

William Caxton

THE GAME AND PLAYE  
OF THE CHESSE

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## INTRODUCTION

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Despite its title, Caxton's *The Game and Playe of the Chesse* does not, in fact, have much to say about a game or about playing it. First printed in 1474, then reprinted in 1483 with woodcuts added, it is instead a translation of Jacobus de Cessolis' thirteenth-century political treatise, the *Liber de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium ac popularium super ludo scachorum* (*The Book of the Morals of Men and the Duties of Nobles and Commoners, on the Game of Chess*).<sup>1</sup> Neither the *Liber* nor Caxton's translation contains any diagrams of boards set up for play, nor does the text itself suggest any advice for a player's improvement.<sup>2</sup> Instead, the work uses the chessboard and its pieces to allegorize a political community whose citizens contribute to the common good. Readers first meet the king, queen, bishops (imagined as judges), knights, and rooks, here depicted as the king's emissaries. They are then introduced in succession to the eight different pawns, who represent trades that range from farmers to messengers, and include innkeepers, moneychangers, doctors, notaries, blacksmiths, and several other professional artisans and tradesmen. Paired with each profession is a list of moral codes. The pawn who represents the moneychanger, for example, handles gold, silver, and valuable possessions, and thus "ought to flee avarice and covetyse, and eschewe brekyng of the dayes of payment" (3.600–601). The knights, entrusted with the safety of the realm, must be "wyse, lyberalle, trewe, strong, and ful of mercy and pyté" (2.448–49). The queen, charged with giving birth to the community's future ruler, should take care to be "chaste, wyse, of honest lyf, wel manerd" (2.136). And so on. These pairings reinforce the idea of a kingdom organized around professional ties and associations, ties that are in turn regulated by moral law, rather than around kinship.

Fleshing out what would otherwise be a dry list of moral qualities are *exempla*, short stories highlighting the advantages attendant on those professional workers who follow their moral law, and *sententiae*, maxims usually derived from classical sources. For instance, illustrating the importance of chastity among a community's doctors is the story of the ancient Greek physician Hippocrates, whose students pay a prostitute to seduce him. The prostitute uses all her wiles, even going so far as to lie next to him all night, but he remains immune to her charms and thus retains his good name. In the chapter on the queen we find the tale of Roman noblewoman Lucretia, whose suicide provides a model for women on the

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<sup>1</sup> For an extended discussion of Caxton and his use of the *Liber*, see Adams, *Power Play*. Much of this introduction has been framed by my work in that volume.

<sup>2</sup> Such diagrams, more commonly known as chess problems, were popular in the Middle Ages, as they are today.

importance of their chastity.<sup>3</sup> And the rewards of integrity among moneychangers are made clear in the narrative of Albert, an honest Genoese merchant cheated out of a large sum of gold by a swindler, who invests the money, makes a fortune, and then bequeaths it to the ever-honest merchant. As the subsequent proverb states, “hit is fraude to take that thou wylt not ner mayst [not] rendre and paye agayn” (3.694–95). (Although one might question the moral clarity of a story that never overtly punishes the swindler, this tale does indeed support that notion that upstanding moneylenders will be rewarded.)

Stories like these comprise the bulk of the treatise, and only in the final chapter do readers learn the rules of the *playe*, rules that were and remain largely unchanged since chess entered Europe in the tenth century.<sup>4</sup> Yet even here the *Game and Playe* inscribes the board’s structure and the moves of the pieces within its larger moral lessons. Thus the king has limited movement on the board because he “holdeth the dygnyté above alle other and the seignorye royall. . . . For whan he wyl meve hym, he ought not to passe at the first draught the nombre of three poyntes” (4.130–34). And the queen, who under medieval rules advanced diagonally like the bishop, does so because she should “have parfyt wysedom as the alphyns [bishops] have, whiche ben juges, as hit sayd above in the chappytre of the quene” (4.217–18). Even the layout of the pieces has social and moral significance: for “what may the knyght do yf he ne had tofore hym the smyth for to forge his armours, sadellys, axys, and speres, and suche thynges as aperteyneth to hym? And what is a knyght worth wythout hors and armes?” (4.46–49). Thus while many medieval readers might (and did!) find this text compelling, a serious chess player would have little use for Caxton’s translation.

So what, then, was the value of the *Game and Playe*, or for that matter of the *Liber* itself to its non-chess-playing audience? Or, rephrasing this slightly, if the *Game and Playe* is not about playing a game, what exactly is it about?

Most scholars would describe the work as a *speculum regis*, or a mirror for a prince. A standard genre throughout Middle Ages, such *specula* reached an apex of popularity in the second half of the thirteenth century, a time when dozens of advice books appeared across Europe. Most were written under the pretext of offering counsel to the reigning ruler or to another well-placed member of the nobility. Yet in reality many *specula* also served as a forum for thinking about the nature and organization of government itself, and it is in this more philosophical mode that such works could become more daring. Giles of Rome’s thirteenth-century *De regimine principum* [*On the Government of Princes*] is perhaps the best known (at least among medievalists) example of this genre, and it embodies this duality. On

<sup>3</sup> In this story, popular throughout the Middle Ages, Lucretia kills herself to preserve her honor after she is raped by Emperor Tarquin’s son, also named Tarquin. Her act inspires a man named Brutus to kill the younger Tarquin and to chase the emperor from the throne. See, e.g., Gower, *Confessio Amantis* 7.4593–5123, and Chaucer, *Legend of Good Women* 1680–1885.

<sup>4</sup> Although most of the rules of chess have remained static since its entrance into Europe in the tenth century, there are several exceptions. Most notably, the medieval queen could move only along a diagonal line for a limited number of squares. This number differed throughout Europe. In some places she could move only one adjacent diagonal square. In other places her first move could be a three-square diagonal leap. Bishops, although moving diagonally like their modern counterparts, could in some places move only three squares at a time. The lack of universal rules was addressed in the Lombard universities, and lawyers there ultimately dictated that games should be played according to the customs of the country in which they took place (Murray, *History of Chess*, p. 456). For a complete explanation of the various medieval rules, see Murray, pp. 452–85.

the one hand, this work endorses the primacy of the royal body over all others in the realm, and the author, quite conservatively, addresses himself to this reader above all others. On the other hand, in the body of his treatise Giles encourages *all* citizens to read the text, a proposition that challenges the very nature of the *speculum* genre itself. Always his descriptions of moral self-governance emphasize royal restraint rather than royal prerogative.

Although writers varied in the powers they attributed to the king, almost all relied on the metaphor of the human body, a comparison that emphasized the naturalness of a community's hierarchical ordering and helped explain the elevation of some of its parts over others. Just as in a physical body, a foot could not wake up one day and be a stomach, so in a civic body an illiterate farmer was expected to spend his life working the land; he could not abruptly decide to become a tax collector. This image of the state as a naturally occurring and physiologically functioning unit owed much of its popularity to John of Salisbury, whose twelfth-century *Policraticus* describes the state as "a sort of body which is animated by the grant of divine reward and which is driven by the command of the highest equity and ruled by a sort of rational management."<sup>5</sup> The position of the head is occupied by the king; the ears, eyes, and mouth by the governors; the hands by the officials and soldiers; the flanks by the king's assistants; the stomach by the treasurers and record keepers; and the feet by the peasants, who are bound to the land.<sup>6</sup> These different versions of the allegory assigned different powers and virtues to the ideal monarch, yet all placed the monarch in the center as the heart or head of the kingdom.<sup>7</sup>

One of the few works to offer an alternative allegory of the political state was Jacobus' *Liber*, which appeared soon after Giles of Rome's *De regimine*.<sup>8</sup> Whereas a state-as-body model, such as that imagined by Giles and his contemporaries, saw its members bound by organic ties, Jacobus' chess allegory conceives of individuals as contractually connected. In the *Liber* each piece corresponds to a specific professional identity, with all pieces being interdependent; just as the knight needs the blacksmith, represented by the pawn before his square, so farmers depend for protection on the knights, who are found on an adjacent square.

In envisioning a social order as a game governed by rules rather than as a physical, organic body, the *Liber* did not offer the promise of complete independence for the various

<sup>5</sup> John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, ed. and trans. Nederman, p. 66.

<sup>6</sup> John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, ed. and trans. Nederman, pp. 66 and 67.

<sup>7</sup> Some writers positioned the monarch as the heart of the kingdom, although in these cases the heart, in keeping with medieval custom, contained the attributes we normally assign to the head or brain.

<sup>8</sup> Thanks to an allusion to a statue of Frederick II on a marble gate at Capua, we can be fairly sure that the *Liber* was not composed before 1240, the year that Frederick had the statue erected. Nor could it have been written much later than 1320. In a University of Chicago master's thesis, Judith Kolata notes that "Jean-Thiébaud Welter suggests that Cessolis must have written his sermons before 1325 because he speaks favorably of tournaments which were specifically prohibited that year by Pope John XXII's *Extravagantes*" (Welter, *L'Exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du Moyen Age* [Paris: Occitania, 1927], p. 351, cited by Kolata, "*Livre des Echecs Moralises*," p. 5). Burt notes that the earliest extant metrical translations of the text appeared in German in the 1320s and 1330s, which include the undated *Das Schachgedichte*, *Das Schachbuch des Pfarrers zu dem Hechte*, and Kunrats von Ammenhausen's *Schachzabelbuch* (Jacobus de Cessolis, *Libellus*, ed. Burt, pp. xxx–xxxi). These suggest that Latin versions of the treatise were in circulation well before this time.

members of a civic community. After all, everyone still had to follow the rules. But in breaking with the state-as-body model, the chess allegory imagined a more diverse social order organized primarily around associational and professional ties. Rather than having actions dictated by the “head” of the state, members of a civic community, including the king, would follow moral codes particularized to their own social stations. And while it is impossible to read this allegory as a reflection of a viable social order, it is notable that Genoa, the city in which Jacobus most likely lived while writing his treatise, was by the late thirteenth century governed by a much larger and diverse group of people than had been the case in the several centuries previous.<sup>9</sup> An illustration of this political shift can be seen in Genoa’s reconfirmation, in 1257, of its trade pact with Sicily, a document signed by the *podestà*, or hired manager of the city, the *parlamento*, or parliament, the *anziani*, a council of elders, and the consuls of the craft guilds. As Steven A. Epstein notes, “no previous official act of the commune had included the guilds or their leaders as institutions or people having any say in the affairs of government.”<sup>10</sup> Similarly, at the end of the Treaty of Nymphaeum, a trade agreement made with the Byzantines in 1261, a variety of Genoese representatives swore to uphold the accord, each signing his name and listing his trade. This diverse list included an innkeeper, a spicer, a draper, a dyer, a butcher, a barber, a cutler, and a smith, a list remarkably similar to the trades that Jacobus assigns to the *Liber’s* eight pawns.<sup>11</sup>

When, in the late fifteenth century, Caxton decided to translate and print the *Liber*, he capitalized on the text’s broad scope and depiction of a diverse body politic. While his translation remains faithful to the original work, he uses his two prologues to frame *Game and Playe* as a text more concerned with the moral instruction of an entire community than with that of a single ruler. In the 1474 prologue, Caxton dedicates the work to his purported patron George, duke of Clarence, for whom he claims to have translated the book.<sup>12</sup> Clarence held the title of neither king nor prince, although he was one of the king’s brothers. Several years later he would be executed for treason. Yet in this same prologue Caxton upends the text’s *speculum regis* aspects by alluding to a readership far beyond that of a single ruler. He has, or so he claims, translated this book of “the auctorites, dictees, and stories of auncient doctours, philosophes, poetes,” so that they may be “recounted and applied unto the moralité of the publique wele as well of the nobles as of the comyn peple.”<sup>13</sup> Here, the *Game and Playe* becomes more of a mirror of a political body, a *speculum corpora politica*, than a *speculum regis*.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Kaeppli, “Pour la biographie de Jacques de Cessole,” pp. 149–50. As Kaeppli observes, earlier scholars placed Cessolis in France, specifically at the convent of Rheims, an idea that he traces to a catalogue of Dominican writers composed in the mid-thirteenth century by a certain Laurent Pignon, who lists “Fr. Ioannes de Teryace, de conventu Remensi” as the author of “moralitates super ludum scacorum.” For more on Jacobus see Murray, *History of Chess*, pp. 537–38.

<sup>10</sup> Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, p. 149.

<sup>11</sup> Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, p. 149.

<sup>12</sup> Most modern scholars believe that Caxton did not know the duke of Clarence and used his name only as a means to sell his book.

<sup>13</sup> Axon, *Caxton’s Game and Playe of the Chesse, 1474*, p. 2.

<sup>14</sup> Medieval writers in general saw Jacobus’ text as malleable. Two fourteenth-century French translators of the work, Jean de Ferron and Jean de Vignay, follow the text faithfully, retain most of its parts, and address their translations to noble patrons. Yet in the fifteenth century, Guillaume de

In the 1483 prologue Caxton draws even more attention to the text's potential for widespread application. "Wherefore bycause thys sayd book is ful of holsom wysedom and requysyte unto every astate and degree," he writes, "I have purposed to enprynte it, shewyng therein the figures of suche persons as longen to the playe, in whom al astates and degrees ben comprysed" (Pref.18–21). Presumably Caxton has little difficulty imagining a readership as diverse as the allegory itself. If this description of the text's scope is sweeping, so too is Caxton's entreaty to all those who read, or who hear the book read to them, to follow the precepts appropriate to their social role.

Caxton's own role as a fifteenth-century businessman, one with ties to the noble class, was a product of the same redistribution of political and social capital imagined in the *Game and Playe*. Before becoming a printer, Caxton had worked as a mercer, or merchant, with a trading circuit that kept him traveling between the Low Countries, the French seaport of Calais, and London.<sup>15</sup> By the mid-1450s, Caxton had become one of England's main importers of luxury goods, including cloth, silk, fur, and saffron, and his success as a merchant and financier provided entrée into powerful circles. Although no one has established the year Caxton began to serve as an envoy for the Crown, a 1458 charter referring to him as a person "of the Staple at Calais" provides the first record of this type of service, and other historical documents point to his ever-expanding role as a diplomat.<sup>16</sup> By 1462, Edward IV had appointed him governor of the English Nation at Bruges, and in this role he functioned on several occasions as the king's representative for trade negotiations with the dukes of Burgundy and the Hanseatic League, an alliance of German and Scandinavian trading groups that formed a monopoly in the Baltic region.

When Caxton, who was at this point most likely based in Bruges, turned to printing in the early 1470s, he was embedded in a matrix of commercial and political power, and his social position stood him in good stead. Although at least one scholar has recently downplayed his reliance on patronage and connections, there is no doubt that the young printer capitalized in the early stages of his business on regular trading allies and on royal

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Saint André produced a 1,200-line French metrical version in which he omits most of the moral stories and moves the rules found in the *Liber's* fourth book to the front. Such changes strip the work of any viable claim to the *speculum* tradition, turning it effectively into a book about chess. German poets had an even greater tendency than their French counterparts to redact Jacobus' text and transform it into verse. At least four different metrical versions appeared in Germany in the fourteenth century, and most of them considerably abbreviate the *Liber's* scope. Nor was translation the only means used to reconfigure the original text. The anonymous author of the fourteenth-century *Les Echecs amoureux* frequently references the *Liber's* symbolic system yet uses his poem to recast the chess pieces as the qualities and emotions of the two lovers who play the game. For more on the other translations of the *Liber*, see Murray, *History of Chess*, pp. 546–48. For a more complete discussion of *Les Echecs amoureux*, see Adams, *Power Play*, pp. 57–94.

<sup>15</sup> Details of Caxton's life before he began his career as a printer can be found in Blades, *Life and Typography of William Caxton*, 1:1–32; Blake, *Caxton and His World*, pp. 13–45; Painter, *William Caxton*, pp. 1–42; and Gill, "William Caxton and the Rebellion of 1483." The subsequent historical information has been taken primarily from Gill and Blake.

<sup>16</sup> A staple was a town or region in which a body of merchants had the exclusive right of purchase of certain goods for export. From 1390 to 1558, the Staple at Calais was the chief staple and was also known as The Staple.

support.<sup>17</sup> Caxton himself writes in his prologue to his first book, the *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, that his translation was partially funded by the king's sister, Margaret of York, who gave Caxton a "yerly fee and other many goode and grete benefetes."<sup>18</sup> Caxton does not always provide accurate information about his channels of commercial and social support. As mentioned above, he dedicated the first edition of the *Game and Playe* to the king's brother, a man he had most likely never met, and this attribution suggests a tie between the two men that in reality probably never existed. Yet even if this particular attempt at forging a connection failed, it nonetheless bespeaks Caxton's attempts to promote himself as a printer who catered to royal tastes, who produced his texts for a courtly audience, and who endorsed the traditional authority of a patron over a producer, which in the case of Caxton functions as an extension of royal authority over lay power. Not just anyone bought Caxton's books; members of the king's household were his clients. Or at least this is the impression Caxton strives to create in his prologues and prefaces, which he uses to position his patrons as literary and political authorities.<sup>19</sup>

When Caxton returned to England, he continued to cultivate his connections to the royal household and the court, and continued to use their names in his prologues and epilogues, evidence that he needed or at least wanted such endorsements to publish his books. His most powerful patrons were members of the Woodville family, and foremost among them was Earl Rivers, for whom Caxton printed Rivers' own translations of Christine de Pizan's *Moral Proverbs* (1478) and *Cordial* (1479), the latter of which Caxton had printed earlier in French while still in Bruges.<sup>20</sup> For Elizabeth Woodville, wife of King Edward IV, Caxton translated and printed *Jason*, a continuation of the Troy story, which he presented to her son, the Prince of Wales, in 1477.<sup>21</sup>

In April of 1483, however, Edward IV died, thus initiating a shift in political power that would in turn have implications for Caxton's printing business and, by extension, for the ways he set about crafting his prologues. In June, after a struggle with the Woodvilles, Edward's brother Richard, duke of Gloucester, claimed the throne. Southern England never acknowledged King Richard III's legitimacy, and various dissidents planned a series of rebellions for October.<sup>22</sup> Rutter has surmised that Caxton's decrease of dedications around this time offers evidence of his increased independence from patrons.<sup>23</sup> Blake, observing the same phenomenon, has argued that the change was one of political necessity and sees *Caxton*,

<sup>17</sup> Russell Rutter has argued that "the sustenance Caxton received from patrons was by comparison [to authors of manuscripts] thin and inconsequential" ("William Caxton and Literary Patronage," p. 444). Yet later in this same article Rutter argues that the printer did rely on patronage in the early parts of his career, and that it was only "once Caxton [had] begun to reach a larger public" that "patrons became less important to him" (p. 463).

<sup>18</sup> Caxton, *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, 1:5.

<sup>19</sup> Describing Caxton's shop in Westminster, Blake refers to Caxton's patrons as "the nobility . . . litigants, professional men and merchants" (*Caxton and His World*, p. 80).

<sup>20</sup> Blake, *Caxton and His World*, pp. 86–87.

<sup>21</sup> Blake, *Caxton and His World*, pp. 86–87.

<sup>22</sup> While the principal figures included such high-placed people as Elizabeth Woodville and Henry Tudor, this rebellion was primarily a mutiny of Edward IV's household nobles, and it failed (Gill, "William Caxton and the Rebellion of 1483," p. 112).

<sup>23</sup> Rutter, "William Caxton and Literary Patronage," p. 463.



which was finished in December of 1483, as Caxton's attempt to change his approach to patronage.<sup>24</sup> "Up till now," Blake writes, "books had been produced without dedication or under the patronage of a nobleman. . . . *Caton* marks a break with the past for it is dedicated to the City of London. Not only did he dedicate it to London, but he stated his own allegiance to that city in no uncertain way; the prologue opens: 'I, William Caxton, cytezeyn & coniurye of the same [i.e., liveryman of London], & of the fraternyte & felauship of the Mercerye.'" <sup>25</sup> Rather than continue to foreground his affiliations with the nobility, as this argument goes, Caxton now addressed his fellow merchants and effectively severed his allegiance with the Woodville camp. While Caxton would continue to produce texts for the Woodvilles, and while the Woodvilles themselves would eventually return to power, the printer never again readopted the same glowing and florid style characteristic of his early prologues.

It is likely that Caxton's embracing of the merchant class represented a prudent business decision. But his writings also seem to be reacting to this changing landscape of royal power, which formed the backdrop for his mercantile activities. As noted above, his two editions of the *Game and Playe* ultimately reflect a continuation of the complex discourses that had surrounded fifteenth-century political organization. His dedication of the 1474 *Game and Playe* to Clarence and his prologue to this printing help him to present the text as a *speculum regis*, and this textual frame in turn gestures overtly to royal authority even as it simultaneously claims a larger audience.<sup>26</sup> His 1483 prologue, however, directs the work to all people, thus emphasizing the increasing importance of all classes and professions as arbiters of power at the expense of monarchical authority.

The changes Caxton made to his prologue might imply either a radical reformulation of political power or a sudden shift of sentiment on the part of Caxton or on the part of his readers, or even a more general change that affected both the printer and his audience. Such a reading, however, would be misleading at a time when there were many different models of royal authority available and in circulation, and when monarchical control was still strong.<sup>27</sup> While the death of his dedicatee furnished a reason to rewrite the volume's prefatory

<sup>24</sup> *Caton*, a translation of a French prose text of the writings of the classical author Cato, is not the same work as Benedict Burgh's *Cato*, a poem that Caxton printed three times.

<sup>25</sup> Blake, *Caxton and His World*, p. 92. Noting that "the book was designed to improve the morals of merchants rather than to amuse the nobility," Blake goes on to argue that Caxton "had previously printed books for the merchant market without stating his allegiance to the merchant community" and thus reads the change as an attempt by the printer to distance himself from the Woodvilles.

<sup>26</sup> Blake argues that Caxton's French manuscript copy most likely did not contain a prologue, thus forcing Caxton to return to the *Recuyell* for a model. As in the *Recuyell* he uses this space to launch into "a rather extravagant praise of [his patron] which is expressed in laudatory platitudes" ("Continuity and Change," pp. 75 and 76). In the introduction to his reprint, Axon posits that Caxton borrowed from Jean de Vignay's preface, in which the writer dedicates his French translation to Prince John of France. The parallels between Jean's preface and Caxton's prologue are striking. Yet it is not clear that Caxton had access to one of Jean de Vignay's manuscripts for his translation. It is also worthwhile to note that Jean de Ferron's translation of the *Liber* is prefaced by remarks that resemble Caxton's 1483 prologue.

<sup>27</sup> Gerald L. Harriss has shown that the emergence of a political society in which all ranks "came to be involved in the activity of governing" grew out of economic, social, and political changes that took place from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, and that the changes in political order and descriptions thereof did not take place as a singular, rapid occurrence ("Political Society," p. 33).



matter, Caxton's decision to direct his 1483 prologue to all men rather than toward a specific person poses a challenge to received order by suggesting that a stable realm requires virtue on the part of all citizens, not simply on the part of a king. Or put another way, by emphasizing the need for all men to act virtuously, Caxton, like Jacobus, recognizes that a community consists of multiple nodes of power, and he foregrounds this fact in his prologue.

In the body of his translation Caxton makes even stronger suggestions about the importance of individual morality and of a shared responsibility for the common good. In a passage absent from Latin versions of the *Liber* and its French translations, and apparently original to Caxton himself, the printer includes a passage about communal property, which, as he sees it, is the form of life most acceptable to God:

And also, it is to be supposid that suche as have theyr goodes comune and not propre is most acceptable to God. For ellis wold not thyse religious men as monkes, freres, chanons, observauntes, and al other avowe hem and kepe the wylful poverté that they ben professyd to? For in trowth I have myself ben conversaunt in a religious hows of Whyt Freres at Gaunt, whiche have al thyng in comyn among them, and not one richer than another, insomoché that yf a man gaf to a frere three pence or four pence to praye for hym in his masse, as sone as the masse is don, he delyveryeth hit to his overest or procuratour, in whiche hows ben many vertuous and devout freris. And yf that lyf were not the best and the most holiest, Holy Chirche wold never suffre hit in religyon. (3.238–47)

Seeing this addition as an indication of Caxton's "communism" or as "an anti-clerical tirade of his own invention in which he praises egalitarianism as a better social arrangement than feudalism" is to push past reasonable interpretive limits, especially given the printer's own success as a businessman.<sup>28</sup> The White Friars that Caxton has met do not avoid profit; they sell their prayers and share the take. And it is not that they are not rich, but rather that there is "not one richer than another."<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, Caxton's praise of common belongings gestures toward a fantasy of communal responsibility just as it acknowledges a more general dispersal of power already present. That private property forms a locus of concern means that property owners had some degree of economic and political power, and thus Caxton has good reason to address "the moralité of the publique wele as well of the nobles as of the comyn peple."<sup>30</sup>

In the second printing of the *Game and Playe*, a series of woodcuts, made especially for this text, further emphasizes the work's endorsement of associative political order, and they move the reader from the image of a literally fragmented king to a ruler who has mastered his role within the kingdom. In the first image, a decapitated body offers a striking commentary on royal authority. The king, reduced to a crowned head with closed eyes, lies on the ground in front of a chopping block as his executioner looks on. Four carrion birds

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<sup>28</sup> For a reference to this moment as one of communism, see Wilson, "Caxton's Chess Book," p. 97. For the idea that Caxton promotes "egalitarianism," see Poole, "False Play," p. 53. Poole's idea that Caxton is responding to feudalism ignores the generally capitalist nature of late fifteenth-century London.

<sup>29</sup> Notably, this passage does not appear in the chapter about the judges but in the one dedicated to the blacksmiths.

<sup>30</sup> For a longer discussion of the historical incident that may have provoked Caxton's remarks, see the Explanatory Notes on this section of the *Game and Playe*, Book 3, chapter 2 (p. 132 n. 238–39).

swarm within the frame, each holding a body part it has seized from the corpse. In the text, this king is Nebuchadnezzar, a ruler in Babylon who, as the text explains, is killed by his despotic son, Evilmerodach.<sup>31</sup> One would be hard-pressed to make any claims about the identity of the king, nor does the picture match the narrative of Richard III's rise to power, which took place after his brother Edward IV had died of natural causes. Nevertheless, this representation of regicide would have had strong cultural reverberations in the context of Richard's assumption of the throne, an act that resulted in the execution of several people with royal connections, including Edward IV's two sons, who disappeared into the Tower never to be seen again. Even if the picture does not offer a specific reprimand of Richard's actions, it presents a graphic reminder of the destructibility of the royal body.<sup>32</sup>

At the same time, the subsequent woodcuts, like the chapters they introduce, do not wholly condemn such destruction. Although never sanctioning regicide, the image series positions this act as the fulcrum for the game's creation, which subsequently refashions the king's relationship both to his own body and to the body of the state. In the second woodcut we see Philometer, a philosopher who lives in Babylon, the kingdom depicted in the *Liber*.<sup>33</sup> Here the chaos and disorder of the swirling birds has given way to this single figure, who sits calmly in a room carefully studying the chessboard in front of him. The picture's symmetrical design and the frame around the image, which features thick pillars on both sides, highlight the logic and reason of his pastime and reinforce the idea of stability and permanence. By matching the checkered pattern of the floor with the checkered pattern of the board, the illustrator reminds us that the game should model real life.

In the third woodcut Philometer and Evilmerodach sit at a chessboard. Again, the board is located in a room and framed by pillars, although in this picture the differences between the two players disrupt the symmetry of the image. The king sits on a throne to the left, while the philosopher sits on the board's right, perched, it seems, on an invisible stool. The king's throne, crown, and fur-lined robe help us to identify him and also confer on him his political power. Yet the limits of his power are emphasized by Philometer, who holds a piece and shows the king the proper rules of play. Positioned to the right side of the board, the side that connotes his moral and intellectual authority, the philosopher prepares to explain to Evilmerodach the king's position on the board and the ways the game represents the

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<sup>31</sup> A scriptural mention of Evilmerodach appears in 2 Kings 25:27 "And in the thirty-seventh year of the exile of Jehoiachin king of Judah, in the twelfth month, on the twenty-seventh day of the month, Evil-merodach king of Babylon, in the year that he began to reign graciously freed Jehoiachin king of Judah from prison." D. J. Wiseman describes Evilmerodach (Amēl-Marduk) as the son of Nebuchadnezzar, who took over his father's throne in 562 (*Nebuchadnezzar and Babylon*, p. 9). Wiseman adds that Amēl-Marduk's "reign was marred by intrigues, some possibly directed against his father." The historical Nebuchadnezzar was famous for his immense building in the city.

<sup>32</sup> In her study of early book illustration, Martha W. Driver remarks: "When we look at book illustration in particular, the movement from manuscript to print can be traced as a political act, with the print medium empowering newly literate readers, both women and men, to read and think for themselves" (*Image in Print*, p. 3).

<sup>33</sup> Jacobus initially refers to Philometer as "Xerxes" but then reverts to his "Greek" name for most of the rest of the *Liber*. This historical Xerxes was the king of Persia and the son of Darius of Persia. In Book 7 of his *Histories* Herodotus describes Xerxes' attacks on Egypt and Greece.

king's relationship to the other subjects in his realm.<sup>34</sup> The picture offers a blunt reminder that the king derives much of his power from his counselors, who represent him in his kingdom.

In the fourth woodcut we finally see the king alone. Once again, sturdy pillars frame the image, and an arch with two windows reinforces the scene's symmetry. The king sits on the throne facing the reader yet with his eyes closed, and he holds an apple of gold and a scepter. According to the text that follows, the apple indicates the king's ability to think about the administration of justice while the scepter represents the ruler's ability to punish any rebels.

In sum, these first four woodcuts thus move from an image of a king's fragmented body to a picture of a king intact. Between the two lies the process of reconstitution, namely, the creation of the chess game, which allows Philometer to reconceive of the king's body as one among many. "The kynge must be thus maad," explains the first sentence in the chapter, the verb "make" reminding the reader that the king's body as a manufactured entity over which the writer and illustrator have control. The piece itself is portrayed as a composite of the kings from the first two woodcuts; his robe, his smooth face, and his throne match those of Evilmerodach, while his closed eyes recall Nebuchadnezzar's corpse. The fifth woodcut, which shows the king seated next to the queen, pushes this point even further by adding a beard to the king's face while at the same time carrying over the scepter from the previous drawing. Although the beard can be taken as a sign of the king's maturity and readiness to marry, a contrast with his unshaved and youthful face in the previous woodcut, it also firmly links the picture back to the initial image of Nebuchadnezzar's decapitated head.

By showing the destruction and subsequent rebuilding of the king's body, Caxton offers a graphic reminder of the limits of monarchical authority. The royal body's transience, so graphically illustrated by the dismemberment depicted in the first image, enables the refashioning of the civic body in the form of a chess game. This new metaphor for social order reimagines the king as a member of the kingdom; the realm is no longer a reflection of royal will but rather a complicated matrix of different affiliations in which the king is one piece among many. The importance of all the pieces is made manifest by the woodcuts that follow, each of which illustrates a different piece/profession and emphasizes its contributions to the community as a whole. Just as the farmer's plow represents his identity as the provider of food for the kingdom, so too do the king's apple and scepter symbolize his job. As the manager of the realm, he has a responsibility to dispense justice. And if he fails to do his job correctly, he can be held accountable by the people he governs. The chess king, already a composite of both Evilmerodach and Nebuchadnezzar, is representative of all kings, including the one currently occupying the English throne.

The volume's appearance in 1483, the same year that Richard III seized the throne, thus reflects the complex state of royal authority and shifting political climate.<sup>35</sup> Again, this

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<sup>34</sup> Although it is tempting to identify the piece in Philometer's hand as the chess king, it is most likely the rook. Not only does the board feature a rook identical to the piece he holds, but earlier diagrams such as Alfonso el Sabio's *Libros del axedrez, dados et tablas* depict the rook with a roughly similar shape.

<sup>35</sup> N. F. Blake claims that it is not possible to know "how many copies of any first edition were printed," yet also adds that "we must assume that he thought they would be sufficient to satisfy the expected demand" (*Caxton: England's First Publisher*, p. 184). It is thus significant that of the many translations Caxton printed, he reprinted only four: *Dictes or Sayengis of the Philosophres* (reprinted

is not to say that Caxton had a sudden change of heart about rule by monarch. But his two prologues to the *Game and Playe*, his story of London's White Friars, and his woodcuts all reflect an ambivalent attitude about governmental power, an ambivalence reflected in the instability of the politics and of the sociopolitical and literary discourse of the time. In a country torn apart by the Wars of the Roses and still recovering from the fiscal drain of the Hundred Years' War, the idea of a civic body with multiple and self-regulating nodes of power apparently held particular appeal.

#### THIS EDITION OF THE *GAME AND PLAYE*

In keeping with what would become his custom, Caxton used a French translation as the basis for the *Game and Playe*, although it is likely that he had access to an earlier Latin text as well. Robert H. Wilson has argued that the extant copy closest to Caxton's version is the "Cockerell" manuscript, now more commonly known as the Regenstein Library MS 392 at the University of Chicago. Judging from the illustrations, this manuscript was produced by Flemish scribes and illuminators working in the late fourteenth century. Although Wilson admits to numerous small differences between this manuscript and Caxton's translation, he also argues that "on the basis of the fundamental correspondence, one must believe that Caxton derived his combination of Faron and Vignay [the two main French translators of the *Liber*] from a MS related to the Cockerell."<sup>36</sup> Christine Knowles supports this claim: "a comparison of the English version with a microfilm of the Chicago manuscript shows an exact correspondence between the two, including the change-over to Jean de Vignay's translation towards the end of the chapter on the Rooks."<sup>37</sup> I tend to agree with Knowles and Wilson, with the caveat that it is impossible to know for sure if Caxton used this particular text as this manuscript is missing several lengthy sections.<sup>38</sup>

Roughly a dozen copies of each printing of Caxton's *Game and Playe* (eleven of the 1474 edition; thirteen of the 1483 edition) are currently extant.<sup>39</sup> There do not appear to be any textual variations or stop-press corrections within each edition. There are also only minimal customizations that various owners have made to their copies. For example, the Newberry Library version of the 1483 *Game and Playe* (fol. Inc. 9643) has large, lightly hand-painted initials opening each chapter, whereas the Yale Center for British Art's copy of the same (GV1442.C3 Oversize) has only lightly traced indications of where such initials should be. Excepting these differences, the copies of each text are identical.

By contrast, the 1474 and 1483 editions contain typographical differences, orthographic changes, subtractions (or occasionally additions) of individual words and phrases, and a

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twice), the *Game and Playe of the Chesse*, *Mirroure of the World*, and the *Historye of Reynard the Foxe*.

<sup>36</sup> Wilson, "Caxton's Chess Book," p. 96.

<sup>37</sup> Knowles, "Caxton and His Two French Sources," p. 423. Knowles also observes that Caxton "seems to have made very careful and detailed use of the Latin [text]" (p. 420). N. F. Blake notes that the *Game and Playe* also resembles MSS fr. 2146 and 2471, both housed at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (*William Caxton: A Bibliographical Guide*, p. 31).

<sup>38</sup> The Regenstein manuscript is missing leaves between 7v and 8r (the end of Book 2, chapter 3, through the first part of Book 2, chapter 4), and between 28v and 29r (the end of Book 3, chapter 6, through the first part of Book 3, chapter 7).

<sup>39</sup> A list of extant copies follows this introduction.

recasting of the entire work from a 31-line to a 29-line layout. To give a sense of the orthographic alterations, here is the opening to Book 2, chapter 5, the chapter on the rooks:

1474: "The rooks whiche ben vicares and legats of the kynge ought to be made lyke a knyght upon an hors and a mantell on hood furryd with menevyer holdynge a staf in his hande."

1483: "The rookes whiche been vycayrs and legates of the kynge ought to be maad a knyght upon an hors and a mantel and hood furrid with menevier holdynge a staf in his hand."

Here the printer's changes consist of: *e*'s, some added (rooks/rookes), others dropped (hande/hand); *y*'s and *i*'s, some switched one way (vicares/vycayrs) and some switched the other (menevyer/menevier); and the omission of the word "lyke." More substantial changes than these are rare. Nevertheless, more sizeable alterations occasionally do appear. In the third chapter of Book 3, for example, Caxton describes a sermon preached in the *Vitas Patrum* in which the priest notes that "deth spareth none. And as wel dyeth the yonge as the olde." This is a slight modification of the 1474 version, which reads "deth spareth none, ne riche ne poure. And as wel dyeth the yonge as the olde." While the deletion of "ne riche ne poure" might signal a larger shift of emphasis on class, economics, or monetary interest, such changes are not significant enough to note in this edition, and I leave it to others to examine more carefully these individual instances.<sup>40</sup>

Unlike Caxton's other publications — the *History of Troy*, the *Canterbury Tales*, and most notably the *Morte d'Arthur* — the *Game and Playe* has never been edited or published in a modern edition.<sup>41</sup> Currently, the only accessible copies are two facsimiles of Caxton's 1483 edition and one nineteenth-century transcription of the 1474 text.<sup>42</sup> I have chosen the 1483 edition as my base text for several reasons. First, it contains corrections to the 1474 text and

<sup>40</sup> Lisa Cooper has offered an enticing analysis of one particular change that Caxton made between the two editions. Of the 1483 version she notes that the artisans declare that "it is *not* [rather than *most*] necessary to studye for the comyn prouffit." As she points out, the artisans in this instance suddenly "serve as arrogant and ignorant foils, beside which the judges appear serenely wise and virtuous workers for the common good." She adds: "Although we find it in a passage about judges rather than kings, the irreconcilable difference here between Caxton's two editions of the *Game and Playe* neatly captures not only the paradoxical position artisans hold in this one text, but also the position they most often hold in every mirror for a prince in which they are found." I am extremely grateful to Cooper for sharing a draft of her forthcoming work on artisans, authors, and the literary artifact in late medieval England. My quotes are from that work. For a more complete analysis of orthographic changes that Caxton has made to his text, see Mizobata, "Caxton's Revisions."

<sup>41</sup> This lack of attention paid to editing the *Game and Playe* mirrors a more general scholarly disinterest in analyzing the text on its own merits or considering it in the context of Caxton's other publications. Indeed, only a handful of articles have addressed this work as a text in its own right. See the Bibliography.

<sup>42</sup> For facsimiles of the 1483 text, see N. F. Blake and Vincent Figgins. It should be noted that Figgins' "facsimile" does not reproduce the original text exactly but rather in a print type that imitates Caxton's own. For a transcription of the 1474 edition, see Axon's *Caxton's Game and Playe of the Chesse, 1474*. Axon's transcription is also accessible online through the Project Gutenberg at <http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/1/0/6/7/10672/10672-h/10672-h.htm> (accessed on 11/2/06).

thus reflects Caxton's more finished copy.<sup>43</sup> But second, and more importantly, this edition was printed in England for an explicitly English audience. As noted above, Caxton's change in prologue, which is now freed from its ties to the nobility, and his addition of woodcuts reveal the printer's desire to reorient the text towards the body politic and to package it anew for a wider audience.

In keeping with standard editorial practices of the Middle English Texts Series, I have used modern punctuation and capitalization. I have also regularized *i/j*, *u/v*, and *f/s* spellings (thus *I* rather than *J*, *have* rather than *haue*, and *wysedom* rather than *wyfedom*) and have expanded any standard printer's abbreviations (thus *the admynystracion*, *founden*, *somme*, *commaundementis*, and *the ende* rather than *thadmynystracion*, *foûden*, *sôme*, *cômaûdementis*, and *thende*). I have differentiated between *the* and *thee* by silently expanding the latter, which appears almost uniformly as *the* in Caxton's text. In the very few instances where *ff* is used to designate a capital *F* I have used the latter. Finally, all Roman numerals in the body of the text have either been spelled out or replaced with Arabic numbers.

#### EARLY PRINTED EDITIONS

**Caxton's *Game and Playe of the Chesse*, 1483 Edition** (folio, 84 leaves, a–i<sup>8</sup> k–l<sup>6</sup>; type 2\*)

Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas, Austin (missing thirty-eight leaves)  
 Huntington Library, San Marino, CA (complete)  
 Library of Congress, Washington, DC (one leaf in facsimile and one leaf blank)  
 Newberry Library, Chicago (complete) [copy text for this edition]  
 Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (complete)  
 Yale Center for British Art, New Haven (missing final folio)  
 British Library, London (missing six leaves, supplied in facsimile)  
 Bodleian Library, Oxford (two copies: one missing several leaves and one fragment)  
 St. John's College, Oxford (missing one leaf)  
 John Rylands Library, University of Manchester (complete)  
 Magdalene College Pepysian Library, Cambridge (incomplete)  
 Trinity College, Cambridge (complete)  
 Austrian National Library, Vienna (missing six leaves)

**Caxton's *Game and Playe of the Chesse*, 1474 Edition** (folio, 74 leaves, type 1)

Newberry Library, Chicago  
 Pierpont Morgan Library, New York  
 New York Public Library, New York  
 Huntington Library, San Marino, CA  
 Library of Congress, Washington, DC  
 Yale Center for British Art, New Haven

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<sup>43</sup> Mizobata concludes that unlike the *Mirror of the World* and *Reynard*, texts whose second editions were inferior to the first, the 1483 edition of the *Game of Chess* represents a significant improvement in quality ("Caxton's Revisions," p. 262).



Bodleian Library, Oxford  
 British Library, London  
 British Library, London  
 John Rylands Library, University of Manchester  
 Austrian National Library, Vienna

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## Facsimiles of *Game and Playe of the Chesse*

- Caxton's Game and Playe of the Chesse, 1474*. Ed. William E. A. Axon. London: Elliot Stock, 1883. (Available online at: <http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/1/0/6/7/10672/10672-h/10672-h.htm>)
- The Game of the Chesse by William Caxton*. Ed. Vincent Figgins. London: John Russell Smith, 1860.
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## PREFACE AND TABLE OF CONTENTS

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5 The holy appostle and doctour of the peple, Saynt Poule, sayth in his Epystle:  
“Alle that is wryten is wryten unto our doctryne and for our lernyng.” Wherefore  
many noble clerkes have endevoired them to wryte and compyle many notable  
werkes and historyes to the ende that it myght come to the knowlege and under-  
standyng of suche as ben ygnoraunt, of which the nombre is infenye. And accordyng  
to the same saith Salamon, that the nombre of foles is infenye. And emong alle  
other good werkys, it is a werke of ryght special recomendacion to enforme and to  
late understonde wysdom and vertue unto them that be not lerynd ne cannot  
dyscerne wysdom fro folye. Thenne emonge whom there was an excellent doctour  
10 of dyvynyte in the royaume of Fraunce of the ordre of the Hospytal of Saynt John’s  
of Jherusalem whiche entende the same and hath made a book of the chesse  
morlaysed, whiche as such tyme as I was resident in Brudgys in the counté of  
Flaundres cam into my handes, which, whan I had redde and overseen, me semed  
ful necessarye for to be had in Englysshe. And in eschewyng of ydlenes, and to the  
15 ende that somme which have not seen it, ne understonde Frenssh ne Latyn, I  
delybered in myself to translate it into our maternal tonge. And whan I so had  
acheved the sayd translacion, I dyde doo sette in enprynte a certeyn nombre of  
theym, whiche anone were depesshed and solde. Wherefore bycause thys sayd book  
is ful of holsom wysedom and requysyte unto every astate and degree, I have  
20 purposed to enprynte it, shewyng therin the figures of suche persons as longen to  
the playe, in whom al astates and degrees ben comprysed, besechyng al them that  
this litel werke shal see, here, or rede to have me for excused for the rude and  
symple makyng and reducyn into our Englysshe. And where as is defaute to  
correcte and amende, and in so doyng they shal deserve meryte and thanke. And  
25 I shal pray for them that God of His grete mercy shal rewarde them in His ever-  
lastyng blisse in heven, to the whiche He brynge us, that wyth His precious blood  
redemed us. Amen.

**3 endevoired them**, put themselves to the task. **5 infenye**, infinite. **6 foles**, fools; **emong**, among. **9 dyscerne**, discern; **fro**, from. **11 entende the same**, (i.e., had the same desire to educate people). **12 Brudgys**, Bruges. **13 Flaundres**, Flanders (now the Flemish region of Belgium); **me semed**, it seemed to me. **18 depesshed**, distributed. **20 longen**, belong. **21 astates and degrees**, estates and classes; **comprysed**, represented.

This book is devyded and departed into four traytyes and partyes.

The first traytye

- 30 How the playe of the chesse was fyrst founden and under what kyng. Capitulo 1  
 Who fond first the playe of the chesse. Capitulo 2  
 Wherefore the play was founden and maad. Capitulo 3

The second traytye

- The forme of a kyng of his maners and estate. Capitulo 1  
 35 The fourme and maners of a quene. Capitulo 2  
 The condicions and forme of the alphys. Capitulo 3  
 The ordre of chyvalrye or knyghthode, her offyces and maners. Capitulo 4  
 The forme and maner of rookes. Capitulo 5

The thyrd traytye

- 40 The offices and maners of laborers. Capitulo 1  
 The maner and offyce of a smyth. Capitulo 2  
 The offyce of notaries, advocates, scriveners, and drapers or clothmakers.  
 Capitulo 3  
 The maners of marchauntes and chaungers. Capitulo 4  
 45 The forme of phisiciens, leches, spycers, and appotycaryes. Capitulo 5  
 Of taverners, hostelers, and vitailleurs. Capitulo 6  
 Of kepars of townes, receyvers of custum, and tollenars. Capitulo 7  
 Of messagers, currours, rybauldes, and players of the dyse. Capitulo 8

The fourth traytye

- 50 Of the chesse borde in genere, how it is made. Capitulo 1  
 The draught of the kyng and how he meveth hym in the eschequer. Capitulo 2  
 Of the moevyng of the quene and how she yssueth out of her place. Capitulo 3  
 Of the yssue of the alphys. Capitulo 4  
 Of the mevyng of the knyghtes. Capitulo 5  
 55 Of the yssue of the rookis and of her progresse. Capitulo 6  
 Of the yssue of the comyn people whom the pawnes represente. Capitulo 7  
 Of the epilogacion and recapitulacion of thys book. Capitulo 8

**28 traytyes**, books. **30 founden**, created. **32 maad**, made. **34 maners**, virtues or disposition. **36 alphys**, bishops. **41 smyth**, blacksmith. **42 notaries**, personal secretaries or clerks; **advocates**, those who plead cases in a court of justice; **scriveners**, professional scribes; **drapers**, makers of and/or dealers in cloth. **44 chaungers**, money changers. **45 leches**, doctors; **spycers**, spice dealers; **appotycaryes**, apothecaries. **46 taverners**, tavern-keepers; **hostelers**, keepers of hostleries or inns; **vitailleurs**, purveyors of victuals or provisions. **47 kepars of townes**, **receyvers of custum**, and **tollenars**, officials who collect customs or tolls. **48 currours**, couriers; **rybauldes**, ribald or dissolute characters. **51 draught**, move; **eschequer**, chessboard. **52 yssueth**, issues. **55 her**, their. **57 epilogacion**, conclusion.



## BOOK ONE

*This first chappitre of the first tractate sheweth under what kyng the playe of the chesse was founden and maad.*

**Capitulo primo.**



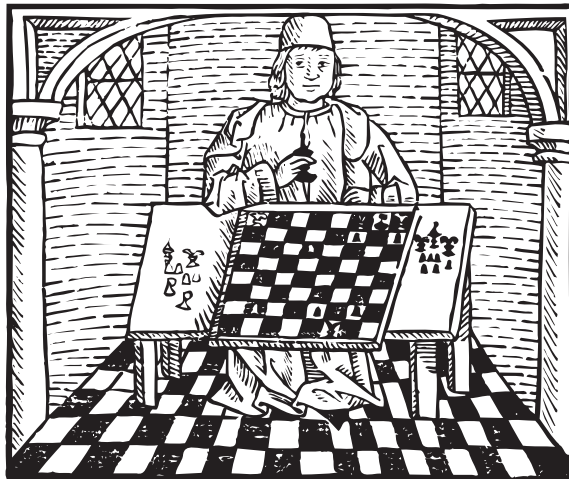
Amonge alle the evyl condicions and signes that may be in a man, the first and the grettest is whan he fereth not ne dredeth to displese and make wroth God by synne and the peple by lyvng disordonatly, whan he retcheth not nor taketh hede unto them that reprove hym and his vices but sleeth them, in suche wyse as did the  
5        emperour Nero, whiche did do slee his mayster, Seneque, for as moche as he myght not suffre to be reprevyd and taught of hym. In likewise was somtyme a kyng in Babilon that was named Evylmerodach, a jolye man without justyce and so cruel that he did do hewe his fader's body in thre hondred pieces and gaf hit to ete and devoure to thre hondred byrdes that men calle vountres. And [he] was of suche  
10        condicion as was Nero, and right wel resemblid and was lyke unto his fader, Nabugodonosor, whiche on a tyme wold do slee all the sage and wise men of Babilone, for as moche as they coude not telle hym his dreame that he had dremyd

*Title maad* (made). **2 he fereth not ne dredeth**, does not fear or dread; **wroth**, angry. **3 disordonatly**, not according to order or moderation; **retcheth**, cares. **4 reprove**, reprove; **sleeth**, slays. **5 did do slee his mayster**, had his teacher slain. **6 somtyme**, once. **8 did do hewe his fader's body**, had his father's body cut up. **9 vountres**, vultures. **11 wold do slee**, would have slain.

on a nyght and had forgotten hit, like as hit is wretton in the Byble in the Book of  
 15 Danyel. Under this kyng, thenne, Euylerodach, was this game and playe of the  
 chesse founden. Trewe it is that somme men wene that this play was founden in the  
 tyme of the bataylles and siege of Troye. But that is not so. For this playe cam to  
 the playes of the Caldees, as Diomedes the Greek saith and reherceth, that amonge  
 the philosophres was the most renommed playe amonge al other playes. And after  
 20 that cam this playe in the tyme of Alixander the Grete into Egypt, and so unto alle  
 the parties toward the south. And the cause wherfore this playe was so renommed  
 shal be sayd in the third chepitre.

*This chappytre of the first tractate shewyth who fond first the playe of the chesse.*

Capitulo two.



This playe fonde a phylosopher of the Oryent, whyche was named in Caldee  
 “Exerses,” or in Greke “Philemetor,” which is as moche to say in Englishsh as “he  
 that lovyth justyce and mesure.” And this philosopher was renommed gretly among  
 25 the Grekes and them of Athenes, whyche were good clerkys and phylosophers also  
 renommed of their connyng. This philosopher was so just and trewe that he had  
 lever dye than to lyve long and be a fals flaterer with the sayd kyng. For whan he  
 behelde the foul and synful lyf of the kyng, and that no man durst blame hym, for  
 by his grete cruelté he put them al to deth that displesid hym, he put hymself in  
 30 parel of deth, and loyde and chees rather to dye than lenger to lyve. The evyl lyf,  
 and disfamed, of a kyng is the lyf of a cruel beste and ought not longe to be  
 susteyned. For he destroyeth hym that displesith hym.

**15 wene**, believe. **17 Caldees**, the Chaldeans (see Explanatory Notes); **saith and reherceth**, says and recounts. **18 renommed**, renowned. **22 fonde**, invented; **Caldee**, the language spoken by the Chaldeans. **26 connyng**, knowledge. **27 lever**, rather. **28 durst**, dared. **30 parel**, peril; **chees**, chose. **31 disfamed**, deprived of fame and honor; **beste**, beast.

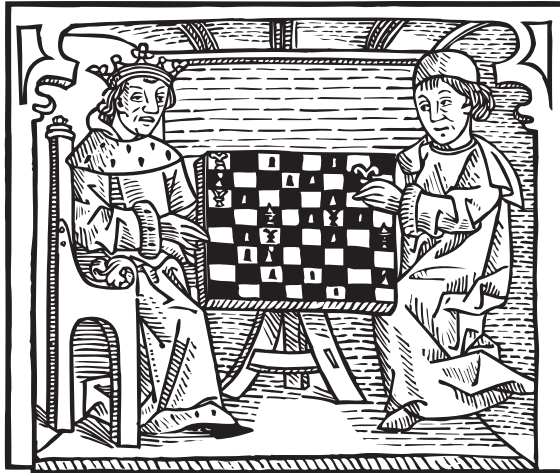
And therfore reherceth Valerius that there was a wyse man named Theodore Cerem whom his kyng dyd do hange on the crosse for as moche as he reprevyd  
 35 hym of hys evyl and foul lyf. And alwey, as he was in the torment, he sayd to the kyng, "Upon thy counceyllours and theym that ben clad in thy clothyng and robys were more reson that this torment shold come. For as moche as they dar not say to thee the trouth for to do justyse rightwyslye. Of myself, I make no force whether I dye on the lond or on the water or otherwyse," as who sayth he retched not to dye  
 40 for justyce.

