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THE GAME AND PLAYE OF THE CHESSE.
CAXTON'S

GAME AND PLAYE OF
THE CHESSE,
1474.

A VERBATIM REPRINT OF THE FIRST EDITION.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

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

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

JOHN LYDGE.

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

The readers of the "Antiquary" will remember the anecdote told with so much effusion by Jonathan Oldbuck. "Davy Wilson," he said, "commonly called Snuffy Davy, from his inveterate addiction to black rappee, was the very prince of scouts for searching blind alleys, cellars, and stalls, for rare volumes. He had the scent of a hound, fir, and the snap of a bull-dog. He would detect you an old black-letter ballad among the leaves of a law-paper, and find an editio princeps under the mark of a school Corderius. Snuffy Davy bought the 'Game of Chefs, 1474,' the first book ever printed in England, from a stall in Holland for about two groschen, or two-pence of our money. He sold it to Osborne for twenty pounds, and as many books as came to twenty pounds more. Osborne re-fold this inimitable windfall to Dr. Askew for sixty guineas. At Dr. Askew's sale," continued the old gentleman, kindling as he spoke, "this inimitable treasure blazed forth in..."
Introduction.

its full value and was purchased by Royalty itself for one hundred and seventy pounds! 'Could a copy now occur, Lord only knows,' he ejaculated with a deep sigh and lifted-up hands, 'Lord only knows what would be its ransom; and yet it was originally secured, by skill and research, for the easy equivalent of two-pence sterling.'

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

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

According to Mr. William Blades, our latest and best authority on the subject, there are but ten copies known of the first edition of the 'Cheffe' book. There is a perfect copy in the King's

1 Blades' 'Life of Caxton,' ii., 12.
2 Mr. Blades enumerates only ten, but between the publication of his work in 1863 and the appearance in 1880 of a
Library in the British Museum. This is what ought to be Snuffey Davy's copy. A previous owner—R. Boys—has noted that it cost him 3s. The copy in the Grenville Library has the table and last leaf supplied in facsimile. The copy in the Public Library at Cambridge is defective to the extent of five leaves. The Bodleian copy wants the last leaf. The Duke of Devonshire's copy formerly belonged to Roger Wilbraham, and the first and eighth leaves are supplied in facsimile. The exemplar belonging to the Earl of Pembroke is perfect, "but on weak and stained paper." Earl Spencer's copy is perfect, clean, and unusually large. Mr. H. Cunliffe's copy came from the Alchorne and Inglis Libraries, and wants the first two printed leaves, two near the end, and the last two. Mr. J. Holford's copy is perfect and in its original binding. It was once in the library of Sir Henry Mainwaring of Peover Hall, as his bookplate shows. On a fly-leaf is written, "Ex dono Thomae Delves, Baronett 1682." The copy belonging to the Rev. Edward Bankes is imperfect, and wants the dedicatory leaf and is slightly wormed.

The book, when complete, consists of eight quaternions or eight leaves folded together and one quaternions or section of five leaves folded together, making in all seventy-four leaves, of which the first and last are blank. The only type used through-

more popular one, an eleventh copy turned up. It is described further on. As both editions of Mr. Blades' book are frequently cited, it may be stated here that where the reference is to the page only, the one volume edition of 1880 is meant.
Introduction.

out is that styled No. 1 by Mr. Blades. The lines are not spaced out; the longest measure five inches; a full page has thirty-one lines. Without title-page, signatures, numerals, or catch-words. The volume, as already mentioned, begins with a blank leaf, and on the second recto is Caxton’s prologue, space being left for a two-line initial, without director. The text begins with a dedication:—

“(T)o the right noble/ right excellent & vertuous prince George duc of Clarence Eri of Warwyk and of salisbury/ grete chamberlayn of Englonde & lieutenant of Ireland oldeste broder of kyng Edward by the grace of god kyng of England and of France/ your moost humble servant william Caxton amongst other of your servantes sendes unto yow peas, helthe, Joye and victorye upon your Enemyes/ Right highe puyffant and.” The text ends on the seventy-third recto, thus:—“And sende yow thaccomplishement of your hye noble. Joyous and vertuous defirs Amen:/ Fynyshid the laft day of Marche the yer of our lord god. a. thousand foure honderd and LXXIII. * * *.” The seventy-fourth leaf is blank.

It is unnecessary to say that this book seldom comes into the market. The recorded sales are very few. In 1682 R. Smith sold a perfect copy for 13s. 2d. In 1773 J. Weft’s copy was bought by George III. for £32 6s. 6d. Alchorne’s imperfect copy was bought by Inglis for £54 12s., and at the sale of his books found a purchaser in Lord Audley for £31 10s., and was again transferred, in 1855, to the possession of Mr. J. Cunliffe
Introduction.

for £60 10s. od. Mr. J. Holford's copy was bought at the Mainwaring sale for £101.

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

Caxton's Game and Play of Chess Morallized, (translated 1474) first edition, folio, 65 leaves (of the 72), bound in old russia gilt, £400.

"Longhid the last day of Marche the yere of our Lord God,
a thousand foure hundred and fiftyii..."

An extremely large, though somewhat imperfect copy of

The First Book Printed in England, from Caxton's press.

Mr. Blades quotes 9 copies (4 perfect, 5 imperfect), the present is the 10th known copy, and is taller than even the Grenville—hitherto the tallest known copy; my copy measures 11 3/4 inch in height by 8 in width, whilst the Grenville copy (also imperfect) is only 11 inches high.

Collation of my copy:

This book contains iii tracts
This first chapter of the first tractate
The travaile for to do Justice right worth, etc. to the end
The last leaf with the date
In conquernge his rightfull inheritance, ending:

Longhid, etc. 1474

1 leaf.
1 leaf.
62 leaves.
1 leaf.
65 leaves.

My copy wants therefore 7 leaves, the two blank ones being out of question. The imperfections include the first leaf, and two leaves in the second chapitre of the fourth tractate, the end is all right. I should be glad to hear of any imperfect

1 Blades, ii., 12.
Introduction.

copy of this work, which would supply me with what I want. In the mean time this precious relic of the Infancy of Printing in England can be seen by Buxtorf of Rare books.

See Dibdin's Bibl. Spenc. IV, p. 189.

No copy of this edition has been sold for years; in 1812, Alchorne's copy, wanting first two leaves, the last two leaves and two leaves in the second chapter of the fourth tractate, fetched at Evans', £54. 12s. The value of this class of books has much risen since then, and may now be considered, as ten times greater.

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

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

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

And a man that lyveth in thy world without vertues lybeth not as a man but as a beast.

The first edition ends thus:

And therefore my right redoubled Lord I pray almighty God to save the Kyng our Soverain lord to give him grace to rule as a Kyng true and sound in all vertues to be allured with all other his people in siche wise as his noble rosome of Englonde may prosper and bound in vertues and ye Kyng may be established in justice forever the rosome defended good men rewarded well saith the Kyng people to be put to labour that he worth the nobles of the rosome may reign gloriously.

In conqures the rightfull inheritance that bertresse and cheare may endure in both his rosomes and that marchandise may have his cours in suche wise that every man ethewe lyne and entre in vertuous occupacions. Praynge your good grace to relieve this first and simple book made under the pope and shadow of your noble protection by hym that is your most humble servant in gree and thanke. And I shall prage almighty god for your long
Introduction.

I breast welfare | whiche he preserve And fende now this accomplishment of your wyre noble sayous and vertuous deles Amen : |

Fynysshed the latt day of marche the yere of our lord god a thousand four hundred and liii. 1: 3: 4.

The second edition ends thus:

The same late every man of what condition he be that redyth or perich this first book redue. take thereby ensample to amend hym.
Explicit per Caxton.

This copy came from the library of Mr. L. M. Petit. 1

It will be noticed that Mr. Quaritch calls the editio princeps of Caxton’s “Game and Play of the Cheste” the first book printed in England. This was the general opinion of bibliographers before the investigations of Mr. Blades. Dibdin, although he seems to have had some doubt, pronounced in favour of that view. Yet it is clearly erroneous. The only materials for judgment are those afforded by the colophon and the prologue to the second edition, with the silent but eloquent testimony of typography. Caxton ends the first edition with the words:—“Fynysshed the latt day of Marche the yere of our lord god a thousand four hundred and liiiiii.” The word “fynysshed,” as Mr. Blades observes, “has doubtles the same signification here as in the epilogue to the second book of Caxton’s translation of the Histories of Troy, ‘Begonne in Brugis, continued in Gaunt and finysched in Coleyn,’ which evidently refers to the translation only. The date, 1475-6, has been affixed, because in the Low

Countries at that time the year commenced on Easter-day; this in 1474 fell on April 10th, thus giving, as the day of the conclusion of the translation, 31 March 1475, the same year being the earliest possible period of its appearance as a printed book." Then there is Caxton's own racy account of the circumstances under which the book first appeared:—

"And emong alle other good werkys It is a werke of ryght special recomendacion to enforme and to late vnderstonde wyfedom and vertue vnto them that be not lernyd ne can not dyserne wyfedom fro solye Théne emonge whom there was an excellent doctour of dyuynyte in the royame of fraunce of the ordre of thofpytal of Saynt Johns of Jherufalem which entended the same and hath made a book of the cheffe moralyfèd whiche at suche tymé as I was resident in brudgys in the counte of Flaundres cam into my handes/ whiche whan I had redde and ouerseen/ me semed ful neceffarye for to be had in englifshe/ And in eschefwynge of ydlenes And to thende that fóme which haue not seen it/ ne vnderstonde frensh ne latyn J delybered in my self to tranflate it in to our maternal tonge/ And whan I fo had achyeued the sayd tranflacion/ J dyde doo sette in enprynte a certeyn nombre of theym/ Whiche anone were depefshed and folde wherfore by cause thys sayd book is ful of holfom wyfedom and requysyte vnto euery aftate and degree/ J haue purpofed to enprynte it/ shewyng therin the figures of suche perfons as longen to the playe."

It is clear from this that both the translation and
Introduction.

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

The second edition is undoubtedly the work of our first English printer. "Explicit per Caxton" is the unambiguous statement of the colophon. It is a much more advanced specimen of typography than the first edition. It has signatures, of which a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, are quaternions, k and l are terternions, making in all eighty-four leaves, of which the first is blank. There is no title-page, and the type used is that which Mr. Blades reckons as No. 2#. The lines are spaced out to an even length. There are twenty-nine lines to a full page, and the full line measures 4½ inches. The prologue begins on a ii., and the table of chapters begins on the next page. The text begins on the recto of a iii. The text ends on the recto of l 6, the last page being blank. There are sixteen woodcuts in the volume, which are used twenty-four times. There has been some diversity of opinion as to the year in which this "Game of the Cheffe" came from the press of Caxton. The book is not dated. Dibdin thought it one of the printer's earliest efforts. Fig.

1 Blades, ii., 48.
Introductio.
gins regarded it as the earliest issue of the West-
minster press, and further believed that it was
printed from cut metal types. This is not the view
of Mr. Blades, who says: “An examination of the
work, however, with a typographical eye does not
afford a single evidence of very early workmanship.
All Caxton’s early books were uneven in the length
of their lines—this is quite even. Not one of the
early works had any signatures—this is signed
throughout. These two features alone are quite
sufficient to fix its date of impression at least as late
as 1480, when Caxton first began the use of signa-
tures; but when we find that every known copy of
this edition of the ‘Chefs-Book’ presents a thicker
and more worn appearance than any one copy of
any other book, there is good reason for supposing
that this may have followed the ‘Tulli’ of 1481,
and have been the last book for which Type No. 2*
was used.”

Mr. Blades describes nine known copies, so that
even fewer exemplars remain of the second edition
than of its predecessor. The copy in the King’s
Library in the British Museum is imperfect, want-
ing several leaves, and is mended in many places.
The copy in the Pepysian Collection at Cambridge
wants one-half of the last leaf. Trinity College,
Cambridge, has a perfect copy, “but a bad impres-
sion.” The Bodleian copy is defective in not
having the last leaf. St. John’s College, Oxford,
has a copy, from which one-half of d iii, has been
torn away. The Imperial Library at Vienna has

1 Blades, ii., 97.
Introduction.

an imperfect copy. The Duke of Devonshire's copy is perfect, but it is "a poor impression, and slightly stained." The Earl of Pembroke's copy is very imperfect. Earl Spencer's is only slightly imperfect. The prices fetched by the second edition have a sufficiently wide range. In 1698, at Dr. Bernard's sale, a copy sold for 15. 6d. Farmer's copy in 1798 fetched £4 4s. Ratcliffe's copy was bought at his sale for £16 by Willett; and when his books came to the hammer in 1813, it was purchased by the Duke of Devonshire for £173 5s. It is interesting to know that the copy of the second edition in the Bibliotheca Spenceriana formerly belonged to Laurence Sterne, who bought it for a few shillings at York.

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

Caxton, we have seen, translated the "Game of the Cheffe" from the French. There were in effect two, if not three, from which he may have taken

1 Blades, ii., 95.
his version. One of these is by Jean Faron, Ferron, or Feron (as the name is variously spelled), a monk of the order of St. Dominic, of whom the notices are exceedingly scanty. 1 La Croix du Maine styles him "de l'Ordre des Frères Precheurs ou Jacobins du Paris." La Monnaye says that the translation was made from the Latin of Cessoles, and was begun in the year 1347. It has not been printed. 2 The translation is considered a literal version of the Latin of Cessoles.

The prologue of Ferron's version is as follows:

"Chy enfuit le guo des Eschas moralisé, ouquel a plufiers exemples bien à noter. A noblehomme, Bertrand de Tarascon, frere Jehan Ferron, de l'ordre des Frères precheurs de Paris, fon petit et humble chappelain foy tout. Le Sainte Eſcripure dit que Dieux a fait a chacun commandement de pour-chaffier à tous nos prochains leur fauvement. Or eft-il aizi que nos prochains ne font pas tout un, ains font de diverfes condictions, eftas et manieres, fy comme il appert. Car les uns font nobles; les aultres non: les aultres font de cler engin; les aultres, non: les aultres font enclins à devotion; les aultres, non. Et pour ce, affin que le commandement de Dieu foit mis à execution bien convenablement, il convient avoir plufiers voyes et baillier à chacun ce qui lui eft plus convenable; et aini fouldroit il le commandement de Dieu accomplir; . . . . Pour tant je, voitre petit chappe-

1 See Prosper Marchand, "Dich. Hist.," t. i., p. 181.
Introduction.

lain, à votre requête, que je tieng pour commende-
ment, vous ai volu transflata de latin en français le
Gieu des Échas moralisé, que fit l’un de nos frères,
appelé frère Jaques de Cosfoles, maistre en divinité,
fi que vous l’entendés plus legierrement ; et à ex-
emple des nobles hystoires qui y sont notteés, veuillé-
maintenir, quant à vous, honnestement, et quant
aux autres juftement. . . . Or prénés donc ce petit
prevent, commencé le 4e jour de May, l’an 1347.1

That Caxton made ufe of Ferron’s version is clear.
Thus Mr. Blades mentions the description of Evil-
merodach as “un homme joly fans justice” as
peculiar to Ferron, whose version he regards as the
basis of the first and third chapters of Caxton’s work.

Dr. Van der Linde mentions a number of MSS.;
in some the date is given as 1357, and in one as
1317. This version remains unprinted, but there
are MSS. of it in the Bibliothèque Nationale, at
Aosta, Cambrai, at Brussel, in the British Muueum,
Chartres, at Bern, and at Stockholm.2

Dr. Van der Linde also describes a MS. on parch-
ment of the fifteenth century, forming part of the
national library at Paris, which contains the Game
of Chefs in verbe.

“Mès fi d’efbat te prent tallant,
Preu ton efbat deuement ;
Mès fi à jouer vieulx attendre,
Un noble joue te fautte attendre,
C’est des ehcecs qui eft licite
Et à touz bien les gens incite.”

1 Dr. Van der Linde, “Geschichte,” 114.
2 Cв. Van der Linde, “Geschichte,” and his “Jartaufend.”
Introduction.

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

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

On this it is only necessary to quote the remarks of a French critic:—"Ou ne nous dit pas si c'est dans la suite même de la phrase, ou seulement en acrosticke, que se trouvent les vingt-deux lettres de ces nom mystérieux. Nous ne faurions former aucun nom avec les initiales des trente vers qui précèdent ceux que nous venons de citer; et le merité de l’ouvrage ne nous encourage pas à faire des longues recherches pour découvrir un nom que l’auteur a pris plaisir à nous cacher." 1

The bulk of Caxton’s work is undoubtedly from the French translation of Jehan de Vignay, whose dedication to Prince John of France has simply been transformed into a similar address to the Duke of Clarence. He styles De Vignay “an excellent doctor of the order of the Hospital of St. John’s of Jerufalem.” This is the only authority we have for supposing De Vignay to be connected with that order. He styles himself “hospitaller de l’ordre de haut pas,” which was situated in the Faubourg St. Jacques of Paris. It is curious that two members of the same order—for Ferron was also a Jacobin—should independently have occupied themselves with the same

work. The version by De Vignay was probably the later of the two, and it was also the most popular, for whilst Ferron's is still unprinted, that of De Vignay has been frequently re-issued from the presses. The work is dedicated to Jean de France, Duc de Normandie, who became king in 1350. It will be seen from this that these two French versions were practically contemporaneous.

The prologue to the book is as follows:—"A Tres noble & excellent prince Jehan de France duc de normendie & auifie filz de philipe par le grace de dieu Roy de france. Frere Jehan de vignay vostre petit Religieux entre les autres de vostre seignorie/ paix fante Joie & viétoire sur vos enemis. Tres- chier & redoubte seign'/ pour ce que Jay entendu et scay que vous veuez & ouez volentiers choses prof- fitables & honestes et qui tendent alinformation de bonne meur ay Je mis vn petit liuret de latin en francois le quel meft venuz a la main nouvellement/ ou quel pluieurs auctoritez et dis de docteurs & de philopes & de poetes & des anciens ages/ font Ractontez & font appliquez a la moralite des nobles hommes et des gens de peuple selon le gieu des efchez lequel liure Tres puissant et tres redoubte seigneur jay fait ou nom & soubz vmbre de vous pour laquelle chose trefch seign' Je vous supple & requier de bonne vouente de cuer que il vos daigne plaie a receuvoir ce liure en gre aussi bien que de vn greign maistre de moy/ car la tres bonne vouente que Jay de miex faire se je pouois/ me doit estre repute pour le fait/ Et po' plus elere- ment proceder en ceste ouure/ Jay ordene que les
chappitres du liure soient ecrips & mis au commence-
ment afin de voir plus plainement la matiere de
quoy le dit liure pole.

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

Ferron and de Vignay were avowedly tran-
lators. Their original was Jacques de Cesfoles.
The name of this author has been tortured into so
many fantastic forms that one may almost despair
of recovering the original. Cesfoles, Caflais, Ca-
tulis, Cesulis, Cesfolis, Cesfole, Cefuls, Cefulis,
Cezoli, de Cezolis, de Cesfoles, de Courcelles, Se-
ffelis, Teffails, Teffells, de Thesioluus, de The-
sillonica, and de Thesillonica are different manners of spelling
his surname, and the two last are certainly master-
pieces of transformation. Prosper Marchand has
amused himself by collecting some vain speculations

1 Blades' "Caxton," 173-175.  
2 Blades, i., 165.
of previous writers as to the age, country, and personality of Jacques de Cessoles. Some counted him a Lombard, some an Italian, whilst others again boldly asserted that he was a Greek!

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

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

"Antonius was a wys emperour regnyng in the cite of Rome, the which vſid moche to pley with houndis; and aſtir þat pley, aſtir þe day aſtir he wolde
vse þe cheffe. So yn a day, as he pleide at þe cheffe, & byheld the kyng sette yn the pley, som tyme hy and som tyme lowe, among aufyns and pownys, he thought þerwith þat hit wold be so with him, for he shuld dey, and be hid vndir erth. And þerfore he devided his Reame in thre partes; and he yaf oo part to þe kyng of Ierusalem; þe seconde part vnto þe lordis of his Reame or his empire; and the thrid parte vnto the pore people; & yede him self vnto the holy londe, and ther he endid his lyf in peas.

MORALITE.

Seth now, good sir; this emperour, þat lovith so wele play, may be called eche worldly man þat occupieth him in vanytes of the world; but he moßte take kepe of the pley of the cheffe, as did the emperoure. the chekir or þe cheffe hath viij. poyntes in eche partie. In every pley beth viij. kyndes of men, scil. man, woman, wedewer, wedowis, lewid men, clerkes, riche men, and pouere men. at this pley pleieth vj. men. the first man, þat goth afore, hath not but oo poynt, but whenne he goth aside, he takith anoþer; so by a pouere man; he hath not, but when he comyth to þe deth with paciencie, þen shal he be a kyng in heuen, with þe kyng of pore men. But if he grucche aynst his neighbour of his stat, and be a thef, and ravißh þat wher he may, þen he is ytake, and put in to the prefon of helle. The secund, scil. alphyn, renneth iiij. poyntes both vpward and dounward; [he] be-tokenyth wife men, the whiche by deceuyable
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eloquence & takynge of money decayueth, & so he is made oonly. The iiij. *sic.* *pe* knyst, hath iiij.
poynes, & goth perwith; [he] betokenyth gentil-
men pat rnyth aboute, & ravisheth, and ioyeth
for her kynred, & for habundance of richeffe.
The fourth, *sic.* pe rook, he holdith length & brede,
and takith vp what so is in his way; he betokenyth
okerers and false merchautys, pat rnyth aboute
ouer alt, for wynnyng & lucre, & rechthi not how
thei geten, so that thei haue hit. The fifthe is pe
quene, that goth fro blak to blak, or fro white to
white, and is ytet beside pe kynge, and is ytake fro
the kyng. This quene bytokenyth virgyns and
damefels, pat goth fro chaftte to synne, and beth
ytake by the devill, for glovis or such maner yiftis.
The vij. is to whom alt owe to obey and mynyfere;
and he goth forth, and bakward ayen, & in either
side, & takith ouer alt; so fone discendith in to pe
world, and ascendith to god by praiers; But when
he takith [no] kepe of god, and hath no meyne, pe
is hit to pe man chekmate. And perfore let vs not
charge of oure cftatis, no more pean is with pe men,
when pei be put vp in pe poket; then hit is no
charge who be above or who be byneth; and so by
the Spirit of loulyness we may come to pe ioy of
heven. And pat graunt vs, *qui viuit &c.*

It is not, therefore, surprisifg to learn that Jacques
de Cessoles found texts for sundry sermons on
the game that formed so favourite a diversion of
clergy and laity. The favour with which these
discourses were received no doubt gratified the
worthy Dominican father. At the request of some of
Introduction.

those who heard them he began to write down the substance of his sermons. The result was the "Liber de moribus Hominum et officiis Nobilium ac Populorum super ludo seachorum," which immediately attained great popularity. This is shown by the bibliography of Dr. A. Van der Linde in a striking manner, for he has described two hundred codices to be found in the various public libraries of Europe.¹

The difficulties in the way of forming any clear conception as to the life and personality of Cessoles, Ferron, and De Vignay are well shown in an article by M. C. Leber.² Dr. Ernst Köpke, who has re-examined the evidences as to Cessoles, holds that he was a Lombard.³

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

He was of the great Neapolitan family of the Colonna, and his Christian name appears to have been Guido, but his designations have undergone some curious transformations. Born at Rome, 22nd Sept., 1216, Guido Colonna went at an early age to Paris, where, from the name of his birthplace, he

¹ "Geschichte," i., 29. There is a manuscript copy in the Chetham Library, Manchester, which he does not name. It came from the Farmer Collection, and is a volume containing a number of fifteenth century Latin tracts. See account of European MSS. in the Chetham Library, Manchester, by James Orchard Halliwell, F.R.S., Manchester, 1842, p. 15.
³ "Academy," July 12, 1881.
Introduction.

became known as Ægidius Romanus, with the French form of Gilles de Rome. He was an ardent and enthusiastic disciple of St. Thomas Aquinas, and his familiarity with that great doctor of the Church led him to desire admission to the Dominican order, but a difficulty intervened from the circumstance that he had already contracted ties which bound him to the order of St. Augustine. To this untoward accident may probably be attributed no little of the extension of the philosophical doctrine of Aquinas; for Colonna, unable or unwilling to be relieved of the vows that bound him to the Augustinians, preached eagerly amongst them the Thomist speculations of his friend and master. In the controversy with the Franciscans, those whom he had indoctrinated were valuable allies to the Thomists, for their aid, coming from an independent organization, appeared to carry the weight of impartiality, and to be unassailable on the plea of partisan interest. In the year 1287 there was a general convocation of the order of St. Augustine at Florence, and at this assembly it was decreed that the doctors of the order should teach in conformity with the decisions arrived at by Colonna. To him is largely due the success of the Thomist scheme, of which he was an able, persistent, and vigorous exponent. Many tracts by him remain in print and MS. on these subjects. The fame he had thus acquired gained him the name of doctor fundamentarius and doctor fundatissimus. His lectures at Paris attracted to him the attention of Philippe le Hardi, who thought him a fitting person to be en-
trusted with the education of his son, who was afterwards known to history as Philippe le Bel. It was whilst occupied with this royal youth that the thought of composing or compiling—and the terms were in practice interchangeable in those days—occurred, and the result was the treatise “De regimine Principum libri iii.” Philippe le Hardi, if not an educated man himself—and there are doubts as to whether he could write his own name—was laudably anxious that his heir should have the best instruction that could be obtained. It cannot well be claimed that the able, handsome, and unscrupulous Philippe was any great credit to his preceptor. The despotic and perfidious character of the king probably owed more to the influence of Nogaret and other defenders of the “right divine of kings to govern wrong,” than to the soberer precepts of Colonna. That Philippe had some tincture of literary feeling may be inferred from his employment of Jehan de Meung to translate the military treatise of Vegetius Flavius Renatus, a compilation of the second century of the present era, which was so popular in the middle ages that it was translated by Caxton into English. Still better evidence is the translation made for the king by the same poet of Boethius, whose stoical philosophy must have had a special appropriateness for those times of political storm and stress, when the fickle favors of fortune must have been a matter of only too common repute. Guido Colonna was elected by his admiring brethren the general of the order in 1292, and took up his residence at Bourges, its metropolitan seat.
In this honourable office he continued his literary labours, and to this period are assigned the greater part of his numerous works. He died at Avignon in 1316. His body was translated to Paris, where his effigy in black marble, with his epitaph, remained until the French revolution.\(^1\) It would be superfluous to enumerate his philosophical writings, for they would have no interest in the present day. His commentary on Aristotle "De Anima," it may be observed, was dedicated to Edward I. His name is now chiefly remembered because his work on the rule of princes formed the basis of the treatise in which Jacques de Cessoles moralized the fashionable game of the chefs.

One interesting instance of the popularity of Colonna's work is the translation of it made into English verse by Thomas Occliffe.\(^2\) He wrote it in 1411 or 1412, and its object was to obtain the payment of an annuity from the exchequer which had been granted to him, but the payment of which was very irregular. The book was dedicated to the Prince of Wales. After mentioning his purpose to translate from the (apocryphal) letter of Aristotle to Alexander and "Gyles of Regement of Prynces," he proceeds:

\[
\text{"There is a booke, Jacob de Cessoles,}
\text{Of the orde of Prechours, made, a worthy man,}
\]

\(^1\) Blades' "Life of Caxton," vol. ii., p. 9.
Introduction.

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

And al be it that in that place square
Of the lyfles, I meane the efchekere,
A man may learn to be wise and ware ;
I that have avanturede many a yere,
My witte therein is but litelle the here,
Save that somewhat I know a Kynges draught,
Of other draughts lernede have I naught."—(p. 77.)

"In those days," says Warton, "ecclesiastics and
schoolmen presum'd to dictate to kings and to give
rules for administering states, drawn from the nar-
row circle of speculation, and conceived amid the
pedantries of a cloister. It was probably recom-
pended to Occleve's notice by having been tran-
lated into English by John Trevifæ, a celebrated
translator about the year 1390."

Having thus traced the stream back to its foun-
tain, we return to Caxton. The story of his life
has been told by Mr. Blades, and only the most
essential facts of his busy and useful career need be
recapitulated here. He was born in the Weald of
Kent, and it has been conjectured that the manor
of Cauftons, near Hadlow, was the original home
of the family. He was apprenticed to Alderman
Robert Large, a mercer, who was afterwards Lord
Mayor. The entry in the books of the Mercers' 
Company leads to the inference that Caxton was
born about 1422. Probably on the death of Large,
in 1441, Caxton went abroad, for he tells us that

1 Warton's "History of English Poetry," 1871, iii., 44.
in 1471 he had been resident outside England for thirty years. About 1462 or 1463 he was Governor of the English Nation or Merchant Adventurers at Bruges. This was a position of great influence, and it is thought to have enabled the loyal mercer to give good service to Edward IV., who was an exile in 1470. Caxton's marriage was not much later than 1469, and it is conjectured that this led him to enter the service of the Dukes of Burgundy. She had literary tastes, and at her request he translated the "Recuyell des Histoires de Troyes" of Raoul Le Fevre. It was the demand for copies of this that exhausted Caxton's calligraphic patience, and led to his employment of a printer. The incident may have been casual, but it led to great results. It has been said that he learned the printers' art at Cologne, but Mr. Blades supposes that he entered its mystery at Bruges under Colard Mansion, with whom he appears to have had some partnership. Probably towards the end of 1476 Caxton returned to England. He had the favour of Edward IV. and of his sister, Duchess of Burgundy, and the friendship of the King's brother-in-law, Earl Rivers. Ninety-nine distinct productions issued from Caxton's press, he was printer, publisher, translator, and something of author as well. He set in good earnest about the work that is still going on—of making the best accessible literature widely and commonly known. This useful career was only ended by his death. The exact date is not known, but it was probably late in 1491. He left a married daughter. Caxton
was a good business man. He was also a sincere lover of literature, and he was at his favourite work of translation only a few hours before the final summons came.

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

"For ther is no thyng alter this day that so moche greueth rome and Italye as doth the college of notaries and advowes publique. For they ben not of oon a corde/ Alas and in Engeland what hurte doon the advowes. men of law. And attorneys of court to the comyn peple of ye royame as well in the spirituell lawe as in the temporall/ how torne they the lawe and statute at their pleafir/ how ete they the peple/ how enpouere they the comynte/ I suppoze that in alle Cristendom ar not so many pleers attorneys and men of the lawe as ben in england onely/ for ye they were nombrid all that Lange to the courtes of the channcery kinges bench, comyn place, cheker. reflayt and helle And the bagge berars of the same/ hit fhold amounte to a grete
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multitude And how alle thyfe lyue &c of whome. yf hit shold be vtrrid &c told/ hit shold not be beleuyd. For they entendte to theyr synguler wele and prouffyt and not to the comyn/"

Another addtition is the brief passage in the first chapter of the fourth traet in which the "good olde times" are lamented and contrasted with the decayence of the then present—now the four centuries past.

"Alas what haboundance was some tymes in the royames. And what prospite/ In whiche was Iustice/ And euer yman in his office contente/ how stond the cytees that tyme in worship and renome/ how was renommed the noble royame of Englonde Alle the world drede hit/ And spack worship of hit/ how hit now stondeth and in what haboundance I reparte me to them that knowe hit yf ther ben theeu is wyt the royame or on the see/ they knowe that labour in the royame And sayle on the see I wote well the same is grete therof I pray god faue that noble royame And sende good true and politicque councyllours to the gouernours of the same &c."

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

"And therefore my ryght redoubted lord I pray almighty god to faue the kyng our souerain lord & to gyue hym grace to yffue as a kyngge & tabounde in all vertues/ & to be affisit with all other his lordes in such wyse y/ his noble royame of Englonde may prosphere & habounde in vertues/ and y/ fynne may be echewd iustice kepte/ the royame defended
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good men rewarded malefactours punyfshid & the ydle peple to be put to laboure that he wyth the nobles of the royame may regne gloriously In conquerynge his rightfull enheritaunce/ that verray peas and charite may endure in bothe his royames/ and that marchandife may haue his cours in suche wise that every man eschewe synne/ and encreece in vertuous occupacions/ Praynge your good grace to reffeyue this lityll and symple book made vnder the hope and shadowe of your noble protection by hym that is your most humble seruant/ in gree and thanke And I shal praye almighty god for your longe lyf & welfare/ whiche he preferue And sende you thaccomplishement of your hye noble. Ioyous and vertuous defirs Amen:/ Fynyfshid the laft day of marche the yer of our lord god. a. thousand foure honderd and lxiii

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

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

Explicit per Caxton."

The alteration may perhaps be received as an evidence of our first English printer's fastidiousness as an author.

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

These are as follows:

Hain.—Repertorium Bibliographicum... opera Ludovici Hain. Stuttgart, 1826.


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

Colonna.

(See ante, p. xxi.)

Ægidius Romanus de regimine principum L. III. f. l. 1473. Folio.
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This Ebert and Graesse conjecture to have been printed by G. Zainer. They describe it as the first edition of a work frequently reprinted, and say that the last edition appeared at Lugd. Batav. in 1643, and had on the title-page the name of St. Thomas Aquinas as author. Hain mentions editions at Rome—Stephanum Plancck, 1482, folio; Venetiis, 1498.

(French translation.)

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

(Graesse.)

This was printed by Guillaume Euftace: "On les vêt au palais au Tiers pillier Et a la me neufue noftrre dame a lenfeigne de Lagnum dei" (Brunet). Ebert mentions a French translation as having been printed at Paris, in 1497; but Brunet, in the article on Aristotle, gives a somewhat minute account of the book, to show that it is not that of Colonna.

(Spanish translation.)

Regimiéto de los principes fechs y ordenado por Don fray Gil de Roma de la orden de fát Augustín. E fizolo trafiadar de latin en româce do Bernardo obispo de ofna etc. Suilla—a efpensés de Maeftre Conrado aleman. & Melchior gurizzo,
mercadores de libros, fue impresso per Meynardo Ungut alemeno: & Stanislas Polono compañeros. Acabaron se a veynte días del mes de octubre Año del señor de Mill & quarto cientos & nouenta & quarto [1494] folio.

(Hain, Brunet, Graeffe.)

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

(Catalan translation.)

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


(Brunet, Graeffe.)

(Italian translation.)

Ebert mentions an Italian version by Val. Ave- roni. Firenze, 1577. 8vo. (Graeffe.)

(English translation.)


(See ante, p. xxxii., for notice of another Early English version.)
Introduc. tion.

Cessoles.

(See ante, p. xxiv.)


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

(Linde, Graesse.)

Incipit libellus de ludo Scaccorum, et de diiétis factisque nobilius virorum, philosophorum et antiquorum. Explicit tabula super ludum Scaccorum. Deo gratias. 4to. 29 leaves. Sign. A—H.

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

(Linde.)

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

(Linde.)

Incipit liber quem composit frater. Iacobus de ceffolis ordinis fratrum predicatorium qui intitulatur liber de moribus hominum et officiis nobiliis super ludo schacorum. Impressum Mediolani ad impenfas Paulini de svards Anno a natali christiano.
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mcccclxxviiij. die xxij. Mensis augusti. Folio. 24 leaves.

(Linde, Graesse.)


(Linde, Graesse.)

