Mr. R.C. Christie, the Chancellor of the Diocese of Manchester, a similar acknowledgment is due. Mr. C.W. Sutton, and Mr. W.R. Credland, of the Manchester Free Library, on this, as on many other occasions, have not only given the editor many facilities for his work, but some suggestions by which he trusts he has profited. The index is chiefly the work of the editor's eldest daughter.

[DEDICATION.]

[42] To the right noble/ right excellent & vertuous prince George duc of Clarence Erle of warwyck and of salisbury/ grete chamberlayn of Englonde & leutenant of Ireland oldest broder of kynge Edward by the grace of god kynge of England and of france/ your most humble servant william Caxton

amonge other of your seruantes sendes unto yow peas. helthe. Joye and victorie upon your Enemyes/ Right high puyssant and redoubted pryncel/. For as moche as I haue understand and knowe/ that y'e are enclined unto the comyn wele of the kynge our sayd saueryn lord. his nobles lordes and comyn peple of his noble royaume of Englonde/ and that y'e sawe gladly the Inhabitants of y'e same enformed in good. vertuous. prouffitable and honeste maners. In whiche your noble persone wyth guydng of your hows haboundeth/ gyuyng light and ensample unto all other/ Therefore I haue put me in deuour to translate a lityll booke late comen in to myn handes out of frensh in to englysshe/ In which I fynde thaurtorites. dictees. and stories of auncient Doctours philosophes poetes and of other wyse men whiche been recounted & applied unto the moralite of the publique wele as well of the nobles as of the comyn peple after the game and playe of the chesse/ whiche booke right puyssant and redoubtid lord I haue made in the name and under the shadewe of your noble protection/ not presumyng to correcte or enpoigne ony thyng ayenst your noblesse/. For god be thankyd your excellent renome shyneth as well in strange regions as with in the royaume of england gloriously unto your honour and lande/ which god multeplie and encrece But to thentent that other of what estate or degre he or they stande in may see in this sayd lityll booke/ yf they gouerned themself as they ought to doo/ wherfor my right dere redoubted lord I requyre & supplye your good grace not to desdaygne to resseyue this lityll sayd booke in gree and thanke/ as well of me your humble and unknowen seruant as of a better and gretter man than I am/. For the right good wylle that I haue had to make this lityll werk in the best wyse I can/ ought to be reputed for the fayte and dede/ And for more clere to procede in this sayd booke I haue ordeyned that the chapitres ben sette in the begynnyng to thende that y'e may see more playnly the mater wherof the booke treteth &c.

[PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.]

The holy apostle and doctour of the peple saynt Poule sayth in his epystle. Alle that is wryten is wryten unto our doctryne and for our lernyng. Wherfore many noble clerkes haue endeuyred them to wryte and comyle many notable werkys and historyes to the ende that it myght come to the knowlege and vnderstandyng of suche as ben ygnoraunt. Of which the nombre is infenyte/ And accordyng to the same saith Salamon. that the nombre of folles. is infenyte/ And emong alle other good werkys. It is a werke of ryght special recomandacion to enforme and to late vnderstonde wysedom and vertue vnto them that be not lernyd ne can not dyscerne wysedom fro folye. Th[=e]ne emonge whom there was an excellent doctour of dyuynite in the royaume of fraunce of the ordre of thospital of Saynt Johns of Jherusalem which entended the fame and hath made a booke of the chesse moralysed. which at suche tyme as J was resident in brudgys in the counte of Flaundes cam in to my handes/ which whan J had redde and ouerseen/ ne semed ful necessarye for to be had in englysshe/ And in eschewyng of ydlenes And to thende that s[=o]me which haue not seen it/ ne vnderstonde frenssh ne latyn I delybered in my self to translate it in to our maternal tongue/ And whan I so had achyeued the sayd translacion/ I dyde doo sette in enprynte a certeyn nombre of theym/ Whiche anone were depesshed and folde. wherfore by cause thys sayd booke is ful of holsom wysedom and requysyte unto every astate and degre/ J haue purposed to enprynte it/ shewyng therein the figures of suche persons as longen to the playe. In whom al astates and degrees ben

comprysed/ besechyng al them that this litel werke shal see/ here/ or rede to have me for excused for the rude & symple makyng and reducyn in to our englisshe/ And where as is defaute to correcte and amende/ and in so doyng they shal deserve meryte and thanke/ and I shal pray for them/ that god of his grete mercy shal rewarde them in his everlastyng blisse in heven/ to the whiche he brynge us/ that wyth his precious blood redemed us Amen

[TABLE.]

This booke conteyneth .iiii. traytees/

The first traytee is of the Invention of this playe of the chesse,/ and conteyneth .iii. chapitres

The first chapitre is under what kynge this play was founden

The .ii. chapitre/ who fonde this playe

The .iii. chapitre/ treteth of .iii. causes why hit was made and founden

The second traytee treteth of the chesse men/ and conteyneth .v. chapitres

The first chapitre treteth of the forme of a kynge and of suche thinges as apperteyn to a kynge

The .ii. chapitre treteth of y'e quene & her forme & maners

The .iii. chapitre of the forme of the alphins and her offices and maners

The .iiii. chapitre is of the knyght and of his offices

The .v. is of the rooks and of their maners and offices

The thirde traytee is of the offices of the comyn peple And hath .viii. chapitres

The first chapitre is of the labourers & tilinge of the erthe

The .ii. of fmythis and other werkes in yron & metall

[43] The .iii. is of drapers and makers of cloth & notaries

The .iiii. is of marchantes and chaungers

[44] The .v. is of phisicyens and cirugiens and apotecaries

[45] The .vi. is of tauerners and hostelers

[46] The .vii. is of y'e gardes of the citees & tollers & cufdomers

[47] The .viii. is of ribauldes disepleyars and currours The .iiii. traytee is of the meuyng and yssue of them And hath .viii. chapitres

The first is of the eschequer

The seconde of the yssue and progression of the kynge

The thirde of the yssue of the quene

The fourth is of the yssue of the alphyngs

The fifth is of the yssue of the knyghtes

The sixty chapitre of the yssue of the rooks

The seuenth is of the meuyng & yssue of the comyn peple

And the eyght and laste chapitre is of the epilegacion.

And of the recapitulacion of all these forsaid chapitres.

## BOOK I.

[Illustration]

\_This first chapter of the first tractate sheweth under what kynge the play of the chesse was founden and maad.:\_

Amonge all the euyll condicions and signes that may be in a man the first and y'e grettest is whan he feereth not/ ne dredeth to displese and make wroth god by synne/ and the peple by lyuyng disordynatly/ whan he reccheth not/ ner taketh hede unto them that repreue hym and his vices/ but fleeth them/ In suche wyse as dide the emperour Nero/ whiche dide do slee his maister seneque For as moche as he might not suffre to be repreuid and taught of hym In lyke wyse was somtyme a kynge in babiloine that was named Evilmherodach a Jolye man with oute Justice and so cruell that he dyde do hewe his faders body in thre honderd pieces/ And gaf hit to ete and deuour to thre honderd birdes that men calle wultres And was of suche condicion as was Nero/ And right well resemblid and was lyke unto his fader Nabogodonosor/ whiche on a tyme wold do flee alle the sage and wyse men of babylynye/ For as moche as they coude not telle hym his dreame that he had dreamed on a nyght and had forgotten hit lyke as it is wreton in the bible in the book of danyell/ Under this kynge than Evilmherodach was this game and playe of the chesse founden/ Trewe it is that some men wene/ that this playe was founden in the tyme of the bataylles & siege of troye But that is not soo For this playe cam to the playes of the caldees as dyomedes the greek sayth and reherceth That amonge the philosophrs was the most renommed playe amonge all other playes/ And after that/ cam this playe in the tyme of Alixandre the grete in to Egipte And so unto alle the parties toward the south/ And the cause wherfore thys playe was so renommed shall be sayd in the thirde chapitre.

[Illustration]

\_This second chapitre of the first tractate sheweth who fonde first the playe of the chesse.\_

This playe fonde a philosopher of Thoryent whiche was named in Caldee Exereses or in greke philometor/ which is as moche to saye in english as he that loveth Justice and mesure/ And this philosopher was renomed gretly amonge the grekes and them of Athenes whiche were good clerkys and philosophers also renomed of theyr connynge. This philosopher was so Juste and trewe that he had leuyr dye/ than to lyue longe and be a fals flaterer wyth the sayd kynge. For whan he behelde the foull and synfull lyf of the kynge/ And that no man durst blame hym. For by his grete cruelte he putte them alle to deth that displesid hym/ he put hym self in paryll of deth/ And louyd and chees rather to dye than lenger to lyue: The euyll lyf and diffamed of a kynge is the lyf of a cruell beste/ And ought not longe to be susteyned/ For he destroyeth hym that displesith hym/ And therefore reherceth valerius/ that ther was a wise man named theodore cerem whom his kynge dyde do hange on the crosse for as moche as he repreuyd hym of his euyll & fowll lyf And all way as he was in the torment he said to y'e kynge/ upon thy counceyllours & them that ben cladd in thy clothyng & robes were more reson that this torment shold come/ For as moche as they dar not saye to the The trouthe for to do Justice right wysly/ of my self I make no force whether I dye on the lande or on the water or otherwyse &c as who sayth he recched not to dye for Justice/ In lyke wyse as democreon the philosophre put out his owen eyen be cause he wold not see that no good myght come to the euyll and vicyous peple wyth out right And also defortes the philosophre as he went toward his deth/ his wyf that folowed after hym saide that he was dampned to deth wrongfully/ than he answerd and sayd to her/ holde thy peas and be styll/ hit is better and more merytorye to dye by a wronge and unrightfull Jugement/ than that I had deseruyd to dye.

[Illustration.]

\_The thirde chapitre of the first tractate treteth wherfore the playe was founden and maad.\_

The causes wherfore this playe was founden ben thre/ the first was for to correcte and repreue the kynge .For whan this kynge Evilmerodach sawe this playe And the barons knyghtes and gentillmen of his court playe wyth the philosopher/ he meruaylled gretly of the beaulte and nouelte of the playe/ And desired to playe agaynst y'e philosopher/ The philosopher answerd and sayd to hym that hit myght not be doon. But yf he first lerned the playe/ The kynge said hit was reson and that he wold put him to the payne to lerne hit Than the philosopher 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 and condicions of a kynge of the nobles and of the comun peple and of theyr offices and how they shold be touchid and drawen. And how he shold amende hymself & become vertuous And whan

this kynge herde that he repreuyd hym/ He demanded hym upon payne of deth to tell hym wherfore he had founden and made this playe/ And he answerd my ryght dere lord and kynge/ the grettest and most thinge that I desire is that thou haue in thy self a gloryous and vertuous lyf And that may I not see/ but yf thou be endoctrined and well manerd and that had/ so mayst thou be belouyd of thy peple Thus than I desire y't thou haue other gouernement than thou hast had/ And that thou haue upon thy self first seynourye and maistrye suche as thou hast upon other by force and not by right Certaynly hit is not ryght that a man be mayster ouer other and comandour/ whan he can not rewle ner may rewle himself and that his vertues domyne aboue his vices/. For seynourye by force and wylle may not longe endure/ Than thus may thou see oon of the causes why and wherfore I haue founden and maad thys playe/ whyche is for to correcte and repent the of thy tyrannye and vicyous lyuyng/. For alle kynges specyally ought to here her corrygeours or correctours and her corrections to hold and kepe in mynde/ In lyke wyse as Valerius reherceth that the kynge Alixandre had a noble and renommed knyght that sayd in repreuyng of Alixandre that he was to moche couetous and in especyall of the honours of the world/ And sayd to hym yf the goddes had maad thy body as greet as is thy herte Alle the world coude not holde the/. For thou holdest in thy right hand alle the Oryent/ And in thy lyfte hande the occident/ syn than hit is so/ or thou art a god or a man or nought/ yf thou be god doo than well 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/ thinke that thou shalt dye/ And than thou shalt doo noon euyll/ yf thou be nought forgete thy self/ ther is no thyng so stronge and ferme/ but that somtyme a feble thinge casteth down and ouerthrowe hit How well that the lyon be the strengest beste/ yet somtyme a lityll birde eteth hym/ The seconde cause wherfore this playe was founden and maad/ was for to kepe hym from ydlenesse/ whereof senecque saith unto lucylle ydlenes wyth oute ony ocupacion is sepulture of a man lyuyng/ and varro saith in his sentences that in lyke wise as men goo not for to goo/ the same wyse the lyf is not gyuen for to lyue but for to doo well and good/ And therefore secondly the philosopher fonde this playe for to kepe the peple from ydlenes/. For there is moche peple. Whan so is that they be fortunat in worldly goodes that they drawe them to ease and ydlenes wherof cometh ofte tymes many euyllys and grete synnes And by this ydlenes the herte is quenched wherof cometh desperacion/ The thirde cause is that euery man naturelly desireth to knowe and to here noueltees and tydynges. For this cause they of atthenes studied as we rede/ and for as the corporall or bodyly fight enpessheth and letteth otherwhyle the knowleche of subtyll thinges/ therfore we rede that [48] democrion the phylosopher put oute his owen eyen/ for as moche as he myght haue the better entendement and understondyng/ Many haue ben made blynde that were grete clerkis in lyke wyse as was dydymus bisshop of Alixandrye/ that how well that he sawe not yet he was so grete a clerk/ that gregore nazan & saynt Ierome that were clerkes and maystres to other/ came for to be his scolers & lerned of hym And saynt Anthonie The grete heremyte cam for to see hym on a tyme/ and amonge all other thynges/ he demanded hym yf he were not gretly displesid that he was blynde and sawe not. And he answerd that he was gretly abasshid for that he supposid not that he was not displesid in that he had lost his sight/ And saynt Anthonie answerd to hym I meruayle moche that hit displesith the that thou hast lost that thyng whiche is comyn betwene the and bestes. And thou knowest well that thou hast not loste that thyng that is comyn bitwene the and the angellis And for these causes forsayd the philosopher entended to put away alle pensisnes and thoughtes/ and to thinke only on this playe as shall be said & appere in this book after.

## BOOK II.

[Illustration]

The seconde tractate/ the first chapter treteth of the forme of a kynge of his maners and of his estate\_.

The kynge must be thus maad. For he must sitte in a chayer clothed in purple/ crowned on his heed in his ryght hand a ceptre and in the lyfte hande an apple of gold/. For he is the most grettest and hiest in dignyte aboue alle other and most worthy. And that is signefyed by the corone/. For the glorye of the peple is the dignite of the kynge/ And aboue all other the kynge ought to be replenysshid with vertues and of grace/ and thys signefieth the purple. For in lyke wyse as the robes of purple maketh fayr & enbelysshith the body/ the same wise vertues maketh the soule/ he ought alleway thenke on the gouernement of the Royame and who hath thadmynstracion of Justice/ And thys shuld be by hym self pryncipally. This signefieth the appell of gold that he holdeth in his lyfte honde/ And for as moche as hit apperteyneth unto hym to punyssh the rebelles hath he y'e sceptre in his right hand And for as moche as mysericorde and trouthe conserue and kepe the kynge in his trone/ Therefore ought a kynge to be mercyfull and debonayr For whan a kynge or prynce desired or will be belouyd of his peple late hym be gouerned by debonairte And valerius saith that debonairte Percyth the hertes of straungers and amolishith and maketh softe the hertes of his enemyes/ wherof he reherceth that philostratus that was due of athenes had a daughter/ whom a man louyd so ardantly/ that on a tyme as he sawe her wyth her moder/ sodaynly he cam and kyssed her/ wherof the moder was so angry and soroufull that she wente and requyred of her lord the duc/ that his heed myght be smyten of/ The prynce answerd to her and sayde/ yf we shold slee them that loue us/ what shall we doo to our enemyes that hate us/ Certaynly this was thanswer of a noble & debonair prynce That suffred that villonye don to his daughter and to hymself yet more This prince had also a frende that was named Arispe that sayd on a tyme as moche villonye unto the prynce as ony man miht saye And that might not suffise hym/ but he scracchid hym in the visage/ The prynce suffryd hym paciently in suche wyse as thowh he had doon to hym no vilonye but curtoysye And whan his sones wold haue auengid this vilonye/ he comanded them that they shold not be so hardy so to do The next day folowyng arispe remembrid of the right grete vilonye that he had don to his frende and lord wythoute cause. He fyll in dispayr and wold haue slayn hym self/ whan the duc knewe and understode that/ he cam to hym and sayd ne doubt the nothyng And swore to hym by his fayth/ that also well he was and shold be his frende fro than forthon as euery he had ben to fore yf he wold And thus he respited hym of his deth by his debonairte. And in lyke wyse rede we of the kynge pirre to whom was reported that they of tarente had said grete vilonye of hym. For whiche cause he maad alle them to come to fore hym And demanded of them yf they had so sayd. Than oon of them answerd and sayd/ yf the wyn and the candellys had not fayllyd/ thys langage had ben but a lape/ In regarde of that we had thought to haue doon/ Than the kynge began to lawhe/ for they had confessid that suche langage as was sayd and spoken was by dronkenship/



And for this cause of debonaire the peple of tarante toke for a custome that the dronken men shold be puuysshyd/ And the sobre men preyfed. The kynge than thus ought to loue humylyte and hate falsite after the holy scripture that spekethe of euery man generally/ For the kynge in his royaume representeth god/ And god is verite/ And therefore hym ought to saye no thyng but yf hit were veritable and stable. Valerius reherceth that Alixandre wyth alle his ooste rood for to destroye a cyte whyche was named lapsare/ whan than a phylosophre whiche had to name Anaximenes which had ben to fore maistre & gouernour of Alixandre herd and understood of his comyng Cam agayn Alixandre for to desire and requyre of hym. And whan he sawe Alixandre he supposid to haue axid his requefte/ Alixandre brake his demande to fore and swore to hym to fore he axid ony thyng by his goddes. That suche thyng as he axid or requyrd of hym/ he wold in no wyse doon/ Than the philosopher requyred hym to destroye the cyte/ whan Alixandre understood his desire/ and the oth that he had maad/ he suffrid the cyte to stande and not to be destroyed For he had leuer doo his wyll than to be periured and forsworn and doo agaynst his oth/ Quyntilian saith that no grete man ne lord shold not swere/ but where as is grete nede/ And that the symple parole or worde of a prynce ought to be more stable than the oth of a marcha[=u]t/ Alas how kepe the prynces their promisses in these dayes/ not only her promises but their othes her fealis and wrytynges & signes of their propre handes/ alle faylleth god amende hit &c. A kynge also ought to hate alle cruelte/ For we rede that neuer yet dyed ony pietous persone of euyll deth ne cruell persone of good deth Therefore recounteth valerius that ther was a man named theyle a werke-man in metall/ that made a boole of coppre and a lityll wyket on the side/ wherby men myght put in them that shuld be brent therin/ And hit was maad in suche manere/ that they that shold be put and enclosid therin shold crye nothyng lyke to the wys of a man but of an oxe. And this made he be cause men shold haue the lasse pite of them. Whan he had made this hole of copper/ he presented hit unto a kynge which was callyd philarde that was so cruell a tyrant that he delited in no thyng but in cruelte And he told hym the condicion of the bole/ Whan philarde herde and understode this/ he alowed and preyed moche the werke/ And after sayde to hym/ thou that art more cruell than I am/ thou shalt assaye & prove first thy sente and yeft/ And so made hym to goo in to the boole and dye an euyll deth/ Therefore faith Ouide ther is no thyng more reasonable than that a man dye of suche deth as he purchaseth unto other Also the kynge ought souerainly kepe lustice/ who maketh or kepeth a royaume with oute lustice/ of verray force ther muste be grete robberye and theft Therfor reherceth saint Augustyn in a book which is intituled the cyte of god/ that there was a theef of the see named diomedes that was a grete rouar and dide so moche harme that the complaintes cam to fore Alixander whiche dide hym to be taken & brought to fore hym/ and he demanded hym wherfore he was so noyous & cruell in the see And he answerd to hym agayn/ for as moche as thou art oon a lande in the world/ so am I another in y'e see/ but for as moche as the euyll y't I doo is in oon galeye or tweyne therefore I am callyd a theef/ but for as moche as thou dost in many shippis and with grete puysance and power/ therefore art thou callyd an emperour/ but yf fortune were for me in suche wyse/ I wold be come a good man and better than I now am/ but thou/ the more richer and fortunat that thou art/ the more worse art thou/ Alixander sayd to hym I shall change thy fortune in suche wyse as thou ne saye/ that thou shalt doo hit by pouerte/ but for euyll and mauaiste/ And so he made hym ryche/ And thys was he that afterward was a good prynce and a good lusticyer/ The kynge ought to be soueraynly chaste/ And this signefyeth a quene that is only on his ryght syde For hit is to be beleuyd and credible that whan the kynge is a good man

luste. trewe & of good maners and condicions/ that his children shall folowe gladly the same/ for a good sone & a trewe ought not to forsake & goo fro y'e good condicions of his fader. For certes hit is agaynst god and nature in partie whan a man taketh other than his propre wyf/ And that see we by birdes/ of whom the male and female haue to gyder the charge in keynge and norisshinge of their yonge fowlis and birdis/. For some maner of fowlis kepen them to theyr femeles only/ As hit appereth by storkes dowues and turtills/ But tho fowles that norisshith not their birdes haue many wyues and femelles/ As the cock that no thynge norisshith his chekens/ And therefore amonge alle the bestes that been/ Man and woman putteth most theyr entente and haue moste cure & charge in norisshyng of their children/ And therefore doon they agaynst nature in partye whan they leue theyr wyues for other women/ Of this chastete reherceth valerius an example and faith that ther was a man of rome which was named scipio affrican. For as moche as he had conquerd affricque how well that he was of rome born. Whan he was of .xxxiiii. yer of age he conquerd cartage And toke moche peple in Ostage/ Amonge whom he was presented wyth a right fair mayde for his solas and playsir whiche was assurid and handfast unto a noble yong gentillman of cartage whiche was named Indiuicible/ And anon as this gentill scipio knewe that Notwythstandyng that he was a prynce noble & lusty Dyde do calle anon the parents and kynnesmen of them And deliuerid to them their doughter wyth oute doying of ony vilonye to her/ and y'e raensom or gold that they had ordeyned for their doughter/ gaf hit euery dele In dowaire to her And the yong man that was her husbonde sawe the fraunchise and gentilnes of hym/ torned hymself and the hertes of the noble peple unto the loue & alliance of the romayns/ And this suffiseth as towchyng the kynge &c.

[Illustration]

\_The seconde chapitre of the seconde book treteth of the forme and maners of the Quene.\_

Thus ought the Quene be maad/ she ought to be a fair lady sittynge in a chayer and crowned wyth a corone on her heed and cladd wyth a cloth of gold & a mantyll aboue furred wyth ermynes And she shold sytte on the lyfte syde of the kinge for the amplections and enbrasyng of her husbonde/ lyke as it is sayd in scripture in the canticles/ her lyfte arme shall be under my heed And her ryght arme shall be clyppe and embrace me/ In that she is sette on his lyfte syde is by grace gyuen to the kynge by nature and of ryght. For better is to haue a kynge by succession than by election/ For oftentymes the electours and chosers can not ne wyll not accorde/ And so is the election left/ And otherwhyle they chese not the beste and most able and conuenient/ but hym that they best loue/ or is for them most proffitable/ But whan the kynge is by lignage and by trewe succession/ he is taught enseygned and nourrishid in his yongth in alle good & vertuous tacches and maners of hys fader/ And also the prynces of the royaume dar not so hardily mene warre agaynst a kynge hauynge a sone for to regne after hym And so a Quene ought to be chaste. wyse. of honest peple/ well manerd and not curyous in nourisshyng of her children/ her wyfedom ought not only tappere in feet and werkes but also in spekyng that is to wete that she be secrete and telle not suche thynges as ought to be holden secrete/ Wherfore it is a comyn prouerbe that women can kepe no counceyle And accordyng therto Macrobe reherceth in the book of the dremes of Scipio. That ther was a

child of rome that was named papirus that on a tyme went with his fader  
whiche was a senatour into the chambre where as they helde their  
counceyll And that tyme they spak of suche maters as was comanded and  
agreed shold be kept secrete upon payn of their heedes And so departed  
And whan he was comen home from the senatoire and fro the counceyll with  
his fader/ his moder demanded of hym what was the counceyll and wherof  
they spack and had taryed so longe there And the childe answerd to her  
and sayd he durst not telle ner saye hit for so moche as hit was  
defended upon payn of deth Than was the moder more desirous to knowe  
than she was to fore/ And began to flater hym one tyme And afterward to  
menace hym that he shold saye and telle to her what hit was And whan the  
childe sawe that he might haue no reste of his moder in no wife He made  
her first promise that she shold kepe hit secrete And to telle hit to  
none of the world/ And that doon/ he fayned a lesing or a lye and sayd  
to her/ that the senatours had in counceyll a grete question and  
difference whiche was this/ whether hit were better and more for the  
comyn wele of rome/ that a man shold haue two wyuys/ or a wyf to haue  
two husbondes/ And whan she had understonde this/ he defended her that  
she shold telle hit to none other body And after this she wente to her  
gossyb and told to her this counceyll secretly/ And she told to an  
other/ And thus euery wyf tolde hit to other in secrete And thus hit  
happend anone after that alle the wyues of rome cam to the senatorye  
where the senatours were assemblid/ And cryed wyth an hie voys/ that  
they had leuer/ and also hit were better for the comyn wele that a wyf  
shold haue two husbondes than a man two wyues/ The senatours heerynge  
this. were gretly abasshid and wist not what to saye/ ner how to  
answere/ tyll at laste that the child papire reherced to them all the  
caas and feet how hit was happend And whan the senatours herd &  
understood the mater they were gretly abasshid/ and comended gretly y'e  
Ingenye & wytte of the child that so wisely contriued the lye rather  
than he wolde discouere their co[u]nceyll/ And forthwith made hym a  
senatour/ and establisshid & ordeyned fro than forthon that no childe in  
ony wise sholl entre in to y'e counceyll hous amonge them with their  
faders exopt papirus/ whome they wold y't he shold alwey be among them/  
also a quene ought to be chaste/ for as she is aboue all other in astate  
& reuer[=e]nce so shold she be ensample to all other in her liuyng  
honestly/ wherof Ierome reherceth agaynst Ionynyan/ that ther was a  
gentilman of rome named duele/ and this man was he y't first fond y'e  
maner to fight on y'e water/ and had first victorie/ this duele had to  
his wif one of the best women & so chaste/ that euery woman might take  
ensample of her/ And at y't tyme the synne of the flesshe was the  
grettest synne y't ony might doo agaynst nature/ And this sayd good  
woman was named ylye/ and so it happend that this duele becam so olde  
that he stowped & quaqued for age And on a tyme one of his aduersaries  
repreuyd & reprochid hym sayng that he had a stynkyng breth/ And  
forthwyth he wente home to his wyf alle angry and abasshid and axid her  
why and wherfore she had not told his defaulte to hym that he myght haue  
founden remedye to haue ben purgid therof/ And she answerd that as for  
as moche as she supposid that euery man had that same faute as well as  
he. For she kyst neuer ony mannes mouth but her husbondes/ O moche was  
this woman to be preysed & haue a singuler lawde wenyng that this  
defaulte had not ben only in her husbonde/ wherfore she suffrid hit  
patiently in suche wyse that her husbonde knewe his defaute sonner by  
other than by her/ Also we rede that ther was a wedowe named anna/  
whiche had a frende that counceyllid her to marye/ For she was yong fayr  
and riche/ to whom she answerd that she wold not so doo in no wise For  
yf I shold haue an husbond as I haue had and that he were as good as he  
was/ I shold euer ben a ferd to lose hym/ lyke as I lost that other/ And  
than shold I lyue all wey in fere & drede/ whiche I wyll not And yf hit