In like wyse as Democreon the philosopher put out his owne eyen bycause he wold not see that no good myght come to the evyl and vycious peple wythout right.

And also Desortes the philosophre, as he went toward his deth, his wyf that folowed after hym sayd that he was dampned to deth wrongfully. Thenne he  
 45 answerd and sayd to her, "Holde thy pees and be styлле. Hit is better and more meritorye to dye by a wrong and unrightful jugement than that I had deserved to dye."

*The thyrd chappitre of the first tractate treteth wherfore the playe was founden and maad.*

**Capitulo three.**



The causes wherfore this playe was founden ben three. The first was for to correcte and repreve the kyng. For whan this kyng Evylmerodach sawe this playe,  
 50 and the barons, knyghtes and gentilmen of his court playe wyth the phylosopher, he mervellyd gretly of the beaulté and noveltee of the playe and desired to playe agaynst the philosopher. The philosopher answerd and sayd to hym that hit myght

**34 dyd do hange on the crosse**, had hung on a cross. **36 robys**, robes. **38 make no force**, do not care. **39 as who sayth**, as much as who says. **41 eyen**, eyes; **bycause**, so that. **44 dampned**, condemned. **45 pees**, peace. **46 meritorye**, meritorious. **51 mervellyd**, marveled; **beaulté and noveltee**, beauty and novelty.

not be doon but yf he first lernyd the play. The kyng sayd hit was reson and that he wold put hym to the payn to lerne hit. Than the phylosopher began to teche  
 55 hym and to shewe hym the maner of the table of the chesse borde and the chesse meyne, and also the maners and the condycions of a kyng, of the nobles, and of the comyn peple, and of theyr offyces, and how they shold be touchyd and drawen, and how he shold amende hymself and become vertuous.

And when this kyng herde that, he repreyd hym. He demaunded hym upon  
 60 payn of deth to telle hym wherefore he had founden and maad this playe. And he answerd, "My right dere lord and kyng, the grettest and most thyng that I desire is that thou have in thyself a glorious and vertuous lyf. And that may I not see, but yf thou be endoctrined and wel manerd. And that had, so mayst thou be belovyd of thy peple. Thus, than, I desire that thou have other governement thenne thou  
 65 hast had, and that thou have upon thyself first seignourie and maistrie suche as thou hast upon other by force and not by right. Certeynly hit is not right that a man be maister over other and comaundour when he cannot rewle nor may rewle hymself, and that his vertues domyne above his vyces. For seignourie by force and wylle may not longe endure. Thenne thus may thou see oon of the causes why and  
 70 wherefore I have founden and maad this playe, whiche is for to correcte and reprove thee of thy tyrannye and vicious lyyng. For all kynges ought specially to here her corrigiours or correctours and her correccions to holde and kepe in mynde."

In like wyse, as Valerius reherceth, that the kyng Alixandre had a noble and renommed knyght that sayd in repreyng of Alixandre that he was to moche  
 75 covetous and in especial of the honours of the world. And sayd to hym, "Yf the goddes had maade thy body as grete as is thy herte, alle the world coude not holde thee. For thou holdest in thy right hond al the Oryent, and in thy lifte honde the Occident. Sith than hit is so, or thou art a god, or a man, or nought. Yf thou be God, doo than wel and good to the peple as God doth, and take not from them  
 80 that they ought to have and is theyres. Yf thou be a man, thynke that thou shalt dye, and than thou shalt doo noon evyl. Yf thou be nought, forgete thyself." There is no thyng so stronge and ferme but that sumtyme a feble thyng casteth down and overthrowe hit. How wel that the lyon be the strengest beest. Yet somtyme a lityl byrde eteth hym.

85 The second cause wherefore this playe was founden and maad was for to kepe hym from ydlenesse. Wherof Seneque sayth unto Lucylle "Ydlenes wythout ony ocupacion is sepulture of a man lyyng."

And Varro saith in his *Sentences* that in lyke wyse as men goo not for to goo, the same wyse the lyf is not gyven for to lyve but for to doo wel and good.

53 but yf, unless; hit was reson, this was reasonable. 55–56 chesse meyne, chessmen. 56 the maners and the condycions, manners and moves. 58 amende, improve. 63 endoctrined, taught; that had, that achieved. 64 than, then; thenne, than. 65 seignourie and maistrie, governance and control. 67 comaundour, commander. 68 domyne, rule over. 69 oon, one. 71–72 here her corrigiours, hear their correctors. 73 reherceth, recounts. 74 renommed, renowned. 75 in especial, in particular; Yf, If. 77 lifte, left. 78 Sith than, Because; or . . . or . . . or, either . . . or . . . or; nought, nothing. 81 noon, no. 82 feble, feeble; casteth down, casts down. 83 strengest, strongest. 86 ydlenesse, idleness. 87 sepulture, sepulcher. 89 gyven, given.

90 And therfore secondly the philosopher fond this playe for to kepe the peple from ydlenes. For there is moche peple, whan so is that they be fortunat in worldly goodes, that they drawe them to ease and ydlenes, wherof comyth ofte tymes many evyllis and grete synnes. And by this ydlenes, the herte is quenched, wherof comyth good desperacion.

95 The thyrd cause is that every man naturelly desireth to knowe and here noveltees and tydynges. For this cause they of Athenes studyed, as we rede, and for as the corporal or bodelye sight enpesseth and letteth otherwhyle the knowleche of subtyl thynges.

100 Therfore we rede that Democrite the philosopher put out his owen eyen, for as moche as he myght have the better entendement and understandyng. Many have ben made blynde that were grete clerkis, in like wyse as was Didimus, bysshop of Alixandrie, that how wel that he sawe not, yet he was so grete a clerke that Gregore Nazanz and Saynt Jerome, that were clerkes and maysters to other, cam for to be his scolers and lernyd of hym. And Saynt Anthonye, the grete hermyte, cam for to see hym on a tyme. And emonge alle other thynges, he demaunded hym yf he were not gretly dysplesid that he was blynde and sawe not. And he answerd that he was gretly abasshyd for that he supposid not that he was not displeasid in that he had lost his sight. And Saynt Anthonye answerd to hym, "I mervaile moche that hit dysplesith thee that thou hast lost that thyng whiche is comyn betwene thee and bestes. And thou knowest wel that thou hast not lost that thyng that is comyn betwene thee and the aungellis."

110 And for thise causes forsayd, the phylosopher entended to put away al pensifnes and thoughtes, and to thynke onely on this playe, as shal be sayd and appere in this book after.

92 **drawe them**, occupy themselves. 93 **the herte is quenched**, the spirit is extinguished. 95 **noveltees**, new things. 97 **enpesseth and letteth otherwhyle**, forbids and prevents sometimes. 99–100 **for as moche as**, so that. 100 **entendement**, learning. 101 **ben**, been. 105 **emonge**, among; **demaunded**, asked. 106 **dysplesid**, displeased. 108 **mervaile**, marvel. 111 **aungellis**, angels. 112 **thise causes forsayd**, these forementioned causes. 113 **pensifnes**, anxiety.





## BOOK TWO

*The second tractate. The first chapiter treteth of the forme of a kyng, of his maners, and of his estate.*

**Capitulo primo.**



The kynge must be thus maad. For he must sytte in a chayer clothyd in purpure, crowned on his heed, in his right hond a ceptre, and in the lift honde an apple of golde, for he is the most grettest and hiest in dygnyté above al other and most worthy. And that is signyfied by the corone, for the glorie of the peple is the dygnyté of the kyng. And above al other the kyng ought to be replenysshed with vertues and of grace. And this signyfieth the purpure, for in like wyse as the robes of purpure maketh fayr and enbelishsheth the body, the same wyse vertues makyth the sowle. He ought alwey thynk on the governement of the royaume and who hath the admyonstracion of justyce, and this shold be by hymself pryncipally. This signefyeth the appel of golde that he holdeth in his lift honde. And for as moche as it aperteyneth unto hym to punysshe the rebelles, hath he the septe in his right hond. And for as moche as mysericorde and trouth conserve and kepe the kyng in his trone, therfore ought a kyng to be merciful and debonayr. For when a kyng or prynce desireth or wyl be belovyd of his peple, lete hym be governed by debonayrté.

**1 purpure**, purple. **2 ceptre**, scepter. **4 corone**, crown. **5 replenysshed**, filled. **8 royaume**, realm. **10 appel**, apple. **11 aperteyneth unto**, is the responsibility of. **13 debonayr**, gracious or meek. **14 debonayrté**, graciousness.

15 And Valerius saith that deboneyrté percyth the hertes of straungers, and  
 amolisssheth and makyth softe the hertes of his enemyes. Wherof he rehercith that  
 Phylostratus, that was duc of Athenes, had a doughter whom a man lovyd so ardantly  
 that, on a tyme as he sawe her with her moder, sodaynly he cam and kyssed her.  
 20 Wherof the moder was so angry and sorouful that she went and requyred of her  
 lord, the duc, that his heed myght be smyten of. The prynce answerd to her and  
 sayd, “Yf we shold slee them that love us, what shal we do to our enemyes that hate  
 us?” Certeynly, this was the answer of a noble and debonayr prynce, that suffred  
 that vylonye doon to his doughter and to hymself yet more.

This prynce had also a frende that was named Arispe that sayd on a tyme as  
 25 moche vylonye unto the prynce as ony man myght saye. And that myght not suffyse  
 hym, but he cratchid hym in the vysage. The prynce suffryd hym paciently in suche  
 wyse as though he had doon to hym no vylonye but curtesye. And whan his sones  
 wold have avengyd this vylonye, he comaunded them that they shold not be so  
 30 hardy so to doo. The next day folowyng, Arispe remembrid of the right grete  
 vylonye that he had doon to his frende and lord without cause. He fyl in dyspayr  
 and wold have slayn hymself. Whan the duc knewe and understood that, he cam  
 to hym and said, “Ne doubte thee no thyng,” and swore to hym by hys faith that  
 also wel he was and shold be his frend fro than forthon as ever he had ben tofore,  
 yf he wold. And thus he respited hym of his deth by his debonayrté.

35 And in lyke wise rede we of the Kyng Pirre to whom was reported that they of  
 Tarente had sayd grete vilonye of hym, for which cause he maad al them to come  
 tofore hym and demaunded of them yf they had so said. Than one of them answerd  
 and said, “Yf the wyn and the candellis had not fayled, thys langage had ben but  
 a jape, in regarde of that we had thought to have doon.” Than the kyng began to  
 40 lawhe, for they had confessyd that suche langage as was said and spoken was by  
 dronkenshypp. And for this cause of debonayrté, the peple of Tarante tooke for a  
 custome that the dronken men shold be punysshid, and the sobre men preysed.

The kyng thenne thus ought to love humylité and hate falsyté after the Holy  
 Scripture, that speketh of every man generally. For the kyng in his royaume  
 45 representeth God, and God is verité, and therfore hym ought to say no thyng but  
 yf hit were verrytable and stable.

Valerius reherceth that Alyxandre, wyth alle his ooste, rood for to destroye a  
 cyté whiche was named Lapsare, whan than a phylosophre, whyche had to name  
 Anaxymenes, whych had ben tofore maistre and governour of Alixandre, herd and  
 50 understood of his comyng, cam agayn Alixandre to desire and requyre of hym.  
 And whan he sawe Alixandre, he supposid to have axyd his request. Alixandre

16 amolisssheth, appeases. 19 requyred of, asked. 20 smyten of, cut off. 23 vylonye, shameful behavior or language. 25–26 And that myght not suffyse hym, And as if that were not enough. 26 cratchid, scratched; vysage, face; suffryd, endured. 27 curtesye, courtesy. 28 avengyd, avenged. 28–29 so hardy so to doo, so rashly bold to do such a thing. 30 frende, friend. 32 “Ne doubte thee no thyng,” Do not worry yourself. 33 also wel he was, he was not hurt; fro than forthon, from that time forth; tofore, before. 34 respited hym, granted respite to him. 38 candellis, candles. 39 jape, joke. 41 dronkenshypp, drunkenness. 42 punysshid, punished; preysed, praised. 45 verité, truth. 46 verrytable and stable, true and unchanging. 47 ooste, army. 50 to desire and requyre of hym, i.e., to plead for the city. 51 supposid, prepared; axyd, asked.

brake his demaunde tofore and swore to hym, tofore he axid any thyng, by his  
 goddes that suche thyng as he axyd or requyred of hym, he wold in no wyse doon.  
 55 Thenne the phylosopher requyred hym to destroye the cyté. Whan Alixandre  
 understood his desyre and the oth that he had maad, he suffrid the cyté to stonde  
 and not to be destroyed, for he had lever not to do his wyll than to be perjured and  
 forsworn, and doo ageynst his oth.

Quyntilian sayth 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  
 60 stable thenne the oth of a marchaunt. Alas, who kepe the prynces their promyses  
 in thyse dayes! Not onely her promyses but their othes, her sealis and wrytynges,  
 and signes of theyr propre handes alle faylleth, God amende hit.

A kyng also ought to hate all cruelté. For we rede that never dyed yet any  
 pietous persone of evyl deth ne cruel persone of good deth. Therfore recounteth  
 65 Valerius that there was a man named Therile, a werkman in metalle, that maad a  
 boole of coppre and a lityl wyket on the syde wherby men myght put in them that  
 shold be brent therin. And hit was maad in suche manere that they that shold be  
 put and enclosyd therin shold crye no thyng lyke to the voys of a man but of an  
 70 oxe. And thys maad he bycause men shold have the lasse pyté of them. Whan he  
 had maad thys boole of copper, he presentyd hit unto a kyng whiche was called  
 Philarde, that was so cruel a tyraunt that he delited in no thyng but in cruelté,  
 and he tolde hym the condicion of the bole. Whan Philerde herde and understood  
 thys, he alowed and praisid moche the werke, and after sayd to hym, "Thou that  
 75 art more cruel than I am shalt assay and prove first thy presente and gefte." And  
 so maad hym to go into the boole and dye an evyl deth.

Therfore, sayth Ovide, "there is no thyng more resonable thenne that a man  
 dye of suche deth as he purchaseth unto other."

Also, the kyng ought soveraynly kepe justyce. Who maketh or kepeth a royaume  
 without justyce, of verry force there must be grete robberye and theft. Therfore  
 80 reherceth Saynt Augustyn, in a book whyche is intituled *The Cyté of God*, that there  
 was a thief of the see named Diomedes, that was a grete rovar and dyd so moche  
 harme that the complayntes cam tofore Alixander, whiche dyd hym to be taken  
 and brought afore hym. And he demaunded hym wherfore he was so noyous and  
 cruel in the see. And he answerd to hym agayn, "For as moche as thou art oon a  
 85 londe in the worlde, so am I another in the see. But for as moche as the evyl that  
 I doo is in oon galey or tweyn, therfore I am callyd a thief. But for as moche as thou  
 doost in many shypys and wyth grete puyssaunce and power, therfore arte thou  
 callyd an emperour. But yf fortune were for me in suche wyse, I wold become a

52 brake his demaunde, interrupted his request. 53 goddes, gods. 55 oth, oath; suffrid, allowed. 56 lever, rather. 59 parole, oath. 60 who, how. 61 her, their; sealis, seals. 62 faylleth, fail. 64 pietous, merciful or good. 66 boole of coppre, a copper bull; lityl wyket, small door. 67 brent, burnt. 68 voys, voice. 69 lasse pyté, less mercy. 73 alowed, praised. 74 assay, try (test); gefte, gift. 77 purchaseth unto other, gives to another. 79 of verry force, necessarily. 80 intituled, entitled. 81 thief of the see, pirate; rovar, wanderer (pirate). 82 dyd hym, commanded him. 83 afore, before; noyous, annoying. 84 agayn, in reply. 86 oon galey, one galley or ship; tweyn, two. 88 yf fortune were for me in suche wyse, (i.e., if I were rich like you).

90 good man and better thenne I now am. But thou, the more rycher and fortunat that thou art, the more worse art thou."

Alyxaunder said to hym, "I shal chaunge thy fortune in suche wise as thou ne say that thou shalt do it by poverté, but for evyl and mavaysté." And so he made hym ryche. And this was he that afterward was a good prynce and a good justicier.

95 The kyng ought to be soveraynly chaste. And this signefyeth a quene that is oonly on his right side. For it is to be belevyd and credyble that whan the kyng is a good man, juste, trewe, and of good maners and condicions, that his children shal folowe gladly the same, for a good sone and a trewe ought not to forsake and goo fro the good condicions of his fader. For certes it is agaynst God and nature in partye whan a man taketh other thenne his propre wyf. And that see we by byrdes, 100 of whom the male and female have togyder the charge in kepyng and norisshyng of their yonge fowles and byrdes. For somme maner of fowles kepen them to their females oonly, as hit appereth by storkes, dowves, and turtils. But the fowles that norisshith not their birdes have many wyves and femels, as the cok that nothyng norisshith his chekens. And therfore amonge al the bestes that been, man and 105 woman putteth most their entente, and have most cure and charge, in norisshyng of their chyl dren. And therfore don they agaynst nature in partye whan they leve they wyves for other women.

Of this chasteté reherceth Valerius an example, and saith that ther was a man of Rome whyche was named Scipio Affrican, for as moche as he had conquerd 110 Affrique, how wel that he was of Rome born. Whan he was of thirty-four yere of age, he conquerd Cartage and toke moche people in ostage, among whom he was presented with a right fayr mayde for his solas and plaisir, which was assured and handfast unto a noble yonge gentilman of Cartage, whiche was named Indivicile. And anon as this gentil Scipio knewe that, not withstondyng that he was a prynce 115 noble and lusty, dyd do calle anon the parents and kynnesmen of them, and delyverd to them their doughter without doying of ony vylonye to her, and the raunson or gold that they had ordeyned for their doughter, gaf hit every deel in dowaire to her. And the yonge man that was her husbond sawe the fraunchise and gentilnes of hym torned hymself and the hertes of the noble peple unto the love 120 and alliaunce of the Romaines.

And this suffisith as touchyng the kyng.

91–92 as thou ne say that, so that you can no longer say that. 92 mavaysté, badness. 93 justicier, judge. 94 signefyeth, is represented by. 95 oonly, alone; belevyd, believed. 97 a trewe, a true one. 98–99 in partye, both. 100 togyder, together. 101 kepen them to, mate with. 102 dowves, doves; turtils, turtledoves. 103–04 nothyng norisshith, does not care for. 105 entente, purpose. 106 don they agaynst, they go against; leve, leave. 109 for as moche as, because. 110 how wel that, although. 111 ostage, hostage. 112 solas, comfort. 112–13 assured and handfast, promised and engaged. 114 not withstondyng that, although. 115 dyd do calle, had summoned; kynnesmen, kinsmen. 117 ordeyned, commanded; deel, part. 118 fraunchise, generosity. 119 torned, turned.

*The second chapitre of the second book, and treteth of the forme and maners of the quene.***Capitulo secundo.**

Thus ought the quene be maad. She ought to be a fayr lady sittynge in a chayer  
 and crowned with a corone on her heed and cladde with a cloth of gold and a  
 mantel above furrid wyth ermynes. And she shold sitte on the lift side of the kyng,  
 125 for the amplexions and enbrasynges of her husbond, like as it is sayd in Scripture  
 in the Canticles: “Her lifte arme shal be under my heed, and her right arme shal  
 beclyppe and embrace me.” In that she is sette on his lifte syde is by grace geuyn to  
 the kyng by nature and of right. For better is to have a kyng by successyon thenne  
 by eleccion. For often tymes the electours and chosers cannot ne wyll not accorde,  
 130 and so is the eleccion left. And otherwhyle they chese not the beste and most able  
 and conveyent, but hym that they best love, or is for them most proffitable. But  
 whan the kyng is by lignage and by trewe succession, he is taught, enseyned, and  
 norisshyd in hys yowth all good and vertuous tatches and maners of his fader. And  
 also, the prynces of the royaume dar not so hardyly meue warre agaynst a kyng  
 135 havynge a sone for to reigne after hym.

And so a quene ought to be chaste, wyse, of honest lyf, wel manerd, and not  
 curious in norysshynge of her chyl dren. Her wysedom ought not onely to appere in  
 fait and werkes, but also in spekyng, that is to wete that she be secrete and telle not  
 suche thynges as ought to be holden secrete. Wherefore it is a comyn proverbe that  
 140 women can kepe no counceyl.

122 chayer, chair. 124 mantel, cloak; furrid wyth ermynes, lined with ermine. 125 amplexions and enbrasynges, embraces. 127 beclyppe, embrace. 129 chosers, choosers; accorde, be in accord. 131 conveyent, appropriate. 132 lignage, lineage; enseyned, taught. 133 norisshyd, nourished; tatches, gifts. 134 meue, make. 136–37 not curious in norysshynge of her chyl dren, not fastidious in the rearing of her children. 138 fait and werkes, deed and works; wete, say.

And accordyng therto, Macrobe reherceth in the *Book of the Dremes of Scypyo*, that there was a chylde of Rome that was named Papirus that on a tyme went with his fader, whych was a senatour, into the chambre whereas they helde theyr councyl. And that tyme they spake of suche maters as was comaunded and agreed  
 145 shold be kepte secret upon payn of theyr hedes, and so departed. And whan he was comen home from the Senatoyre and fro the councyl wyth his fader, his moder demaunded of hym what was the councyl and wherof they spake and had taryed so longe there. And the chylde answerd to her and sayd he durst not telle nor saye  
 150 hit for so moche as hit was defended upon payn of deth. Thenne was the moder more desirous to knowe than she was tofore, and began to flatere hym one tyme, and afterward to menace hym that he shold saye and telle to her what it was. And whan the chylde sawe that he myght have no reste of hys moder in no wyse, he made her first promyse that she shold kepe hit secrete and to telle hit to noon of the world. And that doon, he feyned a lesing, or a lye, and sayde to her that the  
 155 senatours had in councyl a grete question and dyfference whiche was thys: whether hit were better and more for the comyn wele of Rome that a man shold have two wyves or a wyf to have two husbondys. And whan she had understonde thys, he defended hyr that she shold telle hit to none other body.

And after thys she went to her gossyb and tolde to her thys councyll secretly, and she tolde to another, and thus every wyf tolde hit to other in secrete. And thus  
 160 hit happend anone after that alle the wyves of Rome cam to the Senatoyre where the senatours were assemblyd and cryed with an hygh voys that they had lever, and also hit were better for the comyn wele, that a wyf shold have two husbondys than a man two wyves. The senatours, heeryng this, were gretely abasshyd and wyst not  
 165 to say, ner what ner how to answey, tyl atte laste that the child, Papire, reherced to them all the caas and fayt how hit was happend. And whan the senatours herd and understood the mater, they were gretely abasshyd and commendyd gretly the ingenye and wytte of the chylde that so wysely contrived the lye rather than he wold discovere their councyl, and forthwyth made hym a senatour, and establisshed and  
 170 ordeyned fro than forthon that no chylde in any wise shold entre into the councyl hows amonge them with their faders except Papirus, whome they wold that he shold alwey be amonge them.

Also a quene ought to be chaste. For as she is above al other in estate and reverence, so shold she be ensauple unto al other in her lyyng honestlye. Wherof  
 175 Jerome reherceth agaynst Jovynyan that there was a gentyl man of Rome named Duele, and this man was he that first fond the maner to fight on the water and had first the victorye. This Duele had to his wyf one of the best women, and so chaste that every woman myght take ensauple of her. And at that tyme, the synne of the flesshe was the grettest synne that ony myght doo agaynst nature. And this sayd

145 **payn**, pain; **hedes**, heads. 146 **Senatoyre**, Senate chamber. 149 **defended**, prohibited. 150–51 **one tyme, and afterward**, alternately or by turns. 152 **in no wyse**, at all. 154 **feyned a lesing**, told a lie. 156 **comyn wele**, common good. 158 **defended**, prohibited. 159 **gossyb**, soulmate (gossip). 161 **anone after**, soon after. 162 **had lever**, would prefer. 164 **abasshyd**, surprised. 164–65 **wyst not to say**, did not know what to say. 165 **tyl**, until. 166 **caas and fayt**, reasons and circumstances. 168 **ingenye**, ingenuity. 169 **forthwyth**, immediately. 170 **fro than forthon**, from that point on. 173 **estate**, class.



180 good woman was named Ylie. And so hit happend that this Duele becam so olde  
that he stowped and quaked for age. And on a tyme, one of his adversayres reprevyd  
and reprochyd hym, sayeng that he had a stynkyng breeth. And forthwyth he went  
home to his wyf al angry and abasshyd, and axed her why and wherfore she had  
185 not tolde his defeaute to hym that he myght have founden remedye to have ben  
pourgyd therof. And she answerd that as for as moche as she supposyd that every  
man had that same faute as wel as he, for she kyst never ony manne's mouth but  
her husbonde's. O moche was this woman to be praysed and have a synguler lawde,  
wenyng that this defeaute had not ben onely in her husbond, wherfore she suffryd  
hit patiently in suche wise that her husbond knewe his defeaute sonner by other  
190 thenne by her!

Also, we rede that there was a wedowe named Anna, whiche had a frende that  
counceyllled hyr to marye, for she was yonge, fayr, and ryche, to whom she answerd  
that she wold not so doo in no wyse: "For yf I shold have an husbond as I have had,  
and that he were as good as he was, I shold ever ben aferd to lose hym, lyke as I  
195 lost that other, and thenne shold I lyve alwey in fere and drede, whiche I wyl not.  
And yf hit happend me to have a worse, what shold hit proffyte me to have an evyl  
husbond after a good?" And so she concluded that she wold kepe her chasteté.

Saynt Austyn reherceth in the book *De civitate dei* that in Rome was a noble lady,  
gentyl of maners and of hygh kynrede, named Lucrecia. And [she] had an husbond  
200 named Colatyne, whiche desired on a tyme the emperour's sone, named Torquyne  
the Orguylous, or the Proude, and he was calle Sixte, for to come dyne and sporte  
hym in his castel or manoyr. And whan he was entred amonge many noble ladyes,  
he sawe Lucrecia. And whan thys emperour's sone had seen and advertysed her  
deportes, her countenaunce, her manere, and her beaulté, he was alle ravysshed and  
205 esprysed wyth her love forthwyth, and espyed a tyme whan her husbond, Collatyn,  
wente unto the oost of the emperour, and cam into the place where as Lucresse was  
with her felawshyp, whom she receyved honourably. And whan tyme came to goo  
to bedde and slepe, she maad redy a bedde rially for hym, as hit apperteyned to  
the emperour's sone. And this Sixtus espyed where Lucrecia laye. And whan he  
210 supposid and knewe that every body was in his first sleep, he cam unto the bedde  
of Lucresse, and that one hand sette on her breste, and in that other honde a  
nakyd swerd, and sayd to her, "Lucresse, holde thy pees and crye not. For I am  
Sixte, Tarquynus' sone. For yf thou speke ony word, thou shalt be dede."

181 **stowped**, stooped; **on a tyme**, one time. 182 **stynkyng breeth**, bad breath; 184 **defaute**, fault. 185 **pourgyd**, purged. 186 **kyst**, kissed. 187 **praysed**, praised; **synguler lawde**, special praise. 188 **wenyng**, believing. 189 **sonner**, sooner. 192 **marye**, marry. 194 **ever**, always; **aferd**, afraid. 195 **alwey**, always; **ferre and drede**, fear and dread; **wyl not**, do not wish to. 196 **a worse**, (i.e., a worse husband). 197 **chasteté**, chastity. 199 **gentyl**, noble; **hygh kynrede**, high birth. 201 **Orguylous**, Proud; **calle Sixte**, called Sixtus. 201–02 **dyne and sporte hym**, dine and amuse himself. 202 **manoyr**, manor. 203 **advertysed**, taken note of. 204 **deportes**, deportment; **countenaunce**, bearing. 204–05 **ravysshed and esprysed wyth her love**, ravished and taken with love for her. 205 **espyed**, spied. 206 **oost**, army. 208 **maad redy**, prepared; **rially**, royally; **apperteyned to**, befitted. 210 **first sleep**, presumably the first period of deep sleep for the night. 212 **pees**, peace.



215 And for fere she helde her pees. Thenne he began to praye and promyse many thynges. And after, he menaced and thretened her that she shold encline to hym to doo his wylle. And whan he sawe he coude nor myght have his entente, he sayd to her, "Yf thou do not my wylle, I shal slee thee and one of thy servauntis and shal lay hym alle deed by thy syde. And thenne I shal say that I have slayn you for your rybaudrye."

220 And Lucesse, that than doubted more the shame of the world than the deth, consentyd to hym. And anone after, as the emperour's sone was departed, the lady sent lettres to her husbond, her fader, her brethern, and to her frendes, and to a man callyd Brute, counceyllour and nevewe to Tarquyn. And sayd to them that: "Yesterday, Syxte, the emperour's sone, cam into myn hows as an enemye in liknes  
225 of a frende and hath oppressyd me. And knowe thou, Colatyn, that he hath dishonouryd thy bedde, and how wel that he hath fowled and dishonoured my body. Yet myn herte is not, wherfore I beseche thee of pardon, foryefnes, and absolucion of the trespas but not of the payne. And he that hath doon thys synne to me, hit shal ben to his myschaunce yf ye doo your devoyr. And bycause no woman  
230 take ensauple of Lucesse and lyve after the trespas, but that she in lyke wyse take ensauple also of the payne."

And forthwyth with a swerde that she helde under her gowne or robe, she roof herself unto the herte and deyed forthwyth tofore them. And thenne Brute, the counceyller, and her husbond, Collatyn, and alle her other frendes swore by the  
235 blood of Lucesse that they wold never reste unto the tyme that they had put out of Rome Tarquyn and al his lygne, and that never after none of them shold come to dygnyté. And al this was doon, for they bare the deed corps thugh the cyté and mevyd the peple in suche wyse that Tarquyn was put in exyle and Syxte, his sone, was slayn.

240 A quene ought to be wel manerd, and amonge alle she ought to be tumerous and shamefast. For whan a woman hath lost shamefastnes, she may ner can not weel be chaste.

Wherfore sayth Symachus that they that ben not shamefast have no conscience of luxurye.

245 And Saynt Ambrose sayth that one of the best parementes and maketh a womman most fayr in her persone is to be shamefast.

Seneque reherceth that there was one named Archezylle, whiche was so shamefast that she put in a pelowe of fethers a certeyn somme of money and put hit under the heed of a poure frende of herys, whiche dissymyled his poverté and wolde not  
250 nor durst not be a knowen of his poverté for shame. She durst not gyve it openly but had lever that he shold fynde hyt than that she had gyven hit hym. Wherfore otherwhile men shold gyve and helpe her frendes so secretly that they knowe not

215 *encline*, bow or bend. 220 *that . . . doubted*, who . . . feared. 221 *anone*, immediately. 225 *oppressyd*, overcome. 227 *foryefnes*, forgiveness. 229 *myschaunce*, misfortune; *devoyr*, duty. 232–33 *roof herself*, stabbed herself. 233 *tofore*, before. 236–37 *come to dygnyté*, assume the throne. 238 *mevyd*, rallied. 240–41 *tumerous and shamefast*, timorous and modest. 245 *parementes*, accoutrements. 248 *pelowe*, pillow. 249 *dissymyled*, covered up. 250 *a knowen of*, exposed for. 252 *otherwhile*, sometimes; *her*, their.

whens it come, for whan we kepe it secret and make no boste therof, our dedes and werkes shal please God and them also.

255 A quene ought to be chosen whan she shal be weddyd of the moste honest kynrede and peple, for often tymes the doughters folowen the tatches and maners of theym that they ben dyscended from. Wherof Valeryus Maximus sayth that there was one that wold marye whiche cam to a philosopher and axyd counceyl what wyf he myght best take. He answerd that he shold "take her that thou knowest certeynly  
260 that her moder and her graunt dame have ben chaste and wel condycioned. For suche moder, suche doughter, comunely."

Also, a quene ought to teche her chyldren to ben contynent and kepe chastité entierly, as hit is wryten in Ecclesiastes: "Yf thou have sones, enseigne and teche them. And yf thou have doughters, kepe wel them in chastyté."

265 For Helemonde reherceth that every kynge and prynce ought to be a clerke for to comaunde to other to studye and rede the lawe of our Lord God, and therefore wrote the emperour to the kyng of Fraunce that he shold do lerne his children sones the seven sciences liberal, and sayd amonge other thynges that a kyng not lettrid resembleth an asse coroned. The Emperour Octovyan maad his sones to be taught  
270 and lerne to swymme, to sprynge and lepe, to juste, to playe wyth the axe and swerde, and al maner thyng that apperteyneth to a knyght. And his doughters he made hem to lerne to sewe, to spyne, to labour as wel in wolle as in linnen cloth, and al other werkis langyng to women. And whan his frendes demaunded wherfore he dyd so, he answerd how wel that he was lord and syre of alle the world, yet wyste  
275 he not what shold befall of his children and whether they shold falle or come to poverté or noo: "And therefore yf they conne a good crafte, they may alwey lyve honestly."

The quene ought to kepe her doughters in alle chastyté, for we rede of many maydens that for their virgynyte have ben maad quenes. For Poule the Historiagraph  
280 of the Lombardes reherceth that ther was a duchesse named Remonde whiche had thre sones and [two] doughters. And hit happend that the kynge of Hongrye, Cantanus, assayled a castel where she and her chyldren were inne. And on a day, she behelde her enemyes, and amonge alle other, she sawe the kyng that he was a wel faryng and a goodly man. Anone she was esprysed and taken wyth his love, and  
285 that so sore that forthwyth she sent to hym that she wold delyver over the castel to hym yf he wold take her to his wyf and wedde her. And he agreed therto and sware that he wold have her to his wyf on that condicion. Whan than the kyng was in the castel, his peple took men and women and alle that they fonde. Her soones fledde from her, of whome one was named Ermoaldus and was yongest, and after was duc

253 **whens**, whence; **dedes**, deeds. 254 **them** (i.e., the recipient of one's good deeds). 256 **tatches**, gifts. 260 **graunt dame**, grandmother. 261 **comunely**, usually. 263 **enseigne**, teach. 267 **shold do lerne his children sones**, should have his male children taught. 268 **seven sciences liberal**, seven liberal arts. 269 **an asse coroned**, a crowned donkey. 270 **sprynge and lepe**, jump and leap; **juste**, joust. 272 **lynen**, linen. 273 **langyng to**, appropriate for. 274 **how wel that**, although. 276 **conne**, know. 279 **Historiagraph**, Historian. 281 **Hongrye**, Hungary. 282 **assayled**, attacked. 284 **wel faryng**, handsome; **esprysed**, seized. 285 **that so sore**, it was so powerful; **sent**, sent word; **delyver**, deliver. 286 **sware**, swore. 288 **soones**, sons.

290 of Boneventan, and sithen kyng of the Lumbardis. And the two susters toke chykens  
and put hem under her armes next the flessch and bytwene her pappes, that of the  
hete and chauffyng, the flessch of the chikyns stanke. And whan so was that they of  
Hongrye wold have enforced and defowed, anone they felte the stenche and fledde  
295 away and so lefte hem sayeng, “Fy! How these Lombardes stynke!” And so they  
kepte theyr virgynyte. Wherefore that one of hem afterward was quene of Fraunce,  
and that other quene of Almayn.

And hit happend thenne that the Kyng Catanus toke acordyng to his promyse  
the duchesse and lay wyth her one nyght for to save his ooth. And on the morne,  
he made her comune unto al the Hungres. And the thyrd day after, he dyd doo put  
300 a staf of tree fro the nether parte of her through her body unto her throte or mouthe.  
For by cause of the luste of her flessch, she betrayed her cyté. And sayd “suche  
husbond, suche wyf.”

And this suffyseth of the quene.

*The thyrd chappytre of the second traytye treteth of the alphyns, her offyces and maners.*

**Capitulo tercio.**



305 The alphyns ought to be maad and formed in manere of juges sittyng in a  
chayer wyth a book open tofore theyr eyen. And that is by cause that somme causes  
ben crymynel and somme ben cyvyle, as about possessions and other temporel  
thynges and trespaces. And therfore ought to be two juges in the royame, one in

290 **Boneventan** (see note); **sithen**, afterwards; **Lumbardis**, Lombards; **chykens**, chickens.  
291 **her armes**, their arms; **bytwene her pappes**, between their breasts. 292 **chauffyng**,  
warming. 293 **enforced and defowed**, violated and raped. 296 **Almayn**, Germany. 298  
**morne**, morning. 299 **made her comune** (i.e., shared her sexually with). 304 **alphyns**,  
judges or chess bishops; **juges**, judges. 305 **tofore**, in front of; **eyen**, eyes. 306 **crymynel**,  
criminal; **cyvyle**, civil; **temporel**, worldly. 307 **trespaces**, violations.

the black for the first cause and that other in whyt as for the second. Theyr offyce  
 310 is for to counceylle the kyng and to make by his commaundementis good lawes,  
 and to enforme alle the royaume in good and vertuous maners, and to juge and gyve  
 sentence wel and trewly after the caas is had, and to counceyl wel and justely alle  
 them that axe counceyl of hem, wythout havynge of ony eye opene to ony persone,  
 and to estudye diligently in suche wyse, and to ordeigne alle that that ought to be  
 kept, be observyd, be faste and stable, so that they be not founde corrupt for yefte,  
 315 for favour, ne for lignage, ne for envye varriable.

And as touchyng the first poynt, Seneque saith in the *Book of Benefets* that the  
 pour Diogenes was more strong than Alixandre, for Alixandre coude not gyve so  
 moche as Diogenes wold refuse.

Marcus Cursus, a Romain of grete renomee, saith thus: that whan he had  
 320 besieged and assayled them of Samente and Beneventans, which herde that he was  
 poure, they took a grete masse and wedge of gold and sendyd hit to hym, prayeng  
 hym that he wold reseve hit and leve his assault and siege. And whan they came  
 with the present to hym, they fond hym sittynge on the erthe and ete his mete out  
 of platers and dysshes of tree and of wode, and did than her message. To whom he  
 325 answerd and said that they shold goo home and saye to them that sente them that  
 “Marcus Cursus loveth better to be lord and wyne riches than riches shold  
 wyne hym. For by batayle he shal not be overcome and vaynquysshed, nor by  
 gold, ne silver he shal not be corrupt ne corompid.” Oftentymes that thyng taketh  
 an evyll ende that is untrew for gold and silver, and that a man is subget unto  
 330 money may not be lord therof.

Helymond reherceth that Demostene demaunded of Aristodone how moche he  
 had wonne for pletyng of a cause for hys client. And he answerd, “A mark of golde.”  
 Demostenes answerd to hym agayn that he had wonne as moche for to holde hys  
 pees and speke not. Thus the tungen of advocates and men of lawe ben perilous and  
 335 dommegeable, yet they must be had yf thou wolt wyne thy cause, for with money  
 and yefte thou shall wyne. And oftentymes they selle as wel theyr scilence as their  
 utteraunce.

Valerius rehercith that the senatours of Rome took counceyl togeder of two  
 persones, that one was poure and that other riche and covetous, whiche of hem  
 340 bothe were most apte for to sende to governe and juge the contré of Spayne. And  
 Scipyon of Affrique said that none of hem bothe were good ne proffyttable to be  
 sent theder. For that one hath no thyng, and to that other may no thyng suffyse,  
 and despyed in hys sayeng alle poverté and avarice in a juge. For a covetous man

310 **enforme**, educate. 312 **axe**, ask; **ony eye opene to ony persone** (i.e., showing favoritism). 313 **ordeigne**, ordain or confirm. 314 **faste**, fixed; **yefte**, gift. 315 **lignage**, lineage. 319 **Romayn**, Roman; **renomee**, renown. 321 **prayeng**, praying to. 322 **reseve**, receive. 323 **fond**, found; **ete**, eating; **mete**, food. 324 **dysshes**, dishes; **wode**, wood; **her**, their. 327 **vaynquysshed**, vanquished. 328 **corompid**, spoiled. 329 **subget**, subject. 332 **pletynge**, pleading; **mark**, a monetary unit used for silver and gold. 335 **dommegeable**, corruptible; **wynne**, win. 336 **yefte**, gift. 338 **togeder**, together. 341 **none of hem bothe**, neither one. 342 **theder**, thither; **may no thyng suffyse**, nothing is sufficient.

345 hath nede of an halpeny, for he is servaunt and bonde unto money, and not lorde therof. But poverté of herte and of wylle ought to be gretely alowed in a juge.

350 Therefore we rede that as longe as the Romainys lovyd poverté, they were lordys of alle the world. For many there were that exposed al theyr goodes for the comyn wele, and for that was most proffitable for the comynalté, that they were so poure that whan they were dede they were buryed and brought to erthe wyth the comyn good. And theyr doughters were maryed by the commaundement of the senatours. But sithen that they despised poverté and begonne to gadre richesses and have made grete bataylles, they have used many synnes. And so the comyn wele perissched. For ther is no synne but that it reigneth there, where is none that is so blisful as he that hath al the world in despite. For he is in pees that dredith no man, and he is  
355 riche that coveiteth no thyng.

Valere reherceth that he is not riche that moche hath, but he is riche that hath lityl and coveyteth no thyng.

360 Than thus late the juges take hede that they enclyne not for love or for hate in ony jugement. For Theofrast saith that all love is blynde. Where love is, there can not right jugement by gyven, for all love is blynde. And therefore love is none evyn juge. For ofte tymes love jugeth a fowle and lothly woman to be fayr.

365 And so reherceth Quinte Curse in his first book that the grete Godaches sayth the same to Alyxandre. Men may saye in this caas that nature is evyl, for every man is lasse advysed and worse in his owne feet and cause than in another mannys. And therefore the juges ought to kepe hem wel from ire in jugement.

Tullyus sayth that an angry and yrous persone weneth that for to doo evyl is good counceyl.

And Socrates saith that two thynges ben contrarious to counceyl, and they ben hastynes and wrath.

370 And Galeren sayth in *Alexandrye*: “Yf yre or wrath overcome thee whan thou sholdest geve jugement, weye all thyng in the balaunce so that thy jugement be not enclyned by love, ne by yeft ne favor of persone torne not thy corage.”

375 Helemond reherceth that Cambyses, kyng of Perce, whiche was a right wis kyng, had an unrightwis juge, whiche for envye and evyl wyll had dampned a man wrongfully and agaynst right. Wherefore he dyd hym to be flayn al quyk and made the chayer or siege of jugement to be coverid with his skyn, and made his sone juge and to sitte in the chayer on the skyn of his fader, to the ende that the sone shold juge rightwisly and abhorre the jugement and payne of his fader.

344 **halpeny**, halfpenny or coin worth one-half of a penny. 347 **exposed**, rendered. 347–48 **comyn wele**, common good. 351 **sithen that**, since the time that. 352 **used**, engaged in. 354 **in despite**, in contempt; **dredith**, fears. 355 **coveiteth**, covets. 358 **late**, let. 360 **evyn**, even or just. 361 **fowle and lothly**, foul and ugly. 364 **worse in his owne feet and cause**, i.e., has less of an ability to present his own case dispassionately; **mannys**, man's. 365 **hem**, themselves. 366 **yrous**, ireful; **weneth**, believes. 368 **contrarious**, opposed. 369 **hastynes**, hastiness. 371 **geve**, give. 372 **yeft**, gift. 373 **Perce**, Persia; **right wis**, upstanding or honest. 374 **unrightwis**, dishonest. 375 **he dyd hym** (i.e., Cambyses ordered the false judge); **flayn al quyk**, flayed alive. 376 **chayer or siege**, chair or seat.

Juges ought to punyssh the defaultes egally and fulfille the lawe that they ordeyne. Caton saith: "Accomplishe and do the lawe in suche wyse as thou hast ordeigned and geven."

Valerius reherceth that Calengius, a consul, had a sone whiche was taken in advoultrye, and therfore, after the lawe at that tyme, he was dampned to lose bothe his eyen. The fader wold that the lawe shold be accomplished in his sone wythout favour. But al the cité was mevyd herewyth and wold not suffre hit. But in the ende his fader was vaynquysshed by theyr prayers and ordeyned that his sone shold lese one eye, whyche was put out, and he hymself lost an other eye. And thus was the lawe observyd and kept, and the prayer of the people was accomplished.

We rede that there was a councyllour of Rome that had gven councylle to make a statute that whosommeever that entryd into the Senatoyr and a swerde gyrt aboute hym shold be deed. Than hit happend on a tyme that he came from without and entrid into the Senatoir and his swerd gyrt aboute hym, wherof he toke none hede. And one of the senatours told hym of hit. And whan he knewe hit and remembrid the statute, he drewe out his swerde and slewe hymself tofore them, rather to dye than to breke the lawe, for whos dethe alle the senatours maad grete sorowe.

But alas we fynde not many in thyse dayes that so do. But they do lyke as Anastasyus saith, that the lawes of somme ben like unto the nettis of spyncoppis, that take no grete bestes and fowles but let goo and flee through. But they take flyes and gnattes and suche smale thynges. In like wise, the lawes nowadayes ben not executed but upon the poure peple. The grete and riche breke hit and goo through with al, and for this cause sourden batailles and discordes, and make the grete and riche men to take by force and strengthe lordshippis and seignories upon the smale and poure peple. And this don they specially that ben gentil of lignage and poure of goodes, and causeth them to robbe and reve, and yet constreyne them by force to serve them. And thys is no mervayle, for they that drede not to angre God, ner to breke the lawe and to false hit, falle often tymes by force in moche cursidnes and wickednes. But whan the grete peple do accordyng to the lawe and punyssh the transgressours sharply, the comyn peple absteine and withdrawe hem fro doying of evyl and chastiseth himself by theyr example.

And the juges ought to entende for to studye. For yf the smythes, the carpentiers, the vignours, and other craftymen say that it is not necessarye to studye for the comyn proffit, and glorefye them in their connyng and say that they ben proffitable, than shold the juges studye and contemplaire moche more than they in that that shold be for the comyn wele.

379 **egally**, equally. 382 **consul**, a member of the ancient Roman Senate. 383 **advoultrye**, adultery. 384 **accomplisshed**, enacted. 385 **mevyd**, moved; **suffre**, allow. 386 **vaynquysshed**, overcome. 390 **whosommeever**, whosoever; **entryd**, entered; **Senatoyr**, Senate chamber; **gyrt**, girded. 391 **from without** (i.e., from outside the Senate building). 395 **rather to**, preferring to. 398 **spyncoppis**, spiders. 399 **flee**, fly. 402 **sourden**, spring up. 403 **seignories**, feudal domains. 404 **lignage**, lineage. 405 **robbe and reve**, rob and plunder. 407 **false**, cheat. 410 **hymself**, themselves. 411 **entende for** (i.e., direct themselves); **smythes**, blacksmiths. 412 **vignours**, vine tenders. 413 **connyng**, knowing. 414 **contemplaire**, reflect.



Wherfore saith Seneke: “Beleve me that they seme that they do no thyng, they do more than they that laboure, for they do spirituel and also corporal werkis.” And therfore, amonge artificers ther is no plesaunt rest but that reson of the juges hath maad and ordeyned hit.

420 And therfore Angelius saith in *Libro Atticors de Socrate* that Socrates was on a tyme so pensif that in an hole naturel day, he helde one estate, that he ne meved mouth, ne eye, ne foot, ne hand, but was as he had ben deed or ravysshed. And whan one demaunded hym wherfore he was so pensif, he answerd, “In al worldly thynges and labours of the same,” and helde hym bourgeys and cytézeyn of the world.

425 And Valerius rehercith that Carnardes, a knyght, was so sage, wyse, and laborous in pensifnes of the comyn wele, that whan he was sette atte table for to ete, he forgate to put his hond unto the mete to fede hymself. And therfore his wyf, that was named Mellyse, whom he had taken more to have her companye and felawshyp than for any other thyng, fedde hym to the ende that he shold not dye for hongre  
430 in his pensifnes.

Didimus sayd to Alixandre: “We be not deynseyns in the world but straungers, nor we ben not born in the world for to dwelle and abyde alwey therein, but for to goo and passe through hit. We have doon noon evyl dede but that it is worthy to be punysshed, and we to suffre payne therfore, and thenne we may goon with open  
435 face and good conscience. And so may we goo lightly and appertly the way that we hope and purpose to goo.”

Thys suffyseth as for the alphyns.

416 that they seme, that they who seem. 421 pensif, pensive; estate, position; meved, moved. 422 ravysshed, ravished or taken off. 423–24 “In al worldly thynges and labours of the same” (i.e., Socrates explains that he is thinking about all worldly things and labors, which is bound to make anyone pensive). 424 bourgeys, a burgess or an inhabitant of a borough who possesses full municipal rights. 429 hongre, hunger. 431 deynseyns, denizens. 432 abyde, abide or stay. 435 appertly, publicly.



*The fourth chappitre of the second book treteth of the ordre of chevalrye and knyghthoode,  
and of her offyces and maners.* Capitulo quarto.



The knyght ought to be maad al armed upon an hors in suche wise that he have  
an helme on his heed and a spere in his right hond, and coverid with his shelde, a  
440 swerd and a mace on his lyft syde, clad with an hawberk and plates tofore his breste,  
legge harnoys on his legges, spores on his heelis, on hys handes hys gauntelettes,  
hys hors wel broken and taught, and apte to bataylle, and coveryd 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  
445 and orisons unto God that He wil geve hem grace that they may gete that thyng that  
they may not gete by nature. The kyng or prynce gyrdeth aboute them a swerde in  
signe that they shold abyde and kepen hym of whom they taken their dispences  
and dignyté. Also, a knyght ought to be wyse, lyberalle, trewe, strong, and ful of  
mercy and pyté, and kepar of the peple and of the lawe.

450 And right as chevalrye passeth other in vertue, in dignyté, in honour, and in  
reverence, right so ought he to surmounte alle other in vertue. For honour is  
nothyng ellys but to do reverence to another persone for the good and vertuous  
disposicion that is in hym. A noble knyghte ought to be wyse and provyd tofore he  
be maad knyght. Hit behoved hym that he had long tyme usid the warre and  
455 armes, that he may be expert and wyse for to governe the other. For sithen that a  
knyght is capitayn of a batayle, the lyf of them that shal be under hym lyeth in his

*Title* chevalrye, knights; 439 *helme*, helmet; *shelde*, shield. 440 *hawberk and plates*, hauberk (a short protective shirt of mail) and metal armor. 441 *harnoys*, armor. 445 *orisons*, prayers; *geve hem*, give them. 446 *gyrdeth aboute*, belts around. 447 *abyde*, wait on; *dispences*, upkeep. 448 *lyberalle*, generous; *trewe*, honest. 449 *pyté*, mercy; *kepar*, keeper. 450 *right as chevalrye*, just as knightly prowess. 451 *surmounte*, surpass. 452 *ellys*, else; *for*, on account of. 453 *provyd*, tested. 454 *Hit behoved*, It behooved; *usid*, been used to. 455 *the other* (i.e., other people); *sithen*, since. 456 *batayle*, battalion.

honde. And therefore behoveth hym to be wyse and wel advysed, for somtyme art, craft, and engyne is more worthe than strengthe or hardynes of a man that is not proved in armes. For otherwhile it happeth that whan the prynce of the batayl  
 460 affyeth and trusteth in his hardynes and strengthe, and wol not use wisdom and engyne for to renne upon his enemyes, he is vaynquysshed and his people slayn.

Therefore saith the philosopher that no man shold chese yong peple to be captayns and governours, for as moche as ther is no certeynté in her wisdom. Alixandre of Macedone vaynquysshed and conquerd Egipte, Judé, Caldee, Affrique,  
 465 and Assyrie, unto the Marches of Bragmans, more by the counceyl of olde men than by the strengthe of the yong men.