Tractatus de Scachis mindace interpretatus de moribus per singulos hominum status. 4to. Anno 1505.
On leaf 31a:—

"Ad Lectorem.
Qum paucis rigidos posset compeccere mons
Accipe: quod offert hiberna ex arce Johannes
Scatherrii munus: sapiens Philometer et illud
Traddidit. ut regis babilonis crimina mergat
Hunc tibi si fotes capiet te lectio frequens
Noveris et iustae que ius moderamina vite."

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

(Linde, Graesse.)


(Linde, "Jartaufend.")

(French translation.)

Les jeu des Echez moralíè, nouvellement imprímé à Paris (ends). Cy finit le livre des Echez et l'Ordre de Chevalerie, translaté de latin en fran-
Introduc tion.

cois, imprimé nouvellement à Paris; et fut achevé
de vendredi, v1er jour de septembre, l'an m v c et
1111, pour Anthoine Verart, libraire juré en l'univ-
erité de Paris, demeurant à Paris, à l'imaige Sainct
Jehan l'evangeliste, devant la rue neufve Noftre
Dame, &c. Folio, 102 leaves.

(Linde.)

"On trouve au f. lx un autre traité de Morale
et au f. lxxxij celui de Melibée et de Prudence. Il
y a à la bibli. imp. un exempl. de cette éd. tiré sur
vélin et orné de 4 Miniatures."

(Graeffe.)

Le Jeu de Echets moralisé . . . Cy finit le liure
des escheez et lorde de chevalerie, tranflattée de
latin en francoys imprimé à Paris: et fut acheué le
xiii iour de novembre mil cinq cent et cinq. Par
Michel le noir libraire . . . demeurant deuant Saint
Denys de la chartre à limaige noftre dame. 90
leaves.

(Linde.)

On trouve à la fin du Livre de l'ordre de cheva-
lerie le même Dialogue entre Melibée et Prudence
sous le titre: Ung petit traité a leseignement et au
proufet de tous princes barons & autres que le vou-
dront entendre & garder lequel fut fonde & extrait
d'une fition trouuee en escript. Ce qui a induit Du
Verdier (vol. i. p. 556) en erreur de croire que
cesse traduccion, publées en 1505, difère de celle
de 1504.

(Graeffe.)
Introduction.

(Italian translation.)

Libro di Giuoco di Scacchi intitulato de costumi degli huomini et degli officii de nobili. 4to.

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

(Linde.)


(Linde.)


(Graeffe.)
Introduction.


(Linde.)


(Linde.)

Catalan translation.

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

Spanish translation.

Declado de la vida humana, moralmente Sacado del juego del Axedrez, tradizado agora de nuevo per el licenciado Reyna Vezino della villa de Aranda de duero. En este año M.D.XLIX. 4to. 56 leaves.
Introduction.

Printed at Valladolid by Francisque Fernandes de Cordoue.

(Linde.)

German translation.

ICH bruder Jacob von Cassalis prediger ordens, bin überwunder worden von der bruder gebet . . . (Ends.) Hie endet sich das buch menschlicher fitten vnd d'ampt der edeln. Folio. 40 leaves.

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

(Linde.)

I (Ch) bruder Jacob von Cassalis prediger ordens bin vberwunden worden vo(n) der brüder gebet wegen vn(d) der weltlichen studenten vn(d) andern edlen leut die mich haben hören predigen das spil das do heyffet schachzabel. Das ich davon gemacht hab ditz buch. vn(d) hab das pracht zenutz menschlichs geschlechts. Vn(d) hab es gelieffen das buch menschlicher fitten vnd der ampt der edlen . . . (Ends.) Hie endet sich das buch menschlicher fitten vnd der ampt der edeln 1.4.7.7. Folio. 40 leaves.

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

(Linde.)

(L)Ch bruder Jacob vo(n) Cassalis prediger ordens bin vberwunden worden von der brüder gebet . . . (Ends.) Hie endet sich das Buch menschlicher fitten vnd der ampt der edlen. Gedruckt zu Augsburg in der Kayserliche(n)ftat anno dni mccecc lxxx iiij. am ofterabe(n)t geent. Folio. 36 leaves.

(Linde.)
Introduktion.

Dis buchlein weiset die aufzlegung des schachzabel spils, Vnd menschlicher sitten, Auch von den ampten der edeln. (Leaf Aii*')

(l)Ch bruder Jacob vo(n) Caffalis prediger orde(n)s . . . (Leaf 39°) Getruckt vnd volendet von henrico knoblochzern in der hochgelobten stat Straßburg vff Sant Egidius tag In dem lxxx iiij Jor. &c. Folio. 39 leaves.

(Linde.)

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

(Linde.)

(German rhyming version of Conrad von Ammenhausen.)


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

(German rhyming version of Dr. Jacob Mennel.)

Schachzabel. (Ends.) Getruckt vund vollendet in der loblichen stat Costenz v6 Hanfen schaffeler. Vf zintag vor fant Vits tag Anno M. cccc vn vii iar. 4to 13 leaves. Sig. a ii—c ii.
Introduction.

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

Schachtzabel Spiel. D Ez Ritterlich köstlich Schachtzabel Spiels vnderweygung, erklärung, vn(d) verfiant, wo here das kommen, were das am ersten erfunden, vund aufz was vrfäch es erdacht sey, Auch wie man das künstlich lernen ziehen vn(d) spielen solle, sampt etlich köstlich geteylten spielen &c. § Zu dem Schachtzieher.

"Dein Augen scherpf, nicht überseh
Dem wyderreyl, feißlich nach speh,
Wie sich gebürt, im Feld und Heer,
Dein volck das schich an zu der weer,
Vnd orden das recht an dem streyt,
Ders überficht, gern vnden leyt."

Getruckt zu Oppenheym. 4to.

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

(Linde.)

DEs Alten Ritterlichen spils des Schachtzabels, grünlich bedeutung vund klarer bericht, dasselbig künstlich zuziehenn vnd spielen. Mit ein newenn zusatz etlicher befonderen Meisterstück, nach der Current, welschen art, vn(d) von Hutten, deszgleichen etlicheren befondern Regeln des Schachziehens, vormals nie aufgangen. Franckfurt, 1536. 4to.

(Linde.)

Vnderweisung, erklärung, vund aufzlegung desz Ritterlichen, künstlichenn spielsz des Schachtzabels,
Introduction.

durch den Hochgelaternn Doctör Jacob Mennel... auff dem heiligen Reichsztag zu Kostentz, Anno &cc. 1507 in Rheinen gedicht, vund desseblinn spiels Vrprung vn(d) wessen, Auch wie man das auff das aller kurzzeft zu ziehenn vund spielen begreiffen mag, offenbart. Frankfurt, 1536, 4to.

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

Das Schachzabelspiel. Des alten ritterlichen Spiels des Schachzabels’ gründlich Bedeutung...
Frankf. 1536. [Reprint.]

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

(German rhyming version of Heinrich von Beringen.)

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

(Linde.)

(Low German rhyming translation by Stephan.)

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

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

(Linde.)
Introducētion. xlix

(Dutch Translation.)

(D) It is die tafel van defen boeck datmen hiet dat scaeckspel (Fol. 2v) (H)Jer beghint eũ fuuerlyc boeck vanden tytuerdryf edelre heren ende vrouwen. als vandē scaeck spul. daer nochtant een ygherlyck mensche van wat staeet dat hi ft. vele scœnre en(de) feliger leren wt neme(n) mach. nae welcken hi syn leuern sãl regieren tot proffyt ende felicheyt synre fielen (Fol. 67b), ghebruycken Amen In iæer ons heren dufent vierhondert ende neghentfeuenterich. opten anderden dach van october. foe is dit ghenoechlycke boeck voleynt en(de) Ghemæët ter goude in hollant. by my gheraert leeu. Lof heb god Folio.

(Linde.)

Traëtat van den Tydverdryf der Edele Heeren ende Vrouwen, genoemt dat scæckspel, verciert met veele schoone historien (Ends:) Int iæer ons heren mcccclxxxiii. opten veertienend dach van februario: so is dat ghenoecklike bock volmaeckt te Delf in hollant. 4to.

(Linde.)

Hier beghint een fuyuerlijck boeck vande(n) tytuerdrijf edelre heere(n) ende vrouwen, als vandē scaeck spel, daer nochtans een iegheliyck me(n)ſche va wat staeet dz hy fy, vele ſcoonre en(de) feligher leerighe(n) wt nemen mach, nae welcken hy sijn leuern sãl regeren tot profijt ende felicheyt synre fielen. (Ends.) Gheprint tot Louen in de Borchtfrate in den Lupaert by my Anthonis Maria Bergaigne ghesworen boeçprinter. Int iæer ons
Introduction.

Heren. MCCCCLX, ende LI. den VI. dach van Augustus. 8vo. 120 leaves.

(Linde.)

(Scandinavian rhyming translation.)

De ludo Scacchorum seu de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium ac popularium. Poema sueca-
um vetustum. e codice manuscripto biblioth. Reg-
Universtitatis Havni nunc primum editum. quod
et Augustus Ludovicus Sjöberg, fcanus in Academia
Carolina die VI Decembris MDCCXLVIII. Lundae,
Typis Berlingianis. MDCCXLVIII. 8vo.

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

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

(Linde.)

(English translation.)

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

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

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

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


This contains an extract from the “Game of the Chefs” in four columns:—1. Caxton’s spelling. 2. The supposed pronunciation of the same represented by the Phonetic alphabet. 3. Modern spelling. 4. Phonetic spelling.


The printing of this book began in 1872, when the title-page and earlier sheets were worked, but it was not finished until May, 1879. This is the
Introduction.

second time that Mr. Pitman has printed the Chefs-book in his reformed orthography. The first issue was in 1555. Although the title-page repeats the old belief that "The Game of Chefs" was the first book printed in England, and gives the date of 1474, it is really a reprint of the second edition of Caxton.

(Sloane's version.)

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

This is printed from a MS. which is believed to have been written about the beginning of the sixteenth century. The work is in verse, and ends: "Heir endis ye buke of ye Chefs, Script per manū Jhōis Sloane." Only forty copies were reprinted by Sir Alexander Bofwell at the Auchinleck Press.

(Linde. Lowndes.)

The "Game and Play of the Chefs" is an interesting specimen of mediæval English literature. It is so near our own time that the language presents few difficulties, in spite of its many Gallicisms, and yet it is so remote as to seem like the echo of an unknown world. The distinctly dogmatic portions of the book are but few, and their paucity is indeed a matter of some surprise, since it is in effect a detailed treatise on practical ethics, and is, in part if not wholly, systematized from the discourses of one distinguished preacher, who had borrowed much of his matter from another eminent ecclesiastic. The author aims not at the enforcement of doctrine, but at the guidance of life, though he no doubt assumes
that his hearers are all faithful and orthodox sons of the Church.  

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

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

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

The authors named are:—Saint Ambrose (2
Introdution.

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

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

The biblical allusions may be taken as typical. There are references to the "bible," "holy scripture," "Ecclesiastes," and "Canticles." There also occur the names of Adam, Eve, Abel, Cain, Noah, Ham, Lot, David, Abner, Joab, Abishai, Solomon,
Introduction.

Isaiah, Evilmerodach, Belshazzar, Darius, Cyrus, Tobias, John the Baptist, and Paul. The citations are not all literally exact. Solomon had not a very good opinion of his fellow-men; but the comprehensive estimate of the number of fools with which he is credited on p. 3 is not to be found in the writings canonically attributed to him. The quotation from the Canticles on p. 25 may be compared with the translation in the Wycliffite version made by Nicholas de Hereford, A.D. 1380. This passage is rendered: “His left hand is vnndur myn heed; and his riȝt hond shal biclippe me” (“Song of Solomon,” ii. 6). Clip is still current in Lancashire, in the sense of embrace.

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

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

The most curious reference to a biblical personage is that relating to Evilmerodach (p. 16). Cæssoles seems to have been the first to associate the name of the son of Nebuchadnezzar with the invention of the game of chess. The biblical references to Evilmerodach are few; they throw no light on the reason of his selection by the
medieval scribe for a bad pre-eminence of parricide. The epithet of \textit{joli} applied to the king has an odd effect, followed as it is by the narrative of his most unfilial conduct. Dr. Van der Linde shows how widely the legend spread. Lydgate evidently hesitates between the divided authority of Guido—that is, Colonna, the author of the \textit{Troy} book—and Cesfoles, whom he quotes through Jacobus de Vitriaco.\footnote{“\textit{Hist. of Siege of Troy}.”}

Amongst the authors not identified are “Crete” \footnote{“\textit{Works of Polidore Virgil.” London, 1663, p. 95.}} (p. 133), and Diomedes (p. 10). The account of the origin of chess attributed to the last is amplified a little further on. The legend that Palamedes invented a game of this kind at the siege of Troy is emphatically rejected by our author, who pins his fame on Xerxes, a Greek philosopher! This became the received opinion, as may be gathered from the unhesitating language of Polydore Vergil in a passage which is thus rendered by John Langley:—“The cheffe were invented the year of the world 3635, by a certain Wise man called Xerxes, to declare to a Tyrant, that Majesty or Authority without strength, assistance & help of his subjects, was casuall feeble & subject to many calamities of fortune; his intent was to break the fierce cruelty of his heart, by fear of such dangers as might come to passe in the life of man.”\footnote{“\textit{Hist. of Siege of Troy.”}}

The curious treatise which contains the supposed conversations of King Bocchus and the philosopher Sidrac (p. 171) was a favourite science book of the
middle ages. It is probably of oriental origin, but there are editions in Latin, French, German, Flemish, Dutch, Italian, and English. By way of question and answer very decided statements are made on a wide variety of topics of which the author was profoundly ignorant. The particular part referred to by Ceffoles is chap. ccxviii: "Pourquoy facoqent les hommes charnellement aux femmes grosses et les bestes ne le font pas?" ¹ John the Monk (p. 70) is the noted canonist Giovanni Andrea, who died at the plague of Bologna in 1347. His learning gained him such titles as rabbi doctorum and normaque morum. His commentaries on the decretals were frequently reprinted. He gave the name of "Novellae" to this work after the name of his mother and daughter. His code of morality contained no prohibition of literary theft, for his additions to the "Speculum Juris" of Durand are said to have been taken bodily from Oddrale. In the same magnificent manner he appropriated the treatise "De Sponsalibus et Matrimonio" of Anguissola. His daughter Novella was a learned woman, and became the wife of Giovanni Calderino, a jurist of Bologna. Their son, Gaspar Calderino, wrote a commentary on the decretals. Father, daughter, son-in-law, and grandson appear to have all been experts in the canon law.

The reference to the "first book of the Truphes

² Hoeffer: "Nouvelle Biographie Univerelle."
of the Philosophers by figure"") does not convey a very definite idea as to the particular work intended. It must have been somewhat miscellaneous in character, for one extract describes the fountain of the syrens (p. 122), and the other is an anecdote, which though told here of Julius Caesar (p. 71), is really the story of the soldier who had fought at Actium with Augustus Cæsar. It occurs also in the "Geéta Romanorum," where the emperor is named Agyos.

"Helmond" (p. 33, &c.) is intended for Hélinand, who died some time after 1229. After a brilliant period at the court of Philip Augustus, where he is represented as reciting his heroic verses before the king and his surrounding, he became a monk of the Cistercian Abbey of Froidmont. One of his surviving poems deals with the melancholy subject of death. The "Flores Héliniandi" are said to have been popular as well as his "Chronique." He is also the reputed author of some sermons, and of the life of St. Gereon, published by the Bollandists, and of other works still inedited. He is sometimes confounded with another French monk of the same name, who lived in the eleventh century, and was an inmate of the monastery at Perigne in Maine. This second Hélinand was the author of commentaries or glosses on the Apocalypse and Exodus.\(^1\) The first-named has been credited with the authorship of "Geéta Romanorum." The grounds for this are very slight. "On a longtemps ignoré le nom de l’auteur de cette

\(^1\) Hoeffer, "Nouvelle Biographie Générale," xxxii. 818.
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compilation, mais un passage du 68e dialogue du livre intitulé "Dialogus creaturarum" nous le révèle par ces mots : *Elimandus in gestis romanorum.* But, as Sir F. Madden and Mr. Herritage have pointed out, the name of "Geista Romanorum" was given to any book treating of Roman affairs. A French translation of Livy, by Robert Gaguin, has been catalogued as a version of the "Geista." The reference cited by Brunet is to the Chroniques of Helinand.

Many of the stories and anecdotes are the commonplaces of ancient history, such as the friendship of Damon and Pythias, the sword of Damocles, the chaste of Scipio, the magnanimity of Alexander, the fable of the Dog and the Shadow, &c. Others current in the middle ages had great popularity, and even in our own days occasionally renew their youth. The story of John of Ganazath (p. 48) is to be found in Occleve's translation of Colonna. Mr. Thomas Wright remarks: "This story, under different forms, was a very common one in the middle ages. One version will be found in my 'Latin Stories,' p. 28. It will hardly be necessary to remark that the story of King Lear and his daughters is another version."

The story appears also in some modern compilations. In one instance it is given as the will of

Jehan Connaxa, of Antwerp, about 1530.\footnote{Curiosities of Search Room. London, 1880, p. 32.} The incident is given in the following form in the popular collection known as the "Percy Anecdotes":\footnote{Percy Anecdotes: Domestic Life, iv. 446.}

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

Amongst other versions of the story is a novelle by Giovanni Brevio, published as part of his "Rime" in 1545. Piron's comedy of "Les Fils Ingrats," also known as "L'Ecole des Pères," appeared in 1728. "The story," adds Dunlop, "is also told in the 'Pieueses Recreations d'Angelin Gazée,' and is told in the 'Colloquia Menfalia' of Luther, among other examples to deter fathers from dividing their property during life among their children—a practice to which they are in general little addicted."¹

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

"Wyht fuyle a betel be h[em]etyn,
That al the world hyl mote wyten,
That gyfht his fone al his thing,
And goht hym self a beggyyn."

Mr. Wright gives another version, and adds that he is inclined to think that the story and verses had some connection with "a superstition

¹ Dunlop, "History of Fiction," 1876, p. 259.
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not yet forgotten, which is thus told by Aubrey in his "Remains of Gentility" (Thom's "Anecdotes and Traditions," p. 84)—"The Holy Mawle, which they fancy was hung behind the church door, which when the father was seaventy, the sonne might fetch to knock his father in the head, as effete and of no more use." ¹

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

The incident of St. Bernard playing at dice for a soul (p. 151), is in the "Geeta Romanorum." The anecdote how a son induced his father to become a monk (p. 81) which is quoted from the "Vitas Patrum" is also in the "Geeta Romanorum," and has so much of the Buddhifl flavour as to give rise to the suspicion that it comes from an Oriental source.²

The story of two merchants quoted from Petrus Alphonfus is also in the "Geeta Romanorum." It is the foundation of Lydgate's "Two Friends," and is beyond doubt an Eastern importation. In a MS. of the "Speculum Laicorum," described by Prof. Ingram, the writer has transformed one of the merchants into an Englishman.³

The story quoted from "Paul, the historiographer of the Lombards" (p. 46), is also given in the "Geeta Romanorum." Mr. Hertrage says it is "evidently founded on the classical legend of

³ "On Two Collections of Medieval Moralized Tales," by John K. Ingram, LL.D. Dublin, 1882, p. 137.
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Tarpeia." The narrative in the chaps-book is taken from Paulus Diaconus.¹

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

The story of the danger of drunkenness (p. 129) was a favourite with our forefathers. It is given by John of Bromyard, and is the subject of a fabliau which is given by Meon.²

The somewhat violent remedy recorded as having been adopted by Demofthenes (p. 103) will remind some readers of a passage in the life of St. Francis of Assisi. "He had given up," says Mrs. Oliphant, "without hesitation, as would appear, all the indefinite sweetness of youthful hopes. But, nevertheless, he was still young, still a man, with human instincts and wishes, the tenderest nature, and an imagination full of all the warmth and grace of his age and his country. It does not appear that he ever put into words the musings which caught him unawares—the relics of old dreams or soft recollections which now and then would steal into his heart. But one night suddenly he rose from the earthen floor which was his bed, and rushed out into the night in an access of rage and passion and despair. A certain brother who was praying in his cell, peering, wondering, through his little window, saw him heap together seven masses of snow in the clear moonlight. 'Here is thy wife,' he said to

¹ Muratori: "Rerum Italicarum Scriptores," t. i. p. 465.
himself; 'these four are thy sons and daughters, the other two are thy servant and thy handmaid; and for all these thou art bound to provide. Make haste, then, and provide clothing for them, lest they perish with cold. But if the care of so many trouble thee, be thou careful to serve our Lord alone.' Bonaventura, who tells the story, goes on, with the true spirit of a monkish historian, to state how, 'the tempter being vanquished, departed, and the holy man returned victorious to his cell.' The piteous human yearning that is underneath this wild tale, the sudden access of self-pity and anger, mixed with a strange attempt, not less piteous than the longing, at self-consolation—all the struggle and conflict of emotion which filled themselves, at least for a moment, by that sudden plunge into the snow, and wild, violent, bodily exertion, are either lost upon the teller of the tale, or perhaps he fears to do his master injustice by revealing any consciousness of the possibility of such thoughts. But it is a very remarkable peculiarity of Francis's history, that whereas every saint in the Calendar, from Antony downwards, is sometimes troubled with visions of voluptuous delight, only Francis, in his pure dreams, is tempted by the modest joys of wife and children—the most legitimate and tenderest love.'

The reader must not expect any historical exactitude or critical spirit from our author. For his purpose a narrative was just as useful whether true or false, but it probably never occurred to him to

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question the exact truth of any statement that he found written in a book. The murder of Seneca (p. 9) is certainly not the least of the many crimes which stain the memory of Nero, but the circumstances of his death are not exactly described by the mediaeval scribe. Whether the philosopher and former tutor was implicated in the conspiracy of Piso may be doubted, but some ambiguous phrases he had used were reported to the Emperor, whose messenger demanded an explanation of their meaning. The reply of Seneca was either unsatisfactory or the tyrant had decided to be rid of his former guide. As in more recent times in Japan the condemned man was expected to be his own executioner, and Seneca opened his veins and allowed the life to ooze from them with a stoicism that was certainly heroic if not untainted by theatrical display. The character of Seneca will ever remain one of the puzzles of history, for the grave moralist was accessory to the murder of Agrippina, and not unsuspected of licentiousness, and of the accumulation of an enormous fortune of three hundred million sesterces by injustice and fraud. The statements of Dion Cassius as to the misdeeds of the philosopher must be weighed against the absence of any condemnation of his proceedings in the pages of Tacitus.

The Theodore Cerem named on p. 12, is Theodorus Cyrenaicus, who was probably a native of Cyrene, and a disciple of Aristippus. He was banished from the (supposed) place of his birth, and was shielded at Athens by Demetrius Phalarus, whose exile he is assumed to have shared. While 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. That he was condemned to drink hemlock is a statement cited from Amphicrates by Diogenes Laertius Aristippus, xiv.). The anecdote of his colloquy with Lysimachus would easily be perverted into a belief that he had been put to death for the freedom with which he exercised his biting wit.

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

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

1 "Valerius Maximus," vi. 2, 3.
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dorus, whose understanding was not equal to his admiration.

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

The readers of “Cymbeline” will remember the passage in the concluding scene:—

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

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

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

“And also hit is to be supposed that suche as haue their goodes comune & not propre is moı
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acceptable to god. For elys wold not thi safe religious men as monkes freris chanons obseruantes & all other auowe hem & kepe the wilfull pouerte that they ben professid too. For in trouth I haue my self ben conuerfant in a religio hous of white freris at gaunt Which haue all thynge in comyn amonge them/ and not one richer than an other/ in so moche that yf a man gaf to a frere. iii. d or iii. d to praye for hym in his maffe/ as fone as the maffe is doon he deliuerith hit to his ouerest or procuratour in whych hows ben many vertuous and deuoute freris And yf that lyf were not the befte and the most holiest/ holy church wold neuer suffre hit in religion.”

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

Nothing has yet been said as to the place of this book in the history of chefs, and, indeed, it must be confessed that it has very little practical bearing on the game. The learned dreams by which the chefs of to-day was connected with the latrunculi and with the amusement said to have been invented by Palamedes, have been dissipated by the cool air of modern criticism. The student of the history of chefs may now follow its fortunes under the safe guidance of Dr. van der Linde, who rejects unhesitatingly the claim made for it, and admitted even by Forbes, of an antiquity of 5,000 years.\footnote{It will be sufficient here to refer for further details to the following works:—“Geschichte und Literatur des Schach-}
game of chess, which, whilst remaining an amusement, has acquired the dignity of a science, is one that Europe owes to India, where it was probably invented not earlier than five centuries before Christ; the triumphant progress of Islam aided in the extension of this oriental pastime. It was known at the courts of Nicephorus at Constantinople and his contemporary Haroun-al-Rashid at Bagdad. One would like to add that Charlemagne also was acquainted with it, but there is no good evidence for that legend. It was known in Spain in the tenth century, since the library of the learned caliph Hakam II. of Cordova contained some Arabic MSS. on the game. By the middle of the eleventh century it was common in the western world. In 1061 a Florentine bishop is said to have been ordered by Cardinal Damiani to expiate the offence of playing chess in public by three recitations of the Psalter, by washing the feet of twelve poor persons, and by giving them liberal alms. The gradual developments of the game in Europe are illustrated in detail by Dr. van der Linde. Chess in its present form is comparatively modern, and results from the enlargement of the powers of the Queen (originally the Vizier or minister) and of the Bishop (formerly the Alfil or Elephant). The greater powers of these pieces came into play between 1450 and 1500, but the period of transition was prolonged to a much later date in some

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cafes, and the Portuguese Damiano may be regarded as the founder of the modern school. The player of to-day on consulting the elementary directions given in this book (p. 159, et seq.), will see how greatly the present play exceeds in complexity and scientific interest the moves that excited the enthusiasm of Jacobus de Cessoles, and led him to the composition of the book of the chefs which has had such long and widespread popularity.

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

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

O the right noble/ right excellent & vertuous prince George duc of Clarence Erle of warwyck and of salf burye/ grete chamberlayn of Englund & lieutenant of Ireland oldest broder of kynge Edward by the grace of god kynge of England and of fraunce/ your most humble servaunt william Caxton amonge other of your servauntes fended unto yow peas. helthe. Joye and victorye upon your Enemyes/ Right highe puyffant and reoubted prynce/. For as moche as I haue understaund and knowe/ that ye are enclined unto the comyn wele of the kynge our sayd saueryn lord, his nobles lordes and comyn peple of his noble royame of Englund/ and that ye fawe gladly the Inhabitants of y* fame enformed in good, vertuous, prouffitable and honeste maners. In whiche your noble perfone wyth guydyng of your hows haboundeth/ guyng light and enample unto all other/ Therfore I haue put me in deuour to transl late a lityll book late comen in to myn handes out of

* This dedication is omitted in the second edition.
Dedication.

frensh in to englifeshe/ In which I synde thauctorites.
dictees. and stories of auncient Doctours philosophes
poetes and of other wyfe men whiche been recounted
& applied unto the moralite of the publique wele as
well of the nobles as of the comyn peple after the
game and playe of the cheffe/ whiche booke right
puysfant and redoubtid lord I haue made in the
name and under the shadewe of your noble protec-
tion/ not presumynge to correhte or enpoigne ony
thynge ayenst your nobleste/. For god be thankyd
your excellent renome shyneth as well in strange
regions as with in the royame of england gloriously
unto your honour and lande/ which god mutelpye
and encrece But to thentent that other of what
estate or degre he or they stande in may see in this
fayd lityll book/ yf they gouerned themself as they
ought to doo/ wherfor my right dere redoubted lord
I requyre & suppyre your good grace not to def-
daygne to resfeyue this lityll fayd book in gree and
thanke/ as well of me your humble and unknownen
seruant as of a better and gretter man than I am/. 
For the right good wylle that I haue had to make
this lityll werk in the best wyfe I can/ ought to be
reputed for the fayte and dede/ And for more
clerely to procede in this fayd book I haue ordeyned
that the chapitres ben fette in the begynnynge to
thende that ye may see more playnly the mater
wherof the book treteth &c.
[PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.]

THE holy appostle and doctour of the peple saynt Poule sayth in his epytyle. Alle that is wryten is wryten unto our doctryne and for our lernynge. Wher-fore many noble clerkes haue endeouyred them to wryte and compyle many notable werkys and historyes to the ende that it myght come to the know-lege and vnderstondyng of suche as ben ygnotraunt. Of which the nombre is insenyte/ And accordyng to the same faith Salamon, that the nombre of folys. is insenyte/ And emong alle other good werkys. It is a werke of ryght spacial recomendacion to enforme: and to late vnderstonde wysedom and vertue vnto them that be not lernyd ne can not dyserne wyse- dom fro folye. Thëne emonge whom there was an excellent doctour of dyuynyte in the royaume of favunce of the ordre of thospytal of Saynt Johns of Jherufalem which entended the same and hath made a book of the cheffe moralyfed. which at suche tyme as J was resident in brugys in the counte of Flaundres cam in to my handes/ which whan J had redde and ouerseen/ ne fëmed ful neceffarye for to
be had in englishe/ And in eschewyng of ydlenes
And to thende that some which have not seen it/
ne vnderstonde frensh ne latyn J delybered in my
self to translate it in to our maternal tongue/ And
when I so had acheued the sayd translacion/ J dyde
doo sette in enprynte a certeyn nombre of theyn/
Whiche anone were depesshed and solde, wherfore
by cause thys sayd book is ful of holsom wyfedom
and requylyte vnto euery astatel and degree/ J haue
purposed to enprynte it/ shewyng theyn in the figures
of suche persons as longen to the playe. In whom al
aftates and degrees ben compryseyd/ besechyng al
them that this litel werke shal see/ here/ or rede to
haue me for excused for the rude & symple makyng
and redu cyn in to our englishe/ And where as is
defaute to correyte and amende/ and in so doyng
they shal defere ueryte and thanke/ and I shal
pray for them/ that god of his grete mercy shal
warde them in his euerlaestyn blisse in heuen/ to
the whiche he brynge vs/ that wyth his precious
blood redeemed vs Amen
His booke conteyneth. iii. traytees.
The first traytee is of the Invencion of
this playe of the cheffe/ and con-
teyneth. iii. chapitres
The first chapitre is under what kynge this play
was founden
The. ii. chapitre/ who fonde this playe
The. iii. chapitre/ treteth of. iii. causes why hit
was made and founden
   The secondd traytee treteth of the cheffe men/
   and conteyneth. v. chapitres
The first chapitre treteth of the form of a kynge
and of suche thinges as apperteyn to a kynge
The. ii. chapitre treteth of ye quene & her forme
   & maners
The. iii. chapitre of the forme of the alphins and
her offices and maners
The. iii. chapitre is of the knyght and of his offices
The. v. is of the rooks and of their maners and offices
   The thirde traytee is of the offices of the
comyn peple And hath. viii. chapitres
The first chapitre is of the labourers & tilinge of the
erthe
The. ii. of smythis and other werkes in yron & metall
Table.

*The . iii . is of drapers and makers of cloth & notaries
The . iii . is of Marchantes and chaungers
**The . v . is of phisicyens and cirugiens and apotecaries
***The . vi . is of tauerners and hostellers
****The . vii . is of y* gardes of the citees & tollers & customers
†The . viii . is of ribauldes dispeleyars and currours
   The . iii . traytee is of the meuyng and yssue of them And hath . viii . chapitres
   The first is of the escheuer
   The seconde of the yssue and progreision of the kynge
   The thirde of the yssue of the queene
   The fourth is of the yssue of the alphyns
   The fifth is of the yssue of the knyghtes
   The sixty chapitre of the yssue of the rooks
   The seuenth is of the meuynge & yssue of the comyn peple
   And the eyght and laste chapitre is of the epilegacion.
   And of the recapitulacion of all these forsaied chapitres.

* Second edit. reads "Thosfyce of notaries/ aduocates scriueners and drapers and clothmakers capitulo iii"
** Sec. edit. reads "The forme of phisiomens leches spycers and appotycaryes"
*** Sec. edit. "Of tauerners hostellers & vitailleurs"
**** Sec. edit. "Of keepers of townces Receyuer of custum and tolleners"
† Sec. edit. "Of messagers currours Rybaultes and players at the dyfe"
This first chapter of the first treatate sheweth under what kyng the play of the chess was founden and made:... 

MONGE all the euyl condicions and signes that may be in a man the first and y* grettest is whan he feereth not/ ne dredeleth to displese and make wroth god by synne/ and the peple by lyuyng disordynatly/ whan he recchet not/ ner taketh hede unto them that repereue hym and his vices/ but fleeth them/ In suche wyfe as dide the emperour Nero/ whiche dide do fleue his maister feneque For as moche as he might not suffre to be repreued and taught of hym In lyke wyfe was somtyme a
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kynge in babiloine that was named Evilmerodach a Jolye man with oute Justice and so cruell that he dyde do hewe his faders body in thre honderd pieces/ And gaf hit to ete and devour to thre honderd birdes that men calle wultres And was of fuche condicion as was Nero/ And right well resemblid and was lyke unto his fader Nabogodo- nofor/ whiche on a tyme wold do flee alle the fage and wyse men of babylonye/. For as moche as they coude not telle hym his dreme that he had dremed on a nyght and had forgotten hit lyke as it is wreton in the bible in the book of danyell/ Under this kynge than Evilmerodach was this game and playe of the cheffe founden/ Trewe it is that some men wene/ that this playe was founden in the tyme of the bataylles & siege of troye But that is not foos For this playe cam to the playes of the caldees as dyomedes the greek fayth and reher- ceth That amonge the philosophrs was the most renowned playe amonge all other playes/ And after that/ cam this playe in the tyme of Alixandre the grete in to Egipte And fo unto alle the partes toward the south/ And the cause wherfore thys playe was so renowned shall be sayd in the thirde chapitre.
This seconde chapitre of the first tractsate showeth who fonde first the playe of the cheffe.

HYS playe fonde a phylosopher of Thoryent whiche was named in Cal-dee Exerces or in greke philometor/ which is as moche to saye in engli ghé as he that loveth Justice and mesure/ And this philosopher was renomed gretyly amonge the grekes and them of Athenes whiche were good clerkys and philosophers also renomed of theyr connynge. This philosopher was so Juyste and trewe that he had leyr dye/ than to lyue longe and be a fals flaterer wyth the sayd kynge. For whan he behelde the foull and fynfull lyf of the kynge/ And
that no man durst blame hym. For by his grete crueltie he putte them alle to deth that displeased hym/ he put hym self in paryll of deth/ And louyd and chees rather to dye than lenger to lyue: The euyll lyf and diffamed of a kynge is the lyf of a cruell beste/ And ought not longe to be susteyned/ For he destroyeth hym that displeasith hym/ And therfore reherceeth valerius/ that ther was a wife man named theodore cerem whom his kynge dyde do hange on the crosse for as moche as he re- preuyd hym of his euyll & fowill lyf/ And all way as he was in the torment he saide to y' kynge/ upon thy cowneyllours & them that ben cladd in thy clothynge & robes were more rexon that this torment shold come/ For as moche as they dar not fayle to the The troute for to do Justice right wyfly/ of my self I make no force whether I dye on the lande or on the water or otherwyse &c as who sayth he recched not to dye for Justice/ In lyke wyse as democreon the philospher put out his owen eyen be caufe he wold not fee that no good myght come to the euyll and vicyous peple wyth out right And also deforsete the philospher as he went toward his deth/ his wyf that folowed after hym saide that he was dernned to deth wrongfully/ than he answerd and sayd to her/ holde thy peas and be styll/ hit is better and more meritotye to dye by a wronge and unrightfull Jugement/ than that I had deseruyd to dye.
The third chapter of the first tragi-comedy
wherefore the play was founden and made.