happend me to haue awors/ what shold hyt prouffite me to haue an euyl  
husbond after a good. And so she concluded that she wold kepe her  
chastete. Saynt Austyn reherceth in the book de Civitate dei that in  
rome was a noble lady gentill of maners & of hyghe kynrede named  
lucrecia/ And had an husbonde named colatyne/ whiche desired on a tyme  
the Emours sone named Torquyne thorguylous or the proude and he was  
callid sixte for to come dyne and sporte hym in his castell or manoir  
And whan he was entrid amonge many noble ladyes he sawe lucrecia/ And  
whan this Emours sone had seen & aduertised her deportes. her  
contenance. her manere. and her beaulte/ he was all rauysshid and  
esprised wyth her loue forthwyth And espyed a tyme whan her husbonde  
collatyn wente unto the ooste of themour/ and camm to the place where  
as lucesse was with her felawship/ whom she receyuyd honorably/ and  
whan tyme came to goo to bedde and slepe she made redy a bedde ryally  
for hym as hit apperteyned to the emperours sone And this sixtus espyed  
where lucrecia laye. And whan he supposyd & knewe that euery body was in  
his first sleep/ he cam to the bedde of lucesse and that oon hand sette  
on her breste and in that other hand a naked swerd/ and sayd to her/  
lucesse holde thy pees and crye not/ For I am sixte tarquynus sone/ for  
yf y'u speke ony worde thou shalt be dede/ And for fere she held her  
pees/ Than he began to praye and promise many thinges And after he  
menaced & thretenyd her that she shold encline to hym to do his wyll/  
And whan he sawe he coude ner might haue his entent he sayd to her yf  
thou do not my wyll/ I shall slee the and o[=o]n of thy seruantes and  
shall leye hym all ded by thy syde And than I shall saye that I haue  
slayn yow for your rybawdrye/ And lucesse that than doubted more the  
shame of the world than the deth consentid to hym/ And anone after as  
the Emours sone was departid/ the ladye sente l\*res to her husbond her  
fader her brethern & to her frendes/ and to a man callid brute  
conceyllour & neuewe to tarquyn/ And sayd to them/ that yesterday sixte  
the emp\*ours sone cam in to myn hous as an enemye in likenes of a  
frende/ & hath oppressid me And knowe y'u colatyn that he hath  
dishonorid thy bedde And how well y't he hath fowled & dishonored my  
body/ yet myn herte is not/ wherfore I beseche the of pardon foryfnes &  
absolucion of the trespas but not of the payne/ and he y't hath doon  
this synne to me hit shall ben to his meschance yf y'e doo your deuoir/  
And be cause no woman take ensample of lucesse and lyue after the  
trespaas/ but that she in lyke wyse take ensample also of the payne And  
forthwyth wyth a swerd that she helde under her gowen or robe/ she roof  
her self unto the herte And deyde forthwyth to fore them/ And than brute  
the counseillr And her husbond collatyn and alle her other frendes swore  
by the blood of lucesse that they wold neuer reste vnto the tyme that  
they had put out of rome tarquyn and alle his lignee/ And that neuer  
after none of them shold come to dignite/ And alle this was doon. For  
they bare the dede corps thurgh the cyte and meuyd the peple in suche  
wyse/ that tarquyn was put in exyle And fixte his sone was slayn/ A  
Quene ought to be well manerd & amonge alle she ought to be tumerous and  
shamefast/ For whan a woman hath loste shamefastnes/ she may ner can not  
well be chaast/ Wherfore saith symachus that they that ben not shamefast  
haue no conscience of luxurye/ And saynt Ambrose saith that oon of the  
best parements and maketh a woman most fayr in her persone/ is to be  
shamefast/ Senecque reherceth that ther was oon named Archezille whiche  
was so shamefast That she put in a pelow of fethers a certain some of  
money/ and put hit vnder y'e heed of a pour frende of heeris/ whiche  
dissimyled his pouerte and wold not ner durst not be a knowen of his  
pouerte For for shame she durst not gyue hit openly/ but had leuer that  
he shold fynde hit/ than that she had gyuen hit hym/ Wherfore otherwhile  
men shold gyue & helpe her frendes so secretly That they knowe not whens  
hit come/ For whan we kepe hit secret and make no boost therof/ our

deedes and werkes shall please god and them also/ A Quene ought to be chosen when she shall be wedded of the most honest kynrede and people/ For oftentimes the daughters followen the tacches and maners of them that they ben descended from/ Wherof Valerius maximus sayth that there was one that would marrye/ whiche came to a philosopher and asked counceyll what wife he might best take He answered that he should take her that thou knowest certainly that her moder and her graunt dame haue ben chaste and well conditioned/ For suche moder/ suche daughter commonly/ Also a quene ought to teche her children to ben continent and kepe chastite entirely/ as hit is wroten in ecclesiastes/ yf thou haue sonnes enseigne and teche them/ And yf thou haue daughters kepe well them in chastite/ For helemonde reherceth that euery kynge & prynce ought to be a clerke for to comande to other to studye and rede the lawe of our lord god/ And therefore wrote the emperour to the kynge of france that he should doo lerne his children sonnes the seven sciences lyberally/ And saide amonge other thynges that a kynge not lettryd resembleth an asse coroned/ The emperour Octavian made his sonnes to be taught and lerne to swyme. to sprynge and lepe. to luffe. to playe wyth the axe and swerde/ And alle maner thynges that apperteyneth to a knyght/ And his daughters he made hem to lerne. to sewe. to spyne. to labour as well in wolle as in linnen cloth/ And alle other werkis longynge to women And when his frendes demanded wherfore he dyde so/ he answered how well that he was lord & syre of alle the world/ yet wiste he not what should befall of his children and whether they should falle or come to pouerte or noo/ and therefore yf they conne a good craft they maye alleway lyue honestly/ The Quene ought to kepe her daughters in alle chastite/ For we rede of many maydens that for their virginite haue ben made quenes/ For poule the historiographer of the lombardes reherceth y't there was a duchesse named remonde whiche had .iii. sonnes & two daughters And hit happend that the kynge of hongrye cantanus assailed a castell where she behelde her enemyes And amonge all other she sawe the kynge that he was a well faryng and goodly man/ Anone she was esprised and taken wyth his loue/ And that so sore/ that forthwith she sent to hym that she would deliuer ouer the castell to hym yf he would take her to his wyf and wedde her And he agreed thereto/ and sware that he would haue her to his wyf on that condicion/ when than the kynge was in the castell/ his people toke men and women and alle that they fonde/ her sonnes fledde from her/ of whom one was named Ermoaldus and was yongest/ and after was duc of boneuentan/ And syn kynge of the lombardis. And the two susters toke chickens And put hem vnder her armes next the flesshe and bytwene her pappes/ that of the heete & chaffyng the flesshe of the chickens stanke. And when so was that they of hongrye would haue enforced & defowled hem anone they felte the stenche and fledde away and so left hem sayng/ fy how these lombardes stynke/ and so they kept their virginite/ wherfore that one of them afterward was Quene of france And that other Quene of Aleman/ And hit happend than that the kynge Catanus toke acordynge to his promyse the duchesse/ and laye with her one night for to saue his oth And on the morn he made her comune unto alle the hongres/ And the thirde day after he dyde doo put a staf of tre fro the nether part of her/ thurgh her body vnto her throte or mouthe/ for be cause of the lust of her flesshe she betrayed her cyte and sayd suche husband/ suche wyf &c And this sufficeth of the Quene.

\_The thirde chapitre of the seconde tractate treteth of the alphys her offices and maners.\_

The Alphyns ought to be made and formed in manere of luges syttyng in a chayer wyth a book open to fore their eyen/ And that is be cause that some causes ben crymynell/ And some ben cyuyle as aboute possessyons and other temporell thynge and trespaces/ And therefore ought to be two luges in the royame/ one in the black for the first cause/ And that other in whyte as for the seconde/ Theyr office is for to counceyll the kynge/ And to make by his comandements good lawes And to enforme alle the royame in good and vertuous maners/ And to luge and gyue sentence well and truly after the caas is had/ And to counceyll well and lustely alle them that are counceyll of hem/ wyth oute hauynge of ony eye opene to ony persone/ And to estudye diligently in suche wyse and to ordeygne alle that/ that ought to be kept be obseruyd be faste and stable/ So that they be not founde corrupt for yeft for favour ne for lignage ne for enuye variable And as touchynge the first poynt Seneque sayth in the book of benefetes that the poure Dyogenes was more stronge than Alixandre/ For Alixandre coude not gyue fo moche as Diogenes wold reffuse.

Marcus cursus a romayn of grete renome sayth thus. That whan he had besiegid & assayllyd them of amente And boneuentans whiche herde that he was poure/ they toke a grete masse and wegghe of gold and ended hit to hym prayng hym that he wold resseyue hyt and leue his assault and siege/ And whan they cam with the present to hym they fonde hym sittynge on the erthe and ete his mete oute of platers and disshes of tree and of wode and dyde than her message/ to whom he answerd and sayde that they shold goo hoom and saye to them that sente hem that marcus cursus loueth better to be lord and wynne riches than riches shold wynne hym/ For by bataylle he shall not be ouercome and vaynquysshid Nor be gold ne siluer he shal not be corrupt ne corompid Often tymes that thynge taketh an euyll ende that is vntrewe for gold and siluer/ And that a man is subgett vnto money may not be lord therof/ helimond reherceth that [50] demoncene demanded of aristodone how moche he had wonne for pletynge of a cause for his clyent/ And he answerd a marck of gold. [51] Demoscenes answerd to hym agayn that he had wonne as moche for to hold his pees and speke not Thus the tonges of aduocates and men of lawe ben yllous and domegeable/ yet they must be had yf thou wylt wynne thy cause for wyth money and yeft thou shall wynne And oftetymes they selle as welle theyr scilence/ as theyr vtterance/ Valerius reherceth that the senatours of rome toke counceyll to geder of two persones that one was poure/ And that other riche and couetous/ whiche of hem bothe were moft apte for to sende to gouerne and luge the contre of spayne/ and scipion of affricque sayd that none of them bothe were good ner prouffitable to be sente theder/ For that one hath no thynge And to that other may nothyng suffise And despised in his saynge alle pouerte and auerice in a luge/ For a couetous man hath nede of an halfpeny For he is seruant & bonde vnto money/ and not lord therof. But pouerte of herte & of wylle ought to be gretly alowed in a luge Therefore we rede that as longe as the romayns louyd pouerte they were lordes of all the world For many ther were that exposed alle their goodes for the comyn wele and for that was most prouffitable for the comynaulte that they were so poure that whan they were dede they were buryed & brought to erthe with the comyn good/ And theyr daughters were maryed by the comandement of the senatours/ But syn that they despised pouerte/ And begonned to gadre rychesses/ And haue maad grete bataylles/ they haue vsed many synnes And so the comyn wele perysshid/ For there is no synne but that it regneth there/ Ther is none that is so [52] synfull as he that hath alle the world in despyte/ For he is in pees that dredeth no man/ And he is ryche that coueyteth no thynge/ Valere reherceth that he is not ryche that moche hath/ But he is

ryche that hath lytyll and coueyteth no thyng/ Than thus late the luges take hede that they encline not for loue or for hate in ony lugement/ For theophrast saith that alle loue is blynde ther loue is/ ther can not ryght lugement by guyen/ For alle loue is blynde And therefore loue is none euyn luge For ofte tymes loue lugeth a fowll & lothly woman to be fayr And so reherceth quynte curse in his first book that the grete Godaches sayth the same to Alixandre men may saye in this caas that nature is euyll For euery man is lasse auysed and worse in is owne feet and cause than in an other mans/ And therefore the luges ought to kepe hem well from yre in lugement/ Tullius sayth that an angry & yrous sone weneth that for to doo euyll/ is good counceyll/ and socrates saith y't .ii. thinges ben contraryous to co[u]ceyll/ and they ben haftynges & wrath/ and Galeren sayth in Alexandrye/ yf yre or wrath ouercome the whan thou sholdest gyue lugement/ weye all thinge in y'e balance so that thy lugement be not enclined by loue ne by yeste/ ne fauour of persone torne not thy corage. Helemond reherceth that Cambyses kynge of perse whiche was a rightwys kynge had an vnrightwys luge/ whiche for enuye and euyll will had dampned a man wrongfully and agaynst right/ wherfore he dide hym to be flain all quyk/ and made the chayer or fiege of lugement to be couerid wyth his skyn/ And made his sone luge and to sitte in the chayer on the skyn of his fader/ to thende that the sone shold luge rightwysly/ And abhorre the lugement & payne of his fader/ luges ought to punyssh the defaultes egally And fullille the lawe that they ordeyne/ Caton sayth accomplishe and do the lawe in suche wyse as thou hast ordeyned and gyuen. Valerius reherceth that calengius a consull had a sone whiche was taken in adwultrye. And therefore after the lawe at that tyme he was dampned to lose bothe his eyen The fader wold y't the lawe shold be acc[=o]plisshid in his sone with out fauour/ but all the cyte was meuyd herewyth And wold not suffre hit/ but in the ende his fader was vaynquysshid by theyr prayers/ And ordeyned that his sone shold lese oon eye whiche was put oute And he hymself lost an other eye/ And thus was the lawe obserued and kept/ And the prayer of the peple was accomplisshid We rede y't ther was a counceyllour of rome that had gyen counceill to make a statute/ that who some euer that entrid in to the senatoire/ & a swerd gyrt aboute hym shold be ded/ Than hit happend on a tyme that he cam from with out and entrid in to the senatoire & his swerd gyrt aboute hym/ wherof he took n[=o]n heede/ and [=o]n of the senatours told hym of hit/ and whan he knewe hit & remembrid the statute/ he drewe oute his swerd & slewe hymself to fore them/ rather to dye than to breke the lawe/ for whos deth all the senatours made grete sorowe/ but alas we fynde not many in these dayes that soo doo/ but they doo lyke as anastasius saith that the lawes of some ben lyke vnto the nettis of spyncoppis that take no grete bestes & fowles but lete goo & flee thurgh. But they take flyes & gnattes & suche smale thynges/ In lyke wise the lawes now a dayes ben not executed but vpon the poure peple/ the grete and riche breke hit & goo thurgh with all And for this cause sourden bataylles & discordes/ and make y'e grete & riche men to take by force and strengthe lordshippis & seignouries vpon the smale & poure peple/ And this doon they specially that ben gentill of lignage & poure of goodes And causeth them to robbe and reue And yet constrayned them by force to serue them And this is no meruayll/ for they that drede not to angre god/ ner to breke the lawe and to false hit/ Falle often tymes by force in moche cursednes and wikkidnes/ but whan the grete peple doo acordinge to the lawe/ and punyssh the tr[=a]ngressours sharply The comyn peple abstayne and withdrawe hem fro dooyng of euyll/ and chastiseth hem self by theyr example/ And the luges ought to entende for to studie/ for y't yf smythes the carp[=e]ntiers y'e vignours and other craftymen saye that it is most necessarye to studie for the comyn prouffit And gloryfye them in

their connyng and saye that they ben prouffitable Than shold the luges studie and contemplaire moche more than they in that/ that shold be for the comyn wele/ wherfore sayth seneke beleue me that they seme that they do no thyng they doo more than they that laboure For they doo spirytuell and also corporall werkis/ and therfore amonge Artificers ther is no plesant reste/ But that reson of the luges hath maad and ordeyned hit/ And therfore angelius in libro actiui atticorum de socrate sayth That socrates was on a tyme so pensyf that in an hole naturell daye/ He helde one estate that he ne meuyd mouth ne eye ne foote ne hand but was as he had ben ded rauyshyd. And whan one demanded hym wherfore he was fo pensyf/ he answerd in alle worldly thynges and labours of the fame And helde hym bourgoys and cytezeyn of the world And valerius reherceth that carnardes a knyght was so age wye and laborous in pensifnes of the comyn wele/ that whan he was sette at table for to ete/ he forgate to put his hande vnto the mete to fede hymself. And therfore his wys y't was named mellye whom he had taken more to haue her companye & felowship than for any other thyng/ Fedde hym to thende that he shold not dye for honger in his pensifnes/ Dydymus sayd to Alix-andrie we ben not deynseyens in the world but stra[=u]gers/ ner we ben not born in the world for to dwell and abyde allway therein/ but for to goo and passe thurgh hit/ we haue doon noon euy dede/ but that it is worthy to be punysshid and we to suffre payne therfore And than we may goon with opon face and good conscience And so may we goo lightly and appertly the way that we hope and purpose to goo This suffiseth as for the Alphyns.

[Illustration]

\_The fourth chapitre of the seconde book treteth of the ordre of cheualerye and knyghthode and of her offices and maners.\_

The knyght ought to be made alle armed upon an hors in suche wyse that he haue an helme on his heed and a spere in his ryght hande/ and coueryd wyth his sheld/ a swerde and a mace on his lyft syde/ Cladd wyth an hawberk and plates to fore his breste/ legge harnoys on his legges/ Spores on his heelis on his handes his gauntelettes/ his hors well broken and taught and apte to bataylle and couerid with his armes/ whan the knyghtes ben maad they ben bayned or bathed/ that is the signe that they shold lede a newe lyf and newe maners/ also they wake alle the nyght in prayers and orysons vnto god that he wylle gyue hem grace that they may gete that thyng that they may not gete by nature/ The kynge or prynce gyrdeth a boutte them a swerde in signe/ that they shold abyde and kepe hym of whom they take theyr dispenses and dignyte. Also a knyght ought to be wise, liberall, trewe, stronge and full of mercy and pite and kepar of the peple and of the lawe/ And ryght as cheualrye passeth other in vertu in dignite in honour and in reu[=e]rece/ right so ought he to surmounte alle other in vertu/ For honour is no thing ellis but to do reuer[=e]ce to an other sone for y'e good & vertuo'9 disposicion y't is in hym/ A noble knyght ought to be wyse and preuyd to fore he be made knyght/ hit behoued hym that he had longe tyme vsid the warre and armes/ that he may be expert and wyse for to gouerne the other For syn that a knyght is capitayn of a batayll The lyf of them that shall be vnder hym lyeth in his hand And therfore behoueth hym to be wyse and well aduysed/



for some tyme arte craft and engyue is more worth than strengthe or hardynes of a man that is not proued in Armes/ For otherwhyle hit happeth that whan the prynce of the batayll affieth and trusteth in his hardynes and strength And wole not vse wysedom and engyne for to renne vpon his enemyes/ he is vaynquysshid and his peple slayn/ Therefore saith the philosopher that no man shold chese yong peple to be captayns & gouernours For as moche as ther is no certainte in her wysedom. Alexandra of macedone vaynquysshid and conquerid Egypte lude Caldee Affricque/ and Affirye vnto the marches of bragmans more by the counceyll of olde men than by the strength of the yong men/ we rede in the historye of rome y't ther was a knyght whiche had to name malechete that was so wyse and trewe that whan the Emour Theodosius was dede/ he made mortall warre ayenst his broder germain whiche was named Gildo or Guye For as moche as this said guye wold be lorde of affricque with oute leue and wyll of the senatours. And this sayd guye had slayn the two sones of his broder malechete/ And dide moche torment vnto the cristen peple And afore that he shold come in to the felde ayenst his broder Emyon/ he wente in to an yle of capayre And ladde with hym alle the cristen men that had ben sente theder in Exyle And made hem alle to praye wyth hym by the space of thre dayes & thre nyghtis/ For he had grete truste in the prayers of good folk/ & specially that noman myght counceyll ne helpe but god/ and .iii. dayes to fore he shold fight saynt Ambrofe whiche was ded a lityl to fore apperid to hym/ and shewde hym by reuelacion the tyme & our that he shold haue victorie/ and for as moche as he had ben .iii. dayes and .iii. nyghtes in his prayers & that he was assewid for to haue victorie/ He faught with .v. thousand men ayenst his broder y't had in his companye .xxiiii. thousand men And by goddes helpe he had victorie And whan the barbaryns y't were comen to helpe guion fawe y'e disconfiture they fledde away/ and guion fledd also in to affricque by shiipp/ and whan he was ther arryued he was sone after stranglid/ These .ii. knyghtes of whom I speke were two bredern germayns/ whiche were sent to affricque for to defende the comyn weele/ In likewise ludas machabe<sup>9</sup> Ionathas & symon his bredern put hem self in the mercy and garde of our lord god And agayn the enemyes of the lawe of god with lityll peple in regard of the multitude that were agayn them/ and had also victorie/ The knights ought to ben trewe to theyr princes/ for he that is not trewe leseth y'e name of a knight Vnto a prince trouth is the grettest precious stone whan it is medlid with luftice/ Paule the historiagraph of the lombardes reherceth that ther was a knight named enulphus and was of the cyte of papye that was so trewe to his kynge named patharich/ that he put hym in parill of deth for hym/ For hit happend that Grymald Due of [53] buentayns of whom we haue touched to fore in the chapitre of the Quene/ Dyde do flee Godebert whiche was kynge of the lombardes by the hande of Goribert duc of Tauryn/ whiche was discended of the crowne of lombardis And this grimald was maad kynge of lombardis in his place/ and after this put & bannysshid out of the contrey this patharych whiche was broder vnto the kynge Godebert/ that for fere and drede fledd in to hongrye/ And than this knyght Enulphus dide so moche that he gate the peas agayn of his lord patharich agaynft the kynge grymalde/ and that he had licence to come out of hongrye where he was all wey in paryll. and so he cam and cryed hym mercy And the kynge grymalde gaf hym leue to dwelle and to lyue honestly in his contree/ allway forseen that he toke not vpon hym and named hymself kynge/ how well he was kynge by right This doon a litill while after/ the kynge that beleuyd euyll tonges/ thought in hymself how he myght brynge this patharich vnto the deth And alle this knewe well the knyght enulphus/ whiche cam the same nyght with his squyer for to visite his lord And made his squyer to vnclothe hym & to lye in the bedde of his lord And made his lord to ryse and clothe hym

wyth the clothis of his squyer/ And in this wyse brought hym oute/  
brawlynge and betynge hym as his seruant by them that were assigned to  
kepe the hows of patharik y't he shold not escape Whiche supposid that  
hit had ben his squyer that he entretid so outrageously/ & so he brought  
hym to his hous whiche loyned with the walles of the toun/ And at  
mydnyght whan alle men were asleepe/ he lete a doun his maistre by a  
corde/ whiche toke an hors oute of the pasture And fled vnto the cyte of  
Aast and ther cam to the kyng of fraunce/ And whan hit cam vnto the  
morn. Hit was founden that Arnolphus and his squyer had deceyvyd the  
kyng and the wacchemen/ whom the kyng comanded shold be brought to fore  
hym And demanded of them the maner how he was escaped And they told hym  
the trouthe/ Than the kyng demanded his counceyll of what deth they had  
deseruyd to dye that had so doon and wrought agayn the wylle of hym/  
Some sayde that they shold ben honged/ and some sayd they shold ben  
slayn And other sayd that they shold be beheedid. Than sayd the kyng by  
that lord that made me/ they ben not worthy to dye/ but for to haue  
moche worship and honour/ For they haue ben trewe to theyr lord/  
wherfore the kyng gaf hem a grete lawde and honour for their feet And  
after hit happend that the propre squyer and seruant of godeberd slewe  
the traytre Goribalde that by trayson had slayn his lord at a feste of  
seynt lohn in his Cyte of Tauryn wherof he was lord and duc/ Thus ought  
the knyghtes to love to gyder/ And eche to put his lyf in aventure for  
other/ For so ben they the strengre And the more doubted/ Lyke as were  
the noble knyghtes loab and Abysay that fought agaynst the siryens and  
Amonytes/ And were so trewe that oon to that other that they  
vaynquysshid theyr enemies And were so loyned to gyder that yf the  
siryens were strengre than that one of them/ that other helpe hym/ we  
rede that damon and phisias were so ryght parfyt frendes to gyder that  
whan Dionisius whiche was kyng of cecylle had lused one to deth for his  
trespaas in the cyte of syracusane whom he wold haue executed/ he  
desired grace and leue to goo in to hys contre for to dispose and  
ordonne his testament/ And his felawe pleggid hym and was sewrte for hym  
vpon his heed that he shold come agayn. Wherof they that sawe & herd  
this/ helde hym for a fool and blamed hym/ And he said all way that he  
repentid hym nothyng at all/ For he knewe well the trouthe of his felawe  
And whan the day cam and the oure that execusion shold be doon/ his  
felawe cam and presented hymself to fore the luge/ And dischargid his  
felawe that was plegge for hym/ wherof the kyng was gretly abasshid And  
for the grete trouthe that was founden in hym He pardonyd hym and prayd  
hem bothe that they wold resseyue hym as their grete frende and felawe/  
Lo here the vertues of loue that a man ought nought to doubte the deth  
for his frende/ Lo what it is to doo for a frende/ And to lede a lyf  
debonayr And to be wyth out cruelte/ to loue and not to hate/ whiche  
causeth to doo good ayenst euyll And to torne payne into benefete and to  
quenche cruelte Anthonyus sayth that Julius Cesar/ lefte not lightly  
frenshippe and Amytye/ But whan he had hit he reteyned hit faste and  
maynteyned hit alleway/ Scipion of Affricque sayth that ther is no  
thyng so stronge/ as for to mayntene loue vnto the deth The loue of  
concupiscence and of lecherye is sone dissoluyd and broken/ But the  
verray true loue of the comyn wele and prouffit now a dayes is selde  
founden/ where shall thou fynde a man in thyse dayes that wyll expose  
hymself for the worshippe and honour of his frende/ or for the comyn  
wele/ selde or neuer shall he be founden/ Also the knyghtes shold be  
large & liberall For whan a knyght hath regarde vnto his singular  
prouffit by his couetyse/ he dispoyleth his peple For whan the  
souldyours see that they putte hem in paryll. And theyr mayster wyll not  
paye hem theyr wages liberally/ but entendeth to his owne propre gayn  
and prouffyt/ than whan the Enemyes come they torne sone her backes and  
flee oftentimes/ And thus hit happeth by hym that entendeth more to gete

money than victorie that his auaryce is ofte tymes cause of his  
confusion Than late euery knyght take heede to be liberall in suche wyse  
that he wene not ne suppose that his scarcete be to hym a grete wynnynge  
or gayn/ And for thys cause he be the lasse louyd of his peple/ And that  
his aduersarye wythdrawe to hym them by large gyuyng/ For oftetyme  
bataylle is auanced more for getyng of siluer. Than by the force and  
strengthe of men/ For men see alle daye that suche thynges as may not be  
achieuyd by force of nature/ ben goten and achieuyd by force of money/  
And for so moche hit behoueth to see well to that whan the tyme of the  
bataylle cometh/ that he borowe not ne make no tayllage/ For noman may  
be ryche that leuyth his owne/ hopyng to gete and take of other/ Than  
all waye all her gayn and wynnynge ought to be comyn amonge them exep  
theyr Armes. For in lyke wyse as the victorie is comune/ so shold the  
dispoyll and botye be comune vnto them And therefore Dauid that gentyll  
knyght in the fyrst book of kynges in the last chapitre 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 be in the bataylle/ And  
for the loue of thys lawe he was made afterward kynge of Israell/  
Alexander of Macedone cam on a tyme lyke a symple knyght vnto the court  
of Porus kynge of Inde for to espye thestate of the kynge and of the  
knyghtes of the court/ And the kynge resseyuyd hym ryght worshipfully/  
And demanded of hym many thynges of Alexander and of his constance and  
strengthe/ nothyng wenyng that he had ben Alexander But antygone one  
of his knyghtis and after he had hym to dyner And whan they had feruyd  
Alexander in vayssell of gold and siluer with dyuerce metes &c. After  
that he had eten suche as plesid hym he voyded the mete and toke the  
vayssell and helde hit to hymself and put hit in his bosom or sleuys/  
wherof he was accusid vnto the kynge After dyner than the kynge callid  
hym and demanded hym wherfore he had taken his vayssell And he answerd/  
Syre kynge my lord I pray the to vnderstande and take heede thy self and  
also thy knyghtes/ I haue herd moche of thy grete hyenes And y't thou  
art more myghty and puysant in cheualrye & in dispensis than is  
Alexander/ and therefore I am come to the a pour knyght whiche am named  
Antygone for to serue the/ Than hit is the custome in the Courte of  
Alexandre/ that what thyng a knyght is seruyd wyth all is alle his/  
mete and vayssell and cuppe And therefore I had supposid that this  
custome had ben kept in thy court for thou art richer than he/ whan the  
knyghtes herd this/ an[=o]n they lefte porus/ and wente for to serue  
alixandre/ and thus he drewe to hym y'e hertes of them by yeftes/ whiche  
afterward slewe Porus that was kynge of Inde/ And they made Alexandra  
kynge therof Therefore remembre knyght alleway that wyth a closid and  
shette purse shalt thou neuer haue victorie. Ouyde sayth that he that  
taketh yeftes/ he is glad therwyth/ For they wynne wyth yeftes the  
hertes of the goddes and of men For yf iupiter were angrid/ wyth yestes  
he wold be plesid/ The knyghtes ought to be stronge not only of body but  
also in corage. Ther ben many stronge and grete of body/ that ben faynt  
and feble in the herte/ he is stronge that may not be vaynquysshid and  
ouercomen/ how well that he suffryth moche otherwhile/ And so we beleue  
that they that be not ouer grete ne ouer lityll ben most corageous &  
beste in batayll. We rede that cadrus duc of athenes shold haue a  
batayll agayn them of polipe/ And he was warned and had a reuelacion of  
the goddes/ that they shold haue the victorie of whom the prynce shold  
be slayn in the batayll/ And the prince whiche was of a grete corage and  
trewe herte Toke other armes of a poure man/ And put hymself in the  
fronte of the batayll to thende that he might be slayn And so he was/  
for the right trewe prince had leuer dye Than his peple shold be  
ouercomen/ And so they had the victorie/ Certes hyt was a noble and fayr  
thyng to expose hym self to the deth for to deffende his contrey. But  
no man wold doo so/ but yf he hopyd to haue a better thyng therefore/