We rede in the *Historye of Rome* that there was a knyght whiche had to name Malechete, that was so wyse and trewe that whan the Emperour Theodosius was dede, he made mortal warre agenst his broder germayn, which was named Gyldo  
 470 or Guye, for as moche as this sayd Guye wold be lord of Affrique without leve and wylle of the senatours. And thys sayd Guy had slayn the two sones of his broder Malechete, and dyd moche torment unto the Crysten peple. And afore that he shold come into the felde ayenst his broder Guyon, he went into an Yle of Capayre, and ladde with hym al the Cristen men that had ben sent theder in exyle, and maad  
 475 hem alle to praye with hym by the space of thre dayes and thre nyghtes, for he had grete affyaunce and truste in the prayers and orisons of good folk, and specially that no man myght counceyl ne helpe but God. And thre dayes tofore he shold fight, Saynt Ambrose, whiche was deed a litil tofore, apperyd to hym and shewed hym by revelaconn the tyme and howre that he shold have victorye. And for so moche as  
 480 he had ben [three] dayes and thre nyghtes in oryson and prayers, and that he was assuryd for to have victorye, he faught wyth fyve thousand men ayenst his broder that had in his companye four score thousand men. And by Godde's helpe, he had victorye. And whan the barbarians that were comen to helpe Guyon sawe the discomfiture, they fledde away, and Guyon fledde also into Affryque by shyppe.  
 485 And whan he was there aryved, he was sone after stranglid. These two knyghtes of whom I speke were two brethern germayns, whyche were sent into Affrique for to deffende the comyn wele.

In lyke wyse, Judas Machabeus, Jonathas, and Symon, his brethern, put them self in the mercy and garde of our Lord God and ageyn the enemyes of the lawe  
 490 of God, with litil people in regarde of the multitude that were agayn them, and had also victorye.

The knyghtes ought to ben trewe to theyr prynces, for he that is not trewe leseth the name of a knyght. Unto a prynce, trouth is the grettest precious stone whan hit is medlid wyth justice.

**457–58 art, craft, and engyne**, artfulness, craftiness, and ingenuity. **459 otherwhile**, otherwise. **460 affyeth and trusteth**, places faith in and trusts. **461 engyne**, skill. **462 chese**, choose. **464 Judé**, Judea; **Caldee**, Chaldea. **465 Assyrie**, Assyria; **Bragmans**, The Isle of the Bragmans (see Explanatory Notes). **469 agenst**, against; **broder germayn**, full brother. **470–71 leve and wylle**, permission and consent. **472 Crysten**, Christian. **473 Yle of Capayre**, Island of Caprara off the eastern coast of Italy. **474 ladde**, led; **theder**, thither. **476 affyaunce**, faith. **479 revelaconn**, revelation; **howre**, hour. **484 discomfiture**, complete defeat or rout. **489 ageyn**, against. **490 litil**, few; **in regarde of**, with respect to. **492 leseth**, loses. **494 medlid**, melded.

495        Paule the Historiagraph of the Lombardes reherceth that there was a knyght  
 named Enulphus, and was of the cyté of Papye, that was so trewe and faythful to his  
 lord and kyng named Pathariche that he put hym in parylle of deth for hym. For hit  
 happend that Grymald, duc of Buneventayns, of whom we have touched tofore in  
 the chapytre of the quene, dyd do slee Godebert, whyche was kyng of the Lombardes  
 500 by the hande of Goribert, duc of Tarente, whiche was descended of the crowne of  
 Lombardes. And this Grymalde was maad kyng of Lombardye in his place, and  
 after this put and banysshed out of the contraye this Patharich, whiche was broder  
 unto the Kyng Godebert, that for fere and drede fledde into Hongrye. And thenne  
 this knyght Enulphus dyd so moche that he gate the pees agayn of his lord Patharich  
 505 agaynst the Kyng Grymalde, and that he had licence to come out of Hongrye,  
 where he was alwey in parell. And so he came and cryed hym mercy. And the Kyng  
 Grymalde gaf hym leve to dwelle and to lyve honestly in his contré, alwey forseen  
 that he took not upon hym and named hymself kyng, how wel he was kyng by right.

      This doon, a lityl whyle after the kyng, that belevyd evyl tonges, thought in  
 510 hymself how he myght brynge this Pathariche unto the deth. And al thys knewe wel  
 the knyght Enulphus, whiche came the same nyght wyth his squyer for to vysite his  
 lord, and maad hys squyer to unclothe hym and to lye in the bedde of his lord, and  
 maad his lorde to rise and clothe hym wyth the clothes of his squyer. And in this  
 wyse brought hym out, brawlyng and betyng hym as his servaunt by them that were  
 515 assigned to kepe the hows of Patharich that he shold not escape, which supposid  
 that hit had been his squyer that he entreted so outrageously, and so he brought  
 hym unto his hows which joyned wyth the walles of the toun. And at mydnyght,  
 when al men were aslepe, he lete adoun his maistre by a corde, whiche took an  
 hors out of the pasture and fledde unto the cyté of Aast, and there cam to the kyng  
 520 of Fraunce. And whan it cam unto the morne, hit was founden that Enulphus and his  
 squyer had deceyved the kyng and the watchemen, whom the kyng commaunded  
 shold be brought tofore hym and demaunded of them the maner how he was  
 escapyd. And they tolde hym the trouthe.

      Thenne the kyng demaunded his counceyl of what deth they had deservyd to dye  
 525 that had so doon and wrought agayn the wylle of hym. Somme said that they shold  
 ben honged. And somme said they shold be flayn. And other said that they shold  
 be beheded. Than said the kyng, "By that Lord that maad me, they ben not worthy  
 to dye but for to have moche worship and honour. For they have ben trewe to theyr  
 lord." Wherefore the kyng gaf hem a grete lawde and honour for theyr feet. And after,  
 530 it happend that the propre squyer and servaunt of Godeberd slewe the traytre  
 Gorybalde, that by treson had slayn his lorde at a feste of Saynt John in his cyté of  
 Tarente, wherof he was lord and duc.

495 **Lombardes**, people from the Lombard region in northern Italy. 496 **Papye**, Pavia.  
 497 **parylle**, peril. 498 **Buneventayns**, citizens of Benevento, a town and *comune* northeast  
 of Naples. 500 **Tarente**, Tarento. 503 **fere**, fear; **Hongrye**, Hungary. 504 **gate**, obtained.  
 507 **forseen**, making sure. 509 **doon**, done. 514 **wyse**, fashion; **betyng**, beating; **by**, passed  
 by. 516 **entreted**, treated. 519 **Aast**, Asti. 520 **morne**, morning. 525 **doon and wrought**  
**agayn**, done and acted against. 526 **flayn**, flayed. 529 **feet**, deed; **after**, afterwards. 531  
**feste of Saynt John**, the Feast of Saint John (usually held in midsummer on June 24).

Thus ought the knyghtes to love togyder, and eche to put his lyf in aventure for other, for so been they the strengier and the more doubted, lyke as were the noble  
 535 knyghtes Joab and Abysay, that fought ageynst the Stryens and Amonytes, and were so trewe, that one to that other, that they vaynquysshed theyr enemyes, and were so joynd togyder that yf the Stryens were strengier thenne that one of them, that other helpe hym.

We rede that Damon and Phisias were so right parficht frendes togyder that  
 540 whan Dionysius, whiche was kyng of Zecille, had jugged one to deth for his trespaas in the cyté of Siracusane, whom he wold have executed, he desired grace and leve to goo into his contré for to dispose and ordeyne his testament. And his felawe pledgyd hym and was sewrté for hym upon his heed that he shold come agayn. Wherof they that herde and sawe this helde hym for a fool and blamed hym. And  
 545 he sayd alwey that he repentyd hym no thyng at all, for he knewe wel the trouthe of his felawe. And whan the day cam and the howre that execucion shold be doon, his felowe cam and presented hymself tofore the juge and dischargid his felowe that was pledge for hym, wherof the kyng was gretely abasshyd. And for the grete trouthe that was founden in hym, he pardonyd hym and prayed hem bothe that they wold  
 550 receyve hym as theyr grete frende and felowe. Lo, here the vertues of love, that a man ought not to doubte the deth for his frende! Lo, what it is to doo for a frende and to lede a lyf debonayr, and to be wythout cruelté, to love and not to hate, whyche causeth to doo good ayenst evyl, and to torne payne into benefete, and to quenche cruelté!

555 Anthonyus sayth that Julius Cesar lefte not lightly frendshyp and amytye, but whan he had hit, he retheynd hit faste and mayntened hit alwey.

Scipion of Affrique saith that there is no thyng so stronge as for to maynteyne love unto the deth. The love of concupissence and of lecherye is sone dissolvyd and broken. But the verray trewe love of the comyn wele and proffyt nowadayes is selde  
 560 founden. Where shal thou fynde a man in thyse dayes that wyl expose hymself for the worship and honour of his frende or for the comyn wele? Selde or never shal he be founden.

Also, the knyghtes shold be large and liberal. For whan a knyght hath regarde unto his synguler prouffyt by his covetyse, he dyspoyleth his peple. For whan the  
 565 souldyours se that they put hem in parel, and their mayster wyl not paye hem theyr wages lyberally, but entendeth to his owne propre gayn and proffyt, than whan the enemyes come, they torne sone her backes and flee often tymes. And thus hit happeth by hym that entendeth more to gete money than vycorye that his avaryce is ofte tymes cause of his confusion. Thenne lete every knyght take hede to be  
 570 lyberalle in suche wyse that he wene not ne suppose that his scarceté be to hym a

533 in aventure, at risk. 534 doubted, feared. 535 Stryens and Amonytes, Syrians and Ammonites. 539 parficht, perfect. 540 Zecille, Sicily. 541 Siracusane, Syracuse. 542 ordeyne, ordain or put in order. 543 sewrté, sworn or given as a surety. 545 trouthe, honesty. 551 doubte, fear. 552 debonayr, debonair (in the archaic sense of gracious). 553 torne, turn; benefete, benefit (in the archaic sense of a kind deed). 558 concupissence, concupiscence. 559 selde, seldom. 564 covetyse, covetousness; dyspoyleth, dispoils. 565 souldyours, soldiers; put hem in parel, put themselves in peril. 567 sone, soon. 570 wene not, does not think or believe; scarceté, frugalness.

grete wyunnyng or gayn. And for thys cause, he be the lasse lovyd of his peple, and that his adversarye wythdrawe to hym them by large gevyng. For ofte tyme batayle is avaunced more for getyng of silver than by the force and strengthe of men. For men see alle day that suche thynges as may not be achyeyvd by force of nature ben  
 575 goten and achyeyvd by force of money. And for so moche it behoveth to see wel to that whan the tyme of bataille cometh, that he borowe not ne make no tayllage, for no man may be riche that levyth his owne, hopyng to gete and take of other. Than alwey al her gayn and wyunnyng ought to be comyn emong [them], exept theyr armes. For in like wyse, as the vycторыe is comune, so shold the dispoyle and botye  
 580 be comune unto them.

And therfore Davyd, that gentyl knyght in the first Book of Kynges, in the last chappytre made a lawe that he that abode behynde by maladye or sekenes in the tentes shold have as moche parte of the butyn as he that had ben in the batayle. And for the love of this lawe, he was maad afterward kyng of Israel.

585 Alixandre of Macedone cam on a tyme lyke a symple knyght unto the court of Porus, kyng of Ynde, for to espye the astate of the kyng and of the knyghtes of the court. And the kyng receyvyd hym right worshypfully and demaunded of hym many thynges of Alixander, and of his constance and strengthe, nothyng wenyng that he had ben Alixander but Antygone, one of his knyghtes. And after he had  
 590 hym to dyner. And whan they had servyd Alixander in vessayl of gold and sylver with dyverse metes, after that he had eten suche as plesid hym, he voyded the mete and toke the vessayl, and helde hit to hymself and put hit in his bosom or slevys, wherof he was accusid unto the kyng. After dyner, thenne, the kyng callyd hym and demaunded hym wherfore he had taken hys vayssayl. And he answerd: "Sir kyng,  
 595 my lord, I pray thee to understonde and take heed thyself, and also thy knyghtes. I have herd moche of thy grete hyghnes, and that thou art more myghty and puyssaunt in chevalrye and in dispencis than is Alixaunder. And therfore I am come to thee, a poure knyght whiche am named Antygone, for to serve thee. Than hit is the custome in the courte of Alixander that what thyng a knyght is servyd  
 600 wyth, alle is hys, mete and vaissel and cuppe. And therfore I had supposid that this custome had ben kept in thy court, for thou art richer than he."

Whan the knyghtes herde this, anone they lefte Porus and went to serve Alixaunder. And thus he drewe to hym the hertes of hem by yeftes, whiche afterward slewe Porus that was kyng of Ynde, and they maad Alixandre kyng  
 605 therof. Therefore, remembre knyght alwey that wyth a closid and shette purse shalt thou never have victorye.

Ovyde saith that he that taketh yeftes, he is glad therwyth, for they wyne wyth yeftes the hertes of the goddes and of men. For yf Jupyter were angrid, with yeftes he wold be plesid.

572 wythdrawe to hym them, withdraw them to him; large gevyng, generous giving. 575 achyeyvd, gained. 576 tayllage, a tallage or tax. 577 levyth, leaves. 578 her, their. 579 armes, armor; dispoyle and botye, dispoil and booty. 582 abode, stayed. 583 butyn, spoils. 586 Ynde, India. 590 vessayl, vessels. 591 voyded, cleared. 592 slevys, sleeves. 593 accusid, betrayed or disclosed. 597 puyssaunt, powerful; dispencis, dispensing. 598 poure, poor. 603 yeftes, gifts. 605 shette, shut.

610       The knyghtes ought to be stronge not onely of body but also in corage. There  
ben many stronge and grete of body that ben faynt and feble in the herte. He is  
stronge that may not be vaynquysshed and overcome, how wel that he suffrith  
moche otherwhyle. And so we beleve that they that be not overgrete ne over litel  
ben most corageous and beste in bataylle.

615       We rede that Cadrus, duc of Athenes, shold have a bataylle agayn them of Polipe.  
And he was warned and had a revelacion of the goddes that they shold have the  
victorie of whom the prynce shold be slayn in the batayle. And the prynce, whiche  
was of a grete corage and trewe herte, took other armes of a poure man and put  
620       himself in the fronte of the bataylle to the ende that he myght be slayn, and so he  
was. For the right trewe prynce had lever dye than his peple shold be overcomen.  
And so they had the victorie. Certes hit was a noble and fayr thyng to expose  
himself to the deth for to deffende his contraye. But no man wold do so but yf he  
hopyd to have a better thyng therfore. Therefore the lawe sayth that they lyve in her  
sowles gloriously that ben slayn in the warre for the comyn wele.

625       A knyght ought also to be merciful and pietous, for there is no thyng that maketh  
a knyght so renommed as is whan he sayth the lyf of them that he may slee. For to  
shede and spylle blood is the condicyon of a wylde beste and not the condicyon of  
a good knyght. Therefore we rede that Scilla, that was duc of the Romainys without,  
630       had many fair victories agaynst the Romainys. And within, that were contrayre to  
hym, in so moche that in the Bataylle of Puylle he slewe eighteen thousand men,  
and in champayne seventy thousand, and after in the cyté he slewe thre thousand  
men unarmed. And whan one of his knyghtes that was named Quyntus Catulus  
sawe this cruelté, sayd to hym: “Sesse now and suffre them to lyve and be merciful  
635       to them wyth whome we have ben victorious and wyth whom we ought to lyve. For  
it is the most hyst and fair vengeaunce that a man may do as to spare them and  
gyve hem her lyf whom he may slé.”

640       Therefore Joab ordeyned, whan Absalon was slayn, he sowned a trompette that  
his peple shold nomore renne and slee theyr adversaries. For there were slayn about  
twenty thousand of them. And in like wyse dyd he whan he faught ayenst Abner,  
and Abner was vaynquysshed and fledde. For where that he went in the chaas, he  
commaunded to spare the people.

645       The knyghtes ought to kepe the peple. For whan the peple ben in their tentis  
or castellis, the knyghtes ought to kepe the watche. For this cause, the Romainys  
callyd them “legions,” and they were made of dyverse provynces and of dyverse  
nacions to the entente to kepe the peple. And the peple shold entende to theyr  
werke, for no crafty man may bothe entende to his crafte and to fight. How may  
a crafty man entende to his werke sewrely in tyme of warre but yf he be kept? And

612 **how wel that**, even if. 615 **Polipe**, the Peloponnese. 620 **lever**, rather. 622 **but yf**, unless. 625 **pietous**, full of pity. 628 **without**, this seems to be a translation from the Latin version of the *Liber*, which states that Sulla governed “*exterae partis*,” or in the outer regions. 630 **Bataylle of Puylle**, Battle of Apulia, a region in southeast Italy. 631 **champayne**, the countryside or the field. 633 **Sesse**, Cease. 637 **sowned**, sounded. 640 **where that**, wherever; **chaas**, pursuit. 644 “**legions**,” a body of an infantry ranging from three to six thousand soldiers. 645 **entente**, goal or end; **entende to**, attend to. 647 **sewrely**, surely.



right in suche wyse as the knyghtes shold kepe the peple in tyme of pees, in like  
 wyse the peple ought to purveye for theyr dispencis. How shold a plowman be  
 650 sewre in the felde but yf the knyghtes made dayly watche to kepe hem. For like as  
 the glorie of a kyng is upon his knyghtes, so it is necessarye to the knyghtes that  
 the marchauntes, crafty men, and comyn peple be defended and kepte. Therfore  
 late the knyghtes kepe the peple in suche wyse that they may enjoye pees, and gete  
 and gadre the costis and expencis of them bothe.

655 We rede that Athis sayd to Davyd, whiche was a knyght: "I make thee my kepar  
 and defendar alwey." Thus shold the knyghtes have grete zeles that the lawe be  
 kept. For the magesté ryal ought not onely to be garnysshed wyth armes but also  
 wyth good lawes. And therfore shold they labour that they shold be wel kepte.

Turgeus Pompeus rehercith of a noble knyght named Ligurgyus that had made  
 660 auncient lawes, the whiche the peple wold not kepe ne observe, for they semed  
 hard for them to kepe, and wold constreine hym to rapelle and sette hem aparte.  
 Whan the noble knyght sawe that, he dyd the peple to understonde that he had not  
 made them, but a god that was named Apollo Delphynus had made them and had  
 commaunded hym that he shold do the peple kepe them. Thyse wordes avayled  
 665 not. They wold in no wyse kepe them. And than he sayd to them that it were good  
 that or the sayd lawes shold be broken that he had gyven 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 and observe them tyl that he retorned agayn. The  
 peple accorded therto and swore that they shold kepe them unto the tyme he  
 670 retorned. Than the knyght went into Grece in exyle and dwellyd there alle his lyf.  
 And whan he shold dye, he commaunded that hys body shold be cast in the see.  
 For as moche as yf his body shold be borne theder, the peple shold wene to be quyt  
 of theyr othe and shold kepe no lenger his lawes that were so good and resonable  
 that the knyght had lever to forsake his owne contré and to dye so than to repele  
 675 his lawes.

And his lawes were suche:

The first lawe was that the people shold obeye and serve the prynces, and the  
 prynces shold kepe the peple and doo justyce on the malefactours.

680 The second lawe that they shold be al sobre, for he wist wel that the labour of  
 chevalrye is most stronge whan they lyve sobrely.

The thyrd was that no man shold bye any thyng for money, but they shold  
 chaunge ware for ware, and one marchaundyse for another.

The fourth was that men shold sette nomore by money ner kepe hit more than  
 they wold dunge or filthe.

**649 purveye**, provide; **dispencis**, upkeep. **650 sewre**, secure (or possibly "sower," although there is no instance of this spelling in other texts). **652 crafty men**, tradesmen. **653–54 gete and gadre**, obtain and gather. **655 kepar**, keeper. **656 alwey**, perpetually. **657 magesté ryal**, royal greatness; **garnysshed**, decorated. **660 auncient**, ancient. **661 rapelle**, repeal; **sette hem aparte**, set them aside. **662 dyd**, caused. **664–65 avayled not**, did not succeed. **666 or**, before. **668 tyl**, until. **669 accorded therto**, agreed to this. **672 For as moche as yf**, For if; **theder**, thither. **674 lever**, rather. **678 malefactours**, transgressors. **679 sobre**, temperate; **wyst**, knew. **682 chaunge ware for ware**, exchange goods. **684 dunge**, dung.

- 685        The fifthe he ordeyned for the comyn wele alle thyng by ordre, that the prynces myght meve and make bataylle by her power. To the maisters' councyllours he commysed the jugementis and the annuel rentes. To the senatours, the kepyng of the lawe. And to the comyn peple he gaf power to chese suche juges as they wold have.
- 690        The sixte he ordeyned that alle thyng shold be departed egally and al thyng shold be comyn, and none richer than other in patrimony.
- The seventh that every man shold eete lyke wel in comyn opynly, that richesse shold not be cause of luxurye whan they ete secretly.
- The eighth that the yonge peple shold not have but one gowne or garment in the yere.
- 695        The ninth that men shold sette poure children to laboure in the felde to the ende that they shold not employe their yongthe in playes and folye but in laboure.
- The tenth that the maydens shold be married wythout dowaire, in suche wyse that no man shold take a wyf for money.
- 700        The eleventh that men shold rather take a wyf for her good maners and vertues than for her riches.
- The twelfth that men shold worship the olde and auncient men for their age and more for their wysedom than for her riches.
- This knyght made none of thyse lawes but he first kepte hem.

*The fyfthe chappytre of the second book, of the forme and maners of the rookes.*

**Capitulo quinto.**



**686 meve**, initiate; **maisters' councyllours**, royal council. **687 commysed**, commissioned or entrusted. **690 departed**, divided. **691 patrimony**, inheritance. **692 eete**, eat. **697 employe**, employ or direct. **698 dowaire**, dowry.

705 The rookes, whiche been vycayrs and legates of the kyng, ought to be maad  
 a knyght upon an hors and a mantel and hood furrid with menevier, holdyng a staf  
 in his hand. And for as moche as a kyng may not be in al places of his royaume,  
 therfore the auctorité of hym is gyven to the rookes, whiche represente the kyng.  
 710 And for as moche as a royaume is grete and large, and that rebellyon or noveltees  
 myght sourde and aryse in one partye or other, therfore ther ben two rookes, one  
 on the right syde and that other on the lift syde. They ought to have in hem pyté,  
 justice, humylité, wyful poverté, and lyberalyté.

First justyce, for it is most fayr of the vertues. For hit happeth ofte tyme that the  
 mynystres, by theyr pryde and orgueyl, subverte justyce and doo no right, wherfore  
 715 the kynges otherwhyle lose theyr royames wythout theyr culpe or gylte. For an  
 untrew judge or offycer maketh his lord to be named unjuste and evyl. And contrarye  
 wyse, a trewe mynystre of the lawe and rightwys causeth the kyng to be reputed just  
 and trewe. The Romainys therfore maad good lawes and wold that they shold be juste  
 and trewe. And they that establisshid them for to governe the peple wold in no wyse  
 720 breke them but kepe them for to dye for them. For the auncient and wyse men said  
 comynly that it was not good to make and ordeygne that lawe that is not just.

Wherof Valeryus reherceth that there was a man that was named Themystydes,  
 whiche came to the councyllours of Athenes and sayd that he knewe a councyl  
 whiche was right proffyttable for them, but he wold telle hit but to one of them whom  
 725 that they wold. And they assygned to hym a wyse man named Aristydes. And whan  
 he had understonde hym, he cam agayn to the other of the councyl, and sayd that  
 the councyl of Themystides was wel proffyttable, but "hit was not just, how be hit  
 ye may revolve hit in your mynde." And the councyl that he sayd was thys: that  
 there were comen two grete shippes fro Lacedome and were arryved in theyr  
 730 londe, and that hit were good to take them. And whan the councyl herde hym that  
 sayd that hit was not juste ner right, they left hem al in pees, and wold not have a  
 doo with al.

The vicair or juge of the kyng ought to be so just that he shold employe al his  
 entente to save the comyn wele, and yf hit were nede to put his lyf and lose hit  
 735 therfore. We have an ensauple of Marcus Regulus, wherof Tullyus reherceth in  
 the *Book of Offyces*, and Saynt Augustyn also [in] *De Civitate dei*, how he faught agayn  
 them of Cartage by see in shyppes and was vaynquysshed and taken. Than hit  
 happend that they of Cartage sent him in her message to Rome for to have theyr  
 prysoners there for them that were taken, and so to chaunge one for another, and  
 740 made hym swere and promyse to come ageyn. And so he came to Rome and made  
 proposicion tofore the Senate and demaunded them of Cartage of the senatours  
 to be chaunged as afore is sayd. And than the Senatours demaunded hym what

705 vycayrs and legates, representatives and delegates. 706 furrid with menevier, lined with fur. 707 royaume, kingdom. 709 noveltees, news. 710 sourde, spring up. 712 wyful, voluntary; lyberalyté, generosity. 714 orgueyl, pride. 715 otherwhyle, in these cases; culpe, culpability. 717 rightwys, upstanding. 723 councyl, used in this section to refer both to advice and to the Senate as a whole. 724 but to one, only to one. 727–28 how be hit ye may revolve hit (i.e., however you may consider it). 729 Lacedome, Lacedaemon (Sparta). 733–34 employe al his entente, direct all his energy. 734 save, preserve; nede, necessary. 738 in her message, as their messenger. 742 demaunded, requested.

councyl he gaf. "Certeyn," sayd he, "I counuceyll yow that ye doo hyt not in no wyse, for as moche as the peple of Rome that they of Cartage holde in pryson of  
 745 youris byn olde men and brusid in the warre as I am myself. But they that ye holde in pryson of theyr peple is alle the floure of alle theyr folke." Whyche councyl they took. And than his frendes wold have holden hym and counceilled them to abyde there and not retorne agayn prisoner into Cartage. But he wold never do so, ner abyde, but wold goo agayn and kepe his oth, how wel that he knewe that he  
 750 went toward his deth, for he had lever dye than to breke his oth.

Valerius rehercith in the sixth book of one Emelie, duc of the Romainys, that in the tyme when he had assiegid the Phalistes, the scole maistre of the children deceyyd the children of the gentilmen that he drewe hym a litil and a litil unto the tentis of the Romainys by fayr speche. And sayd to the Duc Emelye that by the moyan  
 755 of the chyl dren that he had brought to hym, he shold have the cyt  , for theyr faders were lordes and governours. Whan Emelye had herde hym, he said thus to hym: "Thou that art evyl and cruel, and thou that woldest gyve a gyfte of grete felonye and of mavasty  , thou shalt ner hast not founden here duc ne peple that resembleth thee. We have also wel lawes to kepe in batayle and warre, as in our contrees and  
 760 other places. And we wol observe and kepe them unto every man as they ought to be kept. And we ben armed ayenst our enemyes that wol defende them, and not ayenst them that can not save their lyf whan their contr   is taken, as thise litil children. Thou hast vaynquysshed them as moche as is in thee by thy newe deceyvable falsnes and by subtilnes and not by armes. But I that am a Romain shal vaynquysshe them  
 765 by craft and strength of armes."

And anone he commaunded to take the sayd scole maister and to bynde his handes behynde hym as a traytour, and lede hym unto the parentis of the chyl dren. And whan the faders and parentes sawe the grete curtoysye that he had doon to them, they opened the gates and yelded them unto hym.

770 We rede that Hanybal had taken a prynce of Rome whyche upon his othe and promyse suffred hym to goo home and to sende hym hys raunson or he shold come agayn within a certeyn tyme. And whan he was at home in his place, he said that he had deceyved hym by a false oth. And whan the Senatours knewe therof, they constrayned hym to retorne agayn unto Hanybal.

775 Amos Florus tellith that the phisicien of Kyng Pirrus cam on a nyght to Fabrice, his adversarye, and promysed hym yf he wold geve hym for his labour that he wold enpoyson Pirrus, his mayster. Whan Fabricius understood this, he dyd to take hym and bynde hym hand and foot, and sent hym to his maistre, and dyd do say to hym word for word like as the phisicien had said and promysed hym to do. And whan  
 780 Pirrus understood this, he was gretly admervaylid of the loyalt   and trouth of Fabrice, his enemye, and said "certeynly that the sonne myght lightlyer and sonner

743 **Certeyn**, Certainly. 744 **for as moche as**, because. 745 **brusid**, wounded. 747 **holden hym**, kept him; **them** (presumably Marcus travels with other prisoners). 748 **abyde**, stay. 749 **how wel that**, although. 750 **lever**, rather. 752 **assiegid**, attacked; **Phalistes**, citizens of Falerii, an ancient city in central Italy; **scole maistre**, schoolmaster. 754 **moyan**, means. 758 **mavasty  **, evil; **shalt ner hast not**, shall not nor have not. 769 **them**, themselves. 773 **hym**, them. 774 **constrayned**, made. 777 **enpoyson**, poison. 780 **admervaylid of**, astounded by. 781 **lightlyer and sonner**, more easily and more quickly.

be enpesshid of his cours thenne Fabrice shold be letted to holde loyalté and trouthe." Yf they than that were not Crysten were so juste and trewe, and lovyd theyr contréy and theyr good renomee, what shold we now doon, than, that been  
 785 Cristen, and that our lawe is sette al upon love and charité? But now a dayes there is nothyng ellis in the world but barate, treson, deceit, falsenes, and trecherye. Men kepe not their covenantes, promyses, othes, writynges, ne trouth. The subgettis rebelle agayn their lord. Ther is now no lawe kepte, nor fydelyté, ne othe holden. The people murmure and ryse agayn theyr lord and wol not be subget.

790 They [the vicars] ought to be pious in herte, whiche is avaylable to alle thyng. There is pyté in effect by compassyon and in worde by remyssyon, and pardon by almesse for to encline hymself unto the poure. For pyté is no thyng ellis but a right grete wylle of a debonayr herte for to helpe alle men.

Valerius rehercith that there was a juge named Sangis whiche dampned a  
 795 woman that had deservyd the deth for to have her heed smyten of or ellys that she shold dye in pryson. The jayler that had pyté on the woman put not her anon to deth but put her in the pryson. And this woman had a doughter whiche came for to see and comforte her moder. But alwey or she entrid into the prison, the jayler serchyd hyr that she shold bere no mete ne drynke to her moder, but that she shold dye for  
 800 hunger. Than hit happend after thys that he mervayled moche why this woman dyed not, and began to espye the cause why she lyvyd so long and fonde atte laste how her doughter gaf sowke to her moder and fedde her with her mylke. Whan the jayler sawe thys merveye, he went and tolde the juge. And whan the juge sawe this grete pyté of the doughter to the moder, he pardoned her and made her to be  
 805 delyverd out of her pryson. What is that that pité ne amolissbeth? Moche peple wene that it is agaynst nature and wondre that the doughtre shold gyve the moder to souke. Hit were agaynst nature but the children shold be kynde to fader and moder.

Seneka sayth that the kyng of bees hath no prykke to styng wyth as other bees  
 810 have, and that nature hath take hit away from hym by cause he shold have none armes to assaile them. And this is an example unto prynces that they shold be of the same condycion.

Valerius rehercith in his fifthe book of Marchus Martellus that whan he had taken the cyté of Syracusane and was sette in the hiest place of the cyté, he behelde  
 815 the grete destruccyon of the peple and of the cyté. He wepte and said: "Thou oughtest to be sorowful, for so moche as thou woldest have no pyté of thy self. But enjoye thee, for thou art fallen in the hande of a right debonair prynce."

**782 enpesshid of his cours**, thrown off his course; **letted to holde**, prevented from keeping. **783 than**, then; **Crysten**, Christian. **784 renomee**, reputation. **786 barate**, trouble or suffering. **788 fydelyté**, fidelity. **790 avaylable to**, beneficial to. **791 in effect**, in deed. **792 almesse**, alms; **encline**, turn. **793 debonayr**, gracious. **795 smyten of**, cut off. **798 or she entrid**, before she entered. **800 mervayled**, marveled. **802 gaf sowke to**, nursed (with her breast). **805 that that**, that which; **amolissbeth**, soften. **806 wene**, know. **807 Hit were agaynst nature but**, But it would really be against nature unless. **814 Syracusane**, Syracuse. **815 destruccyon**, destruction. **817 enjoye thee**, comfort yourselves; **debonair**, gracious.

Also, he recounteth when Pompeeé had conquerd the kyng of Germanye, that often tymes had foughten ayenst the Romainys, and that he was brought tofore hym  
 820 bounden. He was so pyetous that he wold not suffre hym to be longe on his knees tofore hym, but he receyved hym curtoysly and sette the crowne agayn on his heed, and put hym in the estate that he was tofore. For he had oppynyon that it was as worshypful and fittyng to a kyng to pardone as to punyssh.

Also, he reherceth of a counceyllour that was named Poule, that dyd do brynge  
 825 tofore hym a man that was prysoner. And or he knelid tofore hym, he toke hym up fro the grounde and made hym to sitte besyde hym for to geve hym good esporaunce and hope, and sayd to the other standyng by in thys wyse: "Yf hit be grete noblesse that we shewe ourself contrarye to our enemyes, than this fete ought to be alowed, that we shewe ourself debonayr to our caytyfs and prisoners."

830 Cesar, whan he hard the deth of Cathon, whiche was his adversarye, sayd that he had grete envye of hys glorie and nothyng of his patrymonye. And therefore, he lefte to his chyldren frely al hys patrymonye.

Thus taught Virgyle and enseyneth the glorious prynces to rewle and governe the peple of Rome.

835 And Saynt Austyn [in] *De Civitate dei* sayth thus: "Thou emperour, governe the peple pyetously and make pees overall, deporte and forbere thy subgettis, reprove and correcte the prowde, for so enseyne and teche thee the lawes."

And hyt was wryten unto Alixaunder that every prynce ought to be pyetous in punysshying and redy for to rewarde. Ther is nothyng that causeth a prynce to be  
 840 so belovyd of his peple as whan he spekyth to hem swetely and concervyth wyth hem symply. And al this cometh of the rote of pyté.

We rede of the Emperour Trajan that his frendes reprevyd hym of that he was to moche pryvé and famulier wyth the comyn peple more than an emperour ought to be. And he answerd that he wold be suche an emperour as every man desyred  
 845 to have hym.

Also, we rede of Alisaunder that on a tyme he ladde his hoost forth hastely. And in that haste he beheld where satte an olde knyght that was sore acolde, whom he dyd do aryse and sette hym in his owne sete or siege. What wondre was hit though the knyghtes desyred to serve suche a lorde that lovyd better theyr helthe than his dignyté?  
 850

The rookes ought also to be humble and meke after the Holy Scripture, whiche sayth: "The gretter or in the hyer astate that thou art, so moche more oughtest thou be meker and more humble."

855 Valerius reherceth in his seventh book that ther was an emperour named Publius Cesar, that dyd doo bete down his hows, whyche was in the myddes of the

820 pyetous, merciful. 822 estate, condition. 826 esporaunce, expectation or hope. 828 fete, deed. 829 caytyfs, prisoners. 830 hard, heard of. 831 patrymonye, patrimony or estate. 831–32 he lefte to his chyldren (i.e., Caesar leaves Cato's inheritance to Cato's children). 833 enseyneth, instructs. 836 deporte and forbere, spare and be forbearing towards. 837 for so enseyne, and in this way instruct. 840 concervyth, should probably be "convercyth," or converses. 843 pryvé, private. 847 acolde, chilled. 848 sete or siege, seat; though (best taken as "that"). 855 dyd doo bete down his hows, who caused his house to burn down; myddes, middle.



marketplace, for as moche as hit was hyer than other howses. For as moche as he was more glorious in estate than other, therfore wold he have a lasse hows than other.

And Scipion of Affrique, that was so poure of valuntarye poverté, that whan he was dede, he was buryed at the dyspencis and in costes of the comyn good. They shold be so humble that they shold leve theyr offyces and suffre other to take hem whan her tyme cometh, and doo honour to other. For he governeth wel the royaume that may governe hit whan he wyl.

Valerius rehercith in his third book that Fabyan the Grete had ben maystre counceyllour of his fader, his grauntsire, and of his grauntsir's fader, and of alle his antecessours. And yet dyd he al his payn and labour that his sone shold never have that offyce after hym. But for no thyng that he mystrusted his sone, for he was noble and wyse and more attempered than other. But he wold that the offyce shold not alwey reste in the famylle and hows of the Fabyans.

Also, he reherceth in his seventh book that they wold make the sayd Fabyan emperour, but he excusyd hym, and sayde that he was blynde and myght not see for age. But that excusacion myght not helpe hym. Than sayd he to hem: "Seke ye and gete you another! For yf ye make me your emperour, I may not suffre your maners, nor ye may not suffre myn."

There was a kyng of so subtyl engyne that whan men brought hym the crowne, tofore that he toke hit, he remembrid hym a litil, and sayd, "O thou crowne that art more noble thenne happy! For yf a kyng knewe wel and parfaytly how that thou art ful of parylles of thoughte and of charge, yf thou were on the grounde, he wold never lyfte nor take thee up. Remembre thee that whan thou art most glorious, thenne have somme men moste envye on thee. And whan thou hast most seignorye and lordshyps, than shalt thou have most care, thought, and anguysshes."

Vaspasian was so humble that whan Nero was slayn, alle the peple cryed for to have hym emperour. And many of his frendes came and prayed hym that he wold take hit upon hym. So at the last he was constreyned to take hit upon hym, and sayd to hys frendys, "Hit is better and more to prayse and alowe for a man to take the empyre agaynst his wylle than for to laboure to have hit and to put hymself therin."

Thus ought they to be humble and meke for to receyve worshyp. Therfore saith the Byble that Joab, the sone of Saryne, that was captayne of the warre of the Kyng Davyd, whan he cam to take and wyne a cyté, he sente to Davyd and desyred hym to come to the warre, that the victorye shold be geven to Davyd and not to hymself.

Also, they ought to be ware that they chaunge not ofte tymes her offycers. Josephus rehercith that the frendes of Tyberius mervaylled moche why he helde his officers so longe in theyr offyces wythout chaunchyng. And they demanded

856 **hyer**, higher. 857 **lasse**, more modest. 859 **at the dyspencis**, at the expense. 861 **royame**, kingdom. 864 **grauntsire**, grandfather. 865 **antecessours**, ancestors; **dyd he al his payn and labour**, did he work to the end that. 866 **offyce**, responsibility; **But for no thyng**, But not for the reason. 867 **attempered**, well-balanced. 870 **excusyd hym**, exempted himself. 871 **for age**, on account of his age. 872–73 **suffre your maners**, endure your customs. 874 **engyne**, genius. 875 **remembrid hym**, reminded himself. 877 **parylles**, perils. 879 **seignorye**, power. 884 **alowe for**, sanction. 892 **chaunchyng**, changing.

of hym the cause, to whom he answerd, "I wolde chaunge them gladly yf I wyst that hit shold be good for the peple. But I sawe on a tyme a man that was royneous and ful of sores, and many flyes satte upon the sores and souked hys blood, that hit was mervayle to see. Wherefore I smote and chaced them away. And he than sayd to me  
 895 'Why chasest and smytest thou away thyse flyes that been ful of my blood? And now shalt thou lete come other that be hongrye, which shal doon to me double payne more than the other dyd. For the prick of the hongry is more poygnaunt the half  
 900 thenne of the fulle.'"

"And therfore," sayde he, "I leve the offycers in theyr offyces, for they ben al riche and do not so moche evyll and harme as the newe shold do and were poure yf I shold sette hem in her places."

They ought also to be pacient in heryng of wordes and in suffryng payne on her  
 905 bodyes. As to the first, one sayd to Alisaunder that he was not worthy to reigne, specially whan he suffred that lecherye and delyte to have seignorye in hym. He suffrid hit patiently and answerd none otherwyse but that he wold correcte hymself, and take better maners and more honeste.

Also, hit is rehercid that Julius Cesar was ballyd, wherof he had displasir so grete that he kempt hys heeris that laye on the after parte of his heed forward for to hyde the bare tofore. Than sayd a knyght to hym, "Cezar, hit is lightlier and soner to be maad that thou be not ballyd than that I have usid ony cowardyse in the warre of Rome, or here after shal doo ony cowardyse." He suffryd hyt patiently and sayd not one word. Another reprochyd hym by his lignage and called hym "baker."  
 910 He answerd that "Hit is better that noblesse begynne in me than hit shold faylle in me." Another callyd hym tyraunt. He answerd, "Yf I were one, thou woldest not say so."

A knyght callyd on a tyme Scipyon of Affrique "fowle and olde knyght in armes," and that he knewe lytyl good. And he answerd, "I was borne of my moder a lytyl chylde and feble, and not a man of armes." And yet he was at alle tymes one of the best and most worthiest in armes that lyyd.  
 920

Another sayd to Vaspasion: "And a wolf shold sonner chaunge his skyn and heer than thou sholdest chaunge thy lyf. For the lenger thou lyvest, the more thou coveytest." And he answerd of thyse wordes: "We ought to laughe. But we ought to amende ourself and punysshe the trespasses."  
 925

Seneke rehercith that the Kyng Antygonus herde certeyn peple speke and say evyl of hym, and there was betwene hem nomore but a courtyne. And than he sayd, "Make an ende of your evyl langage lest the kyng here you, for the courtyne heeryth yow wel ynough."  
 930

Than, as touchyng to the paynes that they ought to suffre paciently, Valerius reherceth that a tyraunt dyd do torment Anamaxymenes and thretenyd hym for to cutte of his tunge, to whom he sayd, "Hit is not in thy power to do so." And forthwith

894 **royneous**, ruinous/broken down. 895 **souked**, sucked. 897 **smytest**, smite. 898 **lete come**, cause to come. 899 **poygnaunt**, powerful. 904 **heryng**, hearing. 909 **ballyd**, bald; **displasir**, displeasure. 910 **kempt**, combed. 911–12 **lightlier and soner**, more easily and sooner. 922 **sonner**, sooner. 928 **courtyne**, curtain. 932 **cutte of**, cut off.

he bote of his owne tongue and chewid hit wyth his tethe, and caste hit in the vysage of the tyraunt.

935 Hit is a grete vertu in a man that he forgete not to be pacient in correccions of wronges. Hit is better to leve a gylty man unpunysshed than to punyssh hym in a wrath or yre.

Valerius rehercith that Archyta of Tarente, that was mayster to Plato, sawe that his feldes and landes were destroyed and lost by the negligence of his servaunt, to whom he sayd: "Yf I were not angry with thee, I wolde take vengeance and turmente thee." Lo, there ye may see that he had lever to leve to punyssh than to punyssh more by yre and wrath than by right.

And therefore sayth Seneque: "Do not thyng that thou oughtest to doo whan thou arte angrye. For whan thou art angry, thou woldest do alle thynges after thy playsir. And yf thou canst not vaynquyssh thyn yre, than must thyn yre overcome thee."

After thys ought they to have wylful poverté, lyke as hit was in the auncient prynces. For they coveyted more to be riche in wytte and good maners thenne in money. And that rehercith Valerius in his eighth book that Scypyon of Affryque was accused unto the Senate that he shold have grete tresour. And he answerd, "Certes, whan I submysed Affrique into your poesté, I helde no thyng to myself that I myght say 'This is myn' save onely the surname of Affrique. Ner the Affriquans have not founden in me, ner in my broder, ony avaryce, ner that we were so covetouse that we had, ne had gretter envye to be riche of name than of riches."

955 And therefore sayth Seneque that the Kyng Altagone usyd gladly in his hows vessels of erthe. And somme sayd he dyd hit for covetyse. But he sayd that hit was better and more noble thyng to shyne in good maners than in vasseyll. And whan somme men demaunded hym why and for what cause he dyd so, he answerd, "I am now Kyng of Secylle and was sone of a potter. And for as moche as, I doubte fortune. 960 For whan I yssued out of the hows of my fader and moder, I was sodaynly maad riche, wherfore I beholde the natyvyté of me and of my lignage, whyche is humble and meke." And al these thynges cometh of wylful poverté, for he entended more to the comyn proffyt than to his owen.

And of this poverté speketh Saynt Augustyn in the *Book of the Cyté of God*, that they that entende to the comyn proffyt sorowe more that wylful poverté is lost in Rome than the riches of Rome, for by the wylful poverté was the renomee of good maners kepte entierly. Thus by this richesse, poverté is not onely corrupt in thys dayes, ner the cyté, ner the maners, but also the thoughtes of the men ben corrupt by this covetise and by felonye that is worse than any other enemye.

970 And of the cruelté of the peple of Rome speketh the good man of noble memorye, John the Monke, late cardynal of Rome, in the *Decretal the Sixte*, in the

933 bote of, bit off; tethe, teeth. 934 vysage, face. 941 turmente, torment; to leve to punyssh, not to punish. 948 wytte, wit or intellect. 950 accused unto, accused before. 951 submysed Affrique, made Africa submit; poesté, poustie or pousté, an archaic word that means power. 955 hows, house. 956 erthe, clay. 957 vasseyll, vessels. 959 Secylle, Sicily; for as moche as, because of this. 960 yssued, issued. 961 natyvyté, nativity (in the sense of family origins). 962 entended, inclined himself. 965 sorowe, regret. 966 renomee, renown. 968 ner the . . . ner the, both in . . . and in.

chappytre *Gens sancta*, where he sayth that they ben felons ayenst God, contrarye to holy thynges, trayters one to that other, envyous to her neyghbours, proud unto straungers, rebell and untrewre unto their soverayns, not suffryng to them that been  
 975 of lower degree than they, and no thyng shamefast to demaunde thynges discovenable, and not to leve tyl they have that they demaunde, and not plesyd but disagreeable whan they have receyved the gefte. They have theyr tongues redy for to make grete boost and do lityl. They ben large in promysyng and smale gyvers. Thyy ben right fals deceyvours, and right mordent and bytyng detractours, for  
 980 whiche thyng hit is a grete sorowe to see the humylité, the pacyence, and the good wysdom that was wonte to be in this cyté of Rome, whiche is chyef of al the world, and is perverted and torned into maleheurte and thyse evylles. And me thynketh that in other parties of Cristenté, they have taken ensauple of them to do evyl. They may say that this is after the *Decretale of Seygnorye and Dysobeysaunce*, that sayth  
 985 that suche thynges that the soverayns do is lightly and sone taken in ensauple of theyr subgettis.

Also, thyse vycayres shold be large and liberall, in so moche that suche peple as serve them ben duly payd and guerdoned of her labour. For every man doth his labour the better and lightyer whan he seeth that he shal be wel payed and  
 990 rewarded. And we rede that Titus, the sone of Vaspasian, was so large and so lyberal that he gaf and promysed sumwhat to every man. And whan his most prevy frendes demaunded of hym why he promysed more thenne he myght gyve, he answerd, "For as moche as it aperteyneth not to a prynce that ony man shold departe sorrowful or tryste fro hym." Than hit happend on a day that he gaf ner promysed  
 995 no thyng to ony man. And whan hit was even and advysed hymself, he sayd to his frendes: "O ye my frendes, thys day have I lost. For this day have I don no good."

And also, we rede of Julius Cesar that he never sayd in alle his lyf to his knyghtes "Goo on," but alwey he sayd "Come, come! For I love alwey to be in your companye." And he knewe wel that hit was lasse payne and travaylle to the knyghtes whan the  
 1000 prynce is in her companye that loveth hem and comforteth hem.

And also, we rede of the same Julyus Cesar in the *Book of Truphes of Philosophers* that there was an auncient knyght of his that was in parelle of a caas hangyng tofore the juges of Rome. So he callyd Cesar on a tyme and sayd to hym tofore al men that he shold be his advocate. And Cesar delyveryd and assygned to hym a  
 1005 right good advocate. And the knyght sayd to hym, "O Cesar, I put no vycayr in my place when thou were in paryl in the Batayl of Assise, but I faught for thee."

And than he shewyd to hym the places of his woundes that he had receyved in the bataylle. And than cam Cesar in his propre persone for to be his advocate and

**975 no thyng shamefast**, and in no way ashamed. **976 discovenable**, unsuitable; **leve**, leave; **plesyd**, pleased. **977 gefte**, gift. **979 mordent and bytyng**, mordant and biting. **981 wonte**, wont; **chyef**, chief. **982 maleheurte**, misfortune. **983 Cristenté**, the Christian world. **984 Seygnorye and Dysobeysaunce**, *Rule and Disobedience*. **985 lightly and sone**, quickly and soon. **987 large and liberall**, generous and openhearted. **988 guerdoned**, rewarded. **991 most prevy**, closest. **994 tryste**, sad. **995 whan hit was even and advysed hymself**, when it was evening and he considered to himself. **999 travaylle**, distress. **1002 parelle**, peril; **hangyng**, pending. **1006 Batayl of Assise**, Battle of Assisi. **1008 in his propre persone**, himself.

1010 to plete his cause for hym. He wold not have the name of unkyndenes, but doubted  
that men shold say that he were proude and that he wold not doo for them that  
had servyd hym. They that can not do so moche as for to be belovyd of her knyghtes  
can not love the knyghtes.

And this suffiseth of the rookes.



## BOOK THREE

*The third tractate of the offices of the comyn peple. The first chappitre is of the offyce of the labourers and werkmen.* Capitulo primo.



For so moche as noble persones cannot rewle ne governe without the servyse and werke of the people, than hit behoveth to devyse the oultrages and the offyces of the werkmen. Than I shal begynne first at the first pawn that is in the play of the chesse and signefieth a man of the comyn peple on fote. For they be al named “pietons,”  
 5 that is as moche to say as footmen. And thenne we wyl begynne at the pawn whyche standeth tofore the rooke on the right syde of the kyng, for as moche as thys pawne apperteyneth to serve the vycayre or lyeuテナunt of the kyng and other officers under hym of necessities of vytaylle.

And this maner of peple is figured and ought be maad in the forme and shappe  
 10 of a man holdyng in his right honde a spade or shovel, and a rodde in the lyft hand. The spade or shovel is for to delve and labour therwyth the erthe, and the rodde is for to dryve and conduyte wyth al the bestys unto her pasture. Also, he ought to have on hys gyrdel a sarpe or crokyd hachet for to cutte of the superfluytees of the vignes and trees.

**2 devyse**, consider; **oultrages**, exertions. **4 fote**, foot; “**pietons**,” foot soldiers. **7 vycayre**, representative. **8 vytaylle**, food. **11 delve**, dig. **12 conduyte**, steer through. **13 gyrdel**, girdle or belt; **sarpe or crokyd hachet**, a pruning hook or crooked hatchet; **cutte of**, cut off; **superfluytees**, overgrowth; **vignes**, vines.



15 And we rede in the Bible that the first labourer that ever was was Caym, the first  
sone of Adam, that was so evyl that he slewe his broder Abel, for as moche as the  
smoke of his tithes went strait unto heven, and the smoke and fume of the tythes  
of Caym went downward upon the erthe. And how wel that thys cause was trewe.  
20 Yet was there another cause of envye that he had unto his broder. For when Adam,  
theyr fader, maryed them for to multelye the erthe of his ligne, he wold not marye  
ner joyne togyder the two that were borne attones, but gaf unto Caym her that was  
born with Abel, and to Abel her that was borne wyth Caym. And thus began the  
envye that Caym had ayenst Abel, for hys wyf was fayrer than Caym's wyf. And for  
25 this cause he sle[we] Abel wyth the chekebone of a beste. And at that tyme was never  
no maner of yron bloody of manne's blood. And Abel was the fyrst martir in the  
Olde Testament. And thys sayd Caym dyd many other evyl thynges whiche I leve,  
for it apperteyneth not to my mater.

But it behoveth for necessyté that somme shold labour the erthe after the  
synne of Adam. For tofore or Adam synned, the erthe brought forth fruyt without  
30 labour of handes. But sithe he synned, hit must nedes be laboured with the handes  
of men. And for as moche as the erthe is moder of al thynges, and that we were first  
formed and took our begynnyng of the erthe, the same wyse at the last, she shal be  
the ende unto al us and to al thynges. And God that formed us of the erthe hath  
ordeyned that by the labour of men she shold gyve nourysshynge unto al that lyveth.

35 And first the labourer of the erthe ought to knowe his God that formed and  
made heven and erthe of nought, and ought to have loyalté and trouthe in hymself,  
and despise deth for to entende to his labour. And he ought to geve thankynges  
to hym that made hym and of whom he receyveth al his goodes temporal, wherof  
his lyf is susteyned. And also, he is bounden to paye the dismes and tythes of al his  
40 thynges, and not as Caym dyd but as Abel dyd of the beste that he chese out alwey  
for to gyve to God and to plesse Hym. For they that grutche and be greved in that  
they rendre and geve to God the tienches of her goodes, they ought to be aferd and  
have drede that they shal falle in necessyté, and that they myght be despoilyd or  
robbyd by warre or by tempest that myght falle or happen in the contray. And hit  
45 is no merveylle, though hyt so happen for that man that is disagreeable unto God  
and weneth that the multelyeng of his goodes temporel cometh by the vertu of  
his owne counceyl and his witte, the whiche is made by the only ordenaunce of  
Hym that made al, and by the same ordenaunce is sone taken away fro hym that  
is disagreeable. And hit is reson that whan a man haboundeth by fortune in goodes  
50 and knowith not God by whom it cometh, that to hym come somme other fortune  
by the whiche he may requyre grace and pardon, and to knowe his God.