The causes wherefore this play was
founden been there the first was for to
correcte and reproove the kynges. For
whan this kyngs Evilmerodach sawe
this playe. And the barons knyghtes and gentil
men of his court playe wyth the philosopher he
meruaylled gretly of the beaulte and nouelte of the
playe. And desirid to playe agaynst y*philosopher
The philosopher answerd and sayd to hym that hit
myght not be done. But yf he first lerned the playe
The kynges said hit was reson and that he wold put
him to the payne to lerne hit. Than the philosophre
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began to teche hym and to shewe hym the maner of
the table of the cheffe borde and the cheffe meyne/
And also the maners and condicions of a kynge of
the nobles and of the comun peple and of theyr
offices and how they shold be touchid and drawen.
And how he shold amende hymself & become ver-
tuous And whan this kynge herde that he re-
preynd hym/ He demanded hym upon payne of
deth to tell hym wherfore he had founden and made
this playe/ And he answered my ryght dere lord
and kynge/ the grettest and most thynge that I de-
fire is that thou haue in thy self a gloruous and
vertuous lyf And that may I not see/ but yf thou
be endoctrined and well manerd and that had/ so
mayft thou be belouyd of thy peple Thus than I
defire yf thou haue other gouernement than thou
haft had/ And that thou haue upon thy self first
seygnorye and maistrye suche as thou haft upon
other by force and not by right Certaynly hit is
not ryght that a man be mayster ouer other and
comandour/ whan he can not rewele ner may rewele
himself and that his vertues domyne aboue his
vices/ . For seygnourye by force and wylle may
not longe endure/ Than thus may thou see oon of
the causes why and wherfore I haue founden and
maad thyse playe/ whyche Is for to correçte and re-
pent the of thy tyrannye and vicyous lyungge/ .
For alle kynges specyally ought to here her corry-
geours or correçtours and her correçtions to hold
and kepe in mynde/ In lyke wyse as Valerius re-
herceth that the kynge Alixandre had a noble and
renomed knyght that sayd in repyreynge of Alix-
The Game of Chess.

Andre that he was to moche couteous and in espe-

cyall of the honours of the world. And sayd to
hym yf the goddes had maad thy body as greet as
is thy herte Alle the world coude not holde the/.
For thou holdest in thy right hand alle the Oyrent/
And in thy lyfte hande the occident/ syn than hit is
so/ or thou art a god or a man or nought/ yf thou
be god doo than well and good to the peple as god
doeth/ And take not from them that they ought to
haue and is theyres. yf thou be a man/ thinke
that thou shalt dye/ And than thou shalt doo noon
euyl/ yf thou be nought forgete thy sel/ ther is no
thyngne fo stronge and ferme/ but that somtyme a
feble thinge casteth doun and ouerthrowe hit. How
well that the lyon be the strengest beffe/ yet som-
tyme a lityll birde eteth hym. The seconde caufe
wherfore this playe was founden and maad/was for
to kepe hym from ydlenesse/ whereof senequue faith
unto lucylye ydlenes wyth oute ony ocupacion is
sepulture of a man luyng/ and varro faith in his
sentences that in lyke wise as men goo not for to
goo/ the same wyfe the lyf is not gyuen for to lyue
but for to doo well and good/ And therfore
secondly the philosopher fonde this playe for to
kepe the peple from ydlenes/. For there is moche
peple. Whan so is that they be fortunat in worldly
goods that they drawe them to eafe and ydlenes
 wherof cometh ofte tymes many euyllys and grete
fynnes. And by this ydlenes the herte is quenchid
 wherof cometh desperacion/ The thirde caufe is
that evry man naturellly desyreth to knowe and to
here noueltees and tydynes. For this caufe they
of athenes studyed as we rede/ and for as the corporall or bodyly sight enpefsheth and letteth otherwhyte the knowleche of subtyll thinges/ therfore we rede that * democrion the phylosopher put oute his owen eyen/ for as moche as he myght haue the better entendment and underfondynghe/ Many haue ben made blynde that were grete clerkis in lyke wyfe as was dydymus bishop of Alix- andrye/ that how well that he sawe not yet he was fo grete a clerk/ that gregore nazan & saynt Ierome that were clerkes and mayftres to other/ came for to be his scolers & lerned of hym. And saynt Anthonie The grete heremyte cam for to see hym on a tyme/ and amonge all other thynge s/ he demanded hym yf he were not gretyly displeased that he was blynde and fawe not. And he answerd that he was gretyly abashid for that he suppozid not that he was not displeased in that he had lost his sight/ And saynt Anthonye answerd to hym I meruayle moche that hit displeased the that thou haft lost that thynge whiche is comyn betwene the and bestes. And thou knowest well that thou haft not lofte that thynge that is comyn bitwene the and the angellis And for thise causz forsaid the philospher entended to put away alle pensifnes and thoughtes/ and to thinke only on this playe as shal be said & appere in this book after.

* “democrite” in the sec. edit.
BOOK II.
The seconde traitte of the first chapter treteth of the forme of a kyngge of his maners and of his estate.

The kyngge must be thus maad. For he muft sitte in a chayer clothed in purpure/ crowned on his heed in his ryght hand a ceptre and in the lyfte hande an apple of gold/. For he is the moxt grettest and hyeft in dignyte aboue alle other and moxt worthy. And that is signefyed by the corone/. For the glorye of the peple is the dignite of the kyngge/ And aboue all other the kyngge ought to be replenyfshid with vertues and of grace/ and thyss signefieth the purpure. For in lyke wyse as the robes of purpure maketh fayr & enbelyfshith the
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body/the same wise vertues maketh the fowle/he ought alleway thenke on the gouvernement of the Royame and who hath thadmynystracion of Jus-
tice/ And thys shuld be by hym self pryncipally.
This signifieth the appel of gold that he holdeth in
his lyfte honde/ And for as moche as hit apper-
teyneth unto hym to punyfhe the rebelles hath he
y* sceptre in his right hand And for as moche as
myfericorde and trouthe conferue and kepe the
kynge in his trone/ Therfore ought a kynge to be
mercyfull and debonayr For whan a kynge or
prync defired or will be belouyd of his peple late
hym be gouerned by debonarite And valerius faith
that debonairte percyth the herete of straungers
and amolifshith and maketh softe the herete of his
enemyes/ wherof he reherceth that philostratus
that was duc of athenes had a doughter/whom a man
louyd so ardantly/that on a tyme as he sawe her
wyth her moder/ sodaynly he cam and kyffed her/
wherof the moder was so angry and foroufull that
she wente and requyred of her lord the duc/ that
his heed myght be smyten of/ The prync anfwerd
to her and sayde/ yf we shold flee them that loue
us/ what shall we doo to our enemyes that hate us/
Certaynly this was thanfwver of a noble & debonair
prync That suffred that villonye don to his
doughter and to hymself yet more This prince had
also a frende that was named Arispe that sayd on a
tyme as moche villonye unto the prync as ony
man miht saye And that might not suffise hym/ but
he fracacchid hym in the visage/ The prync suffryd
hym paciently in suche wyfe as thowhe he had doon
to hym no vilonye but curtoysye And whan his
sones wold haue auengid this vilonye/ he comanded
them that they hold not be so hardy so to do The
next day folowyng arispe remembred of the right
grete vilonye that he had don to his frende and lord
wyth oute cause. He fyll in dispayr and wold haue
flayn hym self/ whan the duc knewe and under-
foste that/ he cam to hym and sayd ne doubte the
nothynge And swore to hym by his fayth/ that also
well he was and hold be his frende fro than forthon
as euer he had ben to fore yf he wold And thus
he respited hym of his deth by his debonairte. And
in lyke wyse rede we of the kyngge pirre to whom
was reported that they of tarente had sayd grete
vilonye of hym. For whiche cause he maad alle
them to come to fore hym And demanded of them
yf they had so sayd. Than oon of them answerd
and sayd/ yf the wyn and the candelys had not
fayllyd/ thys langage had ben but a laxe/ In re-
garde of that we had thought to haue doon/ Than
the kyngge began to lawhe/ for they had confeSSIle
that suche langage as was sayd and spoken was by
dronkenship/ And for this cause of debonairte the
peple of tarante toke for a cuftome that the dronken
men shold be puuyfahyd/ And the sobre men
preyfed. The kyngge than thus ought to loue
humylyte and hate falsite after the holy scripture
that speketh of euer man generally/ For the kyngge
in his royame representeth god/ And god is verite/
And therfore hym ought to faye no thynge but yf
hit were veritable and stable. Valerius reherceth
that Alixandre wyth alle his ooste rood for to de-
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Strode a cyte whyche was named lapfare/ than a phylosophre whiche had to name Anaximenes which had ben to fore maistre & gouernour of Alixandre herd and understand of his comyng Cam agayn Alixandre for to desyre and rekyre of hym. And when he sawe Alixandre he supposid to haue axid his reqyest/ Alixandre brake his demande to fore and swore to hym to fore he axid ony thynge by his goddes. That suche thynge as he axid or rekyryd of hym/ he wold in no wyse doon/ Than the philosophre rekyred hym to destroye the cyte/ whan Alixandre understand his desire/ and the oth that he had maad/ he suffrid the cyte to stande and not to be destroyed For he had leuer doo his wyl than to be periured and forsworn and doo agaynst his oth/ Quyntilian faith 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 stabe than the oth of a marchaunt/ Alas how kepe the prynces their promisses in thys dayes/ not only her promyses but their othes her sealis and wrytynges & signes of their propre handes/ alle fayleth god amende hit &c. A kynge also ought to hate alle cruelte/ For we reade that neuer yet dyed ony pietous perfone of euyll deth ne crueell perfone of good deth Therfore reconteth valerius that ther was a man named theryle a werke-man in metall/ that made a boole of coppre and a lityll wyket on the side/ wherby men myght put in them that shuld be brennt therin/ And hit was maad in suche manere/ that they that shold be put and enclosid therin shold crye nothinge lyke to the
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wys of a man but of an ox. And this made he be cause men shold haue the lffe pite of them. Whan he had made this bole of copper/ he presentd hit unto a kynge which was callyd philarde that was so cruell a tyrant that he delited in no thinge but in cruelte And he told hym the condicion of the bole/ Whan philarde herde and undersode this/ he alowed and preyfed moche the werke/ And after sayde to hym/ thou that art more cruell than I am/ thou shalt affaye & prove first thy pfente and yef/ And so made hym to goo in to the boole and dye an euyl deth/ Therfore faith Ouide ther is no thinge more raisonable than that a man dye of suche deth as he purchaseth unto other Also the kynge ought fouerainly kepe Iustice/ who maketh or kepeth a royame with oute Iustice/ of verray force ther muste be grete robberye and thefte Therfor reherceth fain Auguftyyn in a book which is intituled the cyte of god/ that there was a theef of the fee named diomedes that was a grete rouar and dide so moche harme that the complaines cam to fore Alixander whiche dide hym to be taken & brought to fore hym/ and he demanded hym wherfore he was so noyous & cruell in the fee And he anfwerd to hym agayn/ for as moche as thou art oon a lande in the world/ so am I another in yee fee/ but for as moche as the euyl y' I doo is in oon galeye or twyne therfore I am callyd a theef/ but for as moche as thou dost in many shippis and with grete puysfance and power/ therfore art thou callyd an emperour/ but yf fortune were for me in suche wyse/ I wold be come a good man and better than
I now am/ but thou/ the more richer and fortunat that thou art/ the more worfe art thou/ Alixander sayd to hym I shall change thy fortune in suche wyse as thou ne faye/ that thou shalt doo hit by pouerete/ but for euyl and mauaifte/ And so he made hym rych/ And thyss was he that afterward was a good prynce and a good Iufticyer/ The kynge ought to be foueraynly chaffe/ And this signefyeth a quene that is only on his ryght fyde For hit is to be beleuyd and credibille that whan the kynge is a good man Iufe . trewe & of good manerers and condicions/ that his children shall folowe gladly the same/ for a good fone & a trewe ought not to forfaie & goo fro y* good condicions of his fader. For certes hit is agaynft god and nature in partie whan a man taketh other than his propre wyf/ And that see we by birds/ of whom the male and female haue to gyder the charge in kepynge and norifshinge of their yonge fowlis and birdis/ . For some maner of fowlis kepen them to theyr femeles only/ As hit appere by storkes dowues and turtlys/ But tho fowles that norifshith not their birdes haue many wyues and femelles/ As the cock that no thynge norifshith his chekens/ And thery fore amonge alle the beftes that been/ Man and woman putteth moft theyr entente and haue mofte cure & charge in norifhynge of their children/ And thery fore doon they agaynft nature in partye whan they leue theyr wyues for other women/ Of this chaftete reherceth valerius an example and faith that ther was a man of rome which was named scipio affrican. For as moche as he had conquerd
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affricque how well that he was of rome born.
Whan he was of xxxiii. yer of age he conquerd cartage
And toke moche peple in Oitage/ Amonge
whom he was presented wyth a right fair mayde
for his solas and playfr whiche was assurid and
handsaft unto a noble yong gentillman of cartage
whiche was named Indiucible/ And anon as this
gentill scipio knewe that Notwythstandyng that he
was a prynce noble & lufty Dyde do calle anon the
parents and kynnesmen of them And deliuerid to
them their daughter wyth oute doyng of ony
vilonye to her/ and y* raensom or gold that they
had ordeyned for their daughter/ gaf hit euerydele
In dowaire to her. And the yong man that was her
husbonde fawe the fraunchise and gentilnes of hym/
torned hymself and the hertes of the noble peple
unto the loue & alliance of the romayne/ And
this suffiseth as towchynge the kyng &c.
Thus ought the Queene be made, she ought to be a fair lady sittynge in a chayer and crowned wyth a corone on her heed and cladd wyth a cloth of gold & a mantyll aboue furrid wyth ermynes. And she shold sytte on the lyfte syde of the kinge for the amplections and enbraynge of her husbonde lykke as it is sayd in scripture in the canticles, her lyfte arme shal be under my heed. And her ryght arme shal be clyppe and embrace me. In that she is sette on his lyfte syde is by grace gyuen to the

* "beclyppe" in sec. edit.
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kynge by nature and of ryght. For better is to haue a kynge by succefixion than by eleccion/ For oftentymes the electours and chosers can not ne wyll not accorde/ And so is the election left/ And other-whyte they chese not the beste and moyst able and conuenyent/ but hym that they befit loue/ or is for them moost proffytable/ But whan the kynge is by ligneage and by trewe succefixion/ he is taught ensfynned and nourished in his yongth in alle good & vertuous taches and maners of hys fader/ And also the prynces of the royame dar not so hardily mene warre agaynst a kynge hauynge a fone for to regne after hym/ And so a Quene ought to be chaffte, wyfye, of honest peple/ well manerd and not curyous in nourishyng of her childer/ her wyfedom ought not only tappendere in feet and werkess but also in spekyng that is to wete that she be secrete and telle not suche thynges as ought to be holden secrete/ Wherfore it is a comyn proverbe that women can kepe no councyle/ And accordyng thereto Macrobe reherceth in the book of the dremes of Scipio. That ther was a child of rome that was named papirus that on a tyme went with his fader whiche was a senatour into the chambre where as they helde their councyyl/ And that tyme they spak of suche materes as was comanded and agreed shold be kept secrete upon payn of their heedes/ And so departed/ And whan he was comen home from the senatoire and fro the councyyl with his fader/ his moder demanded of hym what was the councyyl and wherof they spack and had taryed so longe there/ And the childe answered to her and sayd he durst not
telle ner faye hit for so moche as hit was defended upon payn of deth. Than was the moder more desirous to knowe than she was to fore. And began to flatere hym one tyme. And afterward to menace hym that he shold faye and telle to her what hit was. And whan the childe fawe that he might haue no reste of his moder in no wife. He made her first promise that she shold kepe hit secreete. And to telle hit to none of the world. And that doon he fayned a lefing or a lye and sayd to her/ that the senatours had in counceyll a grete question and difference whiche was this/ whether hit were better and more for the comyn wele of rome/ that a man shold have two wyuys/ or a wyf to haue two hufbordes. And whan she had underftonde this/ he defended her that she shold telle hit to none other body. And after this she wente to her goffyb and told to her this counceyl secreete. And she told to an other. And thus every wyf tolde hit to other in secreete. And thus hit happend anone after that alle the wyues of rome cam to the senatorye where the senatours were assemblid. And cryed wyth an hye voys/ that they had leuer/ and alfo hit were better for the comyn wele that a wyf shold haue two hufbordes than a man two wyues. The senatours heerynge this/ were gretly abashid and wist not what to faye/ ner how to answere/ tyll at lafte that the child papiere reherced to them all the caas and feet how hit was happend. And whan the senatours herd & understoold the mater they were gretly abashid/ and comended gretly y" Ingenye & wytte of the child that so wisely contriued the lye rather
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than he wolde discoyere their coerceyll/ And forthwith made hym a senatour/ and eftablishid & oderneyd fro than forthon that no childe in ony wife sholl entre in to y* counceyll hous amonde them with their faders exept papirus/ whome they wold y* he shold alwey be among them/ also a queene ought to be chaste/ for as she is aove all other in aflate & reuerence so shold she be enample to all other in her liuyng honestily/ wherof Ierome reheercth agaynst Ionynyan/ that ther was a gentilman of rome named duele/ and this man was he y* first fond y* maner to fight on y* water/ and had first victorie/ this duele had to his wif one of the best women & so chaste/ that every woman might take enample of her/ And at y* tyme the synne of the fleše she was the grettest synne y* ony might doo agaynst nature/ And this sayd good woman was named ylye/ and so it happend that this duele become so olde that he stowed & quaqued for age And on a tyme one of his aduersaries reprouyd & reprochid hym sayng that he had a fynkyngge breth/ And forthwith he wente home to his wyf alle angry and abaished and axid her why and wherfore she had not told his defautle to hym that he myght haue founden remedye to haue ben purgid therof/ And she answerd that as for as moche as she supposid that every man had that same faute as well as he. For the kyft neuer ony mannes mouth but her husbondes/ O moche was this woman to be preyfed & haue a singuler lawde wenenge that this defautle had not ben only in her husbonde/ wherfore she suffrid hit paciently in suche wyse that her husbonde
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knewe his defaute sonner by other than by her;
Alfo we rede that ther was a wedowe named anna/
whiche had a frende that coungeyllid her to marrye/
For she was yong fayr and riche/ to whom she an-
swered that she wold not so doo in no wife. For yf I
shold haue an husbond as I haue had and that he
were as good as he was/ I shold euer ben a fer to
lofe hym/ lyke as I loft that other/ And than shold
I lyue all wey in fere & drede/ whiche I wyll not
And yf hit happend me to haue awors/ what shold
hyt prouffite me to haue an euyll husbond after a
good. And so she concluded that she wold kepe
her chaftete. Saynt Auftyn reherceth in the book
de Civitate dei that in rome was a noble lady gen-
till of maners & of hyghe kynrede named lucrecia/
And had an husbonde named colatyne/ whiche de-
vised on a tyme the Empours fone named Torquyne
thorguylous or the proude and he was callid sixte
for to come dyne and sporte hym in his castell or
manoir And when he was entrid amonge many
noble ladyes he sawe lucrecia/ And when this Em-
pours fone had seen & aduertised her deportes. her
contenance. her manere. and her beaulde/ he was
all rauysheid and esprifed wyth her loue forthwth
And espyed a tyme when her husbonde collatyyn
wente unto the ooste of thempour/ and camm to the
place where as lucrese was with her felawship/
whom she receyued honorably/ and when tyme
came to goo to bedde and flepe she made redy a
bedde ryally for hym as hit aperteysted to the em-
perorours fone. And this fixtus espyed where lucre sia
laye. And when he supposyd & knewe that euer
body was in his first sleep/ he came to the bedde of lucrese and that oon hand fette on her breste and in that other hand a naked swerd/ and sayd to her/ lucrese holde thy pees and crye not/ For I am sexte tarquynus fone/ for yf y" speke ony worde thou shal be dene/ And for fere she held her pees/ Than he began to praye and promis many thinges/ And after he menaced & thretenyd her that she shold enclyne to hym to do his wyll/ And when he fawne he coude ner might haue his entent he sayd to her yf thou do not my wyll/ I shal flee the and oon of thy servantes and shal ley hym all ded by thy fyde/ And than I shal save that I haue slayn yow for your rybawdrye/ And lucrese that than doubted more the flame of the world than the deth confentid to hym/ And anone after as the Empours fone was departid/ the ladye fente lies to her husbond her fader her brethren & to her frendes/ and to a man callid brute coneyllour & neewe to tarquyn/ And sayd to them/ that yester day fixte the empours fone cam in to myn hous as an enemye in likenes of a frende/ & hath opprestit me And knowe y" colatyn that he hath dishonorid thy bedde/ And how well y\ he hath fowled & dishonored my body/ yet myn herte is not/ wherfore I befeche the of pardon forynes & absolucion of the trefpa but not of the payne/ and he y\ hath doon this synne to me hit shall ben to his mefchance yf ye doo your deuoir/ And be cause no woman take en- fample of lucrese and lyue after the trefpaas/ but that she in lyke wyfe take enffample alfo of the payne/ And forthwyth wyth a fwerd that she helde
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under her gowen or robe she rote her self unto the herte And deyde forthwyth to for them And than brute the counseillr And her hufbond collatyn and alle her other frendes swore by the blood of lucreff that they wold neuer reste vnto the tyme that they had put out of rome tarquyn and and alle his lignee And that neuer after none of them shold come to dignite And alle this was doon. For they bare the dede corps thurgh the cyte and meyed the peple in suche wyse that tarquyn was put in exyle And sixte his fone was slayn A Queene ought to be well manerd & amonge alle she ought to be tumerous and shamefaft For whan a woman hath lyfht shamefaftnes she may ner can not well be chaaff Wherfore faith fymachus that they that ben not shamefaft haue no confience of luxurye And saynt Ambrofe faith that oon of the best parements and maketh a woman moft payr in her per-fone is to be shamefaft Senecque reherceth that ther was oon named Archezille whiche was so shamefaft That she put in a pelow of fethers a certaun fome of money and put hit vnder y heed of a pour frende of heiris whiche dissimyled his pouert and wold not ner durft not be a knowen of his pouert For for shame she durft not gyue hit openly but had leuer that he shold fynde hit than that she had gyuen hit hym Wherfore otherwhile men shold gyue & helpe her frendes so secretly That they knowe not whens hit come For whan we kepe hit secret and make no boost therof our deedes and werkes shall plese god and them also A Queene ought to be chofen whan she shall be wedded of the
moft honest kynrede and peple/ For oftentymes the
daughters folowen the tacches and maners of them
that they ben descended from/ Wherof Valerius
maximus sayth that ther was one that wold marye/
whiche cam to a philosophr and axid councelyll
what wif he might best take He answerd that he
shold take her that thou knowe certaynly that her
moder and her graunt dame haue ben chaafft and
well condicioned/ For suche moder/ suche dochter
comunely/ Also a quene ought to teche her chil-
dern to ben contynent and kepe chaftte entyrly/
as hit is wreton in ecclesiasites/ ye thou haue fones
ensigne and teche them/ And ye thou haue dooth-
ters kepe well them in chaftte/ For helemenode re-
herceth that euer kyng & prynce ought to be a
clerke for to comande to other to studye and rede
the lawe of oure lord god/ And therfore wrote them-
perour to the kyng of france that he shold doo
lerne hys children fones the seuen sciences lyberall/
And faide amonge other thynges that a kyng not
lettryd resemblyth an effe coroned/ Themperour
Ostauian maad his fones to be taught and lerne to
wyynge. to sprynge and lepe. to Iuste. to playe wyth
the axe and swerde/ And alle maner thyng that
apperteyneth to a knyght/ And his daughters he
made hem to lerne. to sewe. to spynne. to laboure as
well in wolfe as in lynnen cloth/ And alle other
werkis longynge to women And whan his frendes
demanded wherfore he dyde so/ he answerd how
well that he was lord & fyre of alle the world/ yet
wyfte he not what shold befalle of his children and
whether they shold falle or come to pouerte or noo/
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and therfore yf they conne a good crafte they maye alleway lyue honestly. The Quene ought to kepe her daughters in alle chaftyte. For we rede of many maydens that for theyr virginitie haue ben made quenes. For poule the historiagraph of the lombardes reherceth y'm ther was a duchesse named remonde whiche had .iii. sones & two daughters. And hit happend that the kynge of hongrye cantanus affaylyled a castell where she behelde her enemyes. And amonge all other she sawe the kynge that he was a well faryng and goodly man. Anone she was espriised and taken wyth his lloue. And that so fore that forthwith she sent to hym that she wold deliuere ouer the castell to hym yf he wold take her to his wyf and wedde her. And he agreed therto and swere that he wold haue her to his wyf on that condicion. whan than the kynge was in the castell. his peple toke men and women and alle that they fonde her sones fledde from her of whom one was named Ermoaldus and was yongest and after was duc of boneuentan. And syn kynge of the lumbardis. And the two susters toke chikens and put hem vnder her armes next the flesh and bytwene her pappes that of the heete & chaffyng the flesh of the chikens stanke. And whan so was that they of hongrye wold haue enforcid & defowled hem anone they sette the stenche and fledde away and so lefte hem sayng fy how these lombardes stynke and so they kept their virginitie wherfore that one of them afterward was Quene of france. And that other Quene of Aleman. And hit happend than that the kynge Cantanus toke acodynge to his promyfe the
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duchesse/ and laye with her one night for to saue
his oth And on the morn he made her comune
unto alle the hongres/ And the thirde day after he
dyde doo put a staf of tre fro the nether part of her/
thurgh her body vnto her throte or mouthe/ for be
cause of the luft of her fleshe she betrayed her cyte
and sayd suche husbond/ suche wyf &c And this
sufficeth of the Quene.
The thirde chapitre of the seconde tractate treteth of
the alphyns her offices and maners.

THE Alphyns ought to be made and
formed in manere of Iuges fyttynge in
a chayer wyth a book open to fore
their eyen/ And that is be caufe that
some causes ben crymy nell/ And some ben cyuyle
as aboute possession and other temporell thynges
and trespaces/ And therfore ought to be two Iuges
in the royame/ one in the black for the first caufe/
And that other in whyte as for the seconde/ Theyr
office is for to councyll the kynge/ And to make
by his comandements good lawes And to enforce
alle the royame in good and vertuous maners/ And
to Iuge and gyue sentence well and truly after the
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cass is had/ And to coungeyll well and lustely alle
them that are coungeyll of hem/ wyth oute hauynge
of ony eye opene to ony person/ And to eftudye
diligently in suche wyse and to orderynge alle that/
that ought to be kept be obseruyd be fafte and stable/
So that they be not founde corrupt for yeft for
favour ne for lignage ne for enuye variable And as
touchynge the first poynyt Seneque sayth in the book
of benefetes that the poure Dyogenes was more
stronge than Alixandre/ For Alixandre coude not
gyue so moche as Diogenes wold reffufe.

Marcus cursus a romayn of grete renome sayth
thus. That when he had besiegid & affaylyd them
of famente/ And boneuentans whiche herde that he
was poure/ they toke a grete maffe and wegge of
gold and sented hit to hym prayng hym that he
wold reffeyue hyt and leue his assault and siege/
And whan they cam with the present to hym they
fonde hym sittynge on the erthe and ete his mete
oute of platers and dishes of tree and of wode and
dye than her message/ to whom he anwertd and
sayde that they shold goo hoome and saye to them
that sente hem that marcus cursus loueth better to
be lord and wynne richesse than richesse shold
wynne hym/ For by bataylye he shal not be over-
come and vaynqyfshid Nor be gold ne fluer he
shal not be corrupt ne corompid Often tymes that
thynghe taketh an euyll ende that is vntrewe for gold
and fluer/ And that a man is subgett vnto money
may not be lord therof/ helimond reherceth that
* demonscene demanded of aristodone how moche

* "demoftene" in sec. edit.
he had wonne for pletynge of a cause for his clyent/
And he anfwerd a marck of gold/ ** Demostenes
anfwerd to hym agayn that he had wonne as moche
for to hold his pees and spke not. Thus the tonges
of aduocates and men of lawe ben pyllous and
domegeable/yet they must be hadyf thou wylt wynne
thy cause for wyth money and yeft thou shall wynne
And oftetymes they felle as welle theyr sicence/ as
theyr vtterance/ Valerius reherceth that the senatours
of rome toke coungeyll to geder of two persones that
one was poure/ And that other riche and couetous/
whiche of hem bothe were most apte for to fende to
gouerne and Iuge the contre of fpayne/ and Scipion
of affricque sayd that none of them bothe were good
ner prouffitable to be fente theder/ For that one
hath no thynge And to that other may nothynge
suflife. And despised in his faynge alle pouer and
auerice in a Iuge/ For a couetous man hath nede of
an halpenny For he is seuant & bonde vnto money/
and not lord therof. But pouerte of herte & of
wylle ought to be Gretely alowed in a Iuge Therfore
we rede that as longe as the romayns louyf pouer
they were lordes of all the world. For many ther
were that exposed alle their goedes for the comyn
wele and for that was most prouffitable for the
comynalute that they were fo poure that whan they
were dede they were buryed & brought to erthe
with the comyn good/ And theyr doughters were
maried by the comandement of the senatours/
But syn that they despised pouerte/ And begonne
to gadre rycheffes/ And haue maad grete bataylles/

** "demoftenes" in sec. edit.
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they have vsed many synnes And so the comyn wele peryfshid/ For there is no synne but that it regneth there/ Ther is none that is so synfull as he that hath alle the world in despyte/ For he is in peas that dredeth no man/ And he is rych that coueyteth no thyng/ Valere reherceth that he is not rych that moche hath/ But he is rych that hath lyttyll and coueyteth no thyng/ Than thus late the Iuges take hede that they encyne not for loue or for hate in ony Iugement/ For theophraeft faith that alle loue is blynde ther loue is/ ther can not ryght Iugement by guyen/ For alle loue is blynde And therfore loue is none euyn Iuge For ofte tymes loue Iugeth a fowll & lothly woman to be fayr And so reherceth quynte curfe in his ffrt book that the grete Godaches sayth the sire to Alixandre men may fayre in this caas that nature is euyll For every man is lasse auysed and worfe in is owne feet and cause than in an other mans/ And therfore the Iuges ought to kepe hem well from yre in Iugement/ Tullius sayth that an angry & yrous psone weneth that for to doo euyll/ is good councyll/ and socrates faith y' ii. thinges ben contraryous to coucelyll/ and they ben haftynes & wrath/ and Galeren sayth in Alexandrye/ yf yre or wrath overcome the whan thou holdeft gyue Iugement/ weye all thinge in y' balance so that thy Iugement be not encyneby loue ne by yfte/ ne favour of persone torne not thy corage. Helemond reherceth that Cambyses kynge of perfè whiche was a rightwys kynge had an

* "blisful" in the sec. edit.—The reading of the first edition is evidently a misprint.
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vnightwys luge/ whiche for enuye and euyll will had
damned a man wrongfully and agaynst right/
wherefore he dide hym to be flain all quyk/ and
made the chayer or siege of Iugement to be couerid
wyth his skyn/ And made his fone luge and to fitte
in the chayer on the skyn of his fader/ to thende
that the fone fhold luge rightwyfly/ And abhorre
the Iugement & payne of his fader/ Iuges ought to
punyshe the defaultes egally And fullfille the lawe
that they ordeyne/ Caton sayth accomplishe and do
the lawe in suche wyse as thou haft ordeyned and
gyuen. Valerius reherceth that calengius a confull
had a fone whiche was taken in adwultrye. And
therefore after the lawe at that tyme he was damned
to lofe bothe his eyen The fader wold y' the lawe
fhold be accöplefshid in his fone with out favour/
but all the cyte was meuyl herewyth And wold
not suffre hit/ but in the ende his fader was vayn-
quyfshid by theyr prayers/ And ordeyned that his
fone fhold lefe oon eye whiche was put oute And he
himself lost an other eye/ And thus was the lawe
observed and kept/ And the prayer of the peple was
accomplishe We rede y' ther was a counceyllour
of rome that had gyen councell to make a statute/
that who some euer that entrid in to the senatoire/
& a fwerd gyrt aboute hym fhold be ded/ Than
hit happend on a tyme that he cam from with out
and entrid in to the senatoire & his fwerd gyrt
aboute hym/ wherof he took nön heede/ and on of
the senatours told hym of hit/ and whan he knewe
hit & remembrid the statute/ he drewe oute his
fwerd & flewe hymself to fore them/ rather to dye
than to breke the lawe/ for whos deth all the sena-
tours made grete forowe/ but alas we fynde not
many in thise dayes that foo doo/ but they doo
lyke as anastafius faith that the lawes of some ben
lyke vnto the nettis of fyyncoppis that take no grete
bestes & sowles but leta goo & flee thurgh. But
they take flyes & gnattes & suche male thynge/
In lyke wise the lawes now a dayes ben not executed
but vpon the poure peple/ the grete and riche breke
hit & goo thurgh with all And for this cause foureden
bataylles & discordes/ and make y° grete & riche
men to take by force and strengthe lordshippis &
feignouries vpon the male & poure peple/ And
this doon they specially that ben gentill of lignage
& poure of goodes And caufeth them to robbe and
reuie And yet costrayned them by force to serue
them And this is no meruanll/ for they that drede
not to angre god/ ner to breke the lawe and to falfe
hit/ Falle often tymes by force in moche cursedenes
and wikkidnes/ but whan y° grete peple doo acord-
inge to y° lawe/ and punyfth the trafgressiours sharply
The comyn peple abitayne and withdrawe hem fro
dooyng of euyll/ and chaftiseth hem self by thier
example/ And the Iuges ought to entende for to
stude/ for y° yf smythes the carpetiers y° vignours
and other craftyemen saye that it is moost necessarie
to stude for the comyn prouffit And gloryfye them
in their connyng and saye that they ben prouffitable
Than shold the Iuges stude and contemplaire moche
more than they in that/ that shold be for the comyn
wele/ wherfore sath fynke beleue me that they
sene that they do no thynge they doo more than they
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that laboure For they doo spirytuell and also corporall werkis/ and therfore amonge Artificers ther is no plesant reste/ But that reson of the Iuges hath maad and ordeyned hit/ And therfore angelius in libro actiui atticatorum de focrate sayth That focrates was on a tyme so penflyf that in an hole naturell daye/ He helde one eftate that he ne meuyd mouth ne eye ne foote ne hand but was as he had ben ded rauffyhyd. And when one demanded hym wherfore he was so penflyf/ he answerd in alle worldly thynges and labours of the same And helde hym bourgoys and cytezeyn of the world And valerius reherceth that carrardes a knyght was so fage wyfe and laborous in penflynes of the comyn wele/ that when he was sette at table for to ete/ he forgate to put his hande into the mete to fede hymself. And therfore his wyf y' was named melyfe whom he had taken more to haue her com- panye & felawfhip than for ony other thynges/ Fedde hym to thende that he shold not dye for honger in his penflynes/ Dydymus sayd to Alia- andrie we ben not deynseyne in the world but sraugers/ ner we ben not born in the world for to dwell and abyde allway therein/ but for to goo and passe thurg hit/ we haue doon noon euyll dede/ but that it is worthy to be punyfhyd and we to suffre payne therfore And than we may goon with opon face and good conscience And so may we goo lightely and appertely the way that we hope and purpote to goo This suffifeth as for the Alphyns.
The fourth chapitre of the seconde book treteth of the ordre of cheualerye and knyghthode and of her offices and maners.