Therefore the lawe sayth that they lyue in her sowles gloriously that ben slain in the warre for the comyn wele A knyght ought also to be mercifull and pyetous For ther is nothyng y't maketh a knyght so renommed as is whan he sauyth the lyf of them that he may slee/ For to shede and spylle blood is the condicion of a wylde beste and not the condicion of a good knyght Therefore we rede that scylla that was Duc of the Romayns wyth oute had many fayr victoyres agaynst the Romayns wyth Inne that were contrayre to hym/ In so moche that in the batayll of puylle he slewe .xviii. thousand men/ And in champanye .lxx. thousand. And after in the cyte he slewe thre thousand men vnarmed And whan one of his knyghtes that was named Quyntus catulus sawe this cruelte sayd to hym/ Sesse now and suffre them to lyue and be mercyfull to them wyth whom we haue ben victorious And wyth whom we ought to lyue/ For hit is the most hiest and fayr vengeance that a man may doo/ as to spare them & gyue hem her lyf whome he may slee Therefore Joab ordeyned whan absalom was slayn/ he sowned a trompette/ that his peple shold no more renne & slee theyr aduersaryes. For ther were slayn aboute .xx. thousand of them/ and in lyke wyse dide he whan he faught ayenst Abner And Abner was vaynquysshid and fledde. For where that he wente in the chaas he comanded to spare the peple The knyghtes ought to kepe the peple/ For whan the peple ben in theyr tentes or castellis/ the knyghtes ought to kepe the wacche/ For this cause the romayns callyd them legyons And they were made of dyuerce prouynces and of dyuerce nacyons to thentente to kepe the peple/ And the peple shold entende to theyre werke/ For no crafty man may bothe entende to his craft & to fighte/ how may a crafty man entende to hys werke sewrely in tyme of warre but yf he be kept And right in suche wyse as the knyghtes shold kepe y'e peple in tyme of peas in lyke wise the peple ought to pourveye for theyr dispensis/ how shold a plowman be sewre in the felde/ but yf the knyghtes made dayly wacche to kepe hem/ For lyke as the glorye of a kynge is vpon his knyghtis/ so hit is necessarye to the knyghtes that the marchantis craftymen and comyn peple be defended and kepte/ therefore late the knyghtes kepe the peple in suche wyse that they maye enioye pees and gete and gadre the costis and expensis of them bothe/ we rede that Athis sayd to dauid whiche was a knyght/ I make the my kepar and defendar alleway. Thus shold the knightes haue grete zeles that the lawe be kept/ For the mageste ryall ought not only to be garnysshid wyth armes but also wyth good lawes/ And therefore shold they laboure that they shold be well kept Turgeus pompeyus reherceth of a noble knyght named Ligurgyus that had made auntyent lawes the whiche the peple wold not kepe ne obserue/ For they semed hard for them to kepe And wold constrayne hym to rapele & sette hem a part whan the noble knight sawe that He dyde the peple to vnderstande that he had not made them/ but a god that was named Apollo delphynus. had made them/ And had comanded hym that he shold do the peple kepe them/ These wordes auayled not/ they wold in no wyse kepe them/ And than he sayd to them that hit were good that er the said lawes shold be broken that he had gyuen to them that he shold goo and speke wyth the god Appollo/ For to gete of hym a dispensacion to breke hem/ And that the peple shold kepe & obserue them tyll that he returned agayn/ The peple acorded therto & swore that they shold kepe them to the tyme he returned Than the knyghte wente in to grece in exyle & dwellid ther alle his lyf/ And whan he shold dye he comanded that his body shold be cast in the see/ For as moche as yf his body shold be born theder/ the people shold wene to be quyt of theyr oth/ And shold kepe no lenger his lawes that were so good & resonable/ & so the knight had leuer to forsake his owne centre & to dye so than to repele his lawes And his lawes were suche/ The first lawe was that y'e peple shold obeye & serue the princes/ And the princes shold kepe the peple & do lustice on the malefactours The second lawe that they shold be all sobre/ For he wiste

well that the labour of cheualrye is most stronge when they lyue  
sobrelly/ The thirde was y't noman shold bye ony thyng for money but  
they shold change ware for ware & one marchandyse for an other/ The  
fourthe was that men shold sette no more by money ner kepe hit more than  
they wold donge or fylthe/ The fyfthe he ordeyned for the comyn wele  
alle thyng by ordre/ that the prynces myght meue and make bataylle by  
her power, to the maistres counceillours he comysid the lugementis. And  
the Annuell rentes/ to the senatours the keyng of the lawe/ And to the  
comyn peple he gaf power to chese suche luges as they wold haue/ The  
sixte he ordeyned that all thinge shold be departid egally & all thinge  
shold be comyn And none richer than other in patry-monye/ The seuenth  
that euery man shold ete lyke well in comen openly/ that riches shold  
not be cause of luxurye when they ete secretly/ The eygthe that the  
yonge peple shold not haue but o[=n] gowne or garment in the yere/ The  
nynth that men shold sette poure children to laboure in the felde/ to  
thende that they shold not employe theyr yongthe in playes and in folye/  
but in labour/ The tenthe that the maydens shold be maryed wythoute  
dowayre/ In suche wyfe that no man shold take a wyf for moneye/ The xi.  
that men shold rather take a wyf for her good maners and vertues than  
for her riches/ The twelfth that men shold worshippe the olde and  
auncyent men for theyr age and more for theyr wysedom than for her  
riches this knyght made none of thyse lawes/ but he first kepte hem.

[Illustration]

\_The fyfthe chapitre of the second book of the forme  
and maners of the rooks.\_

The rooks whiche ben vicaires and legats of the kyng ought to be made  
lyke a knyght vpon an hors and a mantell and hood furred with meneuyer  
holdyng a staf in his hande/ & for as moche as a kyng may not be in  
alle places of his royaume/ Therefore the auctorite of hym is gyuen to the  
rooks/ whiche represent the kyng/ And for as moche as a royaume is grete  
and large/ and that rebellion or nouelletes might sourdre and aryse in  
oon partye or other/ therefore ther ben two rooks one on the right side  
and that other on the lifte side They ought to haue in hem. pyte.  
luftice. humylite. wilfull pouerte. and liberalite/ Fyrst lustice for  
hit is most fayr of the vertues/ For it happeth oftetye that the  
ministris by theyr pryde and orgueyll subuerte luftice and do no ryght/  
Wherfore the kynges otherwhyle lose theyr royames with out theyr culpe  
or gylte/ For an vntrewe luge or officyer maketh hys lord to be named  
vnlufte and euyll And contrarye wyse a trewe myneste of the lawe and  
ryghtwys/ causeth the kyng to be reputed luste and trewe/ The Romayns  
therefore made good lawes/ And wolde that/ that they sholde be lufte and  
trewe/ And they that establisshid them for to gouerne the peple/ wold in  
no wyse breke them/ but kepe them for to dye for them/ For the auncyent  
and wyse men sayd comynly that it was not good to make and ordeygne that  
lawe that is not luste Wherof Valerius reherceth that ther was a man  
that was named Themistides whiche cam to the counceyllours of athenes  
and sayd that he knewe a counceyll whiche was ryght prouffitable for  
them/ But he wolde telle hyt but to But to one of them whom that they  
wold/ And they asigned to hym a wyse man named Aristides/ And whan he  
had vnderstand hym he cam agayn to the other of the counceyll And sayd

that the councyll of Themystides was well prouffitable/ but hit was not luste/ how be hit y'e may reuolue hit in your mynde/ And the councyll that he sayd was this/ that ther were comen two grete shippis fro lacedome and were arryued in theyr londe. And that hit were good to take them/ And whan the councyll herde hym that sayde/ that hit was not luste ner right/ they lefte hem alle in pees And wold not haue adoo with alle/ The vicarye or luge of the kynge ought to be so luste/ that he shold employe alle his entente to saue the comyn wele And yf hit were nede to put his lyf and/ lose hit therfore/ we haue an ensample of marcus regulus wherof Tullius reherceth in the book of offices And saynt Augustyn also de ciuitate dei/ how he faught agayn them of cartage by see in shippis and was vaynquysshid and taken/ Than hit happend that they of cartage sente hymm in her message to rome for to haue theyr prisoners there/ for them y'e were taken/ and so to cha[=u]ge one for an other And made hym swere and promyse to come agayn/ And so he cam to rome And made proposicion tofore the senate And demanded them of cartage of the senatours to be cha[=u]ged as afore is sayd And than the senatours demanded hym what councyll he gaf Certayn sayd he I co[=u]cayll yow that y'e do hit not in no wise For as moche as the peple of rome that they of cartage holde in prison of youris ben olde men and brusid in the warre as I am my self/ But they that y'e holde in prison of their peple is alle the flour of alle their folke/ whiche councyll they toke/ And than his frendes wolde haue holde hym and councyllyd hym to abide there and not retorne agayn prysoner in to cartage/ but he wold neuer doo so ner abide/ but wold goo agayn and kepe his oth How well that he knewe that he went toward his deth For he had leuyr dye than to breke his oth Valeri9 reherceth in the sixth book of one Emelye duc of the romayns/ that in the tyme whan he had assieged the phalistes/ The scole maystre of the children deceyuyd the children of the gentilmen that he drewe hym a lityll and a lytyll vnto the tentys of the romayns by fayr speche. And sayd to the duc Emelie/ that by the moyan of the children that he had brought to hym/ he shold haue the cyte/ For theyr faders were lordes and gouernours. Whan Emelie had herde hym he sayd thus to hym Thou that art euyll and cruell And thou that woldest gyue a gyfte of grete felonnye and of mauuastye/ thou shalt ner hast not founden here Duc ne peple that resembleth the/ we haue also well lawes to kepe in batayll & warre As in our contres & other places/ and we wole obserue and kepe them vnto euery man as they ought to be kept And we ben armed agaynst our enemyes y't wole defende them And not ayenst them y't can not saue their lyf whan their contre is taken/ as thise lityll children/ Thou hast vaynquysshid them as moche as is in the by thy newe deceyuable falsenes and by subtilnes and not by armes/ but I that am a romayn shall vainquysshe them by craft and strengthe of armes/ And anon he comanded to take the said scole maister/ And to bynde his handes behynde hym as a traytour and lede hem to the parentis of the children And whan the faders & parentis sawe the grete courtosie that he had don to them They opend the yates and yelded them vnto hym/ we rede that hanyball had taken a prince of rome whiche vpon his oth and promyse suffrid hym to gon home/ and to sende hym his raunson/ or he shold come agayn within a certain tyme And whan he was at home in his place/ he sayde that he had deceyuyd hym by a false oth And whan the senatours knewe therof/ they constrayned hym to retorne agayn vnto hanyball/ Amos florus tellyth that the phisicien of kynge pirrus cam on a nyght to fabrice his aduersarye And promyfid hym yf he wold gyue hym for his laboure that he wold enpoysone pirrus his maister/ whan fabricius vnderstode this He dyde to take hym and bynde hym hande & foote/ and sente hym to his maistre and dyde do saye to hym word for worde lyke as the phisicien had sayd and promysid hym to doo/ And whan pirrus vnderstode this he was gretly ameruaylled of the loyalte and trowth of fabrice his enemye/ and sayd certaynly that the sonne

myghte lighther and sonner be enpesshid of his cours/ than fabrice shold  
be letted to holde loyalte and trouthe/ yf they than that were not  
cristen were so luste and trewe and louyd their contrey and their good  
renomee/ what shold we now doon than that ben cristen and that cure lawe  
is sette alle vpon loue and charyte/ But now a dayes ther is nothyng  
ellys in the world but barate Treson deceyte falsenes and trecherye Men  
kepe not theyr couenantes promyses. othes. wrytynges. ne trouthe/ The  
subgettis rebelle agayn theyr lorde/ ther is now no lawe kepte. nor  
fidelite/ ne oth holden/ the peple murmure and ryse agayn theyr lord and  
wole not be subget/ they ought to be pietous in herte/ whiche is  
auailable to all thinge ther is pite in effecte by compassion/ and in  
worde by remission and pardon/ by almesse/ for to enclyne hymself to the  
poure For pite is nothyng ellis but a right grete will of a debonaire  
herte for to helpe alle men/ Valerius reherceth that ther was a luge  
named sangis whiche dampned a woman that had deseruyd the deth for to  
haue her heed smyten of or ellis that she shold dye in prison/ The  
Geayler that had pite on the woman put not her anone to deth but put her  
in the pryson/ And this woman had a doughter whiche cam for to se and  
conforte her moder But allway er she entryd into the pryson the layler  
serchid her that se shold bere no mete ne drynke to her moder/ but that  
she shold dye for honger/ Than hit happend after this that he meruaylled  
moche why this woman deyed not/ And began to espye the cause why she  
lyuyd so longe/ And fonde at laste how her doughter gaf souke to her  
moder/ And fedde her with her melke. whan the layler aawe this meruail/  
he wente & told the luge/ And whan the luge sawe this grete pite of the  
doughter to the moder he pardoned her and made her to be delyuerid oute  
of her pryson what is that/ that pite ne amolissith/ moche peple wene  
that it is agaynst nature and wondre that the doughter shold gyue the  
moder to souke/ hit were agayn nature but the children shold be kynde to  
fader and moder/ Seneca sayth that the kynge of bees hath no prykke to  
stynge with as other bees haue. And that nature hath take hit away from  
hym be cause he shold haue none armes to assaylle them And this is an  
example vnto prynces that they shold be of the fame condicion/ Valerius  
reherceth in his .v. book of marchus martellus that whan he had taken  
the cyte of siracusane. And was sette in the hiest place of the cyte/ he  
behelde the grete destruction of the peple and of the cyte/ he wepte and  
sayde/ thou oughtest to be sorofull/ for so moche as thou woldest haue  
no pite of thy self/ But enioye the for thou art fallen in the hande of  
a right debonaire prynce. Also he recounteth whan pompeye had conqueryd  
the kynge of Germanye that often tymes had foughten ayenst the romayns  
And that he was brought to fore hym bounden/ he was so pietous that he  
wold not suffre hym to be longe on his knees to fore hym/ but he  
receyuyd hym cortously And sette the crowne agayn on his heed and put  
hym in thestate that he was to fore/ For he had oppynyon that hit was as  
worshipfull and fitynge to a kynge to pardone/ as to punysse. Also he  
reherceth of a co[=u]ceyllour that was named poule that dide do brynge to  
fore hym a man that was prisonner And as he knelid to fore hym he toke  
hym vp fro the ground & made hym to sytte beside hym for to gyue hym  
good esperance and hoope And sayd to the other stondyng by/ in this  
wyse. yf hit be grete noblesse that we shewe our self contrarye to our  
enemyes/ than this fete ought to be alowed that we shew our self  
debonair to our caytyfs & prisonners Cesar whan he herde the deth of  
cathon whiche was his aduersarye sayde that he had grete enuye of his  
glorye. And no thinge of his patrimonye/ and therefore he lefte to his  
children frely all his patrimonye Thus taught vyrgyle and enseygned the  
gloryus prynces to rewle and gouerne the peple of rome. And saynt  
Augustin de ciuitate dei saith thus Thou emperour gouerne the peple  
pietously And make peas ouerall/ deperte and forbere thy subgets/  
repreue & correcte the prowde/ for so enseyne And teche the the lawes/

And hit was wretton vnto Alexander/ that euery prynce ought to be pyetous in punysshynge/ and redy for to rewarde/ Ther is no thyng that causeth a prynce to be so belouyd of hys peple/ As whan he speketh to hem swetly/ and co[u]ersith with hem symply/ And all this cometh of the roote of pyte/ we rede of the Emperour Traian that his frendes repreuyd hym of that he was to moche pryue and familier wyth the comyn peple more than an emperour ought to be/ And he answerd that he wold be suche an emperour as euery man desired to haue hym/ Also we rede of Alixander that on a tyme he ladde his oost forth hastely/ and in that haste he beheld where satte an olde knight that was sore acolde Whom he dide do arise and sette hym in his owne sete or siege/ what wondre was hit though y'e knightes desired to serue suche a lord that louyd better theyr helth than his dignite/ The rookes ought also to be humble & meke After the holy scripture whiche saith/ the gretter or in the hier astate that thou arte/ so moche more oughtest thou be meker & more humble Valerius reherceth in his .vii. book that ther was an emperour named publius cesar/ That dide do bete doun his hows whiche was in the middis of y'e market place for as moche as hit was heier than other houses/ for as moche as he was more glorious in astate than other/ Therefore wold he haue a lasse hous than other And scipion of affrique that was so poure of vol[un]tarie pouerte y't whan he was dede/ he was buried at y'e dispencis of y'e comyn good/ They shold be so humble y't they shold leue theyr offices/ and suffre other to take hem whan her tyme comyth/ & doo honour to other/ for he gouerneth wel y'e royame y't may gouerne hit whan he will Valeri'9 saith In his thirde book that fabyan the grete had ben maistre counceyllour of his fader his grauntsire/ And of his grauntsirs fader & of alle his antecessours And yet dide he alle his payne and labour/ that his sone shold neuer haue that office after hym/ but for nothyng that he mystrusted his sone/ For he was noble and wise and more attemprid than other/ but he wold that the office shold not all way reste in the familye and hows of the fabyans Also he reherceth in his seuenth book that they wold make the sayd fabyan emour/ but he excused hym and sayd that he was blynde and myght not see for age/ but that excusacion myght not helpe hym/ Than sayd he to hem/ seke y'e and gete yow another/ For yf y'e make me your emour I may not suffre your maners/ nor y'e may not suffre myn/ Ther was a kynge of so subtyll engyne That whan men brought hym the crowne/ to fore that he toke hit/ he remembrid hym a lityll and saide/ O thou crowne that art more noble than happy For yf a kynge knewe well and parfaytly how that thou art full of paryls of thoughte and of charge/ yf thou were on the grounde/ he wolde neuer lyfte ner take the vp/ Remembre the that whan thou art most glorious/ than haue some men moste enuye on the/ and whan thou haste moste seignourye and lordships than shalt thou haue moste care. thought and anguysshes/ Vaspasian was so humble that whan Nero was slayn alle the peple cryed for to haue hym emour/ and many of his frendes cam & prayde hym that he wold take hit vpon hym/ so at the last he was constrayned to take hit vpon hym. And sayd to his frendes Hit is better and more to preyse and alowe for a man to take thempire agaynst his wil/ than for to laboure to haue hit and to put hym self therin/ Thus ought they to be humble and meke for to resseyue worship/ Therefore sayth the bible that loab the sone of Saryre that was captayn of the warre of the kynge Daid/ whan he cam to take and wyne a Cyte/ He sente to Daid and desired hym to come to the warre/ that the victorye shold be gyuen to Daid/ And not to hym self/ Also they ought to be ware that they change not ofte tymes her officers/ Josephus reherceth that the frendes of tyberyus meruaylled moche why he helde hys offcyers so longe in theyr offices wyth oute changynge/ And they demanded of hym the cause/ to whom he answerd/ I wold change them gladly/ yf I wyste that hit shold be good for the peple/ But I sawe on a tyme a man that was roynous & full



of soores/ And many flies satte vpon the soores and souked his blood  
that hit was meruaylle to see/ wherfore I smote and chaced them away.  
And he than said to me why chacest and smytest away thyse flies that ben  
full of my blood/ And now shalt thou late come other that ben hongrye  
whiche shall doon to me double payne more than the other dide/ for the  
prikke of the hongrye is more poyngnant the half/ than of y'e fulle And  
therfore sayde he I leue the officers in their offices. for they ben  
all riche/ and doo not so moch euyl & harme As the newe shold doo & were  
poure yf I shold sette hem in her places/ They ought also to be pacyent  
in herynge of wordes & in suffrynge payne on her bodyes/ as to the first  
One said to alisander that he was not worthy to regne. specially whan he  
suffrid that lecherie and delyte to haue seignoire in hym/ he suffrid  
hit pacyently/ And answerd none otherwyse but that he wolde corrette hym  
self. And take better maners and more honeste Also hit is reherced that  
Iulius cezar was ballyd wherof he had desplaysir so grete that he kempt  
his heeris that laye on the after parte of his heed forward for to hyde  
the bare to fore. Than sayd a knyght to him Cezar hit is lighther And  
sonner to be made that thou be not ballid/ than that I haue vsid ony  
cowardyse in the warre of rome/ or hereafter shall doo ony cowardyse/ he  
suffrid hit pacyently and sayd not aword/ Another reproched hym by his  
lignage And callyd hym fornier/ he answerd that hit is better that  
noblesse begynne in me/ than hit shold faylle in me/ Another callid hym  
tyraunt/ he answerd yf I were one. thou woldest not saie soo A knight  
callid on a tyme scipion of affricque fowle & olde knyght in armes And  
that he knewe lityll good And he answerd I was born of my moder a lityll  
child and feble and not a man of armes. And yet he was at alle tymes one  
of the best and moste worthy in armes that liuyd. Another sayd to  
vaspasian/ And a wolf shold sonner change his skyn and heer/ than thou  
sholdest cha[=u]ge thy lyf For the lenger thou lyvest the more thou  
coueytest And he answerd of thyse wordes we ought to laughe. But we  
ought to amende our selfe And punyssh the trespases. Seneque reherceth  
that the kynge Antygonus herde certayn peple speke and saye euyll of  
hym/ And therwas betwene hem nomore but a courtyne/ And than he sayde  
make an ende of your euyll langage leste the kynge here yow/ for the  
courtyne heereth yow well[54] I nowhe. Than as towchyng to the paynes  
that they ought to suffre pacyently Valerius reherceth that a tyrant  
dide do tormente Anamaximenes & thretenyd hym for to cutte of his tonge.  
To whom he sayd hit is not in thy power to doo soo/ and forthwyth he  
bote of his owne tonge/ And shewed hit wyth his teth and casted hit in  
the visage of the Tyrant Hit is a grete vertu in a man that he forgete  
not to be pacyent in corrections of wronges/ Hit is better to leue a  
gyilty man vnpunysshid/ than to punyssh hym in a wrath or yre Valerius  
reherceth that archita of tarente that was mayster to plato sawe that  
his felde & lande was destroyed and lost by the necligence of his  
seruant To whom he sayd yf I were not angry with the I wold take  
vengeance and turmente the/ Lo there y'e may see that he had leuer to  
leue to punyssh/ than to pugnyssh more by yre & wrath than by right  
And therefore sayth seneque/ doo no thyng that thou oughtest to doo whan  
y'u art angry/ For whan thou art angry thou woldest doo alle thynges  
after thy playsir/ And yf thou canst not vaynquyssh thyn yre/ than  
muste thyn yre ouercome the/ After thys ought they to haue wylfull  
pouerte/ lyke as hit was in the auncyent prynces/ For they coueyted more  
to be riche in wytte and good maners than in moneye/ And that reherceth  
Valerius in his .viii. booke that scipion of Affryque was accused vnto  
the Senate that he shold haue grete tresour/ And he answerd certes whan  
I submysed affryque in to your poeste/ I helde no thyng to myself that  
I myght faye this is myn save only the surname of affryque/ Ner the  
affryquans haue not founden in me ner in my broder ony auarice/ ner y't  
we were so couetouse that we had ne had gretter enuye to be riche of

name than of rychesses/ And therefore sayth seneque that the kynge  
Altagone vsid gladly in his hows vessels of erthe/ And some sayde he  
dyde hit for couetyse/ But he sayde that hit was better and more noble  
thyng to myne in good maners than in vayssell And whan some men  
demanded hym why and for what cause he dyde so/ he answerd I am now  
kynge of secylle/ and was sone of a potter/ and for as moche as I doubte  
fortune. For whan I yssued out of the hous of my fader and moder/ I was  
sodaynly made riche/ wherfore I beholde the natiuyte of me and of my  
lignage/ whiche is humble & meke/ And alle these thynges cometh of  
wilfull pouerte/ for he entended more to the comyn prouffyt than to his  
owen/ And of thys pouerte speketh saynt Augustyn in the booke of the  
cyte of god That they that entende to the comyn prouffyt. sorowe more  
that wilfull pouerte is lost in rome/ than the rychesses of rome/ For by  
the wilfull pouerte was the renomee of good maners kept entierly/ thus  
by this richesse pouerte is not only corrupt in thyse dayes ner the cyte  
ner the maners/ but also the thoughtes of the men ben corrupt by thys  
couetyse and by felonnye that is worse. than any other enemye And of the  
cruelte of the peple of rome speketh the good man of noble memorye Iohn  
the monke late cardynall of rome in the decretall the syxte in the  
chapitre gens sancta where he sayth/ that they ben felo[=u]s ayenst god.  
contrarye to holy thynges. traytres one to that other. enuyous to her  
neyghbours. proude vnto straungers. rebelle and vntrewe vnto theyr  
souerayns Not suffringe to them that ben of lower degree than they and  
nothinge shamfast to demande thinges discouenable and not to leue tyll  
they haue that they demande/ and not plesid but disagreeable whan they  
haue resseyuyd the yeft They haue their tonges redy for to make grete  
boost/ and doo lityll/ They ben large in promysynges/ And smale gyuers/  
they ben ryght fals deceyuours/ And ryght mordent and bitynge  
detractours/ For whiche thyng hit is a grete sorowe to see the humylite  
the pacyence And the good wisdom that was woute to be in this cyte of  
rome whiche is chief of alle the world is peruertid & torned in to  
maleheurte and thise euylls/ And me thynketh that in other partyes of  
crestiante they haue taken ensample of them to doo euyll/ They may saye  
that this is after the decretale of seygnourye and disobeyance/ that  
sayth That suche thynges that the souerayns doo/ Is lightly and sone  
taken in ensample of theyr subgetts/ Also these vicayres shold be large  
and liberall/ In so moche that suche peple as serue them ben duly payd  
and guerdoned of her labour/ For euery man doth his labour the better  
and lightlyer whan he seeth that he shall be well payd and rewarded/ And  
we rede that Titus the sone of vaspasian was so large and so liberall/  
That he gaf and promysyd somewhat to euery man/ And whan hys moste pryuy  
frendes demanded of hym why he promysyd more than he myght gyue/ he  
answerd for as moche as hyt apperteyneth not to a prynce that ony man  
shold departe sorowfull or tryste fro hym/ Than hit happend on a day  
that he gaf ner promysyd no thyng to ony man And whan hit was euen  
auysed hymself/ he sayd to hys frendes/ O y'e my frendes thys day haue I  
lost for this day haue I don no good,' And also we rede of Iulius Cefar  
that he neuer saide in alle his lyue to his knyghtes goo oon but all way  
be sayde come come/ For I loue allway to be in youre companye/ And he  
knewe well that hit was lasse payne & trauayll to the knyghtes whan the  
prynce is in her companye that loueth hem & c[=o]forted hem And also we  
rede of the same Iulius cesar in the booke of truphes of phylosophers/  
that ther was an Auncyent knyght of his that was in paryll of a caas  
hangynge to fore the luges of rome so he callyd cefar on a tyme and said  
to hym to fore all men that he shold be his aduocate And cesar deliueryd  
and assigned to hym a right good aduocate And the knyght sayd to hym O  
cesar I put no vicaire in my place whan thou were in parill in y'e  
batayll of assise/ But I faught for the. And than he shewed to hym the  
places of his woundes that he had receyuyd in the batayll And than cam

cesar in his propre persone for to be his aduocate & to plete his cause for hym/ he wold not haue the name of vnkyndenes/ but doubted that men shold saye that he were proude And that he wold not do for them that had seruyd hym They that can not do so moche/ as for to be belouyd of her knyghtes/ can not loue the knyghtes And this sufficeth of the rooks.

### BOOK III.

[Illustration]

\_The thirde tractate of the offices of the comyn peple. The fyrst chapitre is of the office of the labourers and werkemen\_.