16 for as moche as, because. 20 maryed, married. 21 attones, at once. 23 fayrer, fairer.  
24 chekebone, cheekbone. 28 behoveth, is requisite. 32 at the last, in the end. 37  
entende, direct himself towards; geve thankynges, give thanks. 38 goodes temporal,  
worldly goods. 39 dismes, obsolete meaning for *dime* or a tenth part, a tithe paid to the  
church or to a temporal ruler. 40 beste, beast; chese out, selected. 41 grutche and be  
greved, complain and are vexed. 42 rendre, offer up; tienches, tenth; her, their. 43 falle  
in necessyté, fall into want; despoilyd, despoiled. 44 contray, country. 45 merveylle,  
marvel. 46 weneth, believes; multelyeng, multiplying. 47 counceyl, deliberation; witte,  
intellect; ordenaunce, decree. 48 sone, soon. 49 haboundeth, abounds. 51 requyre, ask.

And we rede of the Kyng Davyd, that was first symple and one of the comyn peple, that whan fortune had enhauncid and sette him in grete estate, he left and forgate his God, and fyl to advoultrie and homycide and other synnes. Than anone  
 55 his owne sone, Absalon, assaillid and began to persecute hym. And than whan he sawe that fortune was contrarye to hym, he began to take ageyn his vertuous werkis and requyred pardon and so retorned to God agayn.

We rede also of the children of Ysrael, that were nygh enfamyned in desert, and sore hungry and thrusty, that they prayed and requyred of God for remedye. Anone  
 60 He chaunged His wille and sent to hem manna and flessch. And whan they were replenysshed and fatte of the flessch of bestes and of the manna, they made a calf of gold and worshipped hit, whiche was a grete synne and inyquyté. For whan they were hongry, they knewe God. And whan theyr belies were filled and fattened, they forgid ydolles and were ydolatreres.

After this every labourer ought to be faithful and trewe, that whan his maister delyvereth to hym his lande to be laboured, that he take nothyng to hymself but that he ought to have and is his, but laboure truly and take cure and charge in the name of hys maystre, and do more diligently hys mayster's labours than his owen,  
 65 for the lyf of the most grete and noble men next God lieth in the handes of the labourers. And thus al craftes and occupacions ben ordeyned not only to suffice to them only but to [the] comyn. And so it happeth oft tyme that the labourer of the erth useth grete and boistous metis, and bryngeth to his maister more subtile and more deynteous metes.

And Valerius rehercith in his sixt book that there was a wyse and noble maistre that was named Anthonius, that was accusid of a caas of avoultry. And as the cause henge tofore the juges, his accusers or denonciatours brought a labourer that closed his lande, for so moche as they sayd whan his mayster went to do the advoultrye,  
 75 this same servaunt bare the lanterne, wherof Anthonius was sore abasshid and doutid that he shold depose agaynst hym. But the labourer, that was named Papirion, said to his maister that he shold denye his cause hardily unto the juges, for to be tormentid, his cause shold never be enpeyred by hym, ner nothyng shold yssue out of his mouth wherof he shold be noyed or grevyd. And than was the labourer beten and tormentid, and brent in many places of his body. But he sayd never thyng wherof his maister was hurt or noyed. But the other that accused his  
 80 maister were punysshed, and Papirion was delyverd of his paynes.

And also tellith Valerius that there was another labourer that was named Penapion, that servyd a maister whos name was Themes, which was of mervailous

52 **symple**, humble. 53 **enhauncid**, elevated or lifted up. 54 **advoultrie**, adultery. 56 to **take ageyn**, to resume. 58 **nygh enfamyned**, nearly starved. 59 **Anone**, Immediately. 60 **hem**, them; **manna and flessch**, heavenly drink and food. 63 **belies**, bellies. 64 **forgid ydolles**, built idols. 65 **that whan**, so that when. 67 **cure**, care. 70–71 to **suffise to them only**, to be sufficient to them alone. 72 **boistous metis**, coarse food. 73 **deynteous metes**, delicate morsels. 75–76 **cause henge**, case was pending. 76 **closed**, guarded. 78 **bare the lanterne** (i.e., the servant guides Antonius to his secret rendezvous); **abasshid**, ashamed. 79 **doutid**, feared; **depose**, testify. 81 **for to be tormentid**, for even if he were tortured; **enpeyred**, impaired or made worse. 82 **noyed or grevyd**, harmed or vexed. 83 **brent**, burned.

faith to his maister. For hit befel that certeyn knyghtes cam to his maister's hows for  
to slé hym. And anone as Penapion knewe hit, he went into his maister's chambre  
90 and wold not be knowen, for he did on his mayster's gowne and his rynge on his  
fynge, and lay in his bedde, and thus put hymself in parelle of deth for to respyte  
hys mayster's lyf. But we see nowadayes many fooks that daigne not to use grose  
metis of labourers and flee the cours clothyng and maners of a servaunt. Every  
wyse man [who is] a servaunt that trewly servyth his maister is free and not bonde.  
95 But a fool that is over proud is bonde. For the debylité and feblenes of corage that  
is broken in conscience by pryde, envye, or by covetyse is right servytude. Yet they  
ought not to doubte to laboure. For fere and drede of deth, no man ought to love  
to moche his lyf, for hit is a foul thyng for a man to renne to the deth for the envye  
of his lyf. And a wyse man and a stronge man ought not to fle for his lyf, but to  
100 yssue. For there is no man that lyveth but he must nedes dye.

And of this speketh Claudyan, and saith that al tho thynges that the ayer goth  
about and envyrneth, and alle thyng that the erthe laboureth, al thynges that  
ben conteyned within the see, al thynges that the flodes brynge forth, alle thynges  
that ben norissed, and al the bestes that ben under the heven shal deporte alle  
105 from the world. And al shal goo at His commaundement, as wel kynges, prynces,  
and al that the world envyrneth and goeth about. Alle shal goo this way. Than  
he ought not to doubte for fere of deth. For as wel shal dye the ryche as the poure.  
Deth maketh alle thyng lyke and putteth al to an ende.

And therof made a noble versefyer two versis whiche folowe: "*Forma, genus,  
110 mores, sapiencia, res, et honores / Morte ruant subita sola manent merita.*" Wherof the  
Englissh is: "Beauté, lignage, maners, wysedom, thynges and honoures / Shal ben  
deffetid by sodeyn deth; nothyng shal abyde but the meritis."

And herof fynde we in *Vitas patrum* that ther was an erle, a riche and noble man,  
that had a sone onely. And whan thys sone was of age to have knowleche of the  
115 lawe, he herde in a sermone that deth spareth none. And as wel dyeth the yonge  
as the olde. And that the deth ought specially to be doubted for thre causes. One  
was that no man knoweth whan he comyth. And the second, ner in what state he  
taketh a man. And the thyrd, he wote never whether he shal goo. Therefore eche  
man shold dispyse and flee the world, and lyve wel, and holde hym toward God.

120 And whan this yonge man herde this thyng, he wente out of his contray and  
fledde unto a wyldernes unto an hermytage. And whan his fader had loste hym,  
he made grete sorowe and dyd do enquire and seke hym so moche that atte last  
he was founden in the hermytage. And thenne his fader cam theder to hym and

87–88 **mervailous faith**, great loyalty. 90 **known**, recognized; **did on**, put on. 91 **parelle**,  
peril; **respyte**, save (obsolete use of "respite"). 92 **fooks**, folks (Caxton's spelling is  
questionable here); **daigne**, deign. 92–93 **grose metis**, coarse foods. 93 **cours**, coarse. 94  
**bonde**, bound. 95 **debylité and feblenes**, debility and feebleness. 96 **covetyse**,  
covetousness; **right**, truly. 97 **doubte**, fear. 99 **fle**, flee. 100 **yssue**, issue (in the sense of  
sallying forth). 101 **ayer**, air. 102 **envyrneth**, encompasses; **laboureth**, produces. 103  
**conteyned**, contained; **flodes**, floods. 104 **deporte alle**, depart entirely. 105 **as wel**, even.  
109 **versefyer**, poet; **versis**, verses. 112 **deffetid**, destroyed; **meritis**, good works. 118  
**whether**, where (whither). 119 **holde hym**, incline himself. 120 **contray**, country. 121  
**hermytage**, hermitage. 122 **enquire and seke**, inquire and seek. 123 **theder**, thither.

sayd, "Dere sone, come from thens! Thou shalt be after my dethe erle and chyef  
125 of my lignage. I shal be lost yf thou come not out from thens."

And he than, that wyst none otherwyse to eschewe the yre of his fader, bethought hym and sayd, "Dere fader, there is in your contré and lande a right evyll custume. Yf hit plesse you to put that away, I shal gladly come out of this place and goo with you."

130 The fader was glad and had grete joye, and demaunded of hym what hit was. And yf he wolde telle hym, he promysed hym to take hit away, and hit shold be lefte and sette aparte. Than he sayd, "Dere fader, there dyen as wel the yonge folke as the olde in your contray. Do that away, I praye you."

Whan his fader herde that, he sayd, "Dere sone, that may not be, ner no man  
135 may put that away but God onely."

Than answerd the sone to the fader, "Than wyl I serve Hym and dwelle here wyth Hym that may do that." And so abode the childe in the hermytage and lyved there in good werkis.

After this, hit apperteyneth to a labourer to entende to his labour and flee  
140 ydelnes. And thou oughtest to knowe that Davyd preyseth moche in the Sawlter the trewe labourers and sayth, "Thou shalt ete the labour of thyn handes and thou art blessyd, and He shal doo to thee good."

And hit behoveth that the labourer endende to his labour on the werkedayes for to recuyel and gadre togydre the fruyt of hys laboure. And also, he ought to reste  
145 on the holy day, bothe he and hys bestys. And a good labourer ought to norisshe and kepe his bestys. And this is signyfied by the rodde that he hath, whiche is for to lede and dryve them to the pasture.

The first pastour that ever was was Abel, whyche was juste and trewe, and offrid to God the bestis unto hys sacrefise. And hym ought he to folowe in craft and  
150 maners. But no man that useth the malyce of Caym maye 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 dyd Noe, whyche was the first that planted the vygne after the deluge and flood. For as Josephus rehcereth in the *Book of Naturel Thynges*, Noe was he that fonde first the vigne, and he fonde hym bytter  
155 and wylde. And therefore he took four maners of blood, that is to wete the blood of a lyon, the blood of a lamb, the blood of a swyne, and the blood of an ape, and medlid them al togeder wyth the erthe. And than he cutte the vigne and put thys about the rotes therof, to the ende that the byttirnes shold be put away, and that hit shold be swete. And whan he had dronken of the fruyt of thys vygne, hit was so  
160 good and myghty that he becam so dronke that he despoyled hym in suche wyse that his pryvy membres myght be seen. And his yongest sone, Cham, mocqued

124 **thens**, thence. 125 **lignage**, descendants. 126 **wyst**, knew; **eschewe**, avoid. 126–27 **bethought hym**, collected his thoughts. 137 **abode**, stayed. 140 **preyseth**, praises; **Sawlter**, Psalter. 143 **behoveth**, is fitting; **endende**, attend (the text should probably read *entende* here). 144 **recuyel**, collect (*recueil*); **gadre togydre**, gather together. 145 **bestys**, animals or livestock. 146 **kepe**, protect. 148 **offrid**, offered. 151 **graffe**, graft; **vygnes**, vines. 154 **hym bytter**, it bitter. 155 **to wete**, to wit. 157 **medlid**, mixed. 158 **about the rotes**, around the roots; **byttirnes**, bitterness. 160 **despoyled hym**, stripped himself of clothes. 161 **pryvy membres**, sex organs.

and skorned hym. And whan Noe was awaked and was sobre and fastyng, he  
 assemblid his sones and shewed to them the nature of the vygne and of the wyn,  
 and tolde to them the cause why that he had put the blood of the bestes about the  
 165 rote of the vigne, and that they shold knowe wel that otherwhile, by the strengthe  
 of the wyn, men be maad as hardy as the lyon and yrous. And otherwhile, they be  
 made symple and shamefast as a lambe, and lecherous as a swyne, and curious and  
 ful of play as an ape. For the ape is of suche nature that whan he seeth one doo a  
 thyng, he enforceth hym to do the same, and so don many whan they ben dronke.  
 170 They wyl meddle them with al offycers and maters that apperteyne nothyng to them.  
 And whan they ben fastyng and sobre, they can scarcely accomplishe theyr owne  
 thynges.

And therfore, Valerian reherceth that of auncient and in olde tyme women  
 dranke no wyn, for as moche as by dronkenshyn, they myght falle in ony filthe or  
 175 vylony.

And as Ovyde saith, that the wyne otherwhyle apparaylle the corages in suche  
 manere that they ben covenable to al synnes, whiche take away the hertes to do wel.  
 They make the poure, riche, as longe as the wyn is in his heed. And shortly,  
 dronkenshyn is the begynnyng of alle evylles, and corrupteth the body, and  
 180 destroyeth the sowle, and mynyssheth the goodes temporels.

And this suffiseth for the labourers.

*The second chappytre of the thyrd tractate treteth of the forme and maner of the second  
 pawne and of the maner of a smyth.* Capitulo secundo.



161–62 **mocqued and skorned**, mocked and scorned. 166 **yrous**, fierce; **otherwhile**, sometimes. 167 **symple and shamefast**, timid. 169 **enforceth**, strives. 170 **apperteyne**, pertain. 174 **dronkenshyn**, drunkenness. 175 **apparaylle the corages**, enhance the boldness. 177 **covenable**, open to; **hertes**, desire. 178 **shortly**, briefly. 180 **sowle**, soul; **mynyssheth**, diminishes; **goodes temporels**, worldly goods.

The second pawn that stondeth tofore the knyght on the right syde of the kyng hath the forme and fygure of a man as a smyth and that is reson. For hit apperteyneth to the knyghtes to have bridellys, sadellis, spores, and many other  
 185 thynges maad by the handes of smythes, and ought to holde an hamer in his right hond, and in his lift hande a squyer. And he ought to have on his gyrdel a trowel, for by this is signefyed alle maner of werkmen as goldsmythes, marchallis, smythes of alle forges, forgers and makers of money. And al maner of smythes ben signefyed by the martel or hamer. The carpenters ben signefyed by the dolabre or squyer.  
 190 And by the trowel we understonde al masons and kervers of stones, tylers, and al those that make howses, castels, and towres.

And unto al thise crafty men hit aperteyneth that they be trewe, wyse, and stronge. And hit is nede that they have in hemself fayth and loyaulté. For unto the goldsmythes behoveth golde and sylver, and alle other metallis, yren and steel, to  
 195 other. And unto the carpentiers and masons ben put to theyr edefyces the bodyes and goodes of the peple. And also men put in the handes of the maroners body and goodes of the peple. And in the garde and sewerté of them, men put body and sowle in the parilles of the see. And therfore ought they to be trewe unto whom men commytte suche grete charge and so grete thynges upon her fayth and truste.

200 And therfore sayth the phylosopher: "He that leseth his fayth and beleve may lose no gretter ne more thyng." And fayth is a soverayn good and cometh of the good wyll of the herte and of his mynde, and for no necessyté wyl deceyve no man, and is not corrupt for no mede.

Valerius rehercith that Fabius had receyved of Hanybal certeyn prysoners that he  
 205 helde of the Romayns for a certeyn somme of money, whiche he promysed to paye to the sayd Hanybal. And whan he cam unto the senatours of Rome and desyred to have the money lente for hem, they answerd that they wold not paye nor lene. And than Fabius sent his sone to Rome and made hym to selle hys heritage and patrymonye, and sent the money that he receyvyd therof unto Hanybal, and had  
 210 lever and lovyd better to be poure in his contréy of heritage than of beleve and fayth. But in thise dayes it were grete folye to have suche affyaunce in moche peple but yf they had ben prevyd afore. For oftentimes men truste in them by whom they ben deceyvyd at theyr nede.

And it is to wete that these crafty men and werkmen ben soveraynly proffyttable  
 215 unto the world. And wythout artificers and werkmen, the world myght not be governed. And knowe thou verily that alle tho thynges that ben engendrid on the erthe and on the see ben maad and formed for to do proffyt unto the lignage of

183 **reson**, logical. 184 **bridellys**, bridles; **sadellis**, saddles; **spores**, spurs. 186 **squyer**, a carpenter's square, an implement for determining, measuring, or setting out right angles; **gyrdel**, belt. 187 **marchallis**, a person who tends horses. 188 **of alle forges**, of all types of manufacturing. 189 **martel**, hammer; **dolabre**, an adz or axe-like tool; **squyre**, square. 190 **kervers**, carvers; **tylers**, those who lay tiles. 193 **hit is nede**, it is necessary. 194 **behoveth**, belongs. 195 **edefyces**, buildings. 196 **maroners**, mariners. 197 **sewerté**, surety. 200 **leseth**, loses; **beleve**, belief. 202 **deceyve**, deceive. 203 **mede**, reward or recompense. 207 **lene**, loan. 208–09 **heritage and patrymonye**, inheritance and estate. 211 **affyaunce**, affiance or confidence. 212 **prevyd**, tested. 214 **soveraynly proffyttable**, supremely profitable. 216 **verily**, truly.



man, for man was formed for to have generacion that the men myght helpe and proffyt eche other. And here in ought we to folowe nature, for she sheweth to us that  
 220 we shold do comyn proffyt, one to another. And the first fondement of justyce is that no man shold noye ne greve other, but that they ought do the comen proffyt. For men say in reproche, "That I see of thyn, I hope hit shal be myn." But who is he in thyse dayes that entendeth more to the comyn proffyt than to his owne? Certeynly none. But alwey a man ought to have drede and fere of his owne hows  
 225 whan he seeth his neyghbour's hows afyre. And therfore ought men gladly helpe the comyn prouffyt, for men otherwhyle sette not by a lytyl fyre and myght quenche hit in the begynnyn that afterward maketh a grete blasyngn fire.

And fortune hath of nothyng so grete plesure as for to torne and werke alwey. And nature is so noble a thyng that whereas she is, she wyl susteyne and kepe. But  
 230 thys rewle of nature hath faylled longe tyme.

How wel that the decree saith that alle the thynges that been ayenst the lawe of nature ought to be taken away and put aparte. And he sayth tofore in the eighth distinccion that the ryght lawe of nature defferenceth ofte tymes fro custom and statutes establisshyd. For by lawe of nature al thyng ought to be comyn to every man.  
 235 And thys lawe was of olde tyme. And men wene yet specially that the Trojans kept this lawe, and we rede that the multitude of the Trojans was one herte and one sowle. And verayly we fynde that in tyme passid the philosophres dide the same.

And also, it is to be supposid that suche as have theyr goodes comune and not propre is most acceptable to God. For ellis wold not thyse religious men as monkes,  
 240 freres, chanons, observauntes, and al other avowe hem and kepe the wyful poverté that they ben professyd to? For in trouth I have myself ben conversaunt in a religious hows of Whyt Freres at Gaunt, whiche have al thyng in comyn among them, and not one richer than another, insomoch that yf a man gaf to a frere three pence or four pence to praye for hym in his masse, as sone as the masse is  
 245 don, he delyveryeth hit to his overest or procuratour, in whiche hows ben many vertuous and devout freris. And yf that lyf were not the best and the most holyst, Holy Chirche wold never suffre hit in religyon.

And accordyng therto, we rede in Plato, whiche sayth that the cyté is wel and justly governed and ordeyned in the which no man may say by right, by custome, ne  
 250 by ordenaunce, "Thys is myn." But I say to thee certeynly that sythen this custome came forth to say "This is myn, and this is thyn," no man thought to preferre the comyn prouffyt so moche as his owne.

**220 fondement**, fundament or foundation. **221 noye ne greve**, annoy or aggravate. **223 entendeth**, inclines. **224 hows**, house. **225 afyre**, on fire. **226 sette not by**, do not heed. **227 blasyngn**, blazing. **229 whereas**, wherever. **233 distinccion**, class or category; **defferenceth**, differs. **235 wene**, believe. **237 verayly**, truly; **tyme passid**, past times. **238 supposid**, known. **239 For ellis wold not**, Otherwise, why would. **240 freres**, friars; **chanons**, canons; **observauntes**, Franciscans. **241 professyd**, promised or bound; **ben conversaunt in**, had social dealings with. **242 Whyt Freres**, White Friars or Carmelites; **Gaunt**, possibly Gaunt Street, a central street in Southwark by the river. **245 overest or procuratour**, superior or steward. **248 accordyng therto**, on this topic. **249 ordeyned**, ruled.

And al werkmen ought to be wyse and wel advysed so that they have none envye  
 ne none evyll suspesion one to another. For God wyl that our humayn nature be  
 255 covetous of two thynges, that is of religyon and of wysedom. But in this caas ben  
 somme often tymes deceyved. For they take often tymes religyon and leve wysedom,  
 and they take wysedom and refuse religion. And none may be veray and trewe  
 wythout other. For it apperteyneth not to a wyse man to do onythyng that he may  
 repente hym of hit, and he ought to do nothyng ayenst his wylle but to do al thyng  
 260 nobly, meurely, fermely, and honestly. And yf he have envye upon ony, hit is folye,  
 for he on whom he hath envye is more honest and of more havoyr than he whiche  
 is so envyous. For a man may have none envye on another, but bycause he is more  
 fortunat and hath more grace than hymself. For envye is a sorowe of corage that  
 cometh of this ordenaunce of the prouffyt of another man.

And knowe thou verily that he that is ful of bounté shal never have envye of  
 another. But the envyous man seeth and thynketh alwey that every man is more  
 noble and more fortunat than hymself, and saith alwey to hymself, "That man  
 wynneth more than I!" and "Myn neyghbours have more plenté of bestes!" and "Her  
 thynges multeplye more than myn!" And therfore thou oughtest knowe that envye  
 270 is the most grettest dedely synne that is, for she tormenteth hym that hath her within  
 hym wythout tormentyng or doying ony harme to hym on whom he hath envye.

And an envyous man hath no vertu in hymself, for he corrupeth hymself, for  
 as moche as he hateth alwey the welthe and vertues of other. And thus ought they  
 to kepe them that they take none evyl suspesion. For a man naturelly, whan his  
 275 affeccion hath suspesion in ony man that he weneth that he doth, hit semeth to  
 hym verily that it is don.

And it is an evyl thyng for a man to have suspesion on hymself. For we rede  
 that Dyonyse of Zecyle, a tyraunt, was so suspicious that he had so grete fere and  
 drede. For as moche as he was hated of alle men, that he put his frendes out of  
 280 theyr offyces that they had and put other straungers in their places for to kepe his  
 body, and chese suche as were right cruel and felons. And for fere and doubte of the  
 barbour, he made his daughters to lerne shave and kembe. And whan they were  
 grete, he wold not they shold use ony yron to be occupied by them but to brenne and  
 senge his heeris, and menaced them and durst not truste in them. And in like wyse  
 285 they had none affyaunce in hym. And also, he did do envyrone the place where  
 he lay wyth grete dyches and brode lyke a castel. And he entrid by a drawe bridge,  
 whiche closid after hym. And his knyghtes laye wythout wyth his gardes, whiche  
 watched and kept straitly thys forteresse. And whan Plato sawe thys said Dionyse,  
 Kyng of Zecille, thus envyroned and sette about wyth gardes and watchemen for  
 290 the cause of his suspescion, sayd to hym openly tofore alle men, "Kynge, why has

253 **advysed**, provided for. 254 **God wyl**, God ordains. 257 **veray**, true. 260 **meurely**,  
 with consideration; **fermely**, steadfastly. 261 **more havoyr**, better deportment. 262 **but**  
**bycause**, unless. 263 **sorowe**, affliction. 264 **ordenaunce**, decree. 265 **bounté**, goodness.  
 268–69 **Her thynges**, Their things. 272 **corrupeth**, corrupts. 275 **weneth**, supposes.  
 278 **Zecyle**, Sicily. 279 **For as moche as**, For it was because. 282 **kembe**, comb. 283 **grete**,  
 grown or adult; **yron**, iron; **occupied**, used. 283–84 **brenne and senge his heeris**, burn  
 and singe his hair. 285 **affyaunce**, affiance or confidence; **envyrone**, surround. 286  
**brode**, broad. 287 **laye wythout**, lay outside.

thou don so moche evyl and harme that thee behoveth to be kept wyth so moche peple? And therefore I say that it apperteyneth not to ony man that wylle truly behave hymself in his werkes to be suspicious.”

And also, they ought to be stronge and seure in theyr werkys. And specially they  
 295 that ben maysters and maronnners on the see. For yf they be tumerous and ferdful, they shold make aferde them that ben in theyr shippis that knowe not the parilles. And so hit myght happen that by that drede and fere, al men shold leve theyr labour, and so they myght be perissshed and dispeyrid in theyr corages. For a shyppe is soon perissshed and lost by a lital tempest whan the governour faylleth to  
 300 governe his shyppe for drede and can geve no counceyl to other. Thenne it is no mervaylle though they be aferde that ben in his governaunce. And therefore ought to be in them strengthe, force, and corage, and [they] ought to considere the paryls that myght falle. And the governour specially ought not to doubte. And yf hyt happyn that ony parril falle, he ought to promyse to the other good hoop. And hit  
 305 aperteyneth wel that a man of good and hardy corage be sette in that office, in suche wyse that he have ferme and seure mynde ayenst the parylles that oft tymes happen in the see. And wyth this ought the maronnners have good and ferme creaunce and beleve in God, and to be of good recomforte and of fayr langage unto them that he governeth in suche parellys.

310 And thys suffyseth to you as touchyng the labourers.

*The thyrd chappytre of the thyrd book treteth of the office of notaries, advocates, skryvenars, and drapers or clothmakers.* Capitulo tercio.



291 **thee behoveth**, it is necessary for you. 294 **seure**, sure. 295 **maronnners**, mariners; **tumerous**, timorous; **ferdful**, fearful. 296 **parilles**, perils. 298 **perissshed and dispeyrid**, damaged and deprived of. 301 **mervaylle**, wonder. 304 **hoop**, hope. 307 **creaunce**, faith. **Title notaries**, personal secretaries or clerks; **advocates**, those who plead cases in a court of justice; **skryvenars**, professional scribes; **drapers**, makers of and/or dealers in cloth.

The third pawn, whiche is sette tofore the alphyn on the right syde, ought to be figured as a clerke. And hit is reson that he shold so be. For as moche as emonge the comune peple of whom we speke in this boke they plete the differences, contencions, and causes, otherwhyle the whiche behoveth the alphyns to geve  
 315 sentence and juge as juges. And hit is reson that the alphyn or juge have his notarye, by whom the processe may be wreton.

And this pawn ought to be maad and figured in this manere. He must be made like a man that holdeth in his right hand a payr of sheris or forcettis, and in the lyfte hand a grete knyf, and on his gurdel a penner and an ynkhorn, and on his eere  
 320 a penne to wryte with. And that been the instrumentis and the offyces that been maad and putte in wrytyng autentique, and ought to have passyd tofore the juges as libelles, writes, condempnacions, and sentences. And that is signefied by the scripture and the penne. And on that other parte, hit aperteyneth to them to cutte clothe, shere, dyght, and dye. And that is signefied by the forcettis or sheris. And  
 325 the other ought to shave berdis and kembe the heeris. And the other ben coupers, coryers, tawyers, skynners, bouchers, and kordwanners. And these ben signefied by the knyf that he holdeth in hys hand. And somme of thyse forsayd crafty men been named drapers or clothmakers, for so moche as they werke with wolles. And the notaries, skynnars, coryours, and cordwaners werke by skynnes and hydes as  
 330 perchymyn, velume, peltrie, and cordewan. And the tayllours, cutters of cloth, wevars, fullars, dyers, and many other craftes ocupye and use wulle.

And al thyse crafty men, and many other that I have not named, ought to do theyr craft and mestier, where as they ben duly ordeyned curiously and trewly. Also, there ought to be amonge thyse crafty men amyable companye and trewe, honest  
 335 contenance, and trouthe in theyr wordes. And hit is to wete that the notaryes ben ryght prouffitable and ought to be good and trewe for the comyn. And they ought to kepe them from appropriyng to them self that thyng that aperteyneth to the comyn. And yf they be good to themself, they ben good to other. And yf they be evyl for themself, they ben evyl for other. And the processes that ben maad tofore the

**311 alphyn**, chess bishop or judge. **312 reson**, logical; **emonge**, among. **313 plete**, debate or plead in a legal sense. **314 otherwhyle**, sometimes. **316 processe**, proceedings. **317 figured**, depicted. **318 sheris or forcettis**, shears or scissors. **319 gurdel**, belt; **penner**, pen case; **ynkhorn**, an ink horn, a small vessel for holding ink; **eere**, ear. **321 autentique**, authoritative. **322 libelles**, formal pleas; **writes**, writs or written orders; **condempnacions**, judicial decisions; **sentences**, judgments. **323 scripture**, writings; **aperteyneth to**, is fitting to. **324 dyght**, clean or prepare. **325 coupers**, barrel makers. **326 coryers**, craftsmen who prepare leather; **tawyers**, those who “taw” or prepare white leather; **skynners**, skinnars; **bouchers**, butchers; **kordwanners**, cordwainers or those who work in cordovan leather; also shoemakers. **329 skynnes and hydes**, skins and hides. **330 perchymyn**, parchment; **velume**, vellum, a finer type of parchment made from lambs or calves; **peltrie**, peltry or undressed skins; **cordewan**, leather. **331 fullars**, those who “full” or beat cloth in order to thicken it. **332 crafty men**, craftsmen. **333 mestier**, profession; **duly ordayne**d, appointed or arranged; **curiously**, skillfully. **334 amyable companye**, friendly camaraderie. **336 prouffitable**, beneficial. **337 appropriyng**, appropriating; **aperteyneth**, belongs. **339 processes**, proceedings.

340 juges ought to ben wretton and passyd by them. And it is to wete that by their writyng  
in the processis may come moche prouffit. And also, yf they wryte otherwyse than  
they ought to doo, may ensewe moche harme and damage to the comyn. Therfore  
ought they to take good hede that they chaunge not, ne corumpe in no wise, the  
content of the sentence. For than ben they first forsworne and ben bounden to  
345 make amendis to them that by their trecherye they have endomaged.

And also ought they to rede, visite, and to knowe the statutes, ordenaunces, and  
the lawes of the citees of the contré where they dwelle and enhabite. And they  
ought to considere yf there be onythyng therin conteyned ayenst right and reson.  
And yf they fynde onythyng contraire, they ought to admoneste and warne them  
350 that governe that suche thynges may be chaunged in to better estate. For custume  
establisshed ayenst good maners and ageynst the fayth ought not to be holden by  
ryght.

For as hit is sayd in the decree in the chappytre tofore all ordenaunce maad  
ayenst right ought to be holden for nought. Alas, who is now that advocate or notarye  
355 that hath charge to wryte and kepe sentence that putteth his entente to kepe more  
the comyn prouffyt or as moche as his owen! But alle drede of God is put aback, and  
they deceyve the symple men and drawn them to the courtes disordenatly, and  
constrayne them to swere and make othes not covenable. And in assemblyng the  
peple thus togyder, they make mo traysons in the cytees thenne they make good  
360 alyaunces. And otherwhile they deceyve theyr soverayns, whan they may do hit  
covertly. For there is nothyng at this day that so moche greveth Rome and Italie  
as doth the College of Notaryes and Advocates Publique, for they ben not of one  
accorde.

Alas! And in Engeland, what hurte doon the advocates, men of lawe, and  
365 attorneyes of court to the comyn peple of the royaume, as wel in the spirituel lawe  
as in the temporalle! How torne they the lawe and statutes at their plesure! How ete  
they the peple! How enpovere they the comynté! I suppose that in alle Cristendom  
are not so many pletars, attorneys, and men of the lawe as been in Engeland onely.  
For yf they were nombrid, alle that longe to the courtes of the chaunserye, kynge's  
370 benche, comyn place, cheker, ressayt, and helle, and the bagge berars of the same,  
hit shold amounte to a grete multitude. And how al thyse lyve and of whom, yf hit  
shold be uttrid and tolde, hit shold not be belevyd, for they entende to theyr  
synguler wele and prouffyt and not to the comyn.

**342 ensewe**, ensue; **damage**, damage. **343 corumpe**, corrupt. **344 forsworne**, perjured. **345 amendis**, amends; **endomaged**, harmed. **346 rede**, read; **visite**, examine. **349 contraire**, contrary (to right and reason); **admoneste**, admonish. **356 put aback**, receded. **357 deceyve**, deceive; **disordenatly**, unnecessarily. **358 covenable**, appropriate. **359 mo traysons**, more treasons. **360 alyaunces**, alliances or unities. **362–63 of one accorde**, of unified purpose. **365 as wel**, as much. **366 ete**, despoil. **367 enpovere**, impoverish; **comynté**, community. **368 pletars**, pleaders or advocates. **369 longe**, belong; **chaunserye**, chauncery or high court. **369–70 kynge's benche**, supreme court of common law. **370 comyn place**, lower courts; **cheker**, exchequer or treasury; **ressayt**, revenue office; **helle**, hall of justice; **bagge berars**, wallet carriers. **372 entende to**, attend to. **373 synguler wele**, personal good.

How wel they ought to be of good wyl togyder, and admoneste and warne the  
 375 cytees, eche in his right in suche wyse that they myght have pees and love, one wyth  
 another. And Tullyus saith that frendshyp and good wylle that one ought to have  
 ayenst another for the wele of hym that he loveth, with the semblable wylle of hym,  
 ought to be put forth tofore al other thynges. And ther is nothyng so resemblyng  
 380 and lyke to the bees that maken hony ne so covenable in prosperité and in  
 adversité, as is love. For by love, gladly the bees holden them togyder, and yf any  
 trespase to that other, anone they renne upon the malefactour for to punysshe  
 hym.

And veray trewe love faylleth never for wele ne for evyl. And the most swete and  
 the most comfortyng thyng is for to have a frend to whom a man may say his secret,  
 385 as wel as to hymself. But verayly, amytye and frendshyp is somtyme founded upon  
 somme thyng delectable. And this amytie cometh of yongthe, in the which dwellith  
 a disordynate hete. And otherwhile, amytie is founded upon honesté. And this  
 amytie is vertuous, of the whiche Tullyus saith that there is an amytie vertuous by  
 the whiche a man ought to do to his frende al that he requyreth by reason. For for  
 390 to do to hym a thyng dishonest, it is ayenst the nature of veray frendshyp and  
 amytye. And thus for frendshyp ne for favour a man ought not to doo onythyng  
 unresonable ayenst the comyn prouffyt, ner agaynst his fayth, ne ageynst his othe.  
 For yf alle tho thynges that the frendes desyre and requyre were accomplisshed  
 and doon, hyt shold seme that they shold be dyshoneste conivracions, and they  
 395 myght otherwhyle more greve and hurte than proffyte and ayde.

And herof sayth Seneque that amytye is of suche wylle as the frende wylle, and to  
 refuse that ought to be refused by reason. And yet he saith more, that a man ought  
 to alowe and preise his frend tofore the peple, and to correcte and to chastyse hym  
 pryvely, for the lawe of amytie is suche. For a man ought not to demaunde ner do  
 400 to be doon to hys frende no vylayns thyng that ought to be kept secrete.

And Valerian sayth that it is a foule thyng and an evyl excusasion yf a man  
 confesse that he hath doon any evyl for his frende ayenst right and reason. And  
 sayth that there was a good man named Taffyle, whiche herde one his frende  
 requyre of hym a thyng dishoneste, whiche he denyed and wold not do. And than  
 405 his frende said to hym in grete despyte, "What nede have I of thy frendship and  
 amytie whan thou wilt not do that thyng that I requyre of thee?"

And Taffile answerd to hym, "What nede have I of the frendship and of the  
 amyte of thee, yf I shold do for thee thyng dishonest?"

And thus love is founded otherwhile upon good prouffytable, and this love  
 410 endureth as longe as he seeth his prouffyt. And herof men say a comyn proverbe  
 in Englund, that love lasteth as longe as the money endureth, and whan the money  
 failleth than there is no love.

374 **admoneste**, admonish. 377 **semblable**, same. 379 **convenable**, consistent. 381 **renne**,  
 run. 383 **faylleth**, fails. 385 **verayly**, truly; **amytie**, amity. 386 **delectable**, pleasant;  
**yongthe**, youth. 387 **disordynate hete**, excessive passion. 389 **For for**, Because. 390  
**veray**, true. 393 **alle tho thynges**, all those things. 394 **conivracions**, contrivances. 396  
**wylle**, desires. 398 **alowe and preise**, commend and praise. 399–400 **ner do to be doon**,  
 nor cause to be done. 401 **excusasion**, defense. 403 **one his frende**, one of his friends.  
 409 **prouffytable**, profit.



And Varro rehercith in his sommes that the riche men ben al loyvd by this love,  
 415 for their frendes ben like as the huske whiche is about the grayn. And no man may  
 prove his frende so wel as in adversité or whan he is poure, for the veray trewe  
 frende fayleth at no nede.

And Seneque saith that somme folowe the emperour for riches, and so don the  
 flies the hony for the swetenes, and the wolf the carayn. And thyse companye folowe  
 the praye and not the man.

420 And Tullyus sayth that Tarquyn the Proud had a nevewe of his suster, whiche  
 was named Brutus, and this nevewe had banysshed Tarquin out of Rome and had  
 sent hym in exyle. And than sayd he fyrst that he parceyved and knewe his frendes  
 whyche were trewe and untrewes, and that he never perceyved afore tyme whan he  
 425 was puyssaunt for to do theyr wylle, and sayd wel that the love that they had to hym  
 endured not but as longe as hit was to them prouffitable. And therfore ought al the  
 riche men of the world take hede, be they kynges, prynces, or duckes, to what  
 people they doo prouffyt and how they may and ought be loyvd of theyr peple.

For Cathon sayth in his book, "See to whom thou gevest. And thys love whiche  
 is founded upon theyr prouffit, whiche fayleth and endureth not, may better be  
 430 callid and sayd 'marchaundyse' than love. For yf we repute this love to our prouffyt  
 onely, and nothyng to the prouffyt of hym that we love, it is more marchaundyse  
 than love, for he byeth our love for the prouffyt that he doth to us."

And therfore sayth the versefier thyse two versis: "*Tempore felici multi numerantur  
 amici / Cum fortuna perit nullus amicus erit*," whiche is to say in Englissh that "as longe  
 435 as a man is ewrous and fortunat, he hath many frendes, but whan fortune torneth  
 and perissheth, there abydeyth not to hym one frende." And of thys love ben loved  
 the medowes, feldes, trees, and the bestys for the prouffyt that men take of them.  
 But the love of the men ought to be charité, veray gracious and pure by good fayth.  
 And the veray trewe frendes ben knowen in pure adversité.

440 And Piers Alphons sayth in his *Book of Moralité* that there was a phylosophre in  
 Arabye that had an onely sone, of whom he demaunded what frendes he had goten  
 hym in his lyf. And he answerd that he had many. And his fader sayd to hym, "I am  
 an olde man, and yet coude I never fynde but one frende in al my lyf. And I trowe  
 verely that it is no lytyl thyng for to have a frende, and hit is wel gretter and more  
 445 a man to have many. And hit apperteyneth and behoveth a man to assaye and  
 preve his frende or he have nede."

And thenne commaunded the philosopher his sone that he shold goo and slee  
 a swyne and put hit in a sacke, and fayne that it were a man dede that he had slayn,  
 and bere hit to his frendes for to burye hit secretly. And whan the sone had don as  
 450 his fader commaunded hym, and had requyred his frendes one after another as

413 **sommes**, summary treatise. 418 **hony**, honey; **carayn**, carrion. 419 **praye**, prey. 420 **nevewe**, nephew. 422 **parceyvd**, recognized. 423 **never perceyvyd afore tyme**, never before had perceived a time. 424 **puyssaunt**, empowered. 426 **duckes**, dukes. 428 **gevest**, give. 429 **endureth not**, does not endure. 430 **repute**, esteem. 432 **byeth**, buys. 435 **ewrous**, prosperous or profitable; **torneth**, turns. 436 **medowes**, meadows; **feldes**, fields; **bestys**, beasts. 441 **Arabye**, Arabia. 443–44 **trowe verely**, truly believe. 445 **apperteyneth and behoveth**, is fitting and behooves. 445–46 **assaye and preve**, test and try. 446 **or**, before. 448 **fayne**, pretend. 450 **requyred**, requested.

afore is sayd, they denyed hym and answerd to hym that he was a vylayne to requyre and desire of them thyng that was so perilous. And than he came agayn to his fader and sayd to hym how he had requyred al his frendes, and that he had not founden one that wold helpe hym in his nede.

455 And than his fader sayd to hym that he shold goo and requyre his frende, whyche had but one, and requyre hym that he shold helpe hym in his nede. And whan he had requyred hym, anone he put out al his mayné out of hys hows. And whan they were out of the waye or aslepe, he dyd do make secretly a pytte in the grounde. And whan hit was redy and wold have buryed the body, he founde hit an  
460 hogge or a swyne, and not a man. And thus this sone prevyd this man to be a veray, trewe frende of his fader, and prevyd that his frendes were fals frendes of fortune.

And yet reherceth the sayd Piers Alphons that there were two marchauntes, one of Bandach and that other of Egypt, whiche were so joyned togeder by so grete frendshyp that he of Bandache cam on a tyme for to se hys frende in Egypt, of  
465 whom he was receyvyd right honuourably. And this marchaunt of Egypt had in his hows a fayre yonge mayden whom he shold have had in mariage to hymself, of the whiche mayde thys marchaunt of Bandach was esprised with her love so ardantly that he was right seek, and that men supposid hym to dye. And than the other dyd do come the phisisiens, whiche sayd that in hym was no sekenes sauf passyon of  
470 love. Thenne he axyd of the seek man yf there were ony woman in hys hows that he loved and maad al the women of his hows to come tofore hym. And than he chees her that shold have ben that other's wyf and sayd that he was seek for her. Than his frende sayd to hym, "Frende, comforte yourself. For trewly I gyve her to you to wyf with alle the dowaire that is gyven to me wyth her." And had lever to  
475 suffre to be wythout wyf than to lese the body of his frende. And than he of Bandach wedded the mayde and went with his wyf and with his richesse ageyn in to his contré.

And after this, anone after, hit happend that the marchaunt of Egypt became so poure by evyl fortune that he was constreyned to seche and begge his breed by the  
480 contray, in so moche that he cam to Bandach. And whan he entrid in to the toun, hit was derk nyght that he coude not fynde the hows of his frende but went and lay thys nyght in an olde temple. And on the morne, whan he shold yssue out of the temple, the offycers of the toun arestyd hym and sayd that he was an homycide and had slayn a man whiche lay there dede. And anone he confessid hyt wyth a good  
485 wylle, and had lever to ben hangyd than to dye in that myserable and pour lyf that he suffryd. And thus whan he was brought to jugement, and sentence shold have ben gyven ayenst hym as an homycide, his frend of Bandach cam and sawe hym, and anone knewe that thys was his good frende of Egypte. And forthwyth stepte in and sayd that he hymself was culpable of the deth of this man and not that other,  
490 and enforcid hym in alle maners for to delyver and excuse that other.

457 **mayné**, people. 460 **prevyd**, proved; **veray**, faithful. 463 **Bandach**, Babylon. 467 **esprised**, enamoured (eprisé). 468–69 **dyd do come**, summoned; **sekenes**, sickness; **sauf**, except. 472 **chees**, chose. 474 **to wyf**, to marry; **dowaire**, dowry; **lever**, rather. 475 **lese**, lose. 479 **seche**, seek; **breed**, bread. 483 **arestyd**, arrested; **homycide**, murderer. 490 **enforcid**, encouraged (the judge).

And than whan that he that had doon the feet and had slayne the man sawe this thyng, he considerid in hymself that these two men were innocent of thys feet. And doubtyng the dyvyne jugement, he came tofore the juge and confessyd al the feet by ordre. And whan the juge sawe and herde al thys mater, and also the causes, he  
 495 considered the ferme and trewe love that was betwene the two frendes, and understood the cause why that one wold save that other, and the trouthe of the fayte of the homicide. And than he pardoned al the feet hooly and entierly. And after, the marchaunt of Bandach brought hym of Egipt wyth hym in to his hows, and gaf to hym his sister in mariage, and departed to hym half his goodes. And so bothe of  
 500 hem were riche, and thus were they bothe veray faythful and trewe frendes.

Furthermore, notaries, men of lawe, and crafty men shold and ought to love eche other, and also ought to be contynent, chaste, and honeste. For by theyr craftes they ought so to be by necessyté. For they converse and accompanye them ofte tyme wyth women. And therfore hit apperteyneth to them to be chaste and  
 505 honeste. And that they meve not the women, nor entyse them to lawghe and jape by ony dysordynate ensignes or tokenes.

Titus Livius reherceth that the philosopher Democreon dyd doo put out his eyen for as moche as he myght not beholde the women wythoute fleshly desyre. And how wel it is sayd before that he dyd hit for other certeyn cause. Yet was this  
 510 one of the pryncipal causes.

And Valerian tellyth that there was a yong man of Rome of right excellent beaulté. And how wel that he was right chaste, for as moche as his beaulté mevyd many women to desire hym, insomuche that he understood that the parentes and frendes of them had suspencion in hym, he dyd his vysage to be kutte wyth a knyf  
 515 and lancettis, endlong and everthwart for to deforme his vysage, and had lever have a fowle vysage and disformed than the beaulté of his vysage shold meve other to synne.

And also we rede that there was a nonne, a virgyne, dyd do put out bothe her eyen, for as moche as the beaulté of her eyen mevyd a kyng to love her, whyche eyen  
 520 she sente to the kyng in a present.

And also we rede that Plato, the right ryche phylosopher, lefte his owne lande and contré, and chase his mansion and dwellyng in Achadomye, a toun whiche was not onely destroyed but also was ful of pestelence, so that by the cure and charge and customaunce of sorowe that he there suffrid myght eschewe the hetes and  
 525 occasions of lecherye. And many of hys dysciples dyd in lyke wyse.

Helemand reherceth that Demostenes the philosopher laye ones by a noble woman for his dysporte, and playeng wyth her, he demaunded of her what he shold geve to have to doo wyth her. And she answerd to hym, "A thousand pens."

**491 he that had doon the feet**, he who had done the deed (i.e., the real murderer). **493 doubtyng**, fearing; **dyvyne**, divine. **494 by ordre**, in sequence. **496 fayte**, act. **497 And after**, And after this. **502 contynent**, self-restrained. **503 converse and accompanye them**, talk and have dealings with. **505 meve**, excite; **entyse**, entice; **jape**, seduce. **512 beaulté**, beauty; **mevyd**, moved or excited. **515 lancettis**, lancets (surgical instruments usually with two edges and a point); **endlong and everthwart**, from end to end and across. **516 fowle**, foul. **522 chase**, chose. **523 pestelence**, disease. **524 customaunce**, customary practice; **hetes**, heat. **526 ones**, once. **527 dysporte**, amusement or diversion.

530 And he sayd ageyn to her, "I shold repente me to bye hit so dere." And whan he advysed hym that, he was so sore chauffyd to speke to her for to accomplishe his fleshly desyre, he despoyled hym al nakyd and wente and put hym in the myddes of the snowe.

And Oyde rehercith that thys thyng is the leste that maye helpe and most greve the lovers.

535 And therfore Saynt Augustyn rehercith in his book, *De civitate dei*, that there was a right noble Romayn named Marculian that wan and took the noble cité of Siracuse. And tofore, er he dyd doo assayle hit or befight hit, and or he had do beshedde ony blood, he wepte and shedde many teeris tofore the cité. And that was for the cause that he doubted that his peple shold defoule and corumpe to moche  
540 dishonestly the chastyté of the toun, and ordeyned upon payn of deth that no man shold be so hardy to take and defoyle ony woman by force what that ever she were.

After thys, the crafty men ought to understonde for to be trewe and to have trouth 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  
545 ought to see wel to that they be of one accorde in good, by entente, by word, and by dede, so that they be not discordaunt in no caas, but that every man have pure verité and trouth in hymself. For God Hymself is pure verité. And men say comynly that trouth seketh none hernes, ne corners. And trouth is a vertu by the whiche alle drede and fraude is put away. Men saye trewly whan they saye that they knowe, and  
550 they that knowe not trouthe ought to knowe hyt and alwey use trouthe.

For Saynt Austyn sayth that they that wene to knowe trouth and lyveth evyl and vyciously, it is folye yf he knoweth hit not. And also, he sayth in another place that it is better to suffre payn for trouth than for to have a benefete by falsnes or by flaterye. And man that is callyd a beste resonable, and doth not his werkys after  
555 reson and trouthe, is more bestyal than ony beste brute. And knowe ye that for to come to the trouthe hit cometh of a resonable foresight in his mynde. And lyeng cometh of an oultrageous and contrarie thought in hys mynde. For he that lyeth wittingly knoweth wel that hit is ageynst the trouthe that he thynketh.

And herof speketh Saynt Bernard and sayth that the mouth that lyeth destroyeth  
560 the sowle.

And yet sayth Saynt Austyn in another place, "For to say one thyng and do the contrarye maketh doctryne suspicious."

And knowe ye verily that for to lye is a right perilous thyng to body and sowle. For the lye that the auncient enemye maad Eve and Adam to beleve hym, made hem  
565 for to be dampned with alle their lignage to the deth pardurable, and made hem to be cast out of paradyse terrestre. For he maad them to beleve that God had not

529 **repente me**, regret; **bye**, buy; **dere**, expensively. 530 **advysed hym**, considered to himself; **sore chauffyd**, sorely inflamed. 534 **greve**, vex. 536 **wan**, won. 539 **doubted**, feared; **corumpe**, spoil. 541 **defoyle**, violate or rape. 544 **condempneth**, condemns; 545 **of one accorde**, of one will. 548 **hernes**, nooks or corners. 551 **wene**, think. 554 **beste**, beast; **werkys**, duties. 555 **bestyal**, bestial. 556 **lyeng**, lying. 557 **oultrageous**, outrageous (in the sense of evil). 558 **wittingly**, knowingly. 565 **lignage**, descendants; **pardurable**, perdurable or existing for all time. 566 **paradyse terrestre**, the earthly paradise (i.e., Eden).

forboden them the fruyt but onely bycause they shold not knowe that her Mayster  
 knewe. But how wel that the devyl sayd thyse wordes yet had he double entente to  
 hem bothe. For they knewe anone as they had tastyd of the fruyt that they were  
 570 dampned to the deth pardurable. And God knewe hit wel tofore. But they supposid  
 wel to have knowen many other thynges and to be lyke unto his knowleche and  
 science.

And therfore saith Saynt Poule in a pistyl: "Hit ne apperteyneth to saver or  
 knowe more than behoveth to saver or knowe, but to saver or knowe by mesure or  
 575 sobrenes."

And Valerian rehercith that there was a good woman of Siracusane that wold  
 not lye unto the Kyng of Secille, whyche was named Dyonyse. And this kyng was  
 so ful of tyrannye and so cruel that alle the world desired his deth and cursid hym,  
 sauf this woman onely, whiche was so olde that she had seen three or four kynges  
 580 reigntyng in the contré. And every mornyng, as sone as she was rysen, she prayed  
 to God that he wold gyve unto the tyraunt good lyf and longe and that she myght  
 never see his deth. And whan the Kyng Dyonyse knewe this, he sent for her and  
 mervaylled moche herof, for he knewe wel that he was sore behated, and demaunded  
 her what cause mevyd hyr to praye for hym. And she answerd and sayd to hym,  
 585 "Sir, whan I was a mayde, we had a right evyl tyraunt to our kyng, of whom we  
 coveyted sore the deth. And whan he was dede, there came after hym a werse, of  
 whom we coveyted also the deth. And whan we were delyveryd of hym, thou camest  
 to be our lord, which art worst of al other. And now I doubte yf we have one after  
 thee he shal be worse than thou art. And therfore I shal praye for thee."