The knyght ought to be made alle armed upon an hors in suche wyse that he haue an helme on his heed and a spere in his ryght hande/ and coueryd wyth his sheld/ a fwerde and a mace on his lyft fyde/ Cladd wyth an hawberk and plates to fore his brefte/ legge harnoys on his legges/. Spores on his heelis on his handes his gauntelettes/ his hors well broken and taught and apte to bataylle and couerid with his armes/ whan the knyghtes ben maad they ben bayned or bathed/ that is the signe that they
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shold lede a newe lyf and newe maners/ alfo they wake alle the nyght in prayers and orysons unto god that he wylle gyue hem grace that they may geve that thyenge that they may not geve by nature/ The kynge or prynce gyrdeth a boute them a swerde in signe/ that they shold abyde and kepe hym of whom they take theyr dispenfes and dignyte. Alfo a knyght ought to be wyfe, liberall, trewe, stronge and full of mercy and pite and kepar of the peple and of the lawe/ And ryght as cheualrye paffeth other in vertu in dignite in honour and in reuerence/ right so ought he to surmounte alle other in vertu/ For honour is no thing ells but to do reuerence to an other pfolone for ygood & vertuof dispoision y/ is in hym/ A noble knyght ought to be wyfe and preuyd to fore he be made knyght/ hit behoued hym that he had longe tyme vfid the warre and armes/ that he may be expert and wyfe for to goure the other. For syn that a knyght is captyyn of a batayll The lyf of them that shall be vnder hym lyeth in his hand. And threfore behoueth hym to be wyfe and well aduyfed/ for some tyme arte craft and engyue is more worth than strenthe or hardynes of a man that is not proved in Armes/ For otherwhyle hit happeth that whan the prynce of the batayll affieth and trufeth in his hardynes and strenthe And wole not vfe wyfedom and engyne for to renne vpon his enemyes/ he is vaynquyshid and his peple slayn/ Therfore faith the philofopher that no man shold chefe yong peple to be captayns & gouernours For as moche as ther is no certainte in her wyfedom. Alexandre of
macedone vaynquyfshid and conquerid Egypte Iude Caldeee Affricque/ and Assirye vnto the marches of bragmans more by the councelyl of olde men than by the strenght of the yong men/ we rede in the historye of rome y' ther was a knyght whiche had to name malechete that was fo wyfe and trewe that whan the Empour Theodofius was dede/ he made mortall warre ayensht his broder germain whiche was named Gildo or Guye For as moche as this fayd guye wold be lorde of affricque with oute leue and wyll of the senatours. And this fayd guye had slayn the two stone of his broder malechete/ And dide moche torment vnto the criffen peple And afore that he fhold come in to the fele ayensht his broder Emyon/ he wente in to an yle of capayre And ladde with hym alle the criffen men that had ben fente theder in Exyle And made hem alle to praye wyth hym by the space of thre dayes & thre nyghtis/ For he had grete trufty in the prayers of good folk/ & specially that noman myght councelyl ne helpe but god/ and .iii. dayes to fore he fhold fght faynt Ambrofe whiche was ded a lityl to fore apperid to hym/ and shewde hym by reuelacion the tyme & our that he fhold haue victorie/ and for as moche as he had ben .iii. dayes and .iii nyghtes in his prayers & that he was affewrid for to haue victorie/ He faught with .v. thoufand men ayensht his broder y' had in his companye .xxiii. thoufand men And by goddes helpe he had victorie And whan the barbaryns y' were comen to helpe guion fawe y' diifconsiture they fledde away/ and guion fledd also in to affricque by shipp/ and whan he was
ther arrayed he was sone after stranglid/ These
.ii. knyghtes of whom I speke were two breder
germayns/ whiche were sent to affrique for to de-
fende the comyn weele/ In likewise Judas machabeo
Ionathas & fymon his breder put hem sely in the
mercy and garde of our lord god/ And agayn the
enemies of the lawe of god with lityll peple in re-
gard of the multitude that were agayn them/ and
had also victorie/ The knights ought to ben
trewe to theyr princes/ for he that is not trewe
leseth y* name of a knight Vnto a prince trouth
is the grettest precious stone whan it is meddied with
Iustice/ Paule the historiograph of the lombardes
reherceth that ther was a knight named enulphus
and was of the cyte of papye that was so trewe to his
kynga named patharich/ that he put hym in parill
of deth for hym/ For hit happend that Grymald
Duc of *buuentayns of whom we haue touched to
fore in the chapitre of the Queene/ Dyde do flee
Godebert which was kynge of the lombardes by
the hande of Goribert duc of Tauryn/ whiche was
descended of the crowne of lombardis And this
grimald was maad kynge of lombardis in his place/
and after this put & bannyfshid out of the contrey
this patharych which was broder vnto the kynge
Godebert/ that for fere and drede fleded in to hon-
grye/ And than this knyght Enulphus dide so
moche that he gate the peaes agayn of his lord pat-
harich agaynft the kynge grymalde/ and that he
had licence to come out of hongrye where he was
all wey in paryll. and so he cam and cryed hym

* Sec. edit. "buuentayns."
mercy. And the kynge grymalde gaf hym leue to
dwelle and to lyue honestly in his contree/ allway
forseen that he toke not vpon hym and named hym-
self kynge/ how well he was kynge by right. This
doon a litill while after/ the kynge that beleuyd
euyll tonges/ thought in hymself how he myght
brynge this patharich vnto the deth. And alle this
knewe well the knyght enulphus/ whiche cam the
same nyght with his sqyuer for to visite his lord
And made his sqyuer to vnclothe hym & to lye in
the bedde of his lord. And made his lord to ryfe
and clothe hym wyth the clothis of his sqyuer/
And in this wyfe brought hym oute/ brawlynge and
betylge hym as his seruant by them that were af-
signed to kepe the hows of patharik y' he shold not
escape. Whiche supposid that hit had ben his sqyuer
that he entretid so outragiously/ & so he brought
hym to his hous whiche Ioyned with the walles of
the toune/. And at mydnyght whan alle men were
asleepe/ he let an doun his maistre by a corde/ whiche
toke an hors oute of the pastur. And fled vnto
the cyte of Aaft and ther cam to the kynge of
fraunce/. And whan hit cam vnto the morn. Hit
was founden that Arnolphus and his sqyuer had de-
ceyvyd the kynge and the wacchemen/ whom the
kyng comanded shold be brought to fore hym. And
demanded of them the maner how he was escaped
And they told hym the trouthe/. Than the kynge
demanded his councyeyll of what deth they had de-
feruyd to dye that had so doon and wrought agayn
the wyll of hym/. Some sayde that they shold ben
honged/ and some sayd they shold ben flayn. And
other sayd that they shold be beheeded. Than sayd the kynge by that lord that made me/ they ben not worthy to dye/ but for to haue moche worship and honour/ For they haue ben trewe to theyr lord/ wherfore the kynge gaf hem a grete lawde and honour for their feet And after hit happend that the propre squire and seruant of godeberd flewe the traytre Goribalde that by trayson had flayn his lord at a feste of seynt John in his Cyte of Taurn whereof he was lord and duc/ Thus ought the knyghtes to love to gyder/ And eche to put his lyf in aventure for other/ For so ben they the strenger And the more doubted/ Lyke as were the noble knyghtes Ioab and Abyfay that fought agaynst the syryens and Amonytes/ And were so trewe that oon to that other that they vaynequyfshid theyr enemies And were so Ioyned to gyder that yf the syryens were strenger than that one of them/ that other helpe hym/ we rede that damon and phisias were so ryght parfyt frendes to gyder that whan Dionisius whiche was kynge of cecyle had Iuged one to deth for his trefpas in the cyte of syracuaine whom he wold haue executed/ he defered grace and leue to goo in to hys contre for to dispose and ordonne his testamente/ And his felawe pleggid hym and was fewre for hym vpon his heed that he shold come agayn. Wherof they that sawe & herd this/ helde hym for a fool and blamed hym/ And he said all way that he repentid hym nothynge at all/ For he knewe well the trouth of his felawe And whan the day cam and theoure that execution shold be doon/ his felawe cam and presented hymself to fore the Iuge/
And dischargid his felawe that was plegge for hym/wherof the kynge was grety abashid And for the
grete trouthe that was founden in hym He pardonyd hym and prayd hem bothe that they wold resseyue hym as their grete frende and felawe/ Lo here the vertues of loue that a man ought nought
to doubte the deth for his frende/ Lo what it is to
do of a frende/ And to lede a lyf debonayr And
to be wyth out cruelte/ to loue and not to hate/
whiche causeth to doo good ayenst euyl And to
torne payne into benefete and to quench cruelte安东尼斯 Fayth that Julius Cefar/ lefte not lightly
frenshippe and Amytye/ But whan he had hit he
reteyned hit faste and maynteyned hit alleway/
Scipion of Africque Fayth that ther is no thynge
so stronge/ as for to mayntene loue vnto the deth
The loue of concupiscence and of lecherye is done
dissoluyd and broken/ But the verray true loue of
the comyn wele and prouffit now a dayes is felde
founden/ where soll thou fynde a man in thyse
dayes that wyll expose hymself for the worshippe
and honour of his frende/ or for the comyn wele/
felde or neuer soll he be founden/ Allo the
knyghtes shold be large & liberall For whan
a knyght hath regarde vnto his finguler prouffit
by his couetyse/ he dipoyylleth his peple For whan
the souldyours see that they putte hem in paryll.
And theyr mayfter wyll not paye hem theyr wages
liberally/ but entendeth to his owne propre gayn
and prouffyt/ than whan the Enemyes come they
torne fone her backes and flee oftentymes/ And
thus hit happeth by hym that entendeth more to
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gete money than victorye that his auaryce is ofte
tymes cause of his confusion. Than late every
knyght take heede to be liberall in suche wyfe that
he wene not ne suppothe that his scarrete be to hym
a grete wynnyenge or gayn/ And for thyse cause he
be the laffe louyd of his peple/ And that his ad-
uerfarye wythdrawe to hym them by large gyuynge/
For oftetyme bataylle is auuounced more for getynge
of filuer. Than by the force and strengthe of men/
For men see alle daye that suche thynges as may
not be achieuyd by force of nature/ ben goten and
achieuyd by force of money/ And for so moche hit
behoueth to see well to that whan the tyme of the
bataylle cometh/ that he borowe not ne make no
tayllage/ For noman may be ryche that leuyth his
owne/ hopynge to gete and take of other/ Than all
wayne all her gayn and wynnynge ought to be
comyng amonge them exep their Armes. For in
lyke wyfe as the victorie is comune/ so shold the
dispoyll and botye be comune vnto them. And
therefore Dauid that gentyll knyght in the fyrst
book of kynges in the laft chapitre made a lawe/
that he that abode behynde by maladye or sekenes
in the tentes shold haue as moche parte of the butyn
as he that had be in the bataylle/ And for the loue
of thyse lawe he was made afterward kynge of
Israell/ Alexander of Macedone cam on a tyme
lyke a symple knyght vnto the court of Porus
kynge of Inde for to epye thefstat of the kynge
and of the knyghtes of the court/ And the kynge
reseyuyd hym ryght worshipfully/ And demanded
of hym many thynges of Alexander and of his con-
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stance and strengthe/ nothyng wenynge that he had ben Alexander But antygone one of his knyghtis and after he had hym to dyner And whan they had sûryd Alexander in vayself of gold and filuer with dyuerce metes &c. After that he had eten suche as plefid hym he voyded the mete and toke the vayself and helde hit to hymself and put hit in his bofom or fleuys/ wherof he was ac-
cusid vnto the kynge After dyner than the kynge callid hym and demanded hym wherfore he had taken his vayself And he answerd/ Syre kynge my lord I pray the to vnderstande and take heede thy self and also thy knyghtes/ I haue herd moche of thy grete hyenes And y* thou art more myghty and puyffant in cheualrye & in dispensiès than is Alexander/ and therfore I am come to the a pour knyght whiche am named Antygone for to sûre the/ Than hit is the cuftome in the Courte of Alex-
andre/ that what thynge a knyght is sûryd wyth all is alle his/ mete and vayself and cuppe And therfore I had supposid that this cuftome had ben kept in thy court for thou art richer than he/ whan the knyghtes herd this/ anõn they lefte porus/ and wente for to sûre alixandre/ and thus he drewe to hym y* heretes of them by yeftes/ whiche afterward flewe Porus that was kynge of Inde/ And they made Alexandre kynge therof Therfore remembre knyght alleway that wyth a closid and fette purfe shalt thou neuer haue victorye. Ouyde sayth that he that taketh yeftes/ he is glad therwyth/ For they wynne wyth yeftes the heretes of the goddes and of men For yf Iupiter were angrid/ wyth
yeftes he wold be plefied. The knyghtes ought to be stronge not only of body but also in corage. Ther ben many stronge and grete of body/ that ben faynt and feble in the herte/ he is stronge that may not be vaynquished and ouercomen/ how well that he suffryth moche otherwhile/ And so we beleue that they that be not ouer grete ne ouer lityll ben most courageous & better in batayll. We rede that cadrus duc of athenes shold have a batayll 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 batayll/ And the prince whiche was of a grete corage and trewe herte. Toke other armes of a poure man/ And put hymself in the fronte of the batayll to thende that he might be slayn. And so he was/ for the right trewe prince had leuer dye than his peple shold be ouercomen/ And so they had the victorie. Certes hyt was a noble and sayr thynge to expose hym self to the deth for to defende his contrey. But no man wold doo so/ but yf he hopyd to have a better thynge thersore/ Therfore the lawe fayth that they lyue in her fowles gloriously that ben slayn in the warre for the comyn wele. A knyght ought also to be mercifull and pyetous. For ther is nothyng yf maketh a knyght so renomed as is whan he fayth the lyf of them that he may sley/ For to shede and splylle blood is the condicion of a wykle beffe and not the condicion of a good knyght. Therfore we rede that cylla that was Duc of the Romayns wyth oyte had many sayr victories agaynst the Romayns wyth Inne that were con-
trayre to hym/ In so moche that in the batayll of
puylle he flewe xviii. thousand men/ And in cham-
panye. lxx. thousand. And after in the cyte he
fleweth thre thousand men vnarmed. And whan one
of his knyghtes that was named Quyntus catulus
fawe this cruelte sayd to hym/ Seisste now and suffre
them to lyue and be mercyfull to them wyth whom
we haue ben victorious. And wyth whom we ought
to lyue/ For hit is the most hyeft and sayr ven-
geance that a man may doo/ as to spere them &
gyue hem her lyf whome he may flee. Therfore
Joab ordeyned whan absalon was slayn/ he fowned
a trompette/ that his peple shold no more renne &
flee theyr aduersaries. For ther were slayn aboute
xx. thousand of them/ and in lyke wyse dide he
whan he faught ayenst Abner. And Abner was vaun-
quyfshid and fledde. For wher that he wente in
the chaas he comanded to spere the peple. The
knyghtes ought to kepe the peple/ For whan the
peple ben in theyr tentes or castellis/ the knyghtes
ought to kepe the wacche/. For this cause the ro-
mayns calyd them legyons. And they were made
of dyuerce prouynes and of dyuerce nacyons to
thentente to kepe the peple/ And the peple shold
entende to theyre werke/. For no crafty man may
bothe entende to his craft & to fighte/ how may a
crafty man entende to hys werke fewrely in tyme
of warre but yf he be kept. And right in suche wyse
as the knyghtes shold kepe y% peple in tyme of peas
in lyke wyfe the peple ought to pourveye for theyr
dispens/ how shold a plowman be fewre in the felde/
but yf the knyghtes made dayly wacche to kepe
hem/ For lyke as the glorye of a kynge is vpon his knyghtis/ so hit is necessarie to the knyghtes that the marchantis craftymen and comyn peple be defended and kepte/ therfore late the knyghtes kepe the peple in suche wyse that they maye enjoye pees and gete and gadre the costis and expensis of them bothe/ we rede that Athis sayd to dauid whiche was a knyght/ I make the my kepar and defendar alleway. Thus shold the knightes haue grete zele that the lawe be kept/ For the mageste ryall ought not only to be garnysheyd wyth armes but also wyth good lawes/ And therfore shold they labour that they shold be well kept Turgeus pompeyus re-herceth of a noble knyght named Ligurgys that had made auncynt lawes the whiche the peple wold not kepe ne obserue/ For they femed hard for them to kepe And wold constrayne hym to rapele & sette hem a part whan the noble knight sawe that He dyde the peple to vnderstande that he had not made them/ but a god that was named Apollo delphynius had made them/ And had comanded hym that he shold do the peple kepe them/ Thise wordes auayled not/ they wold in no wyse kepe them/ And than he sayd to them that hit were good that er the said lawes shold be brokene that he had gyuen to them that he shold goo and speke wyth the god Appollo/ For to gete of hym a dispensiacion to breke hem/ And that the peple shold kepe & obserue them tyll that he returned agayn/ The peple acorded therto & sware that they shold kepe them to the tyme he returned. Than the knightes wente in to grece in exyle & dwellid ther alle his lyf/ And whan he
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flold dye he comanded that his body flold be cast in the fée/ For as moche as ye his body flold be born theder/ the people flold were to be quy of their oth/ And flold kepe no lenger his lawes that were so good & resonable/ & so the knight had leuer to forfuke his owne contre & to dye so than to repele his lawes And his lawes were fuse/ The first lawe was that ye peple flold obeye & ferve the princes/ And the princes flold kepe the peple & do justice on the malefactours The second lawe that they flold be all sobre/ For he wiste well that the labour of cheualrye is most stronge than they lyue sobrely/ The thirde was ye no man flold bye any thinge for money but they flold change ware for ware & one marchandyse for an other/ The fourthe was that men flold sette no more by money ner kepe hit more than they wold donge or fylthe/ The fyfte he ordeyned for the comyn wele alle thinge by ordre/ that the prynces myght meue and make batayle by her power. to the maistres counsellours he comyfid the Jugementis. And the Annuell rentes/ to the senatours the kepynge of the lawe/ And to the comyn peple he gaf power to chefe fuse Iuges as they wold haue/ The fixte he ordeyned that all thinge flold be departid egally & all thinge flold be comyn. And none richer than other in patry- monye/ The seuenthe that every man flold ete lyke well in comen openly/ that riches flold not be cause of luxurie whan they ete secretely/ The eygthe that the yonge peple flold not haue but on gowne or garment in the yere/ The inyth that men flold
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sette poure children to laboure in the felde/ to thende that they shold not employe theyr yongthe in playes and in folye/ but in labour/ The tenthe that the maydens shold be maried wythoute dow-ayre/ In suche wyfe that no man shold take a wyf for moneye/ The xi. that men shold rather take a wyf for her good maners and vertues than for her richeffes/ The twelfthe that men shold worshippe the olde and auncyent men for theyr age and more for theyr wyfedom than for her riches this knyght made none of theyr lawes/ but he fyrst kepte hem.
The fift the chapitre of the second book of the forme and maners of the rooks.

HE rooks whiche ben vicaires and legats of the kynge ought to be made lyke a knyght vpon an hors and a mantell and hood furryd with men-
euyer holdynge a staf in his hande/ & for as moche as a kyng may not be in alle places of his royame/ Therfore the auتورite of hym is gyuen to the rooks/ whiche represent the kynge/ And for as moche as a royame is grete and large/ and that rebellion or nouelletes might souldre and aryfe in oon partye or other/ therfore ther ben two rooks one on the right side and that other on the lifte side
They ought to hauue in hem, pyte. Iustice. humy-
lite. wilfull pouerte. and liberalitet/ Fyrft Iustice
for hit is moist fayr of the vertues/ For it happeth
oftetyme that the minifris by theyr pryde and or-
gueyll subuerte Iustice and do no ryght/ Wherfore
the kynges otherwhyile lofe theyr royames with out
theyr culpe or gyte/ For an untrewve Iuge or
officyer maketh hys lord to be named vnIustfe and
eyyl And contrarye wyfe a trewe myneftrre of the
lawe and ryghtwys/ causeth the kyng to be reputed
Iustfe and trewe/ The Romayns thercfore made
good lawes/ And wolde that/ that they hold be
Iustfe and trewe/ And they that establisshid them
for to gourne the peple/ wold in no wyfe breke
them/ but kepe them for to dye for them/ For
the suncyent and wyfe men sayd comynly that it
was not good to make and ordeygne that lawe that
is not Iustfe Wherof Valerius reherceth that ther
was a man that was named Themistydes whiche
cam to the counceylours of athenes and sayd that
he knewe a councelyll whiche was ryght prouffy-
table for them/ But he wolde telle hyt but to
But to one of them whom that they wold/ And
they assignd to hym a wyfe man named Ariftides/
And whan he had vnderstand hym he cam agayn to
the other of the councelyl And sayd that the
councelyll of Themystides was well pouffitable/ but
hit was not Iustfe/ how be hit ye may resole hit in
your mynde/ And the councelyll that he sayd was
this/ that ther were comen two grete shippis fro
lacedome and were arryued in theyr londe. And
that hit were good to take them/ And whan the
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counceyll herde hym that sayde/ that hit was not Iuste ner right/ they lefte hem alle in pees And wold not haue adoo with alle/ The vicarye or Juge of the kyngge ought to be so Iuste/ that he shold employe alle his entente to saue the comyn wele And yt hit were nede to put his lyf and/ lose hit therfore/ we haue an esample of marcus regulus wherof Tullius reherceth in the book of offices And saynt Augustyn als de ciuitate dei/ how he faught agayn them of cartage by see in shippis and was vaynquyshid and taken/ Than hit happend/ that they of cartage fente hymm in her message to ryme for to haue theyr prisoner there/ for them ye were taken/ and so to chaige one for an other And made hym swere and promyse to come agayn/ And so he cam to ryme And made propofition to-fore the senate And demanded them of cartage of the senatours to be chaiged as afore is sayd And than the senatours demanded hym what counceyll he gaf Certayn sayd he I couseyly yow that ye do hit not in no wise For as moche as the peple of ryme that they of cartage holde in prison of youris ben olde men and brusid in the warre as I am my self/ But they that ye holde in prison of their peple is alle the flour of alle their folke/ whiche counceylyl they take/ And than his frendes wolde haue holde hym and coungeylyd hym to abide there and not retornre agayn prysoner in to cartage/ but he wold neuer doo so ner abide/ but wold goo agayn and kepe his oth How well that he knewe that he went toward his deth For he had leuyr dye than to breke his oth Valeri[9] re-
herceth in the sixth book of one Emelye duc of the romayns/ that in the tyme when he had asfieged the phalife/ The scole maytree of the children decuyudd the children of the gentlemen that he drewe hym a lityll and a lytll ynto the tentys of the romayns by fayr speche. And sayd to the duc Emelie/ that by the moyan of the children that he had brought to hym/ he shold hau the cyte/ For theyr faders were lordes and gouernours. When Emelie had herde hym he sayd thus to hym/ Thou that art euyll and cruel. And thou that woldest gyue a gyfte of grete felonnye and of manuall/ thou shalt ner haft not founden here Duc ne peple that resemblesthe/ we haue also well lawes to kepe in batayll & warre. As in our contres & other places/ and we wolde obserue and kepe them ynto every man as they ought to be kept. And we ben armed agaynst our enemyes y wolde defende them. And not ayenst them y can not saue their lyf when their contre is taken/ as thife lityll children/ Thou haft vaynquysheid them as moche as is in the by thy newe deceuyable falsenes and by subtilnes and not by armes/ but I that am a romayn shall vaynquysbe them by craft and stregthe of armes/ And anon he comanded to take the said scole maister/ And to bynde his handes behynde hym as a traytour and lede hem to the parentis of the children. And whan the faders & parentis sawe the grete courtofie that he had don to them They opened the yates and yelded them ynto hym/ we rede that hanyball had taken a prince of rome whiche vpon his oth and promyfre sufrid hym to
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gon home/ and to fende hym his raunson/ or he shold come agayn within a certain tyme And whan he was at home in his place/ he sayde that he had deceuyd hym by a false oth. And whan the sena- tours knewe therof/ they contrayned hym to re- torne agayn vnto hanyball/ Amos florus tellyth that the phisicien of kynge perrus cam on a nyght to fabrice his aduerfarye. And promyfisd hym yf he wold gyue hym for his laboure that he wold en- poyfone perrus his maifter/ whan fabricius vn- derflode this. He dyde to take hym and bynde hym hande & foote/ and sente hym to his maistre and dyde do faye to hym word for worde lyke as the physicien had sayd and promyfisd hym to doo/ And whan perrus vnderflode this he was gretly amer- uaylled of the loyalte and trouth of fabrice his enemye/ and sayd certaynly that the fonne myghte lighter and sonner be enpefshid of his cours/ than fabrice shold be letted to holde loyalte and trouthe/ yf they than that were not cristen were fo Iustf and trewe and louyd their contrey and their good re- nomee/ what shold we now doon than that ben cristen and that oure lawe is sette alle vpon loue and charyte/ But now a dayes ther is nothyngel dys in the world but barate Treson deceyte falsenes and trecherye. Men kepe not theyr couenantes pro- myfes. othes. writynges. ne trouthe/ The subgettis rebelle agayn theyr lorde/ ther is now no lawe kepte. nor fidelite/ ne oth holden/ the peple mur- mure and ryfe agayn theyr lord and wole not be subget/ they ought to be pietous in herte/ whiche is auailable to all thenge ther is pite in effecte by
compasion/ and in worde by remission and pardon/ by almesse/ for to enclyne hymself to the poure
For pite is nothing else but a right grete will of a
debonaire herte for to helpe alle men/ Valerius re-
herceth that ther was a Iuge named fangis whiche
dampned a woman that had deseruyd the deth for
to haue her heed smyten of or ellis that she shold
dye in prifon/ The Geayler that had pite on
the woman put not her alone to deth but put her in
the Pryfon/ And this woman had a doughter
whiche cam for to fe and conforte her moder/ But
allway er she entryd into the Pryfon the Iayler
serchid her that she shold bere no mete ne drynke
to her moder/ but that she shold dye for honger/
Than hit happend after this that he meruaylled
moche why this woman deyd not/ And began to
espye the caufe why she lyuyd so longe/ And fonde
at lafte how her doughter gaf souke to her moder/
And fedde her with her melke. when the Iayler
fawe this meruall/ he wente & told the Iuge/ And
whan the Iuge fawe this grete pite of the doughter
to the moder he pardoned her and made her to be
delyuerid oute of her Pryfon what is that/ that pite
ne amolishith/ moche peple wene that it is agaynst
nature and wondre that the doughter shold gyue
the moder to souke/ hit were agayn nature but the
children shold be kynde to fader and moder/
Seneca sayth that the kyngge of bees hath no prykke
to flynge with as other bees haue. And that nature
hath take hit away from hym be cause he shold haue
none armes to affaylle them. And this is an ex-
ample vnto prynces that they shold be of the same
condicion/ Valerius reherceth in his .v. book of
marchus martellus that when he had taken the
cyte of siracuse. And was fette in the hyeft
place of the cyte/ he behelde the grete deftruc-
tion of the peple and of the cyte/ he wepte and
sayde/ thou oughtest to be forofull/ for so moche
as thou woldest haue no pite of thy self/ But
enioye the for thou art fallen in the hande of a
right debonaire prynce. Alfo he recounteth when
pompeye had conqueryd the kyng of Germanye
that often tymes had foughten aynst the romayns
And that he was brought to fore hym bounden/
he was so pietous that he wold not suffre hym to
be longe on his knees to fore hym/ but he receyuyd
hym cortoyfely And fette the crowne agayn on
his heed and put hym in theflate that he was to
fore/ For he had oppynyon that hit was as wor-
shipfull and fittynge to a kyng to pardone/ as to
punyshe. Alfo he reherceth of a couceyylour that
was named poule that dide do brynge to fore hym
a man that was prifonner And as he knelid to fore
hym he toke hym vp fro the ground & made hym
to fytte beside hym for to gyue hym good espe-
rance and hoope And sayd to the other ftondyng
by/ in this wyse. yf hit be grete noblesse that we
shewe our self contrarye to our enimyes/ than this
fete ought to be alowed that we shew our self de-
bonair to our caytys & prifonners Cesar whan he
herde the deth of cathon whiche was his aduersfarye
sayde that he had grete enuye of his glorye. And
no thinge of his patrimonye/ and therfore he lefte
to his children frely all his patrimonye Thus
taught vyrgyle and ensewyned the gloryus prynces
to rewle and goueurne the peple of rome And
faynt Auguflt de ciuitate dei faith thus Thou
emperour gowerne the peple pietously And make
peas ouerall/ deporte and forbere thy subgets/ re-
preue & correche the prowde/ for so enseyne And
teche the the lawes/ And hit was wreton vnto
Alexander/ that evey prynce ought to be pyetous
in punysheyng/ and redy for to rewarde/ Ther is
no thynge that causeth a prynce to be so belouyd
of hys peple/ As whan he speketh to hem swetly/
and couerfith with hem fymply/ And all this
cometh of the roote of pyte/ we rede of the Empe-
rour Traian that his frendes reprouyd hym of that
he was to moche pryue and familier wyth the comyn
peple more than an emperour ought to be/ And he
anfwered that he wold be suche an emperour as evey
man defired to haue hym/ Alfo we rede of Alix-
ander that on a tyme he ladde his ooff forth haftely/
and in that hatte he beheld where fette an olde
knight that was fore acolde Whom he dide do
arife and fette hym in his owne fete or fiege/ what
wondre was hit though y* knightes defired to serue
suche a lord that louyd better theyr helth than his
dignite/ The rookes ought also to be humble &
meke After the holy scrypture whiche faith/ the
gretter or in the hier aftate that thou arte/ so moche
more oughtest thou be meker & more humble
Valerius reherceth in his .vii. book that ther was an
emperour named publius cefar/ That dide do bete
doun his hows whiche was in the middis of y* 
market place for as moche as hit was heier than
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other houeses/ for as moche as he was more glorious in astate than other/ Therefore wold he haue a lasse hous than other And scipion of affrique that was so poure of volutarie pouerte y^t when he was dede/ he was buried at y^t dispencis of y^t comyn good/ They shold be so humble y^t they shold leue theyr offices/ and suffre other to take hem when her tyme comyth/ & doo honour to other/ for he gouerneth wel y^t royame y^t may gouerne hit when he will Valerius faith In his thirde book that fabyan the grete had ben maistre counceyllour of his fader his grauntfire/ And of his grauntsirs fader & of alle his antecedours And yet dide he alle his payne and labour/ that his sone shold neuer haue that office after hym/ but for nothyng that he mytrusted his sone/ For he was noble and wife and more attemprid than other/ but he wold that the office shold not all way reste in the famlye and hows of the fabyans Also he reherceth in his feuenth book that they wold make the sayd fabyan empour/ but he excused hym and sayd that he was blynde and myght not see for age/ but that excusacion myght not helpe hym/ Than sayd he to hem/ feke ye and gete yow another/ For yf ye make me your empour I may not suffre your maners/ nor ye may not suffre myn/ Ther was a kynge of so subtyll engyne That when men brought hym the crowne/ to fore that he toke hit/ he remembrid hym a lityll and saide/ O thou crowne that art more noble than happy For yf a kynge knewe well and parfaytly how that thou art full of paryls of thoughte and of charge/ yf thou were on the grounde/ he wolde
neuer lyfte ner take the vp/ Remembre the that
whan thou art moft glorious/ than haue some men
mofte enuye on the/ and whan thou hafte mofte
feignourye and lordships than shalt thou haue mofte
care. thought and anguyishes/ Vespasian was so
humble that whan Nero was slayn alle the peple
cryed for to haue hym empour/ and many of his
frendes cam & prayde hym that he wold take hit
vpon hym/ so at the last he was constrayned to take
hit vpon hym And sayd to his frendes Hit is
better and more to preyfe and alowe for a man to
take theempire agaynst his wil/ than for to laboure
to haue hit and to put hym self therin/ Thus
ought they to be humble and meke for to refseyue
worship/ Therfore sayth the bible that Ioab the
sone of Saryne that was captayn of the warre of
the kynge David/ whan he cam to take and wynne
a Cyte/ He sente to David and defired hym to
come to the warre/ that the victoyre shold be
gyuen to David/ And not to hym self/ Alfo they
ought to be ware that they chaunge not ofte tymes
her officers/ Josophus reherceth that the frendes of
tyberyus meruaylled moche why he hekke hys offici-
cyers so longe in theyr offices wyth oute changyngge/
And they demanded of hym the cause/ to whom be
anwered/ I wold chaunge them gladly/ yf I wyffe
that hit thold be good for the peple/ But I fawe
on a tymel man that was roynyous & full of soores/
And many flyes fatte vpon the soores and souked
his blood that hit was meruayllye to see/ wherfore I
smyote and chaced them away. And he than said
to me why chaceft and smytest away thys flyes
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that ben full of my blood/ And now shalt thou late come other that ben hongrye whiche shal doon to me double payne more than the other dide/ for the prikke of the hongrye is more poynstant the half/ than of y* fulle/ And therfore sayde he I leue the officiers in their offices/ for they ben all riche/ and doo not so moch euyl & harme As the newe shold doo & were poure yf I shold sette hem in her places/ They ought alfo to be pacyent in herynge of wordes & in suffrynge payne on her bodyes/ as to the first One said to alisander that he was not worthy to regne/ specially whan he suffrid that lecherie and delyte to haue feignoire in hym/ he suffrid hit paciently/ And answerd none otherwyse but that he wolde corrette hym self. And take better maners and more honeste. Alfo hit is rehearsed that Iulius cezar was ballyd wherof he had desplayd so grete that he kempt his heeris that laye on the after parte of his heed forward for to hyde the bare to fore. Than sayd a knyght to him Cezar hit is lightter And sonner to be made that thou be not ballid/ than that I haue vnd ony cowardyfe in the warre of rome/ or hereafter shal doo ony cowardyfe/ he suffrid hit paciently and sayd not aword/ Another reproched hym by his lignage And callyd hym forner/ he answerd that hit is better that nobleffe begynne in me/ than hit shold saylle in me/ Another callid hym tyrant/ he answerd yf I were one. thou woldest not faie soo A knight callid on a tymc scipion of africque fowle & oide knyght in armes And that he knewe lityll good And he answerd I was born of my moder a
lityll child and feble and not a man of armes. And 
yet he was at alle tymes one of the beft and mofte 
worthy in armes that liuyd. Another sayd to vaf-
pasian/ And a wolf shold sonner change his skyn 
and heer/ than thou sholdest chaige thy lyf For the 
lenger thou lyvest the more thou coueylest And 
he answerd of thyle wordes we ought to laughe. 
But we ought to amende our selfe And punyfhe 
the trefpaces. Seneque reherceth that the kynge 
Antygonus herde certayn peple speke and saye 
euyll of hym/ And therwas betwene hem nomore 
but a courtynye/ And than he sayde make an ende 
of your euyl langage lefte the kynge here yow/ for 
the courtynye heere thow well * I nowhe. Than as 
towchynge to the paynes that they ought to suffre 
paciently Valerius reherceth that a tyrant dide do 
tormente Anamaximen & thretenyd hym for to 
cutte of his tonge. To whom he sayd hit is not in 
thy power to doo foo/ and forthwyt he bote of 
his owne tonge/ And shewed hit wyth his teeth and 
cayted hit in the vifage of the Tyrant Hit is a 
grete vertu in a man that he forgete not to be 
pacyent in corrections of wronges/ Hit is better to 
leue a gylyt man vnpunyfhyd/ than to punyfhe 
hym in a wrath or yre Valerius reherceth that 
archita of tarente that was mayfter to plato sawe 
that his feldes & lande was destroyed and loft by 
the necligence of his feruant To whom he sayd 
yf I were not angry with the I wold take vengeance 
and turmente the/ Lo there ye may see that he had 
leuer to leue to punyfhe/ than to pugnyfhe more 