For as moche as the Noble persone canne not rewle ne gouerne with oute y'e seruyce and werke of the peple/ than hit behoueth to deuyse the oeourages and the offices of the werkemen/ Than I shall begynne fyrst at the fyrst pawne/ that is in the playe of the chesse/ And signefieth a man of the comyn peple on fote For they be all named pietous that is as moche to saye as footemen And than we wyll begynne at the pawne whiche standeth to fore the rooke on the right side of the kinge for as moche as this pawne apperteyneth to serue the vicaire or lieutenant of the kyng and other officers vnder hym of necessaryes of vitayll/ And this maner a peple is figured and ought to be maad in the forme & shappe of a man holdyng in his ryght hande a spade or shouell And a rodde in the lifte hand/ The spade or shouell is for to delue & labour therwith the erthe/ And the rodde is for to dryue & conduyte wyth all the bestes vnto her pasture also he ought to haue on his gyrdell/ a crokyd hachet for to cutte of the supfluytees of the vignes & trees/ And we rede in the bible that the first labourer that euer was/ was Caym the firste sone of Adam that was so euyl that he slewe his broder Abel/ for as moche as the smoke of his tythes went strait vnto heuen'/ And the smoke & fume of the tythes of Caym went downward vpon the erthe And how well that this cause was trewe/ yet was ther another cause of enuye that he had vnto his broder/ For whan Adam their fader maried them for to multiplye y'e erthe of hys lignye/ he wolde not marye ner loyne to gyder the two that were born attones/ but gaf vnto caym her that was born wyth Abel/ And to Abel her that was born with caym/ And thus began thenuye that caym had ayenst abel/ For his wyf was fayrer than cayms wyf And for this cause he slough abel with the chekebone of a beste/ & at that tyme was neuer no maner of yron bloody of mannes blood/ And abel was y'e first martier in tholde testament/ And this caym dide many other euyl thinges whiche I leue/ for hit apperteyneth not to my mater/ But hit behoueth for necessite y't some shold labour the erthe after y'e synne of adam/ for to fore er adam synned/ the erthe brought forth fruyt with out labour of handes/ but syn he synned/ hit muste nedes be labourid with y'e handes of men And for as moche as the erthe is moder of alle thynges And that we were first formed and toke oure begynnyng of the erthe/ the same wyse at the laste. she shall be the ende vnto alle vs and to alle thynges/ And god that formed vs of the erthe hath ordeyned that by the laboure of men she shold gyue nourysshing vnto alle that lyueth/ and first the labourer of y'e erthe ought to knowe his god that formed and

made heuen & erthe of nought And ought to haue loyaulte and trouthe in hymself/ and despise deth for to entende to his laboure And he ought to gyue thankyngis to hym that made hym And of whom he receyueth all his goodes temporall/ wherof his lyf is susteyned/ And also he is bounden to paye the dismes and tythes of alle his thynges And not as Caym dyde. But as Abell dyde of the beste that he chese allway for to gyue to god & to please hym/ For they that grucche and be greuyd in that they rendre and gyue to god the tienthes of her goodes/ they ought to be aferd and haue drede that they shall falle in necessite And y't they might be dispoyllid or robbed by warre or by tempeste that myght falle or happen in the contrey And hit is meruayll though hit so happen For that man that is disagreeable vnto god And weneth y't the multiplunge of his goodes temporell cometh by the vertu of his owne co[u]ceyll and his wytte/ the whiche is made by the only ordenance of hym that made alle. And by the same ordenance is soone taken away fro hym that is disagreeable/ and hit is reson that whan a man haboundeth by fortune in goodes/ And knoweth not god/ by whom hit cometh/ that to hym come some other fortune by the whiche he may requyre grace and pardon And to knowe his god/ And we rede of the kyng Dauid that was first symple & one of the comyn peple/ that whan fortune had enhaused and sette hym in grete astate/ he lefte and forgate his god/ And fyll to aduoultrye and homicyde and other synnes/ Than anon his owne sone Absalom assaylled & began to persecute hym And than whan he sawe that fortune was contrarye to hym/ he began to take agayn his vertuous werkis and requyred pardoun and so retorned to god agayn. We rede also of the children of ysrael that were nyghe enfamyned in desert and sore hongry & thrusty that they prayd & requyred of god for remedy/ Anon he changed his wyll & sente to hem manna/ & flessh &c./ And whan they were replenesshid & fatte of the flessh of bestes & of the manna/ they made a calf of gold and worshippid hit. Whiche was a grete synne & Inyquyte/ For whan they were hongry they knewe god/ And whan theyre belyes were fylde & fatted/ they forgid ydoles & were ydolaters. After this euery labourer ought to be faythfull & trewe That whan his maystre delyuereth to hym his lande to be laboured/ that he take no thinge to hymself but that hym ought to haue & is his/ but laboure truly & take cure and charge in the name of his maistre/ and do more diligently his maisters labours than his owen/ for the lyf of y'e most grete & noble men next god lieth in y'e handes of the labourers/ and thus all craftes & occupacions ben ordeyned not only to suffice to them only/ but to the comyn/ And so hit happeth ofte tyme that y'e labourer of the erthe vseth grete and boystous metes/ and bringeth to his maister more subtile & more deyntous metes/ And valerius reherceth in his. vi. book that ther was a wife & noble maistre y't was named Anthoni<sup>9</sup> that was accused of a caas of aduoultrye/ & as the cause henge to fore the luges/ his accusers or denonciatours brought I labourer that closid his land for so moche as they sayde whan his maistre wente to doo the aduoultrye/ this same seruant bare the lanterne. wherof Anthoni<sup>9</sup> was sore abasshyd and doubted that he shold depose agaynst hym But the labourer that was named papirion sayd to his maister that he shold denye his cause hardyly vnto the luges For for to be tormentid/ his cause shold neuer be enpeyrid by hym/ ner no thyng shold yssue out of his mouth wherof he shold be noyed or greuyd And than was the labourer beten and tormentid and brent in many places of his body But he sayd neuer thyng wherof his mayster was hurte or noyed/ But the other that accused his maister were punysshid And papirion was deliuerid of his paynes free and franc/ And also telleth valerius that ther was another labourer that was named penapion/ that seruyd a maister whos name was Themes which was of meruayllous faith to his maystre For hit befell that certain knyghtes cam to his maisters hows for to slee hym And anone as papirion knewe hit/ he wente in to his maisters chambre

And wold not be knowen For he dide on his maisters gowne and his ryng  
 on his fynger/ And laye on his bedde And thus put hym self in parill of  
 deth for to respite his maisters lyf/ But we see now a dayes many fooles  
 that daigne not to vse groos metes of labourers. And flee the cours  
 clothyng And maners of a seruant Euery wise man a seruant that truly  
 serueth his maister is free and not bonde/ But a foole that is ouer  
 proude is bonde/ For the debilite and feblenes of corage that is broken  
 in conscience by pryde Enuye. or by couetyse is ryght seruytude/ yet  
 they ought not to doubte to laboure for feere and drede of deth/ no man  
 ought to loue to moche his lyf/ For hit is a fowll thyng for a man to  
 renne to the deth for the enemye of his lyf/ And a wyse man and a  
 stronge man ought not to flee for his lyf/ but to yssue For ther is no  
 man that lyueth/ but he must nedes dye. And of this speketh claudyan and  
 sayth that alle thoo thynges that the Ayer goth aboute and enuyronned.  
 And alle thyng that the erthe laboureth/ Alle thyngys that ben  
 conteyned wyth in the see Alle thynges that the floodes bryng forth/  
 Alle thynges that ben nourysshid and alle the bestes that ben vnder the  
 heuen shall departe alle from the world/ And alle shall goo at his  
 comandement/ As well Kynges Prynces and alle that the world enuyronned  
 and gooth aboute/ Alle shall goo this waye/ Than he ought not to doubte  
 for fere of deth. For as well shail dye the ryche as the poure/ deth  
 maketh alle thyng lyke and putteth alle to an ende/ And therof made a  
 noble versifier two versis whiche folowe Forma. genus. mores.  
 sapi[=e]cia. res. et honores/ Morte ruant subita sola manent merita/  
 Wherof the english is Beaulte. lignage. maners. wysedom. thynges &  
 honoures/ shal ben deffetid by sodeyn deth/ no thyng shal abide but the  
 merites/ And herof fynde we in Vitas patrum. that ther was an erle a  
 riche & noble man that had a sone onely/ and whan this sone was of age  
 to haue knowlech of the lawe/ he herde in a sermone that was prechid  
 that deth spareth none/ ne riche ne poure/ and as well dyeth y'e yonge  
 as the olde/ and that the deth ought specially to be doubted for .iii.  
 causes/ one was/ y't noman knoweth whan he cometh/ and the seconde/ ner  
 in what state he taketh a man/ And the thirde he wote neuer whither he  
 shall goo. Therefore eche man shold dispise and flee the world and lyue  
 well and hold hym toward god And when this yong man herde this thyng  
 he wente oute of his contrey and fledde vnto a wyldernesse vnto an  
 hermytage/ and whan his fader had loste hym he made grete sorowe/ and  
 dyde do enquere & seke hym so moche at last he was founden in the  
 hermitage/ and than his fader cam theder to hym and sayde/ dere sone  
 come from thens/ thou shalt be after my deth erle and chyef of my  
 lignage/ I shall be lost yf thou come not out from thens/ And he than  
 that wyste non otherwise to eschewe the yre of his fader bethought hym  
 and sayde/ dere fader ther is in your centre and lande a right euyll  
 custome yf hit plese yow to put that away I shall gladly come out of  
 this place and goo with yow The fader was glad and had grete loy And  
 dema[=u]ded of hym what hit was And yf he wold telle hym he promysid him  
 to take hit away and hit shold be left and sette aparte. Than he sayde  
 dere fader ther dyen as well the yong folk in your contrey as the olde/  
 do that away I pray yow/ Whan his fader herde that he sayde Dere sone  
 that may not be ner noman may put that away but god only/ Than answerd  
 the sone to the fader/ than wylle I serue hym and dwelle here wyth hym  
 that may do that. And so abode the childe in the hermytgage & lyuyd  
 there in good werkes After this hit apperteyneth to a labourer to  
 entende to his laboure and flee ydlenes/ And thou oughtest to knowe that  
 Daudid preyseth moche in the sawlter the treve labourers and sayth/ Thou  
 shalt ete the labour of thyn handes and thou art blessid/ and he shall  
 do to the good And hit behoueth that the labourer entende to his labour  
 on the werkedayes for to recuyell and gadre to gyder the fruyt of his  
 labour/ And also he ought to reste on the holy day/ bothe he and his

bestes. And a good labourer ought to norysshe and kepe his bestes/ And this is signefied by the rodde that he hath. Whiche is for to lede and dryue them to the pasture/ The fiste pastour that euer was/ was Abel whiche was luste and trewe/ and offryd to god the bestes vnto his sacrifice/ And hym ought he to folowe in craft & maners But no man that vseth the malice of Caym may ensue and folowe Abel/ And thus hit apperteyneth to the labourer to sette and graffe trees and vygnes/ and also to plante and cutte them And so dyde noe whiche was the first that planted the vygne after y'e deluge and flood For as Iosephus reherceth in y'e book of naturell thinges Noe was he that fonde fyrst the vygne/ And he fonde hym bitter and wylde/ And therfore he toke .iiii. maners of blood/ that is to wete the blood of a lyon. the blood of a lamb, the blood of a swyne. and the blood of an ape and medlid them alto geder with the erthe/ And than he cutte the vygne/ And put this aboute the rootes therof. To thende that the bitternes shold be put away/ and that hyt shold be swete/ And whan he had dronken of the fruyt of this vygne/ hit was so good and mighty that he becam so dronke/ that he dispoyled hym in suche wise y't his pryuy membres might be seen/ And his yongest sone cham mocqued and skorned hym And whan Noe was awakid & was sobre & fastinge/ he assemblid his sones and shewid to them the nature of the vygne and of the wyn/ And told to them the caufe why y't he had put the blood of the bestes aboute the roote of the vygne and that they shold knowe well y't otherwhile by y'e strength of the wyn men be made as hardy as the lyon and yrous And otherwhile they be made symple & shamefast as a lambe And lecherous as a fwyn/ And curyous and full of playe as an Ape/ For the Ape is of suche nature that whan he seeth one do a thyng he enforceth hym to doo the same/ and so doo many whan they ben dronke/ they will medle them wyth alle officers & matiers that apperteyne no thyng to them/ And whan they ben fastynge & sobre they can scarfely accomplishe theyr owne thynges And therfore valerian reherceth that of auncyente and in olde tyme women dranke no wyn for as moche as by dronkeshyp they myght falle in ony filthe or vilonye And as Ouide sayth/ that the wyns otherwhyle apparaylle the corages in suche manere that they ben couenable to alle synnes whiche take away the hertes to doo well/ They make the poure riche/ as longe as the wyn is in his heed And shortly dronkeshyp is the begynnyng of alle euyllys/ And corrompith the body/ and destroyed the fowle and mynusshith the goodes temporels/ And this suffyseth for the labourer.

[Illustration]

\_The seconde chapitre of the thirde tractate treteth of the forme and maner of the second pawne and of the maner of smyth\_.

The seconde pawne y't standeth to fore the knyght on the right side of the kyng hath the forme and figure of a man as a smyth and that is reson For hit apperteyneth to y'e knyghtes to haue bridellys sadellys spores and many other thynges made by the handes of smythes and ought to holde an hamer in his right hande. And in his lyfte hand a dolabre and he ought to haue on his gyrdell a trowell For by this is signefied all maner of werkemen/ as goldsmithes. marchallis, smithes of all forges/ forgers and makers of monoye & all maner of smythes ben signefied by [55] the hamer/ The carpenters ben signefied by the dolabre or squyer/

And by the trowell we vnderstande all masons & keruars of stones/  
tylers/ and alle them that make howses castels & tours/ And to alle  
these crafty men hit apperteyneth that they be trewe. wise and stronge/  
and hit is nede y't they haue in hemself faith and loyaulte/ For vnto  
the goldsmythes behoueth gold & siluer And alle other metallys. yren &  
steel to other/ And vnto the carpenters and masons/ ben put to theyr  
edifices the bodyes and goodes of the peple/ And also men put in the  
handes of the maronnens body and goodes of the peple/ And in the garde  
and sewerte of them men put body & sowle in the paryls of the see/ and  
therefore ought they to be trewe/ vnto whom men commytte suche grete  
charge and so grete thynges vpon her fayth and truste. And therefore  
sayth the philosopher/ he that leseth his fayth and beleue/ may lose no  
gretter ne more thyng. And fayth is a fouerayn good and cometh of the  
good wyll of the herte and of his mynde And for no necessite wyll  
deceyue no man/ And is not corrupt for no mede. Valerius reherceth that  
Fabius had receyuyd of hanybal certayn prysoners that he helde of the  
romayns for a certayn some of money whiche he promysid to paye to the  
sayd hanyball/ And whan he cam vnto the senatours of rome and desired to  
haue y'e money lente for hem They answerd that they wold not paye ner  
lene And than fabius sente his sone to rome & made hym to selle his  
heritage & patrimonye/ and fente the money that he resseyuyd therof vnto  
hanibal/ And had leuer & louyd better to be poure in his contrey of  
herytage/ than of byleue and fayth/ But in thyfe dayes hit were grete  
folye to haue fuche affiance in moche peple but yf they had ben preuyd  
afore For oftentymes men truste in them by whom they ben deceyuyd at  
theyr nede/ And it is to wete that these crafty men and werkemen ben  
souerainly prouffitable vnto the world And wyth oute artificers and  
werkmen the world myght not be gouerned/ And knowe thou verily that alle  
tho thynges that ben engendrid on the erthe and on the see/ ben made and  
formed for to do prouffit vnto the lignage of man/ for man was formed  
for to haue generacion/ that the men myght helpe and prouffit eche other  
And here in ought we to folowe nature/ For she shewed to vs that we  
shold do comyn prouffit one to an other/ And y'e first fondement of  
lustice is that no man shold noye or greue other But that they ought doo  
the comyn prouffit/ For men saye in reproche That I see of thyn/ I hope  
hit shall be myn But who is he in thys dayes that entendeth more to the  
comyn prouffit than to his owne/ Certaynly none/ But all way a man ought  
to haue drede and feere of his owne hows/ whan he seeth his neyghbours  
hous a fyre And therefore ought men gladly helpe the comyn prouffit/ for  
men otherwhile sette not be a lityll fyre And might quenche hit in the  
begynnyng/ that afterward makyth a grete blasynge fyre. And fortune hath  
of no thinge so grete playsir/ as for to torne & werke all way/ And  
nature is so noble a thyng that were as she is she wyll susteyne and  
kepe/ but this rewle of nature hath fayllid longe tyme/ how well that  
the decree sayth that alle the thynges that ben ayenst the lawe of  
nature/ ought to be taken away and put a part And he sayth to fore in  
the .viii. distinction that the ryght lawe of nature differenceth ofte  
tymes for custome & statutes establisshid/ for by lawe of nature all  
thinge ought to be comyn to euery man/ and this lawe was of old tyme And  
men were yet specially y't the troians kept this lawe And we rede that  
the multitude of the Troians was one herte and one sowle/ And verayly we  
fynde that in tyme passid the philosophres dyde the same/ And also hit  
is to be supposyd that suche as haue theyr goodes comune & not propre is  
most acceptable to god/ For ellys wold not thise religious men as monkes  
freris chanons obseruantes & all other auowe hem & kepe the wilfull  
pouerte that they ben professid too/ For in trouth I haue my self ben  
conuersant in a religio<sup>9</sup> hous of white freris at gaunt Which haue all  
thyng in comyn amonge them/ and not one richer than an other/ in so  
moche that yf a man gaf to a frere .iii. d or .iiii. d to praye for hym

in his masse/ as sone as the masse is doon he deliuerith hit to his ouerest or procuratour in whyche hows ben many vertuouus and deuoute freris And yf that lyf were not the beste and the most holiest/ holy church wold neuer suffre hit in religion And acordynge thereto we rede in plato whiche sayth y't the cyte is well and lustely gouernid and ordeyned in the whiche no man maye saye by right, by custome. ne by ordenance/ this is myn/ but I say to the certaynly that syn this custome cam forth to say this is myn/ And this is thyn/ no man thought to preferre the comyn prouffit so moche as his owen/ And alle werkemen ought to be wise & well aduysyd so that they haue none enuye ne none euyll suspesion one to an other/ for god wylle that our humayne nature be couetous of two thynges/ that is of Religion. And of wysedom/ but in this caas ben some often tymes deceyued For they take ofte tymes religion and leue wisdom And they take wysedom and reffuse religion And none may be vraye and trewe with oute other For hit apperteyneth not to a wyse man to do ony thyng that he may repente hym of hit/ And he ought to do no thyng ayenst his wyll/ but to do alle thyng nobly, meurely. fermely. and honestly And yf he haue enuye vpon ony. hit is folye For he on whom he hath enuye is more honest and of more hauoir than he whiche is so enuyous/ For a man may haue none enuye on an other/ but be cause he is more fortunat and hath more grace than hym self/ For enuye is a sorowe of corage y't cometh of dysordynance of the prouffit of another man And knowe thou verily that he that is full of bounte shall neuer haue enuye of an other/ But thenuyous man seeth and thynketh alleway that euery man is more noble/ And more fortunat than hymself And sayth alleway to hymself/ that man wynneth more than I/ and myn neygheours haue more plente of bestes/ and her thynges multiplie more than myn/ and therefore thou oughtest knowe that enuye is the most grettest dedely synne that is/ for she tormenteth hym that hath her wythin hym/ wyth oute tormentynge or doynge ony harme to hym/ on whome he hath enuye. And an enuyous man hath no vertue in hymself/ for he corrupeth hymself for as moche as he hateth allway the welthe and vertues of other/ and thus ought they to kepe them that they take none euyll susp[ec]ion For a man naturally whan his affection hath suspesion in ony man that he weneth that he doth/ hit semeth to hym verily that it is doon. And hit is an euyll thyng for a man to haue suspesion on hymself/ For we rede that dionyse of zecyll a tyrant Was so suspesionous that he had so grete fere and drede For as moche as he was hated of all men/ that he putte his frendes oute of theyr offices that they had/ And put other strangers in theyr places for to kepe his body/ and chese suche as were ryght Cruell and felons/ And for fere and doubte of the barbours/ he made hys doughters to lerne shaue and kembe/ And whan they were grete. He wold not they shold vse ony yron to be occupied by them/ but to brenne and senge his heeris/ and manaced them and durst not truste in them/ And in lyke wyse they had none affiance in hym And also he dyde do enuyronne the place where he laye wyth grete diches and brode lyke a castell/ And he entryd by a drawbrygge whiche closyd after hym/ And hys knyghtes laye wyth oute wyth his gardes whiche wacchid and kept straytly thys forteresse/ And whan plato sawe thys Dionyse kynge of cezille thus enuyronned and set aboute wyth gardes & wacche-men for the cause of his suspesion sayd to hym openly to fore all men kinge why hast thou don so moche euyll & harme/ that the behoueth to be kept wyth so moche peple/ And therefore I saye that hit apperteyneth not to ony man that wylle truly behaue hym self in his werkis to be suspesionous/ And also they ought to be stronge and seure in theyr werkes/ And specyally they that ben maysters and maronnars on the see/ for yf they be tumerous and ferdfull they shold make a ferde them that ben in theyr shippis/ that knowe not the paryls/ And so hit might happene that by that drede and fere alle men shold leue theyr labour/ And so they myght be perissid



and despayred in theyr corages/ For a shippe is soone perisshid and lost by a lityll tempest/ whan the gouernour faylleth to gouerne his shippe for drede/ And can gyue no counceyll to other than it is no meruayll/ thangh they be a ferd that ben in his gouernance/ And therefore ought be in them strengthe force and corage/ and ought to considere the peryls that might falle/ And the gouernour specially ought not to doubtte/ And if hit happen that ony paryll falle/ he ought to promyse to the other good hoope/ And hit apperteyneth well/ that a man of good and hardy corage be sette in that office/ In suche wyse that he haue ferme and seure mynde ayenst the paryls that oftetyms happen in the see/ and with this ought the maroners haue good and ferme creance and beleue in god/ and to be of good reconforte & of fayr langage vnto them that he gouerneth in suche paryls/ And this sufficeth to yow as touchynge the labourers.

[Illustration]

\_The thirde chapitre of the thirde book treteth of the office of notaryes aduocats skryueners and drapers or clothmakers\_.

The thirde pawne whiche is sette to fore the Alphyn on the right side ought to be figured as a clerk And hit is reson that he shold so be/ For as moche as amonge y'e comon peple of whom we speke in thys book they plete the differencis contencions and causes otherwhile the whiche behoueth the Alphins to gyue sentence and luge as luges And hit is reson that the Alphin or luge haue his notarye/ by whom y'e processe may be wreton/ And this pawne ought to be made and figured in this mamere/ he muste be made like a man that holdeth in his right hand a pair of sheres or forcetis/ and in the lifte hand a grete knyf and on his gurdell a penuer and an ynkhorn/ and on his eere a penne to wryte wyth And that ben the Instrumentis & the offices that ben made and put in writynge autentyque/ and ought to haue passed to fore the luges as libelles writtes condempnacions and sentences/ And that is signefied by the scriptoire and the penne and on that other part hit appertayneth to them to cutte cloth. shere. dighte. and dye/ and that is signefied by the forcettis or sheres/ and the other ought to shaue berdes and kembe the heeris/ And the other ben coupers. coryers. tawiers. skynners. bouchers and cordwanners/ and these ben signefied by the knyf that he holdeth in his hand and some of these forsayd crafty men ben named drapers or clothmakers for so moche as they werke wyth wolle. and the Notayres. skynners. coryours. and cardewaners werke by skynnes and hydes/ As parchemyn velume. peltrye and cordewan/ And the Tayllours. cutters of cloth, weuars. fullars. dyers/ And many other craftes occupye and vse wulle/ And alle thysse crafty men & many other that I haue not named/ ought to doo theyr craft and mestyer/ where as they ben duly ordeyned Curyously and truly/ Also ther ought to be amonge thysse crafty men amyable companye and trewe/ honest contenance/ And trouthe in their wordes/ And hit is to wete that the notaries ben right prouffitable and ought to be good & trewe for the comyn And they ought to kepe them fro appropriynge to themself that thyng y't apperteyneth to the comyn And yf they be good to them self/ they ben good to other. And yf they be euyll for themself/ they ben euyll for other And the processes that ben made to fore the luges ought to ben wreton & passid by them/ and hit is

to wete that by their writyng in the processis may come moche prouffit  
And also yf they wryte otherwyse than they ought to doo/ may ensewe  
moche harme and damage to the comyn Therefore ought they to take good  
heede that they change not ne corrumpe in no wyse the content of the  
sentence. For than ben they first forsworn And ben bounden to make  
amendes to them that by theyr tricherye they haue endamaged/ And also  
ought they to rede visite and to knowe the statutes. ordenances and the  
lawes of the cytees of the contre/ where they dwelle and enhabite/ And  
they ought to considere yf ther be ony thyng therein conteyned ayenst  
right and reson/ and yf they fynde ony thyng contraire/ they ought to  
admoneste and warne them that gouerne/ that suche thynges may be chauged  
into better astate/ For custome establisshid ayenst good maners and  
agaynst the fayth/ ought not to be holden by right. For as hit is sayd  
in the decree in the chapitre to fore/ alle ordenance made ayenst ryght  
ought to be holden for nought Alas who is now that aduocate or notaire  
that hath charge to wryte and kepe sentence that putteth his entente to  
kepe more the comyn prouffit or as moche as his owen/ But alle drede of  
god is put a back/ and they deceyue the symple men And drawn them to  
the courtes disordinatly and constrayned them to swere and make othes  
not couenable/ And in assemblyng the peple thus to gyder they make moo  
traysons in the cytees than they make good alyances And otherwhile they  
deceyue their souerayns/ whan they may doo hit couertly For ther is no  
thyng at this day that so moche greueth rome and Italye as doth the  
college of notaries and aduocates publicque For they ben not of oon a  
corde/ Alas and in Engeland what hurte doon the aduocats. men of lawe.  
And attorneyes of court to the comyn peple of y'e royame as well in the  
spirituell lawe as in the temporall/ how torne they the lawe and  
statutes at their pleasir/ how ete they the peple/ how empouere they the  
comyn/ I suppose that in alle Cristendom ar not so many pletars  
attorneys and men of the lawe as ben in england onely/ for yf they were  
nombrid all that lunge to the courtes of the channcery kinges benche.  
comyn place. cheker. ressayt and helle And the bagge berars of the same/  
hit shold amounte to a grete multitude And how alle thise lyue & of  
whome. yf hit shold be vttrid & told/ hit shold not be beleuyd. For they  
entende to theyr synguler wele and prouffyt and not to the comyn/ how  
well they ought to be of good wyll to gyder/ and admoneste and warne the  
cytes eche in his right in suche wise that they myght haue pees and loue  
one with an other And tullius saith that frendshippe and good wyll that  
one ought to haue ayenst an other for the wele of hym that he loueth/  
wyth the semblable wyll of hym/ ought to be put forth to fore alle  
other thynges/ And ther is no thyng so resemblyng and lyke to the bees  
that maken honye 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  
punysse hym/ And verry trewe loue faylleth neuer for wele ne for  
euyll/ and the most swete and the most confortyng thyng is for to haue  
a frende to whom a man may saye his secrete/ as well as to hym self/ But  
verayly amytye and frendship is somtyme founded vpon som thyng  
delectable And this amytye cometh of yongthe/ in the whiche dwelleth a  
disordinate heete.