And whan Dyonyse understood that she was so hardy in sayeng the trouth, he  
 590 durst not do torment her for shame by cause she was so olde.

**567 but onely bycause**, only to the end that. **567–68 that her Mayster knewe**, that which their Master knew. **568 double entente**, deceitful purpose. **569 anone**, immediately. **573 pistyl**, epistle; **saver**, learn. **575 sobrenes**, moderation. **576 Siracusane**, Syracuse. **577 Secille**, Sicily. **579 sauf**, except. **585 to our kyng**, as our king. **586 coveyted**, desired; **werse**, worse (king). **588 doubte**, fear.

*The fourth chappitre of the third book tretith of the maner of the fourth pawn and of the marchauntis or chaungers.* Capitulo quarto.



The fourth pawn is sette tofore the kyng and is formed in the forme of a man holdyng in his right hand a balaunce and the weyght in the lyft hand, and tofore hym a table, and at his gurdel a purse ful of money redy for to geve to them that requyred hit. And by thys people ben signefyed the marchauntes of cloth, lynnenn, and wollen, and of al other marchaundyses. And by the table that is tofore hym is signefyed the chaungers and they that lene money. And they that bye and selle by the weyght ben signefyed by the balaunces and weyghtes. And the customers, tollars, and receyvours of rentes and of money ben signefyed by the purse. And knowe ye that alle they that ben signefyed by this people ought to flee avarice and covetyse, and eschewe brekyng of the dayes of payment, and ought to holde and kepe theyr promyses, and ought also to rendre and restore that that is given to them to kepe.

And therfore hit is reson that this people be set tofore the kyng, for as moche as they signefye the receyvours of the tresours ryal that ought alwey to be redy tofore the kyng, and to answer for hym to the knyghtes and to other persones for theyr wages and souldyes.

And therfore have I said that they ought to flee avarice, for avarice is as moche to say as an adourer or as worshippar of fals ymages. And herof sayth Tullyus that avarice is a covetise to gete that thyng that is above necessité. And it is a love disordynate to have onythyng, and it is one of the werst thynges that is, and specially to prynces and to them that governe the thynges of the comuneté. And this vyce causeth a man to do evyll, and thys doying evyl is whan hit reygneþ in olde men.

*Title chaungers*, money changers. 593 *balaunce*, set of scales; *weyght*, weight. 594 *gurdell*, belt. 595 *lynnenn*, linen. 596 *wollen*, wool. 597 *lene*, loan. 598 *customers*, custom or dues takers; *tollars*, toll takers. 599 *receyvours of rentes*, tax collectors. 600 *covetyse*, covetousness. 601 *eschewe brekyng of the dayes of payment*, avoid missing payment deadlines. 606 *souldyes*, Italian coins. 610 *disordynate*, immoderate. 612 *hit reygneþ in olde men* (avarice was usually associated with age).



And herof sayth Seneque that all worldly thynges ben mortefyed and appetissed  
 615 in olde men, reservyd avarice onely, whyche alwey abydeyth wyth hym and dyeth  
 with hym. But I understonde not wel the cause wherof this cometh ne wherfore hit  
 may be. And hit is a fowle thyng and contrarye to reson that whan a man is at the  
 ende of his journey for to lengthe his viage and to ordeyne more vitayl than hym  
 behoveth. And this may wel be likned to the avaricious wolf, for the wolf doth never  
 good tyl he be dede.

620 And thus it is sayd in the proverbys of the wyse men that the avaricious man  
 doth no good tyl that he be deed, and he desireth nothyng but to lyve long in thys  
 synne. For the covetous man certeynly is not good for onythyng, for he is evyl to  
 hymself and to the riche and to the poure, and fyndeth cause to gaynsay theyr  
 desire.

625 And herof rehercith Seneque, and sayth that Antigonus was a covetous prynce.  
 And whan Tynque, whiche was his frende, requyred of hym a besaunt, he answerd  
 to hym that he demaunded more than hyt apperteyned to hym. And than Tynque,  
 constrayned by grete necessité, axid and requyred of hym a peny. And he answerd  
 to hym that it was no yefte covenable for a kyng. And so he was alwey redy to fynde  
 630 a cause nought to geve, for he myght have gyven to hym a besaunt as a kynge to his  
 frende and the peny as to a poure man. And ther is nothyng so litil but that the  
 humanyté of a kyng may geve hyt. Avarice ful of covetise is a maner of al vices of  
 luxurye.

And Josephus rehercith in the *Book of Auncient Histories* that ther was in Rome  
 635 a right noble lady named Paulyne, and was of the most noble of Rome, right honest  
 for the noblesse of chastité, whiche was maryed in the tyme that the wommen  
 glorefyed them in theyr chastyté unto a yonge man, fayr, noble, and riche above  
 al other, and was lyke and semblable to his wyf in al caasis. And thys Pawlyne was  
 belovyd of a knyght namyd Enymerancian and was so ardantly esprised in her love  
 640 that he sent to her many right riche yeftes and made to her many grete promyses.  
 But he myght never torne the herte of her, which was on her syde also colde and  
 harde as marbyll. But she had lever to refuse his yeftes and hys promyses than to  
 entende to covetyse and to lose her chastyté.

And we rede also in the *Histories of Rome* that there was a noble lady of Rome  
 645 whiche lyved a solytarye lyf and was chaste and honeste, and had gadrid togeder  
 a grete somme of golde, and had hyd hit in the erthe in a pytte wythin her hows.  
 And whan she was deed, the bisshop dyd do burye her in the chirche wel and  
 honestly. And anone after, this gold was founden and born to the bysshop. And the  
 bisshop had to caste hit in to the pytte where she was buried. And thre dayes men  
 650 herd her crye and make grete noyse, and say that she brenned in grete payn, and  
 they herd her ofte tymes thus tormentid in the chirche. The neyghbours went unto  
 the bysshop and tolde hym therof, and the bisshop gaf hem leve to open the

613 mortefyed and appetissed, deadened and lessened. 614 reservyd, except; onely, alone. 617 lengthe his viage, lengthen his trip (i.e., by sinning); vitayl, provisions. 619 tyl, until. 626 besaunt, a gold coin. 627 apperteyned, was appropriate. 628 axid, asked. 629 convenable, suitable. 638 semblable to, similar to; caasis, instances. 639 esprised in her love, taken with love for her. 642 lever, rather. 643 entende to, incline towards. 650 brenned, burned. 652 hem, them.

sepulcre. And whan they had openyd hit, they fonde al the golde molten with fire  
ful of sulphre, and was poured and put in her mouth. And they herd one say,  
655 “Thou desiredest this gold by covetyse! Take hyt and drynke hyt!” And thenne they  
took the body out of the tombe. And hit was cast out in a prevy place.

Seneque rehercith in the *Book of the Cryes of Women* that avaryce is foundement  
of alle vyces.

And Valerian rehercith that avarice is a ferdful garde or kepar of richessis, for  
660 he that hath on hym or in his kepyng moche money or other richessis is alwey  
aferd to lose hit or to be robbid or to be slayn therfore. And he is not ewrous ner  
happy that by covetise getith hit.

And al the evyls of this vice of avarice had a man of Rome named Septenulle,  
for he was a frend of one named Tarchus. And this Septenulle brent so sore and  
665 so cruelly in this synne of covetise that he had no shame to smyte of the hede of hys  
frend by trayson, for as moche as one Framosian had promysed to hym as moche  
weyght of pure gold as the heed wayed. And he bare the said heed upon a staf  
through the cité of Rome, and he voyded the brayn out therof and filled hyt ful of  
leed for to weye the hevvar. This was a right horrible and cruel avarice.

Ptolomé, Kyng of Egipcians, poursewed avarice in another manere. For whan  
670 Anthonie, Emperour of Rome, sawe that he was right riche of gold and silver, he  
had hym in grete hate and tormentid hym right cruelly. And whan he shold perissch  
bycause of his richessis, he toke al his havoir and put hyt in a shippe, and went  
withalle into the hye see to the ende for to drowne and perissch there the shippe  
675 and his richesses bycause Anthonie, his enemye, shold not have hit. And whan he  
was there, he durst not perisshe hit, ner myght not fynde in hys herte to departe  
from hit, but cam and brought hit agayn into his hows, where he receyvyd the  
rewarde of deth therfore. And without doubte he was not lord of the richesse, but  
the richesse was lady over hym.

And therfore hit is said in proverbe that a man ought to seignorie over the  
680 riches, and not for to serve hit. And yf thou canst dewly use thy richesse, than she  
is thy chamberer. And yf thou cannot departe from hit and use hit honestly at thy  
plesure, knowe verily that she is thy lady. For the riches never satisfyeth the covetous,  
but the more he hath, the more he desireth.

And Saluste saith that avarice destroubleth fayth, poesté, honesté, and al thise  
685 other good vertues, and taketh for thise vertues pryde, cruelté, and to forgete God,  
and sayth that al thynges be vendable.

And after this, they ought to be ware that they lene not to moche, ner make so  
grete creaunces by whiche they may falle in poverté. For Saynt Ambrose saith upon  
690 Thoby: “Poverté hath no lawe, for to owe, hit is a shame, and to owe and not paye  
is a more shame. Yf thou be poure, beware how thou borowest and thynke how

656 **prevy**, hidden. 657 **foundement**, foundation. 659 **ferdful**, fearful; **kepar**, keeper. 661 **ewrous**, lucky or prosperous. 665 **smyte of**, cut off. 667 **wayed**, weighed; **bare**, carried. 668 **voyded**, emptied. 669 **leed**, lead. 673 **havoir**, possessions. 674 **hye see**, high sea. 675 **bycause**, in order that. 676 **perisshe it**, destroy it. 680 **seignorie**, rule. 681 **dewly**, duly. 682 **chamberer**, handmaid. 685 **destroubleth**, disturbed; **poesté**, strength. 687 **vendable**, capable of being sold. 688 **lene**, borrow. 689 **creaunces**, buying things on credit.

thou mayst paye and rendre agayn. Yf thou be riche, thou hast no nede to borowe and axe."

And it is said in the proverbis that hit is fraude to take that thou wylt not ner  
695 mayst [not] rendre and paye agayn.

And also, hit is sayd in reproche: "Whan I lene, I am thy frende, and whan I axe, I am thyn enemye," as who saith God at the lenyng and the devyll atte rendryng. And Seneke saith in his auctorités that they that gladly borowe ought gladly to paye, and ought to surmounte in corage to love hem the better bycause they lene  
700 hem and ayde hem in her nede. For benefetes and good tornes don to a man ought to gyve hym thankynges therfore, and moche more ought a man to repaye that is lent hym in his nede. But now in these dayes many men by lenyng of their money have made of their frendes enemies.

And herof speketh Domas the philosopher and saith that, "My frende borrowed  
705 money of me, and I have lost my frende and my money."

There was a marchaunt of Gene and also a chaungeour whos name was Albert Ganor. And this Albert was a man of grete trouth and loyalté. For on a tyme there was a man cam to hym and sayd and affermyd that he had delyveryd into his banke five honderd floryns of gold to kepe, whiche was not trouth, for he lyed, whiche  
710 five honderd floryns the sayd Albert knewe not of, ner coude fynde in al his bookes ony suche money to hym due. And this lyar coude brynge no wytnes, but began to braye, crye, and deffame the said Albert. And than this Albert callyd to hym this marchaunt and sayd, "Dere frende, take here five honderd florens whiche thou affermost and sayest that thou hast delyverd to me." And forthwyth tolde hem and toke hem to hym. And lo this good man had lever to lose his good than his good  
715 name and renome.

And this other marchaunt toke these florens that he had wrongfully receyvyd and employed them in dyverse marchaundyse, in so moche that he gate and encresid and wan with them fifteen thousand florens. And whan he sawe that he approached  
720 toward his deth, and that he had no children, he establisshed Albert his heyr in al thynges, and sayd that with the five honderd florens that he had receyvyd of Albert falsely, he had goten alle that he had in the world. And thus by devyne purveaunce, he that had be a thief fraudelent was maad afterward a trewe procurour and attorney of the sayd Albert.

But now in thyse dayes there be marchauntis that do marchaundise with other men's money whiche is taken to hem to kepe. And whan they ben requyred to repaye hyt, they have no shame to denye hit appertly.

Wherof hit happend that ther was a marchaunt which had a good and a grete name and renome of kepyng wel suche thynges as was delyveryd to hym to kepe.  
730 But whan he sawe place and tyme, he reteyned hit lyke a thief. So hit befel that a marchaunt of without forth herd the good reporte and fame of this man, cam to

693 *axe*, ask. 694 *wylt*, will; *ner*, nor. 696 *reproche*, reproach; *lene*, lend. 699 *surmounte*, surmount. 700 *tornes*, turns. 702 *lenyng*, loaning. 706 *Gene*, Genoa; *chaungeour*, money changer. 708 *affermyd*, confirmed. 709 *floryns*, gold coins. 714 *tolde hem*, counted them out. 716 *renome*, reputation. 718 *gate*, gained. 719 *wan*, earned. 722 *devyne purveaunce*, divine providence. 725 *do marchaundise*, engage in trade. 726 *menny's*, men's. 727 *appertly*, publicly. 731 *of without*, from elsewhere.

hym, and delyverd hym grete tresour to kepe. And thys tresour abode three yere  
 in his keypyng. And after this thre yere, thys marchaunt came and requyred to have  
 his good delyverd to hym agayn. And thys man knewe wel that he had no recorde  
 735 ne witnes to preve on hym this dueté, nor he had no obligacion ne wrytyng of hym  
 therof, in suche wyse that he denyed al entierly and sayd playnly he knewe hym  
 not. And whan this good man herd and understood this, he went sorowfully and  
 wepyng from hym so ferre and longe that an olde woman mette wyth hym and  
 demaunded of hym the cause of his wepyng. And he sayd to her, "Woman hit  
 740 aperteyneth nothyng to thee! Goo thy waye!"

And she prayed hym that he wold telle her the cause of his sorowe, for  
 paraventure she myght geve hym counceyl good and proffitable. And thenne this  
 man tolde to her by ordre the caas of his fortune. And the olde woman, that was  
 wyse and subtil, demaunded of hym yf he had in that cité ony frende whiche wold  
 745 be faythful and trewe to hym. And he sayd "ye," that he had dyverse frendes. Than  
 sayd she, "Goo thou to them and saye to them that they doo ordeyne and bye  
 dyverce cofres and chestes, and that they doo fylle them wyth somme olde thynges  
 of no value, and that they fayne and say that they be ful of golde, silver, and other  
 jewels, and of moche grete tresour. And thenne that they brynge them to thys sayd  
 750 marchaunt, and to say to hym that he wold kepe them, for as moche as they had  
 grete trust in hym, and also that they have herd of his grete trouth and good renome,  
 and also they wold go into fer contré and shold be longe er they retorned agayn.  
 And whilis they speke to hym of this mater, thou shalt come upon them and requyre  
 hym that he doo delyver to thee that thou tokest to hym. And I trowe, bycause of tho  
 755 good men that than shal proffre to hym the sayd tresour and for the covetise to  
 have hit, he shal delyver to thee thy good agayn. But beware! Late hym not knowe  
 they ben thy good frendes ner of thy knowleche."

This was a grete and good counceyl of a woman. And verily it cometh of nature  
 often tymes to women to geve counceyl shortly and unadvysedly to thynges that  
 760 ben in doubte or perilous and nedeth hasty remedye. And as ye have herd, this  
 good man dyd, and did after her counceyl, and came upon them whan they spack  
 of the mater to the marchaunt for to delyver to hym the sayd cofres to kepe, whiche  
 his frendes had fayned, and requyred of hym that he had taken to hym to kepe.  
 And than anone the sayd marchaunt sayd to hym, "I knowe thee now wel. For I  
 765 have advysed me that thou art suche a man, and camest to me suche a tyme, and  
 delyvered to me suche a thyng whyche I have wel kept."

And thenne callyd his clerk and bad hym goo fetche suche a thyng in suche a  
 place and delyver hit to that good man, "for he delyverd hit to me." And than the  
 good man receyvyd his good and went his waye right joyously and glad. And this  
 770 marchaunt trichour and deceyvour was defrauded from his evyl malice. And he ne  
 had neyther that one ne that other onythyng that was of value.

735 wrytyng, record. 738 so ferre and longe, for such a long time. 742 paraventure, perchance. 746 ordeyne and bye, arrange and buy. 748 fayne, feign. 752 fer contré, distant lands. 753 whilis, while. 754 tho, those. 756 Late, Let. 759 unadvysedly, unexpectedly. 761 did after her, sought their. 765 advysed me, considered to myself. 770 trichour, cheat.

And therefore hit is sayd in proverbe, "To defraude the begiler is no fraude."  
And he that doth wel foloweth our Lord.

775 And Seneke sayth that charité enseigneth and techeth that men shold paye wel,  
for good payement is somtyme good confessyon.

And this marchaunt trichour and deceyvour resemblith and is lyke to an hound  
that bereth a chese in his mouth whan he swymmeth over a water. For whan he is  
on the watre, he seeth the shadowe of the chese in the watre, and than he weneth  
780 hit be another chese. And for covetyse to have that, he openyth his mouth to catche  
that. And than the chese that he bare fallith down into the watre, and thus he loseth  
bothe two. And in the same wyse was servyd thys marchaunt deceyvour. For for to  
have the cofres whiche he had not seen, he delyverd agayn that he wold have  
holden wrongfully, and thus by his covetise and propre malyce he was deceyved.

785 And therefore hit apperteyneth to every good and wyse man to knowe and  
considere in hymself how moche he hath receyved of other men. And upon what  
condycion hit was delyverd to hym. And it is to wete that thys thyng apperteyneth to  
receyvours and to chaungeours, and to alle trewe marchauntis and other, what that  
790 somever they be, and ought to kepe theyr bookes of resaytes and of payementes of  
whom and to whom, and what tyme and day. And yf ye demaunde what thyng  
makyth them to forgete suche thynges as ben taken to them to kepe, I answer and  
say that it is grete covetise for to have tho thynges to themself and never to departe  
from them. And hit is alle her thought and desire to assemble alle the goodes that  
they may gete, for they beleve on none other god, but on her riches theyr hertes  
ben so obstynat.

795 And this suffyseth of the marchauntes.

772 **begiler**, cheater. 774 **enseigneth**, instructs. 777 **bereth**, carries; **chese**, cheese. 778 **weneth**, believes. 781 **For for**, Because in order to. 787–88 **what that somever**, whatsoever. 788 **resaytes**, receipts. 791 **tho**, those. 794 **obstynat**, resolute.

*The fyfthe chappitre of the thyrd book treteth of physiciens, medecynes, spycers, and appotiquaries.*  
**Capitulo five.**



800 The pawn that is sette tofore the quene signefyeth the physicien, spicer, apotiquare, and is formed in the fygure of a man. And he is sette in a chayer as a maistre, and holdeth in his right hand a book, and an ample or a boxe with oynementis in his lyft hand. And at his gurdel his instrumentis of yron and of silver for to make incisions and to serche woundes and hurtes, and to cutte apostumes. And by thyse thynges ben knowen the surgens. By the book ben understonden the phisiciens and all gramariens, logyciens, maystres of lawe, of geometrye, arsmetrique, musique, and of astronomye. And by the ampole ben signefyed the makers of pygmentaries, spicers, and apotiquaries, and they that make confeccions, and confites, and medecynes maad wyth precious spyce. And by the ferremens and instrumentis that hangen on the gurdel ben signefyed the surgens and the maysters.

805 And knowe ye for certeyn that a maystre and physicien ought to knowe the proporcions of lettres of gramayre, the monemens, the concludions, and the sophyms of logique, the gracious speche and utteraunce of rethorique, the mesures of the houres and dayes, and of the cours of astronomye, the nombre of arsmetrique, and the joyous songes of musique. And of al thyse tofore named, the maysters of

**Title medecynes**, medical practitioners; **spycers**, spice dealers; **appotiquaries**, apothecaries. **798 maistre**, teacher; **ample**, ampule or a small container. **799 oynementis**, ointments. **800 serche**, probe; **apostumes**, apostems or abscesses. **802 gramariens**, teachers of grammar; **logyciens**, teachers of logic; **maystres of lawe**, teachers of law; **arsmetrique**, arithmetic. **804 pygmentaries**, makers of ointments and drugs; **confeccions**, medical compounds. **805 confites**, preserves; **ferremens**, possibly “ferments” or organic material that causes yeast. **808 proporcions of lettres of gramayre**, harmonious arrangement of words; **monemens**, movements (Caxton has put an “n” in the place of a “v”); **sophyms**, sophisms.



rethorique ben the chyef maysters in speculatyf. And the two last that ben praticiens and werkes ben callyd physiciens and surgyens, how wel they ben sage and curious in thyse sciences, and how wel that manny's lyf is otherwhyle put in the ordonaunce  
 815 of the physicien or surgyen. Yf he have not sagesse and wysedom in hymself of dyverce wrytynges and is not expert, and medlyth hym in the craft of physique, he ought better be callyd a slear of peple than a phisicien or surgyen. For he may not be a maystre but yf he be sewre and expert in the craft of phisike that he slee not moo than he cureth and maketh hoole.

820 And therfore sayth Avycenne in an *Anforysme*: "Yf thou curest the seek man and knowest not the cause wherof the maladye ought to be cured, hit ought to be sayd that thou hast cured hym by fortune and happe more than by ony kunnyng." And in al thyse maner of people, ther ought to be meurté of good maners, curtosie of wordes, chastité of the body, promysse of helthe, and, as to them that been seek,  
 825 contynuel vysitacion of them. And they ought to enquire the cause of theyr sekenessys and the sygnes and tokens of theyr maladyes, as is rehercid in the bokes of the auctours by right grete dyligence, and specially in the bookes of Ypocras, Galiene, and of Avycene.

And whan many maysters and phisiciens ben assemblid tofore the pacient or  
 830 seke man, they ought not there to argue and dispute, one agaynst another. But they ought to make good and symple colacion togeder in suche wyse as they be not seen in theyr dysputyng one agaynst another for to encroche and gete more glory of the world to them self than to trete the salute and helthe of the pacient and seek man. I mervaylle why that, whan they see and knowe that whan the seek man hath  
 835 grete nede of helthe, wherfore than they make gretter objeccion of contrariousnes, for as moche as the lyf of man is demened and put amonge them. But hit is by cause that he is reputed most sage and wyse that argueth and bryngeth in most subtiltees. And alle this maner is amonge doctours of lawe that tretith nothyng of manne's lyf but of temporel thynges that he is holden most wyse and best lerned,  
 840 that by hys counceyl can best accorde the contencions and dyssencions of men. And therfore ought the phisiciens and surgyens leve, whan they be tofore the seek men, al discencions and contrariousnes of wordes, in suche wyse that hit appere that they studye more for to cure the seek men than for to despute.

And therfore is the phisicien dully sette tofore the quene, so that it is figured that  
 845 he ought to have in hymself chastyté and contynence of body. For hit apperteyneth som tyme unto the phisicien to vysite and cure quenes, duchesses and countesses, and alle other ladyes, and see and beholde somme secrete sekenessis that falle and

812 **rethorique**, rhetoric or the art of persuasion; **speculatyf**, speculative thinking. 813 **how wel**, because; **curious**, studious; 814 **otherwhyle**, sometimes; **ordonaunce**, care. 815 **sagesse**, wisdom or knowledge. 816 **medlyth**, meddles. 817 **slear**, slayer. 818 **but yf**, unless; **sewre**, sure; **slee**, slay. 819 **moo**, more. 822 **happe**, luck; **kunnyng**, knowledge or skill. 823 **meurté**, maturity; 825 **contynuel**, continual. 826 **tokens**, symptoms. 827–28 **Ypocras, Galiene, and of Avycene** (see note). 831 **colacion**, consultation; **in suche wyse**, in such a way. 832 **encroche**, encroach or seize. 833 **salute**, well-being or safety. 833–34 **seek man**, sick man. 836 **demened**, controled. 840 **dyssencions**, dissent. 841 **leve**, leave. 842 **discencions**, dissent. 844 **figured**, represented. 845 **contynence**, continence or self-restraint.

come otherwhile in the secretis of nature. And therfore hit aperteyneth to them that they be chaste and folowe honesté and chastyté, and that they be ensauple  
850 to other of good contynence.

For Valerian rehercith that Ypocras was of mervayllous contynence of his body. For whan he was in the scoles of Athenes, he had by hym a right fayr woman, whiche was comyn. And the yong scolers and the joly felawes that were students promysed to the woman a besaunte yf she myght or coude torne the corage of  
855 Ypocras for to have to doon wyth her. And she came to hym by nyght and dyd so moche by her craft that she laye wyth hym in his bedde. But she coude never do so moche that she myght corumpe his chaste lvyng ne defoule the crowne of his conscience. And whan the yonge men knewe that she had ben wyth hym al the nyght and coude not chaunge his contynence, they began to mocque her and to axe  
860 and demaunde of her the besaunt that they had geven to her. And she answerd that hit was holden and gaged upon an ymage. For as moche as she myght not chaunge hys contynence, she callyd hym an ymage.

And in semblable wyse rehercith Valeryan of Scenocrates, phylosopher, that there laye wyth hym a woman alle nyght and tempted hym dysordonatly. But that  
865 right chaste man made never semblaunt to her, ner he never remeyd from hys ferme purpoos, in suche wyse as she departed from hym al confused and shamed. Cornelius Scipion, that was sent by the Romyans for to governe Spayn, as sone as he entrid in to the castellys and into the townes of that londe, he began to take awaye al tho thynges that myght stere or meve his men to lecherye, wherfore men  
870 sayd that he drof and chased out of the hoost moo than two thousand bourdellys. And he that was wyse knewe wel that delyte of lecherye corupted and apayred the corages of tho men that ben abandoned to the same delyte.

And herof it is sayd in the fables of the poetes in the first book of the *Truphes of the Philosophres* by figure that they that entrid in to the fonteyne of the sirenes or mermaydens were corumped, and they took them away wyth hem.  
875

And also ye ought to knowe that they ought to entende dylygently to the cures of the infirmytees in cyrurgerye. They ought to make theyr plaisters accordyng to the woundes or soores. Yf the wounde be rounde, the enplastre must be rounde. And yf hit be longe, hit must be longe. And otherwhyle hit must be cured by his  
880 contrarye, lyke as it apperteyneth to phisique. For the hete is cured by colde, and the colde by hete, and joye by sorowe and sorowe by joye. And hit happeth ofte tymes that moche peple be in grete parille in takyng to moche joye and lese her membris, and become half benomen in the sodeyn joye. And joye is a repleccion of thynges that is delectable, sprad abroad in alle the membres wyth right grete

853 comyn (i.e., a prostitute). 854 besaunte, a gold coin; **torne the corage of**, seduce. 855 **for to have to doon wyth her**, to have sex with her. 859 axe, ask for. 861 holden and gaged, held and fastened on. 863 in semblable wyse, in a similar way. 865 made never semblaunt, never made a welcome. 869 stere, stir. 870 hoost, army; **bourdellys**, prostitutes. 871 **apayred**, weakened. 872 corages, strength. 873 *Truphes*, Frivolities. 874 by figure, figuratively; **fonteyne**, fountain. 875 **corumped**, corrupted. 877 **cyrurgerye**, surgery; **plaisters**, plasters or dressings. 878 **enplastre**, dressing. 879 **otherwhyle**, sometimes. 879–80 by his contrarye, by its opposite. 880 **phisique**, medical treatments. 882–83 **lese her membris**, lose their body parts. 883 **benomen**, ravished; **repleccion**, filling up.

885 gladnes. And al men entende and desyre to have the sayd right grete joye naturelly, but they knowe not what may ensue and come therof. And this joye cometh otherwhile of vertue of conscience, and the wise man is not wythout this joye. And thys joye is never interrupt ne in defaulte at no tyme, for hit cometh of nature. And fortune may not take away that nature geveth.

890 And Marcial sayth that joyes fugetyves abyde not long, but fle away anone.

And Valerian rehercith that he that hath force and strengthe resonable hath hit of veray matier of compleconn, and that cometh of love. And this joye hath as moche power to departe the sowle fro the body as hath the thondre. Wherof hit happend that there was a woman named Lyna, whiche had her husbond in the warre in the shypys of the Romainys, and she supposid verayly that he was deed. But hit happend that he came agayn home, and as he entrid into his yate, his wyf mette wyth hym sodaynly, not warned of his comyng, whiche was so gladde and joyous that in enbracyng hym she fyl down deed.

Also, of another woman to whom was reported by a fals messenger that her sone was deed, whiche went hoom soroufully to her hows. And afterward, when her sone came to her, as sone as she sawe hym, she was so esmoved wyth joye that she deyde tofore hym. But this is not so grete mervayle of women as is of the men.

For the women ben lykened unto softe waxe or softe ayer, and therfore she is callyd *mulier*, whiche is as moche to saye in Latyn as *mollis aer* and in Englissh “softe ayer.” And hit happeth ofte tymes that the nature of them that ben softe and mole taketh sonner inpressyon than the nature of men that be rude and stronge.

Valerie rehercith that a knyght of Rome named Instavlosus that had newly conquerid and subdued the Yle of Corsika. And as he sacrefyed his goodes, he receyvyd lettres from the senate of Rome in whiche were conteyned dyverce supplicacions, the whiche whan he understood, he was so glad and so enterprised wyth joye that he knewe not what to do. And than a grete fume or smoke yssued out of the fire, in whiche he dispayrid and fyl into the fyre, where he was anone deed.

And also it is sayd that Phylomenus lawghed so sore and distemperatly that he dyed al lawghyng.

And we rede that Ypocras, the phisicien, fond remedye for thys joye. For whan he had long dwellyd out of hys contrey for to lerne kunnyng and wysedom, and shold retorne unto his parentis and frendes, whan he approchyd nygh them, he sent a messenger tofore for to telle them his comyng and commaunded hym to saye that he cam. For they had not longe tofore seen hym, and that they shold attempte them in that joye or they shold see hym.

888 in defaulte, wanting. 890 joyes fugetyves, fleeting pleasures. 892 veray matier of compleconn, true matter of temperament. 893 thondre, thunder. 898 enbracyng, embracing. 901 esmoved, moved. 904 *mulier*, as Caxton notes, is the Latin word for woman. 905 mole, without perception. 906 sonner, more quickly. 908 Yle of Corsika, Island of Corsica; sacrefyed his goodes, made sacrifices to his gods. 910 enterprised, taken. 914 distemperatly, excessively. 917 kunnyng, knowledge or skill. 918 nygh, near to. 920 had not longe tofore seen hym, had not seen him for a while. 921 attempte them, moderate themselves; or, before.

And also, we rede that Titus, the sone of Vaspasian, whan he had conquerd Jherusalem and abode in the contrees by, he herde that his fader, Vaspasian, was chosen by al the Senate for to governe the Emyre of Rome. Wherefore he had so  
 925 right grete joye that sodeynly he lost the strength of al his membris and became al inpotent. And whan Josephus, that made the historye of the Romayns ayenst the Jewys, whiche was a right wyse phisicien, sawe and knewe the cause of this sekenes of the sayd Titus, he enquiryed of his folke yf he had in hate ony man gretely so moche that he myght not here speke of hym ne wel se hym. And one of the  
 930 servauntes of Tytus sayd that he had one persone in hate so moche that ther was no man in his courte so hardy that durst name hym in hys presence.

And than Josephus assigned a day whan this man shold come and ordeyned a table to be sette in the sight of Titus, and did hit to be replenysshed plentifully wyth al dayntees. And ordeyned men to be armed to kepe hym in suche wise that no  
 935 man shold hurt hym by the commaundement of Titus, and ordeyned boutelers, cokes, and other officers for to serve hym worshipfully like an emperour. And whan al this was redy, Josephus brought in this man that Titus hated, and sette hym at the table tofore his eyen, and was servyd of yong men with grete reverence right curtoisly. And whan Titus behelde his enemye sette tofore hym wyth so grete  
 940 honour, he began to chauffe hymself by grete felonye, and commaunded his men that this man shold be slayn. And whan he sawe that none wold obeye hym, but that that they alwey servyd hym reverently, he waxe so ardant and enbracid wyth so grete yre that he, that had lost al the force and strengthe of his body and was al impotent in alle his membrys, recoverd the helth agayn and strengthe of hys  
 945 membris by the hete that entryd into the vaynes and synewes. And Josephus dyd so moche that he was recoveryd and hoole, and that he helde that man no more for hys enemye but helde hym for a veray trewe frende, and afterward maad hym his loyal felowe and companyoun.

And the espycers and apoticaries ought to make trewly suche thynges as is  
 950 commaunded to them by the phisiciens. And they ought to accomplishe their billes and charge curiously with grete diligence, that for none other cause they shold be ocupied but in makyng medecynes or confecconns trewly. And that they ought, upon paryl of their sowle, not to forgete by neglygence ne rechelesnes to gyve one medecyne for another, in suche wyse that they be not slears of men, and that they  
 955 doo put no false thynges in her spices for to enpayre, or encrecyng the weyght. For yf they so do, they may better be callyd thevys than espycers or apoticaries. And they that ben acustomed to make oynementis, they ought to make it proprely of trewe stuffe and of good odoure after the receptes of the auncient doctours, and after the forme that the phisiciens and surgiens devyse unto them.

**925 al his membris**, all his body parts. **928 folke**, people; **had in hate**, despised. **929 here speke of**, hear any talk of; **se**, see. **932 ordeyned**, commanded. **935 boutelers**, servants. **936 cokes**, cooks. **939 curtoisly**, graciously. **940 chauffe**, fume; **felonye**, anger. **942 waxe so ardant**, became so fired up. **942–43 enbracid wyth so grete yre**, was taken with such anger. **945 hete**, heat; **synewes**, sinews. **946 hoole**, whole. **949 espycers**, spice sellers. **950 billes**, orders. **951 charge curiously**, fill [them] skillfully. **952 confecconns**, medicinal compounds. **953 rechelesnes**, carelessness. **955 enpayre**, worsen; **encrecyng**, increasing. **956 thevys**, thieves. **958 stuffe**, ingredients; **odoure**, fragrance; **receptes**, formulae.

960 Also, they ought to be ware that for none avayle ne gyfte that they ought have,  
that they put in their medecynes nothyng venemous ne doying hurte or scathe to  
any persone of whom they have no good ne veray knowleche, to the ende that they  
to whom the medecynes shold be geven torne not to them hurt, ne damage, ne in  
965 destrucconns of their neyghbours. And also that they that have mynystrid tho  
thynges to them been not taken for parteners of the blame and of the synne of them.

The surgyens ought also to be debonayr, amyable, and to have pyté of theyr  
patients. And also, they ought not be hasty to launce and cutte apostumes and  
soores, ne open the heedes, ner to arrache bones broken, but yf the cause be  
apparrant. For they myght ellys lose theyr good renomee, and myght better be  
970 callyd bouchers thenne helars or guarysshours of woundes and sores. And also hit  
behoveth that alle thys maner of peple aforesayd, that have the charge for to make  
hoole and guarisshe alle maner of maladyes and infirmytees, that they first have  
the cure of themself. And they ought to purge themself from alle apostumes and  
alle vyces, in suche wyse that they be net and honeste and enformed in al good  
975 maners. And that they shewe hem hole and pure and redy for to hele other.

And herof sayth Boecius [in] *De consolacisone*, in his first booke that the sterres  
that ben hyd under the clowdes may gyve no light. And therfore, yf ony man wyl  
beholde clerely the verité, late hym withdrawe hym fro the obscureté and derknes  
of the clowdes of ygnoraunce. For whan the engyne of a man sheweth in joye or in  
980 sorow, the pensee or thought is envoluped in obscureté and under the clowdes.

960 avayle, profit. 961 scathe, damage. 963 damage, harm. 964 destrucconns, destructions. 966 debonayr, gracious. 967 launce, pierce; apostumes, abscesses. 968 arrache, tear; but yf, unless. 969 renomee, reputation. 970 bouchers, butchers; helars or guarysshours, healers or guarishers (curers). 973 cure, care. 974 net, clean. 976 sterres, stars. 479 engyne, intelligence.

*The sixte chappitre of the thyrd book treteth of the sixte pawn, whiche is lykenyd to taverners, hostellers, and vytayllers.* Capitulo six.



The sixte pawn, whiche stondeth tofore the alphyn on the lyfte syde, is made in this forme, for hit is a man that hath the right hond stretched out as for to calle men, and holdeth in his lift honde a loof of breed and a cuppe of wyn, and on his gurdel hangyng a bondel of keyes. And this resemblith the taverners, hostellers, and sellars of vytayl. And thyse ought properly to be sette tofore the alphyn, as tofore a juge. For there sourdeth oft tymes amonge hem contencion, noyse, and stryf, whyche behoveth to be determyned and trayted by the alphyn, whiche is juge of the kyng. And hit apperteyneth to them for to seke and enquire for good wynes and good vytayl for to gyve and selle to the byars, and to them that they herberowe. And hit aperteyneth to them wel to kepe theyr herberowes and innes, and alle tho thynges that they brynge into theyr lodgyng, and for to putte hyt in seure and sauf warde and kepyng.

And the first of them is signefyed by the lyfte hand in whyche he bereth breed and wyn. And the second is signefyed by the right hand whiche is stretched out to calle men. And the thyrd is representyd by the keyes hangyng on the gurdel.

And thyse maner of peple ought to eschewe the synne of glotonye. For moche people come into theyr howses for to drynke and for to ete, for whyche cause they ought resonably to rewle themself and to refrayne them from to moche mete and drynke, to the ende that they myght the more honestly delyver thynges nedeful unto the peple that come unto them, and nothyng by outrage that myght noye the body.

*Title taverners*, tavern-keepers; *hostellers*, innkeepers; *vytayllers*, purveyors of victuals or provisions. 981 *alphyn*, chess bishop or judge. 982 *stratched*, stretched. 983 *loof of breed*, loaf of bread. 984 *gurdel*, belt; *bondel*, bunch. 986 *sourdeth*, arises; *noyse*, contention or strife. 987 *stryf*, strife; *trayed*, settled. 988 *enquire*, inquire. 989 *vytayl*, food; *byars*, buyers. 990 *herberowes*, lodgings. 991 *seure and sauf*, secure and safe. 992 *warde*, care. 1000 *outrage*, excess; *noye*, disturb.



For hit happeth oft tymes that there cometh of glotonye, tencions, stryfs, riottes, wronges, and molestaconns, by whiche men lese otherwhyle their handes, theyr eyen, and other of theyr membris, and somtyme ben slayn or hurte unto the deth as it is wretton in *Vitas Patrum*, as on a tyme an hermyte went for to vysite his gossibs. And the devyl apperid to hym on the wey in likenes of another hermyte for to tempte hym, and said: "Thou hast left thyn hermytage and goest to visite thy gossibs. Thee behoveth by force to do one of the three thynges that I shal say to thee. Thou shalt chese whether thou wolt be dronk, or ellys have to do fleshlye with thy gossyb, or ellis thou shalt slee her husbond, whiche is thy gossib also."

And the hermyte, that thought for to chese the leste evyl, chase for to be dronke. And whan he cam unto them, he drank so moche that he was veray dronk. And whan he was dronke and eschauffyd with the wyn, he wold have a doo with his gossyb. And her husbond withstood hym. And than the hermyte slewe hym and after that laye by his gossyb and knewe her fleshly. And thus by this synne of dronkenshypp, he accomplisshed the two other synnes.

By whiche thyng ye may understonde and knowe that whan the devyl wyl take one of the castellys of Jhesu Cryst, that is to wete the body of a man or of a woman, he doth as a prynce that setteth a siege tofore a castel that he wold wynne, whyche entendeth to wynne the gate. For he knoweth wel whan he hath wonne the gate he may sone doo his wylle wyth the castel. And in lyke wyse doth the devyl wyth every man and womman. For whan he hath wonne the gate, that is to wete the gate of the mouthe by glotonye or by any other synne, he may do wyth the offyces of the body al his wylle as ye have herd tofore. And therfore ought every man ete and drynke sobrely in suche wyse as he may lyve, and not lyve to ete glotonsly and for to drynke dronk. Ye se comunely that a grete bole is suffisid with right a litil pasture, and that one wode suffiseth to many olephauntes. And hit behoveth a man to be fedde by the erthe or by the see. Nevertheles, it is no grete thyng to fede the bely, nothyng so grete as is the desire of many metes.

Wherof Quyntilian saith that hit happeth ofte tymes in grete festes and dyners that we be fylled with the sight of the noble and lichorous metis, and whan we wold ete, we ben saciat and fylled.

And therfore it is sayd in proverbe: "Hit is better to fille the belye than the eye."

And Lucan saith that "glotony is the moder of al vices, and especial of lecherye, and also is destroyar of al goodes, and may not have suffysaunce of lytil thyng, a covetous honger, what sekest thou mete and vytayllis on the lande and in the see. And thy joye is nothyng ellis but to have playnteuous dysshes and wel filled at thy table. Lerne how men may demene theyr lyf with litil thyng."

**1003 molestaconns**, injuries; **lese**, lose; **otherwhyle**, sometimes. **1004 eyen**, eyes; **membris**, body parts. **1005 on a tyme**, one time; **hermyte**, hermit. **1006 gossibs**, a gossip is a godfather, godmother, close friend, soulmate (sibling in God), or sponsor at baptism; it also refers to the people who are sponsored. **1008 behoveth by force**, are compelled. **1009 chese**, choose; **have to do fleshlye**, have sex with. **1013 eschauffyd**, heated; **have a doo with**, have sexual relations with. **1014 withstood**, resisted. **1026 se comunely**, see frequently; **bole**, bull; **suffisid**, satisfied. **1027 wode**, forest; **suffiseth to**, is sufficient for; **olephauntes**, elephants. **1031 lichorous metis**, rich foods. **1032 saciat**, sated. **1036 vytayllis**, food. **1038 Lerne**, Know; **demene**, conduct.

And Cathon saith, "In no wyse obeye to glotonye, whiche is frende to lecherye."  
 1040 And the holy doctour Saynt Augustyn saith, "The wyn eschauffith the bely that  
 falleth anone to lecherye." The bely and the membris ben neighbours to lecherie,  
 and thus the vice of glotonye provoketh lecherye, wherof cometh forgetenes of his  
 mynde and destruccion of alle quyck and sharpe reason, and is cause of  
 distemperaunce of his wyttes. What synne is fowler than this synne and more  
 1045 stynkyng, ne more dommageous? For this synne hath taken away the vertu of man.  
 His prowess languyssheth, his vertue is torned to diffame, the strengthe of body  
 and of corage is torned by thee.

And therfore saith Vasily la Graunt: "Late us take hede howe we serve the bely  
 and the throte by glotonye like as we were dombe bestys. And we studye for to be  
 1050 lyke unto belues of the see, to whom nature hath gyven to be alwey enclyned  
 toward the erthe, and therto loke for to serve their belyes."

And herof sayth Boecius [in] *De consolacione* in his fourth book, that a man that  
 lyveth and doth not the condicions of a man may never be in good condicion.  
 Than must hit nedes be that he be transported in nature of a beste or of a belue of  
 1055 the see. How wel that right grete men and women, ful of mervayllous sciences and  
 noble councyl in thys dayes in the world, be norissed in this glotonye of wynes  
 and metes, and ofte tymes ben overseen. How suppose ye is hit not right a perilous  
 thyng that a lord or governour of the peple and comyn wele, how wel that he be  
 wyse, yf he eschauffe hym sone, so that the wyn or other drynke surprise hym and  
 1060 overcome his brayn? His wisdom is lost.

For as Cathon sayth: "Ire enpessheth the corage in suche as he may not kepe  
 verité and trouth." And anone as he is chauffid, lecherye is mevyd in hym in suche  
 wyse that the lecherye makyth hym to meddle in dyverse vylayns dedes, for than  
 his wysedom is a slepe and goon.

1065 And therfore saith Ovyde in his book *De remedio amoris*: "Yf thou take many and  
 dyverce wynes, they apparayle and enforce the corages to lecherye."

And Thobye wytnessyth in his book that luxurie destroyeth the body and  
 mynyssheth rychessys. She loseth the sowle, she febleth the strengthe, she blyndeth  
 the syght, and maketh the voys hoors and rawe. A right evyl and foule synne of  
 1070 dronkenschyp, by thee perissith virgynyte, whiche is suster of aungellis, possedyng  
 al goodnes and seurté of al joyes pardurable.

Noe was one tyme so chauffyd wyth wyn that he discoverd and shewid to hys  
 sones his prevy membris in suche wyse as one of his sones mocqued hym, and that  
 other coverd hem. And Loth, whiche was a man right chaste, was so assoted by

**1042 forgetenes**, forgetfulness. **1044 distemperaunce**, imbalance or disturbance. **1045  
 dommageous**, damaging. **1049 dombe bestys**, insensible animals. **1050 belues**, monsters  
 (whales). **1051 belyes**, bellies. **1053 doth not the condicions**, does not live in the manner  
 appropriate to. **1059 eschauffe hym sone**, drinks alcohol quickly. **1061 enpessheth**,  
 impedes. **1062 chauffid**, heated (with drink). **1063 vylayns dedes**, villainous deeds. **1066  
 apparayle**, enhance. **1068 mynyssheth**, diminishes; **febleth**, weakens. **1069 voys hoors  
 and rawe**, voice hoarse and ragged. **1070 aungellis**, angels; **possedyng**, possessing. **1071  
 seurté**, surety; **pardurable**, lasting. **1072 Noe**, Noah; **discoverd**, exposed. **1073 prevy  
 membris**, sexual organs; **mocqued**, mocked. **1074 assoted**, infatuated.

1075 moche drynkyng of wyn that on a mounteyn he knewe hys daughters carnelly, and had to doo wyth them as they had ben his propre wyves.

And Crete rehercith that Boece, whiche was flour of the men, tresour of richesses, synguler hous of sapyence, myrrour of the world, odour of good renomee, and glorie of his subgettis, lost al thise thynges by his luxurie. We have seen that dyverce  
1080 that were joyned by grete amytie to geder whiles they were sobre, that that one wold put his body in parell of deth for that other, and whan they were eschauffid with wyn and dronke, they have ronne eche upon other for to slee hem. And somme have ben that have slayn so his frende.

Herodes Antipas had not doon Saynt John Baptist to ben beheded, ne had the  
1085 dyner ben ful of glotonye and dronkship. Balthazar, kyng of Babylone, had not been chaced out of his kyngdom, ne be slayn, yf he had be sobre emonge hys peple, whom Tyrus and Dares fond dronken and slewe hym.

The hostelers ought to be wel bespoken and curtoys of wordes to them that they receyve in to theyr lodgyng. For fayr speche, and joyous chiere and debonayr, cause  
1090 men to gyve the hosteler a good name. And therfore hit is sayd in a comyn proverbe: "Curtoyse langage and wel sayeng is moche worth and coste lytyl." And in another place it is sayd that curtosye passeth beaulté.

Also, for as moche as many pareylls and adventures may happen on the wayes and passages to hem that been herberowed wyth in theyr innes, therfore they ought  
1095 to accompanye them whan they departe, and enseigne them the weyes and telle to them the parilles, to the ende that they may surely goo theyr vyage and journey. And also they ought to kepe theyr bodyes, theyr goodes, and the good fame and renomee of theyr innes.

We rede that Loth, whan he had receyvyd the aungellys into his hows right debonayrly, whiche he had supposid had ben mortal men and straungers, to the  
1100 ende that they shold esCAPE the disordynate and unnaturel synne of lecherye of the Sodomytes, by the vertu of good fayth, he sette a part the naturel love of a fader and proferd to them his daughters, whiche were vyrgyns, to the ende that they shold kepe them and defende them fro that villayn and horrible synne.

And knowe ye for certeyn that al tho thynges that been taken and delyverd to  
1105 kepe to the hoste or hostessis, they ought to be sauf and yelden ageyn without appayryng. For the hoste ought to knowe who that entrith in to hys hous for to be herberowed takith hit for his habitacion for the tyme he hymself, and alle suche thynges as he bryngeth wyth hym, ben commysed of right in the warde and kepyng  
1110 of the hoste or hosteler, and ought to be as sauf as they were put in his owne propre hows.

**1077 tresour**, treasure. **1078 hous of sapyence**, source of wisdom; **odour of good renomee**, imbued with the very essence of good fame. **1079 dyverce**, diverse men. **1080 amytie**, friendship. **1081 parell**, peril; **eschauffid**, heated. **1082 ronne eche upon other**, attacked each other. **1085 dyner**, dinner. **1086 chaced**, chased; **emonge**, among. **1087 fond**, found. **1088 wel bespoken**, well-spoken; **curtoys**, polite. **1089 debonayr**, used as an adjective modifying *chiere*, in the sense of "graciousness." **1092 passeth**, surpasses. **1094 herberowed**, lodged. **1095 enseigne**, teach. **1104 defende them**, protect themselves. **1106 yelden**, yielded. **1107 appayryng**, appairing or damage. **1108 herberowed**, lodged. **1109 commysed**, entrusted; **warde**, care.

And also suche hostes ought to holde servauntes in theyr hows whiche shold be trewe and without avarice, in suche wyse that they coveyte not to have the goodes of theyr ghestes, and that they take not away the provender fro theyr horses when  
 1115 hit is gyven to them, that by the occasion therof, their horses perisshe not, ne faylle theyr maister when they have nede, and myght falle in the handes of theyr enemyes. For than shold the servauntes be cause of that evyl wherfore their maysters shold see to. For without doubte, this thyng is worse than thefte.

Hit happend on a tyme in the parties of Lombardye in the cyté of Jene that a  
 1120 noble man was lodgyd in an hostelrye wyth moche companye. And when they had gyven provendour to theyr horses, in the first oure of the nyght, the servaunt of the hows came secretly tofore the horses for to stele away theyr provender. And when he came to the lorde's hors, the hors caught with his teth his arme and helde hit fast that he myght not escape. And when the thief sawe that he was so strongly holden,  
 1125 he began to crye for the grete payn that he suffrid and felte, in suche wyse that the noble manny's meyné cam wyth the hoste. But in no maner, ner for ought they coude doo, they coude not take the thief out of the horse's mouth unto the tyme that the neyghbours, whiche were noyed wyth the noyse, came and sawe hit. And the thief was knowen and taken and brought tofore the juge, and confessyd the  
 1130 feet, and by sentence diffynytyf was hanged and lost his lyf. And in the same wyse was another that dyd so. And the hors smote hym in the vysage that the prynte of the hors shoo and nayles abode ever in his vysage.

Another caas right cruel and vilaynous fyl at Tholouse. Hit happend a yong man and his fader went a pylgremage to Saynt James in Galice and were lodgyd in an  
 1135 hostelrye of an evyl hoost, and ful of right grete covetyse, inso moche that he desired and coveyted the goodes of the two pylgrymes. And here upon advysed hym, and put a cuppe of silver secretly in the male that the yonge man bare. And when they departed out of theyr lodgyng, he folowed after hem and sayd tofore the peple of the court that they had stolen and borne away his cuppe. And the yong man  
 1140 excused hymself and his fader and sayd they were innocent of that caas. And thenne they serchyd hem, and the cuppe was founden in the male of the yonge man. And forthwyth he was dampned to deth and hanged as a thief. And thys feet doon, al the goodes that longed to the pylgrym were delyverd to the hoste as confisqued.

And than the fader went forth for to do his pylgremage. And when he came  
 1145 ageyn, he must nedes come and passe by the place where his sone hyng on the gybet. And as he came he complayned to God and to Saynt James how they myght suffre this adventure to come unto hys sone. Anone his sone that hyng spake to his fader and said how that Saynt James had kept hym wythout harme, and bad his fader goo to the juge and shewe to hym the myracle, and how he was innocent of  
 1150 that fait. And when this thyng was knowen, the sone of the pylgrym was taken down

1114 **ghestes**, guests; **provender**, fodder. 1119 **parties**, regions. 1121 **oure**, hour. 1126 **meyné**, company of men. 1128 **noyed wyth**, disturbed by. 1129 **knownen**, exposed. 1130 **feet**, act; **sentence diffynytyf**, final verdict. 1131 **vysage**, face. 1132 **abode**, remained. 1133 **caas**, case; **Tholouse**, Toulouse. 1134 **Galice**, Galicia. 1136 **advysed hym**, considered to himself. 1137 **male**, purse or sack; **bare**, carried. 1140 **excused**, maintained the innocence of. 1142 **feet**, deed. 1143 **confisqued**, confiscated. 1145 **must nedes**, had to; **hyng**, hung. 1146 **gybet**, gibbet or gallows. 1150 **fait**, act.

fro the gybet, and the cause was brought tofore the juge, and the hoost was accused of the trayson. And he confessyd his trespaas and sayd he dyd hit for covetyse to have his good. And than the juge dampned hym for to be hanged on the same gybet where as the yonge pylgrym was hanged.