* sec. edit. “y nough.”
by yre & wrath than by right And therfore sayth feneque/ doo no thynge that thou oughtest to doo whan y"art angry/ For whan thou art angry thou woldest doo alle thynge after thy playse/ And yf thou canst not vaynquyfshe thyn yre/ than musste thyn yre overcomence the/ After thys ought they to haue wyllfull pouerte/ lyke as hit was in the auncyent prynces/ For they coueyted more to be riche in wytte and good maners than in moneye/ And that reherceth Valerius in his . viii . booke that fipion of Affryque was accused vnto the Senate that he shold haue grete tresour/ And he answered certes whan I submyshed affryque in to your poehte/ I helde no thynge to myself that I myght saye this is myn fave only the surname of affryque/ Ner the affryquans haue not founden in me ner in my broder ony avarice/ ner y' we were so couetouse that we had ne had greter enuye to be riche of name than of rychesses/ And therfore sayth feneque that the kynge Altagone vsid gladly in his hows vessells of erthe/ And some sayde he dyde hit for couetysfe/ But he sayde that hit was better and more noble thynge to fhyne in good maners than in vayself And whan some men demanded hym why and for what cause he dyde so/ he anwered I am now kynge of secylle/ and was fone of a potter/ and for as moche as I doubt fortune. For whan I yssued out of the hous of my fader and moder/ I was sodaynly made riche/ wherfore I beholde the natiyte of me and of my lignage/ whiche is humble & meke/ And alle these thynges cometh of wiilfull pouerte/ for he entended more to the comyn
prouffyt than to his owen/ And of thys pouerete speketh saynt Augusyn in the booke of the cyte of god That they that entende to the comyn prouffyt. sorowe more that wilfull pouerete is lost in rome/ than the richesses of rome/ For by the wilfull pouerete was the renomme of good maners kept entierly/ thus by this richesse pouerete is not only corrupt in thye dayes ner the cyte ner the maners/ but also the thoughtes of the men ben corrupt by thys couetyfe and by felonnye that is worfe. than ony other enemye/ And of the cruelte of the peple of rome speketh the good man of noble memorye Iohn the monke late cardynall of rome in the decretall the fyxte in the chapitre gens sancta where he sayth/ that they ben felloys ayenst god. contrarype to holy thynges. traytres one to that other. enuyous to her neyghbours. proude vnto fraungers. rebelle and vntrewen vnto theyr fourrayns/ Not suffringe to them that ben of lower degree than they and nothinge shamfaft to demande thinges discouenable and not to keue tyll they haue that they demande/ and not pleid but disfagreable whan they haue refseyuyd the yeft They haue their tonges redy for to make grete boost/ and doo lityll/ They ben large in promyfynges/ And smale gyuers/ they ben ryght fals deceuyoures/ And ryght mordent and bityng detracitours/ For whiche thyng hit is a grete sorowe to sce the humylite the pacyence And the good wisedom that was woute to be in this cyte of rome whiche is chief of alle the world is peruerid & torned in to maleheurte and thise cuylles/ And me thynketh that in other partyes of creftiante they
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haue taken ensample of them to doo euyl/ They may saye that this is after the decretale of Feygnourye and disobedyeance/ that sayth That suche thynges that the fouerayns doo/ Is lightly and sone taken in ensample of theyr subgetes/ Alfo thye vicayres shold be large and liberall/ In so moche that suche peple as serue them ben duly payd and guerdoned of her labour/ For euery man doth his labour the better and lightlyer when he seeth that he shall be well payd and rewarded/ And we rede that Titus the sone of vaespasian was so large and so liberall/ That he gaf and promysyd somewhat to euery man/ And when hys moste pryuy frendes demanded of hym why he promysyd more that he myght gyue/ he answerd for as moche as hyt apperteyneth not to a prynce that ony man shold departe sorowfull or tryste fro hym/ Than hit happend on a day that he gaf ner promysyd no thyng to ony man And when hit was euen auyed hymself/ he sayd to hys frendes/ O ye my frendes this day haue I loft for this day haue I don no good/ And alfo we rede of Iulius Cesar that he never saide in alle his lyue to his knyghtes goo oon but all waye be sayde come come/ For I loue allwaye to be in youre companye/ And he knewe well that hit was laffe payne & trauyll to the knyghtes whan the prynce is in her companye that loueth hem & conforted hem/ And alfo we rede of the same Iulius cefar in the booke of truphes of phylophers/ that ther was an Auncyent knyght of his that was in paryll of a caas hangyng to fore the Iuges of rome so he callyd cefar on a tyme and saied to hym to fore all men
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that he shold be his aduocate And cefar deliuered and assigned to hym a right good aduocate And the knyght sayd to hym O cefar I put no vicaire in my place when thou were in parill in y° batayll of affise/ But I faught for the. And than he shewed to hym the places of his woundes that he had receuyd in the batayll And than cam cefar in his propre perfone for to be his aduocate & to plete his cause for hym/ he wold not haue the name of vn-kynndenes/ but doubted that men shold saye that he were proude And that he wold not do for them that had seruyd hym They that can not do so moche/ as for to be belouyd of her knyghtes/ can not loue the knyghtes And this sufficeth of the rooks.
The thirde tra\ëste of the offices of the comyn peple.  
The fyrfst chapitre is of the office of the labourers  
and werkemen.

OR as moche as the Noble perfone  
canne not rewle ne gourne with oute  
y' seruyce and werke of the peple/ than  
hit behoueth to deuyse the œu urages  
and the offices of the werkemen/ Than I shall  
begynne fyrfst at the fyrfst pawne/ that is in the playe  
of the cheffe/ And signeseth a man of the comyn  
peple on fote For they be all named pietous that is  
as moche to faye as footemen And than we wyll  
begynne at the pawne whiche standeth to fore the  
rooke on the right side of the kinge for as moche
as this pawne apperteyneth to ferue the vicaire or
lieutenant of the kyngge and other officers vnder
hym of necessaries of vitayll/ And this maner a
peple is figured and ought to be maad in the forme
& shappe of a man holdynge in his ryght hande a
spade or shouell And a rodde in the lifte hand/
The spade or shouell is for to delue & labour ther-
with the erthe/ And the rodde is for to dryue &
condeyte wyth all the beftes vnto her pasture also
he ought to haue on his gyrdell/ a crokyd hachet
for to cutte of the fupfluytees of the vignes & trees/
And we rede in the bible that the fyrst labourer that
euer was/ was Caym the fyrste sone of Adam that
was so euyl that he slewe his broder Abel/ for
as moche as the smoke of his tythes went fрайt
vnto heuen/ And the smoke & fume of the tythes
of Caym wente downward vpon the erthe And how
well that this cause was trewe/ yet was ther another
caufe of enuye that he had vnto his broder/ For
whan Adam their fader maried them for to mul-
typlie y* erthe of hys lignye/ he wolde not marye
ner Ioyne to gyder the two that were born attones/
but gaf vnto caym her that was born wyth Abel/ And
to Abel her that was born with caym/ And
thus began thenuye that caym had ayent Abel/ For
his wyf was fayrer than cayms wyf And for this
cause he slough abel with the chekebone of a beft/
& at that tyme was neuer no maner of yron blody
of mannes blood/ And abel was y* fyrst martier in
tholde testament/ And this caym dide many other
euyl things whiche I leue/ for hit apperteyneth
not to my mater/ But hit behoueth for necesitie y*
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some fhould labour the erthe after ye synne of adam/
for to fore er adam synned/ the erthe brought forth
fruyt with out labour of handes/ but syn he synned/
hit mufe nedes be labourid with ye handes of men
And for as moche as the erthe is moder of alle
thynges And that we were firft formed and toke
oure begynnyng of the erthe/ the same wyfe at the
laffe. she shall be the ende vnto alle vs and to alle
thynges/ And god that formed vs of the erthe
hath ordeyned that by the laboure of men she hold
gyue nourysnyng vnto alle that lyueth/ and firft
the labourer of ye erthe ought to knowe his god
that formed and made heuen & erthe of nought
And ought to haue loyaute and trouth in hymself/
and despify deth for to entende to his laboure And
he ought to gyue thankyngis to hym that made
hym And of whom he receuyeth all his goodes
temperall/ wherof his lyf is susteyned/ And alfo he
is bounden to paye the diMES and tythes of alle his
thynges And not as CAYM dyde. But as Abell
dyde of the befe that he chefe allway for to gyue
to god & to plese hym/ For they that grucchini
be greuyd in that they rendre and gyue to god the
tienthes of her goodes/ they ought to be aferd and
haue drede that they fhall falle in neceffite And ye
they might be dippoylyd or robbed by warre or by
tempesf that myght falle or happen in the contrey
And hit is meruayll though hit fo happen For
that man that is disagreable vnto god And weneth
ye the multiplynge of his goodes temporell cometh
by the vertu of his owne coucelyll and his wytte/ the
whiche is made by the only ordenance of hym that
made alle. And by the same ordenance is soone taken away fro hym that is disagreeable and hit is repon that when a man haboundeth by fortune in goodes/ And knoweth not god/ by whom hit cometh/ that to hym come some other fortune by the whiche he may require grace and pardon. And to knowe his god/ And we rede of the kyngke Dauid that was first symple & one of the comyn peple/ that when fortune had enhaunfed and sette hym in grete aßtate/ he lefte and forgate his god/ And full to aduoultrye and homicyde and other synnes/ Than anon his owne sone Absalon assaylled & began to perfeçute hym. And than when he sawe that fortune was contrarye to hym/ he began to take agayn his vertuous werkis and requyred pardoun and so returned to god agayn. We rede also of the children of ysaæl that were n yghe enslamynd in desert and fore hongry & sruft that they prayd & requyred of god for remedy/ Anon he changed his wyll & sente to hem manna/ & fleßh &c./ And when they were repleneßhid & fatte of the fleßh of beßtes & of the manna/ they made a calf of gold and worshippid hit. Whiche was a grete synne & Inquyte/ For whan they were hongry they knewe god/ And whan theye belyes were fylde & fattëd/ they forgid ydoles & were ydolatres. After this euer labourer ought to be faythfull & trewe. That when his maytrefe deleyuereth to hym his lande to be laboured/ that he take no thinge to hymself but that hym ought to haue & is his/ but laboure truly & take cure and charge in the name of his maistrefe/ and do more diligently his maistres labours than his owen/
for the lyf of y^s moxt grete & noble men next god
lieth in y^s handes of the labourers/ and thus all
craftes & occupacions ben ordeyned not only to
suffise to them only/ but to the comyn/ And fo hit
happeth ofte tyme that y^s labourer of the erthe vfeht
grete and boyftous metes/ and bringeth to his
maister more subtile & more deyntous metes/ And
valerius reherceth in his. vi. book that ther was a
wife & noble maister y^s was named Anthoni^ that
was accused of a caas of aduoultrye/ & as the caufe
heng to fore the Iuges/ his accusers or denonci-
atours brought I labourer that closid his land for so
moche as they fayde when his maister wente to doo
the aduoultrye/ this same feruant bare the lanterne.
whereof Anthonyus was fore abaswyd and doubted
that he fhold depose agaynst hym/ But the labourer
that was named papirion fayd to his maister that he
fhold denye his caufe hardlyly vnto the Iuges/ For
for to be tormentid/ his caufe fhold neuer be enpeyrid
by hym/ ner no thynge fhold yffue out of his mouth
whereof he fhold be noyed or greuyd/ And than was
the labourer beten and tormentid and brent in many
places of his body/ But he fayd neuer thynge wherof
his mayster was hurte or noyed/ But the other that
accused his maister were punyfhyd/ And papiryon
was delierid of his paynes free and franc/ And also
telte thluth valerius that ther was another labourer that
was named penapion/ that serued a maister whos
name was Themes which was of meruayllous faith
to his mayster For hit befall that certain knyghtes
cam to his maisters hows for to flee hym/ And anone
as papiryon knewe hit/ he wente in to his maisters
chambre And wold not be knowne For he dide on his maisters gowne and his rynge on his fynger/ And laye on his bedde And thus put hym self in parill of deth for to respite his maisters lyf/ But we see now a dayes many fooles that daigne not to vfe groos metes of labourers. And see the cours cloth-ynge And maners of a seruant Every wife man a seruant that truly serueth his maister is free and not bonde/ But a foole that is ouer proude is bonde/ For the debilite and feblenes of corage that is broken in conscience by pryde Enuye. or by couetyse is ryght seruytude/ yet they ought not to double to laboure for feere and drede of deth/ no man ought to loue to moche his lyf/ For hit is a sowll thynge for a man to renne to the deth for the enemye of his lyf/ And a wyse man and a stronge man ought not to see for his lyf/ but to yssue For ther is no man that luyeth/ but he must nedes dye. And of this speketh claudyan and fayth that allethoo thynes that the Ayer goth aboute and enyronned. And alle thynge that the erthe laboureth/ Alle thynys that ben conteyned wyth in the fee. Alle thynes that the floodes brynge forth/ Alle thynes that ben nouryshid and alle the bestes that ben vnnder the heuen shall departe alle from the world/ And alle shall goo at his comandement/ As well Kynges Prynces and alle that the world enyronned and goothe aboute Alle shall goo this wyse/ Than he ought not to double for fere of deth. For as well shall dye the ryche as the poore/ deth maketh alle thynge lyke and putteth alle to an ende; And therof made a noble versifier two versis whiche
folowe Forma. genus. mores. sapiencia. res. et
honores/ Morte ruant subita sola manent merita/
Werof the englihs is Beaulite. lignage. maners.
wyfedom. thynge & honoure/ shal ben deftetid by
fodeyn deth/ no thynge shal abide but the merites/
And herof fynde we in Vitas patrum. that ther was
an erle a riche & noble man that had a sone onely/
and whan this sone was of age to haue knowlech of
the lawe/ he herde in a sermone that was prechid
that deth spareth none/ ne riche ne poure/ and as well
dyeth y' yonge as the olde/ and that the deth ought
specially to be doubted for . iii. causces/ one was/ y'
noman knoweth when he cometh/ and the seconde/
er in what state he taketh a man/ And the
thirde he wote neuer whither he shal goo. Therefore
eche man shold diphie and flee the world and lyue
well and hold hym toward god. And when this
yong man herde this thynge/ he wente oute of his
contrey and fledde vnto a wyldernesse vnto an her-
mytage/ and whan his fader had lofte hym he made
grete forowe/ and dyde do enquere & seke hym fo
moche at laft he was founden in the hermitage/ and
than his fader cam theder to hym and sayde/dere sone
come from thens/ thou shalt be after my deth erle
and chyef of my lignage/ I shall be loft yf thou
come not out from thens/ And he than that wyfte
non otherwise to efchewe the yre of his fader be-
thought hym and sayde/ dere fader ther is in your
contre and lande a right eyyll custome yf hit plefe
yow to put that away I shall gladly come out of
this place and goo with yow. The fader was glad
and had grete Ioy. And demaude of hym what hit
was. And yf he wold telle hym he promyshd him to
take hit away and hit hold be left and sette aparte.
Than he sayde dere fader ther dyen as well the yong
folk in your contrey as the olde/do that away I pray
yow/ whan his fader herde that he sayde Dere
fone that may not be ner noman may put that away
but god only/H Than answerd the fone to the fader/
than wylle I ferue hym and dwelle here wyth hym
that may do that. And fo abode the childe in the
hermytage & lyuyd there in good werkes. After
this hit apperteyneth to a labourer to entende to
his laboure and fylle ydlenes/ And thou oughtest
to knowe that Dauid preyseth moche in the sawlter
the trewe labourers and sayth/ Thou shalt ete the
labour of thy handes and thou art blessid/ and he
shall do to the good. And hit behoueth that the
labourer entende to his labour on the werkedayes
for to recuyell and gadre to gyder the fruyt of his
labour/ And also he ought to refite on the holy day/
bothe he and his bestes. And a good labourer
ought to noryshe and kepe his bestes/ And this
is signified by the rodde that he hath. Whiche is
for to lede and dryue them to the pasture/. The
first paftour that euer was/ was Abel whiche was
lufe and trewe/ and offryd to god the bestes vnto
his sacrefece/ And hym ought he to folowe in craft
& maners. But no man that vseth the malice of
Caym may ensue and folowe Abel/ And thus hit
apperteyneth to the labourer to sette and graffe trees
and vyynes/ and also to plante and cutte them
And fo dyde noe whiche was the first that planted
the vygne after y* deluge and flood. For as Iosephus
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reherceth in y' book of naturell thinges Noe was he that fonde fyrst the vygne/ And he fonde hym bitter and wylde/ And therfore he toke . iii. maners of blood/ that is to wete the blood of a lyn. the blood of a lamb. the blood of a swyne. and the blood of an ape and medlid them alto geder with the erthe/ And than he cutte the vygne/ And put this aboute the rootes therof/ To thende that the bitternes shold be put away/ and that hyt shold be swete/ And whan he had dronken of the fruyt of this vygne/ hit was so good and mighty that he becam fo dronke/ that he dispoylled hym in suche wise y' his pryuy members might be seen/ And his yongeft fone cham mocqued and fkorned hym And whan Noe was awakid & was sobre & faillinge/ he asemble his fones and shewid to them the nature of the vygne and of the wyn/ And told to them the caufe whyn he had put the blood of the bestes aboute the roote of the vygne and that they shold knowe well y' otherwhile by y' strength of the wyn men be made as hardy as the lyn and yrous And otherwhile they be made fymple & shamefaft as a lambe And lecherous as a swyn/ And curyous and full of playe as an Ape/ For the Ape is of suche nature that whan he feeth one do a thynge he en-forceth hym to doo the same/ and fo doo many whan they ben dronke/ they will medle them wyth alle officers & matiers that apperteyne no thynge to them/ And whan they ben faflynge & sobre they can fearfely accomplishe theyr owne thynges And therfore valerian reherceth that of auneyente and in olde tyme women dranke no wyn for as moche as
by dronkenship they myght falle in ony filthe or vilonye And as Ouide sayth/ that the wyns other-whyle apparaylle the corages in suche manere that they ben couenable to alle fynnes whiche take away the herties to doo well/ They make the poure riche/ as longe as the wyn is in his heed And shortly dronkenship is the begynnynge of alle euyllys/ And corrompith the body/ and destroyed the fowle and mypufshith the goodes temporels/ And this suffyfeth for the labourer.
The seconde chapitre of the thirde trausage treteth of
the forme and maner of the seconde pawne and of the
maner of a smyth.

The seconde pawne ye standeth to fore
the knyght on the right side of the
kynge hath the forme and figure of a
man as a smyth and that is rejon. For
hit apperteyneth to ye knyghtes to haue bridellys
fadellys spores and many other thynges made by
the handes of smythes and ought to holde an hamer
in his right hande. And in his lyfte hand a dolabre
and he ought to haue on his gyrdell a trowell. For
by this is signefied all maner of werkemen/ as gold-
smithes. marchallis. smithes of all forges/ forgers
and makers of monoye & all maner of smythes ben
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Signefyed by * the hamers/ The carpenters ben signefyed by the dolabre or squyer/ And by the trowell we vnderstane all masons & keruars of stones/ tylers/ and alle them that make howses castels & tours/ And to alle these crafty men hit apperteyneth that they be trewe, wise and strong/ and hit is nede y/ they haue in hemself faith and loyaulte/ For vnto the goldsmynthes behoueth gold & silver And alle other metallys/ yren & steel to other/ And vnto the carpenters and masons/ ben put to theyr edifices the bodyes and goodes of the peple/ And also men put in the handes of the maronners body and goodes of the peple/ And in the garde and sewerte of them men put body & sowle in the paryl of the see/ and therefore ought they to be trewe/ vnto whom men commyte suche grete charge and so grete thynges vpon her fayth and truste. And therefore fayth the philosophere/ he that leyth his fayth and beleue/ may lofe no getter ne more thynge. And fayth is a soucerayn good and cometh of the good wyll of the herte and of his mynde And for no necessite wyll decyue no man/ And is not corrupt for no mede. Valerius reherceth that Fabius had receuyd of hanybal certayn prysoners that he helde of the romains for a certayn some of money whiche he promysid to paye to the sayd hanyball/ And when he cam vnto the senatours of rome and defired to haue y/ money lente for hem They anwered that they wold not paye ner lene And than fabius sente his some to rome & made hym to selle his heritage & patrimonye/ and sente

* sec. edit. "by the martel or hamer."
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the money that he resalleyd therof vnto hanibal/
And had leuer & louyd better to be poure in his
contrey of herytage/ than of bylue and fayth/
But in thyse dayes hit were grete folye to haue
fuche affiance in moche peple but yf they had ben
prettyd afore. For oftentimes men trufte in them
by whom they ben deceuyyd at theyr nede/
And it is to wete that these crafty men and werkemen
ben fouerainly prouffitable vnto the world. And
wyth oute artifecers and werkmen the world myght
not be gouerned/ And knowe thou verily that alle
tho thynges that ben engendrid on the erthe and on
the see/ ben made and formed for to do prouffit
vnto the lignment of man/ for man was formed for
to haue generacion/ that the men myght helpe and
prouffit ech other. And here in ought we to
folowe nature/ For she shewed to vs that we hould
do comyn prouffit one to an other/ And y' first
fondement of Iustice is that no man hould noye or
greue other. But that they ought doo the comyn
prouffit/ For men saye in reproche That I see of
thyn/ I hope hit shall be myn. But who is he in
thyse dayes that entendeth more to the comyn
prouffit than to his owne/ Certaynly none/ But
all way a man ought to haue drede and feere of his
owne hows/ whan he seeth his neyghbours hous a
fyre. And therfore ought men gladly helpe the
comyn prouffit/ for men otherwhile sette not be a
lityll fyre. And might quenche hit in the be-
gynnynge/ that afterward makyth a grete blasyng
fyre. And fortune hath of no thinge so grete
playfyr/ as for to torne & werke all way/ And
nature is so noble a thynge that were as she is the wyll suffeyne and kepe/ but this rewle of nature hath fayllid longe tyme/ how well that the decree saith that alle the thynge that ben ayenst the lawe of nature/ ought to be taken away and put a part And he saith to fore in the . viii . distinction that the ryght lawe of nature differenceth ofte tymes for custome & statutes eftablisshid/ for by lawe of nature all thynge ought to be comyn to every man/ and this lawe was of old tyme. And men wene yet specially y' the troianys kept this lawe And we rede that the multitude of the Troians was one herte and one sowle/ And verayly we fynde that in tyme passid the philosophres dyde the same/ And also hit is to be suppolyd that suche as haue their goodes comune & not propre is most acceptable to god/ For ellys wold not this religious men as monkes freris chanons obseruantes & all other auowe hem & kepe the wilfull pouerte that they ben professid too/ For in trouth I haue my self ben conuerfant in a religio hous of white freris at gaunt Which haue all thynge in comyn amonget them/ and not one richer than an other/ in so moche that yf a man gaf to a frere . iii . d or . iii . d to praye for hym in his maffe/ as fone as the maffe is doon he deliuerith hit to his ouerfe or procuratour in whyche hows ben many vertuous and deuoute freris. And yf that lyf were not the beste and the most holiest/ holy church wold neuer suffre hit in religion And acordynge thereto we rede in plato whiche saith y' the cyte is well and Iuftely gouernid and ordeyned in the whiche no man maye faye by
right. by cuftome. ne by ordenance/ this is myn/ but I say to the certaynly that syn this cuftome came forth to say this is myn/ And this is thyn/ no man thought to preferre the comyn prouffit so moche as his owen/ And alle werkemen ought to be wife & well aduyfyd so that they haue none enuye ne none eyyll fuupecion one to an other/ for god wyle that our humayne nature be couetuous of two thyngeis/ that is of Religion. And of wyfredom/ but in this caas ben some often tymes deceuyed For they take ofte tymes religion and leue wifedom And they take wyfredom and reffuse religion And none may be vraye and trewe with oute other For hit apperteyneth not to a wyf man to do ony thynge that he may repente hym of hit/ And he ought to do no thynge asenyft his wyll/ but to do alle thynge nobly. meurely. fermely. and honestely. And yf he haue enuye vpon ony. hit is folye For he on whom he hath enuye is more honest and of more honaor than he which is so enuyous/ For a man may haue none enuye on an other/ but be cause he is more fortunat and hath more grace than hym self/ For enuye is a forowe of corage y' cometh of dyfordynance of the prouffit of another man. And knowe thou verily that he that is full of bounte shall neuer haue enuye of an other/ But thenyuous man feeth and thynketh alwaye that euer man is more noble/ And more fortunat that hymself. And sayth alwaye to hymself/ that man wynneth more than 1/ and myn neyghboors haue more plente of beftes/ and her thyngeis multiplye more than myn/ and therfore thou oughtest knowe that enuye is the
most grettest dedely synne that is/ for the tormen-
teth hym that hath her wythin hym/ wyth oute
torméntyng or doyng ony harme to hym/ on
whome he hath enuye. And an enyous man hath
no vertue in hymself/ for he corrumpeth hymself
for as moche as he hateth allway the welthe and
vertues of other/ and thus ought they to kepe them
that they take none euyll fúspécon For a man
naturally whan his affection hath fúspécion in ony
man that he wenhth that he doth/ hit fémeth to
hym verily that it is done. And hit is an euyll
thynge for a man to haue fúspécion on hymself/
For we rede that dionyfe of zecyll a tyrant Was fo
fúspécionous that he had so grete fere and drede
For as moche as he was hated of all men/ that he
putte his frendes oute of theyr offices that they had/
And put other estrangers in theyr places for to kepe
his body/ and chefe suche as were ryght Cruell and
felons/ And for fere and doubt of the barbours/
he made hys doughters to lerne sháue and kembe/
And whan they were grete. He wold not they
shold vse ony yron to be occupied by them/ but to
brenne and fenge his heeris/ and manaced them and
durft not truve in them/ And in lyke wyse they
had none affiance in hym And also he dyde do
enuyronne the place where he laye wyth grete
diches and brode lyke a caftell/ And he entryd by
a drawbrygge whiche clofyd after hym/ And hys
knighetes laye wyth oute wyth his gardes whiche
wacchid and kept straytly thys fortéresse/ And
whan plato sawe thys Dionyfe kynge of cezille thus
enuyronned and set aboute wyth garde & wacche-
men for the cause of his suspicion sayd to hym openly to fore all men kinge why haft thou don so moche eyll & harme/ that the behoueth to be kept wytth so moche peple/ And therfore I faye that hit apperteyneth not to ony man that wylle truly behaue hym self in his werkis to be suspecyous/ And also they ought to be stronge and feure in theyr werkis/ And specially they that ben maysters and maronners on the see/ for yf they be tumerous and ferdfull they shold make a ferde them that ben in theyr shippis/ that knowe not the paryls/ And so hit might hapene that by that drede and fere alle men shold leue theyr labour/ And so they myght be perisshid and defeyred in theyr corages/ For a shipp is soone perisshid and loft by a lityll tempest/ whan the gouernour fayleth to gouerne his shippe for drede/ And can gyue no councye to other than it is no meruayll/ thangh they be a ferd that ben in his gouernance/ And therfore ought be in them strengthe force and corage/ and ought to confidere the peryls that might falle/ And the gouernour specially ought not to doubte/ And if hit happen that ony paryll falle/ he ought to promyse to the other good hoope/ And hit apperteyneth well/ that a man of good and hardy corage be fette in that office/ In suche wyse that he haue ferme and feure mynde aynst the paryls that ofsetymes happen in the see/ and with this ought the maroners haue good and ferme creance and beleue in god/ and to be of good reconforte & of fayr langage vnto them that he gouerneth in suche paryls/ And this sufficeth to yow as touchynge the labourers.
The thirde chapitre of the thirde book treteth of the
office of notaryes advocats skryueners and drapers or
clothmakers.

He thirde pawne whiche is sette to fore
the Alphyn on the right side ought to
be figured as a clerk. And hit is fren
that he shold so be. For as moche
as amonge ye® comon peple of whom we speke in
thys book they plete the differencis contencions and
causes otherwhile the whiche behoulth the Alphins
to gyue sentence and Iuge as Iuges. And hit is
fren that the Alphin or Iuge haue his notarye/ by
whom ye® proceffe may be wretton/ And this pawne
ought to be made and figured in this mamere/ he
mufte be made like a man that holdeth in his right hand a pair of sheres or forsettis/ and in the lifte hand a grete knyf and on his gurdell a penuer and an ynkhorn/ and on his eere a penne to wryte wyth And that ben the Instrumentis & the offices that ben made and put in writynge autentique/ and ought to haue passed to fore the Iuges as libelles writtes condemnacions and sentences/ And that is signefied by the scripertoire and the penne and on that other part hit appertayneth to them to cutte cloth. shere. dighte. and dye/ and that is signefied by the forsettis or sheres/ and the other ought to shaue berdes and communic the heeris/ And the other ben coupers. coryers. tawiers. skynners. bouchers and cordwanners/ and these ben signefyed by the knyf that he holdeth in his hand and some of thise forfayd craftye men ben named drapers or clothmakers for fo moche as they werke wyth wolfe. and the Notayres. skynners. coryours. and cardewaners werke by skynnes and hydes/ As parchemyn velume. peltrye and cordewan/ And the Taylours. cutters of cloth. weuars. fullars. dyers/ And many other craftes occupye and vfe wulle/ And alle thyfe craftye men & many other that I haue not named/ ought to doo their craft and mestyer/where as they ben duly ordeyned Curyoufly and truly/ Alfo ther ought to be amonge thyfe craftye men amyable companye and trewe/ honest contenance/ And trouthe in their wordes/ And hit is to wete that the notaries ben right prouffitable and ought to be good & trewe for the comyn And they ought to kepe them fro appropriyng to themself that thynge y' apper-
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teyneth to the comyn. And yf they be good to them self/ they ben good to other. And yf they be euyl for themself/ they ben euyl for other. And the proceeses that ben made to fore the Iuges ought to ben wreton & paffid by them/ and hit is to wete that by their writynge in the processis may come moche prouffit. And alfo yf they wryte otherwyse than they ought to doo/ may enfewe moche harme and domage to the comyn. Therfore ought they to take good heede that they chaunge not ne corrumpe in no wyse the content of the sentence. For than ben they first forsworn. And ben bounden to make amendes to them that by their tricherye they hauie endomaged/ And alfo ought they to rede visite and to knowe the statutes, ordenances and the lawes of the cytees of the contre/ where they dwelle and enhabite/ And they ought to confider yf ther be ony thyng therein conteyneyd ayenst right and refon/ and yf they fynde ony thinge contre/ they ought to admonishte and warn them that gouerne/ that suche thynges may be chaunged into better auste/ For cuftome establisyed ayenst good maners and agaynst the fayth/ ought not to be holden by right. For as hit is sayd in the decree in the chapitre to fore/ alle ordenance made ayenst ryght ought to be holden for nought. Alas who is now that aduocate or notaire that hath charge to wryte and kepe sentence that putteth his entente to kepe more the comyn prouffit or as moche as his owen/ But alle drede of god is put a back/ and they deceyue the symple men. And drawen them to the courtes disordinatly and constrayned them to swere and make
othes not couenable/ And in assemblenyng the peple thus to gyder they make moo trayfons in the cytes than they make good alyances And otherwhile they deceyue their fourayns/ whan they may doo hit couerly/ For ther is no thynge at this day that so moche greueh rome and Ialye as doth the colledge of notaries and advocates publicque For they ben not of oon a corde/ Alas and in Engeland what hurte doon the aduocats/ men of lawe. And attorneyes of court to the comyn peple of y*royame as well in the spirituell lawe as in the temporall/ how torne they the lawe and statutes at their pleafir/ how ete they the peple/ how enpouere they the comynre/ I suppoze that in alle Cristendom ar not so many pletars attorneys and men of the lawe as ben in england onely/ for yf they were nombrie all that large to the courtes of the channcery kinges benche/ comyn place/ cheker/ reffayt and helle And the bagge berars of the fame/ hit shold amounte to a grete multitude/ And how alle thyfe lyue & of whome/ yf hit shold be vttirid & told/ hit shold not be beleuyd. For they entende to theyr synguler wele and prouffyt and not to the comyn/ how well they ought to be of good wyll to gyder/ and admo- nefte and warne the cytes eche in his right in suche wife that they myght haue pees and loue one with an other/ And tullius saith that frendshipe and good wyll that one ought to haue ayenst an other for the wele of hym that he loueth/ wyth the sem- blable wyle of hym/ ought to be put forth to fore alle other thynges/ And ther is no thynge fo re- semblynge and lyke to the bees that maken honye
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ne so couenable in prosperite and in aduerite as is loue/ For by loue gladly the bees holden them to gyder/ And yf ony trespas to that other anone they renne vpon the malefactour for to punyſhe hym/ And verray trewe loue sayleth neuer for wele ne for eyll/ and the moft swete and the moft confortynge thyng is for to haue a frende to whom a man may faye his secrete/ as well as to hym self/ But verayly amytye and frendship is somtyme founded vpon som thinge delectable And this amytye cometh of yongthe/ in the whiche dwelleth a disordeinate heete.