And otherwhile amytye is founded vpon honeste/ And this amytye is  
vertuose/ Of the whiche tullius faith y't ther is an amytye vertuous by  
the whiche a man ought to do to his frende alle that he requyeth by  
rayson For for to do to hym a thyng dishonneste it is ayenst the nature  
of verry frendshipe & amytye/ And thus for frendshipe ne for faour a  
man ought not to doo ony thyng vnresonable ayenst the comyn prouffit  
ner agaynst his fayth ne ayenst his oth/ for yf alle tho thynges that  
the frendes desire and requyre were accomlisshid & doon/ hit shold seme

that they shold be dishoneste coniuracions/ And they myght otherwhile more greue & hurte than prouffit and ayde/ And herof sayth seneque that amytye is of suche wylle as the frende wylle/ And to reffuse that ought to be reffusid by rayson/ And yet he sayth more, that a man ought to alowe and preyse his frende to fore the peple/ and to correcte and to chastyse hym pryuyly. For the lawe of amytye is suche For a man ought not to demande ner doo to be doon to his frende no vyllayns thyng that ought to be kept secrete And valerian sayth that it is a fowll thyng and an euyll excufacion/ yf a man confesse that he hath done ony euyll for his frende ayenst right and rayson/ And sayth that ther was a good man named Taffile whiche herde one his frende requyre of hym a thyng dishonnefte whiche he denyed and wold not doo And than his frende sayth to hym in grete dispyte/ what nede haue I of thy frendship & amytye whan thou wylt not doo that thyng that I requyre of the And Taffile answerd to hym/ what nede haue I of the frendship and of the amytye of the/ yf I shold doo for the thyng dishonnefte And thus loue is founded otherwhile vpon good prouffitable/ and this loue endureth as longe as he seeth his prouffit And herof men faye a comyn prouerbe in england/ that loue lasteth as longe as the money endureth/ and whan the money faylleth than there is no loue/ and varro reherceth in his smmes/ that y' riche men ben alle louyd by this loue/ for their frendes ben lyke as y'e huse whiche is aboute the grayn/ and no man may proue his frende so well as in aduersite/ or whan he is poure/ for the veray trewe frende faylleth at no nede/ And seneque saith y't some folowe the empour for riches/ and so doon y'e flies the hony for the swetenes/ and the wolf the karayn And thise companye folowe the proye/ and not the man And tullius saith that Tarquyn y'e proude had a neuewe of his suster which was named brutus/ and this neuewe had banysshid tarquyn out of rome and had sente hym in exyle/ And than sayd he first that he parceyuyd & knewe his frendes whiche were trewe & untrewes/ and y't he neuer perceyuyd a fore tyme whan he was puysant for to doo their wyll/ and sayd well that the loue that they had to hym/ endured not but as longe as it was to them prouffitable/ and therefore ought till the ryche men of the world take hede/ be they Kynges Prynces or ducs to what peple they doo prouffit & how they may and ought to be louyd of theyr peple/ For cathon sayth in his book/ see to whom thougyuyst/ and this loue whiche is founded vpon theyr prouffit/ whiche faylleth and endureth not/ may better be callyd and said marchandyse than loue/ For yf we repute this loue to our prouffit only/ and nothyng to the prouffyt of hym that we loue/ It is more marchandyse than loue/ For he byeth our loue for the prouffit that he doth to vs/ and therfor saith the versifier these two versis *Tempore felici multi murmerantur amici Cum fortuna perit nullus amicus erit/* whiche is to saye in English that as longe as a man is ewrous and fortunat he hath many frendes but whan fortune torneth and perisshith, ther abideth not to hym one frende/ And of this loue ben louyd the medowes, feldes, Trees and the bestes for the prouffit that men take of them/ But the loue of the men ought to be charyte, veray gracious and pure by good fayth/ And the veray trewe frendes ben knowen in pure aduersite/ and pers alphons saith in his book of moralite that ther was a philosophre in arabye that had an onely sone/ of whom he demanded what frendes he had gotten 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 alle my lyf/ And I trowe verily that it is no lytyll thyng for to haue a frende/ and hit is well gretter and more a man to haue many/ And hit appertayneth and behoueth a man to assaye and preue his frende er he haue nede And than comanded the philosopher his sone/ that he shold goo and slee a swyne/ and putte hit in a sack/ and fayne that hit were a man dede that he had slayn and bere hit to his frendes for to burye hit secretly/ And whan the sone had don as his fader

comanded to hym and had requyred his frendes one after an other as a fore is sayd/ They denyed hym/ And answerd to hym that he was a vylayne to requyre & desire of them thynge that was so peryllous And than he cam agayn to his fader and sayd to hym how he had requyred alle his frendes/ And that he had not founden one that wolde helpe hym in his nede And than his fader said to hym that he shold goo and requyre his frende whiche had but one/ and requyre hym that he shold helpe hym in his nede And whan he had requyred hym/ Anone he put oute alle his mayne oute of his hows/ And whan they were oute of the waye or a slepe he dide do make secretly a pytte in the grounde/ And whan hyt was redy and wold haue buried the body/ he fonde hit an hogge or a swyne and not a man/ And thus thys sone preuyd thys man to be a veray trewe frende of his fader/ And preuyd that his frendes were fals frendes of fortune/ And yet reherceth the sayd piers Alphons/ That ther were two marchantes one of Bandach and that other of Egipte whiche were so Joyned to gyder by so grete frendshippe that he of Bandach cam on a tyme for to see hys frende in Egipte/ of whom he was receyuyd ryght honourably And thys marchant of Egipte had in his hows a fayr yonge mayden whom he shold haue had in maryage to hymself/ Of the whiche mayde thys marchant of Bandach was esrysd wyth her loue so ardantly that he was ryght seeke/ And that men supposid hym to dye. And than the other dyde doo come the phisicyens whiche sayd that in hym was none other sekenes sauf passyon of loue/ Than he axid of the seeke man yf ther wer ony woman in hys hows that he louyd and made alle the women of his hows to come to fore hym/ And than he chees her that shold haue ben that others wyf and sayd that he was seek for the loue of her/ Than hys frende sayd to hym Frende conforte your self/ For trewly I gyue her to yow to wyf wyth alle the dowayre that is gyuen to me wyth her/ And had leuer to suffre to be wyth oute wyf than to lese the body of his frende And than he of Bandach wedded the mayde. And wente wyth his wyf and wyth his richesse ayen in to his contrey And after this anone after hit happend that the marcha[=n]t of Egipte be cam so poure by euyll fortune/ that he was constrayned to feche and begge his brede by the contrey in so moche that he cam to bandach. And whan he entrid in to the toun hit was derke nyght that he coude not fynde the hows of his frende/ but wente and laye this nyght in an olde temple/ And on the morn whan he shold yssue oute of the temple/ the officers of the toun arestid hym and sayd that he was an homicide and had slayn a man whiche laye there dede And an[=o]n he confessid hit wyth a good wylle/ And had leuyr to ben hangid/ than to dye in that miserable and poure lyf that he suffrid And thus whan he was brought to lugement And sentence shold haue ben gyuen ayenst hym as an homicide/ his frende of bandach cam and sawe hym and anone knewe y't this was his good frende of Egipte And forthwyth stept in and sayde that he hymself 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 don the feet and had slayn the man sawe this thynge/ he considerid in hym sels that these two men were Innocente. of this feet/ And doubtynge the dyuyn lugement he cam to fore the luge and confessid alle the feet by ordre/ And whan the luge sawe and herd alle this mater/ and also the causes he considerid the ferme and trewe loue that was betwene the two frendes And vnderstode the cause why that one wold saue that other/ and the trouth of the fayte of the homicide And than he pardoned alle the feet hoolly and entierly/ and after the marchant of bandach brought hym of egipte wyth hym in to his hous/ and gaf to hym his suster in mariage/ and departid to hym half his goodes/ And so bothe of hem were riche/ And thus were they bothe veray faythfull and trewe frendes/ Furthermore Notaires. men of lawe and crafty men shold and ought to loue eche other And also ought to be contynent chaste & honeste/ For by theyr craftes they ought so to be by necessite/ For they

conuerse & accompanye them ofte tyme with women And therfor hit apperteyneth to them to be chaste and honeste And that they meue not the women ner entyse them to lawhe/ and lape by ony disordinate ensignes or tokens/ Titus liuyus reherceth that the philosopher democreon dyde do put oute his eyen for as moche as he myght not beholde the women wyth oute flesshely desire/ And how well hit is said before that he dide hit for other certayn cause yet was this one of the pryncipall causes/ And Valerian telleth that ther was a yonge man of rome of ryght excellent beaute/ And how well that he was ryght chaste/ For as moche as his beaute meuyd many women to desyre hym/ in so moche that he vnderstode that the parents and frendes of them had suspesion in hym/ he dyde his visage to be cutte wyth a knyf and lancettis endlonge and ouerthwart for to deforme his visage/ And had leuer haue a fowle visage and disformed/ than the beaute of hys visage shold meue other to synne/ And also we rede that ther was a Nonne a virgyne dyde do put oute bothe her eyen For as moche as the beaute of her eyen meuyd a kyng to loue her/ whyche eyen she sente to the kyng in a presente/ And also we rede that plato the ryght ryche and wyse phylosophre lefte hys owne lande and Contre. And cheese his mansion and dwellynge in achadomye a town/ whiche was not only destroyed but also was full of pestelence/ so that by the cure and charge and customance of sorowe that be there suffrid/ myght eschewe the heetes and occasions of lecherye/ And many of his disciples dyde in lyke wyse/ Helemand reherceth that demostenes the philosopher lay ones by a right noble woman for his disporte/ and playnge with her he demanded of her what he shold gyue to haue to doo wyth her/ And she answerd to hym/ a thousand pens/ and he sayd agayn to her I shold repente me to bye hit so dere/ And whan he aduysed hym that he was so sore chauffid to speke to her for tacc[=o]plissh his flesshely defire/ he dispoyled hym alle naked and wente and putte hym in the middes of the snowe And ouide reherceth that this thyng is the leste that maye helpe and moste greue the louers And therefore saynt Augustyn reherceth in his book de Ciuitate dei that ther was a ryght noble romayne named mercurian that wan and toke the noble cyte of siracuse And to fore er he dyde do assaylle hit or befyghte hit/ and er he had do be shedde ony blood/ he wepte and shedde many teeris to fore the cyte And that was for the cause that he doubted that his peple shold defoyle and corruppe to moche dishonestly the chastyte of the toun And ordeyned vpon payne of deth that no man shold be so hardy to take and defoylle ony woman by force what that euer she were/ After this the craftymen ought to vnderstond for to be trewe/ and to haue trouthe in her mouthes And that theyr dedes folowe theyr wordes For he that sayth one thyng and doth another/ he condempneth hymself by his word Also they ought to see well to that they be of one Acorde in good, by entente, by word, and by dede/ so that they ben not discordant in no caas/ But euery man haue pure veryte and trouthe in hym self/ For god hym self is pure verite/ And men say comynly that trouthe seketh none hernes ne corners/ And trouthe is a vertu by the whyche alle drede and fraude is put away/ Men saye truly whan they saye that they knowe/ And they that knowe not trouthe/ ought to knowe hit/ And alleway vse trouthe/ For Saynt Austyn sayth that they that wene to knowe trouthe/ And lyuyth euyll & viciously It is folye yf he knoweth hit not/ And also he sayth in an other place that it is better to suffre payne for trouthe. Than for to haue a benefete by falsenes or by flaterye. And man that is callyd a beste resonable and doth not his werkes after reson and trouthe/ Is more bestyall than ony beste brute/ And knowe y'e that for to come to the trouthe/ Hit cometh of a raysonable foresight in his mynde/ And lyenge cometh of an outrageous and contrarye thought in his mynde/ For he that lyeth wetyngly/ Knoweth well that hit is agaynst the trouthe that he thynketh/ And herof speketh Saynt Bernard and sayth/ That the mouthe that lyeth destroyeth the sowle/ And yet sayth Saynt

Austyn in an other place For to saye ony thyng/ And to doo the contrarye. maketh doctryne suspecious/ And knowe y'e veryly that for to lye is a right perillous thyng to body and sowle For the lye that the auntyent enemye made Eue & adam to beleue hym/ made hem for to be dampned wyth alle theyr lignage to the deth pardurable And made hem to be cast oute of Paradyse terrestre/ For he made them to beleue that god had not forboden them the fruyt. But only be cause they shold not knowe that her maister knewe But how well that the deuyll said these wordes yet had she double entente to hem bothe For they knewe ann as they had tasted of the fruyt that they were dampned to the deth pardurable/ And god knewe it well to fore But they supposid well to haue knowen many other thynges And to belyke vnto his knowleche and science And therfor fayth saynt poule in a pistyll/ hit ne apperteyneth to saure or knowe more than behoueth to saure or knowe/ but to faouere or knowe by mesure or fobrenes/ And valerian reherceth that ther was a good woman of siracusane that wold not lye vnto the kynge of \*ecylle whiche was named dyonyse And this kynge was so full of tyrannye & so cruell that alle the world defired his deth and cursid hym/ Saauf this woman onely whiche was so olde that she had seen thre or .iiii. kynges regnyng in the contre/ And euery mornynge as sone as she was rysen she prayd to god that he wold gyue vnto the tyrant good lyf and longe And that she myght neuer see his deth/ And when the kynge dyonise knewe this he sent for her And meruayllid moche herof For he knewe well that he was fore behated/ And demaunded her/ what cause meuyd her to pray for hym. And she answerd and said to hym Syre whan I was a mayde we had a right euyll tyrant to our kynge of whom we coueyted fore the deth And whan he was ded ther cam after hym a worse/ of whom we coueyted also the deth/ And whan we were deliueryd of hym/ thou camst to be our lord whiche arte worste of alle other. And now I doubte yf we haue one after the he shall be worse than thou art/ And therefore I shall pray for the And whan dionyse vnderstod that she was so hardy in sayynge the truthe/ he durste not doo tormente her for shame be cause she was so olde.

[Illustration]

The fourth chapitre of the thirde book treteth of the maner of the fourth pawn and of the marchants or changers.

The fourth pawn is sette to for the kynge And is formed in the fourme of a man holding in his ryght hand a balance/ And the weyght in the lifte hand/ And to fore hym a table And at his gurdell a purse fulle of monoye redy for to gyue to them that requyre hit And by this peple ben signefied the marchans of cloth lynnyn and wollen & of all other marchandises And by the table that is to for hym is signefied y'e changeurs/ And they that lene money/ And they that bye & selle by the weyght ben signefied by the balances and weight And the customers. tollers/ and resseyuours of rentes & of money ben signefied by the purse And knowe y'e that alle they that ben signefied by this peple ought to flee auaryce and couetyse/ And eschewe brekyng of the dayes of payement/ And ought to holde and kepe theyr promyssis/ And ought also to rendre & restore y't/ that is gyuen to them to kepe/ And therfor hit is reson that this peple be sette to for y'e kynge/ for as moche as they signefie the resseyuours of the tresours royall that ought all way to be redy to fore y'e kynge/ and to answeere for hym to the knightes and other persones for their wages & souldyes And therefore haue I sayd that they

ought to flee auarice. For auarice is as moche to say as an adourer or as worshipar of fals ymages/ & herof saith Tullius that auarice is a couetise to gete y't thing that is aboue necessite/ & it is a loue disordinate to haue ony thyng And it is one of the werst thyngis that is And specially to prynces and to them that gouerne the thynges of the comunete And this vice caufeth a man to do euyll/ And this doynge euyll is whan hit regneth in olde men And herof saith Seneque That alle wordly thynges ben mortifyed and appetissid in olde men reserued auaryce only/ whiche alleway abideth wyth hym and dyeth wyth hym But I vnderstande not well the cause wherof this cometh ne wherfore hit may be And hit is a fowle thyng and contrarie to reson That whan a man is at ende of his lourney for to lengthe his viage and to ordeyne more vitayll than hym behoueth And this may well be lykened to the auarycious wolf For the wolf doth neuer good tyll he be dede And thus it is sayd in the prouerbis of the wisemen/ that thauaricious man doth no good tyll that he be ded/ And he desireth no thyng but to lyue longe in this synne For the couetouse man certaynly is not good for ony thyng For he is euyll to hymself and to the riche and to the poure. And fynde cause to gayn saye theyr desire/ and herof reherceth seneque and sayth that Antigonus was a couetous prynce/ & whan Tynque whiche was his frende requyred of hym a besa[=u]t/ he answerd to hym that he demanded more than hit apperteyned to hym And than tynque constrayned by grete necessite axid and requyred of hym a peny/ And he answerd to hym that hit was no yefte couenable for a kynge and so he was allway redy to fynde a cause nought to gyue For he myght haue gyuen to hym a besa[=u]t as a kynge to his frende/ And the peny as to a poure man And ther is no thyng so lytyll/ but that the humanyte of a kynge may gyue hit Auarice full of couetyse is a maner of alle vices of luxurye And Josephus reherceth in the book of auncyent histories/ that ther was in rome a ryght noble lady named Paulyne/ And was of the most noble of rome/ right honeste for the noblesse of chastete/ whiche was maryed in the tyme that the women gloryfied them in theyr chastete vnto a yonge man fayr. noble. and riche aboue alle other/ and was lyke and semblable to his wyf in alle caasis/ And this paulyne was belouyd of a knight named emmerancian And was so ardautly esprysed in her loue that he sente to her many right riche yeftes/ And made to her many grete promissis/ but he might neuer torne the herte of her whiche was on her side also colde and harde as marbill But had leuer to refuse his yeftes and his promisses. Than to entende to couetise & to lose her chastete/ and we rede also in the historyes of rome that ther was a noble lady of rome/ whiche lyuyd a solitarie lyf and was chaste & honeste/ And had gadrid to gyder a grete some of gold/ And had hid hit in the erthe in a pytte wyth in her hous/ And whan she was ded/ the bisshop dyde do burye her in the churche well and honestly/ And anone after this gold was founden & born to the bisshop/ And the bisshop had to caste hit in to the pytte wher she was buryed. And .iii. dayes men herd her crye & make grete noyse/ and saye that she brennyd in grete payne/ and they herd her ofte tymes thus tormentid in y'e chirche/ the neighbours wente to the bisshop & told hym therof/ and y'e bisshop gaf hem leue to open the sepulcre/ and whan they had opend hit/ they fonde all the gold molten with fyre full of sulphre/ And was poured and put in her mouth/ and they herd one saye/ thou desiredest this gold by couetyse take hit and drynke hit/ And than they toke the body out of the tombe And hit was cast oute in a preuy place Seneque reherceth in the book of the cryes of women that auarice is fundament of alle vices/ And valerian reherceth that auarice is a ferdfull garde or kepar of rychessis for he that hath on hym or in his kepyng moche money or other rychessis/ is allway a ferd to lose hit or to be robbid or to be slayn therefore/ And he is not ewrous ner happy that by couetyse geteth hit/ And alle the euylly of this vice of auarice had a man of rome named

septemulle For he was a frende of one named tarchus And this septemulle brente so sore and so cruelly in this synne of couetyse/ that he had no shame to smyte of the hede of his frende by trayson/ For as moche as one framosian had promysed to hym as moche weyght of pure gold as the heed weyed And he bare the sayd heed vpon a staf thurgh the cyte of rome/ and he wyded the brayn out therof and fyld hit full of leed for to weye the heuyer This was a right horrible and cruell auarice Ptolome kyng of the Egipcians pursowed auarice in an other manere For whan anthonie emperour of rome sawe that he was right riche of gold and siluer/ he had hym in grete hate and tormentid hym right cruelly And whan he shold perishe be cause of his richessis/ he toke alle his hauoyr and put hit in a shippe And wente wyth alle in to the hye see to thende for to drowne and perishe there the shippe and his rychesses be cause Anthonie his enemye shold not haue hit/ And whan he was there he durst not perissh hit ner myght not fynde in his herte to departe from hit/ but cam and brought hit agayn in to his hows where he resseyuyd the reward of deth therefore. And wyth oute doubte he was not lord of the richesse but the richesse was lady ouer hym/ And therefore hit is sayd in prouerbe that a man ought to seignorye ouer the riches/ and not for to serue hit/ and yf thou canst dewly vse thy rychesse than she is thy chamberyer/ And yf thou can not departe from hit and vse hit honestly at thy playsir/ knowe verily y't she is thy lady For the richesse neuer satisfieth the couetouse/ but the more he hath/ the more he desireth/ And saluste sayth that auarice distourblieth fayth poeste honeste and alle these other good vertues/ And taketh for these vertues pryde. cruelte. And to forgete god/ And saith that alle thynges be vendable And after this they ought to be ware that they leue not to moche/ ner make so grete creances by which they may falle in pouerte/ For saynt Ambrose saith upon tobye. pouerte hath no lawe/ for to owe hit is a shame/ & to owe and not paye is a more shame/ yf y'u be poure beware how thou borowest/ and thinke how thou maist paye & rendre agayn yf y'u be ryche y'u hast none nede to borowe & axe/ & it is said in the prouerbes y't hit is fraude to take/ that y'u wilt not ner maist rendre & paye agayn/ and also hit is said in reproche/ whan I leue I am thy frend/ & whan I axe I am thy enemye/ as wo saith/ god at the lenynge/ & the deuyll at rendrynge/ And seneque sayth in his au[c]torites/ that they y't gladly borowe/ ought gladly to paye/ and ought to surmonte in corage to loue hem the better be cause they leue hem & ayde hem in her nede/ For for benefetes & good tornes doon to a man ought to gyue hym thankinges therfore/ And moche more ought a man to repaye that Is lente hym in his nede/ But now in these dayes many men by lenynge of their money haue made of their frendes enemyes/ And herof speketh Domas the philosopher and sayth that my frende borrowed money of me/ And I haue lost my frende and my money attones/ Ther was a marchant of Gene & also a changeour/ whos name was Albert gauor/ And this albert was a man of grete trouth and loyaulte/ for on a tyme ther was a man cam to hym and said & affermed that he had delyueryd in to his banke .v. honderd floryns of gold to kepe whiche was not trouth for he lyed/ whyche fyue honderd floryns the said Albert knewe not of/ ner coude fynde in all hys bookes ony suche money to hym due And this lyar coude not brynge no wytnessis/ but began to braye. crye and deffame the said albert And than this Albert callid to hym this marcha[=u]t and sayd/ Dere frende take here v. honderd florins whyche thou affermest and sayst that thou hast deliuerid to me And forthwyth tolde hem and toke hem to hym And lo this good man had leuer to lose his good than his good name and renome And this other marchant toke these florins that he had wrongfully receyuyd/ and employed them in diuerce marchandise in so moche that he gate and encresid and wan with them .xv. thousand florins And whan he sawe that he approachid toward his deth/ and that he had no children He establisshid albert his heyr in alle thingis



And sayd that with the .v. honderd florins that he had receyuyd of albert falsely/ he had gotten all y't he had in the world And thus by dyuyne pourueance he that had be a thief fraudulent/ was made afterward a trewe procurour and attorney of the sayd albert/ But now in this dayes ther ben marcha[=u]s that do marchandise with other mens money whiche is taken to hem to kepe/ And whan they ben requyred to repaye hit they haue no shame to denye hit appertly/ wherof hit happend that ther was a marchant whyche had a good & grete name and renome of kepyng well suche thynges as was delyueryd to hym to kepe/ But whan he sawe place and tyme/ he reteynyd hyt lyke a thief/ So hyt befelle that a marchant of withoute forth herd the good reporte & fame of this man/ cam to hym and deliuerid hym grete tresour to kepe/ And this tresour abode thre yer in his kepyng. And after this thre yer thys marchant cam & requyred to haue hys good deliueyrd to hym agayn/ And thys man knewe well that he had no recorde ne wytnes to preue on hym this duete/ Nor he had no obligacion ne wrytyng of hym therof/ In suche wyse that he denyed alle entyerly/ And sayd playnly he knewe hym not. And whan thys good man herde and vnderstode thys. he wente sorowfully and wepyng from hym so ferre and longe that an old woman mette wyth hym/ And demanded of hym the cause of hys wepyng/ And he sayd to her/ woman hit apperteyneth no thyng to the Go thy way/ And she prayd hym that he wold telle her the cause of hys sorowe/ For paraenture she myght gyue hym counceyll good and prouffitable. And than this man told to her by ordre the caas of his fortune/ And the old woman that was wyse & subtyll demanded of hym yf he had in that cyte ony frende whiche wold be faythfull and trewe to hym And he sayd y'e that he had dyuerce frendes/ Than said she goo thou to them and saye to them that they do ordeyne and bye dyuerce cofres & chestis/ And that they do fylle them with som olde thinges of no value/ and that they fayne And saye that they be full of gold, siluer & other lewels and of moche grete tresour/ And than that they bryng them to this sayd marchant And to saye to hym that he wold kepe them/ For as moche as they had grete trust and affiance in hym And also that they haue herd of his grete trouthe and good renome/ And also they wold goo in to a fer contre And shold be longe er they returned agayn And whilis they speke to hym of this mater/ thou shalt come vpon them and requyre hym that he do deliueyrd to the/ that thou tokest to hym/ And I trowe be cause of tho good men that than shall profre to hym the sayd tresour/ And for the couetise to haue hit/ he shall deliueyrd to the thy good agayn/ But beware late hym not knowe in no wyse that they ben thy frendes ner of thy knowleche This was a grete and good co[=u]ceyll of a woman And verily hit cometh of nature oftentymes to women to gyue counceyll shortly and vnausedly to thynges that ben in doute or perillous and nedeth hasty remedye/ And as y'e haue herd/ this good man dyde And dyde after her counceyll And cam vpon them whan they spack of the mater to the marchant for to deliueyrd to hym the sayd cofres to kepe whyche his frendes had fayned and requyred of hym that he had taken to hym to kepe/ and than an[=o]n the sayd marchant sayd to hym I knowe the now well. For I haue auysed me that thou art suche a man/ And camst to me suche a tyme/ And deliueyrd to me suche a thyng whiche I haue well kept/ And than callyd his clerck/ and bad hym goo fecche suche a thyng in suche a place/ and deliueyrd hit to that good man For he deliuerid hit to me/ And than the good man receyuyd his good. And wente his way right loyously and gladd/ And this marchant trycheur and deceyuour was defrauded from his euyll malice/ And he ne had neyther that one ne that other ony thyng that was of value/ And therefore hit Is sayd in prouerbe to defraude the beguylar is no fraude/ And he that doth well foloweth oure lord And seneke faith that charyte enseyneth and techeth that men shold paye well For good payement is sometyme good confession/ And this marchant trycheur & deceyuour resembleth & Is lyke to an hound that

bereth a chese in his mouth whan he swymmeth ouer a watre For whan he is on the watre He seeth the shadowe of the chese in the watre/ And than he weneth hit be an other chese/ And for couetyse to haue that/ he openeth his mouth to cacche that/ And than the chese that he bare fallyth down in to the watre/ And thus he loseth bothe two/ And in the same wise was seruyd this marchant deceyuour/ For for to haue the coffres/ whiche he had not seen/ He deliueryd agayn that he wold haue holden wrongfully & thus by his couetise and propre malice he was deceyuoyd/ And therefore hit apperteyneth to euery good & wyse man to knowe & considere in hym self how moche he had resseyuyd of other men/ And vpon what condicion hit was deliuerid to hym And hit is to wete y't this thinge apperteyneth to resseyuours & to chaungeours And to alle true marchans and other what som euyr they bee/ and ought to kepe their bookes of resaytes & of payements of whom & to whom and what tyme & day. and yf y'e demande what thyng makyth them to forgete suche thynges as ben taken to them to kepe I answere & saye that hyt Is grete couetyse for to haue tho thynges to themself and neuer to departe from them/ And it is all her thought and desire to assemble alle the good that they may gete For they beleue on none other god/ but on her richessis theyr hertes ben so obstynat/ and this sufficeth of the marchantes.

[Illustration]

\_This fifth chapitre of the thirde book treteth of phisiciens spicers and Apotyquarys.\_

The paw[=o]n that is sette to fore the quene signefyeth the phisicyen/ spicer and Apotyquaire/ and is formed in the figure of a man/ And he is sette in a chayer as a maystre and holdeth in his right hand a book/ And an ample or a boxe wyth oynementis in his lyft hand/ And at his gurdell his Instrumentis of yron and of siluer for to make Incysions and to serche woundes and hurtes/ and to cutte apostumes/ And by thyse thynges ben knowen the cyrurgyens/ By the book ben vnderstanden the phisicyens/ and alle gramaryens. logicyens/ maistres of lawe. of Geometrye. Arismetryque. musique and of astronomye/ And by the ampole/ ben signefyed the makers of pigmentaries spicers and apotiquayres/ and they that make confections and confytes and medecynes made wyth precyous spyces And by the ferremens and Intrumentis that hangen on the gurdell ben signefied the cyrurgyens & the maistres And knowe y'e for certain that a maystre & phisicyen ought to knowe the proporcions of lettres of gramayre/ the monemens the conclusions and the sophyms of logyque. the gracio'9 speche and vtterance of rethorique/ the mesures of the houres and dayes/ and of the cours and astronomye/ the nombre of arsmetryk/ & the loyous songes of musyque And of all thyse tofore named/ the maistres of rethorique ben the chyef maistres in speculatyf/ And the two laste that ben practisiens and werkers ben callyd phisicyens and cyrurgyens/ how well they ben sage and curyous in thyse sciences/ And how well that mannes lyf is otherwhile put in thordonance of the phisicyen or cyrurgyen/ yf he haue not sagesse and wysedom in hym self of dyuerce wrytynges and is not expert/ And medlyth hym in the craft of phisique/ He ought better be callyd a slear of peple than a phisicyen or cyrurgyen. For he may not be a maystre but yf he be seure and expert in the craft of phisike that he sle not moo than he cureth and maketh hoole/ And therefore sayth Auycenne in an Enphormye/ yf thou curest the

seke 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 hadde more than by any comynge. And in alle thyse maner of peple/ Ther ought to be meurte of good maners/ Curtoysie of wordes/ Chastite of the body promysse of helthe/ And as to them that ben seke contynuell visitacion of them/ And they ought to enquire the cause of theyr sekenessis and the sygnes and tokens of theyr maladyes/ As is rehercid in the bookes of the au[ct]ours by ryght grete diligence/ And specially in the bookes of ypocras galyene and of Auycene And whan many maysters and phisicyens ben assembled to fore the pacyent or seke man/ They ought not there to argue and dispute one agaynst an other/ But they ought to make good and symple colacion to geder. In suche wyse as they be not seen in theyr desputyng one agaynst an other/ for to encroche and gete more glorye of the world to them self/ than to trette the salute and helthe of the pacyent and seke man/ I meruayll why that whan they fee and knowe that whan the seke man hath grete nede of helthe wherfore than they make gretter obiection of contrariounes for as moche as the lyf of man is demened and put amonge them but hit is be cause that he is reputed most sage and wise that argueth and bryngeth in moste subtyltes/ And alle this maner is amonge doctours of lawe that treteth no thyng of mannes lyf. But of temporelle thynges/ that he is holden most wyse and best lerned/ that by his counceyll can beste acorde the contencions and discencions of men And therefore ought the phisicyens and cyrurgyens leue whan they be to fore the seke men all discencions and contrariounes of wordes/ in suche wyse that hit appere that they studye more for to cure the seke men than for to dispute And therefore is the phisicien duly sette to fore the quene/ So that it is figured that he ought to haue in hymself chastite and contynence of body For hit apperteyneth somtyme vnto the phisicien to visite and cure Quenes duchesses and countesses and alle other ladyes and see and beholde some secrete sekenessis that falle and come otherwhile in the secretis of nature And therefore hit apperteyneth to them that they be chaste and followe honeste and chastite/ and that they be ensample 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 ryght fayr woman whyche was comyn And the yonge scolers and the loly felaws that were students promisyd to the woman a besa[=u]t/ yf she myght or coude torne the corage of ypocras for to haue to doon wyth her/ And she cam to hym by nyght and dyde so moche by her craft that she laye wyth hym in his bedd/ but she coude neuer do so moche y't she myghte corruppe his chaste liuyng ne defoule the crowne of his conscience/ and whan the yonge men knewe that she had ben with hym all the night And coude not chaunge his contynence/ they began to mocque her/ And to axe and demande of her the besant that they had gyuen to her. And she answerd That hit was holden & gaged vpon an ymage/ For as moche as she might not change his contynence she callyd hym an ymage/ And in semblable wyse reherceth Valerian of Scenocrates philosopher that ther laye with hym a woman all night And tempted hym disordinatly/ but that ryght chafte man/ made neuer femblant to her/ Ner he neuer remeuyd from his ferme purpoos/ In fuche wyfe as fhe departid from hym alle confudid and fhamed/ Cornelius scipion that was fent by the romayns for to gouerne fpayne/ as fone as he entryd in to the castellis & in to the townes of that lande He began to take away all the thynges that miht ftyre or meue his men to lecherye wherfore men fayd that he drof & chaced oute of the ofte moo than two thoufand bourdellys/ And he that was wyfe knewe well that delyte of lecherye corrupted and apayred the corages of tho men that ben abandonned to that fame delyte/ And herof hit is fayd in the fables of the poetes in the first book of the Truphes of the Philofophers by figure. That they that entryd in to the fontayne of the firenes or