- 1155 And that I have sayd of the servauntes beyng men, the same I say of the women as chaumberers and tapsters. For semblable caas fyl in Spayn at Saynt Donne of a chaumberer that put a cuppe in lyke wyse in the scrippe of a pylgryme bycause he wold not have a do wyth her in the synne of lecherye, wherfore he was hanged. And his fader and moder that were there wyth hym went and dyd her pylgremage. And  
 1160 whan they came agayn, they fonde her sone lvyng. And than they went and tolde the juge, whiche juge sayd that he wold not beleve hit til a cok and an henne, whiche rosted on the fyre, were a lyve, and the cok crewe. And anone they began to wexe a lyve, and the cok crewe and began to crowe and to pasture. And whan the juge sawe this myracle, he went and toke down the sone, and made the chaumberer  
 1165 to be taken and to be hanged. Wherfore I say that the hostes ought to holde no tapsters ne chaumberers but yf they were good, meure, and honeste. For many harmes may befall and come by the disordenate rewle of servauntes.

*The seventh chappitre of the thyrd tractate treteth of kepars of townes, customers, and tolle gaderers.* Capitulo seven.



1151 **cause**, case. 1152 **trayson**, treason. 1156 **chaumberers and tapsters**, chambermaids and barmaids; **semblable**, a similar. 1157 **scrippe**, small bag or wallet. 1162 **crewe**, crowded. 1162–63 **began to wexe a lyve**, there seems to be something missing here, although the sense is clear: the couple kills a rooster by burning it. 1163 **pasture**, feed. 1166 **meure**, careful. *Title* **customers**, officials who collect customs.

The gardes and kepars of citees ben signefyed by the seventh pawn, whiche stondeth in the lyft side tofore the knyght, and is formed in the semblaunce of a man holdyng in his lyft hond grete keyes and in hys right hand a potte and an elle for to mesure wyth, and ought to have on his gurdel a purse open. And by the keyes ben signefied the kepars of the citees and townes and comyn offyces. And by the potte and elle ben signefyed them that have the charge to weye and mete and mesure trewly. And by the purse been signefyed them that receyve the costumes, tolles, scawage, peages, and duetees of the cytees and townes.

And thyse peple ben sette by right tofore the knyght. And hit behoveth that the gardes and offycers of the townes be taught and ensigned by the knyghtes, and that they knowe and enquiry how the citees and townes ben governed, whiche aperteyneth to be kept and defended by the knyghtes. And first hit aperteyneth that the kepars of the cyté be dyligent, besy, clere sayeng, and lovers of the comyn prouffyt and wele, as wel in the tyme of pees as in the tyme of warre. They ought alwey to goo in the cyté and enquiry of al thynges and ought reporte to the governours of the cyté suche thyng as they fynde and knowe, and suche thyng as aperteyneth and to the seurté of the same, and to denounce and telle the defaultes and parellys that there be. And yf hit be in tyme of warre, they ought not to open the gates by nyght to no man.

And suche men as ben put in this offyce ought to be of renome and fame, trewe, and of good conscience, in suche manere that they love them of the cyté or towne, and that they put to no man any blame or vylanye with out cause by envye, covetyse, ne by hate, but they ought to be sory and hevy whan they see that ony man shold be compleyned on for ony cause. For hit happeth ofte tymes that dyverce offycers accuse the good peple fraudulently, to the ende that they myght have a thanke and ben praysed, and to abyde styll in theyr offyces. And trewly hit is a grete and hye maner of malice to be in wylle to doo evyl and dyffame other wythout cause to grete glorie to hymself.

Also, the kepars and offycers of cytees ought to be suche that they suffre no wronges ne vylonyes tofore the juges and governours of citees wythout cause to be doon to them that ben innocentes, but they ought to have theyr eyen and regarde unto hym that knoweth the hertes and thoughtes of al men. And they ought to drede and doubte Hym with out whos grace theyr watche and kepyng is nought, and that promyseth to them that doubte Hym shal be ewrous and happy. And by Hym ben al thynges accomplisshed in good.

Hit is founden in the histories of Rome that the Emperour Frederik the Second dyd doo make a gate of marble of mervayllous werk and enteyle in the cyté of

1170 **elle**, measuring rod. 1171 **gurdel**, belt. 1173 **mete**, take measurements. 1174 **receyve**, receive; **costumes**, customs. 1175 **scawage**, a "scavage" or special toll imposed by the mayor of a town; **peages**, tolls paid for passing through a place; **duetees**, duties or taxes. 1177 **ensigned**, trained. 1180 **besy**, active; **clere sayeng**, of clear speech. 1184 **seurté**, security; **denounce**, make known; **defaultes**, failures or shortcomings. 1185 **parellys**, perils. 1187 **renome**, reputation. 1190 **sory and hevy**, sad and dispirited. 1191 **compleyned on**, cried out upon. 1192 **have a thanke**, receive thanks. 1200 **doubte**, fear. 1201 **ewrous**, prosperous. 1204 **enteyle**, carving or sculpture.



- 1205 Capuane upon the watre that renneth about the same. And upon this gate he made an ymage lyke hymself sitting in his magesté and two juges, whiche were sette one on the right side and that other on the lift side. And upon the sercle above the hede of the juge on the right side was wretton: "Al they entre seurely that wyl lyve purely." And upon the sercle of the juge on the lift side was wretton: "The untrew man ought to doubte to doo thyng that he be put to pryson fore." And on the
- 1210 sercle above the emperour was wretton: "I make them lyve in mysery that I see lyve dysmesurably." And therfore hit aperteyneth to a juge to shewe to the peple for to drede and doubte to do evyl. And hyt aperteyneth to the gardes and offycers to doubte the juges and to doo trewly theyr servyces and offyces. And hit aperteyneth to a prynce to menace the traytours and the malefactours of right grevous paynes.
- 1215 And herof we fynde in the auncient histories of Cecille that the Kyng Denys had a broder whom he lovyd sore wel. But alwey where he went, he made hevye and triste semblaunt. And thus as they went bothe to gyder on a tyme in a chare, ther cam agayn hem two poure men with glad vysage but in foule habyte. And the kyng,
- 1220 anone as he sawe them, sprange out of his chare and receyvyd them worshipfully with grete reverence, wherfore his barons were not onely amervaylled but also angry in their corages. Notwithstandyng, fere and drede letted them to demaunde hym the cause, but they made his broder to demaunde the cause and to knowe the certeynté. And whan he had herde his broder say to hym the demaunde, that he was blessyd and also a kyng whiche was riche and ful of delytes and worshyppes, he demaunded hym yf he wold assaye and knowe the grace and beneurté of a kyng. And his broder answerd "ye," and that he desired and requyred hit of hym. And than the kyng commaunded unto alle hys subgettis that they shold obeye in al thynges onely unto his broder. And than, whan the oure of dyner cam and al
- 1225 thynges was redy, the broder was sette at the table of the kyng. And whan he sawe that he was servyd with right noble botelers and other offycers, and he herde the sownes of musique right melodyous, the kyng demaunded hym than yf he supposid that he were benerous and blessyd. And he answerd, "I wene wel that I am right blessyd and fortunat, and that I have wel proved and fele, and am expert therof."
- 1230 And than the kyng secretly made to be hanged over hys heed a sharpe cutting swerde, hangyng by an hors here or a sylken threde so smale 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 unto his servauntes, he sayd to hym: "Why ete ye not? Ar ye not blessid? Say yf ye fele onythyng otherwyse than blessid and wel."
- 1235 And he answerd, "For as moche as I see thys sharpe swerde hangyng so subtilly and parilously over myn hede, I fele wel that I am not blessyd, for I drede that hit shold falle on my hede."
- 1240

**1205 Capuane**, Capua, a city in the southwest region of Campania, Italy. **1207 sercle**, circle. **1212 dysmesurably**, without measure. **1216 Cecille**, Sicily. **1217–18 triste semblaunt**, sad expression. **1218 chare**, chariot. **1219 agayn**, in the opposite direction of; **vysage**, demeanor; **habyte**, clothing. **1222 corages**, hearts; **Notwithstandyng**, Nevertheless; **letted**, prevented. **1224 certeynté**, state of affairs; **he**, i.e., Dionysus; **demaunde**, inquiry. **1226 assaye**, put to the test; **beneurté**, blessedness. **1227 "ye,"** yes; **requyred**, requested. **1233 benerous**, blessed; **wene**, believe. **1236 hors here**, horse hair.

And thenne dyscoverd the kyng unto hem al wherfore he was alwey so hevy, cherid, and tryste. For where he was, he thought alwey on the swerde of the secrete  
 1245 vengauunce of God, whyche he behelde alwey in his herte, wherfore he had alwey in hymself grete drede. And therfore he worshyppyd gladly the poure peple with glad vysage and good conscience. And by this sheweth the kyng wel that what man that is alwey in drede is not alwey mery or blessyd.

And herof sayth Quyntilian that thys drede surmounteth alle other maleurtees  
 1250 and evylles, for it is maleurté of drede nyght and day. And it is verité that to hym that is doubted of moche peple, so muste he doubte moche. And that lorde is lasse thenne his servauntes that dredyeth his servauntes. And truly hit is a right sure thyng to drede nothyng but God. And somtyme, right hardy men ben constrayned to lyve in drede. Drede causith a man to be besy to kepe the thynges that be  
 1255 commysed to hym that they perisshe not. But to be to moche hardy and to moche ferdful, bothe two ben vices.

The comyn officers ought to be wyse and wel advysed in suche wise that they take not of the peple ne requyre no more than they ought to have by reson, ne that they take of the sellars ne of the byars no more than the right custome, for they bere  
 1260 the name of a persone, and therfore ought they to shewe them comune to alle men. And for as moche as the byars and sellars have somtyme moche langage, they ought to have wyth them these vertues, that is to wete pacience and good corage wyth honesté. For they that ben despytous to the comune been otherwhile had in vylayns despite. Therefore, beware that thou have no despyte unto the poure mendycants, yf thou wylt come and atteyne to thynges soverayn, for the injurie that is doon  
 1265 wythout cause torneth to diffame hym that doth hit.

A jogheler on a tyme behelde Socrates and sayd to hym: "Thou hast the eyen of corrupour of children and art as a traytre." And whan his dysciples herde hym, they wold avengyd theyr maister. But he reprevyd hem by suche sentence sayeng:  
 1270 "Suffre my felawes, for I am he and suche one as he sayth by the sight of my vysage. But I refrayne and kepe me wel from suche thyng."

This same Socrates hymself was chidde and right foul spoken to of hys wyf, and she imposid to hym many grete injuries wythout nombre. And she was in a place above over his heed. And whan she had brawled ynough, she made her water and  
 1275 poured hit on his heed. And he answerd to her nothyng agayn, sauf whan he had dried and wyped his heed, he said he knewe wel that after suche wynde and thondre shold come rayne and watre. And the philosophers blamed hym that he coude not governe two women, that was his wyf and his chaumberer, and shewyd hym that one cokke governed wel fifteen hennes. He answerd to them that he was  
 1280 so used and acostumed with theyr chidyng that the chidyngis of them ne of

1243 **dyscoverd**, showed. 1243–44 **hevy, cherid, and tryste**, burdened, preoccupied, and sad. 1244 **For where**, For wherever. 1249 **maleurtees**, misfortunes. 1251 **doubted**, feared. 1255 **commysed**, entrusted. 1261 **byars**, buyers; **langage**, conversation or words. 1263 **despytous**, pitiless. 1263 **vylayns**, vile. 1264 **mendycants**, beggars. 1265 **wylt**, wish. 1267 **jogheler**, jester; **eyen**, eyes. 1268 **corrupour**, corrupter. 1272 **chidde**, chided. 1273 **imposid to hym**, imputed to him. 1274 **brawled**, quarreled; **made her water**, urinated. 1275 **agayn**, in return; **sauf**, except. 1278 **chaumberer**, chamber maid; **shewyd**, demonstrated to. 1279 **cokke**, rooster. 1280 **acostumed with**, accustomed to.

straungers dyd hym no greef ne harme: "Gyve thou place to hym that brawleth or chideth, and in suffryng hym thou shalt be his vaynquysshour."

And Cathon saith: "Whan thou lyvest rightfully, retche thee not of the wordes of evyl peple."

1285 And therfore hit is sayd in a comyn proverbe: "He that wel doth retcheth not who seeth hit, and hit is not in our power to lette men to speke."

And Prosper sayth that to good men lacketh no goodnes, ner to evyl men tencions, stryves, and blames.

1290 And pacience is a right noble vertu, as a noble versefier saith that pacience is a right noble maner to vaynquysshe. For he that suffreth overcometh. And yf thou wylt vaynquysshe and overcome, lerne to suffre.

1295 The peagers, ner they that kepe passages, ought not to take other peage ne passage money but suche as the prynce or the lawe have establissed, so that they be not more robbours of money than receyvours of peage and passage. And hit aperteyneth to them to goo out of the perelous weyes and doubteuous for to kepe theyr offyce. And they ought to requyre theyr passage of them that owe to paye hit wythout noyeng and contencion. And they ought not to love the comyn prouffyt so moche that they falle in the hurtyng of theyr conscience, for that shold be a maner of robberye.

1300 And herof saith Ysaye: "Woo to thee that robbest! For thou, thyself, shalt be robbyd."

1305 The gardes or porters of the gates of citees and of the comyn good ought to be good and honeste. And al trouth ought to be in them, and they ought not to take ne withdrawe the goodes of the comyn that they have in kepyng more than aperteyneth to them for their pencion or fee, so that they that ben made tresorers and kepars ben not named theyvs. For who that taketh more than his, he shal never thryve with al, ner shal not enjoye hit longe. For of evyl goten good, the third heyre shal never rejoyse.

And thys suffyseth.

1283 **retche**, heed. 1286 **lette**, prevent. 1292 **peagers**, toll takers; **kepe passages**, guard the ways. 1294 **peage**, tolls. 1295 **perelous**, perilous; **doubteuous**, fearful. 1297 **noyeng**, harming or vexing. 1305 **pencion**, payment. 1308 **heyre**, heir

*This eyght chappytre of the third book treteth of ribauldes, players of dyse, and of messagers and curours.*  
**Capitulo eight.**



1310 The ribauldes, players at dyse, and the messagers and curours ought to be sette tofore the rook, for hit apperteyneth to the rook, whiche is vicayr of the kyng to have men covenable for to renne here and there for to enquire and espye the places and citees that myght be contrarie to the kyng. And thys pawn that representeth this  
 1315 people ought to be formyd in this maner: he must have the forme of a man that hath long heeris and black, and holdeth in his ryght hand a litil money, and in his lift hand thre dyse, and aboute hym a corde in stede of a gurdel, and [he] ought to have a boxe ful of lettres.

And by the first, whiche is money, is understonde they that be fole large and wastours of theyr goodes. And by the second, whiche is the dyse, ben represented  
 1320 the playes at dyse, ribauldes, and butters. And by the thyrd, whyche is the boxe ful of lettris, ben represented the messagers, curours, and berars of lettres. And ye shal understonde that the rooke, whiche is vycayre of the kyng, whan he seeth tofore hym suche peple as ben fole large and wastours, he is bounden to constitute and ordeygne upon them tutours and curatours to see that they ete not ne waste in  
 1325 suche maner their goodes ne their heritages, that poverté constrayne hem not to stele. For he that of custume hath had habundaunce of money, and goeth and dispendeth hit folily, and wasteth hit away, whan he cometh to poverté and hath nought, he must nedes begge and axe his breed, or ellis he must be a thief. For suche maner of peple, yf they have been delycious, they wyl not laboure, for they  
 1330 have not lernyd hit. And yf they be noble and comen of gentylmen, they be

1310 **ribauldes**, ribald or dissolute characters; **curours**, couriers. 1312 **covenable**, suitable; **enquire and espye**, seek out and find. 1315 **heeris**, hair. 1316 **gurdel**, belt. 1318 **fole large**, foolishly liberal with money. 1320 **playes**, players; **butters**, betters. 1321 **berars**, bearers. 1323 **bounden**, under obligation; **constitute**, appoint. 1324 **curatours**, guardians. 1325 **heritages**, inheritances. 1327 **dispendeth**, spends. 1328 **axe**, ask for; **breed**, bread. 1329 **delycious**, addicted to indulgence.

ashamyd to axe and begge, and thus must they by force, whan they have wasted theyr owne propre goodes, yf they wyl lyve, they must stele and robbe the goodes of other. And ye shalle understonde that fole large is a ryght evyl vyce. For how wel that she doeth good and prouffyt somtyme to other, yet she doth harme and  
 1335 dommage to hym that so wasteth.

Cassiodore admonesteth the fole larges to kepe their thynges that by no necessité they falle in poverté and that they be not constrayned to begge ne to stele of other men. For he sayth that hit is gretter subtilté to kepe wel his owne goodes than to  
 1340 fynde straunge thynges, and that it is gretter vertue to kepe that is goten than to gete and wynne more.

And Claudyan saith in like wyse in his book that hyt is a gretter thyng and better to kepe that is goten than to gete more. And therfore hit is sayd that the poure demaundeth and beggith or he felith. And also hit is said that he that dispendeth more than he hath without stroke, he is smyton to the deth.

1345 There was a noble man named John de Ganazath, whiche was right riche. And this man had but two doughters, whom he maried to two noble men. And whan he had maried them, he loved so wel his sonnes-in-lawe, theyr husbondes, that in space and successyon of tyme, he departed to them al his goodes temporel. And as longe as he gaf to them, they obeyed hym and were right dyligent to plesse and serve  
 1350 hym.

So hit befel that on a tyme that he had alle gyven in so moche that he had right nought. Than hit happend that they to whom he had gyven his goodes, whiche were wont to be amyable and obeysaunt to hym as longe as he gaf, whan the tyme came that he was poure and knewe that he had nought, they became unkynde,  
 1355 dysagreable, and dysobeyasunt. And whan the fader sawe that he was deceyvyd by his debonayrté and love of his doughters, he desyred and coveyted sore to eschewe hys poverté.

Atte laste he went to a marcheunt that he knewe of olde tyme and requyrid him to lene to hym ten thousand pound for to paye and rendre agayn wythin thre dayes.  
 1360 And he lente hit hym. And whan he had brought hit into hys hous, hit happend that hit was a day of a solempne feste, on whiche day he gaf to his doughters and her husbond a right noble dyner. And after dyner he entrid into his chaumbre secretly wyth them, and drewe out of a coffre that he had do make al newe shittying wyth thre lockes, the money that the marchaunt had lente hym, and poured hit out  
 1365 upon a tapite that his doughtres and their husbondes myght see hit. And whan he had shewyd hit unto them, he put hit up ageyn and put hit into the cheste, faynyng that hit had been al his. And whan they were departed, he bare the money home to the marchaunt that he had borrowed hit of.

1331 by force, necessarily. 1333 fole large, foolish generosity. 1335 dommage, damage. 1336 admonesteth, admonishes. 1339 straunge thynges, things that belong to others. 1343 felith, falls; dispendeth, dispenses. 1344 stroke, a blow; smyton, smitten. 1348 departed, gave; goodes temporel, worldly goods. 1353 amyable and obeysaunt, pleasant and obedient. 1356 sore, sorely; eschewe, escape. 1358 requyrid, requested. 1361 solempne feste, religious feast. 1362 her husbond, their husbands. 1363 had do make, had made; shittying, shutting. 1365 tapite, tapet or table cover.

And the next day after, his daughters and their husbondes axyd of hym how  
 1370 moche money was in the cheste that was shette wyth thre lockis. And than he fayned  
 and sayd that he had therin twenty-five thousand pounde, whiche he kept for to  
 make his testament and for to leve to his daughters and hem yf they wold bere  
 hem as wel to hym afterward as they did whan they were maried. And than whan  
 they herde that, they were right joyous and glad. And they thought and concluded  
 1375 to serve hym honourably as wel in clothyng as in mete and drynke, and of alle  
 other thynges necessarye to hym unto hys ende. And after this, whan the ende of  
 hym began to approche, he callyd his daughters and their husbondes, and sayd to  
 hem in this manere: "Ye shalle understonde that the money that is in the cheste  
 shette under thre lockes I wyl leve to you, sayyng I wyl that ye geve in my presence,  
 1380 er I dye whiles I lyve, to the frere prechours an hondred pounde, and to the frere  
 menours an hondred pounde, and to the heremytes of Saynt Austyn fifty pound to  
 the ende that whan I am buryed and put in the erthe, ye may demaunde of them  
 the keyes of the chest where my tresour is inne, whiche keyes they kepe. And I have  
 put on eche keye a bylle and wrytyng in witnessyng of the thynges above sayd."

And also ye shal understonde that he dyd to be gyven, whiles he lay in his deth  
 1385 bedde, to eche chirche and recluse and to pour peple, a certeyn quantité of money  
 by the handes of his daughter's husbondes, whiche they dyd gladly in hope to have  
 shortly the money that they supposid in the cheste. And whan hit came to the last  
 day that he dyed, he was borne to chirche and his exequey doon and was buried  
 1390 solempnly. And the seventh day, the servyse worshypfully accomplisshed, they went  
 for to demaunde the keyes of the religious men that they had kept, whiche were  
 delyverd to them. And than they went and opend the coffre where they supposid  
 the money had ben inne. And there they fond nothyng but a grete clubbe. And on  
 the handlyng was wreton: "I, John of Canazath, make this testament: that he be slayn  
 1395 wyth thys clubbe that leveth his owne prouffyt and gyveth hit to other, as who sayth  
 hit is no wysedom for a man to gyve his good to his chyl dren and kepe none for  
 hymself."

And ye shal understonde that hit is a grete folye to dyspende and waste his  
 good in hope for to recover hit of other, be hit of sone or daughter, or right nygh  
 1400 kynne. For a man ought to kepe in his hand in dispendyng his owne goodes tofore  
 he see that he dispende other mennys. And he ought not to be holden for a good  
 man that hath litil renomee and spendeth many thynges. And I trowe that suche  
 persones wold gladly make noveltees as for to noye and greve seignories and meve  
 warres and tencions ageynst them that habounde in richessis and goodes, and also  
 1405 make extorcions, clamours, and tribulaconns agenst their lordes to the ende to

**1370 shette**, shut. **1372–73 bere hem as wel to hym**, conduct themselves as nicely to him. **1379 sayyng**, except that. **1380 er I dye**, before I die; **frere prechours**, preaching friars or Dominicans. **1380–81 frere menours**, minor friars or Franciscans. **1381 heremytes of Saynt Austyn**, the Augustinians. **1384 bylle**, a formal document of deed. **1385 dyd to be gyven**, commanded to be given. **1386 recluse**, place of seclusion (for those of religious orders). **1389 exequey**, funeral rites. **1391 demaunde**, ask for. **1394 handlyng**, handle. **1399–1400 nygh kynne**, near relatives. **1403 make noveltees**, generate news or tidings; **noye and greve**, annoy and vex; **seignories**, feudal lords. **1404 habounde**, abound. **1405 clamours**, outcrys.



waste the goodes of the peple, lyke as they have wasted theyres. And suche a wastour of goodes may never be good for the comyn prouffyt.

And ye shal understonde that after these wastours of goodes we saye that the  
 1410 players of dyse and they that use bordellys ben worst of al other. For whan the hete  
 of playeng at the dyse and the covetise of theyr stynkyng lecherye hath brought  
 hem to poverté, hit foloweth by force that they must ben theyvs and robbours. And  
 also dronkenshyp, glotenye, and alle maner of evyls folowe them and myschyef. And  
 they folowe gladly the companyes of knyghtes and of noble men whan they goon  
 unto the warre or bataylles. And they coveyte not so moche the victorye as they doo  
 1415 the robberye. And they doo moche harme as they goo, and they brynge lityl gayn  
 or wyynyng.

Wherof hit happend on a tyme that Saynt Bernard rode on an hors about the  
 contrey and mette wyth an hasardour, or dyse player, which sayd to hym: "Thou,  
 Goddes man, wylt thou playe at dyse with me, thyn hors agenst my sowle?"

1420 To whom Saint Bernard answerd: "Yf thou wylt oblyge thy sowle to me agenst  
 my hors, I wyl alyght doun and playe wyth thee. And yf thou have mo poyntes than  
 I on thre dyse, I promyse thee thou shalt have myn hors."

And thenne he was glad, and anone caste thre dyse. And on eche dyse was a  
 sise, whiche made eighteen poyntes. And anone he took the hors by the brydel, as  
 1425 he that was seure that he had wonne, and sayd that the hors was his. And than  
 Saynt Bernard sayd: "Abyde my sone, for there be mo poyntes on the dyse than  
 eighteen." And than he cast the dyse in suche wyse that one of the three dyse cleft  
 a sondre in the myddes. And on that one parte was six, and on that other side an  
 aas, and eche of that other was a sise. And than Saynt Bernard sayd that he had  
 1430 wonne his sowle for as moche as he had cast on thre dyse nineteen poyntes. And  
 than whan this player sawe and apercevyd thys myracle, he gaf his sowle to Saynt  
 Bernard and became a monke and finysshed his lyf in good werkys.

The currours and berars of lettres ought hastely and spedely doo her vyage that  
 is commaunded hem without taryeng. For theyr taryeng myght noye and greve  
 1435 them that sende hem forth, or ellis them to whom they be sent to, and torne hem  
 to right grete damage or vylonye, for whiche cause every noble man ought wel  
 to take hede to whom he delyver his lettres and his maundementis.

And otherwhiles suche peple ben joghelers and dronklewe, and goon out of  
 their weye for to see abbayes and noble men for to have avauntage. And hit happeth  
 1440 ofte tymes that whan suche messagers or currours ben enpesshid by ony tarieng,  
 that other currours bere letters contrarye to hys and come tofore hym, of whiche  
 thynges ofte tymes cometh many thynges discovenable of losse of frendes, of castellys,  
 and of lande and many other thynges as in the feet of marchaundydes. And

1409 **bordellys**, prostitutes. 1420 **oblyge**, bet or pledge. 1421 **alyght**, dismount. 1424 **sise**, six. 1425 **seure**, sure. 1427–28 **clefte a sondre**, broke apart. 1429 **aas**, an ace or the side of a die with one point. 1433 **spedely**, expeditously; **vyage**, voyage. 1434 **taryeng**, delay. 1436 **dommage**, harm. 1437 **maundementis**, commands. 1438 **otherwhiles**, sometimes; **joghelers and dronklewe**, jesters and given to drunkenness. 1440 **enpesshid**, impeded. 1442 **discovenable**, unsuitable. 1443 **feet of marchaundydes**, mercantile transactions.

otherwhile hit happeth that a prynce, for the faulte of suche messangers, leseth to  
1445 have victorie upon his enemyes.

And also, there be somme that, whan they come in a cité where they have not  
ben tofore, they ben more besy to visite the cyté and the noble men that dwelle  
therin than they ben to do theyr voyage, whiche thyng they ought not to do, but yf  
they had special charge of them that sent hem forth so to doo. And also whan they  
1450 be sent forth of ony lordes or marchauntes, they ought to be wel ware that they  
charge hem not wyth over moche mete on mornynge ne wyth to moche wyne on  
evenynges, wherby her sinewes and vaynes myght be grevyd that they must for  
faute of good rewle tarye. But they ought to goo and come hastily for to reporte  
to their maysters answers as hit aperteyneth.

1455 And thise suffysen of the thynges above sayd.

1444 *leseth*, fails. 1448 *but yf*, unless. 1450 *wel ware*, well aware. 1452 *grevyd*, taxed.  
1452–53 *for faute of good rewle tarye*, on account of their lack of self-control. 1453  
*hastely*, quickly.

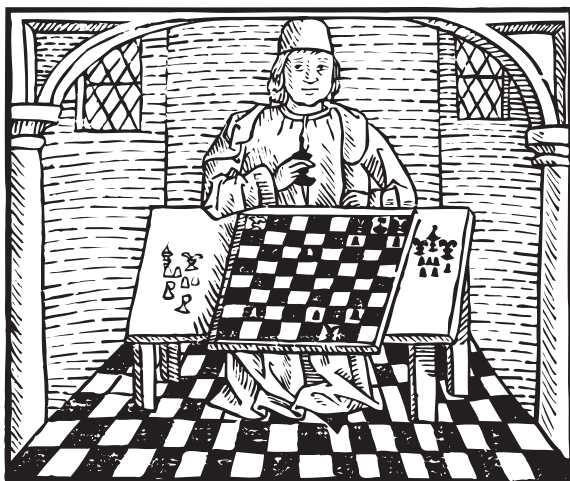


## BOOK FOUR

*The fourth tractate and the last: of the progressyon and draughtes of the forsayd playe of the chesse.*

*The first chappitre of the fourth tractate of the chesse borde, in genere how it is maad.*

**Capitulo primo.**



5 We have devysed above the thynges that apperteyne unto the formes of the chesse men and of their offices that is to wete as wel of noble men as of the comyn peple. Than hit aperteyneth that we shold devyse shortly how they yssue and goon out of the places where they be sette. And first we ought to speke of the forme and of the facion of the chequer, after that hit representeth and was made after. For hit was made after the forme of the cyté of Babyloyne, in the whiche this same playe was founden, as hit is sayd afore.

10 And ye shal understonde that ye ought to considere here in foure thynges. The first is wherfore that sixty-four poyntes been sette in the eschequer, whyche ben al square. The second is wherfore the bordeure about is hygher than the squarenes of the poyntes. The thyrd is wherfore the comyn peple ben sette tofore the nobles. The fourth is wherfore the nobles and the peple been sette in theyr propre places.

*Title draughtes*, moves; **in genere**, universally. **2 to wete**, to say. **3 yssue**, first advance. **5 facion**, fashion or shape; **chequer**, chessboard. **9 wherfore**, to what purpose; **poyntes**, spaces. **10 bordeure**, border; **squarenes**, squareness (i.e., the square parts).

15 Ther ben as many poyntes in the eschequer voyde as fulle. And ye shal first  
understonde wherfore that there ben sixty-four poyntes in the eschequer. For as  
the blessyd Saynt Jherome sayth, the cité of Babylone was right grete and was maad  
al square. And in every quarter was sixteen myle by nombre and mesure, the whiche  
nombre four tymes tolde was sixty-four myles. After the maner of Lombardye, they  
be callyd myles, and in Fraunce leukes, and in Englund they be callyd myles also.  
20 And for to represente the mesure of this cyté, in whiche this playe or game was  
founen, the philosopher that fonde hit first ordeyned a tablier conteynyng sixty-  
four poyntes square, the whiche ben comprised wyth in the bordeur of the tablyer.  
There ben thirty-two on that one side and thirty-two on that other side, whiche ben  
ordeygnd for the beaulté of the playe and for to shewe the maner and drawyng of  
the chesse, as hit shal appere in the chappytres folowyng.

25 And as to the second, wherfore the bordeure of the eschequer is hygher than  
the table wyth in, hit is to be understonde that the bordeur about representeth the  
walle of the cyté, whyche is right hygh. And therfore made the philosopher the  
bordeur more hygh than the tablier. And as the blessyd Saynt Jherome sayth, upon  
the prophesie of Ysaye, that is to wete upon a mounteyn of obscureté, whiche  
30 wordes were sayd of Babylone, whiche standeth in Caldee, and nothyng of that  
Babylone that stondeth in Egypt. For it is so that Babilone, whiche stondeth in  
Caldee, was sette in a right grete playn, and had so hygh walles that by the heyght  
of them was contynuel derknes envyrnond and obscureté that none erthly man  
myght beholde and see the ende of the highnes of the walle, and therfore Ysaye  
35 callyd hit "The Montaigne Obscure." And Saynt Jherome saith that the mesure of  
the heyght of this walle was thre thousand paas, whiche extendeth unto the lengthe  
of thre myle Lombardes. Hit is to wete that Lombarde mylis and Englissh myles  
ben of one lengthe. And in one of the corners of thys cyté was made a tour treangle  
as a shelde, wherof the heyght extended unto the lengthe of [seven] thousand paas,  
40 whiche is seven myle Englissh. And thys toure was called the tour of Babel. The walles  
about the toure made a woman whos name was Semyramis, as sayth Virgilius.

As to the thyrd, wherfore the comyn peple ben sette tofore the nobles in the  
felde of the batayl in one reнге: first for as moche as they ben necessarye to al  
nobles. For the rook, whiche stondeth on the right side and is vycayr of the kyng,  
45 what may he doo yf the labourer were not sette tofore hym and laboured to mynystre  
to hym suche temporel thynges as be necessarie for hym? And what may the knyght  
do yf he ne had tofore hym the smyth for to forge his armours, sadellys, axys, and  
speres, and suche thynges as aperteyneth to hym? And what is a knyght worth  
wythout hors and armes? Certeynly nothyng more than one of the peple or lasse,  
50 peraventure. And in what maner shold the nobles lyve yf no man made cloth and  
bought and solde marchandyse? And what shold kynges and quenes and the other  
lordes doo yf they had no physiciens ne surgyens? Than I say that the peple

13 voyde, empty. 17 Lombardye, the Lombard region in northern Italy. 18 leukes, leagues. 20 ordeyned, arranged; tablier, chessboard. 23 drawyng, motion. 29 Ysaye, Isaiah; wete, know; obscureté, obscurity. 30 Caldee, Chaldea. 31 For it is so, For it is the case. 35 Montaigne, Mountain. 36 paas, paces (each roughly equal to a step of a flight of stairs). 38 tour treangle, triangular tower. 43 reнге, row. 47–48 sadellys, axys, and speres, saddles, axes, and spears. 50 peraventure, perchance.

ben the glorye of the crowne and susteyne the lyf of the nobles. And therfore thou  
 55 that art a lord or a noble man or knyght, despyse not the comyn people, for as  
 moche as they ben sette tofore thee in the playe.

The second cause is why the peple ben sette tofore the nobles and have the  
 table voyde tofore them is because they begynne the bataylle. They ought to take  
 hede and entende to do theyr offyces and theyr craftes, in suche wyse that they suffre  
 60 the noble men to governe the cytees and to counceyll and make ordenaunces of  
 the peple and of the bataylle. How shold a labourer, a plow man, or a crafty man  
 counceyl and make ordenaunce of suche thynges as he never lerned, and wote ne  
 knoweth the mater upon what thyng the counceyl ought to be taken? Certes the  
 comyn peple ought not to entende to none other thyng but for to do their servyce  
 65 and the offyce whiche is covenable unto hem. And hit apperteyneth not to hem to  
 be of counceyls, ne at the advocacions, ne to menace, ne to threte no man. For ofte  
 tymes by menaces and by force, good counceyl is destroubled. And where good  
 counceyl faylleth, there ofte tymes the cytees ben betrayed and destroyed.

And Plato sayth that the comyn thynges and the cytees ben blessyd whan they  
 ben governed by wyse men, or whan the governours studye in wysedom. And so hit  
 70 aperteyneth to the comyn to lerne to uttre the maters and the maner of procuracion  
 tofore they be counceyllours. For hyt happeth often tymes that he that makyth hym  
 wyser that he understandeth is made more foole than he is.

And the fourth cause wherfore that there ben in tablier as many poyntes voyde  
 as been fulle, hit is to wete for that they, whatever they be that have peple to governe,  
 75 ought to enforce to have citees and castellys and possessyons for to sette his peple  
 therin, and for to laboure and do their ocupacion. For to have the name of a kyng  
 wythout a royaume is a name voyde and honour without prouffyt. And al noblesse  
 without good maners, and wythout suche thynges as noblesse may be maynteyned,  
 ought better be callyd folye than noblesse. And shameful poverté is the more grevous  
 80 whan hyt cometh by nature of an hygh and noble byrth or hous. For no man gladly  
 wyl repreve a poure man of the comyn peple, but every man hath in despyte a noble  
 man that is poure, yf he have not in hym good maners and vertuous, by whiche his  
 poverté is forgotten. And truly, a royaume without habundaunce of goodes by whyche  
 hyt may be governed and prospere may better be callyd a latrocynye or a nest of  
 85 thevys than a royaume.

Alas, what habundaunce was somme tymes in the royames, and what prosperité  
 in whiche was justyce and every man in his offyce contente! How stood the cytees  
 that tyme in worship and renome! How was renommed the noble royaume of England!  
 90 Alle the world dradde hit and spake worship of hit. How hit now standeth and in  
 what habundaunce I reporte me to them that knowe hit. Yf there ben thevys wyth  
 in the royaume or on the see, they knowe that laboure in the royaume and sayle on  
 the see. I wote wel the fame is grete therof. I praye God save that noble royaume  
 and sende good, trewe, and polletique counceyllours to the governours of the

**59 counceyll**, rule or direct; **ordenaunces of**, decrees for. **61–62 wote ne knoweth**, doesn't understand or know. **63 servyce**, jobs. **64 covenable**, appropriate. **65 advocacions**, the callings of people to council. **66 destroubled**, thwarted. **70 procuracion**, management. **77 royaume**, kingdom. **79 grevous**, grievous. **84 latrocynye**, band of robbers. **86 somme tymes**, formerly. **88 renome**, renown **90 reporte me**, appeal. **92 wote**, believe.

95 same. And noblesse of lignage wythout puyssaunce and myght is but vanyté and dyspyte.

And hit is so, as we have sayd tofore, that the schequer whiche the phylosopher ordeyned represented and figured the said cité of Babylone. And in like wyse may hit figure a royaume and signefye alle the world. And yf men regarde and take heed  
100 unto the poyntes unto the myddes of every quadrante, and so to double every quadrant to other, the myles of this cité alwey doublyng unto the nombre of sixty-four, the nombre of the same shold surmounte al the world. And not onely the world, but many worldes by the doublyng of myles, whiche doublyng so as afore is sayd shold surmounte all thynges.

And thus endeth the first chappytre of the fourth booke.

*The second chappitre of the fourth tractate treteth of the draught of the kyng and how he mevyth in the chequer.* Capitulo secundo.



105 We ought to knowe that in thys world the kynges seynourie and reygne eche in his royaume. And in this play we ought to knowe by the nature of hit how the kyng meveth hym and yssueth out of his place. For ye shal understonde that he is sette in the fourth quadrante or poynt of the eschequer. And whan he is black, he standeth in the whyt, and the knyght on his right side in whyt, and the alphyn and the rook in black. And on the lift side the four holden the places apposite. And the  
110 reason may be suche: for bycause that the knyghtes been the glorie and the crowne of the kyng, they ensiewe in semblable residence that they do whan they be sette semblaby on the right side of the kyng and on the lift side of the quene. And for as moche as the rook on the right side is vicayr of the kyng, he accompanyeth the

96 schequer, chessboard. 107 meveth hym, moves himself; yssueth out, advances out. 109 alphyn, bishop or judge. 110 apposite, opposite. 112 ensiewe, ensue or follow; semblable, similar. 114 vicayr, representative.



115 quene in semblable siege that the alphyn doth, whiche is juge of the kyng. And in like wyse, the lift rook and the lift alphyn accompanye the kyng in semblable siege.

In suche wyse as they ben sette about the kyng in bothe sides with the quene in maner of a crowne that they may seurely kepe the royaume that reluyseth and shyneth in the kyng and in the quene. In suche wyse as they may conferme and  
120 diffende hym in their sieges and in theyr places, and the more hastely renne upon his enemyes. And for as moche as the juge, the knyght, and the vicayr kepe and garnysse the kyng on that one side, they that been sette on the other side kepe the quene, and thus kepe they al the strength and fermete of the royaume, and semblably otherwhile for to ordeigne the thynges that aperteyne to the counceyl  
125 and to the besoyngue of the royaume. For yf eche man shold entende to his owne proper thynges, and that they deffendyd not ner toke hede unto the thynges that apperteynen to the kynge, to the comyn, and to the royaume, the royaume shold anone be devyded in parties. And thus myght the juge reygne, and the name of the dygnyté ryall shold be loste.

130 And trewly, for as moche as the kynge holdeth the dygnyté above alle other and the seignorye royall, therfore hit apperteyneth not that he absente hym long, ne wythdrawe hym ferre by space of tyme from the maister siege of his royaume. For whan he wyl meve hym, he ought not to passe at the first draught the nombre of three poyntes. And whan he begynneth thus to meve from his whyt poynt, he hath  
135 the nature of the rookes of the right side and of the lift for to goo black or whyt. And also he may goo unto the whyt poynt where the gardes of the cyté ben sette. And in this poynt he hath the nature of a knyght. And thise two maners of mevyng aperteyneth otherwhile to the quene. And for as moche as the kyng and the quene that be conjoynd togeder by mariage ben one thyng as one flesshe and blood,  
140 therfore may the kyng meve on the lift side of his propre poynt also wel as he were sette in the place of the quene, whiche is black, and whan he goeth right, in maner of the rook onely. And hit happen that the adversary be not coverd in ony poynte in the second ligne, the kyng may not passe from his black poynt unto the thyrd ligne. And thus he sortiseth the nature of the rook on the right side and lift side  
145 unto the place of the knyghtes, and for to goo right tofore into the whyt poynt tofore the marchaunt. And the kyng also sortist the nature of the knyghtes whan he goeth on the right side in two maners. For he may put hym in the voyde space tofore the phisicien and in the black space tofore the taverner. And on the other side he goeth into other two places in like wyse, that is tofore the smyth and the  
150 notarye. And thus as in goyng out first into four poyntes, he sorteth the nature of knyghtes. And also, the kyng sortyseth the nature of the alphyns at hys fyrst yssue into two places. And he may goo on boothe sydes unto the whyte place voyde, that one tofore the smyth on that one side and that other tofore the taverner on that other side.

115 **siege**, seat or place. 118 **seurely**, surely; **reluyseth**, shines forth. 119–20 **conferme and diffende**, add strength to and defend. 120 **renne upon**, attack. 122 **garnysse**, garrison. 123 **fermete**, integrity. 124 **semblably otherwhile**, similarly sometimes. 125 **besoyngue**, business. 129 **ryall**, royal. 132 **ferre**, far. 134 **poyntes**, spaces. 139 **conjoynd togeder**, conjoined together. 140 **also wel as**, in the same way as. 142 **And, If; coverd**, defended against. 144 **sortiseth**, acquires. 148 **taverner**, tavern keeper.

155 Al these yssues hath the kyng out of his propre place of his owne vertu whan he  
 begynneth to meve. But whan he is ones mevyd fro his propre place, he may not  
 meve but into one space or poynt, and so from one to another. And than he  
 sortiseth the nature of the comyn peple, and thus by good right he hath in hymself  
 160 the nature of al. For al the vertue that is in the membris comyth of the heed and  
 al mevyng of the body, the begynnyng, and lyf cometh from the herte. And al the  
 dygnyté that the subgettis have by execusion and continuel apparence of theyr  
 mevyng and yssue, the kyng deteyneth hit, and is attributed to hym the victorie of  
 the knyghtes, the prudence of the juges, the auctorité of the vycayrs or legates, the  
 contynence of the quene, the concorde and unyté of the people. So ben alle thise  
 165 thynges ascribed unto the honour and worshyp of the kyng in his yssue, whan he  
 mevyth first.

The third ligne tofore the peple he never excedyth, for in the third nombre alle  
 maner of states begynne to meve. For the trynary nombre conteyneth thre parties,  
 whyche make a perfect nombre. For a trynarye nombre hath one, two, three,  
 170 whiche joyned togider maketh six, which is the first parfit nombre, and signefieth  
 in this place six persones named that constitute the perfeccion of a royaume, that  
 is to wete the kyng, the quene, juges, knyghtes, vicairs or legates, and the comyn  
 peple. And therfore the kyng ought to begynne in his first mevyng of three poyntes  
 that he shewe perfeccion of lyf as wel in hymself as in other.

175 After the kyng begynneth to meve, he may lede with hym the quene, after the  
 maner of his issue. For why the quene foloweth unto two angularye places after the  
 maner of the alphyn, and to a place indyrecte in the maner of a rook into the  
 blacke poynt tofore the phisicien, herin is signefyed that the women may not meve  
 nether make vowes of pylgremage ner of viage without the wylle of theyr  
 180 husbondes. For yf a woman had avowed onythyng, her husbond lyvyng and agayn  
 sayeng, she may not yelde ner accomplishe her vowe. Yf the husbond wyl goo ony  
 where, he may wel goo wythout her. And yf so be that the husbond wyl have her  
 wyth hym, she is bounden to folowe hym. And by reson, for a man is the heed of  
 a woman and not econverso. For as to suche thynges as longe to patrymonye, they  
 185 ben like. But the man hath power over her body, and so hath not the woman over  
 his. And therfore, whan the kyng begynneth to meve, the quene may folowe, and  
 not alwey whan she mevyth it is no nede the kyng to meve.

For why: four [of] the first lignes be wyth in the lymtes and space of the royaume,  
 and unto the thyrd poynt the kynge may meve at his first mevyng out of his propre  
 190 place. And whan he passyth the fourth ligne, he goeth out of his royaume. And yf he  
 passe one poynt, lete hym bewaar! For the persone of a kyng is acounted more than  
 a thousand of other. For whan he exposith hym unto the parilles of bataylle, hit is  
 necessarye that he goo attemporatly and slily. For yf he be taken or deed, or ellys

161 **execusion**, the act of doing or moving. 162 **deteyneth**, holds or restrains. 164 **contynence**, self-restraint. 167–68 **alle maner of states**, (i.e., all the pieces). 168 **trynary**, ternary. 174 **perfeccion**, perfection. 176 **angularye**, diagonal. 179 **nether . . . ner**, neither . . . nor; **viage**, voyage. 181 **yelde ner accomplishe**, break or hold. 184 **econverso**, conversely; **longe to**, belong to. 188 **For why**, The reason for this is; **lignes**, lines. 191 **accounted more**, worth more. 193 **attemporatly and slily**, with moderation and stealthily.

includid and shette up, alle the strengthes of al other faylle, and al is finysshed and  
 195 lost. And therfore he hath nede to goo and meve wysely.

And also, therfore, he may not meve but one poynt after hys first mevyng, but  
 where that ever he goo, foreward or backward, or on that one side or on that other,  
 or ellis cornerwyse, he may never approche his adversarye the kyng nerrer than in  
 200 the thyrd poynt. And therfore, the kynges in bataylle ought never to approche one  
 nygh that other. And also, whan the kyng hath goon so ferre that al hys men be  
 lost, than he is sole, and than he may not endure long whan he is brought to that  
 extremyté. And also, he ought to take hede that he stonde not so that a knyght or  
 another sayth “chek rook.” Than the kyng loseth the rook. That kyng is not wel  
 205 fortunat that lesith hym to whom his auctorité delegate aperteyneth, who may do  
 the nedes of the royaume yf he be pryvyd, taken, or deed, that was provysour of al  
 the royaume. He shal bere a sacke on his heed that is shette in a cité, and al they  
 that were therin ben taken in captyvyté and shette up.

*The third chappitre of the fourth book: of the quene and how she yssueth out of her place.*

**Capitulo tercio.**



Whan the quene, whiche is accompanied unto the kyng, begynneth to meve  
 from her propre place, she goeth in double manere, that is to wete as an alphyn.  
 210 Whan she is black, she may goo on the right side and come into the poynt tofore

194 **includid and shette up**, captured. 197 **where that ever he goo**, wherever he goes. 198 **cornerwyse**, diagonally; **nerrer**, nearer. 203 **“chek rook,”** the call of check at the same time that one of the rooks is threatened with capture. 204 **lesith**, loses; **auctorité delegate**, delegated authority. 205 **pryvyd**, taken away or captured; **provysour**, the manager or head. 206 **bere a sacke on his heed** (i.e., all the pieces will be tossed back in a bag once the king is mated and the game ends). **Title yssueth**, issues. 209 **wete**, understand; **alphyn**, judge or chess bishop.

the notarye, and on the lift side in the black poynt and come tofore the gardes of the cyté. And hit is to wete that she sortiseth in herself the nature in three maners: first on the right side tofore the alphyn, secondly on the lift side where the knyght is, and thirdly indirectly unto the black poynt tofore the phisicien.

215 And the reason why is for as moche as she hath in herself by grace the auctorité that the rookes have by commyscion. For she may gyve and graunte many thynges to her subgettis graciously. And thus also ought she to have parfyte wysedom as the alphyns have, whiche ben juges, as hit sayd above in the chappytre of the quene. And she hath not the nature of knyghtes, and hit is not fittyng ne covenable thyng  
220 for a woman to goo to bataylle for the fragylité and feblenes of her. And therfore holdeth she not the waye in her draught as the knyghtes doon. And whan she is mevyd ones out of her place, she may not goo but fro one poynte to another, and yet covertly, whether hit be forwarde or backward, takyng or to be taken.

And here may be axyd why the quene goeth to the bataylle wyth the kyng. Certeynly, it is for the solace of hym and ostencion of love. And also, the peple  
225 desire to have successyon of the kyng. And therfore the Tartaris have their wyves into the felde with hem. Yet hit is not good that men have their wyves wyth hem, but that they abyde in the cytees or wythin theyr owne termys. For whan they been out of theyr cytees and lymytes, they ben not sure but holden suspecte. They shold  
230 be shamefast and holde al men suspect.

For Dyna, Jacob's daughter, as longe as she was in the hows of her brethern, she kept her vyrgynyte. But assone as she wente for to see the straunge regyons, anone she was corrupt and defowled of the sone of Sichem.

Seneka sayth that the women that have evyl vysages ben gladly not chaste, but  
235 theyr corage desyreth gladly the companye of men.

And Solinus sayth that no bestys femeles desire to be touched of their males whan they have conceyvyd, except woman whiche ought to be a beste resonable, and in this caas she lesith her rayson. And Sidrac witnessith the same.

And therfore, in the olde lawe the faders had dyverse wyves and ancellis to the  
240 ende whan one was with childe, they myght take another.

They ought to have the vysage enclyned for to eschewe the sight of the men, that by the sight they be not mevyd with incontynence and dyffame of other.

And Ovyde sayth that there ben somme that, how wel that they eschewe the dede, yet have they grete joye whan they be prayed. And therfore ought the good  
245 women fle the curiositees and places where they myght falle in blame and noyse of the peple.

211 **notarye**, personal secretary or clerk. 212 **sortiseth**, acquires. 216 **commyscion**, commission. 219 **covenable**, suitable. 224 **axyd**, asked. 225 **ostencion**, manifestation or display. 226 **Tartaris**, Tartars or inhabitants of Central Asia. 229 **holden**, held. 235 **corage**, disposition. 236 **bestys femeles**, female animals. 238 **lesith**, loses. 239 **ancellis**, female servants or concubines. 242 **incontynence**, lack of self-restraint; **dyffame**, disfigure. 243 **how wel**, however well. 244 **prayed**, sexually solicited. 245 **fle**, flee.

*The fourth chappytre of the fourth book: of the issuing of the alphyn.***Capitulo quarto.**

250 The manere and nature of the draught of the alphyn is suche that he that is black in his propre sieg is sette on the right side of the kyng and he that is whyt is sette on the lift side, and ben callyd and named “black” and “whyt,” but for no cause that they be so in substaunce of her propre colour, but for the colour of the places in whiche they ben sette. And alwey be they black or whyt whan they ben sette in their places.

255 The alphyn on the right side goyng out of his place to the right sydeward cometh tofore the labourer. And hit is reason that the jugs ought to deffende and kepe the labourers and possessyons whiche ben in his jurisdyccion by al right and lawe. And also, he may goo on the lift side to the voyde place tofore the phisicien. For like as the physiciens have the charge to hele the infirmytees of a man, in like wise have the juges charge to appese alle stryves and contencions, and reduce unto unyté, and to punyssh and correcte causes crymynels.

260 The lift alphyn hath also two wayes fro his owne place, one toward the right side unto the black space voyde tofore the marchaunt, for the marchauntes nede ofte tymes counceyl and been in debate of questyons whiche must nedes be determyned by the juges, and that other yssue is unto the place tofore the rybauldes. And that is bycause that ofte tymes among them falle noyses, dyscencions, thefte, and  
265 manslaughter, wherfore they ought to be punysshed by the juges.