And otherwhile amytye is founded vpon honeste/ And this amytye is vertuouſe/ Of the whiche tullius faith yf ther is an amytye vertuous by the whiche a man ought to do to his frende alle that he requyreth by rayfon. For for to do to hym a thyng dehonneste it is ayenſt the nature of verray frendhipe & amytye And thus for frendhipe ne for fauour a man ought not to doo ony thinge vn-reſonable ayenſt the comyn prouffit ner agaynſt his fayth ne ayenſt his oth/ for yf alle tho thynges that the frendes defire and requyre were accomplisshed & doon/ hit hold ſeme that they hold be deſhonneste coniuracions/ And they myght otherwhile more greue & hurte than prouffit and ayde/ And herof fayth ſeneque that amytye is of suche wyle as the frende wyle/ And to refufe that ought to be reſulfid by rayfon/ And yet he fayth more. that a man ought to alowe and preſye his frende to fore the peple/ and to correçte and to chaſtyle hym pryually. For the lawe of amytye is suche For a
man ought not to demande ner doo to be doon to his frende no vyllayns thynge that ought to be kept secrete. And valerian sayth that it is a fowill thynge and an euyll excufacion/ yf a man conffesse that he hath done ony euyll for his frende ayenst right and rayfon/ And sayth that ther was a good man named Taffile whiche herde one his frende requyre of hym a thynge dishonneste whiche he denied and wold not doo. And than his frende sayth to hym in grete dispyte/ what nede haue I of thy frendship & amytie whan thou wylt not doo that thynge that I requyre of the. And Taffile answerd to hym/ what nede haue I of the frendship and of the amytie of the/ yf I shold doo for the thynge dishoneste. And thus loue is founded otherewhile vpon good prouffitable/ and this loue endureth as longe as he feeth his prouffit. And herof men saye a comyn prouerbe in england/ that loue lafteth as longe as the money endureth/ and when the money faylleth than there is no loue/ and varro rehereceth in his sommes/ that y* riche men ben alle louyd by this loue/ for their frendes ben lyke as y* hufke whiche is aboute the grayn/ and no man may proue his frende so well as in aduerfite/ or when he is poure/ for the veray trewe frende faylleth at no nede/ And feneque faith y* some folowe the empour for riches/ and fo doon y* flies the hony for the fwtenes/ and the wolf the karayn. And thise companye folowe the proye/ and not the man. And tullius faith that Tarquyn y* proude had a neuwe of his sufter which was named brutus/ and this neuwe had banyshid tarquyn out of rome and had fente hym in exyle/
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And than sayd he first that he parseyued & knewe his frendes whiche were trewe & untrewe/ and ye he neuer parseyued a fore tyme whan he was puyfant for to doo their wyll/ and sayd well that the loue that they had to hym/ endured not but as longe as it was to them prouffitable/ and therfore ought till the ryche men of the world take hede/ be they Kynges Prynces or ducs to what peple they doo prouffit & how they may and ought be louyd of theyr peple/ For cathom sayth in his book/ see to whom thouguyft/ and this loue whiche is founded vpon theyr prouffit/ whiche sayleth and endureth not/ may better be callyd and saied marchandyse than loue/ For yf we repute this loue to our prouffit only/ and nothynge to the prouffyt of hym that we loue/ It is more marchandyse than loue/ For he byeth our loue for the prouffit that he doth to vs/ and therfor saith the verffer thyr two verfit Tempore felici multi murmerantur amici Cum for- tuma perit nullus amicus erit/ whiche is to saye in English that as longe as a man is ewrous and for- nat he hath many frendes but whan fortune torneth and perifisheth ther abideth not to hym one frende/ And of this loue ben louyd the medowes feldes. Trees and the beestes for the prouffit that men take of them/ But the loue of the men ought to be charyte. veray gracious and pure by good sayth/ And the veray trewe frendes ben knownen in pure aduerse/ and pers alphans saith in his book of moraltie that ther was a philosophre in arabye that had an onely sone/ of whom he demanded what frendes he had goten hym in his lyf/ And he an-
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sword that he had many And his father said to him: I am an old man/ And yet could I never find but one friend in all my life/ And I trust truly that it is no light thing for to have a friend/ and it is well greater and more a man to have many/ And it appertained and behooved a man to assay and preue his friend ere he have need. And then commanded the philosopher his son/ that he hold goo and flee a swine/ and put hit in a sack/ andayne that hit were a man dede that he had flayn and bere hit to his friends for to bury hit secretly/ And when the son had don as his father commanded to him and had requyr'd his friends one after another as a fore is said/ They denied him/ And answered to him that he was a velayne to requyre & desire of them thynge that was so peryl-
lous/ And than he cam agayn to his father and said to him how he had requyred alle his friends/ And that he had not found one that wolde helpe him in his neede/ And than his father said to him that he hold goo and requyre his friend whiche had but one/ and requyre him that he hold helpe him in his neede/ And when he had requyred him/ Auone he put oute alle his mayne out of his hows/ And when they were oute of the waye or a slepe he dide do make secretly a pytte in the grounde/ And when hyt was redy and wold haue buryed the body/ he found hit an hogge or a swyne and not a man/ And thus thys son requyrd thys man to be a veray trewe friend of his father/ And requyrd that his friends were fals friends of fortune/ And yet reherceth the said piers Alphons/ That ther
were two marchantes one of Bandach and that other of Egipte which were so Ioynde to gyder by so grete frendshippe that he of Bandach cam on a tyme for to see hys frende in Egipte/ of whom he was receuyyd ryght honourably And thys mar-
chant of Egipte had in his hows a fayr yonge may-
den whom he shold haue had in maryage to hym-
self/ Of the whiche mayde thys marchant of Bandach was epréyde wyth her loue so ardantly that he was ryght seeke/ And that men supposid hym to dye. And than the other dyde doo come the phisicyens whiche sayd that in hym was none other sekenes sauf paffyon of loue/ Than he axid of the seeke man yf ther wer ony woman in hys hows that he louyd and made alle the women of hys hows to come to fore hym/ And than he chees her that shold haue ben that others wyf and sayd that he was seek for the loue of her/ Than hys frende sayd to hym Frende conforte your self/ For trewly I gyue her to yow to wyf wyth alle the dowayre that is gyuen to me wyth her/ And had leuer to suffre to be wyth oute wyf than to lese the body of his frende And than he of Bandach wedded the mayde. And wente wyth his wyf and wyth his riches ayen in to his contrey And after this anone after hit happend that the marchant of Egipte be cam so poure by eyll fortune/ that he was constryayne to seche and begge his brede by the contrey in so moche that he cam to bandach. And whan he entrid in to the toun hit was derke nght that he coude not fynde the hows of his frende/ but wente and laye this nght in an olde
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And on the morn when he shold ysue outhe of the temple the officers of the toun areslid hym and sayd that he was an homycide and had slayn a man whiche laye there dede And anôn he confessid hit wyth a good wylle And had leuyr to ben hangid than to dye in that myserable and poure lyf that he suffrid And thus whan he was brought to Juge ment And sentence shold haue ben gyuen ayenft hym as an homicide his frende of bandach cam and fawe hym and anone knewe y this was his good frende of Egiphte And forthwyth steynt in and sayde that he hymself was culpable of the deth of this man and not that other and enforced hym in alle maners for to delyuer and excufe that other And than whan that he that had don the feet and had slayn the man fawe this thynge he considerid in hym self that these two men were Innocente of this feet And doubtynge the dyyyn Juge ment he cam to fore the Juge and confessid alle the feet by ordre And whan the Juge fawe and herd alle this mater and also the causes he considerid the ferme and trewe loute that was betwene the two frendes And vnderstode the caufe why that one wold faue that other and the troth of the fayte of the homicide And than he pardonid alle the feet hooly and entierly and after the marchant of bandach brought hym of egiphte wyth hym in to his hous and gaf to hym his sufier in mariaige and departid to hym half his goodes And fo bothe of hem were riche And thus were they bothe veray faythfull and trewe frendes Furthermore Notaires men of lawe and crafty men shold and ought to loue eche
other, And also ought to be contynent chast & honeste. For by their craftes they ought so to be by necessitie. For they conuerfe & accompanye them ofte tyme with women And therfor hit apperteyneth to them to be chast and honest. And that they meue not the women ner entyte them to lawhe/ and Iape by ony disordinate ensignees or tokens. Titus liuyus reherceth that the philospher democreon dye do put oute his eyen for as moche as he myght not beholde the women wyth oute fleshely desire/. And how well hit is saied before that he dide hit for other certayn cause yet was this one of the pryncipall causes/ And Valerian telleth that ther was a yonge man of rome of ryght excellent beauté. And how well that he was ryght chast. For as moche as his beauté meuyd many women to desye hym/ in so moche that he vnderfiode that the parents and frendes of them had supecion in hym/ he dyde his visage to be cutte wyth a knyf and lancettis endlonge and ouerthwart for to deforme his visage/. And had leuer haue a fowle visage and disformd/ than the beauté of his visage shold meue other to synne/. And also we rede that ther was a Nonne a virgyn dye do put oute bothe her eyen. For as moche as the beauté of her eyen meuyd a kynge to loue her/ whyche eyen she sente to the kynge in a presente/. And also we rede that plato the ryght ryche and wyse philosphere lefte hys owne lande and Contre. And cheese his man- sion and dwellynge in achadomye a town/ whiche was not only destroyed but also was full of pestilence/ so that by the cure and charge and customance
of forowe that be there suffrid/ myght eschewe the heetes and occasions of lecherye/ And many of his discipes dyde in lyke wyte/ Helemand herceth that demoftenes the philosopher lay ones by a right noble woman for his disporte/ and playnge with her he demanded of her what he shold gyue to haue to doo wyth her/ And she answerd to hym/ a thousand pens/ and he sayd agayn to her I shold repente me to bye hit so dere/ And whan he aduyfed hym that he was so fore chauffid to speke to her for taccopolish his fleeshely desyre/ he dispoyled hym alle naked and wenete and putte hym in the middles of the snowe And ouide herceth that this thynge is the lefte that maye helpe and moiste greve the louers And therfore saynt Augustyn herceth in his book de Ciuitate dei that ther was a ryght noble romayne named mercularian that wan and toke the noble cyte of siracuse And to fore er he dyde do affaylle hit or befyghte hit/ and er he had do be shedde any blood/ he wepte and shedde many teeris to fore the cyte And that was for the caufe that he doubted that his peple shold defoyle and corrump to moche dishonestly the chaftyte of the town And ordeyned vpon payne of deth that no man shold be so hardy to take and defoyle any woman by force what that euer she were/ After this the craftymen ought to vnderfond for to trewe/ and to haue trothe in her mouthes And that theyr dedes folowe theyr wordes For he that sayth one thynge and doth another/ he condempneth hymself by his word Alfo they ought to see well to that they be of one Acorde in good/ by entente/ by word/ and by dede/
so that they ben not discordant in no caes/ But euerie man haue pure veryte and trouthe in hym self/
For god hym self is pure verite/ And men say comynly that trouthe feketh none heres ne corners/
And trouthe is a vertu by the whych alle drede
and fraude is put away/ Men faye truly when they faye that they knowe/
And they that knowe not trouthe/ ought to knowe hit/
And alleway vse trouthe/ For Saynt Auflyn sayth that they that wene to knowe trouthe/
And lyuyth euyll & viciouly. It is folye yf he knoweth hit not/
And also he sayth in an other place that it is better
to suffre peyne for trouthe. Than for to haue a
benefete by fallenes or by flaterye. And man that
is callyd a beste reasonable and doth not his werkes
after rexon and trouthe/ Is more bestyll than ony
beste brute/ And knowe ye that for to come to
the trouthe/ Hit cometh of a raysonable forfght
in his mynde/ And lyenge cometh of an outrageus
and contrarye thought in his mynde/ For he that
lyeth wetynly/ Knoweth well that hit is agaynft
the trouthe that he thynketh/ And herof speketh
Saynt Bernard and sayth/ That the mouthe that lyeth
destroyeth the fowle/ And yet sayth Saynt Auflyn
in an other place For to faye ony thyng/ And to
do the contrarye. maketh doctryne suspecious/
And knowe ye veryly that for to lyf is a right
perillous thyng to body and fowle For the lye
that the auncyent enemye made Euie & adam to
beleue hym/ made hem for to be dampevd wyth
alle theyr lignage to the deth pardurable And made
hem to be cast oute of Paradyse terrestrate/ For he
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made them to beleue that god had not forbidden them the fruyt. But only be cause they shold not knowe that her maister knewe. But how well that the deuyll saide thise wordes yet had the double entente to hem bothe. For they knewe an as they had tafted of the fruyt that they were dampsed to the deth pardurable. And god knewe it well to fore. But they supposed well to have knownen many other thynges. And to belyke vnto his knowleche and sciencie. And therfor fayth faynt poule in a pistyll. hit ne apperteyneth to saure or knowe more than behoueth to saure or knowe/but to sauoure or knowe by mesure or sobrenes. And valerian reherceth that ther was a good woman of siracusane that wold not lyve vnto the kynge of secylyle whiche was named dyonys. And this kynge was fo full of tyrannye & fo cruell that alle the world desired his deth and curset hym. Saauf this woman onely whiche was fo olde that she had seen thre or .iiii. kynge regnyngge in the contre. And euer mornynge as done as she was rysen she prayd to god that he wold gyue vnto the tyrant good lyf and longe. And that she myght never see his deth. And when the kynge dyonis knewe this he sent for her. And merayllid moche herof. For he knewe well that he was fore behated. And demaunded her/what cause meuyd her to pray for hym. And she answerd and said to hym. Syre when I was a mayde we had a right euyll tyrant to our kynge of whom we coueyted fore the deth. And when he was ded ther cam after hym a worfe/ of whom we coueyted also the deth. And when we were deliueryd of hym/ thou camft to
be our lord which arte worste of alle other. And now I doubt ye we have one after the he shall be worse than thou art/ And therfore I shall pray for the And whan dionyne vnderstod that she was so hardy in sayyne the truthe/ he durste not doo tormente her for shame be cause she was so olde.
The fourth chapitre of the thrde book terteth of the maner of the fourth pawn and of the marchants or changers.

The fourth pawn is sette to for the kynge And is formed in the fourme of a man holding in his ryght hand a balance/ And the weyght in the lifte hand/ And to fore hym a table And at his gurdell a purfe fulle of monoye redy for to gyue to them that reuynre hit And by this peple ben signefied the marchans of cloth lynnen and wollen & of all other marchandises And by the table that is to for hym is signefied y' changeurs/ And they that lene money/ And they that bye & felle by the weyght
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ben signefyed by the balances and weight And the customers. tollers/ and resseyours of rentes & of money ben signefied by the purfe And knowe ye that alle they that ben signefied by this peple ought to flee auaryce and couetyfe/ And echefewe brekynge of the dayes of payement/ And ought to holde and kepe theyr promyfis/ And ought also to rendre & restore y'/ that is gyuen to them to kepe/ And therfor hit is rexon that this peple be sette to for y* kynge/ for as moche as they signeifie the resseyours of the trefours royall that ought all way to be redy to fore y* kynge/ and to answere for hym to the knightes and other perfones for their wages & fouldyes And therfore haue I sayd that they ought to flee auarice. For auarice is as moche to say as an adouer as as worship of fals ymages/ & herof faith Tullius that auarice is a couettise to gete y' thing that is aboue necessite/ & it is a loue disordinate to haue ony thyng And it is one of the werft thyngis that is And specially to prynces and to them that gouerne the thynges of the comunete And this vice caueth a man to do eyyll/ And this doynge euyll is whan hit regneth in olde men And herof faith Seneque That alle wordly thynges ben mortifeyd and appetisid in olde men refereud auaryce only/ whiche alleway abideth wyth hym and dyeth wyth hym But I vnderstande not well the caufe wherof this cometh ne wherfore hit may be And hit is a fowle thyngye and contrarie to rexon That whan a man is at ende of his Journee for to lengthe his viage and to ordeyne more vityll than hym behoueth And this may well be lykened to
the auarycious wolf. For the wolf doth neuer good
tyll he be dede. And thus it is sayd in the prouerbis
of the wisemen/that thauaricious man doth no good
tyll that he be ded/ And he desyreth no thynge
but to lyue longe in this synne. For the couetouse
man certaynly is not good for ony thynge. For he
is euyl to hymself and to the riche and to the
pour. And fynde caufe to gayn faye theyr desire/
and herof reherceth feneque and sayth that Anti-
gonus was a couetous prync/ & whan Tinque
which was his frende requyred of hym a besaft/he
answerd to hym that he demanded more than hit
apperteyned to hym. And than tinque confrayned
by grete necesseite axid and requyred of hym a penye/
And he answerd to hym that hit was no yete
couenable for a kynge and so he was alway redy to
tynde a caufe nought to gyue. For he myght haue
gyuen to hym a besaft as a kynge to his frende/
And the penye as to a pour man. And ther is no
thynge so lytyll/ but that the humanye of a kynge
may gyue hit. Auarice full of couetyse is a maner of
alle vices of luxurye. And Josephus reherceth in
the book of auncyent hystories/ that ther was in
rome a ryght noble lady named Paulyne/ And was
of the moxt noble of rome/ right honeste for the
noblese of chaftete/ which was marryd in the
tyme that the women gloryfied them in theyr
chaftete vnto a yonge man sayr. noble, and riche
above alle other/ and was lyke and semblable to his
wyf in alle caasis/ And this paulyne was belouyd of a
knigh named emmerancian. And was so ardautly
epréied in her loue that he fente to her many right
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riche yeftes/ And made to her many grete pro-
misiffis/ but he might neuer torne the herte of her
whiche was on her side also colde and harde as
marbill But had leuer to reffuse his yeftes and his
promisses. Than to entende to couetisfe & to losse
her chastete/ and we rede also in the histryes of
rome that ther was a noble lady of rome/ whiche
lyuyd a solitare lyf and was chast & honeste/
And had gadrid to gyder a grete some of gold/
And had hid hit in the erthe in a pytte wyth in her
hous/ And whan she was ded/ the bishope dyde do
burye her in the churche well and honestly/ And
anone after this gold was founden & born to the
bishope/ And the bishope had to cafte hit in to the
pytte wher she was buryed. And .iii. dayes men
herd her crye & make grete noyfe/ and faye that
she brennyd in grete payne/ and they herd her ofte
tymes thus tormentid in y* chirche/ the neighbours
wente to the bishope & told hym therof/ and y* 
bishope gaf hem leue to open the sepulcre/ and
whan they had opend hit/ they fonde all the gold
molten with fyre full of sulphre/ And was poured
and put in her mouth/ and they herd one faye/
thou defiredest this gold by couetyse take hit and
drynke hit/ And than they toke the body out of
the tombe And hit was cast oute in a preuy place
Seneque reherceth in the book of the cryes of
women that auarice is foundement of alle vices/
And valerian reherceth that auarice is a ferdfull
garde or kepary of rycheffis for he that hath on hym
or in his kepynge moche money or other rycheffis/
is allway a ferd to losse hit or to be robbid or to be
flayn therfore/ And he is not ewrous ner happy
that by couetyse geteth hit/ And alle the eylyys
of this vice of avarice had a man of rome named
septemulle/ For he was a frende of one named
tarchus/ And this septemulle brente fo fore and fo
cruelie in this fynne of couetyse/ that he had no
flame to fnyte of the hede of his frende by tray-
fon/ For as moche as one framsonian had promyfed
to hym as moche weyght of pure gold as the heed
weyed/ And he bare the sayd heed vpon a staf
thurgh the cyte of rome/ and he wyded the brayn
out therof and fyld hit full of leed for to weye the
heuyer/ This was a right horrible and cruell avarice
Ptolome kyng of the Egiipients pourfewed avarice
in an other manere/ For whan anthonie emperour
of rome sawe that he was right riche of gold and
siluer/ he had hym in grete hate and tormentid hym
right cruelly/ And whan he shold perishe be cause
of his richefis/ he toke alle his hauoyr and put hit
in a shippe/ And wente wyth alle in to the hye see
to thende for to drowne and perishe there the shippe
and his rychesse be cause/ Anthonie his enemye
shold not haue hit/ And whan he was there he
durft not perishe hit ner myght not fynde in his
herte to departe from hit/ but cam and brought hit
agayn in to his hows where he refleyuyd the reward
of deth therfore/ And wyth oute doubte he was
not lord of the richeffe but the richeffe was lady
ouer hym/ And therfore hit is sayd in prouerbe
that a man ought to seignorye ouer the riches/ and
not for to serue hit/ and yf thou canst dewly vse
thy richeffe than she is thy chamberyer/ And yf
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thou can not departe from hit and vse hit honestly
at thy play fiz/ knowe verily y' she is thy lady/ For
the richeffe neuer satisfieth the couetoufe/ but the
more he hath/ the more he desireth/ And falute
fayth that auarice distourblith fayth poehte honefte
and alle these other good vertues/ And taketh for
these vertues prydye/ cruelte/ And to forgete god/
And fate that alle thynges be vendable/ And after
this they ought to be ware that they leue not to
moch/ ner make so grete creances by which they
may falle in pouerte/ For saynt Ambrofe faith upon
toby/ pouerte hath no lawe/ for to owue hit is a
shame/ & to owe and not paye is a more shame/ yf
y' be pourte beware how thou borowe/ & and thinke
how thou maiue paye & rendre agayn yf y' be ryche
y' haue none nede to borowe & axe/ & it is said in
the prouerbes y' hit is fraude to take/ that y' wilt
not ner maiue rendre & paye agayn/ and also hit is
said in reproche/ when I leue I am thy frend/ &
when I axe I am thy enemye/ as wo fate/ god at
the lenyng/ & the deuyll at rendryng/ And
feneque sayth in his auctorites/ that they y' gladly
borowe/ ought gladly to paye/ and ought to sur-
monste in corage to loue hem the better be caufe
they leue hem & ayde hem in her nede/ For for
benefetes & good ternes doon to a man ought to
gyue hym thankinges therfore/ And moche more
ought a man to repaye that Is lente hym in his
nede/ But now in these dayes many men by
lenyng of their money haue made of their frendes
enemies/ And herof speketh Domas the philo-
opher and fayth that my frende borowed money of
me. And I haue lost my frende and my money attones. Ther was a marchant of Gene & also a chaungeoure whos name was Albert gauor. And this albert was a man of grete trouthe and loyaulte for on a tyme ther was a man cam to hym and said & affermed that he had deluyeryd in to his banke. v. honderd floryns of gold to kepe whiche was not trouthe for he lyed/ whych he syue honderd floryns the said Albert knewe not of/ ner coude fynde in all his bookes ony suche money to hym due. And this lyar coude not brynye no wytnessis/ but began to braye. crye and deffame the said albert. And than this Albert calleid to hym this marchaunt and sayd/ Dere frende take here v. honderd florins whyche thou affermeth and sayst that thou hast delueryd to me. And forthywth tolde hem and toke hem to hym. And lo this good man had leuer to lose his good than his good name and renome. And this other marchant toke thefe florins that he had wrongfully receuyed/ and enployed them in diuerse merchandise in fo moche that he gate and encresid and wan with them x. xv. thousand florins. And whan he sawe that he approchid toward his deth/ and that he had no children He establisshid albert his heyr in alle thingis. And sayd that with the v. honderd florins that he had receuyed of albert falsely/ he had gotten all y' he had in the world. And thus by dyuyne pouruance he that had been a theef fraudelent/ was made afterward a trewe procurour and attorney of the sayd albert. But now in this dayes ther ben marchaunts that do merchandise with other mens money whiche is taken to hem to kepe. And whan
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they ben requyred to repaye hit they haue no shame
to denye hit appertely/ wherof hit happend that ther
was a marchant whyche had a good & grete name
and renome of keynge well suche thynges as was
delyueryd to hym to kepe/ But whan he fawe
place and tyme/ he reteynde hyt lyke a theef/
So hyt befelle that a marchant of withoute forth herd
the good reporte & fame of this man/ cam to hym
and deliuerid hym grete trefour to kepe/ And this
trefour abode thre yer in his kepynge. And after
this thre yer thys marchant cam & requyred to
haue hys good deliuerid to hym agaym/ And thys
man knewe well that he had no recorde ne wytynes
to preue on hym this duete/ Nor he had no obli-
gacion ne wrytynge of hym therof/ In suche wyse
that he denyed alle enteryly/ And sayd playnly he
knewe hym not. And whan thys good man herde
and vnderftode thys/ he wente forowfully and
wepyng from hym fo ferre and longe that an old
woman mette wyth hym/ And demanded of hym
the caufe of hys wepyng/ And he sayd to her/
woman hit apperteyneth no thynge to the Go thy
way/ And she prayd hym that he wold telle her
the caufe of hys forowe/ For paraunture she
myght gyue hym counceyllle good and prouffytable.
And than this man told to her by ordre the caas
of his fortune/ And the old woman that was wyse &
subtyll demanded of hym yf he had in that cyte ony
frend whiche wold be faythefull and trewe to hym
And he sayd ye that he had dyuerce frenedes/ Than
sai she goo thou to them and saye to them that
they do ordeyne and bye dyuerce cofres & cheftis/
his clerck/ and bad hym goo fecche suche a thynge
in suche a place/ and deliure hit to that good man
For he deliuerid hit to me/ And than the good
man receuyyd his good. And wente his way right
Joyously and gladd/ And this marchant trycheur
and deceuyour was defrauded from his eyyll malice/
And he ne had neyther that one ne that other any
thynge that was of value/ And therfore hit Is sayd
in prouerbe to defraude the begyular is no fraude/
And he that doth well foloweth oure lord. And
seneke faith that charyte enseyneth and techeth
that men shold paye well. For good payement is
sometyme good confeision/ And this marchant try-
cheour & deceuyour resembleth & Is lyke to an
hound that bereth a chefe in his mouth whan he
swymmeth ouer a watre. For whan he is on the
watre He seeth the shadowe of the chefe in the
watre/ And than he weneth hit be an other chefe/
And for couetys he haue that/ he openeth his mouth
to cacche that/ And than the chefe that he bare
fallyth doun in to the watre/ And thus he loseth
bothe two/ And in the same wife was feruyd this
marchant deceuyour/ For for to haue the coffres/
whiche he had not seen/ He deliueryd agayn that
he wold haue holden wrongfully & thus by his
couetys & propre malice he was deceuyyd/ And
therfore hit apperteymeth to every good & wyse
man to knowe & confidere in hym self how moche
he had resseyuyd of other men/ And upon what
condicion hit was deliuerid to hym And hit is to
wete y' this thinge apperteymeth to resseyours &
to chaunceours And to alle true marchans and other
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what som euyr they bee/ and ought to kepe their bookes of refaytes & of payements of whom & to whom and what tyme & day. and yf ye demande what thynge makyth them to forgete suche thynge as ben taken to them to kepe I answere & faye that hyt Is grete couetyse for to haue tho thynge to themself and never to departe from them/ And it is all her thought and desire to assemble alle the good that they may gete For they beleue on none other god/ but on her richessis theyr hertes ben so obstynat/ and this sufficeth of the marchantes.
This fift th chapitre of the thirde book treteth of phisiciens spicers and Apotyquarys.

HE pawôn that is sette to fore the quene signeyeth the phisicyen/ spicer and Apotyquaire/ and is formed in the figure of a man/ And he is sette in a chayer as a maytre and holdeth in his right hand a book/ And an ample or a boxe wyth oynamentis in his lyft hand/ And at his gurdeall his Instrumentis of yron and of fluers for to make Incysions and to ferche woundes and hurtes/ and to cutte apoflumes/ And by thye thynges ben knownen the cyurgeryens/ By the book ben vnderstanden the phisicyens/ and alle gramaryens. logicyens/
maistres of lawe, of Geometrye, Arismetryque, muifique and of astronomye/ And by the ampole/ ben signefyed the makers of pigmentaries spicers and apotiquayres/ and they that make confectiones and confytes and medecynes made wyth precyous spyces And by the ferremens and Intrumentis that hangen on the gurdell ben signefied the cyurgyens & the maistres And knowe ye for certain that a maystre & phisycyen ought to knowe the proportions of lettre of gramayre/ the monemens the conclusions and the sophyms of logyque, the gracior speche and vterance of rethorique/ the mesure of the houres and dayes/ and of the cours and astronomye/ the nombre of arisimetryk/ & the joyous songes of musique. And of all these tofore named/ the maistres of rethorique ben the chyef maistres in speculatyf/ And the two laste that ben practifiens and werkers ben calyld phisycyens and cyurgyens/ how well they ben sage and curyous in thesey sciences/ And how well that mannys lyf is otherwhile put in thorordonace of the phisycyen or cyurgyen/ yf he haue not sagesse and wysedom in hym self of dyuercé wrytynges and is not expert/ And medlyth hym in the craft of phisique/ He ought better be calyld a slear of peple than a phisycyen or cyurgyen. For he may not be a maystre but yf he be seure and expert in the craft of phisike that he fyle not moo than he cureth and maketh hoole/ And theryfore sayth Auycenne in an Enphormyce/ yf thou curest the seke man. And knowest not the cause/ wherof the maladye ought to be cured/ Hit ought to be sayd that thou haft cured hym by fortune and happe
natly but that ryght chaste man/ made neuer semblant to her/ Ner he neuer remeuyd from his ferme purpoos/ In suche wyse as he deparit from hym alle confusid and shamed/ Cornelius scipion that was sent by the romayns for to gourne spayne/ as fone as he entryd in to the castellis & in to the townes of that lande He began to take away all the thynge that miht styre or meue his men to lecherye wherfore men sayd that he drof & chaced oute of the ofte moo than two thousand bourdelys/ And he that was wyse knewe well that delyte of lecherye corrupted and apayred the corages of tho men that ben abandonned to that same delyte/ And herof hit is sayd in the fables of the poetes in the first book of the Truphes of the Philosophers by figure. That they that entryd in to the fontayne of the sirens or mermaydens/ were corrupid and they toke them away with hem/ And also ye ought to knowe that they ought to entende diligently to the cures of the enfermytees in cyrugerye/ They ought to make theyr playfters acordyng to the woundes or soreis/ yf the wounde be rounde The enplastre must be round/ and yf hyt be longe/ hyt muste be longe/ and otherwhile hit muste be cured by his contrarye/ lyke as it apperteyneth to phisique/ For the hete is cured by cold/ and the colde by hete/ and Ioye by forowe/ and forowe by Ioye/ and hit happeth ofte tymes that moche peple be in grete paryll in takynge to moche Ioye and lese her membris/ and become half benomen in the sodayn Ioye/ And Ioye is a repliction of thynge that is deleitable spred a brode in all the membris with right grete gladnes
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And all men entende and desire to haue the sayd ryght grete Ioye naturelly/ But they knowe not what may ensue and come therof And this Ioye cometh otherwhile of vertue of conscience/ And the wyse man is not wyth out this Ioye And this Ioye is neuer Interrupt ne in deffaulte at no tyme For hit cometh of nature And fortune may not take a waye that nature gueuth. And merciall faith that Ioyes fugitivies abide not longe But flee away anon And valerian reherceeth that he that hath force and strengthe rayfonable/ hath hit of verray matier of compleciton and that cometh of loue And this Ioye hath as moche power to departe the fowle fro the body/ as hath the thondre/ wherof hit happeneth that ther was a woman named lyna whiche had her husbonde in the warre in the shippis of the romayns/ And she supposeth verily that he was ded/ But hit happeneth that he cam agayn home And as he entryd in to his yate/ his wif met wyth hym sodeynly not warned of his comynge whiche was so glad and Ioyous/ that in enbraedynge hym she fyll doun ded Also of an other woman to whom was reportid by a fals meffanger that her sone was ded/ whiche wente home soufully to her hows/ And afterward when her sone cam to her/ As sone as she sawe hym she was so emoued wyth Ioye y the deyde to fore hym/ But this is not so grete meruaylle of women as is of the men/ For the women ben likened vnto softe waxe or softe ayer and therfor she is calid mulier whyche Is as moche to faye in latyn as mollys aer. And in english foyste ayer/ And it hapeth ofte tymes that the nature of them that ben foste and
mole/ taketh fonner Inpresion than the nature of
men that is rude and stronge/ Valerye reherceth
& fayth that a knyght of rome named Infaulofus
that had newly conquerid and subiuged the yle of
Corfiaka/ And as he sacrefyed his goddes/ he re-
ceyuyd lettres from the senate of rome In whiche
were conteyned dyuerfe supplicacyons/ The whiche
whan he vnderstood he was so glad and so enter-
pryfed wyth Ioye/ that he knewe not what to doo
And than a great fume or smoke ysfued out of the
fyre In whiche he dispayred and fyll in to the fyre/
where he was anone ded/ And alfo it is sayd that
Philomenus lawthed so sore and diisemperatly that
he deyde alle lawhynge/ And we rede that ypocras
the phisicien fonde remedye for thys Ioye/ For
whan he had longe dwellyd oute of his contreye
for to lerne connynge and wysedom/ And fould
retorne vnto his parentis and frendes/ whan he ap-
prochid nyghe them/ He sente a meffanger to fore
for to telle to them his comynge/ and comanded
hym to saye that he cam/ for they had not longe to
fore seen hym/ And y' they fould atempre them
in that Ioye er they fould see hym/ And also we
rede that Titus the fone of vaspasion whan he had
conquered Iherufalem and abode in y' contrees by/
he herde y' his fader vaspasion was chofen by alle
the senate for to gouerne the empire of rome/ wher-
fore he had so right grete Ioye that sodaynly he loste
the strength of all his membres And be cam all
Impotent And whan Iofephus that made the his-
torye of the romayns ayenft the Iewis/ whiche was
a ryght wyse phisicien fawe and knewe the caufe of
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this fekenes of the sayd Titus/ he enqueryd of his folk yf he had in hate ony man grely so moche that he myght not here speke of hym ner well fee hym  And one of the servantes of Titus sayd that he had one perfone in hate so moche. That ther was no man in his court so hardy that durfte name hym in his presence/ and than Iosephus assigned a day whan this man shold come/ and ordeyned a table to sette in y* sight of Titus/ and dide hit to be replenyfshid plenteoufly wyth alle dayntees/ and ordeyned men to be armad to kepe hym in suche wyse that no man shold hurte hym by the comandement of Titus/ and ordeyned boutellers. Coques/ and other officers for to serue hym worshipfully lyke an Empour/ and whan all this was redy/ Iosephus brought in this man that tytus hated and sette hym at the table to fore his eyen and was seruyd of yonge men wyth grete reuerence ryght cortoily/ And whan titus behelde his enemye sette to fore hym wyth so grete honoure/ He began to chauffe hym self by grete felonnye  And comanded his men that this man sholde be slayn/ And whan he fawe/ that none wold obeye hym  But that they all way seruyd hym reuerently/ he waxe so ardante/ and enbraised wyth so grete yre/ that he that had loft alle the force and strengthe of his body and was alle Impotent in alle his membres/ Recoured the helthe agayn and strengthe of his membres/ by the hete that entryd in to the vaynes and sinewis  And Iosephus dide so moche that he was recouerid and hole/ And that he helde that man no more for his enemye/ but helde hym for a verray true frende/
And afterward made hym his loyall felawe and compagnon. And the espicers and Apotecayres ought to make truly fuche thynges as Is comanded to them by the physiciens. And they ought taccomplishe theyr billis and charge curyoufly wyth grete dilygence/ that for none other caufe they shold be ocupied but in makynge medicynes or confections truly. And that they ought vpon paryll of theyr fowle not to forgete/ by negligence ne rechelefnes to gyue one medecyne for an other/ In fuche wyfe that they be not feares of men/ And that they do putte no fals thynges In her spycys for to empayre or encrecynge the weyght. For yf they fo doo they may better be callyd theuyys than espi- ciers or apotecayris/ And they that ben acustomed to make oynemens they ought to make hyt proprely of true fluf and of good odoure after the receptes of the auncyent doctours/ And after the formes that the phisiciens and cyrurgyns deuyfe vnto them/ Also they ought to beware that for none auayle ne gyfte that they myght haue/ that they put in theyr medicynes no thyngs venemous ner doyngge hurte or sacthe to ony persone of whom they haue none good ne veray knowleage/ to thende that they to whom the medicynes shold be gyuen/ torne not to them hurte ne domage/ ne in destruc- tions of theyr neyghbours/ and also that they that haue mynystred tho thyngis to them/ ben not taken for parteners of the blame and of the fynne of them. The cyrurgyns ought also to be deponayr. amiable, & to haue pytwe of their pacyents. And also they ought not be hafty to launse and cutte apo-
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tumes and foores/ ne open the heedes/ ner to arrache bones broken/ but yf the cause be apparant/ For they myght elles lose theyr good renowne. And myght better be callyd bouchers than helars or guarishors of woundes and foores And also hit behoueth that alle this maner of peple foresayd that haue the charge for to make hole and guarishe alle maner of maladyes and Infirmitees that they first have the cure of themself/ and they ought to purge themself fro alle aposstumes and alle vices/ In suche wyse that they be net and honeste and enformed in alle good maners/ And that they shewe hem hole and pure & redy for to hele other. And herof sayth Boecius de Consolacione In his first booke that the sterres that ben hid under the clowdes maye gyue no light. And therfore yf ony man wolde beholde clerly the verite. Late hym withdrawe hym fro the obscurete and derkenes of the clowdes of ignorance/ for whan the engyne of a man sheweth in løyne or in forowe/ The pensée or thought is enuoloped in obscurete & vnder the clowdes.
The sixthe chapitre of the thirde booke treteth of the sixth pawn whiche is lykened to tauerners hostelers and vitayllers.