mermaydens/ were corrupid and they toke them away with hem/ And alfo y'e ought to knowe that they ought to entende diligently to the cures of the enfermytees in cyrugerye/ They ought to make theyr playfters acordynge to the woundes or fores/ yf the wounde be rounde The enplafre muft be round/ and yf hyt be longe/ hyt muft be longe/ and otherwhile hit muft be cured by his contrarye/ lyke as it apperteyneth to phifique/ For the hete is cured by cold/ and the colde by hete/ and loye by forowe/ and fbrowe by loye/ and hit happeth ofte tymes that moche peple be in grete paryll in takynge to moche loye and lefe her membris/ and become half benomen in the fodayn loye/ And loye is a replecion of thyng that is delectable fprad a brode in all the membris with right grete gladnes And all men entende and desire to haue the sayd ryght grete loye naturelly/ But they knowe not what may ensue and come therof And this loye cometh otherwhile of vertue of conscience/ And the wyse man is not wyth out this loye And this loye is neuer Interrupt ne in deffaulte at no tyme For hit cometh of nature And fortune may not take a waye that nature geueth. And merciall saith that loyes fugitiues abide not longe But flee away an[=o]n And valerian reherceth that he that hath force and strengthe raysonable/ hath hit of verray matier of complecion and that cometh of loue And this loye hath as moche power to departe the sowle fro the body/ as hath the thondre/ wherof hit happend that ther was a woman named lyna whiche had her husbonde in the warre in the shippis of the romayns/ And she supposid verily that he was ded/ But hit happend that he cam agayn home And as he entryd in to his yate/ his wif met wyth hym sodeynly not warned of his comyng. whiche was so glad and loyous/ that in enbrasyng hym she fyll doun ded Also of an other woman to whom was reportid by a fals messenger that her sone was ded/ whiche wente home soroufully to her hows/ And afterward whan her sone cam to her/ As sone as she sawe hym/ she was so esmoued wyth loye y't she deyde to fore hym/ But this is not so grete meruaylle of women as is of the men/ For the women ben likened vnto softe waxe or softe ayer and therfor she is callid mulier whyche is as moche to saye in latyn as mollis aer. And in english soyfte ayer/ And it happeth ofte tymes that the nature of them that ben softe and mole/ taketh sonner Inpression than the nature of men that is rude and stronge/ Valerye reherceth & sayth that a knyght of rome named Instaulosus that had newly conquerid and subiuged the yle of Corsika/ And as he sacrefyed his goddes/ he receyuyd lettres from the senate of rome In whiche were conteyned dyuerse supplicacyons/ The whiche whan he vnderstood he was so glad and so enterprysed wyth loye/ that he knewe not what to doo And than a great fume or smoke yssued out of the fyre In whiche he dispayred and fyll in to the fyre/ where he was anone ded/ And also it is sayd that Philomenus lawhed so sore and distemperatly that he deyde alle lawhyng/ And we rede that ypocras the phisicien fonde remedye for thys loye/ For whan he had longe dwellyd oute of his contreye for to lerne connyng and wysedom/ And shold retorne vnto his parentis and frendes/ whan he approchid nyghe them/ He sente a messenger to fore for to telle to them his comyng/ and comanded hym to saye that he cam/ for they had not longe to fore seen hym/ And y't they shold attempre them in that loye er they shold see hym/ And also we rede that Titus the sone of vaspasian whan he had conquerd Iherusalem and abode in y'e contrees by/ he herde y't his fader vaspasian was chosen by alle the senate for to gouerne the empire of rome/ wherfore he had so right grete loye that sodaynly he loste the strength of all his membres And be cam all Impotent And whan Iosephus that made the historye of the romayns ayenst the lewis/ whiche was a ryght wyse phisicien sawe and knewe the cause of this sekenes of the sayd Titus/ he enquyred of his folk yf he had in hate ony man gretly so moche that he myght not here speke of hym ner well see hym And one of the seruantes of Titus sayd that he had one persone in hate so moche.

That ther was no man in his court so hardy that durste name hym in his presence/ and than Iosephus assigned a day whan this man shold come/ and ordeyned a table to sette in y'e sight of Titus/ and dide hit to be replenysshid plenteuously wyth alle dayntees/ and ordeyned men to be armed to kepe hym in suche wyse that no man shold hurte hym by the comandement of Titus/ and ordeyned boutellers. Coques/ and other officers for to serue hym worshipfully lyke an Emour/ and whan all this was redy/ Iosephus brought in this man that tytus hated and sette hym at the table to fore his eyen and was seruyd of yonge men wyth grete reuerence ryght cortoisly/ And whan titus behelde his enemye sette to fore hym wyth so grete honour/ He began to chauffe hym self by grete felonnye And comanded his men that this man sholde be slayn/ And whan he sawe/ that none wold obeye hym But that they all way seruyd hym reuerently/ he waxe so ardante/ and enbrasid wyth so grete yre/ that he that had lost alle the force and strengthe of his body and was alle Impotent in alle his membres/ Recoured the helthe agayn and strengthe of his membris/ by the hete that entryd in to the vaynes and sinewis And Iosephus dide so moche that he was recouered and hole/ And that he helde that man no more for his enemye/ but helde hym for a verray true frende/ And afterward made hym his loyall felawe and compaignon And the espicers and Apotecayres ought to make truly suche thynges as Is comanded to them by the physicyens/ And they ought taccomplissh theyr billis and charge curiously wyth grete dilygence/ that for none other cause they shold be ocupied but in makynge medicynes or confections truly. And that they ought vpon paryll of theyr sowle not to forgete/ by negligence ne rechelesnes to gyue one medecyne for an other/ In suche wyse that they be not slears of men/ And that they do putte no false thynges In her spyces for to empayre or encrecynge the weyght. For yf they so doo they may better be callyd theuys than espiciers or apotecayris/ And they that ben acustomed to make oynements they ought to make hyt proprely of true stuf and of good odoure after the receptes of the auncyent doctours/ And after the forme that the phisicyens and cyrurgyens deuyse vnto them/ Also they ought to beware that for none auayle ne gyfte that they myght haue/ that they put in theyr medicynes no thyng venemous ner doynge hurte or scathe to ony persone of whom they haue none good ne veray knowlege/ to thende that they to whom the medicynes shold be gyuen/ torne not to them hurte ne damage/ ne in destructions of theyr neyghbours/ and also that they that haue mynystrid tho thyngis to them/ ben not taken for parteners of the blame and of the synne of them The cyrurgyens ought also to be debonayr. amyable. & to haue pytye of their pacyents. And also they ought not be hasty to launse and cutte apostumes and soores/ ne open the heedes/ ner to arrache bones broken/ but yf the cause be apparant/ For they myght ellys lose theyr good renome And myght better be callyd bouchers than helars or guarisshors of woundes and soores And also hit behoueth that alle this maner of peple foresayd that haue the charge for to make hole and guarissh alle maner of maladyes and infirmittees that they first haue the cure of themself/ and they ought to purge themself fro alle apostumes and alle vices/ In suche wyse that they be net and honeste and enformed in alle good maners/ And that they shewe hem hole and pure & redy for to hele other And herof sayth Boecius de Consolacione In his first booke that the sterres that ben hid vnder the clowdes maye gyue no light. And therefore yf ony man wole beholde clerly the verite. Late hym wythdrawe hym fro the obscurete and derkenes of the clowdes of ignorance/ for whan the engyne of a man sheweth in loye or in sorowe/ The pensee or thought is enuoluped in obscurete & vnder the clowdes.

[Illustration]

\_The sixthe chapitre of the thirde book treteth of the sixth pawn/  
whiche is lykened to tauerners hostellers and vitayllers.\_

The sixthe pawn whiche standeth to fore the Alphyn on the lyfte syde is made in thys forme. For hit is a man that hath the right hande stracched oute as for to calle men/ And holdeth in his lyfte hande a loof of breed and a cuppe of wyn/ And on his gurdell hangynge a boudell of keyes/ And this resembleth the Tauerners. hostellers. and sellars of vitaylle. And thise ought proprely to be sette to fore the/ Alphyn as to fore a luge For ther sourdeth ofte tymes amonge hem contencion noyse and stryf/ whiche behoueth to be determyned and trayted by the alphyn/ whiche is luge of the kynge/ And hit apperteyneth to them for to seke and enquiryre for good wyns and good vitayll for to gyue and selle to the byers/ And to them that they herberowe/ And hit apperteyneth to them well to kepe their herberowes and Innes/ and alle tho thyngis that they brynge in to their loggyng and for to putte hyt in seure and sauf warde and kepyng/ And the firste of them is signefied by the lyfte hande in whiche he bereth brede and wyn/ and the seconde is signefied by the right hande whiche is stracched oute to calle men/ And the thirde is representid by the keyes hangynge on y'e gurdell And thys maner of peple ought teschewethe synne of glotonye/ For moche peple comen in to theyr howses for to drynke and to ete for whyche cause they ought resonably to rewle them self and to refrayne them from to moche mete and drynke/ to thende that they myght the more honestly delyuere thyngis nedefull vnto the peple that come vnto them/ And no thyng by outrage that myght noye the body/ For hit happeth ofte tymes that ther cometh of glotonye tencyons. stryfs. ryottes. wronges. and molestacyons/ by whiche men lese other while their handes. theyr eyen. and other of their membres/ And somtyme ben slayn or hurt vnto the deth/ As it is wreton In vitas patrum As on a tyme an heremyte wente for to visite his gossibs/ And the deuyll apperyd to hym on the waye in lykenes of an other heremyte for to tempte hym/ and saide thou hast lefte thyn heremitage And goost to visyte thy gossibs/ The behoueth by force to doo one of y'e thre thynges that I shall saye to the/ thou shalt chese whether thou wylt be dronke/ or ellys haue to do flessly wyth thy gossib or ellys thou shalt sle her husbond whiche is thy gossib also/ And the hermyte that thought for to chese the leste euyll chace for to be dronke/ and whan he cam vnto them he dranke so moche that he was veray dronke And whan he was dronke and eschaussed wyth the wyn/ he wold haue a doo wyth hys gossib/ And her husbonde withstode hym. And than the hermyte slewe hym/ And after that laye by his gossib and knewe her flessly/ And thus by this synne of dronkenschap he accomplisshid the two other synnes/ By whyche thyng y'e may vnderstande and knowe y't whan the deuyll wyll take one of the castellis of Ihesu cryst/ that is to wete the body of a man or of a woman/ he doth as a prynce that setteth a siege to fore a castell that he wold wyne/ whiche ent[=e]deth to wyne the gate/ For he knoweth well whan he hath wonne the gate/ he may sone doo hys wylle wyth the castell. And in lyke wyse doth the deuyll wyth euery man and woman For whan he hath wonne the gate/ that is to wete the gate of y'e mouth by glotonye or by other synne He may doo wyth the offices of the body alle his wylle as y'e haue herd to fore/ And therefore ought euery man ete and drynke sobrelly in suche wyse as he may lyue. And not lyue to ete glotonsly & for to drynke dronke. y'e see comunly that a grete bole is suffisid wyth right a lityll pasture/ And that a wode suffiseth to many olefauntes And

hit behoueth a man to be fedde by the erthe or by the see/ neuertheles  
it is no grete thyng to fede the bely/ no thyng so grete as is the  
desire of many metes Wherof Quynlyan sayth/ That hit happeth ofte  
tymes in grete festes & dyners/ that we be fylde wyth the sight of the  
noble and lichorous metis and whan we wolde ete we ben saciat and fild/  
And therefore hit is sayd in prouerbe/ hit is better to fylle the bely  
than the eye/ And lucan sayth that glotonye is the moder of alle vices/  
and especiall of lecherye/ and also is destroyer of all goodes And may  
not haue suffisance of lityll thyng/ A couetous honger what sekest thou  
mete and vitayllis on the lande & in the see/ And thy loye is nothyng  
ellis but to haue playnteuous disshes & well fylde at thy table lerne  
how men may demene his lyf with lityll thyng/ And Cathon sayth in no  
wyse obeye to glotonye whiche is frende to lecherye/ And the holy  
doctour saynt Augustyn sayth/ the wyn eschausseth the bely that falleth  
anone to lecherye/ The bely and the membrers engendours ben neygheours  
to lecherye/ And thus the vice of glotonye prouoketh lecherye/ wherof  
cometh forgetenes of his mynde and destruction of alle quyke and sharp  
reson And is cause of distemance of his wittes/ what synne is fowler  
than this synne and more stynkyng ne more damageous For this synne hath  
taken away the vertue of the man/ his prowesse languished/ his vertue  
is tord to diffame/ the strengthe of body and of corage is tord by  
the/ And therefore sayth Basille le grant/ late vs take hede how we serue  
the bely & the throte by glotonye lyke as we were dombe bestes/ and we  
studye for to be lyke vnto belucs of the see/ to whom nature hath gyuen  
to be alleway enclined toward the erthe & ther to loke for to serue  
theyr belyes/ And herof saith Boecius de consolacione in his fourth  
book/ that a man that lyuyth and doth not the condicions of a man/ may  
neuer be in good condicion/ Than muste hit nedes be that he be  
transported in nature of a beste or of a belue of the see. How well that  
ryght grete men and women full of meruayllous sciences and noble  
counceyll in this dayes in the world ben kept and nourisshid in this  
glotonye of wysnes and metes/ and ofte tymes ben ouerseen/ how suppose y'e/  
is hit not right a perillous thinge that a lord or gouernour of the  
peple and c[=o]mun wele/ how well that he be wyse/ yf he eschauffe hym  
sone so that y'e wyn or other drynke surpryse hym and ouercome his  
brayn. his wisdom is loste/ For as Cathon sayth/ Ire enpesseth the  
corage in suche as he may not kepe verite and trouthe And anon as he is  
chauffed/ lecherye is meuyd in hym in suche wyse that the lecherye  
maketh hym to medle in dyuerse villayns dedes/ For than his wyfedom is a  
slepe and goon/ And therefore fayth Ouide in his booke De remedio amoris/  
yf thou take many and dyuerce wysnes/ they apparylle and enforce the  
corages to lecherye And Thobie witnessith in his booke/ that luxurye  
destroyeth the body/ and mynussheth richesses/ she loseth the sowle/ she  
febleth y'e strengthe she blyndeth the syght/ and maketh the wys hoos &  
rawe/ Ha A ryght euyll and fowle synne of dronkenhip/ by the perissheth  
virginite/ whiche is suster of angellis possedyng alle goodnes and  
seurte of all loyes pardurable/ Noe was one tyme so chauffed with wyn/  
that he discouerd and shewid to his sones his preuy membres in suche  
wyse as one of his sones mocqued hym/ And that other couerd hem/ And  
loth whiche was a man right chaste. was so assoted by moche drynkyng of  
wyn/ that on a montayne he knew his doughters carnelly/ And had to doo  
wyth them as they had ben his propre wyues. And crete reherceth that  
boece whiche was flour of the men/ tresor of rychesses/ singuler house  
of sapience myrour of the world/ Odour of good renome/ and glorye of his  
subgettis loste alle thise thynges by his luxurye We haue seen that  
dyuerce that were loyned by grete amyte to geder whiles they were sobre/  
that that one wolde put his body in paryll of deth for that other/ and  
whan they were eschauffed with wyn & dronke/ they haue ronne eche vpon  
other for to fle\* hem/ And somme haue ben that haue slayn so his frende/

Herodes Antipas had not doon saynt Iohn baptist to ben beheded/ ne had y'e dyner ben full of glotonye and dronkenship/ Balthazar kyng of babilone had not ben chaced out of his kyngdom ne be slayn yf he had ben sobre amonge his peple whom tyrus and dares fonde dronken and slewe hym The hostelers ought to be well bespoken and courtoys of wordes to them that they receyue in to their loggyng For fayr speche & loyous chiere & debonayr/ cause men to gyue the hostelyer a good name/ And therefore it is said in a comyn prouerbe/ Courtoyse langage and well saynge is moche worth and coste lityll/ And in an other place it is said that curtoysie passeth beaulte/ Also for as moche as many paryls and aduentures may happen on the wayes and passages to hem that ben herberowed with in their Innes/ therefore they ought to accompanye them whan they departe and enseigne them the wayes and telle to them the paryls/ to thende that they may surely goo theyr viage and lourney/ And also they ought to kepe their bodies, their goodes. And the good fame and renomee of their Innes/ we rede that loth whan he had receyuyd the angels in to his hous right debonairly whiche he had suppoed had ben mortall men and stra[=u]gers/ to thende that they shold eskape the disordinate and vnnaturell synne of lecherye of the sodomites/ by the vertu of good fayth/ he sette a part the naturell loue of a fader/ and proferd to them his doughters whiche were virgyns/ to thende that they shld kepe them and defende them fro that vyllayne and horrible synne/ And knowe y'e for certayn that alle tho thynges that ben taken and delyueryd to kepe to the hoste or hostesses they ought to be sauf and yelden agayn wyth out a payringe For the ooste ought to knowe/ who that entryth in to his hous for to be herberowhed taketh hit for his habitacion for the tyme/ he hymself and alle suche thynges as he bryngeth wyth hym ben comysed of ryght in the warde and kepyng of the hoost or hosteler And ought to be as sauf as they were put in his owen propre hous And also suche hoostis ought to hold seruantes in their houses whiche shold be trewe and wyth oute auarice In suche wise that they coueyte not to haue the goodes of their ghestes And that they take not away the prouender fro theyr horses whan hyt is gyuen to them/ that by thoccasion therof theyr horsis perisshe not ne faylle theyr maister whan they haue nede/ and myght falle in the handes of theyr enemyes/ For than sholde the seruantes because of that euyl/ wherfore theyr maisters shold see to For wyth oute doubte this thyng is worse than theft Hit happend on a tyme in the parties of lombardy in the cyte of lene y't a noble man was logged in an hostelerye wyth moche compaignye/ And whan they had gyuen prouendour to their horses/ In the first oure of the nyght, the seruant of the hous cam secretly to fore y'e horses for to stele away their prouender/ And whan he cam to the lordes hors/ The hors caught wyth his teth his Arme and helde hit faste that he myght not escape/ And whan the thief sawe that he was so strongly holden/ he began to crye for the grete payne that he suffryd and felte/ In suche wyse that the noble mannes meyne cam with the hooste/ But in no maner/ ner for ought they coude doo They coude not take the thief out of the horses mouth vnto the tyme that the neyghbours whiche were noyed wyth the noyse cam and sawe hit/ And than the thief was knowen and taken and brought to fore the luge And confessid the feet and by sentence diffinytyf was hanged and lost his lyf/ And in the same wyse was an other that dyde so/ And the hors smote hym in the visage/ That the prynte of the horse shoo and nayles abode euer in his visage/ Another was right cruell and villaynous fylle at thoulouse/ Hit happend a longe man and his fader wente a pilgremage to saynt Iames in Galyce And were logged in an hostelrye of an euyl hoost and full of right grete couetyse/ In so moche that he defired and coueyted the goodes of the two pilgrimes And here vpon auysed hym and put a cuppe of siluer secretly in the male that the yonge man bare/ And whan they departed oute of their loggyng/ he folowed



after hem and sayd to fore the peple of the court that they had stolen and born away his cuppe/ And the yonge man excused hym selfe and his fader/ And sayde they were Innocent of that caas/ And than they serchid hem and the cuppe was founden in the male of the yonge man And forthwyth he was dampned to the deth and hanged as a theef/ and this feet doon all the goodes that langed to the pilgrym were deliuerid to the ooft as c[=o]fisqued And than the fader wente for to do his pilgremage/ and whan he cam agayn he muste nedes come & passe by the place where his sone henge on the gibet And as he cam he complaygned to god and to saynt lames how they might suffre this auenture to come vnto his sone,' Anone his sone that henge spack to his fader And sayde how that saynt lames had kepte hym with out harme And bad his fader goo to the luge and shewe to hym the myracle/ And how he was Innocent of thot fayte/ And whan this thyng was knowen the sone of the pilgryme was taken down fro the gibet/ and the cause was brought to fore the luge And the hooste was accused of the trayson/ and he confessid his trespaas/ and sayd he dide hit for couetyse to haue his good And than the luge dampned hym for to be hanged on the same gibet where as the yonge pilgryme was hanged And that I haue sayd of the seruantes beyng men/ the same I saye of the women as chambriers and tapsters For semblable caas fille in spayne at saynt donne of a chamberier/ that put a cup in lyke wyse in the scrippe of a pilgryme/ be cause he wold not haue a doo wyth her in the synne of lecherye/ wherfore he was hanged And his fader & moder that were there with hym wente and dyde her pilgremage/ And whan they cam agayn they fonde her sone lyuynge/ And whan they wente and told the luge/ whiche luge sayd that he wolde not byleue hit tyll a cok and an henne which rosted on the fyre were a lyue & the cok crewe. And anon they began wexe a lyue & the cok crewe and began to crowe and to pasture/ and whan the luge sawe this miracle/ he wente and toke down the sone/ and made the chamberyer to be taken and to be hanged/ wherfore I saye that the hoostes ought to hold no tapsters ne chamberyers/ but yf they were good meure and honeste/ For many harmes may be falle and come by the disordenat rewle of seruantes.

[Illustration]

\_The seventh chapitre of the thirde Tractate treteth of kepars of townes customers and tolle gaderers &c.\_

The gardes and kepars of of cytees ben signefied by the .vii. pawn whiche stondesth in the lyfte side to fore the knyght/ And is formed in the semblance of a man holdynge in his right hande grete keyes And in his lifte hande a potte & an elle for to mesure with And ought to haue on hys gurdell a purse open/ And by the keyes ben signefyed the kepars of the cytees and townes and comyn offices/ And by the potte and elle ben signefyed them that haue the charge to weye and mete & mesure truly And by the purse ben signefyed them that reseuyue the costumes. tolles. scawage. peages/ and duetes of the cytees & townes And thyse peple ben sette by ryght to fore the knyght/ And hit behoueth that the gardes and offycers of the townes be taught And enseygned by the knyghtes/ And that they knowe and enquiry how y'e cytees or townes ben gouerned/ whiche apperteyneth to be kept and defended by the knyghtes. And first hit apperteyneth that the kepars of the cyte be dilygente. besy. clere

seeynge and louers of the comyn prouffit & wele/ as well in the tyme of pees as in the tyme of warre/ They ought allewaye to goo in the cyte and enquire of all thynges and ought rapporte to the gouernours of the cyte suche thynges as they fynde and knowe And suche thynges as apperteyneth and to the seuerte of the same/ and to den[=o]nce and telle the defaultes and paryls that ther bee/ 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 office/ ought to be of good renome. & fame, trewe. and of good conscience/ In suche maner that they loue them of the Cyte or town/ And that they put to no man any blame or vilanye with out cause by enuye. Couetyse ne by hate/ but they ought to be sory and heuy whan they see that any man shold be complayned on for any cause. For hit happeth ofte tymes that diuerce officers accuse the good peple fraudulently/ To thende that they myght haue a thanke & be preysed and to abide stille in theyr offices And trewly hit is a grete and hye maner of malyse to be in will to doo euyll and diffame other wyth oute cause to gete glorie to hymself Also the kepars and officers of cytees ought to be suche that they suffre no wronges ne vylonyes to fore the luges and gouernours of cytees wyth out cause to be doon to them that ben Innocents/ but they ought to haue theyr eyen and regarde vnto hym/ that knoweth the hertes and thoughtes of alle men/ And they ought to drede & doubte hym wyth oute whos grace theyr wacche and kepyng is nought And that promyseth to them that doubte hym shall be ewrous & happy/ And by hym ben alle thynges accomplisshid in good/ Hit is founden in the historyes of rome that Temperour Frederik the seconde dide do make a gate of marble of meruayllous werke and entayll in the cyte of capnane vpon the watre that renneth aboute the same/ and vpon this yate he made an ymage lyke hymself sittynge in his mageste/ and two luges whiche were sette/ one on the right side and that other on the lifte side. And vpon the sercle aboute the hede of the luge on y'e ryght side was wreton/ Alle they entre seurlly that will liue purely/ And vpon the sercle of the luge on the lifte side was wreton/ The vntrewe man ought to doubte/ to doo thynges that he be put to prison fore/ and on the sercle aboute thempour was wreton/ I make them live in misery/ that I see lyue dismesurably/ And therefore hit apperteyneth to a luge to shewe to the peple for to drede and doubte to doo eyull/ And hit apperteyneth to the gardes and officers to doubte the luges and to do trewly their seruyces and offices And hit apperteyneth to a prynce to menace the traytours and the malefactours of right greuous paynes. And herof we fynde in the auncyent historyes of cecylle that the kynge denys had a broder whom he louyd sore well/ But allway where he wente he made heuy and tryste semblant/ And thus as they wente bothe to gyder on a tyme in a chare/ ther cam agayn hem two poure men wyth glad visage but in foule habite/ And y'e kynge anon as he sawe them/ sprange out of his chare and resseyuyd them worshipfully with grete reuerence/ wherfore his barons were not only ameruaylled but also angry in their corages/ notwithstandinge fere and drede letted them to demande hym the cause/ But they made his broder to demande the cause and to knowe the certaynte/ And whan he had herde his broder saye to hym the demande/ and that he was blessyd & also a kynge whiche was ryche and full of delites & worshipis/ he demanded hym yf he wold assaye & knowe the grace and beneurte of a kynge And his broder answerd y'e/ And that he desired and requyred hit of hym/ and than the kinge comanded vnto alle his fugettis that they shold obeye in alle thynges only vnto his broder And than whan the oure of dyner cam and alle thynges was redy/ the broder was sette at the table of the kynge And whan he sawe that he was seruyd wyth right noble botelliers and other officers. And he herde the sownes of musicque right melodious The kynge demanded hym than/ yf he supposid y't he were benerous and blessid. And he answerd I wene well that I am right well blessid and fortunat/ and that I haue well proued and fele

and am expert therof And than the kynge secretly made to be hanged ouer his heed a sharp cuttyngge swerde hangynge by an hors heer or a silken threde so small that no man myght see hit where by hit henge/ and whan he sawe his broder put no more his hand to the table/ ne had no more regarde vnto his seruantes/ he sayd to hym why ete y'e not/ ar y'e not blessid/ saye yf y'e fele ony thyngge otherwyse than blessid and well/ And he answerde for as moche as I see this sharp swerde hangynge so subtilly and parillously ouer my hede I fele well that I am not blessid for I drede that hit shold falle on my hede/ and than discouerd the kynge vnto hem alle wherfore he was allway so heuy cherid and triste For where he was/ he thought alleway on the swerde of the secrete vengeance of god/ whiche he behelde alleway in his herte/ wherfore he had all way in hymself grete drede And therefore he worshipid gladly the poure peple wyth glad visage and good conscience And by this sheweth the kynge well/ that what man that is all way in drede is not all way mery or blessid. And herof fayth Quyntilian that this drede surmounteth alle other maleurtees and euylls/ For it is maleurte of drede nyght and day/ And it is verite that to hym that Is doubtid of moche peple/ so muste he doubte moche/ And that lord is lasse than hys seruantes that dredeth hys seruantes/ And truly hit Is a ryght sure thyngge to drede no thinge but god/ And sumtyme right hardy men ben constrayned to lyue in drede/ Drede causeth a man to be curyous and besy to kepe the thynges that ben commysed to hym that they perisshe not/ But to be to moche hardy & to moche ferdfull/ bothe two ben vices The comyn officers ought to be wise, discrete. and well aduysed in suche wyse that they take not of y'e peple ne requyre no more than they ought to haue by reson/ ne that they take of the sellars ne of the byars no more than the right custom and toll/ for they bere the name of a c[=o]mun sone/ and therefore ought they to shewe them c[=o]mune to all men/ and for as moche as the byars and sellars haue somtyme moche langage/ they ought to haue with them these vertues/ that is to wete pacience and good corage with honeste/ for they that ben despiteus to the c[=o]mun/ ben otherwhile had in vilayns despote/ therefore beware y't thou haue no despote to the poure mendicants/ yf thou wilt come and atteyne to thingis fouerayn/ for the Iniurye that is don wyth oute cause/ torneth to diffame hym that doth hit/ A logheler on a tyme beheld socrates and sayd to hym/ thou hast the eyen of corrupour of children & art as a traytre. And whan his disciples herde hym/ they wold auengid their maister/ But he repreuyd hem by suche sentence saynge/ Suffre my felaws for I am he and suche one as he saith/ by the sight of my visage/ But I refrayne and kepe me well from suche thyngge/ This same socrates hymself was chidde and right fowll spoken to of his wyf/ and she Imposid to hym many grete Iniuries with out nombre/ and she was in a place a boue ouer his heed And whan she had brawlid I nowh/ she made her watre and pourid hit on his heed And he answerd to here no thyngge agayn/ sauf whan he had dryed and wyped his heed he said/ he knewe well that after suche wynde and thonder sholde comen rayn and watre And the philosophres blamed hym that he coude not gouerne two women/ that was his wyf and his chambrere/ And shewde hym that one cokke gouerned well .xv. hennes He answerd to them that he was so vsed and accustomed wyth theyr chydynge that the chydynge of them ne of estrangere dyde hym no greef ne harme/ gyue thou place to hym that brawleth or chydeth/ and in suffryngge hym thou shalt be his vaynquysshour/ And Cathon fayth whan thou lyuyst ryghtfully recche the not of the wordes of euyll peple/ And therefore it is sayd in a comyn prouerbe/ he that well doth reccheth not who seeth hit/ & hit is not in our power to lette men to speke. And prosper sayth that to good men lacketh no goodnes/ ner to euyll men tencions stryfs and blames And pacience is a ryght noble vertu/ as a noble versifier sayth That pacience is a ryght noble maner to vaynquysshe. For he that suffreth

ouercometh. And yf thou wylt vaynquysshē and ouercome/ lerne to suffre/  
The peagers ner they that kepe passages ought not to take other peage ne  
passage money but suche as the prynce or the lawe haue establisshid/ so  
that they be not more robbeurs of moneye than reseyuours of peage and  
passage And hit apperteyneth to them to goo out of the paryllo\*9 weyes  
and doubteuous for to kepe their office and they ought to Requyre their  
passage of them that owe to paye hit wyth oute noynge and contencion/  
And they ought not to loue the comyn prouffyt so moche/ That they falle  
in the hurtyngē of theyr conscience/ For that shold be a manere of  
robberye And herof sayth ysaye Woo to the that robbest/ For thou thy  
self shalt be robbed/ The gardes or porters of the gates of cytees and  
of the comyn good ought to be good and honeste. And alle trouthe ought  
to be in them and they ought not to take ne withdrawe the goodes of the  
comyn that they haue in keypyngē/ more than apperteyneth to them for  
theyr pension or ffee/ So that they that ben made tresorers and kepars  
ben not named theuys/ For who that taketh more than his/ He shall neuer  
thryue wyth alle/ ner shall not enioye hit longe/ For of euylly gooten  
good the thyrde heyr shall neuer reioyce/ And this suffisith &c.