And ye shal understonde that the alphyn goeth alwey cornerwyse fro the thyrd poynt to the thyrd poynt, kepyng alwey his owne sieg. For yf he be black, he goeth alwey black. And yf he be whyt, he goeth alwey whyte. The yssue or goyng cornerly or angularly signefyeth cautele or subtylyté, whiche juges ought to have. The three  
270 poyntes betoken thre thynges that the jugs ought to attende. A jugs ought to

248 **sieg**, seat or place. 258 **stryves**, discords. 258–59 **reduce unto unyté**, bring them back to one accord. 259 **causes crymynels**, criminal cases. 263 **rybauldes**, ribald or dissolute characters. 264 **noyses**, troubles; **dyscencions**, disagreements. 269 **cautele**, craftiness; **subtylyté**, shrewdness.

further rightful and trewe causes. Secondly, he ought to geve trewe counceyl. And thyrldy, he ought to geve and juge rightful sentences after the alegeaunces, and never to goo fro the rightwysnes of the lawe.

275 And it is to wete that the alphyn goeth in six draughtes al the tablier rounde about, and that he cometh agayn into his owne place. And how be hit that al reason and good perfeccion shold be in a kyng, yet ought hit also specially be in them that ben counceyllours of the kyng and the quene. And the kyng ought not to do onythyng doubtouse til he have axyd counceyl of his juges and of the sages of the royame. And therefore ought the juge to be parfaytly wyse and sage as wel in science  
280 as in good maners. And that is signefyed whan they meve from thre poyntes into thre. For the sixte nombre by whiche they goo al the eschequer and brynge hem agayn into her propre place, in suche wyse that the ende of her moevyng is conjoyned agayn to the begynnyng of the place fro whens they departed. And therefore hit is callyd a parfayt moevyng.

*The fifthe chappytre of the fourth tractate: of the mevyng of the knyghtes. Capitulo quinto.*



285 After the issue of the alphyns we shal devyse to you the yssue and the moevyng of the knyghtes. And we say that the knyght on the right side is whyt and on the lift side black. And the yssue and moevyng of hem bothe is in one maner, whan so is that the knyght on the right side is whyt, the lift knyght is black. The moevyng of hem is suche: that the whyt may goo into the space of the alphyn as hyt apperyth  
290 of the knyght on the ryght syde that is whyt, and hath thre yssues from his propre

272 sentences, verdicts; alegeaunces, duties (to the law). 273 rightwysnes, rule. 274 draughtes, moves; tablier, chessboard. 278 doubtouse, uncertain. 281 goo al the eschequer, complete the circuit of the board; hem, themselves. 283 conjoyned, conjoined. Title mevyng, moves. 285 alphyns, judges or chess bishops; devyse, explain. 287–88 whan so is that, although. 289 apperyth, is expected.



place, one on his right side in the place tofore the labourer. And hit is wel reson that whan the labourer and husbond man hath laboured the felde, the knyghtes ought to kepe them to the entente that they have vitailles for themself and theyr horses.

295       The second yssue is that he may meve hym unto the black space tofore the notarye or draper, for he is bounden to deffende and kepe them that make hys vestementes and covertours necessarye unto hys body.

300       The thyrd yssue is that he may goo on the lift side into the place tofore the marchaunt whiche is sette tofore the kyng, the whiche is black. And the reson is for as moche as he ought and is holden to deffende the kyng, as wel as his owne persone, whan he passyth the first draught, he may goo four weyes. And whan he is in the myddes of the tablier, he may goo into eight places sondry, to whiche he may renne. And in like wyse may the lift knyght goo, whiche is black, and goeth out of his place into whyt. And in that maner goeth the knyght fightyng by his myght, 305 and groweth and multeplyeth in his poyntes. And ofte tymes by them the felde is wonne or lost.

310       A knyghte's vertue and myght is not knowen but by his fightyng. And in his fightyng he doeth moche harme, for as moche as his myght extendeth into so many poyntes, they ben in many parellis in theyr fightyng. And whan they escape, they have the honour of the game. And thus is hit of every man the more vayllyant and the more honoured, and he that meketh hymself ofte tymes shyneth clerest.

**292 husbond man**, one who practices husbandry or a farmer. **293 to the entente**, for the purpose; **vitailles**, food or provisions. **296 notarye or draper**, clerk or dealers in cloth. **297 vestementes and covertours**, clothes and coverings (either for beds or in the sense of garments). **302 myddes**, middle; **tablier**, chessboard; **sondry**, individually or separately. **303 renne**, run. **305 and groweth and multeplyeth in his poyntes** (i.e., after the first move, the knight increases the spaces to which he is able to move). **309 parellis**, risks. **311 he that meketh hymself**, he who makes himself humble.

*The sixte chappytre of the fourth tractate treteth of the yssue of the rookes and of her  
progressyon.* Capitulo sexto.



The moevyng and yssue of the rookes, whiche ben vycayrs of the kyng, is  
suche: that the right rook is black and the lift rook is whyt. And whan the chesse  
ben sette, as wel the nobles as the comyn peple first in theyr propre places, the  
315 rookes by theyr propre vertu have no waye to yssue but yf hit be maad to them by  
the nobles or comyn peple. For they been enclosid in theyr propre sieges. And the  
reson why is suche: that for as moche as they ben vycayrs, lieuetenauntes, or  
commyssyoners of the kyng, theyr auctorité is of none effect tofore they yssue out.  
And that they have begonne to enhaunce their offyce, for as longe as they be wythin  
320 the palays of the kyng, so longe may they not use ne execute theyr commys-  
syon. But anone as they yssue they may use theyr auctorité.

And ye shal understonde that theyr auctorité is grete, for they represente the  
persone of the kyng. And therfore, where the tablier is voyde, they may renne alle  
the tablier, in lyke wyse as they goon through the royaume. And they may goo as wel  
325 whyt as black, as wel on the right side and lifte, as foreward and backward. And as fer  
may they renne as they fynde the tablier voyde, whether hit be of his adversaries  
as of his owen felawshyp. And whan the rook is in the myddel of the tablier, he may  
goo whiche way he wyl into four right lignes on every syde. And it is to wete that  
he may in no wyse goo cornerwyse, but alwey right forth, goyng and comyng as  
330 afore is sayd, wherfore al the subgettis of the kyng, as wel good as evyl, ought to  
knowe by theyr moevyng that the auctorité of the vycayrs and commys-  
syoners ought to be veray trewe, rightwys, and juste. And ye shal understande that they ben  
stronge and vertuous in bataylle. For the two rookes onely may vaynquysshe a kyng,  
theyr adversarye, and take hym, and take from hym his lyf and his royaume.

312 vycayrs, representatives. 314 propre, own. 316 sieges, places. 318 commys-  
syoners, commissioners. 325 fer, far. 328 it is to wete, this is to say. 329 cornerwyse, diagonally.  
332 rightwys, forthright. 333 onely, alone.

335 And this was doon whan Cirus, kyng of Perse, and Darius, kyng of Medes, slewe Balthazar and took his royaume from hym, whiche was nevewe to Euylmoradach under whom thys game was founden.

*The seventh chappytre of the fourth book: of the yssue of the comyn peple.*

Capitulo septimo.



One yssue and one moevyng apperteyneth unto all the comyn peple. For they may goo fro the poynt they stande in at the first mevyng unto the third poynt ryght  
 340 forth tofore them. And whan they have so doon, they may afterward meve nomore but fro one poynt right forth into another. And they may never retorne backward. And thus, goyng forth fro poynt to poynt, they may gete by vertue and strengthe that thyng that the other nobles fynde by dygnyté. And yf the knyghtes and other nobles helpe hem, that they come to the ferthest ligne tofore them where theyr  
 345 adversaries were sette, they acqyre the dignyté that the quene hath graunted to her by grace. For yf any of them may come to thys sayd ligne, yf he be whyt as labourer, draper, phisicien, or kepar of the cité been, they retheyne suche dignyté as the quene hath, for they have goten hit. And than retornyng agayn homeward, they may go like as it is sayd in the chappitre of the quene. And yf any of the  
 350 pawnes that be black, as the smyth, the marchaunt, the taverner, and ribaulde, may come without dommage into the same utterest ligne, he shal gete by his vertu the dygnyté of the black quene.

And ye shal understonde, whan thyse comune peple meve right forth in her ligne and fynde any noble persone or of the peple of their adversaries sette in the  
 355 poynt on any side tofore hym, in that corner poynte he may take his adversarye,

**343 dygnyté**, nobility. **344 that**, so that; **ferthest ligne**, farthest row. **348 have goten**, have earned. **350 smyth**, blacksmith; **taverner**, tavern keeper; **ribaulde**, ribald. **351 dommage**, harm; **utterest**, farthest. **354–55 in the poynt on any side tofore hym**, in any diagonal square in front of him.

whether hit be on the right side or on the lift. And the cause is that the adversaries ben suspicious that the comyn peple lye in a wayte to robbe her goodes or to take her persones whan they go upward right forth. And therefore he may take in the right angle tofore hym one of his adversaryes, as he had espied his persone, and  
 360 in the right angle as robber of his goodes. And whether hit be goyng forward, or retornyng fro black to whyt, or whyt to black, the pawne must alwey goo in his right ligne, and alwey take in the corner that he fyndeth in his waye. But he may not goo on neyther side til he hath been in the fardest ligne of the eschequer and that he hath taken the nature of the draughtes of the quene. And than he is a “fiers.” And  
 365 than he may goo on al sides cornerwyse fro poynt to poynt onely as the quene, both fightyng and takyng whom he fyndeth in his waye. And whan he is thus comen unto the place where the nobles, his adversaries, were sette, he shal be made “whit fiers” and “black fiers” after the poynte that he is in. And there taketh he the dygnyté of the quene.

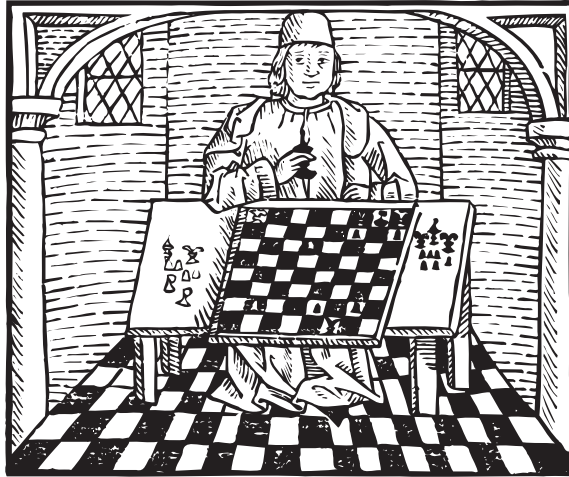
And alle these thynges may appere to them that beholden the playe of the chesse. And ye shal understonde that no noble man ought to have despyte of the comyn peple. For hit hath been ofte tymes seen that by their vertu and wytte, dyverce of them have comen to right hygh and grete astate as poores, bysshops, emperours, and kynges, as we have in the historye of Davyd, that was made kyng  
 375 of a shepeherd and one of the comyn peple and of many other. And in lyke wise we rede of the contrarye, that many noble men have been brought to myserye by theyr defaulte, as of Gyges, whiche was right riche of landes and of richessis, and was so proud that he went and demaunded of the god Appollo yf there were ony in the world more riche and more heppy than he was. And than he herde a voys  
 380 that yssued out of the fosse or pitte of the sacrefises that a peple named Agalans Sophide, whiche were poure of goodes and riche of corage, was more acceptable than he whiche was kyng. And thus the god Appollo alowed more the sapyence and the sureté of the poure man and of his litel meyne than he dyd the astate and the persone of Gyges, ne of his riche mayne. And hit is more to alowe a lytyl thyng  
 385 seurlly poursewed thenne moche good taken in fere and drede. And for as moche as a man of lowe lignage is by his vertue enhaunsed, so moche the more he ought to be glorious and of good renomee.

Virgyle, that was borne in Lombardye of the nacion of Mantua and was of lowe and symple lignage, yet he was soverayn in wysedom and science, and the most  
 390 noble of al the poyntes, of whom the renomee was, is, and shal be duryng the world. So hit happend that another poete axyd and demaunded of hym wherfore he sette not the versis of Homere in his book. And he answerd that he shold be of right grete strengthe and force that shold plucke the clubbe out of Hercules handes.

And thys suffiseth the state and draughtis of the comyn peple.

363 on neyther side, backwards; fardest, farthest. 364 “fiers,” the name for a promoted pawn. 371 have despyte of, look down on. 373 astate, estate or social standing; poores, popes. 375 of a shepeherd and one of the comyn peple, after being a shepherd and common. 379 heppy, happy. 380 fosse, pit. 380–81 Agalans Sophide, Aglaus of Psophis. 382 alowed more, praised more. 383 meyne, means. 384 mayne, means. 385 poursewed, pursued.

*The eighth chappytre and the last of the fourth book: of the epylogacion and recapytulacion of thys book.* Capitulo octavus.



395 For as moche as we see and knowe that the memoyre of the peple is not retentyf but right forgeteful, whan somme here longe talis and historyes whiche they can not al reteyne in her mynde or recorde. Therfore I have put in thys present chappytre al the thynges abovesayd as shortly as I have conne.

First, this playe or game was founden in the tyme of Evylmerodach, kyng of  
400 Babylone, and Excurses the philosopher, otherwyse named Philometer, founde hit. And the cause why was for the correccion of the kyng, lyke as hit apperith in thre [of] the first chappytres. For the sayd kyng was so tyrannous and feloun that he myght suffre no correcion but slewe them and dyd do put hem to deth that correctid hym, and had than doo put to deth many right wyse men. Than the peple, beyng sorouful  
405 and right evyl plesid of this evyl lyf of the kyng, prayed and requyred the phylosopher that he wold reprise and telle the kyng of his folye. And than the philosopher answerd that he shold be dede yf he so dyde. And the peple sayd to hym: “Certes, thou oughtest sonner wylle to dye to the ende that thy renome myght come to the peple than the lyf of the kyng shold contynue in evyl for lacke of thy counceil, or by  
410 faulte of reprehension of thee, or thou darist not doo and shewe that thou sayest.”

And whan the philosopher herde thys, he promysid to the peple that he wold put hym in devoyr to correct hym. And thenne he began to thynke hym in what maner he myght escape the deth and kepe to the peple his promesse. And thenne thus he maad in thys maner and ordeygnd the eschequer of sixty-four poyntes,  
415 as is afore sayde. And dyd do make the forme of chequers of gold and silver in humayn figure after the facions and formes as we have dyvysid and shewid to you

*Title epylogacion*, conclusion. 396 *talis*, stories. 398 *abovesayd*, aforementioned; **shortly**, briefly; **have conne**, am able. 402 *feloun*, felonious. 405 *evyl plesid*, displeased; **requyred**, requested. 407 *Certes*, Certainly. 408 *sonner*, sooner. 412 **put hym in devoyr**, do what he could. 414 *ordeygnd*, arranged; *eschequer*, chessboard.

tofore in their chappytres, and ordeyned the moevyng and the estate after that it is sayd in the chappitres of the eschessys.

And whan the pyhlosophre had thus ordeyned the playe or game, and that hit  
 420 plesid alle them that sawe hit, on a tyme, as the philosopher played on hit, the kyng  
 came and sawe hit, and desired to playe at this game. And thenne the phylosopher  
 began to ensigne and teche the kyng the science of the playe and the draughtes,  
 sayeng to hym first how the kyng ought to have in hymself pyté, debonayrté, and  
 425 rightwysnes, as hit is sayd tofore in the chappytre of the kyng. And he enseyned  
 to hym the astate of the quene and what maners she ought to have. And thenne of  
 the alphyns as counceyllours and juges of the royaume. And after the nature of the  
 knyghtes, how they ought to be wyse, trewe, and curtoys, and al the ordre of  
 knyghthode. And than after the nature of the vycayrs and rookes, as hit apperyth  
 in their chappytre. And after thys how the comyn people ought to goo eche in his  
 430 offyce, and how they ought to serve the nobles.

And whan the phylosopher had thus taught and enseyned the kynge and his  
 nobles by the maner of the playe, and had reprehendyd hym of his evyl maners, the  
 kyng demaunded hym upon payn of deth to telle hym the cause why and wherfore  
 he had made and founden thys playe and game, and what thyng mevyd hym therto.  
 435 And than the phylosopher, constrayned by fere and drede, answerd that he had  
 promysed to the people, whyche had requyryd hym that he shold correcte and  
 reprise the kyng of his evyl vices. But for as moche as he doubted the deth and had  
 seen that the kyng dyd do slee the sages and wyse men that were so hardy to blame  
 hym of his vices, he was in grete anguysshe and sorowe how he myght fynde a  
 440 maner to correcte and reprehende the kyng and to save his owen lyf. And thus he  
 thought longe and studyed that he fond this game or playe, whiche he hath do sette  
 forth for to amende and correcte the lyf of the kyng and to chaunge his maners.  
 And he adjoustyd, wyth al that he had founden, thys game for so moche as the  
 lordes and nobles haboundyng in delices and richessis, and enjoyeng temporel  
 445 pees, shold eshewe ydelnes by playeng of thys game, and for to gyve hem cause to  
 leve her pensifnes and sorowes in avysyng and studyeng this game.

And whan the kyng had herde al thyse causes, he thought that the philosopher  
 had founde a good maner of correccion. And than he thankyd hym gretely. And  
 thus by the ensignement and lernyng of the philosopher, he chaunged his lyf, his  
 450 maners, and alle his evyll condicions. And by this maner hit happend that the kyng  
 that tofore tyme had ben vicious and disordynate in hys lyvyng was made juste and  
 vertuous, debonayr, gracious, and ful of vertues unto al peple. And a man that  
 lyyth in thys world without vertues lyveth not as a man but as a beste. Thenne late  
 every man of what condycion he be that redyth or herith this litel book redde, take  
 455 therby ensauple to amende hym.

417–18 **after that it is sayd**, after the rules that are stated. 422 **ensigne**, instruct. 423–24 **pyté, debonayrté, and rightwysnes**, pity, graciousness, and honesty. 427 **curtoys**, courteous. 437 **reprise**, reprove; **doubted the deth**, feared death. 438 **hardy**, brave. 440 **reprehende**, rebuke. 443 **adjoustyd**, composed. 444 **haboundyng**, abounding; **delices**, delights. 446 **pensifnes**, pensiveness or worries; **avysyng**, considering. 451 **tofore tyme**, before; **disordynate**, unchecked or immoderate.







## EXPLANATORY NOTES

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**ABBREVIATIONS:** *CA*: Gower, *Confessio Amantis*; *CT*: Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*; *LGW*: Chaucer, *Legend of Good Women*; *OED*: *Oxford English Dictionary*; *PL*: Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina*; **Whiting**: Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases*.

The two best sources for identifying the *Game and Playe*'s various *exempla* are Alain Collet's *Le Jeu des Éschaz Moralisé*, a modern edition of Jean de Ferron's mid-fourteenth-century French translation of Jacobus' *Liber*, and William E. A. Axon's introduction to *Caxton's Game and Playe of the Chesse, 1474*. I have used Axon and Collet as the base for my notes, adding a few additional sources that they did not find. I have also included modern editions and translations of these sources so that readers can easily locate them. In the notes I cite these editions by page numbers, or, in instances where the title of the work is unclear, by the title followed by the page numbers. Complete citations of these sources appear in the Bibliography. All citations from the Bible are from the Douay-Rheims translation of the Vulgate.

When comparing Caxton's *Game and Playe* to Jacobus' *Liber*, I have used Marie Anita Burt's edition of the *Liber*. When comparing Caxton's text to French translations of Jacobus' *Liber*, I have used Collet's edition (above) and have also consulted MS 392 at the Regenstein Library, the University of Chicago. This manuscript, a hybrid of translations done by Jean de Ferron and Jean de Vignay, was the most likely base text for Caxton's translation.

### PREFACE AND TABLE OF CONTENTS

Caxton's French manuscript copy may or may not have contained a prologue or preface. If it did not have one, Caxton might have returned to the *Recuyell* for a model.<sup>1</sup> If it did include a prologue or preface, it was most likely from Jean de Vignay, who dedicated his French translation to Prince John of France.<sup>2</sup> The parallels between Jean's prologue and

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<sup>1</sup> Arguing this point is Blake, who claims that as in the *Recuyell*, Caxton uses his preface to the *Game and Playe* to launch into "a rather extravagant praise of [his patron], which is expressed in laudatory platitudes" ("Continuity and Change," pp. 75–76).

<sup>2</sup> In the introduction to his reprint of Caxton's 1474 printing of the *Game and Playe*, Axon posits that the printer borrowed heavily from Jean de Vignay's preface: "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" (*Caxton's Game and Playe of the Chesse, 1474*, pp. xxiii–xxiv). Jean de Vignay's preface reads: "A Tres noble & excellent prince Jehan de france duc de normendie & aïsne filz de philipe par le grace de dieu Roy de france."

that of Caxton are striking. Yet it is not clear that Caxton had access to one of Jean de Vignay's manuscripts for his translation. It is also worthwhile to note that Jean de Ferron's translation of the *Liber* is prefaced by remarks that resemble Caxton's 1483 prologue.<sup>3</sup>

- 1            *The holy appostle and doctour of the peple, Saynt Poule, sayth in his Epystle.* This saying from Romans 15:4 was a popular one both with Caxton and with earlier medieval writers, e.g., Chaucer in *The Nun's Priest's Tale* (CTVII[B<sup>2</sup>]3441–42).
- 5–6        *And accordyng to the same saith Salamon, that the nombre of foles is infenyte.* This saying is from Ecclesiastes 1:15.
- 9–11      *Thenne emonge whom there was an excellent doctour of dyvynyte in the royaume of Fraunce of the ordre of the Hospytal of Saynt John's of Jherusalem.* This is apparently a reference to Jean de Vignay, although as Axon notes this is the only reference that would place the French translator at the Order of the Hospital of St. John's

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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 profitables & honestes et qui tendent al informacion de bonne meur ay Je mis vn petit liuret de latin en francois le quel mest venuz a la main nouvellement / ou quel plusieurs 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 livre Tres puissant et tres redoubte seigneur jay fait ou nom & soubz umbre de vous pour laquelle chose treschr seign'r Je vous suppli & requier de bonne volente de cuer que il vostre daigne plaire a recevoir ce livre en gre aussi bien que de un greign'r maistre de moy / car la tres bonne volente que Jay de mielx faire se je pouoie me doit estre reputeue pour le fait / Et po'r plus clerement proceder en ceste ouvre / Jay ordene que les chappitres du liure soient escripts & mis au commencement afin de veoir plus plainement la matiere de quoy le dit liure pole" ["To the very noble and excellent Prince John of France, duke of Normandy and oldest son of Philippe, by the grace of God, king of France. Brother John de Vignay, an unworthy monk amongst the others in your realm, [wishes you] peace, health, joy, and victory over your enemies. Very dear and feared sir, because I heard and know that you see and listen willingly to things [that are] profitable and honest and lend themselves to the formation of good morals, I have translated a little book out of Latin into French that recently came into my possession in which several true stories and sayings of doctors, philosophers, poets, and wise men of old are narrated and applied to the morals of noble men and of commoners according to the game of chess. Very powerful and feared sir, I have completed this book in your name and under your shadow. Very dear sir, I beg and pray with all my heart that you deign to receive this book as willingly as if [it came] from a greater scholar than me, for the very great desire that I have to do better if I could must outweigh the deed. In order to proceed more clearly with this work, I have commanded that the book's chapters be written and set at the beginning in order to see more clearly the matter for which this said book speaks"].

<sup>3</sup> Ferron writes: "Le Sainte Escripture 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" ["Holy Scripture says that God gave each [of us] the commandment to obtain the salvation of all our neighbors. Now our neighbors are not all one, but are of diverse conditions, estates, and classes, as it appears. For some are noble, others not. Some are of honest intent, others not. Some are bent to devotion, others not"] (qtd. Axon, *Caxton's Game and Playe of the Chesse, 1474*, p. xx). Many thanks to Meriem Pages for help with both of these translations.

of Jerusalem. Axon also notes that Jean de Vignay “styles himself ‘hospitaller de l’ordre de haut pas,’ which was situated in the Faubourg St. Jacques of Paris” (*Caxton’s Game and Playe of the Chesse*, 1474, p. xxiv).

- 36 *alphyns*. bishops. In 4.2 the *alphyn* is defined as “juge of the kyng” and 4.4 indicates that he sits on the right side of the king. According to the *OED*, the term “alfin” derives from Arabic *al-fil*, meaning elephant; the chess piece still bears the figure and name of an elephant among the Chinese, Persians, and Indians.

## BOOK ONE

### Chapter 1

- 4–5 *in suche wyse as did the emperour Nero, whiche did do slee his mayster*, Senecue. Lucius Annaeus Seneca (4 B.C.E.–65 C.E.) was a philosopher, statesman, and advisor to the Emperor Nero. When he fell out of favor with Nero, the emperor ordered him to commit suicide. The account of his death was popularized by the *Roman de la Rose* where he is said to have bled himself to death in a warm bath (Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Romance of the Rose*, lines 6211–22, pp. 122–24).
- 7 *Evymlerodach*. In many places Caxton substitutes an “n” for a “v,” thus “Enylmerodach” rather than “Evymlerodach.” A scriptural mention of Evilmerodach appears in 4 Kings 25:27: “And it came to pass in the seven and thirtieth year of the captivity of Joachin, king of Juda, in the twelfth month, the seven and twentieth day of the month: Evilmerodach, king of Babylon, in the year that he began to reign, lifted up the head of Joachin, king of Juda, out of prison.” D. J. Wiseman describes Evil-merodach (Amēl-Marduk) as the son of Nebuchadnezzar, who took over his father’s throne in 562. Wiseman adds that Amēl-Marduk’s “reign was marred by intrigues, some possibly directed against his father.” See Wiseman’s *Nebuchadnezzar and Babylon*, p. 9. The historical Nebuchadnezzar, who was the king of Babylon in the sixth century B.C.E., is famous for his immense building in the city.
- 11 *Nabugodonosor*. In Daniel 2:12, Nebuchadnezzar [Nabuchodonsar] orders his wise men to be slain after they are unable to interpret his dream.
- 17 *Caldees*. Also called the Chaldeans, they were the inhabitants of the region in which Babylon was the main city.
- Diomedes the Greek*. This is most likely a reference to Diomedes, a Latin grammarian and author of *Ars grammatica*, who was writing at the end of the fourth century C.E. See *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 476.
- 19 *Alixander the Grete*. Alexander (356–323 B.C.E.) conquered much of Persia and the Middle East. Legends of his rule, along with those of Charlemagne and King Arthur, enjoyed tremendous popularity throughout the Middle Ages.

## Chapter 2

- 23        “Exercises,” or in Greke “Philemetor.” Jacobus initially refers to Philometer as “Xerxes” but then reverts to his “Greek” name for most of the rest of the *Liber*. This historical Xerxes was the king of Persia and the son of Darius of Persia. In Book 7 of his *Histories* Herodotus describes Xerxes’ attacks on Egypt and Greece.
- 33–34     *And therefore reherceth Valerius that there was a wyse man named Theodore Cerem.* The Valerius here is Valerius Maximus, author of *Factorum ac dictorum memorabilium*, or the *Book of Memorable Doings and Sayings*, which he wrote in the first century. This was one of the primary sources for Jacobus de Cessolis, author of the *Liber de ludo scacchorum*, and it also served as a sourcebook for many other authors throughout the Middle Ages. A brief version of the story of Theodorus of Cyrene (Theodore Cerem) is recounted in Book 6.2. See *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, 2:29. In the introduction to his 1883 transcription of the 1474 *Game and Playe*, Axon writes: “[Theodorus] 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.’ The king’s threat was not executed, as Theodorus was afterwards at Corinth, and is believed to have died at Cyrene” (*Caxton’s Game and Playe of the Chesse, 1474*, pp. lxvi–lxvii). The life of Theodorus is described in more detail in Diogenes Laertius’ third-century *Lives and Opinions of the Eminent Philosophers*, 1:224–33.
- 41        *In like wyse as Democreon the philosopher.* The story of Democritus is recounted by Aulus Gellius in Book 10.18 of his second-century *Noctes Atticae*. See *Attic Nights*, 2:258–61.
- 43        *And also Desortes the philosophre.* This story of Socrates, here called “Desortes,” comes from Book 7.2 of Valerius, *Memorable Doings and Sayings* (2:114–17). Axon notes: “The transformations of some of the names are peculiar. At p. 12 we read of Desortes. 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” (*Caxton’s Game and Playe of the Chesse, 1474*, pp. lxvii–lxviii).

## Chapter 3

- 73–74     *In like wyse, as Valerius reherceth, that the kyng Alixandre had a noble and renoméd knyght that sayd in reprevyng of Alixandre.* Although this is credited to Valerius Maximus, such an episode does not appear in his *Memorable Doings and Sayings*. However, it does appear in a modified form in Gautier de Châtillon’s twelfth-century *Gesta Alexandri Magni*, Book 8, lines 434–64 and lines 536–41. (Gautier de Châtillon is also known as Gaultier de Lille, Gautier de Ronchin, Gualterus

- de Insulis, and, in English, Walter of Châtillon.) Gautier's primary source for the *Gesta* was Quintus Curtius Rufus' *Historia Alexandri Magni*. See *The Alexandreis of Walter of Châtillon*, pp. 142–43 and 145.
- 86      *Wherof Senecque sayth unto Lucylle*. From Seneca's *Moral Letters*, Number 82.3 (2:242 and 243).
- 88      *And Varro saith in his Sentences*. This is most likely taken from the *Menippean Satires* of Marcus Terentius Varro (116–27 B.C.E.). Neither Jacobus nor Caxton states which satire is cited.
- 99      *Therefore we rede that Democrite the philosopher*. As noted above, the source for this reference to Democritus is most like Aulus Gellius' *Attic Nights*. However, there are two other sources that might have contributed to this reference. One is Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*, or *Tusculanae Quaestiones*, a meditative treatise he wrote in roughly 45 B.C.E. Cicero's mention of Democritus comes in Book 5, chapter 39. See *Tusculan Disputations*, p. 471. The other possible source is Plutarch's first-century *Moralia*, 521 (D). In his description Plutarch claims that the story is false but that the sentiment is true. See *Moralia*, vol. 6 (ed. and trans. W. C. Helmbold, 1934), pp. 506 (G)–507 (E).
- 101–04      *Didimus, byssshop of Alixandrie . . . Anthonye*. The writer and theologian Didymus the Blind (c. 310–98 C.E.) lost the use of his eyes when he was four years old. (Contrary to popular belief, Didymus always remained a layman.) *Gregore Nazanz* is Gregory of Nazianzus born at Arianzus, in Asia Minor, c. 325. Although he served for awhile as the bishop of Sasima, he eventually quit to become a hermit. *Saynt Jerome*, c. 347–420 C.E., is known primarily for his revisions and translations of the Bible. *Saynt Anthonye* was purportedly the founder of Christian monasticism. This description comes from St. Jerome's *De viris illustribus* CIX: "Didymus of Alexandria, while still quite young, became blind and as a result never learned the alphabet. He presented to all an extratordinary proof of his talent by acquiring complete mastery of dialectic and geometry, which particularly needs the sight." See St. Jerome, *On Illustrious Men*, pp. 142–44.

## BOOK TWO

### Chapter 1

- 12–13      *And for as moche as mysericorde and trouth conserve and kepe the kyng in his trone*. Jean de Ferron's French translation of Jacobus' *Liber* includes an extra sentence, credited to Seneca, that essentially repeats this same idea. See Seneca's *De clementia* [*On Mercy*], Book 1, 11.4, in *Moral Essays* (1:390 and 391).
- 15      *And Valerius saith that deboneyrté percyth the hertes of straungers*. The story of Pisistratus and his daughter comes from Book 5.1, ext. 2a of *Memorable Doings and Sayings* (1:454 and 455).



- 24      *This prynce had also a frende that was named Arispe.* The story of Thrasippus comes from Book 5.1, ext. 2b of Valerius, *Memorable Doings and Sayings* (1:454–56 and 455–57).
- 35      *And in lyke wise rede we of the Kyng Pirre.* The story of Pyrrhus comes from Book 5.1.3a of Valerius, *Memorable Doings and Sayings* (1:456 and 457).
- 47–48      *Valerius reherceth that Alyxandre, wyth alle his ooste, rood for to destroye a cyté whiche was named Lapsare.* The story of Alexander the Great and Anaximenes is in Book 7.3, ext. 4 of *Memorable Doings and Sayings* (2:140 and 141). Anaximenes of Lampsacus (380–320 B.C.E.), a Greek rhetorician and historian, was a favorite of Alexander the Great, whom he accompanied in his Persian campaigns.
- 58–59      *Quyntilian sayth that no grete man ne lord shold not swere but where as is grete nede.* The first part of this quote is a paraphrase of Quintilian, a first-century Roman rhetorician whose only extant work is a twelve-volume textbook on rhetoric entitled *Institutio oratoria*. The original quote, “Nam et in totum iurare, nisi ubi necesse est, gravi viro parum convenit,” can be found in Book 9.2.98. See *Institutio oratoria* of Quintilian, 3:436 and 437.
- 60–62      *Alas, who kepe . . . amende hit.* These last two sentences are additions by Caxton.
- 64–66      *Therefore recounteth Valerius that there was a man named Therile, a werkman in metalle, that maad a boole of coppre.* The story of Perillus and his copper bull comes from Book 1, chapter 20 of the *Historiarum adversus paganos libri VII* [*History against the Pagans in Seven Books*] by Paulus Orosius (c. 385–420), a historian and theologian. See Orosius, *Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, p. 40. The Latin and French translations of the *Liber* cite Orosius by name, although Caxton mistakenly attributes the story to Valerius Maximus. It also appears in Ovid’s *Tristia*, III.11, lines 39–54 (see Ovid, *Tristia*, pp. 144 and 145). Gower tells the story in *CA* 7.3295–3338, following Godfrey of Viterbo’s *Pantheon*, where the craftsman of the “bole of bras” is named “Berillus,” and the cruel tyrant “Siculus,” rather than “Philardes.” Philarde, or Phalaris, was a ruler in Sicily from about 570–554 B.C.E.
- 76–77      *Therefore, sayth Ovide, “there is no thyng more resonable thenne that a man dye of suche deth as he purchaseth unto other.”* This quote comes from Ovid’s *Art of Love*, Book 1, lines 655–56: “Iustus uterque fuit: neque enim lex aequior ulla est, / Quam necis artifices arte perire sua” (pp. 56 and 57). Ovid states this maxim right after he himself narrates the story of Perillus and the copper bull.
- 79–81      *Therefore reherceth Saynt Augustyn, in a book whyche is intituled The Cyté of God, that there was a thief of the see named Diomedes.* The story of Alexander and Diomedes the pirate was extremely popular throughout the Middle Ages. It is found in Augustine’s fifth-century *City of God*, Book 4, chapter 4 (1:115). It also appears in Cicero’s first-century *De re publica*, Book 3, chapter 14 (pp. 202–03). The pirate is given the name Diomedes in the *Gesta Romanorum*, Tale CXLVI (p. 293). And it appears in an abbreviated form in John of Salisbury’s *Policraticus* 3.14. See John of Salisbury, *Frivolities of Courtiers*, pp. 204–05. In English, see Gower’s *CA* 3.2363–2417; Chaucer, too, makes a reference to the story in his *Manciple’s Tale* (*CTIX*[H]223–39). Neither Gower nor Chaucer names the thief.

95 Although University of Chicago Manuscript 392, Caxton's most likely primary source, uses the word *destre*, or *right*, here, other French translations of the *Liber* refer to the king's *senestre*, or *left*, side.

108–09 *Of this chasteté reherceth Valerius an example, and saith that ther was a man of Rome whyche was named Scipio Affrican.* The story of Scipio the African and the woman from Carthage comes from *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 4.1 (1:366–67). It also appears in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, Book 5, chapter 7. See John of Salisbury, *Statesman's Book*, p. 97.

## Chapter 2

125–26 *like as it is sayd in Scripture in the Canticles.* This phrase appears twice in the Canticles, once at 2:6 and again at 8:3. Axon notes that “the quotation from the Canticles . . . 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 undur myn heed; and his right hond shal biclippe me’” (*Caxton's Game and Playe of the Chesse*, 1474, p. lvi).

141–42 *And accordyng therto, Macrobe reherceth in the Book of the Dremes of Scypyo, that there was a chyld of Rome that was named Papirus.* Macrobius, an early fifth-century grammarian and philosopher known for his *Saturnalia*, was also the author of a influential and popular commentary in two books on the *Dream of Scipio* narrated by Cicero at the end of his *Republic*. Although Caxton, following Jacobus, attributes this story to Macrobius' commentary, it actually comes from *Saturnalia*, Book 1, chapter 6.20–25 (pp. 52–53). This story also appears in the *Gesta Romanorum*, Tale CXXVI (pp. 271–72). In all of these versions, as in most translations of the *Liber*, there is no mention of Papirus becoming a senator, and this seems to have been added by Caxton.

174–75 *Wherof Jerome reherceth agaynst Jovynyan.* This is a reference to Jerome's treatise *Adversus Jovinianum* [Against Jovinian]. The story about Duillius and Bilis is found in Book 1, section 46. For the original quote, see *Adversus Jovinianum* in *PL* 23:0275B.

191 *Also, we rede that there was a wedowe named Anna.* This story also comes from *Adversus Jovinianum*, Book 1, section 46. The name given in Jerome's version is Annia. The last sentence in this story — “And so she concluded that she wold kepe her chasteté” — seems to have been added by Caxton.

198–99 *Saynt Austyn reherceth in the book De civitate dei that in Rome was a noble lady, gentyl of maners and of hygh kynrede, named Lucrecia.* The story of the rape of Lucretia enjoyed an immense popularity throughout the Middle Ages. Caxton, following Jacobus, credits St. Augustine's *De civitate dei*, Book 1, chapter 18 (1:22–24). But it is earlier found in Ovid's *Fasti* 2.687–852; Valerius, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 6.1.1 (2:2 and 3); and Livy's early first-century *Ab urbe condita* [From the Founding of the City], more commonly know as the *History of Rome* (Book 1, chapters 57–60 in *Ab urbe condita*, 1:196–209). For popular Middle English versions see Gower, *CA* 7.4754–5123, and Chaucer, *LGW* 1680–1895.

- 243–44      *Wherfore sayth Symachus that they that ben not shamefast have no conscience of luxurye.* This reference is either to Symmachus the Ebionite (late second century c.e.), the author of one of the Greek versions of the Old Testament, or Pope Symmachus (498–514 c.e.)
- 245–46      *And Saynt Ambrose sayth that one of the best parentes and maketh a womman most fayr in her persone is to be shamefast.* This is from Book 1, chapter 18 of St. Ambrose's *De officiis*, a treatise on the office of the clergy that he wrote in roughly 388–89 c.e. See *De officiis*, 1.156–57.
- 247          *Senecue reherceth that there was one named Archezylle.* This story is found in Seneca's *De beneficiis* [*On Benefits*] Book 2, 10.1 (*Moral Essays*, 3:64–65). It should be noted that in Seneca's version Arcesilaus is male.
- 257–58      *Wherof Valerius Maximus sayth that there was one that wold marye.* Although Caxton and the French translators of the *Liber* attribute this to Valerius, the Latin versions do not, nor does it appear in the *Memorable Doings and Sayings*. I have not been able to locate a source for this story.
- 263–64      *as hit is wryten in Ecclesiastes: "Yf thou have sones, enseigne and teche them. And yf thou have doughters, kepe wel them in chastyté."* Although the text credits Ecclesiastes, this is from Ecclesiasticus 7:25–26.
- 265          *For Helemonde reherceth that every kynge and prynce ought to be a clerke.* This reference is most likely to Hélinand de Froidmont (c. 1160–1229), a medieval poet and chronicler who spent time at the court of Philip Augustus then later became a monk at the Cistercian abbey in Froidmont. Although Hélinand composed most of his poetry in French, he also authored several moral treatises in Latin, which include *De reparatione lapsi* [Of the restoration of the fallen], *De cognitione sui* [On the knowledge of self], and a mirror of princes *De bono regimine principis* [Of the good rule of princes], later collected into his *Chronicon*. This quote most likely comes from *De bono regimine principis*.
- 269          *The Emperour Octovyan maad his sones to be taught.* This is from Suetonius' first-century *Lives of Caesars*, Book 2 (Augustus), chapter 64. See Suetonius, *Suetonius*, 1:218–21.
- 279–80      *For Poule the Historiagraph of the Lombardes reherceth that ther was a duchesse named Remonde.* Paulus Diaconus, or Paul the Deacon, (c. 720–99) wrote the *Historia Langobardorum* (*History of the Lombards*), in the late eighth century. His description of Romilda appears in Book 4, chapter 37. Although incomplete, the *Historia* narrates the history of the Lombards from 568 to the death of King Liutprand in 747. See Paul the Deacon, *History of the Langobards*, pp. 179–84.
- 289–90      *was duc of Boneventan, and sithen kyng of the Lumbardis.* Boneventan, or Benevento, is a town and commune northeast of Naples. In the French versions of the *Liber*, it is rendered as "Bienventains," and it appears later in Caxton's translations in reference to the commune's citizens, the "Buneventayns." The Lombard area lies in northwest Italy, encompassing the modern-day city of Milan. The daughters become queens of France and Germany respectively.

## Chapter 3

- 316–17     *And as touchyng the first poynt, Seneque saith in the Book of Benefets that the pour Diogenes was more strong than Alixandre.* This derives from Seneca's *De beneficiis* [*On Benefits*] Book 5, chapter 4.4. See *Moral Essays*, 3:298–99.
- 319        *Marcus Cursus, a Romayn of grete renomee, saith thus.* This story of Marcus Curius comes from Valerius, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 4.3.5a (1:370–71). As noted above, “Beneuetans” refers to Benevento. “Samente” refers to the land occupied by the Samnites, in the center-south of Italy.
- 331–32     *Helymond reherceth that Demostene demaunded of Aristodone how moche he had wonne.* For Helymond, see “Helemonde” or “Hélinand” above, note 265. The story of Demosthenes is also recounted by Aulus Gellius in Book 11, chapter 9.2 of his *Attic Nights* (2:320 and 321). Demosthenes (384–322 B.C.E.) was a Greek statesman of ancient Athens.
- 338–39     *Valerius rehercith that the senatours of Rome took counceyl togeder of two persones.* This story of Scipio's advice is from *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 6.4.2b (2:46 and 47).
- 346–47     *Therefore we rede that as longe as the Romayns louyd poverté, they were lordys of alle the world.* In the *Liber* Jacobus attributes this quote to the Valerius' chapter “Of Poverty,” although the paragraph in Caxton's translation is more of a distillation of what Valerius says there. See Book 4.5 (1:384–96).
- 356–57     *Valere reherceth that he is not riche that moche hath, but he is riche that hath lityl and coveyteth no thyng.* This saying derives from *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 4.3.6a (1:372 and 373).
- 359        *For Theofrast saith that all love is blynde.* Theophrastus (371–287 B.C.E.) was a Greek philosopher and the immediate successor to Aristotle at the Lyceum. He is most famous for his *Characters* (brief sketches of negative allegorical character types, such as “Cowardice” and “Grouchiness”), but he also wrote essays about plants, winds, and nature, as well as about poetics, politics, and ethics. These latter exist mostly as fragments, and this quote most likely comes from one of these fragments.
- 362–63     *And so reherceth Quinte Curse in his first book that the grete Godaches sayth the same to Alyxandre.* Quintus Curtius Rufus, a second-century historian, is the author of the *Historia Alexandri Magni* [*A History of Alexander the Great*], a history of Alexander's wars. This story of Guodares (or Gobares) comes from Book 7, chapter 4.10–12. See Curtius, *Quintus Curtius*, 2:152–55.
- 366–67     *Tullyus sayth that an angry and yrous persone weneth that for to doo evyl is good counceyl.* Cicero does indeed address the sin of wrath in Book 3, chapter 5 of his *Tusculan Disputations* (pp. 367–68). But this quote, “*Iratius etiam facinus consilium putat*,” in fact has its origin in the *Sententiae* [*Sayings*] of Publius Syrus, a Latin writer of the first century B.C.E. The *Sententiae*, a collection of moral maxims, is his only extant work.

- 368–69 *And Socrates saith that two thynges ben contrarious to counceyl, and they ben hastynes and wrath.* In Book 2, chapter 7 of *A Treatise of Moral Philosophie Containing the Sayings of the Wise*, written by William Baldwin in 1555, the idea that “Wrath and hastiness are very evyl counsaylours” is attributed to Isocrates, not Socrates. The expression is clearly proverbial. A similar idea is found in Arthur Brooke’s *Romeus and Juliet*, a source for Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet* (lines 1491–92): “skill-less youth for counsel is unfit, / And anger oft with hastiness are joined to want of wit.”
- 370 *And Galeren sayth in Alexandrye.* Galeren’s “Alexandrye” is Gautier de Châtillon’s twelfth-century *Gesta Alexandri Magni*. This counsel on judgment is advice given to a young Alexander in Book 1, lines 210–16 (p. 11).
- 373–74 *Helemond reherceth that Cambyses, kyng of Perce, whiche was a right wis kyng, had an unrightwis juge.* Although Jacobus may have taken this story from Hélinand de Froidmont, it seems more likely that he used Valerius, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 6.3, ext. 3 (2:42 and 43). The story also appears in Herodotus’ *Histories*, Book 5, chapter 25. See Herodotus, *Herodotus*, 2:363. For information about Hélinand, see note 265.
- 380–81 *Caton saith: “Accomplisshe and do the lawe in suche wyse as thou hast ordeigned and geven.”* Marcus Porcius Cato (234–139 B.C.E.) was a famous statesmen and orator. This saying is number 53 of Cato’s *Monsticha (One-liners)*, which although attributed to Cato may in fact not be his. The original quote reads: “Pati legem, quam ipse tuleris,” or “Keep the law you make yourself.”
- 382 *Valerius reherceth that Calengius.* The story of Zaleucus and his son comes from *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 6.5, ext. 3 (2:64 and 65).
- 389 *We rede that there was a counceyllour of Rome.* The story of the Roman consul comes from Valerius, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 6.5, ext. 4 (2:64 and 65).
- 397–98 *But alas we fynde not many in thyse dayes that so do. But they do lyke as Anastasyus saith.* This quote from Anacharsis is from Valerius, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 7.2, ext. 14 (2:122–25).
- 416–17 *Wherfore saith Seneke: “Beleve me that they seme that they do no thyng, they do more than they that laboure, for they do spirituel and also corporal werkis.”* This saying is taken from Seneca’s *Moral Letters*, Number 8.6 (1:40 and 41).
- 420 *And therfore Angelius saith in Libro Atticors de Socrate.* Caxton means to refer here to Aulus Gellius’ *Attic Nights*, where a slightly different version of this story appears in Book 2, chapter 1 (1:122 and 123). Although Latin versions of the *Liber* refer to “A. Gellius” and give the correct name for his work (*Noctes Atticae*), the French translators often open this section with the name *Socrates*.
- 425–26 *And Valerius rehercith that Carnardes, a knyght, was so sage, wyse, and laborous in pensifnes of the comyn wele.* The story of Carneades is from *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 8.7, ext. 5 (2:232 and 233). It should be noted that Valerius describes Melissa as a woman that Carneades “had in lieu of a wife.”

- 431 *Didimus sayd to Alixandre.* This story comes from *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi* [*The Correspondence of Alexander and Dindimus*], one of the many short narratives of Alexander in circulation among medieval authors. See “Correspondence of Alexander and Dindimus” in Stoneman, *Legends of Alexander the Great*, p. 64.

#### Chapter 4

- 462 *Therefore saith the philosopher.* Latin versions of the *Liber* do not refer to “the philosopher,” although French translations often do. The source is unknown.
- 464–65 *Alixandre of Macedone vaynquysshed and conquerd Egipte, Judé, Caldee, Affrique, and Assyrie, unto the Marches of Bragmans.* Judea historically refers to the land in the southern part of Israel now divided between Israel and the West Bank. Chaldea, the Western term for the ancient kingdom of Babylonia, usually refers to the region’s southern parts. It is now found in Iraq. Assyrie is an ancient kingdom that at its peak spanned much of the modern-day Middle East. The Bragmans are most likely the Brahmins, who would have inhabited modern-day India, although this might also refer to another ascetic group such as the Jains. References to the Bragmans also appear in Mandeville’s *Travels* and in Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*.
- 467–68 *We rede in the Historye of Rome that there was a knyght whiche had to name Malechete.* The story of Malecote (also “Mascezel”) comes from Book 7, chapter 36 of Orosius’ *Historiae adversus Paganos* (pp. 346–49).
- 488 *In lyke wyse, Judas Machabeus, Jonathas, and Symon, his brethern.* This story comes from 1 Maccabees 3. Judas’ inspirational speech before his battle against Apollonius is from 1 Maccabees 3:18–22.
- 495–96 *Paule the Historiagraph of the Lombardes reherceth that there was a knyght named Enulphus.* The story of the faithful knight Unulf comes from Paul the Deacon’s *Historia Langobardorum*, Book 5, chapters 2–4 (pp. 209–16).
- 534–36 *lyke as were the noble knyghtes Joab and Abysay, that fought ageynst the Stryens and Amonytes, and were so trewe.* The story of Joab and Abisai comes from 2 Kings 10:9–14.
- 539 *We rede that Damon and Phisias.* The story of Damon and Phisias is taken from Cicero’s *De officiis*, Book 3, chapter 10.45 (pp. 312–13). It is also found in Valerius, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 4.7, ext. 1 (pp. 422–25).
- 555 *Anthonyus sayth that Julius Cesar.* The Anthonyus here is really Suetonius, who writes about Caesar in Book 2, chapter 72 of his *Lives* (1:234–37). In the Latin *Liber*, as in French translations, this story is correctly attributed to “Suetonius,” and the reason Caxton changes this to “Anthonyus” remains unclear.
- 557 *Scipion of Affrique saith.* Scipio’s saying comes from Cicero’s *De amicitia*, Book 10. (See *On Friendship*, pp. 44–45.)
- 567–72 *And thus . . . large gevyng.* This passage is found in Latin versions of the *Liber*; most French translations contain only Scipio’s quote.



- 581–82     *And therefore Davyd. . . made a lawe.* This detail of David comes from 1 Kings 30:24.
- 585–86     *Alixandre of Macedone cam on a tyme lyke a symple knyght unto the court of Porus.* According to Collet, this story is derived from Book 2, chapter 26 of Julius Valerius' *Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis*, a fourth-century translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes' *History of Alexander*.
- 607         *Ovyde saith that he that taketh yeftes, he is glad therwyth.* This quotation comes from Ovid's *Art of Love*, Book 3, lines 653–54 (pp. 164–65). In Latin versions of the *Liber*, Ovid is quoted directly — “Munera, crede mihi, capiunt hominesque deosque / Placatur donis Iuppiter ipse datis” — and these lines are spliced together with two more lines of apparently original verse.
- 615         *We rede that Cadrus, duc of Athenes, shold have a bataylle agayn them of Polipe.* The story of Codrus comes from Valerius, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 5.6, ext. 1 (1:520 and 521). Gower retells the story in *CA* 7.3163–3214.
- 628         *Therefore we rede that Scilla.* The story of Sulla's battle with the Romans comes from Orosius, *Historiae adversum Paganos*, Book 5, chapters 20–21 (p. 217).
- 637–39     *Therefore Joab ordeyned, whan Absalon was slayn . . . And in like wyse dyd he whan he faught ayenst Abner.* These two references are to 2 Kings 18:16 and 2 Kings 2:28.
- 649–54     *How shold a plowman be sewre in the felde . . . the costis and expencis of them bothe.* This section seems to have been added by Caxton.
- 655–56     *We rede that Athis sayd to Davyd, whiche was a knyght: “I make thee my kepar and defendar alwey.”* This reference is from 1 Kings 28:2.
- 659         *Turgeus Pompeus rehercith of a noble knyght named Ligurgyus.* The story of Ligurius is found in Plutarch's *Lives of the Ten Orators* (Book 7), in Valerius Maximus' *Memorable Doings and Sayings* (Book 1.2, ext. 3), and in Herodotus' *Histories* (Book 1, chapter 65). In the Latin *Liber*, however, the *exemplum* is credited to Marcus Junianus Justinus' *History of Trogus Pompeius*, Book 3, chapters 2–3. (See Justin, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*, pp. 46–47.) The story, followed by a list of Ligurius' laws, appears in the *Gesta Romanorum*, Tale CLXIX, where it is similarly credited to Trogus Pompeius (see *Gesta*, pp. 349–50). Gower tells the story in *CA* 7.2917–3028, followed by a history of lawgivers, rather than Ligurius' laws themselves.
- 663         *Apollo Delphynus* is another name for the Greek deity Apollo, the god of Delphi.