THE sixthe pawn whiche stondeth to fore the Alphyn on the lyfte fyde is made in thys forme. For hit is a man that hath the right hande strachched oute as for to calle men. And holdeth in his lyfte hande a loof of breed and a cuppe of wyn. And on his gurdell hangynge a boudell of keyes. And this resembleth the Tauerners, hostelers, and sellars of vitaylle. And thise ought proprely to be sette to fore the Alphyn as to fore a Iuge. For thier fourdeth ofte tymes amonste hem contencion noyse and
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fryf/ whiche behoueth to be determyned and trayted by the alphyn/ whiche is Iuge of the kynge/ And hit apperseyyneth to them for to seke and enquery for good wyns and good vitayll for to gyue and selle to the byers/ And to them that they herberowe/ And hit apperseyyneth to them well to kepe their herberowes and Innes/ and alle tho thyngis that they brynge in to their loggynge and for to putte hyt in feure and sauf ware and kepynge/ And the firste of them Is signeyed by the lyfte hande in whiche he bereth brede and wyn/ and the seconde is signeyed by the right hande whiche Is stracched oute to calle men/ And the thirde is reprefentid by the keyes hangynge on y' gurdell And thyfe maner of peple ought tetchewe the synne of glotonye/ For moche peple comen in to theyr howses for to drynke and to ete for whyche caufe they ought refoanalby to rewle them seft and to refrayne them from to moche mete and drynke/ to thende that they myght the more honeftly deluyure thyngis nedefull vnto the peple that come vnto them/ And no thyng by oultrage that myght noye the body/ For hit happeth ofte tymes that ther cometh of glotonye tencyons. fryfs. ryottes. wronges. and moletacyons/ by whiche men lefe other while their handes. theyr eyen. and other of their membres/ And somtyme ben flown or hurt vnto the deth/ As it is wretan In vitas patrum As on a tyme an heremyte wente for to viyte his goffibs/ And the dewyll apperyd to hym on the waye in lykenes of an other heremyte for to tempte hym/ and saide thou haft lefte thy thyn heremitage And gooft to viyte
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thy gosfib/ The behoueth by force to doo one of ye thre thynge that I shall faye to the/ thou shalt chefe whether thou wylt be dronke/ or ellys haue to do fleffily wyth thy gosfib or ellys thou shalt fle her hubond whiche is thy gosfib also/ And the hermyte that thought for to chefe the lefte euyl chace for to be dronke/ and whan he cam vnto them he dranke so moche that he was veray dronke And whan he was dronke and eschauffed wyth the wyn/ he wold haue a doo wyth hys gosfib/ And her hubonde withfode hym. And than the hermyte slewe hym/ And after that laye by his gosfib and knewe her fleffily/ And thus by this synne of dronkenship he accomplisshed the two other synnes/ By whyche thynge ye may vnderstande and knowe y' whan the deuyll wyll take one of the castellis of Ihefu cryle/ that is to wete the body of a man or of a woman/ he doth as a prync e that setteth a siege to fore a castell that he wold wynne/ whiche entedeth to wynne the gate/ For he knoweth well whan he hath wonne the gate/ he may fone doo hys wylle wyth the castell. And in lyke wyfe doth the deuyll wyth euery man and woman For whan he hathe wonne the gate/ that is to wete the gate of ye mouth by glotonye or by other synne. He may doo wyth the offices of the body alle his wylle as ye haue herd to fore/ And thercfore ought euery man ete and drynke sobrely in suche wyfe as he may lyue. And not lyue to ete glotonsly & for to drynke dronke. ye see comunly that a grete bole is suffisid wyth right a lityll paiture/ And that a wode suffiseth to many olefaunte And hit be-
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houeth a man to be fedde by the erthe or by the fee/ neuertheles it is no grete thynge to fede the bely/ no thynge fo grete as is the desire of many metes Whorof Quyntylian sayth/ That hit happeth ofte tymes in grete festes & dyners/ that we be fylde wyth the fight of the noble and lichorous metis and whan we wolde ete we ben faciat and fild/ And therfore hit is sayd in prouerbe/ hit is better to fylle the bely than the eye/ And lucan sayth that glotonye is the moder of alle vices/ and especiall of lecherye/ and alfo is destroyer of all goodes And may not haue suffisance of lityll thynge/ A couetous honger what fekeft thou mete and vitayllis on the lande & in the fee/ And thy loye is nothyng ellis but to haue playnteous dishes & well fylde at thy table lerne how men may demene his lyf with lityll thynge/ And Cathon sayth in no wylse obeye to glotonye whiche is frende to lecherye/ And the holy doctour saynt Augufyn sayth/ the wyn efchauffeth the bely that falleth anone to lecherye/ The bely and the membrers engendreurs ben neyghebours to lecherye/ And thus the vice of glotonye prouoketh lecherye/ whorof cometh forgetenes of his mynde and destrucion of alle quyk and sharp refon And is cause of distempance of his wittes/ what synne is fowler than this synne and more styngynge ne more domageous. For this synne hath taken away the vertue of the man/ his prowess languisshed/ his vertue is tornd to diffame/ the strengthe of body and of corage is tornd by the/ And therfore sayth Basille le grant/ late vs takhe hede how we
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Serve the bely & the throte by glotonye lyke as we
were dombe bestes/ and we studye for to be lyke
vnto belues of the see/ to whom nature hath gyuen
to be alleway enclined toward the erthe & ther to
loke for to serve theyr belyes/ And herof saith
Boecius de consolacione in his fourth book/ that a
man that lyuyth and doth not the condicions of a
man/ may neuer be in good condicion/ Than muste
hit nedes be that he be transporited in nature of a
beste or of a belue of the see. How well that
ryght grete men and women full of meruaylous
sciences and noble counceyll in thise dayes in the
world ben kept and nourisshid in this glotonye of
wyns and metes/ and ofte tymes ben overfeen/ how
supposse ye/ is hit not right a perillous thinge that
a lord or gouernour of the peple and cōmun wele/
how well that he be wyse/ yf he effaufe hym
fonde so that y wyne or other drynke surpysse hym
and ouercome his brayn. his wisedom is loft(e/)
For as Cathon sayth/ Ire enpeshe thor the corage in
fuche as he may not kepe verite and trouthe. And
anon as he is chauffed/ lecherye is meuyd in hym
in fuche wyse that the lecherye maketh hym to
medle in dyuerse villayns dedes/ For than his
wysedom is a flepe and goon/ And therfore sayth
Ouide in his booke De remedio amoris/ yf thou
take many and dyuerce wyns/ they apparylle and
enforce the corages to lecherye And Thobie wit-
neffith in his booke/ that luxurye defrroyeth the
body/ and mynussheth richesse/ she lofeth the
fowle/ she febileth y strengthe she blyndeth the
fyght/ and maketh the wys hoos & rawe/ Ha A
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ryght euyll and fowle synte of dronkenship/ by the
perissheth virginite/ whiche is sufter of angellis
poffedynge alle goodnes and seurte of all Ioyes
pardurable/ Noe was one tyme foo chauffed with
wyn/ that he discouerd and shewid to his soones his
preuy membres in fuche wyse as one of his soones
mocqued hym/ And that other couerd hem/ And
loth whiche was a man right chaste. was so affoted
by moche drynkynge of wyn/ that on a montayne
he knew his doughters carnely/ And had to doo
wyth them as they had ben his propre wyues. And
crete reherceth that boece whiche was flour of the
men/ trefor of rycheffes/ singuler house of sapience
myrour of the world/ Odour of good renome/ and
glorye of his subgetts loftie alle thyse thynges by
his luxurye. We haue seen that dyuercce that were
Ioyned by grete amyte to geder whiles they were
sobre/ that that one wolde put his body in paryll
of deth for that other/ and whan they were
eschauffed with wyn & dronke/ they haue ronne
eche vpon other for to fle hem/ And somme haue
ben that haue flayn fo his frende/ Herodes Antipas
had not doon saynt Iohn baptift to ben beheded/
ne had y' dyner ben full of glotonye and dronken-
ship/ Balthazar kyngge of babilone had not ben
chaced out of his kyngdom ne be flayn yf he had
ben sobre amonge his peple whom tyrus and dares
fonde dronken and flewe hym The hooferes ought
to be well bespoken and courtys of wordes to
them that they receyue in to their loggynge For
sayr speche & Ioyous chiere & debonayr/ caufe men
to gyue the hoofteruyer a good name/ And therfore
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it is said in a comen proverbe/ Courtoysie langage
and well faynge is moche worth and coste lityll/
And in an other place it is said that curtoysie
paffeth beaulite/ Also for as moche as many paryls
and adventurues may happen on the wayes and
passages to hem that ben herberowed with in their
Innes/ therfore they ought to accomapnye them
when they departe and enseigne them the wayes
and telle to them the paryls/ to thende that they
may surely goo theyr viage and journe/ And also
they ought to kepe their bodies. their goodes. And
the good fame and renomee of their Innes/ we rede
that loth whan he had receyued y* angels in to his
hous right debonairly whiche he had supposid had
ben mortall men and fraingers/ to thende that they
shold escape the difficinate and vnnaturell synne of
lecherye of the fudamites/ by the vertu of good
fayth/ he sette a part the naturell loue of a fader/
and proferd to them his doughters whiche were
virgyns/ to thende that they shold kepe them and
defende them fro that vyllayne and horrible synne/
And knowye ye for certayn that alle tho thynges
that ben taken and deluyeryd to kepe to the hoste
or hostesses they ought to be sauf and yelden agayn
wyth out a payringe For the ooste ought to knowe/
who that entryth in to his hous for to be her-
berowhed taketh hit for his habitacion for the tyme/
he hymself and alle suche thynges as he bryngeth
wyth hym ben comyfed of ryght in the warde and
kepynge of the hoost or hofteler And ought to be
as sauf as they were put in his owen propre hous
And also suche hoftis ought to hold servantes in
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their houes whiche shold be trewe and wyth oute avarice. In suche wife that they coueute not to haue the goodes of their gheftes. And that they take not awaie the prowender fro theyr hores whan hyt is gyuen to them/ that by thoccafon therof theyr horfis perisse not ne faylle theyr maistre whan they haue nede/ and myght falle in the handes of theyr enemie/ For than shold the servantes becaufe of that cuyl/ wherfore theyr maistres shold fee to For wyth oute doubte this thynge is wors than thefte. Hit happend on a tyme in the partes of lomberdye in the cyte of Iene y a noble man was logged in an hoftelerye wyth moche compaignye/ And whan they had gyuen prowendour to their hores/ In the first oure of the nyght the servant of the houe cam secretly to fore y horfis for to stel away their prowender/ And whan he cam to the lorde hors/ The hors caught wyth his teth his Arme and helde hit faste that he myght not ecape/ And whan the theef sawe that he was so strongly holden he began to crye for the grete payne that he suffryd and felte/ In suche wyse that the noble mannys meyne cam with the hoofte/ But in no maner ner for ought they coude doo They coude not take the theef out of the horfis mouth vnto the tyme that the neyghbours whiche were noyed wyth the noyse cam and sawe hit/ And than the theef was knowen and taken and brought to fore the luge. And confessid the feet and by sentence diffinyt ou was hanged and loit his lyf/ And in the same wyse was an other that dyde so/ And the hors smote hym in the
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That the prynte of the horse shoo and
nayles abode euer in his visage/ Another was right
cruell and villaynous fylle at tholoufe/ Hit happend
a longe man and his fader wente a pilgereage to
faynt Iames in Galyce And were logged in an
hoftelrye of an euyll hooft and full of right grete
couetyfe/ In so moche that he desird and coueyted
the goodes of the two pilgrimes And here vpon
auyfed hym and put a cuppe of silver secretly in
the male that the yonge man bare/ And whan they
departed oute of their loggynge/ he folowed after
hem and sayd to fore the peple of the court that
they had stolen and born away his cuppe/ And the
yonge man excused hym selle and his fader/ And
sayde they were Innocent of that caas/ And than
they forchid hem and the cuppe was founden in y* 
male of the yonge man And forthwyt he was
damped to the dethe and hanged as a theef/ and
this feet doon all the goodes that langed to the pil-
grym were deliuerid to y* oost as coisiqued And
than the fader wente for to do his pilgereage/ and
whan he cam agayn he muste nedes come & passe
by the place where his fone henge on the gibet
And as he cam he complaynged to god and to
faynt Iames how they might sufre this auenture to
come vnto his fone/ Anone his fone that henge
spack to his fader And sayde how that faynt Iames
had keppe hym with out harme And bad his fader
goo to the luge and shewe to hym the myracle/
And how he was Innocent of that fayte/ And whan
this thynge was knouen the fone of the pilgryme
was taken down fro y* gibet/ and the caufe was
brought to fore the Iuge And the hoofte was accused of the trayson/ and he confeffid his trespass/ and sayd he dide hit for countysse to haue his good And than the Iuge damned hym for to be hanged on the same gibet where as the yonge pilgryme was hanged And that I haue sayd of the seruantes bewayng men/ the same I saye of the women as chambriers and tapsters For semblable caes fille in splayne at sain donte of a chamberier/ that put a cup in lyke wyle in the scrippe of a pilgryme/ be cause he wold not haue a doo wyth her in the synne of lecherye/ wherfore he was hanged And his fader & moder that were there with hym wente and dyde her pilgremage/ And whan they cam agayn they fonde her sone lyuyngge/ And than they wente and told the Iuge/ whiche Iuge sayd that he wolde not byleue hit till a cok and an henne which rost on the fyre were a lyue & the cok crewe. And anon they began wepte a lyue & the cok crewe and began to crowe and to pasture/ and whan the Iuge sawe this miracle/ he wente and toke doun the sone/ and made the chamberyer to be taken and to be hanged/ wherfore I saye that the hooftes ought to hold no tapsters ne chamberyers/ but ye they were good meure and honeste/ For many harms may be falle and come by the disordenat rewle of seruantes.
The seventh chapitre of the thirde Tractate treteth of kepars of townes customers and tolle gaderers &c.

HE gardes and kepars of of cytees ben signefied by the vii. pawn whiche ftondeth in the lyfte side to fore the knyght/ And is formed in the femblance of a man holdynge in his right hande grete keyes And in his lifte hande a potte & an elle for to mefurie with And ought to haue on hys gurdell a purfe open/ And by the keyes ben signefied the kepars of the cytees and townes and comyn offices/ And by the potte and elle ben signefied them that haue the charge to weye and mete & mefurie truly And by the purfe ben signefied them that refeuye
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the costumes. tolls. scawage. peages/ and duetes of the cytees & townes. And thyse peple ben sette by ryght to fore the knyght/ And hit behoueth that the gardes and offyers of the townes be taught And enfeynged by the knyghtes/ And that they knowe and enquyre how ye cytees or townes ben gouerned/ whiche apperteyneth to be kept and defended by the knyghtes. And fisst hit apperteyneth that the kepars of the cyte be dilygente. befy. clere seeynge and louers of the comyn prouffit & wele/ as well in the tyme of pees as in the tyme of warre/ They ought alwaye to goo in the cyte and enquyre of all thynge and ought rapporte to the gouernours of the cyte suche thynge as they fynde and knowe. And suche thynge as apperteyneth and to the seuerete of the same/ and to denonce and telle the defaultes and paryls that ther bee/ And yf hit be in tyme of warre they ought not to open the yates by nyght to no man/ And suche men as ben put in this office/ ought to be of good renome. & fame. trewe. and of good conscience/ In suche maner that they loue them of the Cyte or town/ And that they put to no man ony blame or vilanye with out caufe by enuye. Couetyse ne by hate/ but they ought to be forys and heuy when they see that ony man shold be complayned on for ony caufe. For hit happeth ofte tymes that diuerce officers accuse the good peple fraudulently/ To thende that they myght haue a thanke & be preyfed and to abide stille in theyr offices. And trewly hit is a grete and hye maner of malyce to be in will to doo euyll and diffame other wyth oute caufe to gete
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glorie to hymselfe also the kepars and officers of
cytees ought to be suche that they suffre no
wronges ne vylonyes to fore the Iuges and gouver-
nours of cytees wyth oute caufe to be doon to them
that ben Innocents/ but they ought to haue theyr
eyen and regarde vnto hym/ that knoweth the
hertes and thoughtes of alle men/ And they ought
to drede & doubtbe hym wyth oute whos grace theyr
wacche and kepynge is nought And that promy-
sfeth to them that doubtbe hym shall be ewrous &
happy/ And by hym ben alle thynge accomplis-
hid in good/ Hit is founden in the historyes of
rome that Temperour Frederik the seconde dide do
make a gate of marble of meruaylous werke and
entayll in the cyte of capnane vpon the warre that
renneth aboute the same/ and vpon this yate he
made an ymage lyke hymselfe fyttynge in his mageste/
and two Iuges whiche were fette/ one on the right
side and that other on the lifte side. And vpon the
fercle aboue the heede of the Iuge on y' ryght side
was wreton/ Alle they entre seurly that will lie
purely/ And vpon the ferclle of the Iuge on the
lifte side was wreton The vntrew man ought to
doubte/ to doo thynge that he be put to prifon
fore/ and on the ferclle aboue thempour was wre-
ton/ I make them live in mistery/ that I see lyue
diffenfubally/ And therfore hit apperteyneth to a
Iuge to shewe to the peple for to drede and doubte
to doo eyuell/ And hit apperteyneth to the gardes
and officers to doubtbe the Iuges and to do trewly
their feruyces and offices And hit apperteyneth to
a prynce to menace the traytours and the male-
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façtours of right grevous paynes. And herof we
fynde in the auncyent historyes of cecytle that the
kynge denys had a broder whom he louyd fore
well/ But allway where he wente he made heuy
and tryfte semblant/ And thus as they wente bothe
to gyder on a tyme in a chare/ ther cam agayn hem
two poure men wyth glad vifage but in foule
habite/ And y° kynge anon as he fawe them/
sprange out of his chare and resleyuyd them wor-
shipfully with grete reuercence/ wherfore his barons
were not only ameruaylled but also angry in their
corages/ notwithstandyng fere and drede letted
them to demande hym the caufe/ But they made
his broder to demande the caufe and to knowe the
certayne/ And whan he had herde his broder saye
to hym the demande/ and that he was blesydyd &
also a kynge whiche was ryche and full of delites &
worshipis/ he demanded hym yf he wold asey &
knowe the grace and beneurte of a kynge. And
his broder answered ye/ And that he defired and
requyred hit of hym/ and than the kynge comanded
vnto alle his sugettis that they shold obeye in alle
thynge only vnto his broder. And than whan the
oure of dyner cam and alle thynge was redy/ the
broder was fette at the table of the kynge. And
whan he fawe that he was seruyd wyth right noble
botelliers and other officers. And he herde the
fownes of musicque right meobious. The kynge
demanded hym than/ yf he supposid y° he were
benerous and blesid. And he answered I wene well
that I am right well blesid and fortunat/ and that
I have well proued and fele and am expert therof
And than the kynge secretly made to be hanged ouer his heed a sharp cuttynge fwerde hangynge by an hors heer or a filken thredo so small that no man myght see hit where by hit henge/ and when he fawe his broder put no more his hand to the table/ ne had no more regarde vnto his seruantes/ he sayd to hym why ete ye not/ ar ye not bleffid/ faye yf ye fele ony thynge otherwyfe than bleffid and well/ And he anfwerde for as moche as I see this sharp fwerde hangynge so subtilly and parillously ouer my hede I fele well that I am not bleffid for I drede that hit shold falle on my hede/ and than discouerd the kynge vnto hem alle wherfore he was allway so heuy cherid and triste For where he was/ he thought alleway on the fwerde of the secrete venge ance of god/ whiche he behelde alleway in his herte/ wherfore he had all way in hymself grete drede And therfore he worshipid gladly the poure peple wyth glad visage and good conscience And by this sheweth the kynge well/ that what man that is all way in drede is not all way mery or bleffid. And her of sayth Quyntilian that this drede surmounteth alle other maleurtees and euylyys/ For it is maleurte of drede nyght and day/ And it is verite that to hym that Is doubtid of moche peple/ so mufte he doubte moche/ And that lord is laffe than hys seruantes that drede hys seruantes/ And truly hit Is a ruyght sure thynge to drede no thinge but god/ And sumtyme right hardy men ben confrayned to lyue in drede/ Drede causeth a man to be curyous and befy to kepe the thynges that ben commyfed to hym that they perishe not/ But to be to moche hardy & to
moche servfull/ bothe two ben vices The comyn officers ought to be wise, discrete, and well aduyfed in suche wyse that they take not of ye peple ne require no more than they ought to haue by refon/ ne that they take of the fellars ne of the byars no more than the right custom and toll/ for they bere the name of a comyn pfone/ and therfore ought they to sheue them comune to all men/ and for as moche as the byars and fellars haue somtyme moche language/ they ought to haue with them these vertues/ that is to wete pacience and good corage with honeste/ for they that ben despiteus to the comyn/ ben otherwhile had in vilayns despite/ therfore beware ye thou haue no despite to the poure mendicants/ ye thou wilt come and atteyne to thingis fourayn/ for the Iniurye that is don wyth oute cause/ torneth to diffame hym that doth hit/ A Iogheles on a tyme beheld focrates and sayd to hym/ thou hast the eyen of corrupmour of children & art as a traytre. And whan his disciples herde hym/ they wold auengid their maister/ But he reprouyd hem by suche sentence saynge/ Suffer my felaws for I am he and suche one as he faith/ by the fight of my visage/ But I refrayne and kepe me well from suche thynge/ This same focrates hymself was chidde and right fowll spoken to of his wyf/ and she Impofid to hym many grete Iniuries with out nombre/ and she was in a place a boue ouer his heed And whan she had brawld I nowh/ she made her warde and pourid hit on his heed And he answerd to here no thynge agayn/ sauw whan he had dryed and wypid his heed he saied/ he knewe
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well that after suche wynde and thonder sholde comen rayn and watre And the philosophres blamed hym that he coude not goure ne two women/ that was his wyf and his chambrere/ And shewde hym that one cokke gouerned well .xv. hennes He anfwerd to them that he was so vfed and accustomed wyth theyr chydynges that the chydynges of them ne of estrangers dyde hym no greef ne harme/ gyue thou place to hym that brawleth or chydeth/ and in suffrynge hym thou shalt be his vaynquyshour/ And Cathon sayth whan thou lyuyst ryghtfully recche the not of the wordes of euyl peple/ And therfore it is sayd in a comyn prouerbe/ he that wel doth reccheth not who feeth hit/ & hit is not in our power to lette men to speke. And prosper sayth that to good men lacketh no goodnes/ ner to euyl men tencions fryfs and blames And pacience is a ryght noble vertu/ as a noble verfisier sayth That pacience is a ryght noble maner to vaynquyfshe. For he that suffreth overcometh. And yf thou wylt vaynquyfshe and overcom/ lerne to suffre/ The peagers ner they that kepe passages ought not to take other peage ne passage money but suche as the pryncel or the lawe haue eftablisshed/ so that they be not more robbeurs of moneye than receyvours of peage and passage And hit apperteyneth to them to goo out of the paryllo9 weyes and doubteuoues for to kepe their office and they ought to Requyre theyr passage of them that owe to paye hit wyth oute noynge and contencion/ And they ought not to loue the comyn prouffyf so moche/ That they falle in the hurtyng of theyr conscience/ For that
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shold be a manere of robberye And herof sathy
ysaye Woo to the that robbest/ For thou thy self
shalt be robbed/ The gardes or porters of the gates
of eytees and of the comyn good ought to be good
and honefte. And alle trouthe ought to be in
them and they ought not to take ne withdrawe the
goodes of the comyn that they haue in kepynge/
more than apperteyneth to them for they r pension
or sfe/ So that they that ben made tresorers and
kepars ben not named theuys/ For who that taketh
more than his/ He shal neuer thryue wyth alle/
ner shal not enioye hit longe/ For of euyll gooten
good the thyrde heyr shal neuer reioyce/ And
this suffifth &c.
that by no need be they fell in poverty/ And that
they be not constrained to beg and to steal of other
men. For he is the greater subtle to keep
well his own goods/ than to find strange thynge/
and that is greater virtue to keep that is gotten
than to get and win more/ and Claudian faith
in like wise in his book that hit is a greater thynge
& better to keep that is gotten. Than to get more
And therfore it is said that the poor demandeth
and beggeth er he felith/ and also it is said that he
y't dispends more than he hath/ with out throuk
he is smitten to the death. Ther was a noble man
named John de Ganazath whiche was ryght riche/
And this man had but two daughters whom he
maryed to two noble men. And when he had
maryed them/ he loued so well his fones in lawe
their husbands/ that in space & succession of tyme/
he departed to them alle his goodes temporell. And
as longe as he gave to them they obeyed hym &
were right diligent to please and serve him/ so hit
befell that on a tyme that he had alle gyuen in fo
moche that he had ryght nought. Than hit
happened that they to whom he had gyuen his
goods/ which were won to be amyable & obeyf
fant to hym as longe as he gave. Whan tyme cam
that he was poure and knewe that he had not they
became unkynde Disagreeable and disobeyfant. And
whan the fader sawe that he was deceuyed by his
debonayrte and loue of his daughters. He desired
and coueteyd fore tefchewe his puerute. At lafte
he wente to a marchant that he knewe of olde tyme.
And requyred hym to lene to hym x thousand
pound for to paye and rendre agayn wyth in thre
dayes/ And he lente hit hym/ and whan he had
brought hit in to his hows/ Hit happend that hit
was a day of a solemne feste/ on whiche daye he
gaf to his doughters and her husbonde a right noble
dyner/ and after dyner he entrid in to his chambre
secretly wyth them/ And drewe out of a coffre
that he had do make all newe shetynge with iii.
lockis/ the menoye that the marchant had lente
hym And poured out vpon a tapyte that his
doughtres and theyr husbondes myght fee hit/ And
whan he had thewid hit vnto them he put hit vp
agayn and put hit in to the chesfe faynynge that
hit had ben all his And whan they were departed
he bare the money home to the marchant that he
had borowed hit of/ And the next day after his
doughters and theyre husbondes Axid of hym
how moche moneye was in the chesfe that was shette
wyth . iii . lockis/ And than he fayned and saide
that he had therein . xxv . thousand pound/ whiche
he keppe for to make his teftament and for to leue
to his doughters and hem/ yf they wolde bere hem
as well to hym ward as they dyde whan they were
maried/ And than whan they herde that/ they
were right Joyous and glad And they thoughte
and concluded to serue hym honorably as well in
clothynge as in mete and dryynke & of alle other
thynge necessarie to hym vnto his ende And after
this whan the ende of hym began tapproche/ he
callyd his doughters and her husbondes and fayd to
hem in thys mauere/ ye shall vnderstande that the
moneye that is in the cheft shette vnder . iii . lockes
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I wylle leue to yow Sanynge I wyll that ye gyue in my presence er I dye whilis I lyue to the frere prechours C. pound and to the frere menours C. pound/ And to the heremytes of saynt Augustyn . 1. pound to thende that whan I am buryed and put in the erthe ye may demande of them the keyes of y° chefte where my tresour is Inne/ whiche keyes they kepe/ and I haue put on eche keye a bille & writynge In witnesinge of the thynges aboue fayd/ And also ye shal vnderstande that he dyde do to be gyuen whilis he laye in his deth bedde to eche churche and recluse and to poure peple a certayn quantyte of moneye by the handes of his doughters husbondes/ whiche they dyde gladly. In hope to haue shortly the money that they supposid had ben in the chefte/ And whan hit cam to the last day/ that he deyde/ He was born to churche and his exequye don and was buryed solemplly/ And the eyght daye the feruyse worshipfully accomplisid/ They wente for to demande the keyes of the Religious men that they had kept/ whiche were deliueryd to them/ And than they wente and opend the coffre where they supposid the money had ben Inne/ And there they fonde no thyng but a grete clubbe/ And on the the handlynge was wreton/ J Iohn of canazath make this testamment/ that he be slayn wyth this clubbe/ that leyth his own prouffit. And gyuuyth hit to other/ as who sayth hit is no wyfedom for a man to gyue his good to his children and kepe none for hym self/ And ye shal vnderstande that it is grete follye to dispende and wauste his good; In hope for to recoure hit of
other/ be hit of sone or doughter or ryght nyghe
kyn/ For aman ought to kepe in his hande in dis-
pendynge his owen goodes/ to fore he fee that he
dyspende other mennys/ And he ought not to be
holden for a good man/ That hath lityll renome
and (pendeth many thyngys/ And I trowe that suche
perfones wold gladly make noueltes as for to noye
and greue seignories and meue warres and tencions
agaynst them that habounde in rycheffes and
goodes/ And alfo make extorcyons clamours &
trybulacyons ayenst theyr lordes to thende to wafe
the goodes of the peple. lyke as they haue wafted
theyris And suche a wafort of goodes may neuer
be good for the comyn proufit. And ye shal
vnderftande that after these wafortes of goodes we
faye that the pleyars of dyse and they that vse bor-
dellis ben worft of alle other For whan the hete of
playnge at the dyse/ And the couetyse of theyr
fynkynges lecherye hath brought hem to pouerte/
hit foloweth by force that they muste ben theys
and robbeurs And alfo dronkenshipp. glotonye.
And alle maner of euyllis folowe them and myf-
chief/ And they folowe gladly the companyes of
knyghtes and of noble men whan they goon vnto
the warre or batayllis And they coueyte not fo
moche the victoure as they do the robberie And
they do moche harme as they goo And they brynge
lytill gayn or wynnynges/ wherof hit happed on a
tyme that saynt bernard rode on an hors aboute in
the contrrey And mette wyth an hastardour or dyse-
player/ whiche fayd to hym/ thou goddes man wile
thou playe at dyse wyth me thyn hors ayenst my
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fowlé to whom faynt Bernard answerd yf thou wilt oblige thy fowlé to me ayenst my hors I wolle a lighte doun & playe wyth the/ and yf thou haue mo poyntes than I on thre dyſe I promyſe the thou shalt haue myn hors/ And than he was glad/ and anōn caſte iiii. dyſe/ And on eche dyſe was a dyſe/ whiche made xviii. poynts And anone he toke the hors by the brydell/ as he that was fewr that he had wonne/ and sa[id] that the hors was his/ And than faynt Bernard fayde abyde my fone For ther ben mo poyntes on the dyſe than xviii . And than he caſte the dyſe/ In fuche wyſe that one of the iiii. dyſe clefte a fonder in the myddes/ And on that one parte was fyſe and on that other an Aas/ And eche of that other was a fyſe/ And than Saynt Bernard fayde That he had wonne hys fowlé for as moche as he had caſte on thre dyſe . xix . points/ And than whan thys player fawe and apperceyuyd thys myracle/ He gaf hys fowlé to faynt Bernard and be cam a monke and ſynyſhid his lyſ in good werkes/ The corrours and berars of lettres ought haſtilely and ſpedily do her viage that comande hem/ with oute taryenge/ For their taryenge might noye and greue them that fende hem forth/ or ellis them to whom they ben ſent too/ And torne hem to ryght grete domage or villonye/ for whiche caufé every noble man ought well to take hede to whom he deliuere his lettres and his mandements/ and otherwhilis fuche peple ben loghelys & dron-kelewé/ And goon out of their waye for to fée ab-bayes and noble men for to haue auantage/ And hit happeth ofte tymes/ that whan fuche messagers or
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currours ben enpeshid by ony taryenge/ That other currours bere lettres contrarye to his/ And come to fore hym/ of which thinges ofte tymes cometh many thinges discouenable of losse of frendes of castellys & of lande & many other thinges as in the feet of marchandife &c. And otherwhile hit happeth that a prync for the faulte of suche mes-fangers lefeth to haue victorie vpon hys enemyes/ And also ther ben some that whan they come in a cyte where they haue not ben to fore/ that ben more bisy to visyte the Cyte and the noble men that dwelle theryn/ Than they ben to doo their voyage/ whyche thynge they ought not to doo/ But yf they had speyall charge of them that sente hem forth fo to doo. And also whan they be sente forth of ony lorde or marchauntes they ought to be well ware/ that they charge hem not wyth ouer moche mete on morenynges ne with to moche wyn on euenynges/ wherby her synewis and vaynes myght be greuyd/ that they mufe for faute of good rewle tarye But they ought to goo and come haftely for to reporte to their maistres answers as hit apperteyneth And this suffifien of the thynges aboue sayd.
BOOK IV.
The fourth treatise & the last of the progression and draughts of the forsayd playe of the cheffe.

The first chapter of the fourth treatise of the cheffe borde in genere how it is made.