[Illustration]

\_This chapitre of the thirder book treteth of Rybauldis players of dyse  
and messagers and corrours\_

The rybaulders, players of dyse and of messagers and corrours ought to  
be sette to fore the rook/ For hit apperteyneth to the rook whiche is  
vicayre & lieutenant of the kynge to haue men couenable for to renne  
here and there for tenquyre & espie the place and cytees that myght be  
contrarye to the kynge/ And thys pawn that representeth thys peple ought  
to be formed in this maner/ he must haue the forme of a man that hath  
longe heeris and black and holdeth in his ryght hand a lityll monoye And  
in his lyfte hande thre Dyse And aboute hym a corde in stede of a  
gyrdell/ and ought to haue a boxe full o lettres And by the first/  
whiche is money is vnderstand they that be fole large & wastours of  
theyr goodes/ And by the seconde whiche is the dyse Ben represented the  
players at dyse/ Rybauldes and butters/ And by the thyrde whiche is the  
boxe full of lettres ben representid the messagers. corrours/ And berars  
of lettres/ And y'e shall vnderstande that the roock whiche is vicaire of  
the kynge whan he seeth to fore hym suche peple as ben folelarge and  
wastours. He is bounden to constitute and ordeyne vpon them tutours and  
curatours to see that they etc not ne waste in suche maner theyr goodes  
ne theyr heritages/ that pouerte constrayne hem not to stele/ For he  
that of custome hath had haboundance of moneye and goth and dispendith  
hit folily and wasteth hit away/ whan he cometh to pouerte and hath  
nought/ he must nedes begge and axe his breed, or ellis he must be a  
theef/ For suche maner of peple/ yf they haue ben delicyous they wylly  
not laboure/ for they haue not lerned hit And yf they be noble and comen  
of gentlemen/ they be ashamed to axe and begge/ And thus muste they by  
force whan they haue wasted theyr propre goodes yf they wylly lyeue they  
muste stele and robbe the goodes of other And y'e shall vnderstande that  
folelarge is a right euylly vice/ for how well that she dooth good and  
prouffyt somtyme to other yet she dooth harme and damage to hym that so  
wasteth. Caffiodore admonesteth the fole larges to kepe theyr thynges/  
that by no necessite they falle in pouerte/ And that they be not

constrayned to begge ne to stele of other men For he faith that hit is gretter subtilte to kepe well his owne goodes/ than to fynde strange thynges/ and that it is gretter vertue to kepe that is gotten than to gete and wyne more/ and claudian saith in like wise in his book that hit is a gretter thyng & better to kepe that is gotten Than to gete more And therefore hit is sayd y't the poure demandeth and beggeth er he felith/ and also hit is sayd that he y't dispendith more than he hath/ with oute strook he is smyten to the deth/ Ther was a noble man named Iohn de ganazath whiche was ryght ryche/ And this man had but two doughters whom he maryed to two noble men/ And whan he had maryed them/ he loued so well his sones in lawe their husbondes/ that in space & succession of tyme/ he departed to them alle his goodes temporell/ And as longe as he gaf to them they obeyed hym & were right diligent to plesse and serue hym/ so hit befell that on a tyme that he had alle gyuen in so moche that he had ryght nought/ Than hit happend that they to whom he had gyuen his goodes/ whiche were wonte to be amyable & obeyssant to hym as longe as he gaf. Whan tyme cam that he was poure and knewe that he had not they becam unkynde Disagreable and disobeyssant/ And whan the fader sawe that he was deceuyd by his debonayrte and loue of his doughters/ He desired and couetyed fore teschewe his pouerte/ At laste he wente to a marchant that he knewe of olde tyme. And requyred hym to lene to hym. x. thousand pound for to paye and rendre agayn wyth in thre dayes/ And he lente hit hym/ and whan he had brought hit in to his hows/ Hit happend that hit was a day of a solempne feste/ on whiche daye he gaf to his doughters and her hufbonde a right noble dyner/ and after dyner he entrid in to his chambre secretly wyth them/ And drewe out of a coffre that he had do make all newe shettynges with iii. lockis/ the menoye that the marchant had lente hym And poured out vpon a tapyte that his doughtres and theyr hufbondes myght see hit/ And whan he had shewid hit vnto them he put hit vp agayn and put hit in to the cheste saynyng that hit had ben all his And whan they were departed he bare the money home to the marchant that he had borowed hit of/ And the next day after his doughters and theyre hufbondes Axid of hym how moche moneye was in the cheste that was shette wyth. iii. lockis/ And than he fayned and saide that he had therein. xxv. thousand pound/ whiche he kepte for to make his testament and for to leue to his doughters and hem/ yf they wolde here hem as well to hym ward as they dyde whan they were married/ And than whan they herde that/ they were right loyous and glad And they thoughte and concluded to serue hym honorably as well in clothynges as in mete and drynke & of alle other thynges necessarye to hym vnto his ende And after this whan the ende of hym began tapproche/ he callyd his doughters and her husbondes and sayd to hem in thys mauere/ y'e shall vnderstande that the moneye that is in the chest shette vnder. iii. lockes I wylle leue to yow Sanynges I wyll that y'e gyue in my prefrence er I dye whilis I lyue to the frere prechours. C. pound and to the frere menours. C. pound/ And to the heremytes of saynt Augustyn .i. pound to thende that whan I am buryed and put in the erthe y'e may demande of them the keyes of y'e cheste where my tresour is Inne/ whiche keyes they kepe/ and I haue put on eche keye a bille & wrytynges In witnessyng of the thynges abouesayd/ And also y'e shall vnderstande that he dyde do to be gyuen whilis he laye in his deth bedde to eche churche and recluse and to poure peple a certayn quantyte of moneye by the handes of his doughters husbondes/ whiche they dyde gladly. In hope to haue shortly the money that they supposid had ben in the cheste/ And whan hit cam to the last day/ that he deyde/ He was born to churche and his exequye don and was buryed solempnly/ And the eyght daye the seruyse worshipfully accomplisshid/ They wente for to demande the keyes of the Religious men that they had kept/ whiche were deliueyrd to them/ And than they wente and opened the coffre where they supposid the money had ben Inne/ And

there they fonde no thyng but a grete clubbe/ And on the the handlynge was wretou/ J lohn of canazath make this testament/ that he be slayn wyth this clubbe/ that leuyth his own prouffit. And gyuyth hit to other/ as who sayth hit is no wysedom for a man to gyue his good to his children and kepe none for hym self/ And y'e shall vnderstande that it is grete folye to dispende and waste his good/ In hope for to recoure hit of other/ be hit of sone or doughter or ryght nyghe kyn/ For aman ought to kepe in his hande in dispendynge his owen goodes/ to fore he see that he dyspende other mennys/ And he ought not to be holden for a good man/ That hath lityll renome and spendeth many thyngys/ And I trowe that suche persones wold gladly make noueltees as for to noye and greue feignories and meue warres and tencions agaynst them that haboude in rychesses and goodes/ And also make extorcyons clamours & trybulacyons ayenst theyr lordes to thende to waste the goodes of the peple. lyke as they haue wasted theyris And suche a wastour of goodes may neuer be good for the comyn prouffit. And y'e shall vnderstande that after these wastours of goodes we saye that the pleyars of dyse and they that vse bordellis ben worst of alle other For whan the hete of playnge at the dyse/ And the couetyse of theyr stynkyng lecherye hath brought hem to pouerte/ hit foloweth by force that they muste ben theuys and robbeurs And also dronkenschap. glotonye. And alle maner of euyllis folowe them and myschief/ And they folowe gladly the companyes of knyghtes and of noble men whan they goon vnto the warre or batayllis And they coueyte not so moche the victorye as they do the robberie And they do moche harme as they goo And they brynge lityll gayn or wynnynge/ wherof hit happend on a tyme that fsaynt bernard rode on an hors aboute in the contrey And mette wyth an hasardour or dyse-player/ whiche sayd to hym/ thou goddes man wylte thou playe at dyse wyth me thyn hors ayenst my sowle/ to whom saynt Bernard answerd/ yf thou wilt oblige thy sowle to me ayenst my hors/ I wolle a lighte doun & playe wyth the/ and yf thou haue mo poyntes than I on thre dyse I promyse the thou shalt haue myn hors/ And than he was glad/ and an[=o]n cafte. iii. dyse/ And on eche dyse was a fyfe/ whiche made. xviii. poynts And anone he toke the hors by the brydell/ as he that was fewt that he had wonne/ and said that the hors was his And than saynt Bernard sayde abyde my sone For ther ben mo poyntes on the dyse than. xviii. And than he caste the dyse/ In suche wyse that one of the. iii. dyse cleft a sonder in the myddes/ And on that one parte was fyfe and on that other an Aas/ And eche of that other was a fyfe/ And than Saynt Bernard sayde That he had wonne hys sowle for as moche as he had caste on thre dyse. xix. points/ And than whan thys player sawe and apperceuyd thys myracle/ He gaf hys sowle to saynt Bernard and be cam a monke and finysshid his lyf in good werkes/ The corrours and berars of lettres ought hastely and spedily do her viage that comanded hem/ with oute taryenge/ For their taryenge might noye and greue them that sende hem forth/ or ellis them to whom they ben sent too/ And torne hem to ryght grete damage or villonye/ for whiche cause euery noble man ought well to take hede to whom he deliuere his lettres and his mandements/ and otherwhilis suche peple ben loghelters & dronkelewe/ And goon out of their waye for to see abbayes and noble men for to haue auantage And hit happeth ofte tymes/ that whan suche messagers or currours ben enpesshid by ony taryenge/ That other currours bere lettres contrarye to his/ And come to fore hym/ of which thinges ofte tymes cometh many thinges discouenable of losse of frendes of castellys & of lande & many other thinges as in the feet of marchandise &c. And otherwhile hit happeth that a prynce for the faulte of suche messangers lefeth to haue victorye vpon hys enemyes/ And also ther ben some that whan they come in a cyte where they haue not ben to fore/ that ben more besy to visyte the Cyte and the noble men that dwelle theryn/ Than they ben to doo theyr voyage/ whyche thyng they ought not to doo/

But yf they had specyall charge of them that sente hem forth so to doo.  
And also whan they be sente forth of ony lordes or marchautes they  
ought to be well ware/ that they charge hem not wyth ouer moche mete on  
morenynges ne with to moche wyn on euenynges/ wherby her synewis and  
vaynes myght be greuy/ that they muste for faute of good rewle tarye But  
they ought to goo and come hastely for to reporte to their maistres  
answers as hit apperteyneth And this suffisen of the thynges aboue sayd.

#### BOOK IV.

[Illustration]

\_The fourth tractate & the last of the progression and draughtes of the  
forsayd playe of the chesse.

The first chapitre of the fourth tractate of the chesse borde in genere  
how it is made.\_

Ze haue deuised aboute the thinges that apperteyne vnto the formes of the  
chesse men and of theyr offices/ that is to wete as well of noble men as  
of the comyn peple/ than hit apperteyneth that we shold deuise shortly  
how they yssue and goon oute 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 hyt was made after  
the forme of the cyte of Babyloyne/ In the whiche this same playe was  
fouden as hit is sayd afore/ And foure thinges The first is/ wher y'e  
shal vnderstande that y'e ought to consydere here in fore that. lxiiii.  
poyntes ben sette in the eschequer whiche ben alle square/ The seconde  
is wherfore the bordeur aboute his hyer than the squarenes of the  
poyntes/ The thirde is wherfore the comyn peple ben sette to fore the  
nobles/ The fourthe wherfore the nobles and the peples ben sette in  
their propre places Ther ben as many poyntes in y'e eschequer wyde as  
full And y'e shall first vnderftande wherfore that ther ben. lxiiii.  
poyntes in the eschequer/ For as the blessing saint Iherome saith/ the  
cyte of babilone was right grete and was made alle square/ and in euery  
quarter was. xvi. myle by nombre and mesure/ the whiche nombre foure  
tymes told was. lxiiii. myles/ After the maner of lombardye they be  
callid myles/ and in france leukes/ and in englong they be callid mylis  
also/ And for to reпреfente the mesure of thys cyte/ In whiche thys  
playe or game was fouden/ The philosopher that fonde hit first ordeyned  
a tablier conteynyng .lxiiii. poynts square/ the which ben comprised  
wyth in the bordour of the tablier/ ther ben xxxii. on that on fide &  
xxxii. on that other whiche ben ordeyned for the beaulte of the playe/  
and for to mewe the maner & drawynge of the chesse as hit shall appere  
in the chapitres folowynge/ and as to the seconde wherfore y'e bordour  
of theschequer is hyer than the table wyth in. hit is to be  
vnderftande y't the bordour aboute representeth the walle of t'e cyte/  
whiche is right hyghe/ And therfor made y'e philosopher the bordour more  
hyghe than y'e tablier. And as y'e blessing saint Iherome saith vpon y'e  
prophesie of ysaye/ that is to wete vpon a montayne of obscurete. whiche  
wordes were said of babilone whiche standeth in chaldee and nothinge of  
that babilone that stondesth in egipte/ for it is so y't babilone whiche  
standeth in chaldee was sette in a right grete playne/ & had so hyghe

walles that by the heyghte of them/ was contynuell derkenes environed & obscurete/ that none erthely man might beholde and see the ende of y'e hyghnes of the walle/ And therefore ysaye callid hit y'e montaigne obscure/ And saint Iherome sayth y't the mesure of the heyght of this walle was thre thousand paas/ whiche extendeth vnto y'e lengthe of thre myle lombardes/ hit is to wete that lombarde mylis and english myles ben of one lengthe And in one of the corners of this cyte was made a toure treangle as a shelde wherof the heyght extended vnto the lengthe of .vii. thousand paas/ whiche is .vii. myle english And this tour was callyd the tour of Babell/ The walles aboute the tour made a woman whos name was semiranus as sayth virgilius/ As to the thirde wherfore the comyn peple ben sette to fore the nobles in the felde of the bataylle in one renge First for as moche as they ben necessarye to alle nobles For the rooke whiche standeth on the ryght syde and is vicaire of the kynge what may he doo yf the labourer were not sette to fore hym and labourid to mynystre to hym suche temporell thynges as be necessary for hym/ And what may the knyght doo yf he ne had to fore hym the smyth for to forge his armours. sadellis. axis and spores and suche thynges as apperteyneth to hym/ And what is a knyght worth wyth oute hors and armes/ certaynly nothyng more than on of the peple or lasse paenture And in what maner shold the nobles lyue yf no man made cloth and bought and solde marchandyse/ And what shulde kynges and quenes and the other lordes doo yf they had no phisycyens ne cyrurgiens/ than I saye that the peple ben the glorye of the Crowne And susteyne. the lyf of the nobles And therefore thou that art a lord or a noble man or knyght/ despise not the comyn peple for as moche as they ben sette to fore the in y'e pleye The seconde cause is why the peple ben sette to fore the nobles and haue the table wyde to fore them/ is be cause they begyn the bataylle/ They ought to take hede and entende to do theyr offices and theyr craftes/ In suche wyse that they suffre the noble men to gouerne the cytees and to counceylle and make ordenances of the peple of the batayll how shold a labourer a plowman or a craftyman counceylle and make ordenance of suche thynges as he neuer lerned/ And wote ne knoweth the mater vpon what thyng the counceylle ought to be taken/ Certes the comyn peple ought not to entende to none other thyng but for to do their seruyse and the office whiche is couenable vnto hem/ And hyt apperteyneth not to hem to be of counceylls ne at the aduocacions/ ne to menace ne to threte noman/ for ofte tymes by menaces and by force good counceylle is distroublid/ And where good counceyll faylleth/ there ofte tymes the cytees ben betrayed and destroyed/ And Plato sayth That the comyn thynges and the cytees ben blessid whan they ben gouerned by wyse men/ or whan the gouernours studye in wisdom/ And so hit apperteyneth to the comyn to lerne to vtte the maters & the maner of procuracion to fore they be counceyllours/ For hit happeth oftetyms that he that maketh hym wyser that he vnderstandeth is made more foole than he is/ And the fourth cause wherfore y't ther ben in the tabler as many poynts wyde as ben full. hit is to wete for that they what euer they be that haue peple to gouerne/ ought tenforce to haue cytees & castellis & possessions for to sette his peple theryn/ And for to labour & doo their ocupacion/ For for to haue the name of a kynge with out royaume is a name voyde/ and honour with oute prouffit/ And alle noblesse wyth oute good maners/ and with oute suche thynges as noblesse may be mayntenyd/ ought better be callid folye than noblesse. And shamefull pouerte is the more greuouse whan hit cometh by nature of an hye and noble burth or hous. For noman gladly wole repreue a poure man of the comyn peple/ But euery man hath in despite a noble man that is poure yf he haue not in hym good maners and vertuous/ by whiche his pouerte is forgotten/ and truly a royaume with oute haboundance of goodes by whiche hit may be gouerned and prospere/ may better be callyd a latrocynye or a nest of theeus than a royaume/



Alas what haboundance was some tymes in the royames. And what prosite/  
In whiche was lustice/ And euery man in his office contente/ how stood  
the cytees that tyme in worship and renome/ how was renommed the noble  
royame of Englund Alle the world dredde hit And spack worship of hit/  
how hit now standeth and in what haboundance I reporte me to them that  
knowe hit yf ther ben theeuis wyth in the royame or on the see/ they  
knowe that laboure in the royame And sayle on the see I wote well the  
fame is grete therof I pray god saue that noble royame And sende good  
true and politicque counceyllours to the gouernours of the same &c./ And  
noblesse of lignage wyth oute puysance and might is but vanyte and  
despite. And hit is so as we haue sayd to fore that theschequer whiche  
the philosopher ordeyned represented and figured the sayd cyte of  
Babilone And in lyke wyse may hit figure a royame and signefye alle the  
world And yf men regarde and take heed vnto the poyntes vnto the middes  
of euery quadrante and so to double euery quadrant to other the myles of  
this cyte all way doublinge vnto the nombre of .lxi. The nombre of  
the same shulde surmounte alle the world/ And not only the world but  
many worldes by the doublinge of mylis/ whiche doublinge so as a fore is  
sayd shuld surmounte alle thynges/ And thus endeth the first chapitre of  
the fourth booke.

[Illustration]

\_The seconde chaitre of the fourth tractate tretheth of the draught of  
the kynge/ And how he meuyth hym in the chequer.\_

We ought to knowe that in this world/ the kynges seygnourye and regne  
eche in his royame. And in this playe we ought to knowe by the nature of  
hit how the kynge meueth hym and yssueth oute of his place/ For y'e shall  
vnderstande that he is sette in the fourth quadrante or poynt of  
theschequer. And when he is black/ he standeth in the white/ and the  
knyght on his ryght side in white/ And the Alphyn and the rooke in  
black/ And on the lyfte side the foure holden the places opposite/ And  
the rayson may be suche/ For be cause that the knyghtes ben the glorie &  
the crowne of the kynge,' They ensiwe in semblable residence/ that they  
doo when they ben sette semblably on the ryght side of the kynge & on  
the lyfte side of the quene/ And for as moche as the rook on the ryght  
syde is vicayre of the kynge he accompanyeth the quene in semblable  
siege that the Alphyn doth whiche is luge of the kynge/ And in lyke wyse  
the lyfte rook & the lyfte Alphyn accompanye the kynge in semblable  
siege/ In suche wyse as they ben sette aboute the kynge in bothe sides  
wyth the Quene in manere of a crowne/ That they may seurely kepe the  
royame that reluyseth and shyneth in the kynge and in the Quene/ In  
suche wyse as they may conferme and diffende hym in theyr sieges and in  
theyr places. And the more hastily renne vpon his enemyes And for as  
moche as the luge, the knyght/ and the vicaire. kepe and garnysse the  
kynge on that one syde/ They that ben sette on the other syde kepe the  
Quene/ And thus kepe they alle the strength and fermete of the royame/  
And semblably otherwhile for to ordeyne the thynges that apperteyne to  
the counceyll/ and to the besoygne of the royame/ For yf eche man shold  
entende to his owen proper thynges/ And y't they defended not ner toke  
hede vnto the thingis y't apperteynen to the kynge to the comyn and to  
the royame/ the royalm shold an[=o]n be deided in parties And thus  
myght the luge regne/ And the name of the dignyte royall shold be lost/

And truly for as moche as the kynge holdeth the dignyte aboue alle other and the seynourye royall/ therfore hit apperteyneth not that he absente hym longe/ ne wythdrawe hym ferre by space of tyme from the maister siege of his royaume/ For whan he wele meue hym/ he ought not to passe at the first draught the nombre of .iii. poynts/ And whan he begynneth thus to meue from his whyt poynt/ he hath the nature of the rooks of the right syde and of the lifte syde for to goo black or whithe/ And also he may goo vnto the white poynt where the gardes of the Cyte ben sette And in this poynt he hath the nature of a knyght. And thyse two maners of meuyng apperteyneth otherwhile to the quene/ and for as moche as the kynge and the quene that ben conioyned to geder by mariage ben one thyng as one flessch and blood/ therfore may the kynge meue on the lifte side of his propre poynt also wele as he were sette in the place of the quene whiche is black/ and whan he goth right in maner of the rook only/ And hit happen that the aduersarie be not couered in ony poynt in the seconde ligne/ The kynge may not passe from his black poynt vnto the thirde ligne/ And thus he sortisith the nature of the rook on the ryght syde and lyfte syde vnto the place of the knyghtes and for to goo ryght to fore In to the whyte poynt to fore the marchant/ And the kynge also sortyst the nature of the knyghtes whan he goth on the ryght syde in two maners/ For he may put hym in the voyde space to fore the phisicien/ And in the black space to fore the tauerner/ And on the other side he goth in to other two places in lyk wise that is to fore the smyth/ and the notarye/ And thus as in goyng out first in to .iiii. poynts he sorteth the nature of knyghtes/ and also the kynge sortiseth the nature of the alphins at his first yssue in to .ii. places And he may goo on bothe sides vnto the white place voyde/ that one to fore y'e smith on that on side/ and that other to for the tauerner on that other side/ All these yssues hath y'e kyng out of his propre place of his owen vertue 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 an other/ And than he sortiseth the nature of the comyn peple/ and thus by good right he hath in hymself the nature of alle/ For alle the vertue that is in the membres cometh of the heed and all meuyng of the body/ The begynnyng & lyf comen from the herte/ And all the dignyte that the subgettes haue by execucion/ and contynuell apparence of their meuyng & yssue/ The kynge deteyneth hit & is attributed to hym/ the victorye of the knightes/ the prudence of y'e luges/ the auctorite of the vicaires or legates The c[=o]tynence of the quene/ the c[=o]corde & vnyte of y'e peple Ben not all thise thynges ascribed vnto the honour and worship of the kynge In his yssue whan he meuyd first The thirde ligne to fore the peple he neuer exceedeth/ Fro in the .iii. nombre alle maner of states begynne to meue For the trynary nombre conteyneth .iii. parties/ whiche make a perfect nombre/ For a trynary nombre hath. i. ii. iii. Whiche loyned to geder maken .vi. Whiche is the first parfyt nombre And signefieth in this place/ vi. persones named that constitute the fection of a royaume That is to wete the kynge. the quene. luges, knyghtes. the vicaires or legats/ and the comyn peple And therfor the kynge ought to begynne in his first meuyng of .iii. poyntes/ that he shewe perfection of lyf as well in hym self as in other After that the kynge begynneth to meue he may lede wyth hym the quene/ after the maner of his yssue For why the quene foloweth vnto two angularye places/ after the maner of the alphin/ and to a place indirect in the maner of a rook in to the black poynt to fore the phisicien/ herin is signefied that the women may not meue neyther make voves of pylgremage ner of viage wythoute the wylle of theyr husbondes/ For yf a woman had a vowed ony thyng/ her husbonde lyuyng/ and agaynsayng/ she may not yelde ne accomplishe her vowe/ yf the husbond wyll goo oughwer. he may well goo wyth oute her And yf so be that the husbond wyll haue her wyth hym/ she

is bounden to folowe hym/ And by reson For a man is the heed of a woman/  
and not econuerso/ For as to suche thingis as longe to patrymony/ they  
ben lyke/ but the man hath power ouer her body/ And so hath not the  
woman ouer his And therfore whan the kynge begynneth to meue. the Quene  
may folowe/ And not alleway whan she meuyd it is no nede the kynge to  
meue/ For why four the first lignes be with in the lymytes and space of  
the royame/ And vnto the thirde poynt the kynge may meue at his first  
meuyng out of his propre place/ And whan he passith the fourth ligne he  
goeth oute of his royame. And yf he passe oon poynt late hym beware/ For  
the persone of a kynge Is acounted more than a thousand of other/ For  
whan he exposeth hym vnto the paryllis of bataylle/ Hit is necessarye  
that he goo temperatly and slyly/ For yf he be taken or ded/ or ellis  
Inclusid and shette vp/ Alle the strengthes of alle other faylle and  
alle Is fynysshid and loste/ And therfore he hath nede to goo and meue  
wysely/ And also therfore he may not meue but one poynt after hys fyrst  
meuyng but where that euer he goo foreward or backward or on that one  
syde or that other or ellis cornerwyse/ He may neuer approche hys  
aduersarye the kynge nerrer than in the thirde poynt/ And therfore the  
kynge in batayll ought neuer tapproche one nyghe that other/ And also  
whan the kynge hath goon so ferre that alle his men be lost/ than he is  
sole/ And than he may not endure longe whan he is brought to y't  
extremyte/ And also he ought to take hede that he stande not soo that a  
knyght or an other saith chek rook/ than the kyng loseth y'e rook/ That  
kynge is not well fortunat that leseth hym to whom his Auctoryte  
delegate apperteyneth/ who may doo the nedes of the royame yf he be  
priuyd taken or dede/ that was prouisor of alle the royame/ he shall  
bere a sack on his hede that Is shette in a cyte/ And alle they that  
were theryn ben taken in captiuite and shette vp &c.

[Illustration]

\_The seconde chapiter of the fourth book of the quene and how she  
yssueth oute of her place.\_ [Transcriber's note: The printer's  
error in the original text, labeling the third chapter as "The  
seconde chapiter" is preserved here.]