## Chapter 5

- 722         *Wherof Valeryus reherceth that there was a man that was named Themystydes.* The story of Themistocles comes from *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 6.5, ext. 2 (2:62 and 63).
- 735         *We have an ensaumple of Marcus Regulus.* The story is found in Cicero's *De officiis*, Book 1, chapter 13.39 (pp. 42–43), and in his *De finibus bonorum et malorum*,

Book 2, chapter 20.65 (pp. 154 and 155). It also appears in Augustine's *De civitate dei*, Book 1, chapter 14 (1:18–20).

- 751 *Valerius rehercith in the sixth book of one Emelie, duc of the Romayns.* The example of Camillus is found in *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 6.5, 1a (2:52 and 53). In the *Liber*, this *exemplum* often follows the story of Hannibal. (See below.) It also appears in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, Book 5, chapter 7. See John of Salisbury, *Statesman's Book*, p. 97.
- 770 *We rede that Hanybal had taken a prynce of Rome.* From Cicero, *De officiis*, Book 3, chapter 32.113 (pp. 392–95).
- 775 *Amos Florus tellith that the phisicien of Kyng Pirrus.* This story of Pyrrhus' physician comes from Lucius Annaeus Florus' late first- or early second-century *Epitome of Roman History*, Book 1, chapter 13.21 (pp. 64–65). It can also be found in Cicero's *De officiis*, Book 3, chapter 22.86 (pp. 358–61).
- 794 *Valerius rehercith that there was a juge named Sangis.* The *exemplum* of the judge, the condemned woman, and her daughter comes from *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 5.4.7 (1:500 and 501). Caxton adds the name "Sangis" out of a confusion of the Latin word "sanguinis" or "of noble blood," which applies to the condemned woman and not to the judge.
- 809 *Seneka sayth that the kyng of bees.* From Seneca's *De clementia* [*On Mercy*], Book 1, chapter 19.3. See *Moral Essays*, 1:410–11.
- 813 *Valerius rehercith in his fifthe book of Marchus Martellus.* The story of M. Marcellus comes from *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 5.1.4 (1:446 and 447).
- 818 *Also, he recounteth when Pompeeé had conquerd the kyng of Germanye.* The story of Pompeius Tigranes (the king of the Armenians, not the Romans) appears in Valerius, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 5.1.9 (1:450 and 451).
- 824 *Also, he reherceth of a counceyllour that was named Poule.* The story of L. Paullus and the prisoner appears in Valerius, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 5.1.8 (1:448–51).
- 830 *Cesar, whan he hard the deth of Cathon.* The narrative of Caesar crying over Cato's death appears in Valerius, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 5.1.10 (1:452 and 453).
- 833–34 *Thus taught Virgyle and enseygneth the glorious prynces to rewle and governe the peple of Rome.* The *Liber* refers specifically to Book 6 of the *Aeneid*. Collet further places it at lines 851–53. See Virgil, *Virgil*, 1:592–93.
- 835 *And Saynt Austyn [in] De civitate dei sayth thus.* Although Jacobus and his French translators attribute Augustine's description of the Romans to *De civitate dei*, Book 9, it actually is found in Book 5, chapter 12 (1:157–61).
- 838 *And hyt was wryten unto Alixaunder.* This is taken from Ovid's *Epistulae ex Ponto* [*Letters from the Black Sea*], Book 1, chapter 2, lines 121–26 (pp. 278–79).

- 841        *rote of pyté.* I.e., his pity comes from the heart, the sense of which is the root of his compassion.
- 842        *We rede of the Emperour Trajan.* I have not been able to locate a source for this *exemplum*. On Emperor Trajan's pious compassion, see CA 7.3142–62, along with the note to 7.3144 in CA 3:468.
- 846        *Also, we rede of Alisaunder.* The story of Alexander the Great and the old soldier appears in Valerius, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 5.1, ext. 1a (pp. 452–55).
- 852–53        “*The gretter or in the hyer astate that thou art, so moche more oughtest thou be meker and more humble.*” This quotation comes Ecclesiasticus 3:20.
- 854–55        *Valerius reherceth in his seventh book that ther was an emperour named Publius Cesar.* Although Jacobus attributes this to Valerius' seventh book, it actually comes from Book 4.1.1 (1:336–39).
- 858        *And Scipion of Affrique.* Jacobus does not give a source for this story. Nevertheless, in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, Book 5, chapter 7, there is a reference to Scipio's extreme poverty, which led to the Senate having to provide doweries for his daughters after his death. See John of Salisbury, *Statesman's Book*, p. 100.
- 863        *Valerius rehercith in his third book that Fabyan the Grete.* The narrative of Fabian's reluctance to pass his office to his son comes from *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 4.1.5 (1:340 and 341). Fabian's refusal to accept the consulship appears in Book 6.4.1b (2:44 and 45). In Valerius' version, however, this act is attributed to Manlius.
- 874        *There was a kyng of so subtil engyne that whan men brought hym the crowne.* This story appears in Valerius, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 7.2, ext. 5 (2:118 and 119).
- 881        *Vaspasian was so humble.* The story of Vespasian's humility in the face of his election appears in Tacitus' first-century *Historia*, Book 2, chapters 74–78 (pp. 519–23).
- 886–87        *Therefore saith the Byble that Joab, the sone of Saryne.* Joab, son of Zeruiah, was a military commander under King David. His deferral of credit for his military defeat is recorded in 2 Kings 12:26–29.
- 891        *Josephus rehercith that the frendes of Tyberius.* This *exemplum* comes from Flavius Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*, Book 18, chapter 6.5. See *Jewish Antiquities*, 8:112–13. Josephus was a Jewish historian who lived from about 37 to 100 C.E., and his works were popular in the Middle Ages.
- 905        *As to the first, one sayd to Alisaunder that he was not worthy to reigne.* I have not been able to locate the specific source of this passage, though the Tale of Diogenes and Alexander, CA 3.1201–1313, rehearses a challenge to Alexander's authority, which he accepts graciously.
- 909        *Also, hit is rehercid that Julyus Cesar was ballyd.* This story of Caesar's baldness appears in *Lives of the Caesars*, Book 1 (Julius), chapter 45 (1:62 and 63).

- 918 *A knyght callyd on a tyme Scipyon of Affrique.* This story Scipio's patience appears in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, Book 3, chapter 14. See John of Salisbury, *Frivolities of Courtiers*, p. 205.
- 922 *Another sayd to Vaspasion.* This story of Vespasian appears in Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Book 8 (Vespasian), chapter 16 (2:310 and 311). In Suetonius' version, Vespasian is compared to a fox, not a wolf. John of Salisbury also records this story in his *Policraticus*, Book 3, chapter 14. See John of Salisbury, *Frivolities of Courtiers*, p. 208.
- 926 *Seneke rehercith that the Kyng Antygonus.* I have not been able to locate the source for this quote.
- 930–32 *Valerius reherceth that a tyraunt dyd do torment Anamaxymenes and thretenyd hym for to cutte of his tunge.* This story of Anaxarchus and the tyrant of Cyprus appears in *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 3.3, ext. 4 (1:278 and 279).
- 938 *Valerius rehercith that Archyta of Tarente, that was mayster to Plato.* The *exemplum* of Archytas of Tarentum appears in *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 4.1, ext. 1 (1:352 and 353).
- 943 *And therfore sayth Senequae.* The quotation from Seneca — “Nihil tibi liceat, dum irascere” — is actually Seneca quoting Plato. It is found in Seneca's essay *De ira*, Book 3, chapter 12.7. See *Moral Essays*, 1:286–87. In his translation Caxton omits a story from Valerius, *Memorable Doings and Sayings* (Book 4.2, ext. 2) about Plato that Jacobus and the French translators place right before Seneca's quotation.
- 949–50 *And that rehercith Valerius in his eighth book that Scipyon of Affryque was accused unto the Senate.* This narrative of Scipio being accused of wealth appears in *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 3.7.1e (1:300 and 301).
- 955 *And therfore sayth Senequae that the Kyng Altagone.* This *exemplum* of Agathocles and his earthen plates is not from Seneca but from the fourth-century *Epigrams* of Ausonius (c. 310–94 C.E.), a writer and a teacher at the University of Bordeaux. It is Epigram 2 from Book 19. See Ausonius, *Ausonius*, 2:156–57.
- 964 *And of this poverté speketh Saynt Augustyn in the Book of the Cyté of God.* Augustine speaks of the corruption of Romans through their love of wealth in Book 5, chapter 14 of *De civitate dei* (1:162–63).
- 971–72 *John the Monke, late cardynal of Rome, in the Decretal the Sixte, in the chappytre Gens sancta.* According to Axon, “John the Monk” was Giovanni d'Andrea, a canonist “who died at the plague of Bologna in 1347. His learning gained him such titles as *rabbi doctorum* and *normaque morum*” (*Caxton's Game and Playe of the Chesse*, 1474, p. lviii). Axon in turn cites Hoefer's *Nouvelle biographie universelle*. This particular reference is to Giovanni d'Andrea's *Liber sextus decretalium*.
- 990–91 *And we rede that Titus, the sone of Vaspasian, was so large and so lyberal.* This story of Titus' generosity appears in Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*, Book 8 (Titus), chapter 8 (2:330 and 331). It is also found in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, Book 3, chapter 14. See John of Salisbury, *Frivolities of Courtiers*, p. 209.

- 997 *And also, we rede of Julius Cesar.* The most likely source for this is Suetonius, Book 1 (Julius), chapter 67 (1:86–89).
- 1001 *And also, we rede of the same Julyus Cesar in the Book of Truphes of Philosophers.* The main source here is in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, Book III, chapter 14. See John of Salisbury, *Frivolities of Courtiers*, p. 207.

### BOOK THREE

#### Chapter 1

- 15 *And we rede in the Bible that the first labourer that ever was was Caym.* Cain's murder of Abel appears in Genesis 4:8.
- 52–53 *And we rede of the Kyng Davyd, that was first symple and one of the comyn peple.* David forgets God in 2 Kings 12:9. Absalon's persecution of David is narrated in 2 Kings 15.
- 58 *We rede also of the children of Ysrael, that were nygh enfamyned in desert.* This story of manna in the desert comes from Exodus 16. The subsequent worship of the golden calf appears in Exodus 32.
- 74–75 *And Valerius rehercith in his sixt book that there was a wyse and noble maistre that was named Anthonius.* M. Antonius' adultery trial is found in *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 6.8.1 (2:74 and 75).
- 86–87 *And also tellith Valerius that there was another labourer that was named Penapion.* From *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 6.8.6 (2:78 and 79). In Valerius, the master is Ubinius Panapio, and the slave is Unnamedo.
- 101 *And of this speketh Claudyan.* This is a paraphrased version of the poet Claudian's late fourth- to early fifth-century *De raptu Proserpinae* Book 2, lines 294–302. Jacobus quotes Claudian directly. See Claudian, *Claudian*, 2:338–41.
- 109 *And therof made a noble verseffyer.* The identity of the poet is unknown.
- 112 *meritis.* Good works. E.g., see *Everyman*, where Good Deeds alone accompanies Everyman beyond death.
- 113 *And herof fynde we in Vitas patrum.* The *Vitae patrum* is a collection of the lives and sayings of early Christian hermits. The copies circulating in the Middle Ages were not the Greek originals but translations into Latin, which were done primarily in the fourth through sixth centuries. The location of this particular story in the vast corpus of the *Vitae* is not known.
- 116 *thre causes.* A short lyric lament, popular in French and English; e.g.,  
     Wanne ich þenche þinges þre  
     ne mai neure bliþe be:  
     þat on is ich sal awe,  
     þat oper is ich ne wot wilk day.

pat þridde is mi meste kare,  
 i ne woth nevre wuder i sal fare  
 (New College MS 88, one of four versions in Brown, *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*, pp. 18–19).

- 140–41     *And thou oughtest to knowe that Davyd preyseth moche in the Sawlter the trewe labourers.* This saying is derived from Psalm 127 (“Blessed are they that fear the Lord: that walk in His ways”), although some versions cite the Roman poet Lucan (39–65 C.E.) as the source. By contrast, Jacobus in his *Liber* includes six lines from the *Carmina* (Book 2.1, lines 5–10) of Albius Tibullus (c. 55–19 B.C.E.), a Roman elegiac poet. See “Tibullus,” trans. J. P. Postgate, in *Catullus, Tibullus, and Pervigilium Veneris*, pp. 252 and 253.
- 148        *The first pastour that ever was was Abel.* This description of Abel can be found in Genesis 4:2–4.
- 152–53     *And so dyd Noe, whyche was the first that planted the vygne after the deluge and flood.* Genesis 9:20.
- 153–54     *For as Josephus reherceth in the Book of Naturel Thynges.* The extended story of Noah and his sons appears in the *Gesta Romanorum*, Tale CLIX, which in turn references Josephus’ *Causes of Natural Things*. See *Gesta*, pp. 336–37.
- 173–74     *And therfore, Valerian reherceth that of auncient and in olde tyme women dranke no wyn.* This *exemplum* can be found in *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 2.1.5b (1:130 and 131).
- 176        *And as Ovyde saith.* This derives from Book 1, lines 237–40 of Ovid’s *Art of Love* (pp. 28–29). Jacobus quotes these lines in full: “Vina parant animos faciuntque caloribus aptos: / Cura fugit multo diluiturque mero. / Tunc veniunt risus, tum pauper cornua sumit, / Tum dolor et curae rugaque frontis abit.”

## Chapter 2

- 200        *And therfore sayth the phylosopher.* At least one of Jacobus’ French translators attributes this quotation to Socrates. Yet as Collet notes, it most likely comes from Publilius Syrus’ *Sentences*, where the saying is rendered: “Fidem qui perdit, nil pote ultra perdere” or “Whoever loses faith has nothing more to lose.” See The Latin Library at: <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/syrus.html> (accessed 8–17–06).
- 204        *Valerius rehercith that Fabius.* This story of Fabius and Hannibal appears in *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 4.8.1 (1:428–31).
- 211–13     *But in thyse dayes it were grete folye . . . at theyr nede.* These two sentences have been added by Caxton.
- 225–27     Caxton’s emphasis of the importance of common profit and the ways in which the avaricious ignore it to the peril of society resonates with Boethius’ *Consolation of Philosophy*, the *Romance of the Rose*, and, especially, Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*.



- 228–29     *And fortune hath of nothyng so grete plesure as for to torne and werke alwey. And nature is so noble a thyng that whereas she is, she wyl susteyne and kepe.* Although Caxton does not attribute this quote to a particular author, Jacobus in his *Liber* refers to Cicero's *Pro Q. Ligario oratio* [*Speech on Behalf of Quintus Ligarius*], chapter 12.38 and quotes his source: "Nihil habet nec fortuna tua maius quam ut possis, nec natura melius quam ut velis servare quam plurimos" ["Your situation has nothing prouder in it than the power, your character nothing in it more noble than the wish, to preserve all whom you can"]. See Cicero's "On Behalf of Libarius" in *Pro Milone*, pp. 492–93.
- 238–39     *And also, it is to be supposid that suche as have theyr goodes comune and not propre is most acceptable to God.* This sentence begins a paragraph that represents Caxton's most substantial addition to the *Liber*. Initially, it seems that Caxton uses this passage to reinforce the moral probity of the White Friars, or Carmelites, and thus the superiority of the regular clergy over the secular clergy. After proposing that those who "have goods in common" are "most acceptable to God," he then asks: "Would not these religious men such as monks, friars, canons, observants [Franciscans], and all others make vows and keep themselves in voluntary poverty that they are bound to?" The "would not" construction here can be taken in at least two ways. First, it might affirm the general practice of monastic poverty, "would not" serving to indicate the fact that these groups do, in fact, follow this law. Taken this way, this section might read: "if this is the most acceptable practice, then why else would these religious men keep themselves in voluntary poverty." Alternately, "would not" might call attention to the deficiencies of the monks in this regard: if shared goods are more acceptable to God, then why don't other religious orders follow this law? It is at this point that Caxton turns to the Carmelites who do, it seems, practice what they preach. Yet on closer inspection, Caxton's endorsement of the Carmelites is not so clear. In 1464, the London Carmelites began a preaching battle with the secular clergy. The battle began when Harry Parker, a young Carmelite from the Fleet Street house, preached a sermon at St. Paul's in which he declared that "Christ and his apostles had no private property, that they made their living exclusively by begging for alms, and that what they were given they possessed in common." Parker went on to add that "the state of the mendicant friars was the most perfect one to be found in the Church Militant, and that all priests ought likewise to live off alms, without benefices or private property." A good account of this battle can be found in Jotischky, *Carmelites and Antiquity*, pp. 157–58. The paraphrase of Parker's sermon can be found in Du Boulay, "Quarrel between the Carmelite Friars and the Secular Clergy."
- 248     *And accordyng therto, we rede in Plato.* Comments about the dangers of individualism among the guardian class run throughout Plato's *Republic*. However, this specific reference seems to come from Book 5, section 462. See Plato, *Republic*, pp. 126–27.
- 277–78     *For we rede that Dyonyse of Zecyle.* This story of Dionysius of Sicily (also Dionysius of Syracuse) and the misery provoked by his tyranny appears in Valerius,

*Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 9.13, ext. 4 (2:384 and 385). It can also be found in Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*, Book 5, chapter 20 (pp. 451–52).

### Chapter 3

- 364–73     *Alas! And in Engeland . . . to theyr synguler wele and prouffyt and not to the comyn.* This is one of the few asides that Caxton has added to the text.
- 376        *And Tullyus saith that frendshyp and good wyll.* These observations about friendship seem to be a paraphrase of Cicero's *Laelius*, Books 6 and 7 (pp. 38–39). The example of bees does not come from Cicero.
- 387–88    *And this amytie is vertuous, of the whiche Tullyus saith.* From Cicero's *De officiis*, Book 3, chapter 10.46 (pp. 312–15). This also appears in Cicero's *Laelius*, Book 11.37 (pp. 46–47).
- 396        *And herof sayth Senecue that amytie.* In citing Seneca, Caxton follows Jacobus, who also attributes these two quotes about friendship to Seneca. Although not an exact match, Seneca's most relevant quotes about friendship appear in *De beneficiis*, Book 2, chapter 15 (3:76–79). A more likely quote for the Latin *Liber* comes from Cicero's *Laelius*, Book 6.22: “Quid dulcius quam habere quicum omnia audeas sic loqui ut tecum?” [“What is more pleasant than to have someone with whom you can safely talk about anything whatever, just as with yourself?” (pp. 38–39)]. Likely sources for the subsequent section of the *Liber* are Books 8 and 9 of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, in which Aristotle divides friendship into three types, those of utility, pleasure, and good. These correspond to the Latin text's division of friendship into “delectabilis, utilis, et honesta.” See Jacobus, *Libellus de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium*, p. 87.
- 401        *And Valerian sayth that it is a foule thyng and an evyl excusasion.* The *exemplum* of Taffile, or Rutilius, appears in *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 6.4.4 (2:46–49).
- 413        *And Varro rehercith in his sommes.* Like the above reference to Varro (see note to 1.89), this is most likely taken from the *Menippean Satires*. I have not been able to locate the exact passage.
- 417        *And Senecue saith that somme folowe the emperour for riches.* This same saying is cited by Chaucer's Parson in his tale. See The Parson's Tale CTX(I)440. Chaucer took much of the Parson's Tale from the thirteenth-century *Summa virtutem et vitiorum* [*Summa of Virtues and Vices*] of Guilelmus Peraldus, which might also have served as a source for Jacobus.
- 420        *And Tullyus sayth that Tarquyn the Proud had a nevewe of his suster.* This observation of Tarquin is found in Cicero's *Laelius*, Chapter XV.53 (pp. 52–53).
- 428        *For Cathon sayth in his book.* Jacobus credits these lines to Ovid. The first line comes from *Ex Ponto*, Book 2.3, line 8 (“Vulgus amicitias utilitate probat”); the subsequent lines are found in *Tristia*, Book 1.5, lines 33–34 (“Vix duo tresve mihi de tot superestis amici / Cetera Fortunae, non mea turba fuit” and Book 1.9,

lines 5–6 (“Donec eris sospes, multos numerabis amicos / Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris”). See Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, pp. 332–33, and *Tristia*, pp. 30, 31, 44, and 45.

- 433      *And therefore sayth the versefier thyse two versis.* The identity of the poet is unknown.
- 440–41      *And Piers Alphons sayth in his Book of Morality that there was a phylosophre in Arabye.* The story of the philosopher and his son comes from Book 1 of Peter Alfonso’s twelfth-century *Disciplina Clericalis*, a moral guide for the clergy. See *Scholar’s Guide*, pp. 36–38. It also appears in the *Gesta Romanorum*, Tale CXXIX (p. 276).
- 462–63      *And yet reherceth the sayd Piers Alphons that there were two marchauntes, one of Bandach and that other of Egypt.* This story also comes from the *Disciplina Clericalis* where it follows the story of the philosopher and his son (pp. 38–41). It also appears as Tale CLXXI of the *Gesta Romanorum*, where it is similarly attributed to Peter Alfonso (pp. 351–54).
- 507–08      *Titus Livius reherceth that the philosopher Democreon dyd doo put out his eyen.* In the Latin *Liber* and in its French translations, this story is attributed to the late second- to early third-century author Tertullian, although they do not name the specific work. Caxton credits Livy, although Livy does not include this story of Democritus in his *History of Rome*.
- 511      *And Valerian tellyth that there was a yong man of Rome.* The story of the beautiful young man from Rome appears in *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 4.5, ext. 1 (1:400 and 401).
- 518–19      *And also we rede that there was a nonne, a virgyne, dyd do put out bothe her eyen.* I have not been able to locate the source for this story.
- 521      *And also we rede that Plato.* I have not been able to locate the source for this story.
- 526      *Helemand reherceth that Demostenes.* The story about Demosthenes appears in Aulus Gellius’ *Attic Nights*, Book 1, chapter 8 (1:42–45). For more information on Hélinand de Froidmont, see note to 2.265.
- 533–34      *And Ovyde rehercith that thys thyng is the leste that maye helpe and most greve the lovers.* This quote — “Quod iuvat, exiguum, plus est, quod laedat amantes” — comes from the *Art of Love*, Book 2, line 515 (pp. 100–01).
- 535–36      *And therefore Saynt Augustyn rehercith in his book, De civitate dei, that there was a right noble Romayn named Marculian.* The story of Marcellus’ conquering of Syracuse appears in Book 1, chapter 5 of *City of God* (1:7). Valerius also describes Marcellus’ tears in Book 5.1.4 of *Memorable Doings and Sayings* (1:446 and 447).
- 551–52      *For Saynt Austyn sayth . . . And also, he sayth in another place.* Presumably these passages come from *The City of God*, although Jacobus does not name his source.
- 559      *And herof speketh Saynt Bernard.* This quote by Bernard appears in a letter that he wrote to the monk Adam. However, Bernard in turn is citing the apocryphal Book of Wisdom 1.11, which states: “Keep yourselves therefore from murmuring, which profiteth nothing, and refrain your tongue from detraction, for an obscure speech shall not go for nought: and the mouth that beliieth, killeth the soul.”

- 561–62     *And yet sayth Saynt Austyn in another place, “For to say one thyng and do the contrarye maketh doctryne suspicious.”* Like the above references to Augustine, this one does not name a specific source.
- 564     *For the lye that the auncient enemye maad Eve and Adam.* The fall of man is described in Genesis 3.
- 573     *And therfore saith Saynt Poule in a pistyl.* This passage seems to be a paraphrase of 1 Corinthians 2.
- 576     *And Valerian reherschith that there was a good woman of Siracusane.* This story of the woman who praises the emperor comes from *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 6.2, ext. 2 (2:26–29). It also appears in the *Gesta Romanorum*, Tale LIII (p. 150).

#### Chapter 4

- 608–09     *And herof sayth Tullyus that avarice is a covetise to gete that thyng that is above necessité.* Cicero defines avarice in his *Tusculan Disputations* Book 4, chapter 11 (pp. 407–08).
- 613–14     *And herof sayth Senecque that all worldly thynges ben mortefyed and appetissed in olde men, reservyd avarice onely.* The covetousness of old men is proverbial. See Whiting C490.
- 618–21     *the wolf doth never good tyl he be dede . . . the avaricious man doth no good tyl that he be deed.* Proverbial. See Whiting W472. Compare the Latin proverb “Avarus nisi cum moritur, nil recte facit,” from the *Sententiae* of Publilius Syrus, (<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/syrus.html>, accessed 8–9–06).
- 625     *And herof reherschith Senecque, and sayth that Antigonus.* From Seneca’s *De beneficiis*, Book 2.17 (3:80–81). In Seneca’s essay, as well as in the *Liber*, Antigonus’ interlocutor is a Cynic not “Tynque,” as Caxton has renamed him. It should be noted that in Seneca’s essay, he supports Antigonus and not the Cynic, adding: “the situation is intolerable that a man should ask for money when he despises it.”
- 634–35     *And Josephus reherschith in the Book of Auncient Histories that ther was in Rome a right noble lady named Paulyne.* This *exemplum* comes from Flavius Josephus’ *Jewish Antiquities*, Book 18, chapter 3.4 (pp. 50–59). In Josephus’ version, Paulina does refuse Decius Mundus’ advances, although he later tricks her into sleeping with him. The story recurs in Hegesippus 2.4; Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon* 15; and Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale* 7.4; but the liveliest retelling is Gower’s Tale of Mundus and Paulina, CA 1.761–1059.
- 644–45     *And we rede also in the Histories of Rome that there was a noble lady of Rome whiche lyved a solytarye lyf.* I have not been able to locate a source for this quotation, although it might come from Lucius Annaeus Florus’ *Epitome of Roman History*.
- 657     *Senecque reherschith in the Book of the Cryes of Women.* The *Liber* attributes this saying to Seneca the Elder’s first-century *Declamations*, also known as the *Controversiae*. Although I have not been able to locate the precise Latin quotation, a similar sentiment is found in Book 2, chapter 6.2 of that work. See *Declamations*, 1.346–47.

- 657–58 *avaryce is foundement of alle vyces.* Proverbial. See Whiting C491 for dozens of citations. Compare the Latin *radix malorum est cupiditas*, recurrent from Alfred’s translation of the *Pastoral Care* (73.22–23) and Wulfstan’s *Homilies* (203.74–76) through Chaucer’s Pardoner’s Tale (CTVI[C]334).
- 659 *And Valerian rehercith that avarice is a ferdful garde or kepar of richessis.* Valerius’ comments on avarice and the story of Septimuleius can be found in Book 9.4, 1 and 3 of *Memorable Doings and Sayings* (2:331–33).
- 670 *Ptolomé, Kyng of Egipciens, poursewed avarice in another manere.* From Valerius, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 9.4, ext. 1 (2:332–35).
- 680–81 *And therfore hit is said in proverbe that a man ought to seignorie over the riches, and not for to serve hit.* This proverb, “*Pecuniae imperare oportet, non servire*,” comes from the *Sententiae* of Publilius Syrus (<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/syrus.html>, accessed 8–23–06).
- 685–86 *And Saluste saith that avarice destroubleth fayth, poesté, honesté, and al thise other good vertues.* This comes from Book 10 of Sallust’s first-century C.E. historical monograph, *Bellum Catilinae* [War with Cataline]. See Sallust, *Sallust*, pp. 18–19.
- 689–90 *For Saynt Ambrose saith upon Thoby: “Poverté hath no lawe.”* This saying appears in chapter 21.81–82 of St. Ambrose’s *Commentary on the Book of Tobias*, a fourth-century treatise on usury. See *De Tobia*, pp. 94–95. The *Liber*, which cobbles together various phrases from this section of Ambrose’s text, reads: “*Paupertas non habet crimen, sed debere vercundum est, non reddere vercundius. Dives es, pauper es, non sumas mutum.*”
- 694–95 *And it is said in the proverbis that hit is fraude to take that thou wylt not ner mayst [not] rendre and paye agayn.* This proverb, “*Fraus est accipere, quod non possis reddere*,” comes from the *Sententiae* of Publilius Syrus (<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/syrus.htm>, accessed 8–23–06).
- 698–99 *And Seneke saith in his auctorités that they that gladly borowe ought gladly to paye.* This saying comes from Seneca’s *De beneficiis*, Book 2, chapter 25 (3:102–03).
- 706–07 *There was a marchaunt of Gene and also a chaungeour whos name was Albert Ganor.* This *exemplum* seems to be original to Jacobus’ *Liber*.
- 728–29 *Wherof hit happend that ther was a marchaunt which had a good and a grete name.* This *exemplum* seems to be original to Jacobus’ *Liber*.
- 772 *And therfore hit is sayd in proverbe, “To defraude the begiler is no fraude.”* This exact proverb does not appear in the *Liber*, although Jacobus cites a similar saying from Publilius Syrus: “*Quid est dare beneficium? imitari deum.*” See the *Sententiae* (<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/syrus.html>, accessed 8–23–06), and Whiting B213, which cites this line.
- 774–75 *And Seneke sayth that charité enseigneth and techeth that men shold paye wel, for good payement is somtyme good confessyon.* This quote comes from Seneca’s *Moral Letters*, Number 73.9–10 (2:108 and 109). Latin versions of the *Liber* quote Seneca

directly: “Hoc docet philosophia praecipue, bene debere beneficia, bene solvere; interdum autem solutio est ipsa confessio.”

## Chapter 5

- title      *medecynes*. The *OED* cites Caxton’s *Aesop* for *medecyne* meaning “medical practitioners,” which is evidently the sense here.
- 820      *And therfore sayth Avycenne in an Anforysme*. Avicenna (980–1037 C.E.) is the European name for Ibn Sina, a Persian philosopher and scientist, who wrote over four hundred works on medicine, theology, and philosophy. One of his most famous texts was the *Canon of Medicine*, which was translated, explicated, and rewritten repeatedly throughout the Middle Ages. An early abridgement of this work, possibly by Muhammad ibn Yusuf al-Ilaqi, was limited to the *Canon*’s first book and was written in the form of aphorisms. It is this work that is most likely referenced by Jacobus and Caxton.
- 827–28      *and specially in the bookes of Ypocras, Galiene, and of Avycene*. Hippocrates (460–377 B.C.E.) and Galen (c. 130–200 C.E.) were both Greek physicians whose writings, like those of Avicenna, provided the foundations for Western medicine up to, and even beyond, the Renaissance.
- 851–63      *For Valerian rehercith that Ypocras was of mervayllous contynence of his body . . . And in semblable wyse rehercith Valeryan of Scenocrates, phylosopher*. This story of Xenocrates and his refusal of the prostitute appears in *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 4.3, ext. 3a (1:380–83). There is no separate story of Hippocrates.
- 867      *Cornelius Scipion, that was sent by the Romayns for to governe Spayn*. This story of Scipio in Spain comes from Valerius, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 2.7.1 (1:178 and 179).
- 873–74      *And herof it is sayd in the fables of the poetes in the first book of the Truphes of the Philosophres*. The *Truphes of the Philosophers* is a reference to John of Salisbury’s *Policraticus*. Caxton’s specific citation is wrong: the saying appears in the fifth book, not the first book. Moreover, John of Salisbury’s treatise refers to the fountain of Salmacis, which had the effect of turning men into women, and not to the fountains of sirens. See John of Salisbury, *Statesman’s Book*, pp. 121–22.
- 890      *And Marcial sayth that joyes fugetyves abyde not long, but fle away anone*. This saying comes from from Martial’s *Epigrams*, Book 1, chapter 15. The Latin quote reads: “gaudia non remanent, sed fugitiva volant.” See Martial, *Epigrams*, 1:52–53.
- 893–94      *Wherof hit happend that there was a woman named Lyna*. Although Jacobus claims to have taken this story from Valerius, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, he modifies it beyond recognition. In Valerius’ version (Book 9.12.2), it is a mother who, upon seeing her son return alive from Lake Trasimene, dies in his arms. See *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, 2:368–69.
- 899–900      *Also, of another woman to whom was reported by a fals messenger that her sone was deed*. See Valerius, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 9.12.2 (2:368–71).



- 907 *Valerie rehercith that a knyght of Rome named Instavlosus.* The story of M. Juventius Thalna (as he is called in the *Liber*) or Colaphe (as he is called in the French versions) comes from *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 9.12.3 (2:370 and 371).
- 914–15 *And also it is sayd that Phylomenus lawghed so sore and distemperatly that he dyed al lawghyng.* This story of Philemon dying of laughter comes from Valerius, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 9.12, ext. 6 (2:376 and 377).
- 916 *And we rede that Ypocras, the phisicien, fond remedye for thys joye.* I have not been able to locate the source for this story of Hippocrates.
- 922–48 *And also, we rede that Titus, the sone of Vaspasian, whan he had conquerd Jherusalem.* The apocryphal story of the healing of Titus by Vespasian during the historical siege of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. is of uncertain origin (it does not appear in Josephus' own account of the siege — see note to lines 926–27), but it was sufficiently popular by the thirteenth century to appear in texts as different as chronicles and law books (see Lewy, “Josephus”). It appears variously in Middle English (see, for instance, *Siege of Jerusalem*, ed. Livingston, lines 1027–68), though its appearance here has as its ultimate source Jacobus Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, a text set into English by Caxton and published in 1483 (*Golden Legend* III, “Of S. James the Less”).
- 926–27 *Josephus, that made the historye of the Romayns ayenst the Jewys.* Flavius Josephus was perhaps most widely known for the book referred to here: *Wars of the Jews*, an eyewitness account of events in Judaea before, during, and immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem by Rome in 70 C.E. He was of such fame by the later Middle Ages that he merits no introduction, for instance, in the Middle English *Siege of Jerusalem* (ed. Livingston, line 313).
- 927 *a right wyse phisicien.* Josephus was not, properly speaking, a physician of any kind. What few facts we have of his life portray him as a Jewish military leader from a priestly family, whose education and circumstances prompted him to write works of history and philosophy; the Middle English *Siege of Jerusalem* refers to him with some accuracy as a “gentyl clerke” (ed. Livingston, line 789). His reputation as a *phisicien* seems very much confined to this single apocryphal story.
- 935–36 *boutelers, cokes, and other officers.* These specifics regarding the servants taking part in Josephus' scheme are not found in Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, and Caxton does not include them in retelling this story for his translation of that text (see note to lines 922–48).
- 976 *And herof sayth Boecius [in] De consolacisone, in his first booke.* Boethius (c. 480–526 C.E.) was an advisor to the Ostrogothic king Theodoric in the early sixth century before Theodoric had him thrown into prison. While he awaited execution, Boethius wrote *De Consolatio Philosophiae* [*The Consolation of Philosophy*], a work of alternating poetry and prose that became one of the most widely circulated texts of the Middle Ages. This comes from the final poem (*Metrum* 7) of the first book. The *Liber* gives the poem in its entirety; Caxton and the French translators render it in prose. See Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy*, p. 18.

## Chapter 6

- 1004–06     *and somtyme ben slayn or hurte unto the deth as it is wreton in Vitas Patrum, as on a tyme an hermyte went for to vysite his gossibs.* As with the reference to the *Vitae* in the first chapter of this book, the specific location of this particular story is not known.
- 1030     *Wherof Quynntilian saith that hit happeth ofte tymes in grete festes and dyners.* This saying is taken from Book 10.1.58 of Quintillian's *Institutio oratorio* (4:34–35).
- 1034     *And Lucan saith that "glotony is the moder of al vices."* This saying comes from Lucan's first century *Bellum civile* [*Civil War*], Book 4, lines 373–77. See Lucan, *Lucan*, pp. 200–03.
- 1039     *And Cathon saith, "In no wyse obeie to glotonye, whiche is frende to lecherye."* This quote comes from Book 4, Number 10 of Cato's *Distichs*. The Latin verse reads: "Cum te detineat Veneris damnosa libido, / Indulgere gulae noli, quae ventris amica est" ["When hurtful lust hath hold of thee, refrain / From giving to thy appetites free rein"]. See Cato, *Distichs*, pp. 36–37.
- 1040–41     *And the holy doctour Saynt Augustyn saith, "The wyn eschauffith the bely that falleth anone to lecherye."* I have not been able to locate the precise source for this quote, although Augustine expresses a similar sentiment in *Confessions*, Book 10.
- 1048     *And therefore saith Vasily la Graunt: "Late us take hede howe we serve the bely."* This quote most likely comes from St. Basil the Great (329–79), author of a variety of homilies, sermons, and other exegetical works. I have not been able to track the exact source.
- 1052–53     *And herof sayth Boecius [in] De consolacisone in his fourth book, that a man that lyveth and doth not the condicions of a man.* The *Liber* paraphrases this quote, which reads: "qui probitate deserta homo esse desierit, cum in divinam condicionem transire non possit, vertatur in beluam." This comes from Book 4 (Prosa 3) of Boethuis, *Consolation of Philosophy* (p. 79).
- 1061     *For as Cathon sayth: "Ire enpesseth the corage."* Although there is no mention of Cato in most Latin or French versions of the *Liber*, these texts contain similar passages, which are found in Cato's *Distichs*, Book 2, Number 4: "Iratus de re incerta contendere noli: / Inpedit ira animum, ne possis cernere, verum" ["Strive not in wrath o'er something wrapped in doubt; / Wrath clouds the mind and puts good sense to rout"]. See Cato, *Distichs*, pp. 24 and 25.
- 1065–66     *And therefore saith Ovyde in his book De remedio amoris: "Yf thou take many and dyverce wyntes, they apparayle and enforce the corages to lecherye."* The Latin *Liber* includes line 805 of the *Remedies of Love*: "Vina parant animum Veneri, nisi plurima sumas" or "Wine prepares the heart for love, unless you take too much." By contrast, Caxton and the *Liber's* French translators repeat Ovid's maxim from the *Art of Love*, Book 1, line 237: "Vina parant animos, faciuntque caloribus aptos" or "Wine gives courage and makes men apt for passion." See Ovid, *Art of Love*, pp. 28 and 29, and *Remedies of Love*, pp. 232 and 233.

- 1067–68 *And Thobye wytnessyth in his book that luxurie destroyeth the body and mynyssheth rychessys.* Jacobus does not include this quote, although it does appear in Caxton's most likely French copy text. I have not been able to locate its source.
- 1072 *Noe was one tyme so chauffyd wyth wyn.* The stories of Noah and Lot appear in Genesis 9:20–21 and 19:31–36 respectively.
- 1077 *And Crete rehercith that Boece.* This is most likely a reference to St. Andrew of Crete (660–740 c.e.), author of sermons, discourses, and, most famously, a collection of hymns, now commonly known as the *Great Canon*. I have not been able to locate the source for his comments about Boethius.
- 1084 *Herodes Antipas had not doon Saynt John Baptist to ben beheded.* The stories of Herod and John the Baptist come from Matthew 14:3–12 and Mark 6:17–29, although there is no mention of Herod having consumed alcohol.
- 1085–86 *Balthazar, kyng of Babylone, had not been chaced out of his kyngdom, ne be slayn.* Balthazar's killing is described in Daniel 5:30.
- 1099 *We rede that Loth, whan he had receyvyd the aungellys into his hows.* Lot welcomes the angels in Genesis 19:1–11.
- 1119–20 *Hit happend on a tyme in the parties of Lombardye in the cyté of Jene that a noble man was lodgyd in an hostelrye.* This story of a nobleman in Genoa seems to have been original to Jacobus' *Liber*.
- 1133 *Another caas right cruel and vilaynous fyl at Tholouse.* The story of the two pilgrims also seems to have been original to Jacobus' *Liber*. *Saynt James in Galice* (1139) refers to the Way of St. James, the most popular pilgrimage route in the Middle Ages. Pilgrims ended their journey at the cathedral of Compostela in Galicia, Spain.
- 1137 Caxton has amplified this final *exemplum*.
- 1156 *For semblable caas fyl in Spayn at Saynt Donne.* This story seems to be one of Caxton's own inventions.

### Chapter 7

- 1203–04 *Hit is founden in the histories of Rome that the Emperour Frederik the Second dyd doo make a gate of marble.* Although the *Liber* makes reference to the *Histories of Rome*, there is no mention in that text of the gate that Emperor Frederick II had erected at Capua in 1240.
- 1216–17 *And herof we fynde in the auncient histories of Cecille that the Kyng Denys had a broder whom he lovdyd sore wel.* There are several possible sources for the story of King Dionysius, which include Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*, Book 5, chapter 21 (pp. 452–53) and Macrobius' early fifth-century *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, Book I, chapter 10.16 (p. 129). Boethius' *Consolatio* Book 3 (Prose 5) also contains a brief reference to this narrative (*Consolation of Philosophy*, p. 48).

- 1249–50 *And herof sayth Quyntilian that thys drede surmounteth alle other maleurtees and evylles.* Although Jacobus and his translators all cite Quintilian here, the maxim comes from Publilius Syrus: “Res vera est, qui a multis timetur, multos timet” or, as Caxton writes, “And it is verite that to hym that is doubted of moche peple, so muste he doubte moche.” See Publilius Syrus, *Sentences* (<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/syrus.html>, accessed 8–25–06).
- 1267 *A jogheler on a tyme behelde Socrates and sayd to hym.* Although the jester in Caxton accuses Socrates of having eyes “of corrupour of children,” other translators are often more explicit, referring to “les yeulx de home sodomite.” I have not located a source for this story.
- 1272 *This same Socrates hymself was chidde and right foul spoken to of hys wyf.* The story of Xanthippe dousing Socrates with urine appears in Diogenes Laertius’ *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, Book 2, chapter 5.36–37 (1:166 and 167). See also Chaucer’s Wife of Bath’s Prologue (*CT* III[D]726–29). A discussion of Socrates’ reasons for enduring his wife’s temper can be found in Aulus Gellius’ *Attic Nights*, Book 1, chapter 17 (1:84 and 85).
- 1283–84 *And Cathon saith: “Whan thou lyvest rightfully, retche thee not of the wordes of evyl peple.”* This proverb appears in Cato’s *Distichs*, Book 3, Number 2: “Cum recte vivas, ne cures verba malorum; / Arbitrii non est nostri, quid quisque loquatur” [“Upright, care not if bad men thee deride; / ’T is not within our power men’s tongues to guide”]. See Cato, *Distichs*, pp. 30 and 31.
- 1287–88 *And Prosper sayth that to good men lacketh no goodnes, ner to evyl men tencions, stryves, and blames.* The reference here is to the *Epigrams* of St. Prosper of Aquitaine (390–465 C.E.), an author most famous for his scriptural commentary. The Latin quote, “Numquam bella bonis, numquam discrimina desunt” is from Book 96, *De bello intestino*. See *Epigrammata ex sententiis Augustini* in the *PL* 51:0528A.
- 1289–90 *as a noble versefier saith that pacience is a right noble maner to vaynquyssh.* The identity of the poet is unknown.
- 1300–01 *And herof saith Ysaye: “Woo to thee that robbest! For thou, thyself, shalt be robbyd.”* This seems to be a paraphrase of the prophecy of Isaias 3:11: “Woe to the wicked unto evil: for the reward of his hands shall be given him.”

## Chapter 8

- 1336 *Cassiodore admonesteth the fole larges to kepe their thynges.* Although Cassiodorus, a writer from the late sixth and early seventh centuries, is the purported source for this saying, Jacobus does not identify the work from which he has taken it, nor have I been able to locate it.
- 1341–42 *And Claudyan saith in like wyse in his book that hyt is a gretter thyng and better to kepe that is goten than to gete more.* This quote is a modification of Book 2, lines 326–27 of Claudian’s *De consulatu Stilichonis* [*On Stilicho’s Consulship*]: “plus est servasse repertum / quam quaesisse novum” (*Claudian*, 2:26 and 27).

- 1345 *There was a noble man named John de Ganazath, whiche was right riche.* Collet refers to this story as original to Jacobus (*Le Jeu des Éschaz Moralisé*, p. 251). However, Axon argues that this story was a common one throughout the Middle Ages (*Caxton's Game and Playe of the Chesse*, 1474, pp. lx–lxii).
- 1417–18 *Wherof hit happend on a tyme that Saynt Bernard rode on an hors about the contrey.* Tale CLXX of the *Gesta Romanorum* contains a version of this story in which the dice do not split and Bernard simply wins the game outright. See *Gesta*, pp. 350–51.

## BOOK FOUR

### Chapter 1

- 14–16 *For as the blessyd Saynt Jherome sayth, the cité of Babylone was right grete and was maad al square.* In *Le Jeu des Éschaz Moralisé* Collet attributes this to Jerome's *Commentary on Jeremey*, Book 14.22–23. However, the version of this text that appears in *PL* does not seem to support this reference.
- 18–40 *and in Englond they be callyd myles also . . . Hit is to wete that Lombarde mylis and Englissh myles ben of one lengthe . . . whiche is seven myle Englissh.* These asides about English measurements are all added by Caxton.
- 28–29 *And as the blessyd Saynt Jherome sayth, upon the prophesie of Ysaye.* This comes from Jerome's *Commentary on Isaiah*, Book 5:13, verses 20–22. See Hieronymus Stridonensis [MED], *PL* 24:0163A–D.
- 29–31 *whiche wordes were sayd of Babylone, whiche standeth in Caldee, and nothyng of that Babylone that stondeth in Egypt.* The Babylon referred to here is the Biblical city, which is located in modern day Iraq, and not the Egyptian Babylon, an ancient city on the Nile.
- 40–41 *The walles about the toure made a woman whos name was Semyramis, as sayth Virgilius.* Although Jacobus refers to Virgil as the source for this story, it seems more likely that it is Dante's guide Virgil, who names Semiramis as a sinner in Canto V, verses 52–72 of the *Inferno*. The story of Semiramis and her building of the brick walls was common throughout the Middle Ages. In his *Metamorphoses*, Ovid refers to it in passing when describing Pyramus and Thisbe: "Pyramus et Thisbe, iuvenum pulcherrimus alter, / Altera, quas Oriens habuit, praelata puellis, / Contiguas tenuere domos, ubi dicitur altam / Coctilibus muris cinxisse Semiramis urbem" ["Pyramus and Thisbe — he, the most beautiful youth, and she, loveliest maid of all the East — dwelt in houses side by side, in the city which Semiramis is said to have surrounded with walls of brick"]. See *Metamorphoses*, 1:182 and 183. It also appears in Justinus' *History of Troglus Pompeius*, Book 1, chapter 2.7 (Justin, *Epitome*, p. 15).
- 68–69 *And Plato sayth that the comyn thynges and the cytees ben blessyd whan they ben governed by wyse men, or whan the governours studye in wysedom.* From Valerius, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 7.2, ext. 4 (2:118 and 119).

- 86–95 *Alas, what habundaunce was somme tymes in the royames. . . . And noblesse of lignage wythout puyssaunce and myght is but vanyté and dyspyte.* This section is added by Caxton.

### Chapter 3

- 231 *For Dyna, Jacob's doughter.* The story of Dinah appears in Genesis 34.
- 234–35 *Seneka sayth that the women that have evyl vysages ben gladly not chaste, but theyr corage desyreth gladly the companye of men.* I have not been able to locate a source for this saying.
- 236–37 *And Solinus sayth that no bestys femeles desire to be touched of their males whan they have conceyvyd.* This is from Pliny's *Natural History*, Book 7, chapter 11. See *Natural History*, 2:536–39.
- 238 *Sidrac.* Sidrak, the wise Jew, counsels and converts Bokkus with his questions and exemplary discussions. On women's sexuality, desire, pleasure in love, pregnancy, and (un)controllability, see *Sidrak and Bokkus*, pp. 260–63.
- 243–47 *And Ovyde sayth that there ben somme that, how wel that they eschewe the dede.* This quote comes from Ovid's *Art of Love*, Book 1, line 345: "Quae dant quaeque negant, gaudent tamen esse rogatae" ["And, grant they or deny, yet they are pleased to be asked" (pp. 36 and 37)]. In the *Liber* Jacobus adds Book 1, poem 8, line 43 of the *Amores*: "Ludunt formosae: casta est quam nemo rogavit" ["Enjoy yourselves, beautiful ones: she is chaste whom no one has pursued"].

### Chapter 6

- 335 *And this was doon whan Cirus, kyng of Perse, and Darius, kyng of Medes.* This scriptural example comes from Daniel 5:30.

### Chapter 7

- 374 *as we have in the historye of Davyd, that was made kyng.* The story of David is narrated in 1 Kings 16–31, 2 Kings, and 3 Kings 1–2.
- 377 *as of Gyges, whiche was right riche of landes and of richessis.* The story of Gyges and his riches is found in Valerius, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Book 7.1.2 (2:106 and 107). It appears in a modified form in Book 3, chapter 9.38 of Cicero's *De officiis* (pp. 304–07), and Pliny's *Natural History*, Book 7, chapter 46 (2:606 and 607).
- 388–89 *Virgyle, that was borne in Lombardye of the nacion of Mantua and was of lowe and symple lignage.* This is a modified version of what appears in Macrobius' *Saturnalia* Book 5, chapter 3.16. In this instance, Virgil is described in the third person and is compared to stealing the club from Hercules. See *Saturnalia*, pp. 292–93.







## TEXTUAL NOTES

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### BOOK ONE

- 7 *Evymlerodach*. The text reads *Enylmerodach*. See Explanatory Note.  
95 *noveltees*. The text reads *novelteees*.  
98 *thynges*. The text reads *thyuges*.

### BOOK TWO

- 29 *doo*. The text reads *dooo*.  
102 *the*. The text reads *tho*.  
175 *Jovynyan*. The text reads *Jonynyan*. See Explanatory Note to 1.174–75.  
262 *chastité*. The text reads *chasttie*.  
353 *there, where*. Caxton writes *there, there*, although *there, where* captures a better sense of the meaning.  
359 *Where*. Again, Caxton has used *there* when *where* seems better suited to the meaning of the sentence.  
420 *Libro*. The text reads *Li*.

### BOOK THREE

- 244 *three pence or four pence*. Abbreviated in Caxton as “iii d or iiii d.”  
431 *prouffyt*. The text reads “puroffyt” here.  
721 *Albert*. This appears in the text as *Abbert*.  
732 *tresour*. This appears in the text as *cresour*.  
878 *or*. The text reads “woundes of soores” here, although the context calls for “or.”

### BOOK FOUR

- 76 *For*. Caxton has “For for” here.  
162 *attributed*. The text reads *attribued*.  
Title, chapter 3 *third*. Although this is the third chapter of Book Four, the word “seconde” appears in both printings.  
390 *poyntes*. In the first edition Caxton uses the word “poetes” here, which makes more sense.  
401–02 *thre [of] the*. The text reads *thre the*.





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## GLOSSARY

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**a(d)voultrie(y)** *adultery*

**alphyns** *chess bishops*

**alwey** *always*

**anon(e)** *immediately*

**axe** *ask*

**behoveth** *is necessary*

**bren(ne)** *burn*

**but if** *unless*

**chese (chase)** *choose (chose)*

**consul** *a member of the Roman Senate*

**convenable** *suitable*

**debonayr (-air)** *gracious*

**doubt(e)** *fear*

**ensey(i)ne** *teach*

**envyrone** *surround*

**feet (fait)** *act*

**figured** *depicted*

**for as moche as** *because*

**frende** *friend*

**geve** *give*

**graunt dame** *grandmother*

**grauntsire** *grandfather*

**gu(y)rdel** *belt*

**heeris** *hair*

**her** *their; her*

**hows** *house*

**lasse** *less*

**lever** *rather*

**maad** *made*

**membris** *body parts*

**metis(es)** *meats*

**meve** *move*

**mo(o)** *more*

**ner** *nor*

**oonly (onely)** *alone*

**oost(e)** *army*

**ordonaunce** *care*

**otherwhyte** *sometimes*

**parelle(eil)** *peril*

**pi(y)etous** *merciful*

**poure** *poor*

**re quyre** *request*

**sauf** *except*

**semblable** *same*

**sewre** *sure*

**sithen** *afterwards*

**slear** *slayer*

**sonner** *sooner*

**subget(tis)** *subject*

**tofore** *before*

**ver(r)ay** *true*

**vy(i)sage** *face*

**wene(th)** *believe*

**wyst** *knew*