E haue devised above the thinges that apperteyne vnto the formes of the cheffe men and of theyr offices that is to wete as well of noble men as of the comyn peple than hit apperteyneth that we shold deuys shortlie how they yssue and goon oute of the places where they be fette. And first we ought to speke of the forme and of the facion of the chequer after that hit representeth and was made after. For hyt was made after the forme of the eye of Babye-
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In the whiche this fame playe was founden as hit is sayd afore/ And foure thinges The first is/ wher ye shal vnderstande that ye ought to confyde here in fore that . lxiii . poyntes ben sette in the eschequer whiche ben alle square/ The seconde is wherfore the bordeur aboute his hyther than the squarenes of the poyntes/ The thirde is wherfore the comyn peple ben sette to fore the nobles/ The fourthe wherfore the nobles and the peple ben sette in their propre places Ther ben as many poyntes in y* eschequer wyde as full/ And ye shall first vnderstande wherfore that ther ben . lxiii . poyntes in the eschequer/ For as the bleffid saint Iherome faith/ the cyte of babilone was right grete and was made alle square/ and in euery quarter was . xvi . myle by nombre and mesure/ the whiche nombre foure tymes told was . lxiii . myles/ After the maner of lombardye they be callid myles/ and in France leukes/ and in englong they be callid myliss alfo/ And for to reprefente the mesure of thys cyte/ In whiche thys playe or game was founden/ The philofopher that fonde hit first ordeyned a tablier conteynyng . lxiii . poynts square/ the which ben comprised wyth in the bordour of the tablier/ ther ben xxxii . on that on fide & . xxxii . on that other whiche ben ordeyned for the beaulte of the playe/ and for to shewe the maner & drawynge of the chesse as hit shall appere in the chapitres folowyng/ and as to the seconde/ wherfore y* bordour of theschequyer is hyther than the table wyth in/ hit is to be vnderstande y* the bordour aboute reprefenteth the walle of y* cyte/ whiche is right hyghe/ And ther-
for made y\textsuperscript{e} philosopher the bordour more hyghe than y\textsuperscript{e} tablier. And as y\textsuperscript{e} bleffid faint Itherome faith vpon y\textsuperscript{e} prophesie of yfaye/ that is to wete vpon a montayne of obscurete, whiche wordes were said of babilone whiche standeth in chaldee and things of that babilone that stondeth in egipte/ for it is so y\textsuperscript{e} babilone whiche standeth in chaldee was sette in a right grete playne/ & had so hyghe walles that by the heygthe of them/ was contynuell derkenes envir\textv{on}ed & obscurete/ that none erthely man might beholde and see the ende of y\textsuperscript{e} hyghnes of the walle/ And theryfore yfaye callid hit y\textsuperscript{e} montaigne obscure/ And faint Itherome sayth y\textsuperscript{e} the mesure of the heygth of this walle was thre thousand paas/ whiche extended vnto y\textsuperscript{e} lengthe of thre myle lombardes/ hit is to wete that lombarde mylis and englis\textsuperscript{e} myles ben of one lengthe. And in one of the corners of this cyte was made a toure treangle as a felde wherof the heygth extended vnto the lengthe of . vii. thousand paas/ whiche is . vii. myle englis\textsuperscript{e}. And this toure was calyd the toure of Babell/ The walles aboute the toure made a woman whos name was femiranus as sayth virgilius/ As to the thirde wherfore the comyn peple ben sette to fore the nobles in the felde of the bataylle in one renge. Fyrst for as moche as they ben necessar\textsuperscript{y}e to alle nobles. For the rooke whiche standeth on the ryght fydhe and is vicaire of the kynge what may he doo yf the labourer were not sette to fore hym and labourid to mynyfere to hym fuche temporell thynges as be necessar\textsuperscript{y}e for hym/. And what may the knyght doo yf he ne had to fore hym the smyth for to forge his armours.
fadellis. axis and spores and suche thynges as apper-
teyneth to hym/ And what is a knyght worth
wyth oyte hors and armes/ certaynly nothyng
more than on of the peple or lafte paunture And
in what maner shold the nobles lyue yf no man
made cloth and bought and solde marchandyse/
And what shulde kynges and quenes and the other
lordes doo yf they had no phisicyens ne cyrurgiens/
than I faye that the peple ben the glorye of the
Crowne And sufteyne. the lyf of the nobles And
therefore thou that art a lord or a noble man or
knyght/ despipe not the comyn peple for as moche
as they ben sette to fore the in ye pleye. The
seconde cause is why the peple ben sette to fore the
nobles and haue the table wyde to fore them/ is be
cause they begyn the bataylle/ They ought to take
hede and entende to do theyr offices and theyr
craftes/ In suche wyfe that they suffre the noble
men to gourne the cytees and to counceyle and
make ordenances of the peple of the batayll how
shold a labourer a plowman or a craftyman coun-
ceyle and make ordenance of suche thynges as he
neuer lerned/ And wore ne knoweth the mater
vpon what thynge the counceyle ought to be taken/
Certies the comyn peple ought not to entende to
none other thyng but for to do their seruyse and
the office whiche is couenable vnto hem/ And hyt
apperteyneth not to hem to be of counceylys ne at
the aduocacions/ ne to menace ne to threte noman/
for ofte tymes by menaces and by force good coun-
ceyle is diuistroublid/ And where good counceyll
fayleth/ there ofte tymes the cytees ben betrayed
and destroyed. And Plato sayth That the comyn thynge and the cytees ben blessid when they ben gouerned by wyfe men/ or when the gournours studye in wisedom/ And so hit apperterrith to the comyn to lerne to vttre the maters & the maner of procuracion to fore they be councyllours/ For hit happeth oftentymes that he that maketh hym wyse ther heunderstandeth is made more foole than he is/ And the fourth cause wherfore y' ther ben in the tabler as many poyncts wyde as ben full. hit is to wete for that they what euer they be that haue peple to gourner/ ought tenforce to haue cytees & castellis & posseffions for to sette his peple theryn/ And for to laboure & doo ther ocupacion/ For for to haue the name of a kyng with out royame is a name voyde/ and honour with oute proffit/ And alle nobleffe wyth oute good maners/ and with out suche thinges as nobleffe may be mayntenned/ ought better be callid follye than nobleffe. And shamefull pourete is the more greuus whan hit cometh by nature of an hyhe and noble burth or hous. For noman gladly wole repreeue a poure man of the comyn peple/. But euer man hath in despitse a noble man that is poure yf he haue not in hym good maners and vertuous/ by whiche his pourete is forgotten/ and truly a royame with oute habundance of goodes by whiche hit may be gournered and prospere/ may better be calyd a latrocynye or a neft of theeuys than a royame/ Alas what habundance was some tymes in the royames. And what prospite/ In whiche was luf- tice/ And euer man in his office contente/ how
stood the cytees that tyme in worship and renome/ how was renomed the noble royame of England Alle the world dreedde hit And spack worship of hit/ how hit now standeth and 'n what haboundance I reporte me to them that knowe hit yf ther ben theeuis wyth in the royame or on the see/ they knowe that laboure in the royame And yazle on the see I wote well the fame is grete therof I pray god saue that noble royame And sende good true and politicque councellylours to the gouernours of the fame &c./ And nobleffe of lignage wyth oute puyslance and might is but vanye and despiete. And hit is so as we haue sayd to fore that theschewing whiche the philosopher ordeyned represetted and figured the sayd cyte of Babilone And in lyke wyse may hit figure a royame and signefye alle the world And yf men regarde and take heed vnto the poynetes vnto the middes of euery quadrante and so to doublle euery quadrante to other the myles of this cyte all way doublinge vnto the nombre of lxiii. The nombre of the fame shulde surmounte alle the world/ And not only the world but many worldes by the doublinge of mylia/whiche doublinge so as a fore is sayd shulde surmounte alle thynge/ And thus endeth the first chapitre of the fourth booke.
The seconde chapitre of the fourth træsate treteth of the draught of the kynge/ And how he meuyth hym in the chequer.

E ought to knowe that in this world/ the kynges feygnourye and regne eche in his royame. And in this playe we ought to knowe by the nature of hit how the kyng meueth hym and yffueth outhe of his place/ For ye shal vnderstande that he is fette in the fourth quadrante or poynt of the chequer. And when he is black/ he standeth in the white/ and the knyght on his ryght side in white/ And the Alphyn and the rooke in black/ And on the lите side the foure holden the places opposite/ And
the rayfon may be suche/ For be caufe that the knyghtes ben the glorye & the crowne of the kynge/
They enfiwe in semblable residence/ that they doo
when they ben sette semblably on the ryght side of
the kynge & on the lyfte side of the quene/ And
for as moche as the rook on the ryght syde is
vicayre of the kynge he accompanyeth the quene
in semblable siege that the Alphyn doth which is
Iuge of the kynge/ And in lyke wyse the lifte rook
& the lyfte Alphyn accompanye the kynge in sem-
blable siege/ In suche wyse as they ben sette aboute
the kynge in bothe sides wyth the Quene in manere
of a crowne/ That they may seurely kepe the
royame that reuyfeth and shyneth in the kynge
and in the Quene/ In suche wyse as they may con-
ferme and diffende hym in their sieges and in their
places. And the more haftily renne vpon his enemies
And for as moche as the Iuge, the knyght/ and the
vicaire, kepe and garnyshe the kynge on that one
syde/ They that ben sette on the other syde kepe
the Quene/ And thus kepe they alle the strength
and fermete of the royame/ And semblably other-
while for to ordeyne the thynges that apperteyne to
the counceuill/ and to the befoynge of the royame/
For yf eche man shold entende to his owen proper
thynges; And y' they defended not ner toke hide
vnto the thingis y' apperteynen to the kynge to the
comyn and to the royame/ the royalme shold anôn
be devied in parties And thus myght the Iuge
regne/ And the name of the dignyte royall shold
be lost; And truly for as moche as the kynge
holdeth the dignyte above alle other and the
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feygnourye royall/ therfore hit apperteyneth not
that he abstente hym longe/ ne wythdraue hym
ferre by space of tyme from the maister siege of his
royame/ For whan he wele meue hym/ he ought
not to paue at the first draught the nombre of iiii.
poynts/ And whan he begynneth thus to meue from
his whyt poyn/ he hath the nature of the rooks of
the right fyde and of the lifte fyde for to goo black
or whithe/ And alo he may goo ynto the white
poyn/ where the gardes of the Cyte ben sette. And
in this poyn/ he hath the nature of a kynght. And
thyse two maners of meuyng apperteyneth other-
while to the quene/ and for as moche as the kynge
and the quene that ben conioyned to geder by
mariage ben one thynge as one flessh and blood/
therfore may the kynge meue on the lifte side of
his propre poyn/ alo wele as he were sette in the
place of the quene whiche is black/ and whan he
goth right in maner of the rook only/ And hit
happen that the aduerfarie be not couered in ony
poyn in the seconde ligne/ The kynge may not
paue from his black poyn/ ynto the thirde ligne/
And thus he forthith the nature of the rook on the
ryght fyde and lyfte fyde ynto the place of the
knyghtes and for to goo ryght to fore. In to the
whyte poyn/ to fore the marchant/ And the kynge
alfo forthy the nature of the knyghtes whan he
goth on the ryght fyde in two maners/ For he may
put hym in the voyde spase to fore the phisicyn/
And in the black spase to fore the tauerne/ And
on the other side he goth in to other two places in
lyk wise that is to fore the smyth/ and the notarye/
And thus as in goynge out first in to iii poiyns he forsteth the nature of knyghtes/ and also the kynge fortiseth the nature of the alphins at his first ysfu in to ii places And he may goo on bothe sides vnto the white place voyde/ that one to fore y's smith on that on side/ and that other to for the tauerner on that other side/ All these ysfues hath y's kyng out of his propre place of his owen vertue when he begynneth to meue. But whan he is ones meuyd fro his propre place/ He may not meue but in to one space or poiyn/ and so from one to an other/ And than he fortiseth the nature of the comyn peple/ and thus by good right he hath in hymself the nature of alle/ For alle the vertue that is in the membres cometh of the heed and all meuyng of the body/ The begynnyunge & lyf comen from the herte/ And all the dignyte that the subgettes haue by execucion/ and contynuell apparence of their meuynge & ysfue/ The kynge deteyneth hit & is attributed to hym/ the victroye of the knyghtes/ the prudence of y's luges/ the auctorite of the vicaires or legates The cōtynence of the queene/ the cōcorde & vnyte of y's peple Ben not all thye thinges acribed vnto the honour and worship of the kynge Jn his ysfue whan he meuyd first The thirde ligne to fore the peple he neuer excedeth/ Fro in the iii nombre alle maner of staves begynne to meue For the trynary nombre conteyneth iii parties/ whiche make a perfect nombre/ For a trynarye nombre hath. i. ii. iii. Whiche Joyned to geder maken. vi. Whiche is the first parfyte nombre And signifieth in this place/ vi.
perfonnes named that constitute the pfection of a royaume. That is to wete the kynge, the quene, Iuges, knyghtes, the vicares or legats, and the comyn peple. And thersore the kynge ought to begynne in his first meyynge of iii, poynthes, that he shewe pfection of lyf as well in hym self as in other. After that the kynge begynneth to meue he may lede wyth hym the quene after the maner of his ysue. For why the quene foloweth vnto two angulatory places after the maner of the alphyn and to a place indirect in the maner of a rook in to the black poynct to fore the phisicien, herin is signified that the women may not meue neyther make vowes of pylumage ner of viage wythoute the wyll of their husbondes. For yf a woman had a vowed ony thynge, her husbonde lyuynge and agayn fayne, she may not yelde ne accomplishe her vowe. Yf the husbond wyll goo oughwer, he may well goo wyth oute her. And yf fo be that the husbond wyll haue her wyth hym, she is bounden to folowe hym. And by refon For a man is the hed of a woman and not econuere. For as to suche thingis as longe to patrymony, they ben lyke but the man hath power ouer her body. And fo hath not the woman ouer his. And thersore whan the kynge begynneth to meue, the Quene may folowewe. And not alleway whan she meuyd it is no nede the kynge to meue. For why four the first lignes be with in the limytes and space of the royaume. And vnto the thirde poynct the kynge may meue at his first meynge out of his propre place. And whan he passith the fourthligne he goeth oute of his royaume.
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And if he passe on point late hym beware/ For the pleasure of a kyngge is accounted more than a
mansion or other. For when he exposeth hym
from the previsio of bastyle, Hit is necess瘴y that
he gan temporize and flyly. For yf he be taken
at net or else incamed and shette vp/ Alle the
meneages of alle other eyfel and alle Is fynyshed
not ashe. And therefore he hath neede to goo and
mene whare/ And also therefore he may not meue
nor move after his fyrst meuyng but where
the one is goo incensed or barred and on that
mene whare or other or ells cornerwyse/ He may
mene unyme to anierfare the kyngge nere
mene a in tyme. And therefore the kyngges
mene more toward some approche one nyghte that
mene heuyden when the kyngge hath goon so ferre
mene he may not be felt than he is sole/ And thyn
mene so more wyse when he is brought to y\textsuperscript{e}
ex\textsuperscript{nysisse.} And so he ought to take heed that he
mene nat be in a booght or on other faith chek
mene the kyng meuyng y\textsuperscript{e} rook. That kyngge is
mene not as a kyngge to whom his Anc
mene of the demeanour appareyneth, who may doo the
mene of the demeanour yf he be priuyd taken or dede/
and the reuerence of alle the royalle he shall bee
at and at no wyse that is there in a cyte And
mene nat that were theyn ben taken in captuyte
and shone vp for.
The second chapter of the fourth book of the quene
and how she yffueth out of her place.

HAN the Quene whiche is accompanied vnto the kynges begynneth to meue from her propre place/ She goth in doweble maner/ that is to wete as an Alphyn whan she is black/ she may goo on the ryght syde & come in to the poyn to fore the notarye/ And on the lyfte syde in the black poyn and come to fore the gardees of the cyte. And hit is to wete that she fortiseth in her selfe the nature in iii. maners first on the ryght syde to fore the alphyn/ Secondly on the lyfte syde where the knyght is/ And thirdly indirecly vnto the black poyn to
fore the phisicyen And the rayson why. Is for as moche as the hath in her self by grace the aucto-
rite that the rooks haue by comyssion/ For she may gyue & graüte many thynges to her subgetts
gracieously. And thus also ought she to haue parfyt
wisedom/ as the alphyns haue whiche ben Iuges/ as
hit sayd aboue in the chapitre of the Quene/ And
she hath not the nature of knyghtes/ And hit is not
fittynge ne couenable thynges for a woman to goo
to bataylle for the fragilite and feblenes of her/
And theryfore holdeth she not the waye in her
draught as the knyghtes doon/ And when she is
meuyd ones oute of her place she may not goo but
fro oon poynt to an other and yet cornerly whether
hit be for warder or backward takynge or to be
taken/ And here may be axid why the quene goth
to the bataylle wyth the kynge/ certainly it is for
the folace of hym/ and offencion of loue/ And also
the peple desire to haue sucession of the kynge And
theryfore the tartaris haue ther wyues in to the felde
with hem/ yet hit is not good that men haue theyr
wyuys with hem/ but that they abyde in the cytees
or within their owne termes/ For whan they ben
oute of theyr cytees and limytes they ben not sure/
but holden suspecste/ they shold be shamfaet and
hold alle men suspect/ For dyna Iacob's daughter
as longe as she was in the hows of her brethern/
she kept her virginitie/ But asfoe as she wente for
to see the strange Regyons. Anone she was corrupt
and defowled of the fone of fischem/ Seneca sayth
that the women that haue euyll visages ben gladly
not chaute/ but theyr corage desireth gladly the
companye of men/ And Solynus faith that no bestes femelys defyre to be towched of theyr males when they haue coneyuyd/ Exept woman whyche ought to be a beft Rayfonable/ And in thys caas the lefeth her rayfon/ And Sidrac wythneffeth the same And thercfore in the olde lawe/ the faders hadd dyuerce wyues and Ancellys to thende whan one was wyth childe/ they myght take another/ They ought to haue the visage enclyned for teschewe the sight of the men/ that by the sight they be not meuyd with Incontynence and diffame of other/ And Ouyde sayth that ther ben some That how well that they echew the dede/ yet haue they grete Joye whan they ben prayed/ And thercfore ought the good women ffe the curyostees and places wher they myght falle in blame and noyfe of the peple.
The fourth chapter of the fourth book Is of the syourney of the Alphyn.

The manere and nature of the draught of the Alphyn is suche/ that he that is black in his propre siege is sette on the right side of the kynge/ And he that is whyt is sette on the lifte side/ And ben callyd and named black and white/ But for no cause that they be fo in substance of her propre colour/ But for the colour of the places in whiche they ben sette/ And alleway be they black or white/ when they ben sette in their places/ the alphyn on the ryght fyde/ goynge oute of his place to the ryght fydeward conyth to fore the labourer/ And hit is rejon that
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the Iuge ought to defende and kepe the labourers and poysesions whiche ben in his Jurisdiction by alle right and lawe. And also he may goo on the lyfte syde to the wyde place to fore the phisicien. For lyke as the phisicien haue the charge to hele the infirmes of a man. In lyke wyse haue the Iuges charge to appease alle stryues and contencions and reduce vnto vnyte. And to punyfse and correte causes crymynels. The lyfte alphyn hath also two wayes fro his owne place oon toward y* right syde vnto the black space voyde to fore the marchant. For the marchants nede ofte tymes councelylle and ben in debate of queftions whiche muft be determyned by the Iuges. And that other yffue is vnto the place to fore the rybaultis. And that ys be caufe that ofte tymes amonge them. falle noyes difficencions thefte and manflaughter. wherfore they ought to be punyfshid by the Iuges. And ye shall vnderftande that the alphyn goth alleway corner wyse fro the thirde poynt to the thirde poynt kepynge all way his owne siege. For yf he be black. he goth all way black. And yf he be whyte he goth alleway whyte. the yffue or goynge cornerly or angularly signfieith cautele or subtylyte. whiche Iuges ought to haue. The. iii. poynes be-token. iii. thynges that the Iuge ought to attende. A Iuge ought to furder rightfull & trewe causes. secondly he ought to gyue trewe councelyll. and thirdly he ought to gyue and Iuge rightfull sentences after tha legeances. And never to goo fro the ryghttwines of the lawe. And it is to wete that the Alphyn goth in fix drawhtes alle the tablier
round aboute/ and that he cometh agayn in to his owen place/ And how be hit that alle rayfon and good perfection shold be in a kynge/ yet ought hit also specially be in them that ben conceyllours of the kynge and the Quene/ And the kynge ought not to doo ony thynge doubtoufe/ tyll he haue axid counceyll of his Iuges/ And of the fages of the royame/ And therfore ought the Iuge to be parfaytly wyse and fage as well in science as in good maners/ And that is signified when they meue from thre poynts in to thre/ For the fixt nombre by whiche they goo alle theschequer/ And brynge hem agayn in to her propre place in suche wyse that thende of her moeuynge is conioyned agayn to the begynnynge of the place frowhens they departed/ And therfore hit is callid a parfayt moeuynge.
The fift chapitre of the foure Traitaye Is of the meuynge of the knyghtes.

After the yffue of the Alphyns we shall deuyse to yow the yffue & the moeuynge of the knyghtes/ And we saye that the knyght on the right fyde is whyt/ And on the lyfte fyde black/ And the yffue and moeuynge of hem bothe is in one maner whan fo is that the knyght on the ryght fyde Is whyt/ The lyfte knyght is black/ The moeuynge of hem is suche/ That the whyte may goo in to the space of the alphyn/ as hit apperyth of the knyght on the right side that is whyte. And hath thre yffues fro his proper place/ one on his ryght fyde
in the place to fore the labourer. And hit is well
refon that whan the labourer and husbonde man
hath laboured the feldes/ the knyghtes ought to
kepe them/ to thentent that they haue vitailles for
them self and their horses/ The second yffue is that
he may meue hym vnto the black space to fore the
notarye or draper. For he is bounden to deffende
and kepe them that make his vestementis & couer-
tours necessarie vnto his body. The thirde yffue is
that he may go on the lifte syde in to the place to
fore y' marchant whiche is sette to fore the kynge/
the whiche is black/ And the refon is for as moche
as he ought and is holden to deffende the kynge as
well as his owen perfone/ whan he paffith the first
draught/ he may goo foure wayes/ And whan he is
in the myddes of the tabler he may goo in to , viii.
places fondry/ to whiche he may renne And in
lyke wise may the lyfte knyght goo whiche is black
and goth oute of his place in to white/ and in that
maner goth the knyght fightynge by his myght/
and groweth and multiplieth in hys poyniris/ And
ofte tymes by them the felde Is wonne or lof/ A
knyghts vertue and myght is not knownen but by
his fightynge/ and in his fightynge he doth moche
harme for as moche as his myght extende in to
so many poyniris/ they ben in many peryllis in theyr
fightynge/ And whan they escape they haue the
honour of the game And thus is hit of euery man
the more vailliant/ the more honoured And he
that meketh hym self ofte tymes fhyneth clerest.
The sixt chapitre of the fourth trauelate treteth of the yssue of the rooks and of her progressioun.

The moeynge and yssue of the rooks which ben vicairs of the kynge is suche/ that the ryght rook is black and the lifte rook is whyte/ And whan the cheffe ben sette as well the nobles as the comyn peple first in their propper places/ The rooks by their propper vertue haue no wey to yssue but yf hyt be made to them by the nobles or comyn peple/ For they ben enclosed in their propper steges/ And the reyon why is suche That for as moche as they ben vicaire lieutenants or comySSIONers of the kynge/ Theyr auëtoryte is of none effecte to fore
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they yssue out/ And that they haue begonne
tenhaunce theyr office/ For as longe as they be
within the palais of the kynge/ So longe may they
not vse ne execute theyr commyssion/ But anon as
they yssue they may vse theyr auctorite/ And ye shal
vnderstande that their auctorite is grete/ for they
reprentente the pson of the kynge/ and therefore
where the tablier is voyde they may renne alle the
tablier/ In lyke wyse as they goon thurgh the royame/
and they may goo as well white as black as well on
the right side & lifte as foreward and backward/
And as fer may they renne as they fynde the tablier
voyde whether hit be of his aduerfaryes as of his owen
fellowship/ And whan the rook is in the myddell of
the tablier/ he may goo whiche way he wyll in to
four right lignes on euerie side/ and hit is to wete
that he may in no wyse goo cornerwyse/ but allway
ryght forth goynge & comynge as afore is sayd/
wherfore all the subgetsis of the kinge as well good
as eyll ought to knowe by their moeuyng that
auctorite of y' vicaires and comyssioners ought to
be verray true rightwis & luste/ and ye shal
vnderstande that they ben stronge and vertuous in bataylle
For the two rooks only may vaynquyshe a kynge
theyr aduerfarye and take hym/ and take from hym
his lyf and his royame/ And this was doon whan
chirus kynge of perse And darius kynge of medes
flewes baltazar and toke his royame from hym.
Whiche was neue to eyylmoradach vnder whom
this game was founden.
The seuenthe chapitre of the foureth boke treteth of the yssue of the comyn peple &c.

ONE yssue and one mouynge apperteyneth vnto alle the peple/ For they may goo fro the poynt they standez in at the first meuynge vnto the thirde poynt right forth to fore them/ & whan they haue fo don they may afterward meue no more but fro one poynt ryght forth in to an other/ And they may neuer retorne backward And thus goynge forth fro poynt to poynt They may gete by vertue and strengthe/ that thynge that the other noble fynde by dignyte/ And yf the knyghtes and other nobles helpe hem that they come to the fertheft
lygne to fore them where theyr aduerfaryes were fette. They acquyre the dignyte that the quene hath graunted to her by grace/ For yf ony of them may come to thys sayd ligne/ yf he be white as labourer draper phisicyen or kepary of the cyte ben/ they reteyne suche dignyte as the quene hath/ for they haue goten hit/ and than retornyng agayn homeward/ they may goo lyke as it is sayd in the chapitre of the quene And yf ony of the pawns that is black/ as the smyth the marchant the tauernar and the rybalde may come wyth oure domage in to the same vterrorfft ligne/ he shall gete by his vertu the dignyte of the black quene And ye shall vnderstande/ whan thyse comyn peple meue right forth in her ligne/ and synde ony noble persone or of the peple of thys aduerfaries fette in the poynct at ony side to fore hym/ In that corner poynct he may take his aduerfarye wherther hit be on the right side or on the lifte/ And the caufe is that the aduerfaries ben suspicious that the comyn peple lye In a wayte to Robbe her goodes or to take her persones whan they goo vpward right forth. And therfore he may take in the right angle to fore hym one of his aduerfaries/ As he had espied his persone/ And in the lifte angle as robber of his goodes/ and wheter hit be goyng foreward or retornyng fro black to whyte or whyte to black/ the pawn must allway goo in his right ligne/and all way take in the corner that he findeth in his waye/ but he may not goo on neyther side tyll he hath ben in the furdeft ligne of the schequer/ And that he hath taken the nature of the draughtes
of the quene. And than he is a fiers. And than he may goo on alle fides cornerwyle fro poynt to poynt only as the quene doth fightynge and takyng whom he findeth in his waye. And whan he is thus comen to the place where ye nobles his aduerfaries were fette he shall be named white fiers or black fiers/ after the poynt that he is in/ and there taketh he the dignyte of the quene &c. And all these things may appere to them that beholden ye play of the cheffe/ and ye shall vnderstande that no noble man ought to have despite of the comyn peple/ for hit hath ben ofte tymes seen/ that by their vertu & witte/ Diverece of them haue comen to right highe & grete aflate as poopes bishoppes Emperours and kynges. As we haue in the historye of Davide that was made kyng of a shepherdt and one of the comyn peple/ and of many other &c. And in lyke wyle we rede of the contrary/ that many noble men haue ben brought to myfere by their default. As of gyges which was right riche of landes and of richefies And was so proude that he wente and demanded of the god Appollo/ if there were ony in the world more riche or more happy than he was/ and than he herde a voys that yfued out of the fosse or pitte of the sacrefices/ that a peple named agalaus fophide whiche were poure of goodes and riche of corage was more acceptable than he which was kyng. And thus the god Appollo alowed more the sapience & the feurte of the poure man and of his littyll mayne/ than he didde the aflate and the perstone of gyges ne of his ryche mayne. And hit is more to alowe a
lilyl thynge seurly pourfiewed than moche good
taken in fere and drede. And for as moche as a man
of lowe lignage is by his vertue enhaunfed so moche
the more he ought to be glorious and of good ren-
nomee/ virgile that was born in lombardye of ye
nacion of mantua and was of lowe and symple
lignage/ yet he was souerayn in wisedom and science
and the moste noble of alle the poetes/ of whome
the renome is and shall be durynge the world/ so hit
happend that an other poete axid and demanded of
hym wherfore he setted not the verfs of homere in
his book/ And he anserwed that he shold be of right
grete strenght and force that shold plucke the clubbe
out of hercules handes/ And thys suffyceth the state
and draughtis of the comyn peple &c.
The eyght chapitre and the last of the fourth book of the epilogacion and recapitulacion of this book.

OR as moche as we see and knowe that the memorye of the peple is not retentyf but right forgetefull whan some here longe talis & historyes whiche they can not alle reteyne in her mynde or recorde. Therfore I haue put in this present chapitre all y' thynge abouefayd as shortly as I haue conne/ Fyrst this playe or game was founden in the tyme of euilmerodach kyng of Babilone/ And exerfes the philosopher otherwyse named philometer fonde hit/ And the caufe why/ was for the correction of the kyngge lyke as hit apperith in thre the fyrst chapitres/
for the said kyng was so tyrannous and felon that he might suffre no correction/ But sowed them and dide do put hem to deth/ that correstid hym/ and had than do put to deth many right wyle men Than the peple beynge sorowfull and ryght euyl plefde of this euyl lyf of the kyng pryd and requyred the philofopher/ that he wolde repryse and telle the kyng of his folye/ And than the philofopher answered that he shold be dede yf he so dide/ and the peple sayd to hym/ Certes thou oughtest sonner wille to dye to thende that thy renome myght come to the peple/ than the lyf of the kyng shold contynue in euyl for lacke of thy counceyll/ or by faulte of reprehension of the/ or that thou darst not doo and shewe/ that thou faist/ And when the philofopher herd this he promisid to the peple y' he wold put hym in deuoyr to correcte hym/ and than he began to thynke in what maner he myght escape the deth and kepe to the peple his promette/ And than thus he made in this maner and ordeyned theschequer of. lxiii , poynst as Is afore sayd/ And dide doo make the forme of cheuers of gold and siluer In humayne fygure after the facyons and formes as we haue dyuyfde and shewed to yow to fore in theyr chapitres/ And ordeyned thes meuynge and thestate after that it is saide in the chapitres of thescheffes And when the philofopher had thus ordeyned the playe or game/ and that hit plefde alle them that fawe hit/ on a tyme as the philofopher playd on hit/ the kyng cam and fawe hit and defired to playe at this game/ And than the phylosofer began tenfeigne and tache the
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kyenge the science of the playe & the draughtes. Saynge to hym fyrfte how the kynge ought to haue in hymselfe pytie, debonairte and rughtwishes as hit is said to fore in the chapitre of the kynge And he enseygned to hym the estate of the quene and what maners she ought to haue. And than of the alphyns as conceyllums and Iuges of the royame. And after the nature of the knyghtes how they ought to be wife, trewe and curtoys and alle the ordre of knyghthode. And than after the nature of the vicaires & rooks as hit apperyth in theyr chapitre. And after this how the comyn peple ought to goo eche in his office. And how they ought to serve the nobles. And whan the philosophher had thus taught and enseygned the kynge and his nobles by the maner of the playe and had rep hendred hym of his euyll maners. The kynge demanded hym vpon payne of deth to telle hym the caufe why and wherefore he had made & founden thys playe and game. And what thyne meuyd hym thereto. And than the philosophher contrayned by fere and drede answerd that he had promyfd to the peple whiche had requyred hym that he fholde correcte and reprifte the kynge of his euyll vices; but for as moche as he dought the deth and had feen that the kynge dide do flee the fages & wyfe men. That were fo hardy to blame hym of his vices he was in grete anguyshe & fowre. how he myght fynde a maner to correcte & reprefende the kynge. And to faue his owen lyf and thus he thought longe & studyd that he fonde thys game or playe. Whiche he hath do sette forth for to amende and correcte the lyf of the
kynge and to change his maners/ and he adiouuftyd
with all that he had founden this game for so moche
as the lordes and nobles habondynge in delycys &
ricchessis/ And enioyngte temporell peashold eschewye
dlenes by playnge of this game/ And for to gyue
hem cause to leue her penifsnes and forowes/ In
auyfynge & struyyne this game. And whan the
kynge had herd alle thyse causyes/ He thought that
the philo sopher had founde a good maner of corre-
tion/ And than he thanketh hym gretly/ and thus
by thenseygmenent and lernynge of the phylosopher
he changyd his lyf his maners & alle his eyyll con-
dicions And by this maner hit happend that the
kynge that to fore tyme had ben vicyous and disfor-
dynate in his liuyng was made lufte. and vertuous.
debonayre. gracious and and full of vertues vnto
alle peple/ And a man that lyuyth in this world
without vertues liueth not as a man but as a beste*
And theryfore my ryght redoubted lord I pray al-
mighty god to saue the kyng our souerain lord & to
gyue hym grace to yffue as a kyngge & tabounde in
all vertues/ & to be affisted with all other his lordes
in such wyse y' his noble royame of England may
prospere & habounde in vertues/ and y' fynne may
be eschewid iustice kepte/ the royame defended good

* "And theryfore &c." to the end, is wanting in the second
edition, and, instead thereof, the treatise concludes in the fol-
lowing maner—

"The nae late every man of what conducktion he be that
redyth or herith this litel book redde tak therby ensumple
to amende hym. Explicit per Carton."
The Game of Chefs.

men rewarded malefactours punyfshid & the ydle peple to be put to labour that he wyth the nobles of the royame may regne gloriously. In conquerynge his rightfull enheritaunce/ that verray peas and charite may endure in bothe his royames/ and that marchandise may haue his cours in suche wise that euery man eschewe synne/ and encrece in vertuous ocupacions/ Praynge your good grace to refeyue this lityll and symple book made vnder the hope and shadowe of your noble protection by hym that is your most humble seruant/ in gree and thanke And I shall praye almighty god for your longe lyf & welfare/ whiche he preferue And sende yow thaccompliishment of your hye noble. Ioyous and vertuous defirs Amen:/ Fynyfshid the last day of marche the yer of our lord god. a. thoufand foure honderd and lxxiij
GLOSSARY.

AS, 152; ace.
Aduocacions, 160; Latin aduocationis, assembly of advocates, the bar.
Agaynefaynge, 167; gaining.
Alphyns, 36. Thealphin, or elephant, was the piece answering to the bishop in the modern game of cheats.
Ameruaylded, 141; astoniished.
Ample, ampole, 118, 119; Latin ampulla, vessel for holding liquids.
Ancellys, 171; Latin ancilla, handmaids, concubines.
Appertely, 114; openly.
Appertiffid, 108; satisfied, satisfied.
Ardaulty [ardantly], 109; ardently.
Arrache, 127; French arracher, to pull, to pluck.
Aventure, 136; adventure.
Axe, 147; ask.
Barate, 61; trouble, suffering.

Beaute, 81; beauty.
Benerous, 141; French bénir, blessed.
Besaunt, 109; befant, a Byzantine gold coin.
Beneurie, 141; French bonheur, good fortune.
Bole, 130; bull.
Bourdellys, 122; brothels, floes.
Butters, 147; freebooters.
Butyn, 50; French butin, plunder, spoils.

Chamberyer, 111, 137; Chamberer, 144; woman servant, concubine.
Chequer, 157; chef's-board.
Chauffed, 132; French échauffer, to warm.
Compaignon, 126; French compagnon, companion.
Connynge, 124; cunning, knowledge.
Corrompith, 84; French corrompre, to corrupt.
Couveneble, p. 84; French convenable, proper, fit.
Couurours, 146; French coureurs, runners, meffengers.
Glossary.

Curatours, 147; guardians, trustees.

Damped, 136; condemned.
Debonsarily, 134; debonsairte, 20; French de bon air, in a good manner, with good will.
Depeshed, 3; French dépêcher, despatched.
Deporte, 64; deport.
Devour, 1; French devoir, duty.
Dimen, 77; Latin decimur, tenths, or tithes.
Disobeyance, 71; disobedience.
Dispendede, 151; spending.
Distemprance, 131; intemperance.
Dolabre, 85; Latin dolabra, axe, pick-axe.
Doubted, 48; redoubted, cf. doughty.
Drawthes, 173; draughts, movements.
Drof, 122; drove.
Dronkelewe, 152; drunkensesa.
Drookenhype, 84; drunkennesa.
Dyce, 147; dice.

Enbrasid, 125; embraced.
Enpesfeth, 132; French empêcher, to forbid.
Enpoigne, 2; French empoigner, to take in hand.
Enseyned, 139; French enseigner, to teach.
Échauffred, 150; French échauffer, to warm.
Esnouced, 123; French émouvoir, to move.
Espicers, 126; French épicer.
Espryfed, 109; French épris, taken.
Ewrous, 111; French beurenje, happy.

Fect, 135; French faut, act, feat.
Ferremens. See Serremens.
Fleely, 130; feelely.
Folelarge, 147; prodigal, extravagant.
Fume, 76, 124; French fumet, smoke, vapour.

Garnyfche, 164; garnish, adorn, set off.
Genere, 157; general.
Godes man, 151; godisman, faint or religious person.
Golffys, 129; golgyb, 28; golffys, golph.
Gree, 2; French gré, liking.
Grucche, 77; grudge.
Guarishors, 127; French guérir, to cure.

Hauoys, 111; French avoir, possession.
Herberowe, 129; harbour.
Historiograph, 34; historian.
Hoo, 132; hoarse.
Iape, 21; jape, trick.
Jolye, lvii; fine (French joli).
Keruares, 86; carvers.

Langed, 136; belonged.
Latrocynye, 161; Latin latrocinium.
Lecherye, 131; lechery.
Leried, 141; prevented.

Male, 136; mail, trunk.
Maleheurte, 70; French malheur, misfortune, sorrow.
Maronners, 86; mariners.
Martel, 86; hammer.
Meure, 137; French meurs, manners.
### Glossary

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<td>Parfyt, 166</td>
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