Whan the Quene whiche is accompanied vnto the kynge begynneth to meue  
from her propre place/ She goth in dowble manere/ that is to wete as an  
Alphyn whan she is black/ fhe may goo on the ryght syde & come in to the  
poynt to fore the notarye And on the lifte syde in the black poynt and  
come to fore the gardees of the cyte And hit is to wete that me  
sortiseth in her self the nature in .iii. maners first on the ryght syde  
to fore the alphyn/ Secondly on the lifte syde where the knyght is/ And  
thirdly indirectly vnto the black poynt to fore the phisicyen And the  
rayson why. Is for as moche as she hath in her self by grace/ the  
auctrorite that the rooks haue by c[=o]myscion/ For she may gyue &  
graute many thynges to her subgetts graciously And thus also ought she  
to haue parfyt wisdom/ as the alphyns haue whiche ben luges/ as hit  
sayd aboue in the chapitre of the Quene/ And she hath not the nature of  
knyghtes/ And hit is not fitynge ne couenable thyng for a woman to goo  
to bataylle for the fragilite and feblenes of her/ And therfore holdeth  
she not the waye in her draught as the knyghtes doon/ And whan she is  
meuyd ones oute of her place she may not goo but fro oon poynt to an  
other and yet cornerly whether hit be foreward or backward takynge or to

be taken/ And here may be axid why the quene goth to the bataylle wyth the kynge/ certainly it is for the solace of hym/ and ostencion of loue/ And also the peple desire to haue sucession of the kynge And therfore the tartaris haue their wyues in to the felde with hem/ yet hit is not good that men haue their wyuys with hem/ but that they abyde in the cytees or within their owne termes/ For whan they ben oute of theyr cytees and limytes they ben not sure/ but holden suspecte/ they shold be shamfast and hold alle men suspect/ For dyna Iacob's daughter as longe as she was in the hows of her brethern/ she kept her virginite/ But assone as she wente for to see the strange Regyons. Anone she was corrupt and defowled of the sone of sichem/ Seneca sayth that the women that haue euyll visages ben gladly not chaste/ but theyr corage desireth gladly the companye of men/ And Solynus saith that no bestes femellys desyre to be towched of theyr males whan they haue conceyuyd/ Exept woman whyche ought to be a best Raysonable/ And in thys caas she lefeth her rayson/ And Sidrac wythnesseth the same And therfore in the olde lawe/ the faders hadd dyuerce wyues and Ancellys to thende whan one was wyth childe/ they myght take another/ They ought to haue the visage enclyned for teschewe the fight of the men/ that by the fight they be not meuyd with Incontynence and diffame of other/ And Ouyde sayth that ther ben some That how well that they eschewe the dede/ yet haue they grete Joye whan they ben prayed/ And therfore ought the good women flee the curyositees and places wher they myght falle in blame and noyse of the peple.

[Illustration]

\_The fourth chapitre of the fourth book Is of the yssuyng of the Alphyn.\_

The manere and nature of the draught of the Alphyn is suche/ that he that is black in his propre fiege is sette on the right side of the kynge/ And he that is whyt is sette on the lifte side/ And ben callyd and named black and white/ But for no cause that they be so in subftance of her propre colour/ But for the colour of the places in whiche they ben sette/ And alleway be they black or white/ whan they ben sette in theyr places/ the alphyn on the ryght syde/ goynge oute of his place to the ryght syde ward comyth to fore the labourer/ And hit is reson that the luge ought to deffende and kepe the labourers and possessions whiche ben in his lurisdiction by alle right and lawe/ And also he may goo on the lyste syde to the wyde place to fore the phisicien/ For lyke as the phisiciens haue the charge to hele the Infirmites of a man/ In lyke wyse haue the luges charge to appese alle stryues and contencions and reduce vnto vnyte/ And to punyfshe and correcte causes crymynels/ The lyste alphyn hath also two wayes fro his owen place oon toward y'e right syde vnto the black space voyde to fore the marchant/ For the marchants nede ofte tymes councyllle and ben in debate of questions whiche muste be determyned by the luges/ And that other yssue is vnto the place to fore the rybauldis/ And that ys be caufe that ofte tymes amonge them. falle noyses discencions theft and manslaughter/ wherfore they ought to be punysshid by the luges/ And y'e shall vnderstande that the alphyn goth alleway corner wyse fro the thirde poynt to the thirde poynt kepynge all way his owne fiege/ For yf he be black/ he goth all way black/ And yf he be whyte he goth alleway whyte. the yssue or goynge cornerly or angularly signefieth cautele or fubtylyte/ whiche luges ought to haue/

The .iii. poyntes betoken .iii. thynges that the luge ought to attende/  
A luge ought to furder rightfull & trewe causes. secondly he ought to  
gyue trewe counceyll/ and thirdly he ought to gyue and luge rightfull  
sentences after tha legeances/ And neuer to goo fro the ryghtwisnes of  
the lawe/ And it is to wete that the Alphyn goth in fix drawhtes alle  
the tablier round aboute/ and that he cometh agayn in to his owen place/  
And how be hit that alle rayson and good perfection shold be in a kynge/  
yet ought hit also specially be in them that ben conceyllours of the  
kynge and the Quene And the kynge ought not to doo ony thyng doubouse/  
tyll he haue axid counceyll of his luges And of the sages of the royame  
And therefore ought the luge to be parfaytly wyse and sage as well in  
science as in good maners/ And that is signefied whan they meue from  
thre poynts in to thre/ For the fixt nombre by whiche they goo alle  
theschequer/ And brynge hem agayn in to her propre place in suche wyse  
that thende of her moeuyng is conioyned agayn to the begynnyng of the  
place frowhens they departed/ And therefore hit is callid a parfayt  
moeuyng.

[Illustration]

\_The fyfth chapitre of the fourth Tractate Is of the meuyng of the  
knyghtes.\_

After the yssue of the Alphyns we shall deuyse to yow the yssue & the  
moeuyng of the knyghtes/ And we saye that the knyght on the right syde  
is whyt/ And on the lifte syde black/ And the yssue and moeuyng of hem  
bothe is in one maner whan so is that the knyght on the ryght syde Is  
whyt/ The lyfte knyght is black/ The moeuyng of hem is suche/ That the  
whyte may goo in to the space of the alphyn/ as hit apperyth of the  
knyght on the right side that is whyte. And hath thre yssues fro his  
proper place/ one on his ryght syde in the place to fore the labourer/  
And hit is well reson that whan the labourer and husbonde man hath  
laboured the felde/ the knyghtes ought to kepe them/ to thentent that  
they haue vitailles for them self and their horses/ The second yssue is  
that he may meue hym vnto the black space to fore the notarye or draper.  
For he is bounden to deffende and kepe them that make his vestementis &  
couertours necessarye vnto his body. The thirde yssue is that he may go  
on the lifte syde in to the place to fore y'e marchant whiche is sette to  
fore the kynge/ the whiche is black/ And the refon is for as moche as he  
ought and is holden to deffende the kynge as well as his owen persone/  
whan he passith the first draught/ he may goo foure wayes/ And whan he  
is in the myddes of the tabler he may goo in to .viii. places fondry/ to  
whiche he may renne And in lyke wise may the lyste knyght goo whiche is  
black and goth oute of his place in to white/ and in that maner goth the  
knyght fightyng by his myght/ and groweth and multiplieth in hys  
poyntis/ And ofte tymes by them the felde Is wonne or lost/ A knyghts  
vertue and myght is not knowen but by his fightyng/ and in his  
fightyng he doth moche harme for as moche as his myght extendeth in to  
fo many poyntis/ they ben in many peryllis in theyr fightyng/ And whan  
they escape they haue the honour of the game And thus is hit of euery  
man the more vailliant/ the more honoured And he that meketh hym self  
ofte tymes shyneth clerest.

[Illustration]

\_The sixt chapitre of the fourth tractate treleth of the yssue of the rooks and of her progression.\_

The moeuyng and yssue of the rooks whiche ben vicairs of the kynge is suche/ that the ryght rook is black and the lifte rook is whyte/ And whan the chesse ben sette as well the nobles as the comyn peple first in their propre places/ The rooks by their propre vertue haue no wey to yssue but yf hyt be made to them by the nobles or comyn peple/ For they ben enclosed in their propre sieges/ And the refon why is suche That for as moche as they ben vicaires lieutenants or comyssioners of the kynge/ Theyr auctoryte is of none effecte to fore they yssue out/ And that they haue begonne tenhaunce theyr office/ For as longe as they be within the palais of the kynge/ So longe may they not vse ne execute theyr comyssion/ But anon as they yssue they may vse theyr auctorite/ And y'e shall vnderstande that their auctorite is grete/ for they represente the sone of the kynge/ and therefore where the tablier is voyde they may renne alle the tablier/ In lyke wyse as they goon thurgh the royame/ and they may goo as well white as black as well on the right side & lifte as foreward and backward/ And as fer may they renne as they fynde the tablier voyde whether hit be of his aduersaryes as of his owen felowship/ And whan the rook is in the myddell of the tablier/ he may goo whiche way he wyll in to foure right lignes on euery side/ and hit is to wete that he may in no wyse goo cornerwyse/ but allway ryght forth goynge & comynge as afore is sayd/ wherfore all the subgettis of the kinge as well good as euyl ought to knowe by their moeuyng that auctorite of y'e vicaires and comyssioners ought to be verray true rightwis & luste/ and y'e shall vnderstande that they ben stronge and vertuous in bataylle For the two rooks only may vaynquyfshe a kynge theyr aduersarye and take hym/ and take from hym his lyf and his royame/ And this was doon whan chirus kynge of perse And darius kynge of medes slewe baltazar and toke his royame from hym. Whiche was neuwe to euylmoradach vnder whom this game was founden.

[Illustration]

\_The seuenth chapitre of the fourth book treteth of the yssue of the comyn peple &c.\_

One yffue and one mouyng apperteyneth vnto alle the peple/ For they may goo fro the poynt they stande in at the first meuyng vnto the thirde poynt right forth to fore them/ & whan they haue so don they may afterward meue no more but fro one poynt ryght forth in to an other/ And they may neuer retorne backward And thus goynge forth fro poynt to poynt They may gete by vertue and strengthe/ that thyng that the other noble fynde by dignyte/ And yf the knyghtes and other nobles helpe hem that they come to the ferthest lygne to fore them where theyr aduersaryes were sette. They acqyre the dignyte that the quene hath graunted to her by grace/ For yf any of them may come to thys sayd ligne/ yf he be white as labourer draper phisycyen or kepar of the cyte ben/ they retheyne suche dignyte as the quene hath/ for they haue goten hit/ and than

retornynge agayn homeward/ they may goo lyke as it is sayd in the chapitre of the quene And yf ony of the pawns that is black/ as the smyth the marchant the tauerner and the rybaulde may come wyth oute damage in to the same vtterist ligne/ he shall gete by his vertu the dignyte of the black quene And y'e shall vnderfande/ whan thyse comyn peple meue right forth in her ligne/ and fynde ony noble persone or of the peple of their aduersaries sette in the poynt at on ony side to fore hym/ In that corner poynt he may take his aduersarye whether hit be on the right side or on the lifte/ And the cause is that the aduersaries ben suspecyous that the comyn peple lye In a wayte to Robbe her goodes or to take her persones whan they goo vward right forth. And therefore he may take in the right angle to fore hym one of his aduersaries/ As he had espied his persone/ And in the lifte angle as robber of his goodes/ and whether hit be goynge foreward or retornynge fro black to whyte or whyte to black/ the pawn must allway goo in his right ligne/ and all way take in the corner that he findeth in his waye/ but he may not goo on neyther side tyll he hath ben in the furdest ligne of theschequer/ And that he hath taken the nature of the draughtes of the quene/ And than he is a fiers/ And than he may goo on alle sides cornerwyse fro poynt to poynt only as the quene doth fightynge and takynge whom he findeth in his waye/ And whan he is thus comen to the place where y'e nobles his aduersaries were sette he shall be named white fiers or black fiers/ after the poynt that he is in/ and there taketh he the dignyte of the quene &c. And all these thinges may appere to them that beholden y'e play of the chesse/ and y'e shall vnderstande that no noble man ought to haue despite of the comyn peple/ for hit hath ben ofte tymes seen/ that by their vertu & witte/ Diuerce of them haue comen to right highe & grete astate as popes bisshoppes Emerours and kynges/ As we haue in the historye of Dauid that was made kynge/ of a shepherd and one of the comyn peple/ and of many other &c. And in lyke wyse we rede of the contrary/ that many noble men haue ben brought to myserye by their defaulte As of gyges whiche was right riche of landes and of riches And was so proude that he wente and demanded of the god appollo/ yf ther were ony in the world more riche or more happy than he was/ and than he herde a voys that yssued out of the fosse or pitte of the sacrefices/ that a peple named agalaus sophide whiche were poure of goodes and riche of corage was more acceptable than he whiche was kynge And thus the god Appollo alowed more the sapience & the seurte of the poure man and of his lityll mayne/ than he dide the astate and the persone of giges ne of his ryche mayne/ And hit is more to alowe a lityll thyng seurlly poursiewed than moche good taken in fere and drede And for as moche as a man of lowe lignage is by his vertue enhaused so moche the more he ought to be glorious and of good renomee/ virgile that was born in lombardye of y'e nacion of mantua and was of lowe and symple lignage/ yet he was souerayn in wisdom and science and the moste noble of alle the poetes/ of whome the renome is and shall be duryng the world/ so hit happend that an other poete axid and demanded of hym wherfore he setted not the versis of homere in his book/ And he answerd that he shold be of right grete strength and force that shold pluck the clubbe out of hercules handes/ And thys suffyceth the state and draughtis of the comyn peple &c.

[Illustration]

\_The eyght chapitre and the last of the fourth book of the epilogacion and recapitulation of this book.\_

For as moche as we see and knowe that the memorye of the peple is not retentyf but right forgetefull whan some here longe talis & historyes whiche they can not alle reteyne in her mynde or recorde Therefore I haue put in this present chapitre all y'e thynges abouesayd as shortly as I haue conne/ First this playe or game was founden in the tyme of euilmerodach kynge of Babilone/ And exerses the philosopher otherwyse named philometer fonde hit/ And the cause why/ was for the corre3tion of the kynge lyke as hit apperith in thre the first chapitres/ for the said kynge was so tyrannous and felon that he might suffre no correction/ But slewe them and dide do put hem to deth/ that corre3tid hym/ and had than do put to deth many right wyse men Than the peple beyng sorowfull and ryght euyll plesid of this euyll lyf of the kynge prayd and requyred the philosopher/ that he wolde re pryse and telle the kynge of his folye/ And than the philosopher answerd that he shold be dede yf he so dide/ and the peple sayd to hym/ Certes thou oughtest sonner wille to dye to thende that thy renome myght come to the peple/ than the lyf of the kynge shold contynue in euyll for lacke of thy counceyll/ or by faulte of reprehension of the/ or that thou darst not doo and shewe/ that thou faist/ And whan the philosopher herd this he promisid to the peple y't he wold put hym in deuoyr to correcte hym/ and than he began to thynke in what maner he myght escape the deth and kepe to the peple his promesse/ And than thus he made in this maner and ordeyned the schequer of. lxiiii. poynts as Is afore sayd/ And dide doo make the forme of chequers of gold and siluer In humayne fygure after the facyons and formes as we haue dyuysid and shiewid to yow to fore in theyr chapitres/ And ordeyned the moeuynge and thestate after that it is said in the chapitres of theschesses And whan the philosopher had thus ordeyned the playe or game/ and that hit plesid alle them that sawe hit/ on a tyme as the philosopher playd on hit/ the kynge cam and sawe hit and desired to playe at this game/ And than the phylosopher began tenseigne and teche the kynge the science of the playe & the draughtes. Saynge to hym fyrst how the kynge ought to haue in hymself pytie. debonairte and rightwisnes as hit is said to fore in the chapitre of the kynge And he enseygned to hym the estate of the queue and what maners she ought to haue And than of the alphyns as connceyllours and luges of the royame And after the nature of the knyghtes/ how they ought to be wise. trewe and curtoys and alle the ordre of knyghthode And than after/ the nature of the vicaires & rooks as hit apperyth in theyr chappitre And after this how the comyn peple ought to goo eche in his office/ And how they ought to serue the nobles. And whan the philosopher had thus taught and enseigned the kynge and his nobles by the maner of the playe and had rephended hym of his euyll maners/ The kynge demanded hym vpon payne of deth to telle hym the cause why and wherfore he had made & founden thys playe and game And what thyng meuyd hym therto/ And than the philosopher constrayned by fere and drede answerd/ that he had promysid to the peple whiche had requyred hym that he shold correcte and reprise the kynge of his euyll vices/ but for as moche as he doubtid the deth and had seen that the kynge dide do flee the fages & wyse men/ That were so hardy to blame hym of his vices/ he was in grete anguysshe & sorowe/ how he myght fynde a maner to correcte & reprehende the kynge/ And to saue his owen lyf/ and thus he thought longe & studyed that he fonde thys game or playe/ Whiche he hath do sette forth for to amende and corre3te the lyf of the kynge and to change his maners/ and he adioustyd with all that he had founden this game for so moche as the lordes and nobles habondynge in delycles & richessis/ And enioynge temporell peas shold eschewe ydlenes by playnge of this game/ And for to gyue hem cause to leue her pensisnes and sorowes/ In auysynge & studyynge this game. And whan the kynge had herd



alle thye causes/ He thought that the philosopher had founde a good maner of correction/ And than he thanketh hym gretly/ and thus by thenseygment and lernynge of the phylosopher he changid his lyf his maners & alle his euyll condicions And by this maner hit happend that the kyng that to fore tyme had ben vicyous and disordynate in his liuyng was made luste. and vertuous. debonayre. gracious and and full of vertues vnto alle peple/ And a man that lyuyth in this world without vertues liueth not as a man but as a beste[56]/ And therefore my ryght redoubted lord I pray almighty god to saue the kyng our souerain lord & to gyue hym grace to yssue as a kyng & taboude in all vertues/ & to be assisted with all other his lordes in such wyse y't his noble royame of Englund may prospere & haboude in vertues/ and y't synne may be eschewid iustice kepte/ the royame defended good men rewarded malefa3tours punysshid & the ydle peple to be put to laboure that he wyth the nobles of the royame may regne gloriously In conquerynge his rightfull enheritaunce/ that verray peas and charite may endure in bothe his royames/ and that marchandise may haue his cours in suche wise that euery man eschewe synne/ and encrece in vertuous occupacions/ Praynge your good grace to resseyue this lityll and symple book made vnder the hope and shadowe of your noble protection by hym that is your most humble seruant/ in gree and thanke And I shall praye almighty god for your longe lyf & welfare/ whiche he preserue And sende yow thaccomplishment of your hye noble. loyous and vertuous desirs Amen:/ Fynysshid the last day of marche the yer of our lord god. a. thousand foure honderd and lxxiiii

[Footnote 1: Blades' "Life of Caxton," ii., 12.]

[Footnote 2: Mr. Blades enumerates only ten, but between the publication of his work in 1863 and the appearance in 1880 of a more popular one, an eleventh copy turned up. It is described further on. As both editions of Mr. Blades' book are frequently cited, it may be stated here that where the reference is to the page only, the one volume edition of 1880 is meant.]

[Footnote 3: Blades, ii., 12.]

[Footnote 4: Van der Linde, "Geschichte und Literatur des Schachspiels," Berlin, 1874, ii., 125.]

[Footnote 5: Blades, ii., 48.]

[Footnote 6: Blades, ii., 97.]

[Footnote 7: Blades, ii., 95.]

[Footnote 8: Dibdin's "Bibliotheca Spenceriana," iv., 195.]

[Footnote 9: See Prosper Marchand, "Dict. Hist.," t. i., p. 181.]

[Footnote 10: "Les Bibliothèques Françaises de La Croix du Maine et de Du Verdier." n. e. Paris, 1782, t. i., p. 493.]

[Footnote 11: Dr. Van der Linde, "Geschichte," 114.]

[Footnote 12: Cf. Van der Linde, "Geschichte," and his "Jartausend."]

[Footnote 13: Jaubert, cited by Van der Linde, "Geschichte," t. i., p. 122.]

[Footnote 14: Blades' "Caxton," 173-175.]

[Footnote 15: Blades, i., 166.]

[Footnote 16: "Geschichte," i., 29. There is a manuscript copy in the Chetham Library, Manchester, which he does not name. It came from the Farmer Collection, and is in a volume containing a number of fifteenth century Latin tracts. See account of European MSS. in the Chetham Library, Manchester, by James Orchard Halliwell, F.R.S., Manchester, 1842, p. 15.]

[Footnote 17: "Bulletin du Bibliophile," 1836-1837, 2ieme serie, p. 527.]

[Footnote 18: "Academy," July 12, 1881.]

[Footnote 19: Blades' "Life of Caxton," vol. ii., p. 9.]

[Footnote 20: "De regimine Principum," a poem by Thomas Occleve, written in the reign of Henry IV. Edited, for the first time, by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., &c. Printed for the Roxburghe Club. London: J. B. Nichols, 1860, 410.]

[Footnote 21: Warton's "History of English Poetry," 1871, iii., 44.]

[Footnote 22: The fires of purgatory are finely and amply illustrated in the story at p. 110, whilst the power of the saints and the value of pilgrimages would be impressed upon the hearers by the narrative of the miracles wrought by St. James of Compostella (p. 136)]

[Footnote 23: "Hist. of Siege of Troye."]

[Footnote 24: "Works of Polidore Virgil." London, 1663, p. 95.]

[Footnote 25: Graesse: Tresor, s.v. Sydrach. See also Warton's "History of English Poetry," 1871, vol. ii., p. 144, Hazlitt's "Handbook of Early English Literature," p. 43.]

[Footnote 26: Hoeffler: "Nouvelle Biographie Universelle."]

[Footnote 27: Hoeffler, "Nouvelle Biographie Generale," xxxiii. 818.]

[Footnote 28: Brunei, "Manuel du Libraire," s. v. Gesta.]

[Footnote 29: "Gesta Romanorum," edited by Herrtage. London, 1879, p. vii.]

[Footnote 30: Occleve, "De Regimine Principum," p. 199.]

[Footnote 31: "Curiosities of Search Room." London, 1880, p. 32.]

[Footnote 32: "Percy Anecdotes: Domestic Life," iv. 446.]

[Footnote 33: Dunlop, "History of Fiction," 1876, p. 259.]

[Footnote 34: "Latin Stories," edited by Thomas Wright. Percy Society, 1842, p. 222.]

[Footnote 35: See "Gesta Romanorum," edit, by Herrtage, p. 364.]

[Footnote 36: "On Two Collections of Mediaeval Moralized Tales," by John K. Ingram, LL.D. Dublin, 1882, p. 137.]

[Footnote 37: Muratori: "Rerum Italicarum Scriptores," t. i. p. 465.]

[Footnote 38: Wright, "Latin Stories," p. 235.]

[Footnote 39: "Francis of Assisi," Mrs. Oliphant. London, 1874, p. 87.]

[Footnote 40: "Valerius Maximus," vi. 2, 3.]

[Footnote 41: It will be sufficient here to refer for further details to the following works:--"Geschichte und Literatur des Schachspiels," von Antonius van der Linde, Berlin, 1874, 2 vols.; "Quellenstudien zur Gefchichte des Schachspiels," von Dr. A. v.d.Linde, Berlin, 1881.]

[Footnote 42: This dedication is omitted in the second edition.]

[Footnote 43: Second edit. reads "Thossyce of notaries/ aduocates scriueners and drapers and clothmakers capitulo iii"]

[Footnote 44: Sec. edit. reads "The forme of phisiciens leches spycers and appotycaryes"]

[Footnote 45: Sec. edit. "Of tauerners hostelers & vitailleurs"]

[Footnote 46: Sec. edit. "Of kepers of townes Receyuers of custum and tollenars"]

[Footnote 47: Sec. edit. "Of messagers currours Rybauldes and players at the dyse"]

[Footnote 48: "democrite" in the sec. edit.]

[Footnote 49: "beclyppe" in sec. edit.]

[Footnote 50: "demotene" in sec. edit.]

[Footnote 51: "demostenes" in sec. edit.]

[Footnote 52: "blisful" in the sec. edit.--The reading of the first edition is evidently a misprint.]

[Footnote 53: Sec. edit. "buneuentayns."]

[Footnote 54: sec. edit, "y nough."]

[Footnote 55: sec. edit. "by the martel or hamer."]

[Footnore 55: "And therefore &c." to the end, is wanting in the second edition, and, instead thereof, the treatife concludes in the following manner--

"Thenne late euery man of what condycion he be that redyth or herith

this litel booke redde take therby enfauple to amende hym.

Explicit per Caxton."]

## GLOSSARY

Aas; ace.

Aduocacions; Latin *\_advocationis\_*, assembly of advocates, the bar.

Agaynesaynge; gain-saying.

Alphyns. The alphin, or elephant, was the piece answering to the bishop in the modern game of chess.

Ameruaylled; astonished.

Ample, ampole; Latin *\_ampulla\_*, vessel for holding liquids.

Ancellys; Latin *\_ancilla\_*, handmaids, concubines.

Appertly; openly.

Appetissid; satisfied, satiated.

Ardautly [ardantly]; ardently.

Arrache; French *\_arracher\_*, to pull, to pluck.

Auenture; adventure.

Axe; ask.

Barate; trouble, suffering.

Beaulte; beauty.

Benerous; French *\_benir\_*, blessed.

Besaunt; besant, a Byzantine gold coin.

Beneurte; French *\_bonheur\_*, good fortune.

Bole; bull.

Bourdellys; brothels, stews.

Butters; freebooters.

Butyn; French *\_butin\_*, plunder, spoils.

Chamberyer; Chambrere; woman servant, concubine.

Chequer; chefs-board.

Chauffed; French *\_echauffer\_*, to warm.

Compaignon; French *\_compagnon\_*, companion.

Connynge; cunning, knowledge.

Corrompith; French *\_corrompre\_*, to corrupt.

Couenable; French *\_convenable\_*, proper, fit.

Courrouns; French *\_coureurs\_*, runners, messengers.

Curatours; guardians, trustees.

Dampned; condemned.

Debonairly; debonairte, French *de ban air*, in a good manner, with good will.

Depeshed; French *depecher*, depatched.

Deporte; deport.

Devour; French *devoir*, duty.

Dismes; Latin decimal, tenths, or tithes.

Disobeyfance; disobedience.

Difpendyng; spending.

Distemprance; intemperance.

Dolabre; Latin *dolabra*, axe, pick-axe.

Doubted; redoubted, of doughty.

Drawhtes; draughts, movements.

Drof; drove.  
Dronkelewe; drunkenness.  
Dronkenshyp; drunkenness.  
Dyse; dice.

Enbrasid; embraced.  
Enpessheth; French empecher, to forbid.  
Enpoigne; French empoigner, to take in hand.  
Enfeygned; French enfeigner, to teach.  
Eschauffed; French echauffer, to warm.  
Esmoued; French emouvoir, to move.  
Espicers; French epicier.  
Espryfed; French epris, taken.  
Ewrous, in; French heureuse, happy.

Feet; French fait, act, feat.  
Ferremens. See Serremens.  
Flessly; fleshily.  
Folelarge; prodigal, extravagant.  
Fumee; French fumee, smoke, vapour.  
Garnyfche; garnish, adorn, set off.  
Genere; general.  
Goddess man; godman, saint or religious person.  
Gossibs; gossyb; gossips, gossip.  
Gree; French gre, liking.  
Grucche; grudge.  
Guarishshors; French guerir, to cure.

Hauoyr; French avoir, possessions.  
Herberowe; harbour.  
Historiagraph; historian.  
Hoos; hoarse.

lape; jape, trick.

Jolye, Ivii; fine (French joli).

Keruars; carvers.

Langed; belonged.  
Latrocynye; Latin latrocinium.  
Lecherye; lechery.  
Letted; prevented.

Male; mail, trunk.  
Malehurte; French malheur, misfortune, sorrow.  
Maronnens; mariners.  
Martel; hammer.  
Meure; French moeurs, manners.  
Mordent; biting.  
Mortifyed; mortified, deadened.  
Mufyque; mufic.

Nonne; nun.  
Noye; annoyance.

Oeurages; French outrages, works.  
Offencion; show.  
Olefauntes; elephants.

Oughwer; over.  
Oultrage; outrage.

Pardurable; everlasting.  
Parfyt; French parfait, perfect.  
Pawon; pawn.  
Payringe; "without a pareing," i.e. undiminished.  
Peages; peagers; French peage, peager. A local tax on merchandise in  
paflage for the maintenance of roads and bridges. A gatherer of  
the peage.  
Pensee; French pensee, thought.  
Pourueance; providence.  
Rawe; rough.  
Renomee; renown.  
Roynous; ruinous.  
Rybauldes; ribalds.

Saciat; satiated.  
Sawlter; salter.  
Scawage; scavage, toll or tax.  
Semblant; French sembler, to appear, to seem.  
Serremens; cerements.  
Siege; feat.  
Slear; slayer.  
Spores; spurs.  
Spyncoppis; spiders.  
Stracched; stretched.  
Supplye; French supplier, to supplicate.  
Syfe; fix.

Tacches; gifts, bequests. A. S. tacan, having the double meaning of  
giving and taking.  
Tapyte; carpet.  
Tencyons; temptations.  
Trycheur; tricker.  
Tryste; sad.  
Tutours; tutors, guardians.

Vignours; vine-dresser.

Wetyngly; knowingly.

Yates; gates.  
Yre; ire.

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prologue of Chess-book, epilogue, finished in 1474, his account of the translation, printed at Bruges, translated from the French, adapts De Vignay's dedications, translates Vegetius, chief dates of his life, opinion of lawyers, epilogue to Chefs-book, editions of it, representative of a new time for literature, at Ghent

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